

NOMINATIONS

TUESDAY, MAY 24, 2022

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

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 2:17 p.m., in Room SD-419, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Christopher Murphy presiding.

Present: Senators Murphy [presiding], Cardin, Shaheen, Coons, Kaine, Booker, Risch, Johnson, Romney, Portman, Young, and Rounds.

Also Present: Senator Ossoff.

OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. CHRISTOPHER MURPHY, U.S. SENATOR FROM CONNECTICUT

Senator MURPHY. Good afternoon, everyone. This hearing of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee will now come to order.

I am pinch hitting this hearing. We are glad to be joined by the ranking member, Senator Rounds. Today, we have a confirmation hearing doubleheader. So as Ernie Banks said, let us play two. The committee is going to be considering six nominations split on two panels.

First up, we have Ambassador Reuben Brigety to be the Ambassador to South Africa, Ambassador Michael Battle to be the Ambassador to Tanzania, and Ms. Meg Whitman to be the Ambassador to Kenya.

And so seeing that we have two of our colleagues we will postpone our opening statements and let you guys get on your way to votes and other meetings so that you can introduce two of our witnesses.

So why do not I first go to Senator Romney and then to Senator Ossoff to make introductions? We will make opening statements and then we will turn it over to our panel.

So, Senator Romney?

STATEMENT OF HON. MITT ROMNEY, U.S. SENATOR FROM UTAH

Senator ROMNEY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman and Ranking Member Rounds. It is my honor today to introduce Meg Whitman to the committee and offer my full support for her nomination to serve as our Nation's next Ambassador to Kenya.

I have known Meg for more than 40 years. We first met at Bain & Company early in her career. Throughout these past four decades, I have watched Meg build an extraordinary career.

As president and CEO of Hewlett-Packard beginning in 2011, Meg worked to rebuild the legendary American technology company after it fell behind in a changing world.

As a result of her efforts, Hewlett-Packard companies continue to thrive today. From 1998 to 2008, Meg was president and CEO of eBay, a company that helped create e-commerce as we know it.

When Meg arrived at eBay, it was a small company with 30 employees and \$4 million in revenues. When she left 10 years later, eBay had 15,000 employees and \$8 billion in revenue. Many of the employees hired and mentored by Meg at eBay went on to lead other great technology companies.

Meg graduated from Princeton University in 1977 and Harvard Business School in 1979. While that may not seem like a long time ago, for some of us it was a different era. At a time when women were just beginning to break through many glass ceilings, Meg chartered her own path, consistently delivering results, working hard, and expanding her wealth of knowledge.

There is little doubt that Meg has had great success, but just as important she has earned a reputation for ethical principled behavior. She listens to the views of others and is eager to make her community, our country, and the world a better place.

Meg has also been active for many years in philanthropic causes centered on education and the environment. Meg and her husband, Dr. Griff Harsh, who is also here, have been devoted to one another for more than 40 years.

While they have helped one another building fulfilling careers, they have also created a terrific family together, which is the most important. Meg will tell you that her greatest accomplishment in life has been to raise two wonderful sons.

We all agree that America currently faces enormous challenges across the globe. We also agree that we need our best and brightest to represent America's ideals and interests.

Meg Whitman is expertly suited to take on the hard work of organizing our mission in Kenya and working closely and cooperatively with our Kenyan partners. The United States and the global community desire a prosperous advancing Africa, and Kenya must play a pivotal role in stabilizing and sustaining the region.

America needs Meg Whitman's character, judgment, and sheer determination deployed to Kenya as soon as possible. I urge this committee and my Senate colleagues to support Meg Whitman's swift confirmation.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator MURPHY. Thank you, Senator Romney.

Senator Ossoff?

**STATEMENT OF HON. JON OSSOFF,
U.S. SENATOR FROM GEORGIA**

Senator OSSOFF. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member Rounds. It is an honor to join you today to introduce and recommend for confirmation an outstanding diplomat whom I am proud to call a constituent from my hometown of Atlanta, Georgia, Ambassador Michael Battle.

Ambassador Battle has led an extraordinary career committed to education and public service. He served for 20 years as a chaplain

in the United States Army Reserve, retiring with the rank of lieutenant colonel in 1997.

During the Obama administration, Ambassador Battle served as U.S. Ambassador to the African Union in Ethiopia. He also served that administration as U.S. representative to the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa and as a senior adviser to the State Department's Bureau of African Affairs.

In addition to his government service, Ambassador Battle has served in a variety of leadership roles in higher education in the faith community, including executive vice president in the National Underground Railroad Freedom Center, president of the Inter-Denominational Theological Center in Atlanta, vice president at Chicago State University, associate vice president at Virginia State University, and university chaplain at Hampton University.

Ambassador Battle has been a community leader in Atlanta for years, serving as chair of the Robert W. Woodruff Library of the Atlanta University Center, as a member of the UNCF Institutional Board of Directors, the Atlanta Rotary Club, One Hundred Black Men of Atlanta, and Historically Black Colleges and Universities Congressional Forum Steering Committee.

The Ambassador chaired Atlanta Mayor Shirley Franklin's Advisory Committee for Sustainable Atlanta, served in a variety of roles of the Atlanta Regional Council of Churches, Atlanta Urban League, and the Atlanta Fulton Family Connection, and was a member of the 2008 class of Leadership Atlanta. He holds a lifetime membership in the NAACP and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

It is an honor, Mr. Chairman and Ranking Member, to be here alongside Ambassador Battle as he prepares for this pivotal assignment in Tanzania. We need his skilled representation in east Africa. I know he will do this job with honor and effectively.

I thank the committee for consideration of his nomination and humbly urge his swift confirmation.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator MURPHY. Thank you very much, Senator Ossoff.

And to supplement that introduction, Senator Portman?

**STATEMENT OF HON. ROB PORTMAN,
U.S. SENATOR FROM OHIO**

Senator PORTMAN. He has to be supplemented because although he is a proud son of Atlanta, he is also a proud son of Cincinnati. So we are going to claim a little of him also.

We are also going to take some credit for Meg Whitman's connection to Cincinnati with regard to our soccer team and the great Procter & Gamble Company, and I am delighted that you are stepping up, as I have told you, to represent us in Kenya at a critical time.

In terms of professor, Ambassador—how many titles do you have? But as you will see in his confirmation today, Michael Battle is an extraordinary guy, and as Senator Ossoff has already told us, he has an amazing background.

His wife, Linda Ann Battle, is also deserving of a lot of credit for his success in life. He has done a lot. He was Ambassador to the African Union. He was Permanent Representative to the U.N. Eco-

conomic Commission on Africa. By the way, those two make you so qualified to take on this role in Tanzania.

He also served as a chaplain in the U.S. Army Reserve Chaplain Corps. As was said, he was a lieutenant colonel when he retired. He has been a professor of religious studies and philosophy at a number of schools—Hampton and Virginia State Universities. I think at Duke as well, as I recall.

Ambassador BATTLE. Graduated from Duke.

Senator PORTMAN. Graduated from Duke. Okay. Well, that is not professorial but it is still impressive. And he is a guy who I saw in service because he was at the Underground Railroad Freedom Center in Cincinnati.

This is a national group that many of us here in the Congress have supported over time and we are delighted to have it. It is a world class cultural learning center, really, a gem for Cincinnati. And Ambassador Battle was the executive vice president and really helped redirect them at a time when they needed some direction.

I worked with him, got to see him in action, saw how he worked on the management side but also externally with the community. It was very impressive. And knows how to teach the story of our history, the good and the bad, including history of cooperation with the Underground Railroad Freedom Center and the search for freedom.

I am delighted that he is going to bring that same level of enthusiasm, passion, and drive to his role as Ambassador to Tanzania and I hope you will all confirm him for that post.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator MURPHY. Thank you very much, Senator Rounds. Thank you, Senator Ossoff, for joining us today.

First, let me just ask unanimous consent to enter into the record a statement from Chairman Menendez. Without objection, that will be entered into the record.

[The statement submitted for the record by Chairman Menendez is located at the end of this transcript.]

Senator MURPHY. And let me just say a few opening words to our panel of nominees. You are all before us to represent the United States in three key posts in Africa.

Ambassador Brigety, South Africa has its economic and political challenges, but it remains a clear leader on the continent, a growing economy, a vibrant democracy. It is time for the U.S.-South Africa bilateral relationship to mature.

Our partnership on health is well known and strong, but we can be closer economic and environmental partners and we can work with South Africa better on regional security matters in a much more coordinated way.

Ambassador Battle, Tanzania has begun to transition away from the late former president's isolationist policies and COVID denialism and towards improved ties with the United States.

This moment is an opportunity. While the new president, Samira Hassan, has served as the country's first female president since last year, Tanzania still faces challenges in public health, governance, economic development, and this is a time where the United States can and should step up.

I look forward to hearing how you plan to work with the new government to encourage progress in all these areas.

And finally, Ms. Whitman, Kenya is sub-Saharan Africa's third largest economy. It is a regional hub for transportation and finance. It is a partner for counterterrorism. It is a top tourism designation.

You are going to be leading the largest embassy in Africa for the United States and playing host to U.S. forces that support operations throughout the region. Very few more important diplomatic posts in the world, I would argue.

I look forward to discussing how this administration and your embassy will ensure that our personnel and interests remain protected.

Again, we thank you for being here today. We are so deeply appreciative of your families for being willing to serve alongside you.

And with that, let me turn to the ranking member, Senator Rounds, for opening remarks.

**STATEMENT OF HON. MIKE ROUNDS,
U.S. SENATOR FROM SOUTH DAKOTA**

Senator ROUNDS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Good afternoon to all of you. I would like to thank all of you for your service to our country and for your willingness to serve as Ambassadors to South Africa, Tanzania, and Kenya.

All three of these African countries offer incredible opportunity but also face imposing challenges. All three are critical to U.S. national interests on the continent. I look forward to hearing how you will lead our diplomatic missions to advance U.S. interests and priorities there.

Ambassador Brigety, South Africa is an important partner that the United States must do more to engage at the highest levels. Getting a confirmed Ambassador to Pretoria is critical.

Your prior experience serving as U.S. Ambassador to the Africa Union and as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Southern Africa will give you much to draw on as U.S. Ambassador to South Africa, if confirmed.

Your past military, diplomatic, and academic experience is impressive, and I look forward to hearing what your view as the most important items for you to focus on, if confirmed.

However, it will not surprise you that I am also interested in hearing you address your own publicly stated views on those who worked for former President Trump, who you called the first Nazi-in-Chief. I will give you an opportunity to explain your comments.

Ambassador Battle, in recent years U.S. relations with Tanzania have been complicated by democratic decline, largely, under President Magufuli and his allies, who are openly hostile toward U.S. business, U.S. implementing partners such as grant recipients, international efforts to stem DRC's Ebola outbreaks from spreading to other countries, and efforts to control the COVID-19 pandemic. While President Samia Hassan, who took over in March of 2021, has made some efforts to reform, these reforms are proving slow and difficult.

If confirmed, I am hopeful that you will draw on your previous experience as U.S. Ambassador to the African Union and U.N. Eco-

conomic Commission for Africa to work with your Tanzanian counterparts on the continued needed reforms, as well as to engage on critical issues like global health commitments and counterterrorism, particularly given the extremist threat on both sides of the Tanzania-Mozambique border.

Ms. Whitman, Kenya is one of the U.S.' most important African allies. The need for continued strong partnership has only been made clearer in recent months as the U.S. has been engaged in a number of crises in the east and the Horn of Africa alongside the Kenyans, including Sudan, Somalia, and Ethiopia.

A strong U.S. relationship with Kenya is vital to supporting improved trade and investment, pursuing U.S. national security interests, and responding to the complex humanitarian and developmental needs of the broader region.

There is no doubt we need a confirmed U.S. Ambassador to Kenya, and I am pleased to have the opportunity to engage with you today. If confirmed, you would bring a wealth of executive experience to our embassy in Nairobi. I look forward to hearing about your priorities.

Thank you all for being here today and I look forward to your comments. Thank you, Mr. Chair.

Senator MURPHY. Thank you very much, Senator Rounds.

We now turn to our nominees. We are asking you to make your statements as concise as possible in the neighborhood of three minutes, and we will enter your full statements into the record.

I think Senators Ossoff, Portman, and Romney did a sufficient job at introducing Ms. Whitman and Ambassador Battle. Let me just add to the introduction from Senator Rounds.

Ambassador Brigety, who will begin this panel, is our nominee to South Africa, served as U.S. Ambassador to the African Union, twice as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State. Most recently he has been the vice chancellor and president of the University of the South and dean of the Washington—George Washington University's Elliott School of International Affairs.

So having filled out the introductions of our panel, we are going to turn to you, Ambassador Brigety, then to Ambassador Battle and, finally, to Ms. Whitman.

**STATEMENT OF HON. REUBEN E. BRIGETY II OF FLORIDA,
NOMINATED TO BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND
PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO
THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA**

Ambassador BRIGETY. Thank you, Senator.

Mr. Chairman and Ranking Member, distinguished members of the committee, good afternoon. It is my great honor to appear before you as the nominee to be the next U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of South Africa.

I am joined here today by my wife, Dr. Leelie Selassie, our sons, Roebel and Redda, and many family and friends who are watching these proceedings online.

I am grateful for the confidence that President Biden and Secretary Blinken have placed in me to assume leadership of this important post. Further, I am deeply humbled to be nominated to lead the same embassy that was once led by my late mentors, Am-

bassador Edward Perkins, Ambassador Bill Swing, and Ambassador Princeton Lyman, all of whom were legendary diplomats who brilliantly represented the United States in Pretoria during consequential moments in South African history.

If confirmed, I will do my best to live up to the standards that they set for diplomatic excellence in building partnerships in South Africa while also advancing American interests.

Nelson Mandela, South Africa's first post-apartheid president, once said, "When you speak to a man in your language you speak to his head, but when you speak to a man and his language you speak to his heart."

The word Ubuntu is a South African concept that is translated as, quote, "I am because we are." It is a call for the recognition of the common bonds that unite us as human beings and the understanding that our well being is intimately entwined with each other.

If confirmed, I will be committed to practicing Ubuntu diplomacy in developing and strengthening this vital bilateral relationship.

The United States and South Africa are two of the world's great constitutional democracies. We are both international leaders on a range of topics of global importance.

The relationship between our two countries should be one of close coordination, enduring comity, and shared purpose. In practicing Ubuntu diplomacy, I will ensure that official U.S. engagement with the Government and people of South Africa is firmly rooted in the principles of common cause and mutual recognition.

Thank you for the opportunity to appear before you today and for your consideration of my candidacy. I look forward to your questions.

[The prepared statement of Ambassador Brigety follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. REUBEN E. BRIGETY, II

Chairman Menendez, Ranking Member Risch, distinguished members of the committee, good morning. It is my great honor to appear before you as the nominee to be the next U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of South Africa. I am joined here today by my wife Dr. Leelie Selassie, our sons Roebel and Redda, and many family and friends who are watching these proceedings online. I am grateful for the confidence that President Biden and Secretary Blinken have placed in me to assume leadership of this important post. Further, I am deeply humbled to be nominated to lead the same embassy that was once led by my late mentors Ambassador Edward Perkins, Ambassador William "Bill" Swing, and Ambassador Princeton Lyman, each of whom were legendary diplomats who brilliantly represented the United States in Pretoria during consequential moments in South African history. If confirmed, I will do my best to live up to the standards that they set for diplomatic excellence in building partnerships in South Africa while advancing American interests.

Nelson Mandela, South Africa's first post-apartheid President, once said: "When you speak to a man in your language, you speak to his head. When you speak to a man in his language, you speak to his heart." The word Ubuntu is a South African concept that is translated as "I am because we are." It is a call for the recognition of the common bonds that unite us as human beings and the understanding that our wellbeing is intimately entwined with each other. If confirmed, I will be committed to practicing Ubuntu Diplomacy in developing and strengthening this vital bilateral relationship.

The United States and South Africa are two of the world's great constitutional democracies. We are both international leaders on a range of topics of global importance—from addressing climate change and health security, to promoting peace and security as well as economic development. The relationship between our two countries should be one of close coordination, enduring comity and shared purpose. In practicing Ubuntu Diplomacy, I will ensure that official U.S. engagement with the

Government and people of South Africa is firmly rooted in the principles of common cause and mutual recognition. If I am confirmed as Ambassador I will assert America's position and interests clearly, skillfully, and consistently, with my engagement firmly rooted in dignity and respect.

South Africa is currently experiencing the most dramatic political, economic and social developments since the end of apartheid. These include shifting electoral politics, a reckoning over years of official corruption, and ongoing efforts to address inequalities in the economy.

Despite these profound challenges, the possibilities for South Africa's future are bright. The next few years will no doubt prove decisive for South Africa's prospects through the middle of the twenty-first century. Though South Africa's destiny is clearly for South Africans to choose, it is in the interests of the United States for South Africa to succeed. It is a G-20 nation with the most diversified economy on the continent and stands as the largest African trading partner of the United States. We have many common priorities, such as ensuring global food security. South African scientists have been at the forefront of addressing the COVID-19 pandemic, and President Cyril Ramaphosa has played an indispensable role as the African Union's Champion for COVID-19 Response. Should I be confirmed, my tenure as Ambassador will focus on advancing three central objectives.

First, we will deliver programs to improve the human condition and preserve the natural environment. I will work with the Government of South Africa to ensure that PEPFAR programs are implemented effectively; that our productive cooperation to bring an equitable end to the COVID-19 pandemic continues; and that climate change initiatives such as the Just Energy Transition come to fruition. As a fourth-generation educator, I am particularly interested in finding new ways to support education and skills training in the country.

Second, I will promote new American investment in South Africa, particularly those schemes that will generate job creation for South Africa's young people.

Finally, I will be a tireless advocate for democracy and democratic values. It is not appropriate for the United States to seek particular outcomes for South Africa's elections. Yet, in common cause with the people of South Africa, I will use the platform of the U.S. Embassy to call for the rule of law, transparency, accountable government and an end to corruption at every opportunity.

Thank you for the opportunity to appear before you today, and for your consideration of my candidacy. I look forward to taking your questions.

Senator MURPHY. Thank you.
Ambassador Battle?

**STATEMENT OF HON. MICHAEL A. BATTLE, SR. OF GEORGIA,
NOMINATED TO BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND
PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO
THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA**

Ambassador BATTLE. Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member, distinguished members of the committee—

Senator MURPHY. Is your microphone on there? There we go, and pull it close.

Ambassador BATTLE. I am honored to appear before you as nominee for Ambassador to the United Republic of Tanzania. I am deeply appreciative of the confidence President Biden and Secretary Blinken have placed in me.

My wife, Linda, and I look forward to returning to the African continent, especially Tanzania, if confirmed. Returning to diplomatic service is an honor for which I look forward to. As a retired Army reserve officer and diplomat, I know the joy of service to our great nation.

The United States has a long-standing commitment to Tanzania's development as a stable, reliable, democratic partner capable of growing its economy sufficiently to support its own people while also becoming a market for U.S. exports and investments.

Under President Hassan, Tanzania has started to reverse course from the democratic backsliding and isolationist policies of the pre-

vious administration. If confirmed, my goal will be to encourage the Tanzanian Government to put into action commitments to democratic freedom and respect for human rights.

If confirmed, my first priority will be to focus on people, both American and Tanzanian, ensuring the safety and security of embassy staff and Americans residing in and visiting Tanzania.

Additionally, I will work with the Tanzanian Government to further and strengthen systems to prevent and prosecute any instance of human trafficking. I am committed to leveraging our foreign assistance to strengthening governance and transparency in health and improving the overall health of Tanzania.

If confirmed, I will work toward expanding American business opportunities in Tanzania and improving the overall investment climate.

If confirmed, I look forward to working closely with you and with other members of this committee to ensure U.S. interests, policies, and assistance to Tanzania, promote democracy, security, and sustained economic growth.

And if confirmed, I will be the second person from my high school class to be U.S. Ambassador to Tanzania. I look forward to your questions.

[The prepared statement of Ambassador Battle follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. MICHAEL A. BATTLE, SR.

Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member, and distinguished members of the committee, I am honored to appear before you today as the nominee for Ambassador to the United Republic of Tanzania. I am deeply appreciative of the confidence that President Biden and Secretary Blinken have placed in me.

My wife, Linda Battle, and I look forward to returning to the African continent and specifically to Tanzania, if confirmed, where we have visited and enjoyed observing conservation efforts in the Serengeti.

Returning to diplomatic service is an honor which I look forward to, fully aware of the awesome privilege and responsibilities. I served as U.S. Ambassador to the African Union and U.S. representative to the U.N. Economic Commission for Africa and as senior advisor to the Africa Bureau for the first U.S. Africa Leaders' Summit. As a retired Army Reserve officer and diplomat, I know the joy of service to our great nation. In my non-government service, I have been an administrator in higher education in positions ranging from university chaplain and instructor in philosophy and religion to president of a major theological seminary.

The United States has a long-standing commitment to Tanzania's development as a stable, reliable, democratic partner, capable of growing its economy sufficiently to support its people, while also becoming a market for U.S. exports and investment. Tanzania is also an important stabilizing force in the region, and it contributes to peacekeeping in central Africa, Sudan, and South Sudan. With the threat of terrorism and conflict in northern Mozambique on Tanzania's southern border, maintaining a productive security relationship is now even more important.

Under President Samia Suluhu Hassan's leadership, Tanzania has started to reverse course from the democratic backsliding and isolationist tendencies of Tanzania's previous administration. Tanzania is on the right track, but it can and must do more. President Hassan's statements on reopening democratic spaces present a unique opportunity for the United States to support and encourage this positive momentum. If confirmed, my goal will be to strengthen our bilateral relationship, continue to encourage the Tanzanian Government to put into action President Hassan's commitments to democratic freedoms and respect for human rights, and bring Tanzania back into the international fold as a leader in the region.

If confirmed, my first priority will be to focus on the people: both American and Tanzanian. Ensuring the safety and security of embassy staff and Americans residing in and visiting Tanzania will be my top priority. For Tanzanians, the deterioration of democratic norms over the last few years has restricted personal liberties, including free association and peaceful assembly. I am committed to working with the host government, like-minded missions, civil society, and international organiza-

tions to support and encourage President Hassan to do more to reverse this trend. We will want to see legislative and regulatory changes to institutionalize legal protections to democratic institutions, civil society, and the media. Additionally, I will work with the Tanzanian Government to further strengthen systems to prevent and prosecute human trafficking.

Almost 80 percent of the assistance provided by the American taxpayer to Tanzania is directed to improving the health of the Tanzanian people. Currently, the United States' top health priority is to support the ongoing COVID-19 vaccination campaign, which Tanzania started thanks to the provision of vaccine doses in connection with the United States. U.S.-funded programs to reduce the burden of HIV, malaria, and tuberculosis are bearing fruit in Tanzania. If confirmed, I am committed to leveraging our foreign assistance to strengthen governance and transparency in the health sector and improve health outcomes, including training in the prevention, detection, and response to deadly viruses that are endemic to the region, such as Ebola.

While a challenging business environment has impeded U.S. business investment in recent years, if confirmed, I will work towards expanding American business opportunities in Tanzania and improving the overall investment climate.

Tanzania is one of the most biodiverse countries in the world and the Government of Tanzania has been lauded for its conservation efforts. However, Tanzania's population growth, high poverty rate, and the effects of climate change create pressure on its natural resources and contribute to tensions between conservation efforts and local populations. If confirmed, I will promote programs to strengthen Tanzania's ability to mitigate and adapt to the effects of climate change and encourage the country to continue to protect and sustainably utilize its natural resources.

If confirmed as the U.S. Ambassador to Tanzania, I look forward to working closely with you and other Members of Congress to ensure that U.S. interests, policies, and assistance to Tanzania promote democracy, security, and sustained economic growth. Thank you again, Mr. Chairman, and I would be pleased to answer any questions.

Senator MURPHY. Thank you very much.
Ms. Whitman?

STATEMENT OF MARGARET C. WHITMAN OF COLORADO, NOMINATED TO BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE REPUBLIC OF KENYA

Ms. WHITMAN. Yes. Thank you.

Senator Risch and Senator Murphy, Senator Rounds, and distinguished members of the committee, thank you—there we go. Sorry.

Distinguished members of the committee, thank you for the opportunity to speak with you and to answer your questions on my nomination to be the U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Kenya. I also thank President Biden and Secretary of State Blinken for the opportunity to serve our country.

First, let me introduce my husband of 42 years, Dr. Griff Harsh, who is here with me today. Griff is an academic neurosurgeon and he is eager to accompany me to Kenya, should I be confirmed. Griff and I are the parents of two adult sons and two toddler grandchildren.

During my 40-year business career, I have been president and CEO of three multinational Fortune 100 companies: eBay, HP, and Hewlett-Packard Enterprise. I have been trustee of the Nature Conservancy, one of the largest conservation organizations in the world, and I currently serve as chairman of Teach for America, which works to improve K through 12 education in underserved communities.

My career has honed my leadership and communication skills. I have worked with heads of state, senior business leaders, and government regulators. I am well versed in strategy formulation, nego-

tiation, small business development, global trade, and, of course, technology. I am adept at leading large organizations by fostering shared values, purpose, and commitment to excellence.

I have conducted business in numerous African countries, and in 2018 I visited Kenya with the Nature Conservancy. I am excited about the possibility of serving as our Ambassador to Kenya, a country of strategic importance to the United States.

Should I be confirmed, I will continue the current U.S. focus on supporting democracy and democratic institutions, particularly in advance of the elections in August.

We want and need Kenya to remain a strong, reliable, and capable partner of the United States in addressing common challenges in east Africa and beyond.

A stable democratic society and economic prosperity are mutually reinforcing. Kenya has a diverse and dynamic economy with strong potential for future growth. It faces many challenges, but the United States can be helpful by promoting legislative and judicial reform, anti-corruption measures, and collaboration among Kenyan and American businesses.

Kenya is well positioned to be an Africa leader in information, communication, and technology and mobile banking. Working with Kenya to help build the country's silicon savannah will be a big part of my mission and an opportunity that I hope numerous U.S. companies will embrace.

The United States is also the largest financial contributor to Kenya's health care system. If confirmed, I intend to work closely with the Kenyan Government, public and private health institutions to ensure the efficiency of U.S. assistance in responding to the COVID epidemic and other infectious diseases.

Kenya is also a significant contributor to regional peace and security, especially through its contribution of troops to the African Union Transition Mission in Somalia. If confirmed, I will work closely with Kenya to address instability and combat terrorism in the Horn of Africa.

Our bilateral defense cooperation with Kenya, a partnership of over 60 years, is strong and I look forward to supporting the Kenyan Government on defense matters and advancing America's interest in the region.

Thank you for considering my nomination. I look forward to working constructively and respectfully with our partners in Kenya and east Africa to achieve our shared goals. Serving the United States in this role will be a great privilege.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Whitman follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF MARGARET C. WHITMAN

Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member Risch, and distinguished members of the committee, thank you for the opportunity to speak with you and to answer your questions on my nomination to be the U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Kenya.

I also thank President Biden and Secretary of State Blinken for the opportunity to serve our country.

First, let me introduce my husband of 42 years, Dr. Griff Harsh, who is here with me today. Griff is currently the chairman of the Department of Neurosurgery at University of California Davis Medical Center. He is eager to accompany me to Kenya should I be confirmed. Griff and I are the parents of two adult sons and grandparents to two toddlers.

By way of background, I graduated from Princeton University in 1977 with a bachelor's in economics and as a member of the fourth class to accept women. I then earned an MBA from Harvard Business School in 1979.

During my 40-year business career, I have been president and CEO of three multinational Fortune 100 companies—eBay, HP, and Hewlett Packard Enterprise. I have been a trustee of The Nature Conservancy, one of the largest land and water conservation organizations in the world. I currently serve as national chair of Teach for America, which works to improve K-12 education in underserved communities.

My career has honed my leadership and communication skills. I have worked with heads of state, senior business leaders, and government regulators to build coalitions for innovative programs. I am well versed in strategy formulation, negotiation, intellectual property protection, small business development, global trade, and technology. I am adept at leading large organizations by fostering shared values, purpose, and commitment to excellence.

I have conducted business in numerous African countries. In 2018, I visited Kenya with The Nature Conservancy to review the organization's work to help local communities secure their land and water rights, and thus encourage environmentally and economically sustainable water and land management practices.

I am very excited about the possibility of serving in Africa as our Ambassador to Kenya, a country of strategic importance to the United States. With a population of over 50 million, Kenya is the third largest economy in sub-Saharan Africa. Mission Nairobi is the largest U.S. embassy in sub-Saharan Africa and the 13th largest mission in the world. Its staff of 1,700 represents 34 U.S. Government agencies.

Should I be confirmed, I will continue the current U.S. focus on supporting democracy and democratic institutions in a vibrant Kenyan society, particularly in advance of the elections in August. We want Kenya to remain a strong, reliable, and capable partner of the United States in addressing common challenges in East Africa and beyond.

I will work to promote sound governance, economic prosperity, public health, regional peace and security, and cooperation in defense.

In the Kenyan elections this upcoming August, we must encourage Kenyan leaders from across the political spectrum to support credible, peaceful electoral processes that showcase the strength of Kenya's democracy.

A stable democratic society and economic prosperity are mutually reinforcing. Kenya has a diverse and dynamic economy with strong potential for future growth. It faces many challenges, but the United States can be helpful by promoting legislative and judicial reform, anti-corruption measures, and collaboration among Kenyan and American businesses.

Kenya is well-positioned to be an African leader in information technology, telecommunications, and mobile banking and is open to partnering with the United States. Working with Kenya to assemble the infrastructure, connectivity, and expertise needed to help build the country's "Silicon Savannah" will be a big part of my mission, and an opportunity I hope numerous U.S. companies will eagerly embrace.

The United States is the largest financial contributor to Kenya's health care system. If confirmed, I intend to work closely with the Kenyan Government and public and private health institutions to ensure the efficacy of U.S. assistance in responding to the COVID epidemic and other infectious diseases and improve overall health outcomes.

Kenya is also a significant contributor to regional peace and security, especially through its contribution of troops to the African Union Transition Mission in Somalia. If confirmed, I will work closely with Kenya to address instability and combat terrorism in the Horn of Africa.

Our bilateral defense cooperation with Kenya, a partnership of over 60 years, is strong. But we must be strategic and nimble in helping Kenya confront threats to its security. I look forward to supporting the Kenyan Government on defense matters and advancing America's interests in the region.

Thank you for considering my nomination. If confirmed, I will apply all my energy and leadership skills to the role of Ambassador. I look forward to working constructively and respectfully with our partners in Kenya and East Africa to achieve our shared goals. Serving the United States in this role would be a great privilege.

Senator MURPHY. Thank you to all of our nominees.

Just for your awareness and guests' awareness, we are in the middle of votes in the Senate floor. We are going to keep this hearing open but it is going to mean that members will be in and out.

I will ask one question of each of the three of you and then move on because we have got many colleagues here who are interested in your service.

Ambassador Brigety, let me ask you about the decision by South Africa to abstain from the votes on Russia's brutal invasion of Ukraine. This was disappointing, to say the least, in part because South Africa has been this shining example of how countries can preserve and return to constitutional democracy.

What forms of leverage should the United States be using towards trying to bring out greater cooperation from South Africa denouncing the Russian invasion of Ukraine and will this be a priority for you if you are confirmed?

Ambassador BRIGETY. Yes, Senator. Thank you very much for the question.

I agree with you the South African vote to abstain from the U.N. General Assembly resolution about Russia's invasion of Ukraine was quite disappointing.

It was one of the most popular General Assembly resolutions ever voted on at the United Nations. It is unfortunate that the Republic of South Africa officially chose to abstain from this vote.

I would say the following since then. First, there was great debate inside South Africa once that vote was taken. Many people in South African civil society believed strongly that their government should be more on record towards supporting the people of Ukraine.

Secondly, this is an issue that has been raised at the highest levels of our respective governments. President Ramaphosa and President Biden have spoken about it, as have Secretary Blinken and Foreign Minister Pandor.

We have a clear understanding—clearer understanding of where the South Africans were coming from with regard to that vote, and should I be confirmed I will continue to engage the Government of South Africa, recognizing their long-standing tradition of mediation but also making the case that, quite frankly, the people of Ukraine want the same thing that the people of South Africa wanted during their own fight for apartheid—their own fight for freedom, and making that common case, hopefully, will help to continue to encourage the Government of South Africa to be supportive of the people of Ukraine in this existential fight. Thank you, Senator.

Senator MURPHY. Ambassador Battle, you referenced this in your opening comments but we, obviously, have an opening right now. The new president has reversed some of the really damaging backsliding away from democratic norms, opening up new licenses for media outlets, getting rid of some of these bogus terrorist charges.

I know you are not there yet but you have been a watcher of the country for a long time. What is your assessment of the pace and sincerity of these reforms and what is the ways in which the United States can be impactful to make sure they continue along that path?

Ambassador BATTLE. Thank you, Senator, for your question.

I have no hesitancy whatsoever with celebrating the sincerity. The pace, however, is something that is troubling, and I understand part of the complication that President Hassan has is that she had served as vice president under President Magufuli, and

there were some tensions in that relationship that had to be overcome.

Fortunately, I have good relationships with people in Tanzania, in particular, the foreign minister, who is very much receptive to trying to accelerate the process of moving closer to being an inclusive democratic society in Tanzania.

I will work closely not only with the president and the foreign minister and others in Tanzania, I will work with civil society and with the nongovernmental organizations to make sure that Tanzania codifies its commitment.

It is one thing to verbalize a commitment to democratic principles. It is another thing to exemplify that by codifying it in legislation. I will work to strongly encourage the codification of the efforts toward democratic principles, freedom of speech, openness, and engagement.

Senator MURPHY. Thank you.

Finally, Ms. Whitman, there is a yin and a yang to our counterterrorism partnership in Africa, frankly, all over the world. Obviously, we do a lot of good through those partnerships. We go after, find, and destroy a lot of folks that are out to seek, find, and destroy us.

But often the funding we supply to these national police forces and militaries ends up being used in abuse and there have been a variety of criticisms inside Kenya that the security forces there have engaged in abusive practices and there are calls on the United States and partner governments for greater transparency in our assistance.

Any comments on this subject from you would be welcome, but at the very least I just wanted to get your commitment to this committee that you are going to consult with civil society groups, human rights organizations, to ensure that our counterterrorism efforts in Kenya are consistent with U.S. and international human rights law.

Ms. WHITMAN. Yes. Thank you for that question.

We should all be concerned about the law enforcement abuses that have been reported by the Government—by the United States to the Government of Kenya, and I can confirm that if I am confirmed for this job I will very much take this seriously and make sure that the Leahy Law is uniquely followed and that we can make sure that our funds are not being used for law enforcement abuses or, frankly, any other human rights violations.

Senator MURPHY. Great. Thank you all for your willingness to serve.

Senator Rounds?

Senator ROUNDS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Let me begin.

Ambassador Brigety, in an August of 2017 opinion article for Foreign Policy magazine in the wake of Charlottesville you said that former President Trump was, and I quote, “America’s first Nazi-in-Chief,” end of quote. You further stated that everyone who worked for President Trump had three choices: condemn him, resign, or continue to serve Trump and explain to their children why they did so.

A couple of years later you apologized for using this very harsh language. Setting President Trump aside, what is your view on

those who worked for President Trump that neither condemned him nor resigned? You may very well have some of these people working for you in South Africa.

Ambassador BRIGETY. Senator, thank you very much for the question. Let me begin by reiterating what I said several years ago and that is to apologize.

I should not have used that language towards former President Trump. It was beneath the dignity of the office and beneath my own long-established standards for dignity and decency.

Having said that, I appreciate the opportunity to address the piece. There are many things about President Trump's presidency, as with every other presidency, about which reasonable people can reasonably disagree.

In my judgment, President Trump's remarks about Charlottesville is not amongst them. President Trump said that there were, quote, "very fine people on both sides." One of those sides was comprised by neo-Nazis and white supremacists who planned, organized, and executed a violent and, indeed, murderous riot through the campus that Thomas Jefferson built.

Senator, when I named those people in that piece, sometimes it is hard to fully understand or appreciate the moral significance of a historical moment when you are in it.

Every person that I named in that piece were people—Republicans—with whom I personally worked, whom I personally admired, whom I personally had an opportunity to speak with, or who had been on record repeatedly in terms of condemning racism and racial hatred in our country.

And so the purpose of that piece was to call them to the significance of that moral moment and to ask them to please, please, speak out against this, against these violent neo-Nazis that were chanting "Jews will not replace us. You will not replace us."

Senator, I believe that people of goodwill, regardless of their political affiliation, can all rise to condemn violent racism in our country.

Indeed, we all must do so because the danger of not doing so is that this violent hatred will metastasize, as we saw just last week when a gunman, 18 years old, motivated by his own writings, by replacement theory, the same theory that was literally being stated by the people who marched through Charlottesville, drove 300 miles to a Black grocery store in Buffalo, New York, and mowed down 10 people just because they were Black—grandmothers, pensioners, brave former police officers—and we must all speak out against this and there can be no equivocation about it, particularly from the highest office in the land.

That said, I apologize for the nature of my harsh language and I regret doing so.

Senator ROUNDS. But my question really is—and I appreciate your comments, but my question is the people that you will be working with, how do you approach them?

Ambassador BRIGETY. Senator, I have a long record of working across the aisle with members of Republican administrations. I have worked myself in a Republican administration during President George Bush's administration.

As I said, I have no issue with people who voted for President Trump, who supported the breadth of his policies.

Senator ROUNDS. Thank you. That was my question, sir. Thank you.

Ambassador BRIGETY. Thank you.

Senator ROUNDS. Let me ask one more question and in this one I am going to go to Ambassador Battle.

Can you describe the situation in southern Tanzania and whether the Government is collaborating with Mozambique to counter violent extremists in the border area? And also, what can the United States do to support Tanzania's battle against extremist groups in the region?

Ambassador BATTLE. It is very clear that many of the persons in northern Mozambique who are participating in the activity, which is terroristic in nature, are persons who have migrated from Tanzania.

One of the things that I will strive to do is, A, to get the Government to acknowledge the problem. For a long period of time, Tanzania has not acknowledged that the problem is not only Mozambican but the problem is Tanzanian, and I will try to get Tanzania to use its role as the seat of the EAC to work collaboratively with SADC countries because Tanzania is both a part of SADC and the EAC—to try and get the SADC side with Mozambique and Tanzania with membership in both of those regional organizations to collaborate with the U.S. and with other partners who are determined to root out terrorism wherever it is found and to do so very, very strongly.

I had the opportunity to work very closely with the first two commanders of AFRICOM and advise both of them, and I worked for a short period of time with the third commander of AFRICOM, that there is a critically important role that we can play in strengthening African militaries to stand up against terrorism and to do so boldly.

But first, the Government has to acknowledge that the problem exists and that is what I will do diplomatically on the political side to get the Government to acknowledge that the problem exists and to let us assist in the process of resolution of the problem.

Senator ROUNDS [presiding]. Thank you, Mr. Ambassador. My time has expired.

On behalf of the Chairman, Senator Kaine?

Senator KAINE. Thank you, Senator Rounds, and congratulations to all the nominees. I think you are all very qualified for your positions and intend to support you.

Ms. Whitman, I am really worried about hunger in Africa, including Kenya. Twenty million people across the Horn of Africa could go hungry this year as the region confronts the worst drought in 40 years, soaring food prices driven by the conflict in Ukraine, the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic.

Russia and Ukraine supply about 90 percent of the wheat in east Africa and that price of that staple has gone up by 20 percent already. Prices for cooking oil, much of which is provided by either Russia or Ukraine, have also doubled.

Here is what troubles me, in addition to those facts. A recent report by the humanitarian NGOs Oxfam, and Save the Children

says that the U.S. collected \$93 million—\$93 million with an M—to help with hunger crisis in east Africa, compared to \$16 billion raised by the international community in one month after Russia launched a war against Ukraine.

I am all for the \$16 billion and more, but I am worried that the generosity of the world has not yet appropriately focused on the issues in Africa. With World Hunger Day this Saturday, and in kind of an eerie way this is also the celebration of the centennial of the Holodomor, the forced famine that Joseph Stalin perpetrated on Ukrainians during 1932 and 1933.

I am introducing a resolution with colleagues to commemorate World Hunger Day and also remind people that famines are not just naturally occurring phenomenon. They can also be politically motivated weapons of genocide.

What might we do? Should you be confirmed, what would you commit to doing to try to help focus attention and, hopefully, generate support in this country, this body, for more resources to combat hunger and famine in Kenya and in the Horn of Africa?

Ms. WHITMAN. Thank you very much for that question, Senator Kaine. It is a big concern to me, and even between the time I was nominated in December and today, the situation has become far worse. Kenya, in particular, is in its fourth big drought.

In January, there were 2.5 million people starving in Africa. Today, there is 3.5 million. And as you correctly point out, the cost of imported wheat, grain, crop production, is down by 70 percent and 25 percent of children in Kenya are stunted by lack of nutrition.

So this has risen in my priority list of things that I would like to accomplish if I am confirmed to be Ambassador. The U.S. aid over time has cushioned this terrible humanitarian crisis but it is not enough. We have given \$34 million since July of 2021, and I think what we need to do is rally the world around this impending crisis.

And so, if confirmed, I will deeply understand what we have done in Kenya, what other countries have done, what NGOs in Kenya have done, and try to see what is actually required to alleviate this concern not only in Kenya but in the Horn of Africa, and then decide what is the best course ahead to try to alleviate this humanitarian disaster.

Senator Kaine. Ms. Whitman, thank you very much for that answer. I want to ask Ambassador Brigety a question about South Africa.

This week, the German chancellor, Olaf Scholz, started a three-nation visit to Africa, including South Africa, focusing on gas exploration projects and the wider geopolitical ability of African nations possibly to help Europe wean itself away from over dependence on Russian energy.

Can you give us just a snapshot assessment of South Africa's ability or willingness to, potentially, help meet European energy needs?

Ambassador BRIGETY. Thanks, Senator. I, certainly, would not want to speak for the Government of South Africa but I suspect that South Africa has its own profound energy challenges, as we know. It is the largest greenhouse emitter on the continent, prin-

principally based on coal. They are themselves trying very hard to move away from a coal-based electrical grid.

They have fantastic potential in the generation of clean energy, principally, hydro and wind energy. But their—in my judgment, their ability to help Europe move—convert from other sources of gas is likely limited.

Senator KAINE. Thank you for that. And my time is going to expire and I do not want to belabor, but I will just say to you, Ambassador Battle, that your service at Hampton and Virginia State has not gone unnoticed by this senator. So thank you and congratulations on your appointment.

I yield back.

Senator ROUNDS. Thank you. On behalf of the Chairman, Senator Coons?

Senator COONS. Thank you very much, Senator Rounds and Acting Chairman Murphy.

Welcome. It is a blessing and a joy to have all three of you in front of this committee and willing to serve as Ambassadors. You bring a great deal of skill, strength, significance, experience to this task. And so thank you to your families for your willingness to continue your service in new contexts.

I will try and ask just three questions that, frankly, I think, are relevant across both the three countries to which I hope and pray you will soon be confirmed to serve as Ambassador but also where there is larger regional issues.

Ambassador Brigety, great to see you again. I have greatly enjoyed knowing you over a number of years. When I first got to see you in your role as Ambassador to the African Union, I was so impressed with your service and your abilities, and as Senator Kaine just said, your service as president at Sewanee is also one well regarded by many of us here.

Democracy is an issue—is a challenge in all three of the countries that you will, hopefully, be serving and representing the United States. In South Africa, in particular, as you said eloquently in your opening, it is a country that we have a lot to learn from and where there is a lot of similarities and differences, but it is also a regional powerhouse in some ways and there are real issues in Lesotho, in Zimbabwe and Mozambique.

How will you encourage a stronger and deeper relationship between the United States and South Africa and encourage the South Africans to continue to play a significant regional role not just in security, which is also a very legitimate concern, but in development and democracy?

Ambassador BRIGETY. Thank you very much, Senator, for the question.

South Africa is, indeed, a regional leader, indeed, a continental leader, on a wide variety of issues. It is my view that the nature of our relationship simply needs to be much closer.

There are important historical reasons why it has been fraught over time, not the least of which is long memories amongst the leadership of the Government of South Africa and the African National Congress, in particular, about U.S. policy towards apartheid in South Africa.

But the future is forward and we must continue to work to build this relationship. I am very pleased that there have been a series of senior level engagements just within the last four months of our government, both visits and phone calls, and that is a pace that needs to continue over time.

With regard to continuing to encourage the Government of South Africa to be engaged in regional issues beyond security but also, frankly, on matters of democracy and human rights and economic security, I will absolutely use the platform of the U.S. Embassy at every opportunity to continue to engage the Government of South Africa and the people of South Africa to be forward leading and supportive of issues that are in our mutual interest.

Senator COONS. Thank you.

Ambassador Battle, we have a significant moment—a transition. The presidency of President Magufuli was a moment of great tension and increased distance with the United States. We now have an opening and an opportunity.

How will you best help strengthen and sustain a positive-looking bilateral relationship between the United States and the Republic of Tanzania?

Ambassador BATTLE. Fortunately, both for Tanzania and for the U.S. there is a great desire for a cooperative relationship when we look at the fact that the president just a few months ago had a visit here to the U.S. and spent significant time with our vice president and the fact that there are so many high-level people in the U.S. Government interested in working with Tanzania.

The foreign minister of Tanzania was the previous Tanzanian Ambassador to the U.S. and she has had for a very long time a deep-seated desire to see a closer relationship with the U.S., to return to the days when Tanzania and the U.S. worked collaboratively on a number of issues.

I will accentuate those positive desires from both sides.

Senator COONS. Good.

[Speaks foreign language.]

Senator COONS. Good luck with President Hassan.

[Speaks foreign language.]

Senator COONS. Great to see you, Ms. Whitman. I am hopeful that we can get you confirmed swiftly, given the significance of the elections in August. Kenya is, as you referenced in your opening remarks, both a vibrant hub of technology and innovation but also a very important partner and ally in the region, a security partner.

I am pleased President Biden has renewed our active partnership with regards to terrorism in Somalia. How would you as Ambassador help the United States maintain a neutral posture with regards to the election and the likely heated contest but also provide an engaged and persistent voice in support of a peaceful transfer of power and a free and fair election?

Ms. WHITMAN. Thank you for the question, Senator Coons, and you are right.

As you know, Kenya has had a history of violent elections that not all of which have been accepted by the citizens of Kenya as to their result, and there is a very important election coming up on August 9th with two very capable competitors that have very sig-

nificant differences in policy and, obviously, are tapping into various loyalties in the country.

What I know that the embassy has done under the charge d'affaires Eric Kneedler has also—has engaged with both those candidates to underscore the importance not only to the United States but, frankly, to the region because everyone in Africa is watching these elections because Kenya is an island of democracy in a pretty tough neighborhood and so that has been underscored.

As I understand it, the embassy and the U.S. Government have also been working with NGOs, with civil society, with the IEBC, who monitors the elections, to make sure that these are free, fair, and well accepted elections.

Ultimately, it is up to the Kenyans to deliver these elections in a free and fair way, in a way that that is accepted by the people. I think we are on our—they are on their way to doing that.

A number of staff just came back from Kenya and there are reports that things are proceeding, perhaps, better than we had thought. But there is a bit of a ways between now and August 9th and I think we need to do everything we can to support those elections because everyone is watching.

Senator COONS. That is encouraging. Thank you. In all three countries and many other countries, it is urgent that we have an Ambassador. So I look forward to your confirmations.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator MURPHY [presiding]. Senator Shaheen?

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and congratulations to each of you on your nominations, and thank you for your willingness to continue to serve the country.

I want to ask a question to each of you that requires a yes or no answer. The administration has rightly prioritized protecting, improving, and expanding access to sexual and reproductive health care as one of 10 key priorities in the National Strategy on Gender Equity and Equality and, as we know, across Africa the unmet need for family planning is significant.

Women and families struggle to have access to information, and I would like to ask each of you, if confirmed, do you commit to working with USAID, with our missions in each of your countries, to ensure that those programs are administered as they have been laid out in statute?

Ms. Whitman?

Ms. WHITMAN. Yes.

Senator SHAHEEN. Ambassador Battle?

Ambassador BATTLE. Yes.

Senator SHAHEEN. Ambassador Brigety?

Ambassador BRIGETY. Yes.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you very much. We look forward to hearing updates on how those programs are going.

Ms. Whitman, I would like to begin. You talked about the potential for the elections in Kenya to have an impact on how the country operates.

One of those areas that may offer some potential is for security cooperation, and as we see the expansion of Al-Shabaab throughout Kenya and the region it is, obviously, a huge challenge and a place where, hopefully, we can better engage.

Can you talk a little bit about how we might look at the election as an opportunity to better cooperate on security?

Ms. WHITMAN. I think a well run election by the Kenyans that are perceived to be free and fair and accepted by the populace actually improves Kenya's standing in the region, and Kenya has been a leader in the region in terms of negotiating in Somalia as well as Ethiopia.

Terrorism is a big, big challenge here. As you well know, Al-Shabaab is the largest and best financed al-Qaeda affiliate in the world and they have said very explicitly they are after Americans in Kenya, in the Horn of Africa, as well as right here.

And so our ability to help Kenya on the heels of a successful election, I think, improves quite dramatically and I do think the—our long-standing cooperation with the Kenyan Defense Force and what used to be called AMISOM is something that we must continue.

The Kenyans view this as an existential threat to their prosperity, their democracy, and their ability to move forward as a country, and I think the United States agrees with that and we need to do everything we can to be of assistance.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you very much. I appreciate that.

Ambassador Battle, as a number of people have referenced in the questioning, Tanzania now has its first woman president and the rights of women and girls, however, continue to remain in jeopardy. Gender-based discrimination and violence, child marriage, lack of access to family planning, as we just discussed, are a few of the concerns.

So can you talk about the opportunities that we have to better encourage the new president and the people of Tanzania to recognize how important it is to empower women and girls in the country?

Ambassador BATTLE. It is also interesting to note that Tanzania has a woman defense minister, a woman foreign minister, and a number of other women throughout the Government.

I think, looking at Tanzania and looking at the U.S. as an example for what happens when women and girls are empowered and looking at the statistics of nations all over the world where women and girls are empowered with education, free access to monetary support and ownership, the nation itself thrives.

My goal would try to get Tanzania to see that it is in her vested and best interests to make sure that women and girls have equal opportunity and access to all of the benefits and beauty that Tanzania offers.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you very much. The other thing we know is that countries that empower women tend to be more stable and have a better opportunity to succeed as democracies.

Ambassador BATTLE. Absolutely.

Senator SHAHEEN. Ambassador Brigety, one of the things that we have talked about in the Armed Services Committee on which I also serve is the growing influence of China throughout Africa. That has come up in this committee as well.

But the—I did not bring it with me but our Department of Defense has done a map that shows the—where the Chinese influence is in Africa and it is really dramatic when you see it on the map.

Can you talk about opportunities that you think you can encourage as Ambassador to address concerns around Chinese influence and how we can better compete in South Africa?

Ambassador BRIGETY. Thank you, Senator. We could spend an entire hearing on that issue alone. Briefly, since there are 24 seconds left on the clock, let me just say a couple of things.

First of all, there is—The Economist just published a new special report on China and Africa just yesterday or the day before. It is highly informative and I commend it widely.

Secondly, with regard to China and Africa as it particularly relates to our concerns, we have to show up consistently. We have to have Ambassadors in the field that can continue to engage at very high levels. We have to continue to engage our private sector—encourage our private sector to engage and be present.

I believe that, quite frankly, all of the fundamentals for our engagement in Africa favor the United States versus China—our long-standing relationships with the continent, the power of our popular culture, the nature of African diasporas here in the United States.

The Chinese have understood that Africa is not simply a place for charity or security. It is a place for business, and private sector engagement will drive the future of that continent and will have geopolitical implications.

And so the key to our changing the narrative for the United States is to dramatically increase the ways in which American private sector engage in the continent. I would be happy to appear at another hearing, if confirmed, to engage on that issue.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you very much. I really appreciate that answer.

And, Mr. Chairman and Senator Rounds, as the Chair and ranking member, I hope—I also appreciate Ambassador Brigety's raising the importance of having our Ambassadors on the ground in countries.

I know it is something you both support, and I am sorry that the rest of this committee is not here to hear that response because we have got to see that our Ambassadors get confirmed and that they are on the ground to address these urgent challenges.

Thank you all very much.

Senator MURPHY. Thank you all for your testimony today. Well said, Senator Shaheen.

We are hopeful that we will be able to move you to swift confirmation because it is important to have you there on the ground at this critical moment in all three countries.

For any members that wish to submit questions for the record to this panel, it will be open—the record will be opened until the close of business tomorrow.

And with that, we will close out this panel and ask staff to help facilitate the second panel joining us.

Thank you all for your testimony and appearance today.

Ms. WHITMAN. Thank you very much.

[Pause.]

Senator MURPHY. All right. Welcome back, everyone, to game two of our nominations doubleheader today. We are pleased to welcome the second panel of nominees to the committee.

The committee is now going to consider three additional nominations, all of whom are career members of the Senior Foreign Service: Mr. John Godfrey to be Ambassador to Sudan, Mr. Michael Adler to be Ambassador to South Sudan, and Mr. Michael Gonzales to be Ambassador to Zambia.

I want to welcome our nominees here, and if you have family members or friends, to welcome them as well. We thank you all for your continued willingness to serve the United States of America.

Each of you are going to be entering these posts at a really extraordinary time in our bilateral relationships with each country.

Mr. Godfrey, I will start with you. If you are confirmed to be the first U.S. Ambassador to Sudan since 1997, you will arrive in Khartoum just months after a military coup seized power from a civilian transitional government.

Restoring our diplomatic presence in Sudan presents an opportunity for America to be a force for good, to push for a restoration of civilian-led government that the Sudanese people have demanded and still demand to this day.

As the country's political crisis exacerbates the humanitarian crisis we will also need to work to lead the international community's efforts to raise funds that are needed to meet this moment to help almost one-third of all citizens there who depend on humanitarian aid to get the support they need to survive.

Mr. Adler, the United States supported South Sudan's independence from Sudan in 2011, following almost four decades of conflict. Sadly, a horrific civil war consumed the country since 2013, resulting in Africa's largest refugee crisis and widespread atrocities.

If confirmed, you will have the important task ahead of you to ensure that the peace accord signed in 2018 is fully implemented to restore stability in the country, and just like its neighbor to the north, South Sudan's humanitarian crisis requires us to similarly rise to the occasion and lead a global humanitarian response that staves off hunger for nearly 8 million people at risk today.

And, Mr. Gonzales, Zambia is a country in transition. The election and peaceful accession of President Hakainde Hichilema represents a notable bright spot in Africa. It is an opportunity we cannot miss when there are so few and far opportunities on the continent.

The new president has pledged to promote good governance and economic growth, foster fiscal and debt sustainability and combat poverty, all ambitious and important goals, and I look forward to hearing more about how you think the United States can best support this progress to keep Zambia on a democratic path.

We have votes again or we have one more vote. So you will see members in and out. But with that, let me turn to the ranking member, Senator Rounds, for his remarks.

Senator ROUNDS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Good afternoon to all of you.

Much of your professional lives and those of your families have been spent far away from home. You and your families have made great sacrifices in the service to your country—constant moves and separations, new schools, missed birthdays, weddings, and funerals, often danger. Every career diplomat wonders whether some-

day, after years of service, they might be nominated by the President of the United States to serve as an Ambassador somewhere.

Congratulations are in order today. None of you have to ask yourselves that question any longer.

Mr. Gonzales, in August of 2021, Zambia had a landmark election that has been hailed as a victory for democracy in a region where democracy faces significant challenges. But as we all know, the development of strong and stable democracies goes beyond elections.

The United States played an important role alongside important regional and international actors to support Zambia during the electoral period and we must continue to support the development of strong democratic institutions in Zambia in the months and years ahead.

Zambia has gone without a confirmed U.S. Ambassador since 2020. I am glad that we were able to hear from a nominee today with extensive background living and working in Africa, specifically in Southern Africa.

Mr. Godfrey, the revolution that started in Sudan in December of 2018 and which led to the 2019 ouster of dictator Omar Al-Bashir and the installation of a transitional government led by civilian Prime Minister Hamdok ushered in a new era of U.S. policy towards Sudan.

In December of 2019, Secretary of State Pompeo announced that the United States would exchange Ambassadors with Sudan for the first time in 23 years. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee was vocal in calling for the quick nomination of an experienced U.S. Ambassador to Sudan.

Over two years later, I am pleased that we finally have a nominee. Unfortunately, the events of October 25th and Sudan's continued leadership by Generals Burhan and Hemedti has led to violence and an economic crisis for Sudan while severely threatening the positive if fragile momentum previously achieved.

While this will be your first Ambassadorial post and your first posting in the region, I am glad that you have prior experience working on Sudan issues. Your coverage of Darfur issues and your long-running work on global counterterrorism issues will serve you well, if confirmed.

Mr. Adler, the United States was a critical player in the efforts to end the decades-long civil war between the Sudanese Government in Khartoum and Southern Sudan, and in processes that led to South Sudan's independence in 2011.

Since then, South Sudan has suffered significant setbacks, namely, its own civil war and humanitarian crisis stemming from conflict, natural disasters, and lack of development. The United States contributes over \$1 billion per year in support to South Sudan, primarily through humanitarian aid and support to the U.N. peacekeeping missions.

I have been particularly concerned about the efforts by South Sudan's leaders to advocate for the end of the U.N. arms embargo on South Sudan, which is why I sponsored S. Res. 473 expressing the sense of the Senate on the necessity of maintaining the U.N. arms embargo on South Sudan until conditions for peace, stability, de-

mocracy, and development exist. The resolution passed the Senate unanimously earlier this month.

Given the U.S. has a long history with the country and the myriad complex challenges to peace, security, democracy, and the development that the country faces, our embassy will need an experienced hand after two years of the post being vacant.

If confirmed, you bring a wealth of experience to the position. You will have your work cut out for you.

Thank you all for being here today. Thank you for your service to our country. I look forward to your comments.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator MURPHY. Thank you, Senator Rounds. Let me briefly introduce our nominees.

First, we have Mr. John Godfrey to be the Ambassador to the Republic of Sudan. Mr. Godfrey is currently Acting Coordinator and Acting Special Envoy to the Global Coalition to Defeat ISIS.

Next is Mr. Michael Adler to be Ambassador to South Sudan. He has over three decades of experience with the State Department. He is currently senior advisor in the Bureau of African Affairs and most recently served as the Deputy Senior Director for South Asia, before that director for Afghanistan on the National Security Council staff.

And finally, we have Mr. Michael Gonzales to be Ambassador to the Republic of Zambia. He currently serves as the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State in the Bureau of African Affairs and has previously held leadership positions as Deputy Chief of Mission of the United States Embassy in Nepal and Malawi.

We will sort of run from my right to left. We welcome all your opening comments, ask that you keep them to around three minutes, and we will submit and incorporate the full statement for the record.

STATEMENT OF MICHAEL C. GONZALES OF CALIFORNIA, A CAREER MEMBER OF THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE, CLASS OF MINSTER-COUNSELOR, NOMINATED TO BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE REPUBLIC OF ZAMBIA

Mr. GONZALES. Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member, distinguished members of the committee, I am honored to appear before you today as President Biden's nominee to be the next U.S. Ambassador to Zambia. If confirmed, I commit to work with Congress and your staffs to advance U.S. interests there.

Just over a hundred years ago, my great grandparents, fishermen from Spain and Sicily, came to America in search of a better life. Today, I, the son of a piano tuner and a bartender from Seaside, California, sit before you as the nominee to be a U.S. Ambassador. That, Senators, is the American dream. I want to salute my parents, Andy and Gini Gonzales, for their constant support to me.

My career-long pursuit of bridging America with Africa has provided a breathtaking life of opportunities for my family as we advanced American interests overseas, and I am grateful to be accompanied on this journey by the great love of my life, a gifted diplomat in and of herself, my wife, Carol Jenkins.

Carol joins me here today with two other people who make my heart full and make my world go around, our kids. Robin is passionate, creative, and wise beyond their years. I am so proud of their advocacy for decency, for equity and justice. And Hailey is a dynamic, fun, and deeply caring young lady who shows me the brightness in every day.

In August, as you noted, Senator, a record number of Zambian voters bravely stepped forward to denounce corruption and to demand change. Thanks to their bravery, Zambia today stands at a turning point and, if confirmed, I commit to lead U.S. Government efforts to support the Zambian people, to seize this historic opportunity, to strengthen resilient institutions that deliver accountable and responsive democratic governance.

I will also leverage Zambian partners and the American business community to support reforms that improve the business-enabling environments to unleash Zambia's economic potential to our mutual benefit.

The United States and Zambia have enjoyed decades of close partnerships. So far, nearly 2,500 Peace Corps volunteers have made lasting impacts and touched nearly every corner of the country.

The Millennium Challenge Corporation's first compact ensured that healthy families could contribute fully to their nation's success, and a second compact soon will help further unleash Zambia's potential.

For decades, U.S. health sector assistance and the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief, or PEPFAR, have saved millions of Zambian lives, bringing the country to the brink of HIV/AIDS epidemic control.

USAID is rightly celebrated across the country for delivering support from the American people to support the resilience of Zambia's democracy, for improving livelihoods and providing the foundational skills for Zambians to create and to seize opportunities to realize their dreams.

Senator, the Zambian people have spoken and, like us, they, too, demand a more perfect union. They, too, dare to envision the Zambian dream and, if confirmed, I would be honored to shepherd American support for its realization to our mutual benefit.

Thank you, Senator. I would be honored to take any questions.
[The prepared statement of Mr. Gonzales follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF MICHAEL C. GONZALES

Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member Risch, and distinguished members of the committee: I am honored to appear before you today as President Biden's nominee to be the next U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Zambia. I appreciate the confidence the President and Secretary Blinken have shown in me. If confirmed, I look forward to working with you and other Members of Congress and staff to advance U.S. interests and ensure the safety of U.S. citizens in Zambia.

Just over 100 years ago, my great-grandparents—fishermen from Spain and Sicily—came to America seeking a better life. The fact that today I—the son of a piano tuner and a bartender from Seaside, California—sit before you as a nominee to be a U.S. Ambassador reflects yet another realization of the American Dream. I want to salute my parents, Andy and Gini Gonzales for their courage in sending me off as an AFS exchange student at age 15 where I developed my fascination with the world beyond our borders. They have supported me ever since. At Occidental College I declared my focus on African Studies. My pursuit of bridging America with Africa has provided a breathtaking life of opportunities for me and my family ever since.

I am grateful to be accompanied on this journey by the great love of my life, my wife Carol Jenkins, a gifted diplomat herself. Carol joins me here today with the two other people who make my heart full, our kids. Robin is passionate, creative, and wise-beyond-their-years. I am proud of their advocacy for decency, equity, and justice. Hailey is a dynamic, fun, and deeply caring young lady who shows me the brightness in each day.

The United States and Zambia have enjoyed decades of close partnerships since Zambia's independence in 1964. Zambia's founding father Dr. Kenneth Kaunda frequented the White House. His ethos—"one Zambia, one nation," remains a powerful call for unity, not unlike America's own motto "E Pluribus Unum." Indeed, the strength of both our countries rests in our diversity.

In August, a record number of young people, women, and first-time Zambian voters bravely stepped forward to denounce corruption and demand change, accountable governance, fundamental freedoms, and inclusive economic opportunity.

Thanks to their bravery, Zambia today stands at a turning point in its history. If confirmed, I will lead U.S. Government efforts to support the Zambian people to seize this historic opportunity to strengthen resilient institutions of government to cement the foundations for accountable, responsive, and sustainable democratic governance. I will also leverage the Zambian people and the American private sector to support reforms that improve the business enabling environment to unleash Zambia's inclusive economic potential and deepen linkages with American businesses.

I was proud to see the recent return of Peace Corps volunteers to Zambia—the first country program to re-open since the pandemic. Over the past three decades nearly 2,500 American Peace Corps Volunteers have touched, and made lasting impacts in, every corner of the country. I salute the service of these frontline Ambassadors.

Investments by the Millennium Challenge Corporation support the larger, structural changes critical to unleash Zambia's economic development. MCC's first Compact transformed Zambia's water sector, ensuring healthy families and workers could contribute fully to their nation's success. If confirmed, I look forward to partnering again with MCC to deliver a similarly transformational second Compact.

Funding for health programs comprises the bulk of our assistance to Zambia. Decades of work by U.S. and Zambian experts—supported by the unmatched generosity of American taxpayers and our expert staff from USAID, the Centers for Disease Control, and other agencies—has saved millions of Zambian lives. Over nearly 20 years, the U.S. President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) has supported robust public health systems, slashed maternal mortality, improved childhood nutrition, and provided the backbone for pandemic response. If confirmed, I will guide our interagency team toward realizing epidemic control in Zambia.

Our assistance does not just save lives, it directly advances U.S. interests. USAID is rightly celebrated across the country for decades of partnerships with the Zambian people. Their investments in citizen-responsive governance contribute directly to the stability and resilience of Zambia's democracy. Poverty reduction programs improve the livelihoods of millions of Zambians—and with them, Zambia's prospects of self-reliance and prosperity. And USAID-supported education programs increase childhood literacy, providing the foundational skills for Zambians to create and seize opportunities to realize their dreams.

The Zambian people have spoken. Like us, they too demand a more perfect union. They too dare to envision the Zambian Dream. And, if confirmed, I would be honored to shepherd American support for its realization, to our mutual benefit.

Thank you for the opportunity to appear before you today. I would be pleased to respond to any questions.

Senator MURPHY. Mr. Godfrey?

STATEMENT OF JOHN T. GODFREY OF CALIFORNIA, A CAREER MEMBER OF THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE, CLASS OF MINISTER-COUNSELOR, NOMINATED TO BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE REPUBLIC OF SUDAN

Mr. GODFREY. Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member, distinguished members of the committee, thank you for the opportunity to appear before you today as the President's nominee to be the first U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Sudan in 25 years, as Chairman

Murphy noted, and thank you for your strong support for a democratic Sudan.

I am grateful to President Biden and Secretary Blinken for the confidence they have placed in me and, if confirmed, I look forward to working closely with this committee to advance America's interests in Sudan.

I am grateful to share this day with family, for whom public service has been important. My father's career as an Air Force officer took my family overseas for much of my childhood, instilling appreciation for service to country and an abiding curiosity about the wider world.

I want to thank my wonderful wife, Jennifer Hall Godfrey, a Senior Foreign Service Officer, for her love, partnership, and support during a rewarding but challenging pair of careers in which we have, largely, served at hardship and danger posts.

I also want to commend our two sterling sons, Nathaniel and Jack, for their intrepid spirit and resilience, acknowledging that if I am confirmed our family will serve apart on two continents as so many Foreign Service families do.

I am no stranger to Sudan. In pre-revolution Libya, I worked on humanitarian and political issues related to Darfur. In the Counterterrorism Bureau, I was closely involved in rescinding Sudan's designation as a state sponsor of terrorism.

Sudan is at a moment of great peril. The military takeover on October 25th and lack of an agreement establishing the framework for a civilian-led transition worsened the country's political, economic, and security crises. The devastating human toll of recent violence in Darfur is just one example of the dangers of the current political paralysis.

Realizing the promise of Sudan's democratic revolution is important for the Sudanese people, who have consistently and courageously demanded a more human rights-respecting, accountable, and effective government that is important for stability in the strategically important Red Sea region and it is important as a potential exemplar of the benefits that democracy brings.

The immediate imperative is assisting Sudanese stakeholders in establishing a sustainable civilian-led transition. The current process facilitated by the U.N., the African Union, and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development affords the best foreseeable opportunity to establish the framework for an inclusive civilian-led transition, redefine the security services role, and to advance elections, economic reforms, human rights, justice and accountability, and enduring peace, including in historically marginalized areas.

If confirmed, I will work with Sudanese and other partners in support of these goals. Doing so is urgently important in light of Sudan's economic and humanitarian crises, which the military takeover has exacerbated.

If confirmed, I will work with Sudanese and international partners to ensure that humanitarian needs are met and emphasize that resuming paused development assistance is predicated on a credible civilian-led democratic transition.

If confirmed, I look forward to leading our embassy in Khartoum, which would be a high honor. My highest priority will be ensuring

the safety and security of our American and locally-employed staff and of Americans who live and work in Sudan.

Thank you again for the opportunity to appear here today, and I look forward to your questions.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Godfrey follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF JOHN T. GODFREY

Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member, distinguished members of the committee, thank you for the opportunity to appear before you today as the President's nominee to be the first U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Sudan in 25 years, and thank you for your strong support for a democratic Sudan. I am grateful to President Biden and Secretary Blinken for the confidence they have placed in me. If confirmed, I look forward to working with this committee to advance America's interests in Sudan.

I am grateful to share this day with family, for whom public service has been important. My father's career as an Air Force officer took my family overseas for much of my childhood, instilling appreciation for service to country and an abiding curiosity about the wider world. I want to thank my wonderful wife, Jennifer Hall Godfrey, a Senior Foreign Service Officer, for her love, partnership, and support during a rewarding but challenging pair of careers in which we have largely served at hardship and danger posts. I also want to commend our two sterling sons, Nathaniel and Jack, for their intrepid spirit and resilience, acknowledging that if I am confirmed our family will serve apart on two continents, as so many Foreign Service families do.

Much of my two decades of service has been in societies that were closed or in transition during challenging times. That necessitated engaging tough interlocutors on issues they often would have preferred to avoid and high-level negotiations on consequential issues. I am no stranger to Sudan. In pre-revolution Libya I worked on humanitarian and political issues related to Darfur; in the Counterterrorism Bureau I was closely involved in rescinding Sudan's designation as a State Sponsor of Terrorism. In important ways, this nomination represents a continuation of those efforts. If confirmed, I will draw on that broad experience to advance U.S. interests in Sudan.

Sudan is at a moment of great peril: the military takeover on October 25 and lack of an agreement establishing the framework for a civilian-led transition worsened the country's political, economic, and security crises. The devastating human toll of recent violence in Darfur is just one example of the dangers of the current political paralysis. Realizing the promise of Sudan's democratic revolution is important for the Sudanese people, who have consistently and courageously demanded more human rights respecting, accountable and effective governance; for stability in the strategically important Red Sea region; and as a potential exemplar of the benefits that democracy brings. In a potent example for neighboring countries, the Sudanese people have made clear through four years of sustained activism that they are unwilling to have their demands for civilian rule and democracy ignored or coopted.

The immediate imperative is assisting Sudanese stakeholders in establishing a sustainable civilian-led transition and maintaining regional and international consensus on the way forward. The current process facilitated by the U.N., the African Union and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development affords the best foreseeable opportunity to establish the framework for an inclusive civilian-led transition, redefine the security services' appropriate role, and advance elections, economic reforms, human rights, justice and accountability, and enduring peace, including in historically marginalized areas like Darfur and the Two Areas.

To facilitate that process, the military government must take steps to foster a climate conducive to political dialogue, including ending violence against protestors, lifting the State of Emergency, and releasing unjustly detained activists.

The rights of all individuals in Sudan, including members of minority groups, women, youth, and those in historically marginalized areas, must be protected and their voices heard in building a new Sudan. If confirmed, I will work with Sudanese and other partners in support of establishing a path to a credible, sustainable civilian-led democratic transition in Sudan.

Doing so is urgently important in light of Sudan's economic and humanitarian crises. Economic reforms that would have led to debt relief and international support were paused due to the military takeover, sparking a fiscal crisis and hyperinflation. Rising prices and wheat shortages worsened by Russia's unprovoked war against Ukraine mean the number of food-insecure Sudanese could double to 18 million by

September. If confirmed, I will work with Sudanese and international partners to ensure that humanitarian needs are met and emphasize that resuming paused development assistance is predicated on a credible civilian-led democratic transition. As Secretary Blinken said, “We remain poised to use all tools at our disposal to support the Sudanese people in their pursuit of a democratic, human rights-respecting, and prosperous Sudan.”

If confirmed, I look forward to leading our Embassy in Khartoum. My highest priority will be ensuring the safety and security of our American and locally employed staff, and of Americans who live and work in Sudan.

Thank you again for the opportunity to appear here today. I look forward to your questions.

Senator MURPHY. Thank you.
Mr. Adler?

STATEMENT OF MICHAEL J. ADLER OF MARYLAND, A CAREER MEMBER OF THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE, CLASS OF MINISTER-COUNSELOR, NOMINATED TO BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH SUDAN

Mr. ADLER. Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member, and distinguished members of the committee, I am honored to appear before you today as the President’s nominee to be the United States Ambassador to the Republic of South Sudan.

I would like to thank President Biden and Secretary of State Blinken for the confidence they have placed in me. If confirmed, I look forward to the honor of working with this committee.

I would also like to acknowledge the support of family, friends, and mentors throughout my career. Words could not adequately express my debt of gratitude to them or the sense of honor I feel at having been able to represent the United States abroad as a Foreign Service Officer.

Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member, and distinguished members of the committee, in its short history South Sudan has faced and continues to face monumental challenges, including protracted violence, extreme poverty, and famine conditions.

Overlaying these challenges are the intricate cultural nuances of competition for dominance over local governance and control of scarce resources.

South Sudan is a complex foreign policy challenge that is at risk of further destabilizing the region already grappling with violent conflict. While the 2018 revitalized peace agreement contains many key pieces needed to advance political and economic transformation in South Sudan, it does not go far enough.

We agree with the people of South Sudan who are calling for radical change to meet their long-deferred dream of becoming a thriving democracy. The transitional government has simply failed to undertake essential democratic and economic reforms.

This inaction lets down the South Sudanese people, South Sudan’s neighbors, who are guarantors of the peace agreement, and the broader international community, including the United States.

President Salva Kiir himself recently publicly committed to free, fair, and credible democratic elections, and we should hold him to that promise.

I assure you that, if confirmed, I am committed to focusing on the safety and security of American citizens abroad as well as on

the welfare of the American and local staff members at Embassy Juba.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member, and distinguished members of the committee for this opportunity. If confirmed, I look forward to working with you and my colleagues across the U.S. Government. I welcome any questions you may have.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Adler follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF MICHAEL J. ADLER

Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member, and distinguished members of the committee: I am honored to appear before you as the President's nominee to be the United States Ambassador to the Republic of South Sudan. I would like to thank President Biden and Secretary Blinken for the confidence they have placed in me. If confirmed, I look forward to working with this committee. I would also like to acknowledge the support and encouragement of family, colleagues, and mentors throughout my career. Words could not adequately express my deep appreciation to them or the gratitude I feel for the opportunities I have had to support American interests abroad as a Foreign Service officer.

Mr. Chairman, in its short history, South Sudan has faced and continues to face monumental challenges, including protracted violence, extreme poverty, and famine conditions. This new nation, already weakened by a transitional government failing to live up to commitments made first in 2015 and then again in the 2018 peace agreement, was hit by three years of flood waters that have never completely receded. The United Nations estimates that 8.9 million people, more than two-thirds of the country's population, will require humanitarian assistance this year. For too long, violence, suppression of voices from civil society and journalists, and massive corruption have taken a toll on the country's communities, its youth, and its economy. Overlaying these challenges are the intricate cultural nuances of competitions for dominance over local governance and control of scarce resources. South Sudan is a complex foreign policy challenge that is at risk of further destabilizing a region already grappling with violent conflict.

While the 2018 revitalized peace agreement contains many key pieces needed to advance political and economic transformation in South Sudan, it does not go far enough. We agree with the people of South Sudan who are calling for radical change to meet their long-deferred dream of becoming a thriving democracy where the country's immense resources are used for the benefit of its citizenry. The transitional government has simply failed to undertake essential democratic and economic reforms. This inaction lets down the South Sudanese people, South Sudan's neighbors who are guarantors of the peace agreement, and the broader international community. President Salva Kiir himself recently publicly committed to "free, fair, and credible democratic elections" and we should hold him to that promise. Working closely with our international partners and the South Sudanese people, we must ensure that steps are taken to establish a framework that safeguards a future electoral process and ensures that the South Sudanese people's vision for their country is achieved through the ballot box. Together with our partners, particularly the United Kingdom and Norway, we can continue to urge the South Sudanese Government to provide an inclusive constitution-drafting process, to adopt credible electoral legislation, to develop inclusive electoral institutions and to create a safe space for civil society and political parties to carry out their respective roles. Unifying national security forces and passing coherent security legislation are additional predicate actions the Government needs to undertake immediately. We should seek to continue to help the South Sudanese people achieve their democratic aspirations while simultaneously avoiding expanded and intensified conflict that would risk weighing down neighbors across East Africa.

The State Department and the U.S. Department of the Treasury coordinate closely on a range of issues. These include financial sanctions, as well as efforts to urge the South Sudanese Government to address serious deficiencies in its management of public finances in order to fight corruption and stop fueling the ongoing conflict.

Mr. Chairman, this is a crucial moment for the people of South Sudan and for U.S. interests. If confirmed, I will work with the leaders and the people of South Sudan and our international partners to help keep South Sudan moving toward a viable democratic government that respects human rights and affords the people in South Sudan the ability to pursue security and opportunity.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, I assure you that, if confirmed, I am committed to focusing on the safety and security of American citizens abroad, as well as on the welfare of the American and local staff members of Embassy Juba.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member, and distinguished members of the committee for this opportunity. If confirmed, I look forward to working with you and my colleagues across the United States Government to stand shoulder to shoulder with the South Sudanese people as they find their way forward and transform their country into the thriving and prosperous democracy that I know it can become. I welcome any questions you may have.

Senator MURPHY. Thank you all for your testimony, again, for your willingness to serve.

Mr. Godfrey, let me start with you and draw on your experience in the region and also in the Middle East. Many in Sudan believe that a host of regional actors—Egypt, UAE, Saudi Arabia, perhaps even Israel—are providing support to the junta and undermining efforts to return to civilian-led governance.

The former Sudanese foreign minister somewhat infamously asserted that both Egypt and Israel supported the coup, reportedly actually made a trip to Cairo maybe one night before it commenced.

More recently, some of the Gulf States have joined Quad statements in calling for a restoration of civilian government. But the reality on the ground is that there is a real belief that there are outside influences preventing a transition back to democracy.

I would be interested in your assessment in the importance of these outside regional entities' efforts and how you are going to engage with regional actors to make sure they are in sync with efforts to support democracy and civilian rule.

Mr. GODFREY. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, for that thoughtful question.

One of the hard aspects, I think, of Sudan's very difficult history is that for the entirety of its modern era it has been a theater in which there have been proxy actors looking to advance their own interests, often at the expense of the interests of Sudan and the Sudanese people.

You mentioned specifically the Gulf countries as well as Egypt. I would add Israel to that as well. Those countries have long-standing interests in Sudan and it is important that we closely coordinate with them to ensure that their efforts and ours align to the extent that that is possible.

If confirmed, I would work with those actors and with international partners to underscore that Sudan's long-term stability can only come through an inclusive political process that results in a civilian-led transition to democracy, and I think that is vitally important because there is a tendency on the part of some of the actors you mentioned to view more expedient outcomes, possibly, that would result in either a military-led government or another deal between elites as a preferable path that would lead to short-term stability.

Unfortunately, that does not comport with the wishes of the Sudanese people and I think there is real downside peril there.

However, there is also opportunity to leverage those actors' involvement and their interests, and some of them, I think, are equally concerned about some of the things we are in Sudan, in-

cluding efforts by Russia to try to establish a naval base on the Red Sea coast.

And working together with colleagues in the Near Eastern Affairs Bureau and the Special Envoy for the Horn of Africa, I think we would need to continue to coordinate closely with those partners to ensure that they are on board with the current effort that the UNITAMS–AU–IGAD facilitated process is trying to achieve.

Senator MURPHY. As just a quick editorial comment, Egypt's role here has probably been amongst the most significant. I think we have a badly outdated conception of the ways in which Egypt acts in the region.

We think that by sending them millions of dollars of military aid that it will convince them to act in U.S. interests. I think Egypt has shown us over and over again that they are willing to act in concert with us when it is also in their security interest but they are very clearly willing to diverge from our interests, Sudan being at the top of that list, when they see a domestic benefit.

Just one more question to you, Mr. Adler, and then I will turn it over to colleagues. I wanted to maybe draw on your broader experience because in South Sudan, and you mentioned this in your opening remarks, it is really one of the world's most dangerous countries for aid workers and for diplomats. You have had 130 humanitarian workers that have been killed since 2013, and we are having a conversation on this committee about how to protect and incentivize diplomats in very dangerous places to be able to get out of embassy compounds, to be able to be in the communities that they represent.

And while that may be very difficult right now in South Sudan, we are, I think, far too disincentivized right now in the diplomatic corps to get outside of the embassy to get into communities, and I wonder if you can provide a little bit of extra context for how we allow humanitarian workers in South Sudan to do the work they need to do but also how we change the incentive structure for the State Department to, when it is appropriate, be able to push forward diplomats so that the face of America is not just troops in places that are fragile but diplomats as well.

Mr. ADLER. Thank you for the question, Mr. Chairman. I strongly agree with your views. I think the best way forward is, if confirmed, for me to take a hard look at appropriate risk management to ensure that we are getting out in safe ways but that we are getting out.

Our policy success in South Sudan, based on my experience in other countries, will rely heavily on our understanding of the dynamics driving society and that requires a continuous effort to expand our outreach to political actors but also to civil society.

I think it is deplorable that 130 assistance workers have been killed in South Sudan since independence. So along with my efforts to ensure appropriate risk management for my team, I would engage vigorously and strongly with the South Sudanese leadership and with other partners to ensure that assistance workers have adequate protections and that we are there to support them, most particularly our implementing partners.

In terms of the incentive structure, Mr. Chairman, that is a longer conversation about department management issues. But I

would say in the context of South Sudan I commit myself to ensuring that within the embassy I will be completely dedicated to the morale, the productivity, and clear two-way communication with every member of my team of all agencies and that I commit myself to fostering the professional development and the onward assignments for those who serve on my team in this very difficult environment. Thank you.

Senator MURPHY. Appreciate it. I just note that Senator Risch and I have a pretty encouraging bipartisan bill to try to change that incentive structure surrounding the Accountability Review Board. I will put it before all three of you for comment once you are confirmed.

Senator Rounds?

Senator ROUNDS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Gonzales, under President Lungu, Zambia accrued significant Chinese debt that has crippling ramifications for the Zambian economy. As U.S. Ambassador to Zambia, how will you support Zambia in its efforts to restructure its external debts and to find alternative sources of support to relieve pressure on its economy due to its unsustainable debt burden?

Also, how will you work with your Zambian counterparts to make sure that efforts to deleverage from the Chinese are not reversed?

Mr. GONZALES. Thank you for the question, Senator.

I think step one needs to be a robust and good faith process of renegotiating the current debt burden. That means bringing China to the table and no longer allowing China to continue to drag its feet and delay the processes.

China presents itself as an all-weather friend of African countries and, well, the storm is upon Zambia and now is the time for the all-weather friend to also stand forward like the rest of us in the community of nations have done and participate in a renegotiation process.

The IMF plays an instrumental role in the longer-term support of the—bringing the Zambian economy back to the stable trajectory that it needs to be on and, if confirmed, I would work with like-minded partners across the international community and with the IMF itself to ensure that Zambia is able to realize the extended credit facility that it is negotiating.

The longer-term solution, however, to Zambia's growth and Zambia's prosperity does not lie in governments and development partners. It lies in the private sector unleashing the potential in the Zambian people.

And so, if confirmed, a high priority of mine as the U.S. Ambassador to Zambia would be to work with the American private sector and Zambians to reform the business-enabling environment so businesses can come in, create jobs, pay taxes, contribute to the common good in an equitable way so that regions are not left behind, so that women are not being left behind, but so that the country can prosper.

Thank you, sir.

Senator ROUNDS. Thank you, sir.

Mr. Godfrey, the U.S. Department of State, the U.S. Department of the Treasury, the U.S. Department of Commerce, and the U.S. Department of Labor issued a Sudan business advisory yesterday

highlighting the growing risks to American businesses stemming from the Sudanese military's failure to cede power to a civilian-led government. Can you outline why the military junta is bad for business in Sudan?

Mr. GODFREY. Thank you, Senator, for that question.

I think that the track record since the October 25 military takeover amply demonstrates that the military government is not good for business either for U.S. business interests but, more broadly, for any other external partners, nor is it good for the economy and the Sudanese people, and that is so for a few reasons.

The civilian-led transitional government has, as you know, sir, made significant progress in undertaking economic reforms that were poised to realize significant debt relief to the tune of \$23 billion, World Bank IDA investments to the tune of \$2 billion for 2019 funds alone, as well as significant lines of credit from the IMF.

All of those monies were conditions based. All of them were paused in the wake of the October 25th military takeover, and since then what we have seen is hyperinflation, fiscal crisis, and the inability of the Government to meet its bills, as well as rising food prices that have been exacerbated by Russia's brutal and unprovoked invasion of Ukraine.

I saw one estimate just the other day that Sudan is the third most impacted country on the face of the planet in terms of the disruptions to wheat and grain due to the Russian invasion of Ukraine.

The military government is, clearly, not capable of navigating those issues. I think that the coordinated pause on international debt relief and credit has really created a problem for them in terms of the ability to access resources, and that is one of the most significant points of leverage that we have in urging them to facilitate the restoration of a civilian-led transitional government.

Senator ROUNDS. Thank you, sir.

Mr. Adler, do you feel that the United States demonstrates an adequate level of diplomatic engagement to resolve the many crises in South Sudan relative to the over \$1 billion per year we provide to South Sudan? Seems to me that diplomatic action or interaction would be effective and needed as well.

Mr. ADLER. Thank you, Ranking Member, for your question.

I firmly agree that vigorous diplomatic action is necessary, and if confirmed as a confirmed chief of mission I would make my top priority engaging with the leadership of the South Sudanese Government to ensure that they understand that with a billion dollars of U.S. assistance per year we have expectations and expectations that they act with urgency to move forward with implementation of their commitments to give the South Sudanese people the future the South Sudanese people have made clear they seek, one of democracy, one of security, and one of prosperity.

Senator ROUNDS. [Presiding.] Thank you, sir. My time has expired.

On behalf of Chairman Murphy, Senator Coons?

Senator COONS. Thank you, Senator Rounds, Senator Murphy, and thank you all for your long service to our country, for your willingness to continue to serve in parts of the world that can be challenging at times to your families for supporting you.

All three of the countries to which you are nominated are countries where stability, transition to democracy, or the sustainment of a democracy is a key part of the work you will be undertaking.

Mr. Gonzales, if you might, I think many of us were encouraged to see what happened in the election of President Hichilema, particularly given the huge amount of attention that was paid to his unjust detention and the number of national leaders who went and visited and the importance of his release.

What do you think are our key goals in terms of both long-term development and helping sustain a robust civil society, building a more—a strong foundation for an enduring democracy in Zambia? And what do you think are the most important tools for the United States to push back on Chinese influence in Zambia and to help the Zambians choose their own path?

Mr. GONZALES. Thanks, Senator. It is great to see you again. I think the last time was in Katmandu when we sang the praises of Ben Fry.

[Laughter.]

Mr. GONZALES. I think the answer lies in systems, and as Ambassador Battle in the panel before me talked about, codifying. We have a great opportunity in Zambia right now because of the way that the Zambian people have spoke.

But we should not rest our solutions on one individual or one moment in time or ad hocism, and I think this is where the United States can play an important and critical role, frankly, in helping build and inform systems.

For the Zambian people to make Zambia for their own version of democracy, I think at the heart of it is addressing the endemic corruption that has wrought and devastated the country for far too long, and this is where U.S. assistance on public financial management best practices. Whether it is from the U.S. Agency for International Development or Office of Technical Assistance over at Treasury, there are many tools that we have.

I think U.S. Trade and Development Agency's Procurement Transparency Initiative is a great opportunity and I know that you were a driving force behind the BUILD Act, and I think here the Development Finance Corporation can also be really vital in providing international best practices to improve the transparency and the enabling environment for the economy and for the management of that economy by government institutions.

What can we do? There are many, many things that we can do and, if confirmed, I look forward to partnering with the members of Congress and your staffs to explore those further.

Senator COONS. Thank you, and I will give Ben Fry your best.

Mr. Godfrey, if confirmed, you will be the first Ambassador to Sudan in a long, long time, I think, since '97, and Ally Davis on my staff and I and a number of other colleagues worked very hard on trying to support the aspirations of the Sudanese people to create an environment in which there could be successful transition to civilian rule and, unfortunately, a military junta now is back in control.

Some have criticized the United States as having sort of missed an opportunity to effectively press the junta to step back. General

Burhan and I have spoken directly about my concerns about the status of the situation in Sudan.

Just a week after the Burmese coup we had imposed sanctions, but sanctions have not yet been imposed, although there is legislation to that effect. I would argue the administration has the power to do so.

How would you respond to those who say that we are not doing enough with the tools that we have, both the pause in assistance and the potential for sanctions?

Mr. GODFREY. Thank you, Senator.

Just to state clearly at the outset, if confirmed, I would, certainly, seek to use all appropriate tools to establish a framework for Sudan's civilian-led democratic transition.

Sanctions are an important tool to name and shame but also to drive changes in behavior, and I got a little bit of experience in this from my time in the Counterterrorism Bureau.

I think prior to making any recommendation on potential sanctions I would want to understand the likely impact on military leaders' behavior, the practical impact on their finances and access to financing, the impact on the Sudanese economy and how it would relate to our overall diplomatic strategy including the current UNITAMS-AU-IGAD facilitated process.

I think those judgments about the interplay of political dynamics on the ground, on the one hand, and the likely impact of sanctions require a fingertip feel that is, frankly, quite hard as a nominee sitting six time zones away to have.

However, I do think that as the business advisory that was released just yesterday and as the concurrent resolution that was adopted a bit earlier this month by the Congress showed, there is a unified view across branches of the U.S. Government that we need to be applying pressure and sustaining pressure on the military government to facilitate things that lead to the restoration of a civilian-led transitional government and if I am confirmed I would, certainly, work with partners to sustain that pressure.

I think what we have done in coordinating the pauses in debt relief, credit, and some development assistance are really important in that regard and need to be sustained.

I also think that the sanctioning of the central reserve police and looking at potential other actions is something that we need to stay focused on as well as we move forward here.

Senator COONS. Thank you. I, certainly, agree that—look, let me speak more broadly. After four years of sustained and persistent effort by hundreds of thousands of the Sudanese people they have earned the chance to find their way forward in a democratic transition and I hope that we are doing everything we can to support that, and I would, certainly, welcome once you are confirmed, once you are at station to get input from you about what you think we can best do to support the Sudanese people.

I had the chance to go to Khartoum and to meet with all of the then leaders—Prime Minister Hamdok and General Burhan and a number of the members of the cabinet and civil society leaders—and was very optimistic at that point, and I am really concerned about the trajectory the country is on.

If I might impose on the chairman for a moment.

Just last but, certainly, not least, Mr. Adler, my one visit to Juba to meet with President Salva Kiir was depressing and challenging. I went out to visit refugees who were hemmed in by forces and suffering significantly, on the verge of starvation, and then I went and confronted him, having just been to a refugee camp in western Uganda where hundreds of thousands of South Sudanese had fled. This was a number of years ago.

The years of standoff between the two parties and their leaders is deeply disconcerting. I am encouraged by recent statements by President Kiir about allowing for free and fair elections in February of 2023.

But it does not seem to me that the conditions are being set on the ground for those elections to actually be successful. I would be interested in what you think about the potential of the Pope's upcoming visit and what you think are the tools that we might deploy in trying to support a transition to a freely and fairly elected government that might actually represent the best interests of the people.

Mr. ADLER. Thank you for the question, Senator, and I share the sentiment that you express based on what I have read and what I have learned from colleagues.

I know that a key part of our approach is to work with international partners to ensure that a common message is conveyed to the South Sudanese leadership about what international community expectations are and, frankly, what the South Sudanese people's expectations are.

As a nominee, I am not fully involved in the discussions of what we are asking of our partners. But what I would say is it seems to me imperative that South Sudanese leadership hears from everybody—neighbors, international players, all parties—that they must accelerate progress.

With respect to the democratic election, yes, we do believe that South Sudan must have a free, fair, and credible election. But how does that happen? Key predicate actions need to be taken. They are spelled out in the revised peace agreement. They have not been taken.

If I am confirmed I will prioritize them day one, pushing for those predicate actions to be put in place so the South Sudanese people can have the democratic election they deserve to have.

Senator COONS. It is a country of such remarkable riches and potential and such wonderful people, many of whom we have had a chance to meet here in the United States.

But after decades of tragedy I think they really deserve a great next chapter in their history, and I hope all three of you are confirmed and I look forward to supporting you and your service in some challenging places in the world.

Thank you for your forbearance, Mr. Chairman.

Senator ROUNDS. Thank you, and on behalf of Chairman Murphy, Senator Kaine?

Senator KAINE. Thank you, Senator Rounds.

An appreciation and then an observation. So the appreciation side, and I will just echo comments of my colleague, Senator Coons, that you have all had three really distinguished careers and you have all served in dangerous places, and you have all served in

places where it has meant some sacrifice, including time separated from your families.

I remember one of my first visits as a Senator to—on a CODEL was to Egypt and one of the FSOs I was visiting with had to cut short a meeting at 5:00 o'clock on a Friday because, I have to get home and dress up for my Skype date. And I said, well, what is that? And she said, well, my husband is a Foreign Service Officer, too, and he is in Turkey and we do a Skype—we dress up and do a Skype date every Friday. And I said, wow, that is pretty tough, and she said, Egypt to Turkey is a lot closer together than we often have been during our career.

So I just want to say to the family members, the young people, the spouses, friends and family who are watching, your service, your sacrifice, and your willingness to do more to put a good face on a nation, you exemplify a nation and when people—many people, their interaction with America will be their interaction with you and the people who work with you in your mission, and I just wanted to express my appreciation to all of you for that.

And then an observation. Senator Coons was in an exchange with Mr. Godfrey about sanctions, and this is something that I hope, as a committee, we might do sometime is to really analyze our sanctions policy big picture.

We are often talking about sanctions in Venezuela or sanctions in Russia and sanctions in Iran, and I think sanctions policy and the power of U.S. leading sanctions, particularly if they are multi-lateral, have often accomplished good things.

But then I also believe sometimes they have a perverse effect. They give a dictator who is mismanaging a country the ability to say, see, we would be doing great if it were not for the big bad United States imposing sanctions on us.

And so some assessment—and I know some work on this has been done at Stanford but some assessment of U.S. sanctions policy and when has it worked really well and when has it maybe not produced the result that we wanted, and what are elements of sanctions policy that might maximize their effect.

I will give you an example. I think sanctions bill should almost always have, and here is how the sanctions will be lifted. Do the following five salutary things that you should want to do if you care about your people and the sanctions will go away.

I think many on the receiving end of sanctions sort of believe that it is one and done and as soon as we put them on they will be laboring under them forever, so what is their incentive, really, to change behavior if they do not think that good behavior would provide an off ramp.

So I am just—we are dealing with so many different sanctions issues at any one time and I can, certainly, see in my 10 years here the salutary effects of some of the sanctions work we have done. Really important.

I think we are seeing it in real time. The sanctions policy in—against Russia in Ukraine, combined with other things, has certainly shrunk Russia's war aims and had a very, very damaging effect upon them.

But it might be time to look big picture about could we do even better and, in particular, I am kind of intrigued by the notion of

putting a clear off ramp in sanctions so that we can then market to the citizens of these countries, look, we do not want to hurt you at all.

All we want to do is produce this good behavior and as soon as the government does exactly the kinds of things that they should do that are in your interest then the sanctions will go away.

We might be able to more effectively impose, market, communicate, why we are doing the sanctions but also more likely incentivize the kind of behavior that we are looking to, hopefully, incentivize by those.

I would just maybe say to my colleagues maybe this is an issue that we ought to spend some more time on and I would look forward to doing that. Thank you to all of you and congratulations on your nominations.

Senator ROUNDS. That concludes our committee work this afternoon. On behalf of Chairman Murphy, I would note that all questions for the record for our nominees are due at close of business tomorrow, Wednesday, the 25th.

And unless there is further business to come before the committee, this committee—this subcommittee meeting is adjourned.

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

Additional Material Submitted for the Record

Statement Submitted for the Record by Chairman of the Full Committee Hon. Robert Menendez

Mr. Chairman I'm pleased that we were able to hold today's hearing. The nominees on today's panel are being considered for countries in which the United States has significant strategic interests. In some cases, these posts have been vacant for years.

In east Africa the picture looks bleak. The nomination of a new U.S. Ambassador to Sudan—who would be the first confirmed Ambassador to go to Khartoum in a quarter of a century—comes at a fraught moment for Sudan's future. The October 2021 coup in Sudan constituted a major setback. General Abdel Fattah a-Burhan and General Mohamed Hamdan Dagalo "Hemedti" continue to consolidate power, thwarting the aspirations of millions of Sudanese who supported and participated in the 2019 revolution, and putting Sudan's development, stability, and security at risk. 30 percent of Sudan's entire population are estimated to need humanitarian assistance. Sudan's already bad economy continues to worsen, yet Burhan, the Hemedti family, and Sudan's military leadership continue to turn a profit including by working with the Kremlin-backed Wagner group to secure gold mines and other economic assets throughout the country. Today's nomination significantly strengthens our commitment to Sudan and its people in their quest for democracy and accountable government.

South Sudan has not held elections since the country attained its independence in 2011. The 2018 revitalized peace agreement (R-ARCSS) remains largely unimplemented nearly four years after it was signed. Elections, which were supposed to have occurred in 2023, now look increasingly unlikely due the failure of South Sudanese leaders to adhere to and implement the agreement they signed.

In 2021 the U.N. reported that over \$73 million had been diverted from South Sudanese Government coffers and that this figure was likely just a fraction of what has actually been stolen by senior officials. Even as the leaders of South Sudan line their pockets and arm their own private militias, the people of South Sudan continue to suffer. More than 6 million South Sudanese are displaced due to violence and climate change. As many as 8.3 million people in South Sudan are estimated to need aid. In assessing President Salva Kiir and Vice President Riek Machar's atrocious ten-year record of governance, corruption, grievous human rights abuses, impunity, and complete disregard for the welfare of the South Sudanese people, it is increasingly clear that the best thing President Kiir and Vice President Machar

can do for their country now is retire. The appointment of a new Ambassador to South Sudan, after so many years without an Ambassador in Juba, reaffirms our commitment to the South Sudanese people.

There are glimmers of hope in east Africa, however. Tanzania could be a bright spot. It remains unclear whether President Hassan is truly committed to reversing the anti-democratic policies of the previous administration. Tanzania continues to struggle in terms of press freedom, party pluralism, and accountability for attacks, disappearance and murders of opposition political figures, for example. However, the change of leadership in the wake of the passing of former President John Magufuli provides an opening. I hope that the administration, led by a new Ambassador, will take advantage of the moment to press for advancements in the areas of democracy, good-governance, and financial transparency in Tanzania by supporting key institutional and legal reforms.

Kenya too represents a potential bright spot. Though the Kenyan elections will be highly competitive this August, the fact that Kenyans are committed to going to the polls is meaningful in a region where regular elections cannot be taken for granted. There are significant challenges- security force abuses of civilians, entrenched corruption, and income inequality to name a few. However, there is also a highly educated population, a vibrant free press and, a robust economy, all of which are helping move Kenya in a positive direction.

In southern Africa, the picture is much more optimistic. South Africa's economic and political leadership on the continent make it a critical partner for the U.S. We must establish a closer, more productive relationship with it. Despite its current problems-endemic corruption, slow economic growth, and deeply-rooted inequality-it is nonetheless an industrialized democracy with considerable diplomatic influence. The United States should be actively positioning itself as South Africa's partner of choice, and it is critical that we have an Ambassador in place to lead these efforts.

The Zambian people's rejection in 2021 of a leader who was growing more and more authoritarian is an historic moment for Zambia. The United States must seize on this opportunity to help Zambia strengthen its democracy, reform its institutions, mitigate its economic crisis brought about by fiscal mismanagement and opaque debt-much of which was accrued under dubious terms to China. Just as Zambia's democratic achievements can be a model for the rest of Africa, the United States should surge resources and support to Zambia as a model for how we engage with new democracies and cultivate new partnerships. I'm glad to see such a well-qualified nominee for the position.

I welcome each of the nominees to the hearing and plan to move them through committee as quickly as possible.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO HON. REUBEN E. BRIGETY II BY SENATOR JAMES E. RISCH

Question. In November 2020, I published a Senate Foreign Relations Committee majority report entitled "The United States and Europe: A Concrete Agenda for Transatlantic Cooperation on China." The report gave several recommendations for increased transatlantic cooperation, including on Africa, to counter malign Chinese influence more effectively. In what ways should the United States partner with European countries to build on likeminded interests in South Africa and counter the influence of China and other malign actors?

Answer. The U.S. Mission in South Africa coordinates closely with European and other like-minded missions in South Africa on this topic. If confirmed, I will invigorate these efforts and use my position to expand and elevate the conversation. South Africa faces challenges from PRC and Russian disinformation campaigns, as many countries do; it is also a vibrant constitutional democracy and a fellow G-20 nation that has shown the independence and insight to defend its sovereignty from external malign actors. The key to working successfully with our European partners on this issue in South Africa is to work with our South African partners—coordinating and engaging robustly on issues that affect it, like disinformation and cybercrime.

Question. In the State Department's 2021 Trafficking in Persons Report (TIP), South Africa was downgraded to the Tier 2 Watch List for continued lack of implementing regulations to a 2013 law, corruption and complicity in trafficking, and overall decreasing efforts to meet the minimum standards. How will you work with the South Africans to address these issues if you are confirmed as Ambassador?

Answer. Trafficking in persons poses a grave threat and requires a whole-of-government response. If confirmed, I will work with South African stakeholders across their interagency and in civil society, both at the national and provincial levels, to implement both South Africa's 2019 national policy framework and the immigration provisions of South Africa's 2013 anti-trafficking law to increase prosecutions of traffickers—including complicit officials—and protections for victims and to strengthen prevention efforts. If confirmed, I will work with the State Department's Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons and USAID to assist South Africa's prosecutors and investigators in pursuing the perpetrators of this heinous crime.

Question. If confirmed, what concrete steps could you take to help South Africa operationalize the prioritized recommendations contained in the TIP report?

Answer. It is my understanding that South Africa has made progress toward some of the prioritized recommendations in the 2021 U.S. Trafficking in Persons Report, and my early engagements will communicate the centrality to U.S. foreign policy objectives of progress in combatting human trafficking. If I am confirmed, the U.S. Mission under my watch will work closely with experts on human trafficking, including NGOs and international organizations, to encourage increased collaboration between the Government and civil society to ensure that trafficking victims are identified and referred to care; traffickers are vigorously prosecuted; and complicit officials are held accountable.

Question. In the State Department's 2020 International Religious Freedom report, South Africa was identified as lacking societal and governmental respect for religious freedom.

- What is your assessment of this particular issue and if confirmed, how will you work with the Ambassador-at-Large for International Religious Freedom to bolster religious freedom in-country?

Answer. My reading of the report is that South Africa has robust protections for freedom of religion and belief as enshrined in its constitution's bill of rights and safeguarded by its independent judiciary. Some faith-based groups took issue with restrictions placed on religious gatherings in 2020 as part of the Government's COVID-19 response; those restrictions have been lifted. The U.S. Mission also was alarmed by some incidents of antisemitism and engages regularly with civil society and faith-based organizations on confronting hate speech and hate crimes. If confirmed, I will invite the Ambassador-at-Large for International Religious Freedom to visit and observe first-hand the close ties between U.S. and South African faith groups.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to personally engaging with civil society on this issue?

Answer. Yes.

Question. If confirmed, what concrete steps can you take to help South Africa increase their societal and governmental respect for religious freedom?

Answer. If I am confirmed, my door will remain open to individuals and groups of all faiths. I will engage with the Commission for the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Communities, which was established by Chapter 9 of South Africa's Constitution as a state institution to support constitutional democracy. If confirmed, I will meet with legal advocacy organizations like Freedom of Religion South Africa and South African Jewish Board of Deputies, and with interdenominational forums like the historical South African Council of Churches. And, if confirmed, I will celebrate religious holidays as a sign of respect for the various faiths that are practiced freely in South Africa.

Question. In the State Department's 2021 Human Rights Report, South Africa was identified as having significant human rights abuses, including torture, violence against minorities, the worst forms of child labor, among others. If confirmed, what steps will you take to address these instances with the host government?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work with the Government and members of the judiciary, prosecuting authority, and civil society to push for accountability, especially for those who are found abusing their office or uniform. Human rights require a strong foundation in the rule of law. If I am confirmed, under my leadership the U.S. Mission will safeguard our shores from bad actors and use all available tools to promote accountability. If confirmed, I will support a free and open press as the fourth pillar of South Africa's democracy, to shine light on abuses and transgressions of the public's trust.

Question. How will you direct Embassy Pretoria to work with civil society organizations to improve the human rights situation on the ground?

Answer. The U.S. Mission in South Africa provides multiple grant opportunities for civil society organizations working on behalf of human rights in South African and across the region. In addition to this funding, if I am confirmed, I will be both visible and vocal in defense of human rights and in support of its advocates. I take inspiration from the moral courage of Ambassador Edward Perkins, who during his appointment to South Africa as the first Black U.S. Ambassador there, from 1986 to 1989, was a visible presence in places of human suffering, including townships, courtrooms, cathedrals, and the graves of children.

Question. The Office of Multilateral Strategy and Personnel (MSP) in the State Department's Bureau of International Organizations is leading a whole-of-government effort to identify, recruit, and install qualified, independent personnel at the United Nations (U.N.), including in elections for specialized bodies like the International Telecommunications Union (ITU). There is an American candidate, Doreen Bogdan-Martin, who if elected would be the first American and first woman to lead the ITU. She is in a tough race that will require early, consistent engagement across capital and within the U.N. member states. If confirmed, do you commit to demarching the South African Government and any other counterparts necessary to encourage their support of Ms. Bogdan-Martin?

Answer. Yes. Ms. Bogdan-Martin's record at the ITU, including her advocacy for qualified professionals from Africa and the developing world and her promotion of principles that align with South Africa's own principles for the ITU, make her a strong candidate. If confirmed, I will advocate for her rigorously with counterparts to secure support for her in the upcoming election for Secretary-General of the ITU, including by demarches. I will underscore that Ms. Bogdan-Martin is the most qualified candidate to advance our shared priorities at the ITU, including promoting universal connectivity that is safe, inclusive, and affordable, as well as strengthening both the ITU's partnerships with stakeholders and its governance and accountability.

Question. If confirmed, how can you work with the Bureau of International Organizations and other stakeholders to identify, recruit, and install qualified Americans in positions like the Junior Program Officer (JPO) program at the U.N.?

Answer. The JPO program is a key opportunity at the U.N. to encourage young professionals interested in serving in international organizations. If confirmed, I will coordinate closely with my colleagues in the International Organization Affairs Bureau and other stakeholders and agencies and consult with Congress to ensure we have sufficient resources, tools, and staffing to support more positions for U.S.-citizen JPOs in the U.N. system. With these resources, we can work strategically to increase the number of JPO opportunities funded by the U.S. Government in key agencies and bodies that work on U.S. priorities and strengthen our competitiveness in placing qualified American citizens into the U.N. system.

Question. South Africa has one of the lowest rates of voting coincidence with the U.S. in the U.N. General Assembly and in the Security Council. What is your assessment of this issue?

Answer. The United States considers South Africa an important and strategic partner, but we do not always see eye-to-eye on every issue, including some that come before the U.N. Notably, South Africa staked out a position contrary to ours at important recent UNGA votes that concerned Russia's war on Ukraine. While we disagree strongly with South Africa on this assessment, it is key to understand the reasoning that informs its positions so that we can most effectively engage them on the substance. If confirmed, I will engage with the Government, like-minded missions, civil society, academics, the media, and other stakeholders to advocate for greater cooperation in multilateral forums.

Question. If confirmed, what concrete actions can you take to engage with the South Africans on anticipated votes in the U.N. system that would increase their voting coincidence with the U.S.?

Answer. I believe the most important action to take regarding votes in the U.N. system or other multilateral bodies is robust, frequent, respectful engagement with the Government but also with civil society, academics, the media, and other South African voices. The more we consult our South African friends on the issues we care about—seek their views and, when possible, use their feedback—the more success we will have in this engagement. If confirmed, I intend to use my role as Ambassador to further just this kind of engagement. It is also vital that we work to identify areas where we do or might agree—for instance, issues of stability and security

in Mozambique, Ethiopia, and Sudan—and build up our cooperation and diplomatic coordination.

Question. Many U.S. missions have been under enormous stress over the last few years, in large part due to COVID. What is your understanding of morale throughout Mission Pretoria?

Answer. It is my understanding that morale at Mission South Africa is strong, although COVID-19 added to the Mission's challenges, as it did at Posts throughout the world. The team at the U.S. Embassy and three Consulates General in South Africa have done and are doing amazing work under the leadership of Chargé d'Affaires Heather Merritt and, before her, Chargé d'Affaires Todd Haskell.

Question. How do you intend to improve morale at Mission Pretoria?

Answer. If confirmed, I look forward to joining a team that is already functioning at a high level. From the start, however, I will listen to the views of everyone at the Mission and address any concerns about morale, platform requirements, or workforce posture.

Question. How do you intend to create a unified mission and vision at Mission Pretoria?

Answer. All leadership begins with vision. I have practiced this principle in every significant leadership post I have held, to include my last Ambassadorship at the U.S. Mission to the African Union. As I stated in my oral testimony before the committee, if confirmed, I will dedicate Mission South Africa to practicing "Ubuntu Diplomacy," whereby we will at every opportunity engage our South African interlocutors and Mission members on a basis of mutual respect and shared dignity even as we advance U.S. interests. Through policy, practice, and my personal example, we will ensure that we are treating all members of Mission South Africa with dignity and respect as we play our respective roles in the life and work of the Embassy.

Question. Management is a key responsibility for chiefs of mission. How would you describe your management style?

Answer. My management style is one of "empowered accountability." I believe strongly in making clear to the team the broad objectives we are trying to achieve, delegating those tasks to the lowest possible level of responsibility, empowering team members through resources and authority to accomplish those objectives, holding them accountable for doing so, and generously sharing praise for successful outcomes. I lead my teams on the basis of following "The Three C's: Competence, Collegiality and Commitment." If confirmed, I will share this philosophy with the Country Team and Mission staff at every turn, such that it becomes our culture of doing business in Mission South Africa.

Question. Do you believe it is ever acceptable or constructive to berate subordinates, either in public or private?

Answer. No.

Question. How do you envision your leadership relationship with your deputy chief of mission?

Answer. The relationship between the Ambassador and the DCM is the most important in the Mission. If it does not work, the Mission will not work. While serving as U.S. Ambassador to the African Union, I had a very strong and productive working relationship with my DCM, based on mutual respect and complementary skill sets. I expected her to be able to tell me anything, especially hard news I needed to hear about the mission or about myself. The current DCM in Embassy Pretoria, Heather Merritt, is a highly experienced career diplomat. I expect that I will have a strong, productive, and collegial relationship with her.

Question. If confirmed, what leadership responsibilities do you intend to entrust to your deputy chief of mission?

Answer. Broadly speaking, if confirmed, I expect that the DCM will oversee all management issues within the Mission, while I engage in high-level diplomatic and representational tasks with the Government and people of South Africa. At times, those roles might have to be reversed. For example, in the event of a sensitive personnel matter, it might be appropriate for the Ambassador to deliver the message. When the Ambassador is away from post, the DCM would need to carry out high-level diplomatic or representational functions. If confirmed, however, I will in general delegate routine management and personnel issues within the Mission to the DCM while I focus my efforts on engagement with the Government and people of South Africa.

Question. In order to create and continue employee excellence at the Department, accurate and direct employee evaluation reports (EERs) for Foreign Service Officers are imperative, though often lacking. Do you believe that it is important to provide employees with accurate, constructive feedback on their performances in order to encourage improvement and reward those who most succeeded in their roles?

Answer. Yes.

Question. If confirmed, would you support and encourage clear, accurate, and direct feedback to employees in order to improve performance and reward high achievers?

Answer. Yes.

Question. It is imperative that U.S. diplomats get outside of posts abroad to meet with local actors, including host government officials, non-government organizations, and fellow foreign diplomats stationed in South Africa.

Answer. I agree.

Question. In your opinion, do U.S. diplomats get outside of our embassy walls enough to accomplish fully their missions?

Answer. Yes. I understand that U.S. diplomats at our Embassy and three Consulates General in South Africa travel widely throughout the country in the course of their work.

Question. How do you intend to improve the ability of U.S. diplomats to better access all local populations?

Answer. It is my understanding that the team at Mission South Africa robustly engages local populations across all of South Africa and at all levels of society. With that said, if confirmed, I look forward to hearing the views of the team on how we can not only ensure that this engagement continues but identify any blind spots that would benefit from greater attention. I understand, for instance, that local audiences, especially those in rural communities, can be a specific engagement challenge because they generally engage only at the local level. If confirmed, I will actively solicit ideas from both inside and outside the Mission on how to engage our priority audiences in order to advance U.S. interests.

Question. Public diplomacy is an important aspect of U.S. foreign policy efforts. What is the public diplomacy environment like in the South Africa?

Answer. South Africa features one of the most complex public diplomacy environments in Africa—not to mention the world. Relatively advanced development and infrastructure created a media landscape and university network that stand comparably with other modern democracies. Persistent unemployment and income inequality, however, prevent large segments of the population from accessing those resources. As in any vibrant, multifaceted democracy, South African citizens do not fit in boxes, and our communication and outreach strategies need to be similarly nuanced and complex.

Question. What public diplomacy challenges do U.S. diplomats face there?

Answer. The complexity of the South African public diplomacy environment means that one-size-fits-all approaches generally fail. On a straightforward uncontroversial issue, such as use of antiretroviral treatments to control HIV infection, a broad-based information campaign might serve to advance U.S. interests. But on more sensitive issues, such as the nation's transition to renewable energy, a more nuanced and egalitarian approach is required—one that invites constructive conversations with a broad range of South African audiences. If confirmed, I will work to ensure that our outreach remains tailored to the needs of audiences from different economic, geographic, religious, and ethnic backgrounds.

Question. How do you balance the importance of Main State versus the in-country mission when it comes to tailoring public diplomacy messages for foreign audiences?

Answer. Carefully analyzing which voice is most appropriate in which context is important. For a sensitive foreign policy issue—such as one on which the U.S. and South African governments do not agree—strategic public statements or interviews by Washington-based officials might afford in-country officials diplomatic space to advance U.S. interests. On issues where our countries generally agree, alternating engagements by Washington and in-country officials can strengthen the U.S. position without exhausting South African audiences with the same voice.

Question. “Anomalous health incidents,” commonly referred to as “Havana Syndrome,”¹ have been debilitating and sidelining U.S. diplomats around the world for years. They have caused serious, negative consequences for U.S. diplomacy, yet

many believe that the Department is not doing enough to care for, protect, and communicate to its personnel. The past occurrences and ongoing threat of anomalous health incidents among embassy personnel and their families poses a serious challenge to morale. When personnel at post fear for their safety or doubt that their case will be taken seriously if they were affected, the performance of embassy operations can suffer. If confirmed, do you commit to taking this threat seriously?

Answer. Yes. I am deeply troubled by potential anomalous health incidents that have affected U.S. Government personnel and their family members. Serving one's country overseas should not come at the cost of one's health. I agree that such incidents may pose a threat to the wellbeing of U.S. personnel and must be taken extremely seriously. If confirmed, the health, safety, and security of Embassy Pretoria staff, their family members, and all those supporting the Mission will be my highest priority.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to talking as openly as you can to Mission Pretoria personnel?

Answer. If confirmed, I am committed to regularly share new information on this issue consistent with ensuring the integrity of ongoing investigations.

Question. Have you received a briefing on the anomalous health incidents that have occurred to U.S. Government personnel around the world, including at U.S. embassies and other diplomatic posts? If you have not, and if you are confirmed, do you commit to receiving a briefing on the incidents before you depart for your post?

Answer. Yes, I commit to participating in the briefing on Anomalous Health Incidents, including in the Ambassadorial seminar, and will seek further information in unclassified and classified meetings with the Coordinator of the State Department's Health Incident Response Task Force as well as relevant bureaus including Diplomatic Security and Intelligence and Research.

Question. In the event of an anomalous health incident among your embassy personnel or eligible family members, do you commit to maintain detailed records of the incident, and share the information with the State Department and other embassies to contribute to the investigation of how these attacks are affecting U.S. missions and personnel around the world?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to engaging in the ongoing investigation into circumstances surrounding the unexplained health incidents. The Department continues to work in coordination with interagency partners on determining what happened to our staff and their families and to ensure their well-being and health going forward. There is no higher priority than the safety and security of our U.S. personnel, their families, and U.S. citizens.

Question. Whether or not anomalous health incidents occur at your embassy, how will you work to restore and preserve morale that may be lost due to the knowledge these attacks have been occurring at posts around the world?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to being open with my staff about what I know; I commit to taking seriously any report of an employee being harmed or under threat, whether that is related to anomalous health incidents or not; and I commit to keeping an open door so that my staff entrust me with any concerns that affect their morale. I also commit to speaking with my staff regularly about the Embassy's mission, to ensure that they know how their work fits into the bigger picture. I believe that a team's morale is best served by every member of that team understanding the way in which his or her work matters, and by every member of the team knowing that their leaders have their backs and care sincerely about their well-being.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO HON. REUBEN E. BRIGETY II BY SENATOR JEANNE SHAHEEN

Question. If confirmed, will you commit to attending the Ambassadorial seminar session on AHIs and seek a classified briefing with State Department?

Answer. I commit to participating in all aspects of the Ambassadorial seminar, including the briefing on Anomalous Health Incidents, and will seek further information in unclassified and classified meetings with the Coordinator of the State Department's Health Incident Response Task Force as well as relevant bureaus including Diplomatic Security and Intelligence and Research.

Question. If an incident occurs, please assure that you will do everything in your power to prioritize the health, treatment and safety of our diplomats?

Answer. If confirmed as Ambassador to South Africa, I will make the health and safety of my staff my top priority. If confirmed, I will also commit to ensuring all reported incidents at Mission South Africa are treated seriously and quickly reported through the appropriate channels. I will ensure that any affected individuals receive prompt access to treatment and medical care.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO HON. REUBEN E. BRIGETY II BY SENATOR MARCO RUBIO

Question. At six Confucius Institutes and five Confucius classrooms, South Africa holds the largest number of Chinese Communist Party-controlled educational institutions in the continent. Confucius Institutes are an insidious tool to inculcate college and high school students with the CCP's propaganda and worldview. Leaving these institutes unopposed risks creating national elites in other countries that will work against American interests. Do you believe Confucius Institutes are a threat to U.S. national security due to the fact they are funded by the PRC Ministry of Education and are part of the CCP's broader United Front influence efforts?

Answer. I consider Confucius Institutes to be part of Beijing's global "soft power" influence efforts, which often serve to advance interests contrary to our own. And the South African public is savvy when it comes to PRC influence across the country. The U.S. Mission to South Africa hosts nine American Spaces and nine University Partnerships throughout the country. We use these platforms and partnerships to advocate for U.S. values, norms, entrepreneurship, good governance, and academic rigor. These are key to countering the PRC "soft" influence in the country.

Follow-up Question

Following my question for the record dated May 24, 2022, "You served as the Dean of George Washington University's Elliott School of International Affairs from 2015 to 2020. During that time, GWU hosted a Confucius Institute. That Confucius Institute only shut down in 2021, after you left your position as Dean. Did you oppose the presence of a Confucius Institute on GW's campus while you were Dean at any point? If so, when?" you responded, "Yes, I did. I expressed my concerns about GW's Confucius Institute to former GW President Steven Knapp on at least one occasion by my recollection, likely sometime in 2016."

Question. If you had concerns about Confucius Institutes in 2016, why did you speak at one in 2018?

Answer. I believe that diplomacy, whether formal or Track II, requires engagement. This is true with both allies and adversaries. President Ronald Reagan held multiple direct engagements with Mikhail Gorbachev, then General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in the final years of the Cold War. Thus, my engagement with a Confucius Institute at the time as Dean of George Washington University's Elliott School of International Affairs was part of a long, bipartisan tradition of American officials and citizens engaging foreign counterparts with different values and views. Since 2018, including through the Senate's bipartisan research, we have learned more about China's efforts to influence American public opinion through Confucius Institutes on college campuses. I would not participate in this particular engagement if asked today. I would instead seek out other ways to engage with Chinese counterparts.

Question. If confirmed, what will you do to encourage the Government of South Africa to ban Confucius Institutes, or at least impose serious oversight over their activities?

Answer. If confirmed, I will encourage the South African Government and academic institutions to review their relationships with PRC-affiliated organizations, including Confucius Institutes, to ensure that these organizations are operating transparently and in the best interests of the people of South Africa. If confirmed, I will explore whether countering their influence requires additional resources to bolster the U.S. presence across the country.

Follow-up Question

Question. Have you had any communications with a Confucius Institute since 2018? If so, please explain the nature of the communication(s).

Answer. No, I have not.

Question. You served as the Dean of George Washington University's Elliott School of International Affairs from 2015 to 2020. During that time, GWU hosted a Confucius Institute. That Confucius Institute only shut down in 2021, after you left your position as Dean. Did you oppose the presence of a Confucius Institute on GW's campus while you were Dean at any point? If so, when?

Answer. Yes, I did. I expressed my concerns about GW's Confucius Institute to former GW President Steven Knapp on at least one occasion by my recollection, likely sometime in 2016.

Follow-up Question

Question. If invited, would you speak at a Confucius Institute again?

Answer. No, I would not speak at a Confucius Institute again. As I stated above, since 2018, including through the Senate's bipartisan research, we have learned more about China's efforts to influence American public opinion through Confucius Institutes on college campuses. I would not participate in this particular engagement if asked today. I would instead seek out other ways to engage with Chinese counterparts.

Question. In 2018, you spoke at an event hosted by a Confucius Institute on Chinese engagement with Africa. This was well after numerous publications, including the *Forbes*, the *Wall Street Journal*, *The Economist* and the *Diplomat*, all have written about the threat posed by these institutions to academic freedom and the role they play in the party's overseas propaganda strategy. Why, then, did you agree to speak at a Confucius Institute Event?

Answer. Diplomacy is about engagement, even—or at times, especially—with adversaries. This is true in formal government-to-government diplomacy, public diplomacy, and Track II diplomacy. Speaking at an event sponsored by the Confucius Institute and making a strenuous case for American values and interests in Africa—as I did on this occasion as a private citizen—was an appropriate and effective engagement.

Question. At this China-Africa-U.S. Engagement Dialogue event hosted by the Confucius Institute U.S. Center, you said that you believed that there might be ways that the United States and China could work together to advance the interests of African nations. Seeing the poisonous influence of the CCP across Africa in the past few years, have your views changed on the potential for U.S.-PRC cooperation in Africa?

Answer. My comments about U.S.-PRC cooperation in Africa were rooted in my experience of the multilateral cooperation of many nations—including China—to combat the 2014 Ebola outbreak when I served as the U.S. Ambassador to the African Union. There are some issues—notably global health security and climate change—that require the broad cooperation of all nations, regardless of geopolitical interests. Deadly pathogens, for example, do not respect boundaries (as the novel coronavirus that originated in China showed). Cooperating on such transnational threats is appropriate even as we work assiduously to constrain Chinese ambitions in other areas that are hostile to our values and interests.

Follow-up Question

Question. What is the greatest risk posed to U.S. interests in Africa today? Is it the CCP? Why or why not?

Answer. The CCP's efforts to advance the PRC's political and economic influence in Africa indeed pose a risk to U.S. interests, but I would argue that it is one of a complex set of overlapping threats. Russia's actions on the continent, whether through diplomatic and economic channels or by the Kremlin-backed Wagner Group, similarly pose a threat not only to U.S. interests but to the stability, security, and economic interests of multiple African states. Violent extremism in multiple parts of Africa is a perennial threat to the stability of our partners and the lives and well-being of many Africans. The way to address these risks is by continuing the Biden-Harris administration's policy of increasing the frequency, range, and caliber of U.S. engagement with African governments, political parties, and business communities. The quality and quantity of our diplomatic and economic en-

agement is essential to countering CCP inroads in Africa and other risks to U.S. interests.

Question. If confirmed, how will you be a credible voice warning of the dangers of Chinese influence in Africa, given your past support and statements in favor of U.S. cooperation with the CCP?

Answer. I have a long track record, both as a government official and as a private citizen, of warning about and working against malign Chinese influence in Africa. If confirmed, I will continue to challenge Chinese influence in Africa—and in South Africa in particular—even as I advance American interests and promote American values.

Follow-up Question

Question. How does the threat of the CCP compare to the threat of climate change or Islamic terrorism to U.S. interests?

Answer. Climate change is an existential threat to all humanity that transcends geopolitical interests and ideological differences. While the terrorist threat in Africa persists, over the last two decades the United States has achieved many successes by working with African partners across the continent to identify and neutralize terrorist cells, benefiting both U.S. and African interests.

The political engagement of the CCP with African political parties represents a clear threat to U.S. interests, one that risks undermining progress on democracy and prosperity. Beijing's vision would move us away from the values that have sustained so much of the world's progress over the past 75 years. A central component of the U.S. approach in Africa must be engagement with African partners—engagement that advances democratic ideals and practices, by demonstrating the benefits of stable democracy and the rules-based international order and by challenging the PRC's false narratives.

Question. South Africa's ruling political party—the African National Congress—has particularly strong relations with the CCP. The ANC is part of the “Former Liberation Movements of Southern Africa,” along with the ruling parties of Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, Tanzania, and Zimbabwe. The CCP regularly trains cadres from the ANC and built a political training academy in the country. The party's current national chairperson once said “the Chinese Communist Party's ruling experience and party building theory merits the ANC's study and to be used as a reference,” and South African's current President Cyril Ramaphosa said that the ANC “gained so much” from party-to-party trainings. Ramaphosa has also defended Huawei and other CCP-directed firms. South Africa also conducted a trilateral naval exercise with Russia and China. How will you use your influence to educate the ANC on the threat the CCP poses to Africa?

Answer. As you note, the African National Congress has long historical ties to the Chinese Communist Party as well as other adversaries of the United States, including the Russian Government. Nonetheless, South Africa is a strong constitutional democracy with a developed economy, unhampered press freedom, and an independent judiciary; these factors blunt the PRC's ability to unduly extend their influence. If confirmed, I will engage robustly not only with the ANC but with all counterparts to emphasize the negative effects of Chinese malign behavior, for instance by highlighting Huawei's negative hiring practices, an issue that has recently drawn critical attention to the company among the public.

Follow-up Question

In your response to my question for the record dated May 24, 2022 “At this China-Africa-U.S. Engagement Dialogue event hosted by the Confucius Institute U.S. Center, you said that you believed that there might be ways that the United States and China could work together to advance the interests of African nations. Seeing the poisonous influence of the CCP across Africa in the past few years, have your views changed on the potential for U.S.-PRC cooperation in Africa?” you responded, “My comments about U.S.-PRC cooperation in Africa were rooted in my experience of the multilateral cooperation of many nations—including China—to combat the 2014 Ebola outbreak when I served as the U.S. Ambassador to the African Union. There are some issues—notably global health security and climate change—that require the broad cooperation of all nations, regardless of geopolitical interests. Deadly pathogens, for example, do not respect boundaries (as the novel coronavirus that originated in China showed). Cooperating on such

transnational threats is appropriate even as we work assiduously to constrain Chinese ambitions in other areas that are hostile to our values and interests.”

Question. What should Washington and Beijing be cooperating on in the African context?

Answer. As stated earlier, climate change is an existential threat to all humanity that transcends geopolitical interests and ideological differences. Finding a constructive way to engage the PRC, the second-largest economy in the world and the largest greenhouse gas emitter on the planet, is necessary in countering this threat, notwithstanding our strategic competition with the PRC. Working on climate issues is one area in which Washington and Beijing should be cooperating in Africa.

Question. In 2017, you wrote a piece in the immediate aftermath of the Charlottesville “March to Unite the Right” rally in which you called President Trump the “Nazi-in-Chief” and a “unreconstructed racist.” You then proceeded to question the honor of anyone that occupies “political positions of great responsibility” who continues to remain in office while President Trump is in office. You have since apologized for some of your unfortunate word choices, but the incident still raises questions about your ability to keep cool in charged situations. You issued an apology for your words nearly three years after initially writing them. Why did it take you so long to realize the mistake you made?

Answer. Following years of prayer and reflection, my apologies for the language I used about President Trump following the events in Charlottesville were genuine. I believe that much of American public life would be improved if more people sincerely apologized when they made inappropriate statements. While I apologize for the language I used about President Trump, I maintain that the former President’s remarks—stating that there were “very fine people” among the violent neo-Nazis and white supremacists who organized and executed the Charlottesville riot—were reprehensible and inexcusable. It is incumbent on all Americans of goodwill, regardless of party, to stand firmly against violent racism of every kind and in every instance.

Follow-up Question

Does Beijing’s cover up of its responsibility for the novel coronavirus change your view on the merits of seeking cooperation with the CCP?

Answer. My experience in working with my PRC counterpart during the 2014 Ebola crisis was productive. As a result, despite Beijing’s lack of transparency about the origins of the novel coronavirus, I believe working with the PRC on global health issues remains an important area of cooperation. However, it is important that the U.S. Government be clear-eyed about health engagements with the PRC to ensure transparency and that any cooperation is clearly in the interest of the United States.

Question. If confirmed as Ambassador to South Africa, how can this committee remain sure that you will not write or say something while representing the United States that you will later regret?

Answer. I have a long track record of demonstrating restraint and sound judgment in a wide variety of difficult circumstances. The events of Charlottesville were a unique provocation in modern American history. Men marching with torches in the middle of the night, chanting racist slogans, and perpetrating violence in the name of racial hatred, recalled a dark history that we as a country thought was behind us—including in my family’s long, multigenerational history in my beloved home state of Florida. Nevertheless, my response to this incident only reinforced to me Dr. King’s admonition: “Darkness cannot drive out darkness, only light can do that. Hate cannot drive out hate, only love can do that.” I learned an invaluable lesson and I will redouble my efforts to respond always to provocation with dignity and grace.

Follow-up Questions

In your response to my question for the record dated May 24, 2022, “South Africa’s ruling political party—the African National Congress—has particularly strong relations with the CCP. The CCP regularly trains cadres from the ANC and built a political training academy in the country. The party’s current national chairperson once said “the Chinese Communist Party’s ruling experience and party building theory merits the ANC’s study and to be used as a reference,” and South African’s current President Cyril Ramaphosa said that the ANC “gained so much” from party-to-party

trainings. Ramaphosa has also defended Huawei and other CCP-directed firms. How will you use your influence to educate the ANC on the threat the CCP poses to Africa?” you responded “As you note, the African National Congress has long historical ties to the Chinese Communist Party as well as other adversaries of the United States, including the Russian Government. Nonetheless, South Africa is a strong constitutional democracy with a developed economy, unhampered press freedom, and an independent judiciary; these factors blunt the PRC’s ability to unduly extend their influence. If confirmed, I will engage robustly not only with the ANC but with all counterparts to emphasize the negative effects of Chinese malign behavior, for instance by highlighting Huawei’s negative hiring practices . . .”

Question. In your view, what is the purpose of the CCP’s party-to-party training and exchange programs with African partners?

Answer. It is clear to me that the purpose of such exchanges is to strengthen PRC influence in the domestic governance and foreign policy of South Africa.

Question. Is the ANC susceptible to the CCP’s message during these trainings?

Answer. The ANC is a “big tent” organization with many competing factions and viewpoints. The CCP’s messaging certainly appeals to some portion of the ANC. As I wrote before, the way to counter this messaging is sustained, on-the-ground engagement by the United States to ensure that the ANC and other South African political parties engage with political perspectives rooted in Western political values.

Question. What would you do to counter the CCP’s party-to-party engagements with the ANC?

Answer. I would strongly encourage engagement by organs of the National Endowment for Democracy—principally the International Republican Institute and the National Democratic Institute—to develop and host similar party-to-party engagements with the ANC and with other South African political parties.

Question. In addition to Huawei’s “negative hiring practices,” what are some other risks Huawei poses to South Africa as well as Africa more broadly?

Answer. Huawei’s efforts to monopolize telecommunications networks pose a number of risks to American and South African interests, including compromising data security and sovereignty. The use of Huawei’s networks for active cyber espionage is also a very real threat.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO HON. MICHAEL BATTLE BY SENATOR ROBERT MENENDEZ

Question. During former President John Magafuli’s tenure there was significant democratic backsliding in Tanzania. Under President Hassan’s leadership, there appears to be an opportunity for progress in the areas of democracy and human rights. What programs and activities are currently underway to support democratic freedoms and good governance in Tanzania? What additional actions should the U.S. take? What concrete actions will you take to support democracy and good governance if confirmed?

Answer. The United States currently supports democratic strengthening and good governance in Tanzania through several programs administered by the State Department’s Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor; USAID; and Embassy Dar es Salaam. If confirmed, I will continue these programs to support democracy, respect for human rights, and good governance. I will also take advantage of the opening created by President Hassan’s ascension to power to make further progress on democracy and human rights, leveraging the full USG toolbox of inducements and disincentives, including the Millennium Challenge Corporation eligibility process, the AGOA eligibility review process, and the section 7031(a) direct government-to-government assistance eligibility review process.

Question. What tools does the U.S. have to build the capacity and enhance the resilience of the media in Tanzania? If confirmed, what steps will you take to support media freedom in Tanzania?

Answer. The U.S. Government supports journalists, media houses, and community radio operators across Tanzania to improve their ability to convey accurate and impartial information. Over the past five years, USAID has provided more than \$10 million through its Boresha Habari (Improve the News) program. Embassy Dar es Salaam's Public Affairs Section also supports media professionalization through trainings, speakers, and its small grants program. If confirmed, I will work with U.S. academic institutions with strong mass media degree programs to assist Tanzanian media on both the hard and soft skills in media production, dissemination, and preservation. I will also encourage more access to training in media research opportunities offered by U.S. academic institutions.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to keeping the committee up to date on the progress of advancing political freedoms and protections for journalist in Tanzania?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I commit to keeping the committee up to date on the progress of advancing political freedoms and protections for journalists in Tanzania.

Question. What issues are the most pressing challenges to democracy or democratic development in Tanzania? These challenges might include obstacles to participatory and accountable governance and institutions, rule of law, authentic political competition, civil society, human rights, and press freedom. Please be as specific as possible.

Answer. Some of the biggest obstacles to democratic progress in Tanzania are laws and regulations adopted under former President Magufuli that remain enforced, including the Media Services Act, the Political Parties Act, the 2020 Electronic and Postal Communications (Online Content) Regulations, and the 2020 NGO Guidelines that remain in effect. Other obstacles include continued lack of accountability for 2020 election-related violence.

Question. How will you utilize U.S. Government assistance resources at your disposal, including the Democracy Commission Small Grants program and other sources of State Department and USAID funding, to support democracy and governance, and what will you prioritize in processes to administer such assistance?

Answer. I will prioritize strengthening civil society, the media, political parties, and democratic institutions to assist the Tanzanian people in advocating for democratic reform and resisting future attacks on their political and human rights.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to meet with civil society members, human rights, and other non-governmental organizations in the U.S. and with local human rights NGOs, and other members of civil society in Tanzania? What steps will you take to pro-actively address efforts to restrict or penalize NGOs and civil society via legal or regulatory measures?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to meet regularly with both U.S. and Tanzanian civil society members, human rights organizations, and other non-governmental organizations. I will advocate for Tanzanian civil society's independence and help protect it from undue restrictions and penalization by engaging the Tanzanian Government and by providing U.S. training and resources to help civil society protect itself.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to meet with democratically oriented political opposition figures and parties? What steps will you take to encourage genuine political competition? Will you advocate for access and inclusivity for women, minorities, and youth within political parties?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to meet regularly democratically oriented leaders in both the ruling party and opposition parties. I will encourage genuine political competition and seek to direct resources and support to those democratic institutions that promote a level playing field for political competition. I will advocate for Tanzania to further its already admirable progress in making political parties and public life more accessible and inclusive for women, minorities, and youth.

Question. Will you and your embassy team actively engage with Tanzania on freedom of the press and address any government efforts designed to control or undermine press freedom through legal, regulatory, or other measures? Will you commit to meeting regularly with independent, local press in Tanzania?

Answer. If confirmed, I will actively engage Tanzania on freedom of expression, including for members of the press. I will raise concerns about any government effort to control or undermine press freedom through legal, regulatory, or other measures. I will also ensure my team supports critical legal and regulatory efforts to enshrine, protect, and expand media and press freedoms, as well as access to the Internet. I commit to meeting regularly with the independent local press.

Question. Will you commit, if confirmed, to ensuring that you fully brief Members of Congress and/or their staff each time you are in Washington for visits or consultations during your tenure as Ambassador to Tanzania?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to fully brief members of Congress and staff each time I am in Washington for visits or consultations.

Question. I am very concerned about directed energy attacks on U.S. Government personnel (so-called Anomalous Health Incidents). Ensuring the safety and security of our personnel abroad falls largely on individual Chiefs of Mission and the response of officers at post. It is imperative that any individual who reports a suspected incident be responded to promptly, equitably, and compassionately. Do you agree these incidents must be taken seriously, and pose a threat to the health of U.S. personnel?

Answer. I am deeply concerned by potential anomalous health incidents impacting U.S. Government personnel and their family members. These incidents affect the well-being of U.S. personnel serving their country abroad and must be taken extremely seriously. If confirmed, I will make the health and safety of my staff my top priority, including contributing to the extensive, ongoing interagency investigation into the cause of these incidents and how we can best protect our people. If confirmed, the health, safety, and security of embassy staff, their family members, and all those supporting the mission will be my highest priority.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to ensuring that any reported incident is treated seriously and reported quickly through the appropriate channels, and that any affected individuals receive prompt access to medical care?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to ensuring that all reported potential anomalous health incidents are given serious attention and reported swiftly through the appropriate channels. I will also ensure that staff who are affected by these incidents receive prompt access to needed treatment, support, and medical care.

Question. Do you commit to meeting with medical staff and the RSO at post to discuss any past reported incidents and ensure that all protocols are being followed?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to meeting embassy medical staff and the RSO to discuss any reported anomalous health incidents and will ensure that all protocols are being followed.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO HON. MICHAEL BATTLE BY SENATOR JAMES E. RISCH

Question. How do you assess Tanzanian President Samia Suluhu Hassan's role in eroding the country's democratic institutions and suppressing opposition voices and democratic actors while she served as Vice President of United Republic of Tanzania under the administration of President John Pombe Magufuli? Please explain.

Answer. As former President Magufuli's vice president, President Hassan publicly supported many of his anti-democratic policies but does not appear to have had much influence over policy-making at that time.

Question. Do you assess that President Hassan bears any responsibility for the anti-democratic actions and rights abuses that occurred under the previous president?

Answer. During her service as former President Magufuli's vice president, President Hassan shared responsibility for the shrinking of democratic and civil society space, limits on media freedom, and the rise in politically motivated violence.

Question. As U.S. Ambassador to Tanzania, how will you engage the administration of President Hassan on continued democratic, economic, and political reforms, particularly as Tanzania approaches elections in 2025?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work constructively with President Hassan's administration to build a political environment that protects democratic institutions, civil and political rights, and human rights. I believe there is an opportunity to do so by supporting reconciliation between the ruling party and opposition parties and their ongoing efforts to pursue political reforms, including within the framework of the Tanzania Center for Democracy.

Question. In November 2020, I published a Senate Foreign Relations Committee majority report entitled "The United States and Europe: A Concrete Agenda for Transatlantic Cooperation on China." The report gave several recommendations for

increased transatlantic cooperation, including on Africa, to counter malign Chinese influence more effectively. In what ways should the United States partner with European countries to build on likeminded interests in Tanzania and counter the influence of China and other malign actors?

Answer. I agree with your assertion in “The United States and Europe: A Concrete Agenda for Transatlantic Cooperation on China” that both the United States and Europe must recognize the strategically important role Africa plays in the world and strengthen their partnerships with the continent. Together with Europe, we should encourage Tanzania to pursue policies that support Tanzanian interests and are in accordance with the rules-based international order. Tanzania has a special relationship with the PRC that goes back to before its independence, but that does not mean we cannot work with our likeminded partners to help Tanzania offer a level playing field for business, protect its own sovereignty, combat disinformation, and support democratic values enshrined in Tanzania’s constitution.

Question. Given your prior experience supporting planning and execution of the 1st U.S. Africa Leaders Summit in 2014 under the Obama administration, what recommendations would you give ahead of the 2nd planned U.S. Africa Leaders Summit that the Biden administration has committed to holding this year?

Answer. I recommend the State Department engage Africans, both through their embassies in Washington and in capitals, to understand what African countries would like from the summit. The summit should mutually benefit both the United States and Africa. The summit agenda should include a discussion on how the United States can most effectively partner with Africa to reach the goals of Africa 2063. I recommend the President have a cabinet-level meeting on the summit agenda to show the importance and respect we have for our partnership with Africa. I would also suggest engagement with the African diaspora and civil society in advance of and during the summit. Finally, former U.S. Presidents and First Ladies should be invited to a session of the summit.

Question. In the State Department’s 2021 Trafficking in Persons Report (TIP), Tanzania remained Tier 2 Watch List for the third consecutive year for mismatched efforts to meet the minimum standards to eliminate trafficking. How will you work with the Tanzanians to address these issues if you are confirmed as Ambassador?

Answer. I commit to working with the Government of Tanzania to combat trafficking in persons. If confirmed, I will focus on supporting our existing efforts to help Tanzania provide specialized skills training for prosecutors and law enforcement, address the lack of coordination and appropriate levels of funding within the Government, and strengthen comprehensive victim and witness protection. I will also impress on Tanzanian policymakers the consequences to our bilateral relationship of failing to make sufficient effort to combat trafficking in persons.

Question. If confirmed, what concrete steps could you take to help Tanzania operationalize the prioritized recommendations contained in the TIP Report, including implementing their national plan to enhance anti-trafficking efforts?

Answer. If confirmed, I am committed to engaging the Government of Tanzania to encourage concrete progress on the TIP report recommendations. I will encourage the prioritization of resources, both funding and personnel, to implement their recently finalized 2021-2024 national action plan. I will work closely with the Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons to build on existing efforts to combat trafficking in Tanzania.

Question. In the State Department’s 2020 International Religious Freedom report, Tanzania was identified as having serious abuses of religious freedom and an overall lack of societal respect. What is your assessment of this particular issue and if confirmed, how will you work with the Ambassador At Large for International Religious Freedom to bolster religious freedom in-country?

Answer. If confirmed, I pledge to continue the U.S. Embassy’s good work in bringing together youth leaders and religious and community leaders to discuss local concerns around violent extremism related to religion and conflict. I will work closely with Ambassador-at-Large for International Religious Freedom Rashad Hussain to build on existing efforts to promote religious freedom and combat intolerance in Tanzania and around the world.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to personally engaging with civil society on this issue?

Answer. Yes, I commit to personally engaging with civil society, including religious minorities, on religious freedom and ways to make progress on this vital issue.

Question. If confirmed, what concrete steps can you take to help Tanzania increase their societal and governmental respect for religious freedom?

Answer. If confirmed, I intend to engage the Tanzanian Government at the highest levels on the importance of governmental respect for religious freedom and will redouble U.S. Embassy efforts to engage the Tanzanian people on the subject of religious pluralism and tolerance in Tanzania.

Question. In the State Department's 2021 Human Rights Report, Tanzania was identified as having significant human rights abuses, including government sponsored enforced disappearance, arbitrary arrest and detention, violence against journalists, and more. If confirmed, what steps will you take to address these instances with the host government?

Answer. If confirmed, I will make clear that improvement in bilateral relations is contingent on a further improvement in the Tanzanian Government's respect for human rights. I hope to use this unique moment to strengthen our bilateral relationship at all levels and to help the Government commit to and put into action a plan to increase respect for human rights. I will leverage the full USG toolbox of inducements and disincentives, including the Millennium Challenge Corporation eligibility process, the AGOA eligibility review process, and the section 7031(a) direct government-to-government assistance eligibility review process.

Question. How will you direct Embassy Dar es Salaam to work with civil society organizations to improve the human rights situation on the ground?

Answer. If confirmed, I will begin by using our diplomacy, programming, and partnerships to shore up civil society organizations that have been under attack for the past several years. Civil society organizations play an integral role in furthering democracy and human rights in all countries. A strong, resilient civil society is indispensable to improving the human rights situation in Tanzania.

Question. The Office of Multilateral Strategy and Personnel (MSP) in the State Department's Bureau of International Organizations is leading a whole-of-government effort to identify, recruit, and install qualified, independent personnel at the United Nations (U.N.), including in elections for specialized bodies like the International Telecommunications Union (ITU). There is an American candidate, Doreen Bogdan-Martin, who if elected would be the first American and first woman to lead the ITU. She is in a tough race that will require early, consistent engagement across capital and within the U.N. member states. If confirmed, do you commit to demarching the Tanzanian Government and any other counterparts necessary to encourage their support of Ms. Bogdan-Martin?

Answer. Yes, if confirmed, I commit to demarching the Tanzanian Government and any other counterparts necessary to encourage their support of Ms. Bogdan-Martin.

Question. If confirmed, how can you work with the Bureau of International Organizations and other stakeholders to identify, recruit, and install qualified Americans in positions like the Junior Program Officer (JPO) program at the U.N.?

Answer. If confirmed, I will coordinate closely with the International Organization Affairs Bureau and other stakeholder bureaus and agencies and consult with Congress to ensure we have sufficient resources, tools, and staffing to support more positions for American citizen JPOs in the U.N. system. With these resources, we can work strategically to increase the JPO opportunities funded by the U.S. Government in key agencies and bodies that work on U.S. priorities, expand our recruitment and outreach activities to ensure these opportunities are widely known and available to interested U.S. citizens, and provide tools and services to strengthen our competitiveness in placing qualified American citizens into the U.N. system.

Question. Many U.S. missions have been under enormous stress over the last few years, in large part due to COVID. What is your understanding of morale throughout Mission Dar es Salaam?

Answer. The COVID-19 denial of the former president and the lack of data about the local effects of the pandemic negatively affected morale in the mission. Nevertheless, the community at our Embassy in Tanzania was strong and resilient.

Question. How do you intend to improve morale at Mission Dar es Salaam?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work with staff at all levels to review and implement the mission, vision and plan, consistent with guidance from the Africa Bureau. I will ensure that my DCM and senior staff focus on ensuring that all employees -- including entry-level officers, locally employed staff, and eligible family members -- are re-

spected, have meaningful work to do, and feel like full and valued members of the Embassy community.

Question. How do you intend to create a unified mission and vision at Mission Dar es Salaam?

Answer. In all of my previous work in and outside of the Government I have found that a unified mission and vision emerge most strongly when there is shared and intentional inclusion in the shaping of the mission and vision. If confirmed, I will foster, encourage, and demonstrate mutual and vested interest in our shared efforts and responsibilities.

Question. Management is a key responsibility for chiefs of mission. How would you describe your management style?

Answer. My management style centers around collaboration and cooperation while respecting and reserving direct commands for the extremely few times exigency requires them. If confirmed, I will fully empower my staff to fulfill their roles while encouraging collaboration across sectors of the Embassy.

Question. Do you believe it is ever acceptable or constructive to berate subordinates, either in public or private?

Answer. It is never acceptable or constructive to berate subordinates.

Question. How do you envision your leadership relationship with your deputy chief of mission?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work to develop the kind of relationship with my DCM that will encourage and inspire the DCM to see his or her next job as a chief of mission. The relationship will be one of developed trust, confidence, and shared interests in the individual and collective success of the mission.

Question. If confirmed, what leadership responsibilities do you intend to entrust to your deputy chief of mission?

Answer. The DCM should have responsibility as staff executive officer and have the Ambassador's full support to manage as chief operating officer when the Ambassador is present and as chief executive officer when the Ambassador absent. If confirmed, I will meet, collaborate, and coordinate with the DCM consistently and continually.

Question. In order to create and continue employee excellence at the Department, accurate and direct employee evaluation reports (EERs) for Foreign Service Officers are imperative, though often lacking.

- Do you believe that it is important to provide employees with accurate, constructive feedback on their performances in order to encourage improvement and reward those who most succeeded in their roles?

Answer. Yes. I believe that it is important to provide employees with accurate, constructive feedback on their performance in order to encourage improvement and reward those who most succeed in their roles.

Question. If confirmed, would you support and encourage clear, accurate, and direct feedback to employees in order to improve performance and reward high achievers?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I will support and encourage clear, accurate, and direct feedback to employees in order to improve performance and reward high achievers.

Question. It is imperative that U.S. diplomats get outside of posts abroad to meet with local actors, including host government officials, non-government organizations, and fellow foreign diplomats stationed in Tanzania.

- In your opinion, do U.S. diplomats get outside of our Embassy walls enough to accomplish fully their missions?

Answer. Our diplomats have not gotten out enough to meet with local actors as a result of the pandemic. If confirmed, I will work to support our diplomats in Tanzania to do so, with appropriate precautions for their security, health, and well-being.

Question. How do you intend to improve the ability of U.S. diplomats to better access all local populations?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work closely with the Embassy management section, regional security office, and health unit to ensure that resources are directed to supporting increased travel and engagement plans across the entirety of mission in a safe, secure, and health-conscious manner. Furthermore, the Embassy plans to open

three American spaces in FY2022 that will give the USG a consistent presence in geographically diverse areas of the country, facilitating programs and initiatives.

Question. Public diplomacy is an important aspect of U.S. foreign policy efforts. What is the public diplomacy environment like in the Tanzania?

Answer. The public diplomacy environment in Tanzania is very receptive. Tanzanians have broadly favorable views of the United States and are eager to participate in our programs. Mission Tanzania's public diplomacy program is robust and designed to further the development of Tanzania's future leaders, build the capacity of Tanzanian institutions, and promote awareness and understanding of shared U.S. and Tanzanian values. Public diplomacy efforts also focus on promoting the English language and on creating a culture of entrepreneurship. Some of our flagship initiatives include exchange programs such as Fulbright, Young African Leaders Initiative (YALI), International Visitor Leadership Program (IVLP), and the Academy of Women Entrepreneurs (AWE) program. Peace Corps volunteers have also served in Tanzania as teachers, leaders of health education projects, and leaders of environmental projects, building much goodwill over the decades.

Question. What public diplomacy challenges do U.S. diplomats face there?

Answer. While the Tanzanian constitution provides for freedom of expression, authorities use libel laws and the threat of criminal penalties to stifle the exercise of that freedom. The ability of people in Tanzania to exercise their right of free expression also has been limited through several formal (legislative, regulatory) and informal (executive, government, and police statements) actions. These include laws that give the Government the authority to shut down media outlets and restrict use of the Internet and freedom of expression online. Tanzania's media sector also struggles with economic viability and has been slow to adapt to the new digital landscape. Challenges also include poor infrastructure and access to rural populations that can pose obstacles to travel and programming.

Question. How do you balance the importance of Main State versus the in-country mission when it comes to tailoring public diplomacy messages for foreign audiences?

Answer. I believe Main State and our Embassy in Dar es Salaam have different comparative advantages when tailoring public diplomacy messages for foreign audiences. Our public diplomacy officers in Tanzania can use close relationships with local media to reach Tanzanian audiences through radio, local newspapers, and in-person engagement. The State Department in Washington can amplify and reinforce Embassy messages or release tougher statements to broader audiences at a greater distance. This allows the Embassy to continue to engage with interlocutors locally without damaging relationships. If confirmed, I will ensure our mission and Main State coordinate on messaging to ensure it is as effective as possible.

Question. "Anomalous health incidents," commonly referred to as "Havana Syndrome," have been debilitating and sidelining U.S. diplomats around the world for years. They have caused serious, negative consequences for U.S. diplomacy, yet many believe that the Department is not doing enough to care for, protect, and communicate to its personnel. The past occurrences and ongoing threat of anomalous health incidents among Embassy personnel and their families poses a serious challenge to morale. When personnel at post fear for their safety or doubt that their case will be taken seriously if they were affected, the performance of Embassy operations can suffer. If confirmed, do you commit to taking this threat seriously?

Answer. Yes. I am deeply troubled by potential anomalous health incidents that have affected U.S. Government personnel and their family members. I agree that such incidents pose a threat to the well-being of U.S. personnel and must be taken extremely seriously. If confirmed, I will make the health, safety, and security of Embassy staff, their family members, and all those supporting the Mission my highest priority.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to talking as openly as you can to Mission Dar es Salaam personnel?

Answer. If confirmed, I am committed to regularly share new information on this issue consistent with ensuring the integrity of ongoing investigations.

Question. Have you received a briefing on the anomalous health incidents that have occurred to U.S. Government personnel around the world, including at U.S. embassies and other diplomatic posts? If you have not, and if you are confirmed, do you commit to receiving a briefing on the incidents before you depart for your post?

Answer. Yes. I have attended the Ambassadorial seminar session on AHIs and received a classified briefing on this matter. I will seek further unclassified and classified meetings with the Coordinator of the State Department's Health Incident Response Task Force as well as relevant bureaus including Diplomatic Security and Intelligence and Research.

Question. In the event of an anomalous health incident among your Embassy personnel or eligible family members, do you commit to maintain detailed records of the incident, and share the information with the State Department and other embassies to contribute to the investigation of how these attacks are affecting U.S. missions and personnel around the world?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to engaging in the ongoing investigation into circumstances surrounding the unexplained health incidents. The Department continues to work on determining what happened to our staff and their families and to ensure their well-being and health. There is no higher priority than the safety and security of our U.S. personnel and their families.

Question. Whether or not anomalous health incidents occur at your Embassy, how will you work to restore and preserve morale that may be lost due to the knowledge these attacks have been occurring at posts around the world?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to being open with my staff about what I know; I commit to taking seriously any report of an employee being harmed or under threat, whether that is related to anomalous health incidents or not; and I commit to keeping an open door so that my staff entrusts me with any concerns that affect their morale. I also commit to speaking with my staff regularly about the Embassy's mission, to ensure that they know how their work fits into the bigger picture. I believe that a team's morale is best served by every member understanding how his or her work matters and knowing that their leaders have their backs and care sincerely about their well-being.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO HON. MICHAEL BATTLE BY SENATOR JEANNE SHAHEEN

Question. I have been closely following increased reports of directed energy attacks that have affected U.S. Government employees. As nominees to a role of Ambassador, I want to ensure that you are sufficiently prepared to respond accordingly if an unexplained health incident is reported in your mission. I understand that the State Department includes a briefing on this as part of the Ambassadorial seminar that you are required to attend. If confirmed, will you commit to attending the Ambassadorial seminar session on AHIs and seek a classified briefing with State Department?

Answer. Yes, I have attended the Ambassadorial seminar session on AHIs and, if confirmed, I commit to receiving a classified briefing on this matter and will seek further information in unclassified and classified meetings with the coordinator of the State Department's Health Incident Response Task Force as well as relevant bureaus including Diplomatic Security and Intelligence and Research.

Question. I have been closely following increased reports of directed energy attacks that have affected U.S. Government employees. As nominees to a role of Ambassador, I want to ensure that you are sufficiently prepared to respond accordingly if an unexplained health incident is reported in your mission. I understand that the State Department includes a briefing on this as part of the Ambassadorial seminar that you are required to attend. If an incident occurs, please assure that you will do everything in your power to prioritize the health, treatment, and safety of our diplomats?

Answer. If confirmed as Ambassador to Tanzania, I will make the health, treatment, and safety of my staff my top priority. I also commit to ensuring all unexplained health incidents at Embassy Dar es Salaam are treated seriously and quickly reported through the appropriate channels. I will ensure that any affected individuals receive prompt access to treatment and medical care.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO HON. MICHAEL BATTLE BY SENATOR MARCO RUBIO

Question. In March 2021, Samia Suluhu Hassan assumed Tanzania’s presidency after her predecessor John Magufuli died of COVID–19. This appeared to be an opportunity for the United States to restore our relationship with the country. However, since then, President Hassan has pursued a strongly pro-China foreign policy, and like South Africa, Tanzania has historic ties with Beijing. In June of 2021, Hassan agreed to participate in the Chinese Communist Party’s Belt and Road Initiative. She expedited approval to hand control over a coal mine and power plant to Chinese company Sichuan Hongda and revived a \$10 billion port project that President Magufuli suspended. By all accounts, we’re now on the defensive in Tanzania.

- Do you find the pro-CCP decisions of the Hassan administration concerning? Why or Why not?

Answer. The relationship between Tanzania and the People’s Republic of China has been historically strong, since before Tanzania’s independence. President Hassan’s approach to the PRC is in line with that well-established precedent and consistent with her administration’s overall tilt towards expanding international relationships, including with the United States. While welcoming of all inward foreign direct investment, including from the PRC, Hassan has also been willing to accept advice and counsel to protect Tanzania’s sovereignty and economic well-being.

Question. If confirmed, how will you encourage U.S. policy towards Tanzania to more seriously compete with the CCP?

Answer. If confirmed, the Embassy team and I will meet the PRC challenge by supporting a level playing field for U.S. companies, providing a meaningful alternative to the PRC’s economic enticements, and by promoting entrepreneurship and transparent economic practices. I will be a vigorous advocate for U.S. companies and will encourage a welcoming Tanzanian Government approach to inward U.S. investment as the best way to support sustainable economic development. I will support Tanzania in creating an enabling environment for inclusive private sector-led growth by facilitating regional trade, improving access to credit, improving agricultural production and market access, enhancing domestic resource mobilization, and improving health and education outcomes.

Question. As the Chinese Communist Party offers Tanzania the tempting offer of a \$10 billion port project, the U.S. International Development Finance Corporation, an entity that Congress established precisely to finance these projects, instead issued a \$20 million loan to a Tanzanian bank to expand access to education and provide technical assistance to “Edu-finance” initiatives. Regardless of the merits of this type of project, which USAID supports anyway, it is incredibly hard for leaders in Tanzania to communicate their value to ordinary Tanzanians, especially when they will inevitably compare it to a shiny port built by the Chinese.

- Do you see a problem with how the United States competes with the CCP in Tanzania and other places in Africa?

Answer. The U.S. International Development Finance Corporation is an excellent development partner with high standards for its economic, social, and environmental impacts. However, the United States should not compete with the PRC by trying to outbid them in providing direct financial assistance. Rather, our strength lies in the promotion of our economic model, which Tanzanians admire and want to emulate. If confirmed, I will help the Government of Tanzania develop a fair and transparent economic system and make connections with U.S. businesses. I will also support providing technical support to analyze PRC contracts to allow the Government and citizens of Tanzania to independently evaluate the costs and benefits of all public projects. Transparency will allow Tanzanians to understand their choices, avoid traps, and protect Tanzanian interests.

Question. If confirmed, what are your plans to revitalize America’s engagement in Africa?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work with the Tanzanian Government to ensure its full inclusion and active participation in the U.S.-Africa Leaders Summit. I will also work to improve Tanzanian efforts toward combating human trafficking. I will work to strengthen Tanzania’s ability to continue to meet the AGOA eligibility criteria and to take full advantage of AGOA’s benefits. I will encourage greater U.S. engagement in Tanzania’s port projects to ensure that both Tanzanian and U.S. interests are protected. I will also seek greater engagement from U.S. academic institutions because a modernized agricultural system will enhance food security in Tanzania and East Africa. I will support creation of light industrial development in Tanzania,

to include manufacturing and maintenance of farming equipment as well as food storage facilities.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO MARGARET C. WHITMAN BY SENATOR ROBERT MENEDEZ

Human Rights

Question. According to the 2021 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices there are significant human rights issues in Kenya including credible reports of “unlawful or arbitrary killings, including extrajudicial killings by the Government or on behalf of the Government . . . forced disappearances by the Government or on behalf of the Government.. torture and cases of cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment by the Government . . . [and] . . . arbitrary arrest and detention.”

- How much money did the United States spend on programs and activities to support security services in Kenya? Were any of the security organs that received U.S. funding implicated in human rights abuses? What steps will you take to ensure accountability for human rights abuses by government security forces if confirmed?

Answer. Since 2010, the United States has provided \$310 million in counterterrorism assistance to Kenya. Over the last three years, we have provided more than \$33 million to build the capacity of Kenya’s civilian law enforcement agencies. The Department of State also provides approximately \$6 million annually to strengthen the administration of justice and rule of law institutions including the police, prosecutors, the judiciary, and corrections. Our objective is to promote accountable Kenyan law enforcement institutions that respect human rights and the rule of law and ensure a safe and secure environment for Kenyans.

U.S. officials have raised concerns about heavy-handed security force tactics to the highest levels of the Kenyan Government. They have also addressed underlying factors that may contribute to the use of such tactics by sharing technical expertise in police accountability mechanisms and in judicial reform.

Although the judicial process is slow and challenging, U.S. assistance to the Independent Policing Oversight Authority has improved the quality and speed of investigations of the Kenyan police for human rights abuses, impunity, and corruption since 2015, enabling more convictions. The State Department takes implementation of the Leahy law very seriously, and every Kenyan security force unit nominated for applicable assistance undergoes a vigorous vetting process. I will ensure that continues to be the case.

If confirmed, I am committed to raising credible reports of human rights abuses to the highest levels of the Kenyan Government to increase political accountability and will promote capacity-building that establishes effective accountability mechanisms for human rights violations.

Anticorruption

Question. In 2021, Kenya ranked 121 out of 180 countries on Transparency International’s (TI) Corruption Perceptions Index. Police and the courts reportedly rank among the most corrupt institutions.

- How is corruption impacting U.S. investment in Kenya? What U.S. funded anti-corruption programs and activities are currently underway in Kenya? Do these programs structured to improve the enabling environment for investment? What steps will you take to support anti-corruption efforts in Kenya including accountability for official corruption if confirmed?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work with the Government of Kenya on improving accounting and internal controls by institutionalizing anti-corruption mechanisms in all facets of government. My team and I will also focus on removing barriers to direct trade and investment, increasing security cooperation, combating a culture of impunity, and helping ensure a healthy, educated Kenyan population. Through our assistance programs, we will identify and implement innovative means to reduce the risk of corruption, one of the main obstacles to U.S. investment in Kenya.

There are numerous examples where Kenya’s own anti-corruption measures, pursued effectively through sound laws, institutions, and social practices, have enhanced transparency and oversight, promoted honest conduct, and provided accountability. Kenya was an important contributor to the first Summit for Democracy in December 2021 and reaffirmed its commitment to strengthening the ongoing fight against corruption by continuing to develop accountable institutions.

In 2019, and renewed again in 2022, the State Department signed a \$2 million agreement with DOJ to fund a full-time anti-corruption resident legal advisor in Nairobi to mentor Kenyan prosecutors working on the most sensitive public corruption cases and to train judges at the anti-corruption court. The first iteration of this project helped build capacity of Kenyan prosecutors and judges to prosecute and adjudicate complex corruption cases.

To strengthen the Government's ability to end public corruption and abuses among the police, the State Department funds a \$5.3 million capacity-building project at the Independent Policing Oversight Authority (IPOA) to improve its ability to capture complaints of abuses, track investigations, and refer well-evidenced cases for prosecution. Through a \$300,000 program with local U.S. law enforcement, the State Department funded a train-the-trainers program for investigators at both IPOA and the National Police Service Internal Affairs Unit on modern investigative techniques. In 2020, the State Department also launched a \$200,000 program with the U.N. Office of Drugs and Crime to support the creation of a national whistleblower protection law specifically intended to reduce corruption in public procurement.

Our collaboration to address corruption with Kenya is robust and U.S. investments to build capacity in the justice sector are yielding results. With U.S. support, Kenya is bringing more corruption cases to court, securing more corruption-related convictions, and recovering more illegally acquired assets than in the past. If confirmed, I will continue these efforts to reduce corruption in partnership with the Government of Kenya.

Question. In March, the State Department designated former-Nairobi Governor Mike Sonko Gidion Mbuvi Kioko ineligible for entry into the United States under Section 7031(c) of the Department of State, Foreign Operations, and Related Programs Appropriations Act, 2021 due to his involvement in significant corruption, including for soliciting bribes and kickbacks in exchange for awarding government contracts to his associates.

Do you believe that such sanctions are an effective tool to combat corruption? If confirmed, do you commit to regularly review the use of such designations as a tool to combat corruption?

Answer. I do believe that such sanctions are a useful tool in combating corruption, and if confirmed, I commit to, when appropriate, reviewing such designations regularly as a tool to combat corruption.

Democracy & Human Rights

Question. What are the most important actions you have taken in your career to date to support democracy and human rights? What has been the impact of your actions?

Answer. I have been on the Teach for America (TFA) Board for over 10 years and have served as National Board Chair for the last three. TFA works to ensure that every child has access to an excellent K-12 education in the United States, which I believe is fundamental to democracy and human rights. TFA is widely acknowledged to have made a significant positive difference in the communities in which it operates and to K-12 education in the United States.

Question. How will you utilize U.S. Government assistance resources at your disposal, including the Democracy Commission Small Grants program and other sources of State Department and USAID funding, to support democracy and governance, and what will you prioritize in processes to administer such assistance?

Answer. If confirmed, I will utilize all available U.S. assistance programs and tools to strengthen democracy and good governance in Kenya. State Department and USAID resources are critical to achieving our policy goals and advancing our values in Kenya.

USAID has awarded approximately \$14 million to Kenyan civil society organizations to support credible and peaceful elections this year. The State Department has invested an additional \$4 million to prevent and mitigate conflict and protect human rights. I will also leverage the Government of Kenya's strong desire for a Millennium Challenge Corporation compact to encourage further reforms that improve transparency and reduce corruption.

Question. Will you and your embassy team actively engage with civil society and government counterparts on countering disinformation and propaganda disseminated by foreign state or non-state actors in the country?

Answer. If confirmed, I will build on the embassy team's ongoing work and programs to combat disinformation and propaganda perpetuated by foreign and non-

state actors. A well-informed citizenry is required for a functioning democracy, so I support the continuation of current embassy programs to educate journalists about the dangers of disinformation and procedures to publicly refute dangerous disinformation.

Question. What challenges do the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) people face in Kenya?

Answer. Discrimination against LGBTQI+ individuals is widespread in Kenya. Civil society has reported an increase in harassment of LGBTQI+ Kenyans since the COVID-19 pandemic began. Homosexuality remains illegal in Kenya, and many are afraid to report abuse or get medical help because of social stigma and fear of further persecution.

The murder of Sheila Lumumba, a Kenyan nonbinary lesbian, is a tragic reminder of the ongoing violence and discrimination faced by LGBTQI+ individuals in Kenya. If confirmed, I will work to combat violence and abuse, criminalization, discrimination, and stigma targeting LGBTQI+ persons abroad, in partnership and in direct consultation with civil society. I will work closely with the Special Envoy to Advance the Human Rights of LGBTQI+ persons on these key lines of effort. As President Biden and Secretary Blinken have made clear, advancing the human rights of LGBTQI+ persons is a U.S. foreign policy priority.

Congressional Consultations

Question. Will you commit, if confirmed, to ensuring that you fully brief Members of Congress and/or their staff each time you are in Washington for visits or consultations during your tenure as Ambassador to Kenya?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit, in coordination with the State Department's Bureau of Legislative Affairs, to respond promptly to all requests for briefings and for information by this Committee. Our foreign policy is stronger when the two branches of government coordinate, and I would look forward to strengthening that coordination.

Anomalous Health Incidents

Question. I am very concerned about directed energy attacks on U.S. Government personnel (so-called Anomalous Health Incidents). Ensuring the safety and security of our personnel abroad falls largely on individual Chiefs of Mission and the response of officers at post. It is imperative that any individual who reports a suspected incident be responded to promptly, equitably, and compassionately.

- Do you agree these incidents must be taken seriously, and pose a threat to the health of U.S. personnel?

Answer. Yes, these incidents must be taken seriously. As Secretary Blinken has said, his number one responsibility is to protect the men and women representing our country around the world. If confirmed, I commit to ensuring any reported incident is treated seriously and reported through appropriate channels promptly and that any affected individual promptly receives prompt medical care.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to ensuring that any reported incident is treated seriously and reported quickly through the appropriate channels, and that any affected individuals receive prompt access to medical care?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to treating seriously and quickly reporting, through the appropriate channels, any reported AHI. I will also ensure that affected individuals receive prompt medical care.

Question. Do you commit to meeting with medical staff and the RSO at post to discuss any past reported incidents and ensure that all protocols are being followed?

Answer. If confirmed, I will meet with medical staff and the RSO on any past incidents to ensure that all health, safety, and security protocols are followed and implemented. If confirmed, I will collaborate with our medical team and the RSO to make sure that the entire Embassy community is aware of what to do should a potential incident affect them, their colleagues, or their family members.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO MARGARET C. WHITMAN BY SENATOR JAMES E. RISCH

Question. Campaigns are well underway in Kenya for the hotly contested General Elections on August 9, including for the presidency. These will be pivotal elections,

not only for Kenya, but for the broader East Africa region which has experienced significant democratic setbacks in recent years.

- If confirmed and able to get to post ahead of elections, how will you use your position as U.S. Ambassador to engage with Kenyans and the international community on the electoral process?

Answer. If confirmed, I will support ongoing U.S. activities to strengthen democratic governance and promote peace. I will amplify ongoing efforts to promote free, fair, credible, and peaceful elections. For example, the State Department and USAID are investing in programs to strengthen electoral institutions and accountability, conduct civic education, promote political participation of women and youth, promote respect for human rights, prevent electoral violence, and improve the operational environment for civil society and the media. Moreover, if confirmed, I will continue to strengthen our relationship with Kenyan civil society and work closely with likeminded partners. These efforts will strengthen Kenya's ability to prepare for and conduct free, fair, and peaceful elections that reflect the will of the Kenyan people.

Question. How will you engage with Kenya's leaders in the lead up to these elections?

Answer. The August 2022 general elections are an opportunity for Kenya to showcase to the region and the world the strength of its democracy. If confirmed, I will lead continued U.S. Embassy efforts to engage politicians and government officials across the political spectrum to encourage free, fair, credible, and peaceful electoral processes that advance Kenya's role as a democratic leader.

In addition, I will continue to work with civil society organizations and religious leaders to advocate for electoral reforms, to include the voices of a diversity of Kenyans in the electoral process, and to strengthen the ability of the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission to implement credible elections in a professional and transparent manner.

Question. In your view, what specific efforts can be taken to help ensure the country holds free, fair, credible, transparent and peaceful elections?

Answer. Supporting democratic and institutional reforms in Kenya is a top policy priority for the United States. If confirmed, I will collaborate with the Government of Kenya, political parties, civil society organizations, and other diplomatic missions to promote political reforms, reinforce democratic institutions, and strengthen electoral institutions and processes to promote free, fair, and peaceful elections.

I would support the continued use of available State Department and USAID regional and centrally managed resources to advance democracy and respect for human rights in Kenya. The Embassy has leveraged these kinds of resources in the past to support myriad activities including promoting free, fair, credible, and peaceful elections and increasing women and youth participation in the political process.

Question. Under the Trump administration, Kenya was in talks with the United States over a potential bilateral free trade agreement, which would have been the first such agreement between the United States and an African country. Talks of the free trade agreement stalled under President Biden, but earlier this month a delegation from the Office of the US Trade Representative visited Kenya to explore potential opportunities for enhanced engagement on trade and investment between the U.S. and Kenya.

- As U.S. Ambassador to Kenya, and given your personal background in business—particularly in the tech sector—how will you approach discussions with the Kenyan's over trade and investment and what U.S. tools and resources will you leverage in those discussions?

Answer. If confirmed, I will draw upon my experience in the private sector to inform conversations with Kenyan officials and underscore the benefits of a strong economic relationship with the United States. I will support continued engagement with Kenya to pursue mutually beneficial trade and investment opportunities. Kenya's continued inclusive economic growth is in our interest. It increases Kenya's strength as a key regional security provider and bilateral partner. If confirmed, I will continue coordination with Nairobi's economic and political sections to leverage all resources and tools available to us.

I strongly support USTR's continued engagement with Kenya on trade and investment issues and look forward to the fruitful outcomes of this engagement.

Global Competition and Malign Influence

Question. In November 2020, I published a Senate Foreign Relations Committee majority report entitled "The United States and Europe: A Concrete Agenda for

Transatlantic Cooperation on China.” The report gave several recommendations for increased transatlantic cooperation, including on Africa, to counter malign Chinese influence more effectively.

- In what ways should the United States partner with European countries to build on likeminded interests in Kenya and counter the influence of China and other malign actors?

Answer. To counter the influence of China and other malign actors, it is essential to address corruption and promote U.S. businesses as an alternative to Chinese investment. If confirmed, I will contrast our approach to the PRC’s development model by ensuring that transparency, social, economic, environmental, and labor safeguards are built into the projects we support. I will highlight how our economic engagement in Kenya fosters mutual prosperity by increasing two-way trade and investment, private sector led growth, responsible economic governance, and entrepreneurship opportunities for women and youths.

Working with like-minded partners, like the EU, is critical to advancing United States foreign policy goals in Kenya. If confirmed, I will work closely with the EU mission in Nairobi as well as with our other diplomatic partners to ensure that Kenya improves their democratic institutions to counter any malign influence in the country.

If confirmed, I will focus on how to best compete with China by providing sustainable alternatives, ensuring a level playing field for U.S. businesses and calling out the PRC’s coercive and unfair business practices when necessary.

I will assert American diplomacy to ensure PRC influence does not threaten our strategic partnership with Kenya or undermine democratic governance and transparency and respect for human rights in Kenya.

Foreign Assistance

Question. As Chief of Mission, if confirmed, do you commit to be engaged with USAID on the issue of U.S. foreign assistance to Kenya, to ensure that adequate Mission oversight of U.S. foreign assistance is provided and that our foreign assistance is serving U.S. foreign policy priorities and interests?

Answer. Yes, if confirmed, I commit to engaging with USAID on the issue of U.S. foreign assistance to Kenya to ensure adequate oversight of U.S. foreign assistance and fulfillment of U.S. foreign policy priorities and interests. The U.S. Government has sent a clear message to Kenya that malfeasance will not be tolerated. If confirmed, I will continue to engage to ensure that any necessary reforms are carried out.

Question. Will you commit, if confirmed, to engage personally in ensuring that our PEPFAR programs and other U.S. assistance initiatives are used by the Government of Kenya responsibly and with full transparency?

Answer. Yes, if confirmed, I commit to engaging personally in ensuring that our PEPFAR programs and other U.S. assistance initiatives are used by the Government of Kenya responsibly and with full transparency.

Question. “Locally-owned and locally-led” is a pillar of USAID’s approach in Kenya. This approach directly impacts how the United States provides assistance and interacts with Kenyans on development. While this is a necessary approach and can have a transformative impact on our bilateral relationship, what are the risks to having a foreign assistance model in Kenya that is “wholly” locally-owned and locally-led?

Answer. The United States has developed a cooperation framework to advance our interests with our Kenyan partners. While there are risks in moving towards a localization model that is “Kenyan-led, Kenyan-owned and Kenyan-managed,” we see this approach as an important evolution in our relationship with Kenya. Local organizations may need additional support to comply with USG regulations. To make this model work, the U.S. Government is committed to building the capacity of local organizations and increasing the monitoring and oversight of these organizations to ensure the transparent, accountable, and efficient use of U.S. taxpayer dollars. We have made it clear to the Government of Kenya that malfeasance will not be tolerated. If confirmed, I will ensure full and judicious implementation of any necessary reforms.

I will ensure, through all mechanisms available, that there are regular inspections and oversight of our implementing partners’ facilities and enforce a zero-tolerance policy on waste, fraud, and abuse.

Human Rights

Question. In the State Department's 2021 Trafficking in Persons Report (TIP), Kenya remained Tier 2 due to inconsistent efforts to identify victims of trafficking but increasing the number of investigations and prosecutions of trafficking cases.

- How will you work with the Kenyans to address these issues if you are confirmed as Ambassador?

Answer. If confirmed, I will press the Government of Kenya to increase its efforts to combat TIP, including identifying more trafficking victims, expanding protection services for identified victims, particularly adults, increasing accessibility to shelters for victims, and increasing coordination with NGOs, neighboring countries, and regional organizations.

Question. If confirmed, what concrete steps could you take to help Kenya operationalize the prioritized recommendations contained in the TIP report?

Answer. If confirmed, I will continue Embassy efforts to increase government anti-trafficking efforts, including holding workshops to train magistrates, police officers, and customs officials on trafficking provisions. The Department also supports programs to help the Government increase investigations, prosecutions, and convictions of trafficking crimes; facilitate safe, ethical recruitment and protect migrant workers; and protect, assist, and reintegrate victims.

Question. In the State Department's 2020 International Religious Freedom report, Kenya was lacking societal and governmental respect for religious freedom.

- What is your assessment of this particular issue and if confirmed, how will you work with the Ambassador At Large for International Religious Freedom to bolster religious freedom in-country?

Answer. At the time of the 2020 report, the U.S. Government estimated as of 2019 approximately 85.5 percent of the total population of Kenya is Christian and 11 percent Muslim. Groups constituting less than 2 percent of the population include Hindus, Sikhs, Baha'is, and those adhering to various traditional religious beliefs. Most of the Muslim population lives in the northeast and coastal regions, with significant Muslim communities in several areas of Nairobi. Religion and ethnicity are often linked, with most members of many ethnic groups adhering to the same religious beliefs.

Al-Shabaab has carried out attacks in the northeastern part of the country and said it had targeted non-Muslims because of their faith. There are occasional reports of religiously motivated threats of societal violence and intolerance, such as members of Muslim communities threatening individuals who converted from Islam to Christianity.

In recent years, religious and political leaders have stated that tolerance and cooperation among religions have improved, citing extensive interfaith efforts to mitigate the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic and to build peace between communities as evidence.

If confirmed, I will work with the Ambassador-at-Large for International Religious Freedom to monitor religious freedom abuses, persecution, and discrimination in Kenya. We will collaborate on efforts to address these concerns and to build diverse and dynamic partnerships with the broadest range of civil society.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to personally engaging with civil society on this issue?

Answer. Yes, if confirmed, I commit to personally engage with civil society on this issue.

Question. If confirmed, what concrete steps can you take to help Kenya increase its societal and governmental respect for religious freedom?

Answer. If confirmed, I will emphasize the importance of respecting religious freedom and underscore the importance of addressing human rights abuses by security forces, including abuses limiting the ability of minority religious groups to function freely in society. The Kenyan constitution prohibits religious discrimination and protects religious freedom. If confirmed, I will continue to work with the Government of Kenya and civil society to ensure that both laws and policies are effectively implemented in accordance with these constitutional rights.

Question. In the State Department's 2021 Human Rights Report, Kenya was identified as having significant human rights abuses, including arbitrary killings, forced disappearances, violence against journalists and others, and more.

- If confirmed, what steps will you take to address these instances with the host government?

Answer. The United States is deeply concerned about allegations of human rights violations and abuses in Kenya. If confirmed, I will call for the Government of Kenya, both publicly and privately, to respect the human rights of individuals in Kenya, notably freedoms of expression and peaceful assembly, and to ensure that those arrested receive due process and fair trials. I will speak out for democratic pluralism and respect for human rights. I will also build on current U.S. programs to strengthen police accountability, increase civilian police oversight, and professionalize security forces, including by providing human rights training.

If confirmed, I will build on Embassy efforts to urge the Government to increase the transparency of the electoral process and protect the freedom of peaceful assembly. I would also encourage the Government to end impunity to build trust with its citizens and develop a capable and accountable civilian security sector that serves Kenyans and respects international human rights standards.

The State Department takes implementation of the Leahy law very seriously, and every Kenyan security force unit nominated for applicable assistance undergoes a vigorous vetting process. I will ensure that continues to be the case.

Question. How will you direct Embassy Nairobi to work with civil society organizations to improve the human rights situation on the ground?

Answer. If confirmed, I will meet with and listen to all civil society and political actors in Kenya who support strengthening Kenya's democracy. I would build on Embassy efforts to urge the Government to ensure civil society organizations can operate freely and protect the freedom of peaceful assembly and expression. A concrete way the Government can build that trust is to allow NGOs and civil society true freedom of peaceful assembly and association. As health and safety allow, my team and I would meet in-person with civil society leaders throughout Kenya to hear and support their voices. I would also build on Embassy programs to assist civil society organizations conducting human rights advocacy and monitoring, particularly in advance of the August national election.

Kenya in the United Nations

Question. The Office of Multilateral Strategy and Personnel (MSP) in the State Department's Bureau of International Organizations is leading a whole-of-government effort to identify, recruit, and install qualified, independent personnel at the United Nations (U.N.), including in elections for specialized bodies like the International Telecommunications Union (ITU). There is an American candidate, Doreen Bogdan-Martin, who if elected would be the first American and first woman to lead the ITU. She is in a tough race that will require early, consistent engagement across capital and within the U.N. member states.

- If confirmed, do you commit to demarching the Kenyan Government and any other counterparts necessary to encourage their support of Ms. Bogdan-Martin?

Answer. Yes, if confirmed, I commit to demarching the Kenyan Government and any other counterparts necessary to encourage their support of Ms. Bogdan-Martin.

Question. If confirmed, how can you work with the Bureau of International Organizations and other stakeholders to identify, recruit, and install qualified Americans in positions like the Junior Professional Officer (JPO) program at the U.N.?

Answer. If confirmed, I will coordinate closely with my colleagues in the International Organization Affairs Bureau and other stakeholder bureaus and agencies and consult with Congress to ensure we have sufficient resources, tools, and staffing to support more positions for U.S. citizen JPOs in the U.N. system. With these resources, we can work strategically to increase the number of JPO opportunities funded by the U.S. Government into key agencies and bodies that work on U.S. priorities, expand our recruitment and outreach activities to ensure these opportunities are widely known and available to interested U.S. citizens, and provide tools and services to strengthen our competitiveness in placing qualified U.S. citizens into the U.N. system.

Question. As Chief of Mission, how would you approach management of the physical Embassy, as well as multiple missions and the myriad staff working not just for the Department of State, but multiple other U.S. federal departments and agencies, as well as the billions of dollars in U.S. Government programs focused on Kenya, Somalia, and the broader region?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work closely with my management team in the mission to ensure the physical Embassy, as well as all our facilities, are safe, properly maintained, and effectively using government resources. I will adhere to the concept of "one team" to ensure that team members regardless of physical location are well integrated into the larger mission and empowered to focus on our core objectives.

I will rely on the country team format to integrate all agencies at post. I will meet section and agency heads one-on-one and visit all our facilities on a regular basis.

State Department Management and Public Diplomacy

Question. The U.S. Mission in Kenya is one of the largest in the world, hosting Embassy, USAID and other federal agency staff covering Kenya, Somalia, and regional East and Horn of Africa issues and programs.

- How do you intend to improve morale at Mission Nairobi?

Answer. If confirmed, I will make maintaining morale of utmost importance. I will work closely with my staff, understand their concerns about morale, and communicate those concerns back to Department leadership. In my experience, the best work comes from well-resourced teams that support one another in their work towards achieving common goals and advancing U.S. policies. If confirmed, I will maintain clear communication and articulate goals and priorities early on and often.

Our foreign service family members contribute directly to mission morale, and if confirmed, I will ensure that those family members are also supported and happy by improving education and schools in the country and ensuring that eligible family members who wish to work in the mission find meaningful employment.

Question. How do you intend to create a unified mission and vision at Mission Nairobi?

Answer. If confirmed, I will ensure that all employees working in Embassy Nairobi, whether they are locally employed staff, eligible family members, contractors, or U.S. direct hires, feel supported and heard in their work. I maintain an open-door policy and will welcome the contributions and ideas of those working in our mission. Throughout my career, I have valued and encouraged a diverse and inclusive work environment, I will bring that same spirit to Embassy Nairobi.

Question. Management is a key responsibility for chiefs of mission. How would you describe your management style?

Answer. My management style incorporates several elements. First, when beginning a new job, I listen very carefully to the existing team, including in this case, foreign service officers, locally employed staff and family members.

Second, I determine what the organization is doing well and do more of it—as opposed to focusing exclusively on what needs to be fixed or improved. I always get to the list of improvements that are necessary, but I have found that starting with what is going well builds buy-in and credibility.

Third, I work with my team to develop a set of priorities and metrics by which we hold ourselves accountable for delivering results. This process is consensus oriented but often requires clear decision-making.

Lastly, I establish an operating and communications cadence that allows the organization to know what the priorities are, what is being worked on, what the current issues are and how we are doing on executing against our goals. I also view attracting and developing talent as a key part of my management priorities. If confirmed, I will carefully build relationships as I listen to members of the host government and civil society. I will also listen to our Embassy and consular “customers.”

Question. Do you believe it is ever acceptable or constructive to berate subordinates, either in public or private?

Answer. No, I do not believe it is ever acceptable or constructive to berate subordinates, either in public or private.

Question. How do you envision your leadership relationship with your deputy chief of mission?

Answer. We will work as a true team to ensure the U.S. Mission in Kenya is best placed to advance U.S. interests.

Question. If confirmed, what leadership responsibilities do you intend to entrust to your deputy chief of mission?

Answer. If confirmed, I will entrust my deputy chief of mission (DCM) with the responsibilities akin to those of a chief operating officer. While both the DCM and I will have responsibility for coaching and mentoring the Embassy team, if confirmed, I will also ask the DCM to play the primary role in ensuring the career development of the first- and second-tour officers on the Embassy team. And I will be open to any ideas that the DCM has about functions in which he/she is particularly interested or where he/she has particular strengths.

Question. In order to create and continue employee excellence at the Department, accurate and direct employee evaluation reports (EERs) for Foreign Service Officers are imperative, though often lacking.

- Do you believe that it is important to provide employees with accurate, constructive feedback on their performances to encourage improvement and reward those who most succeeded in their roles?

Answer. Yes. I believe that providing accurate and constructive feedback on performance is essential. And, if confirmed, I will fully reward those who succeed in their roles in the mission.

Question. If confirmed, would you support and encourage clear, accurate, and direct feedback to employees in order to improve performance and reward high achievers?

Answer. Yes, if confirmed, I would support and encourage clear, accurate, and direct feedback to employees to improve performance and reward high achievers.

Question. It is imperative that U.S. diplomats get outside of posts abroad to meet with local actors, including host government officials, non-government organizations, and fellow foreign diplomats stationed in Kenya.

- In your opinion, do U.S. diplomats get outside of our Embassy walls enough to accomplish fully their missions?

Answer. If confirmed, I will listen to my team to understand what resources they need to increase in-person interactions. outside Embassy walls. There must be a balance between mission, security concerns, and COVID-19 mitigation. I see great value in leaving the Embassy compound and am committed to ensuring the safety of my teammates. If in-person interactions are unsafe, I will provide technological support to my team so that they are still able to fully accomplish our mission.

Question. How do you intend to improve the ability of U.S. diplomats to better access all local populations?

Answer. Unfortunately, the COVID-19 pandemic continues to limit our ability to meet local populations in person. Security issues are also a concern. If confirmed, I intend to improve the ability of my staff to access local populations by ensuring the health and safety of local populations and Embassy employees so that they can meet face-to-face. I will listen to my team to understand what resources they need from the State Department to increase in-person interactions. If in-person interactions are unsafe, I will provide technological support to my team so that they are able to meet virtually with their contacts.

Question. Public diplomacy is an important aspect of U.S. foreign policy efforts. What is the public diplomacy environment like in the Kenya?

Answer. The U.S.-Kenya partnership is strong and Kenyan audiences welcome U.S. programming. Programs over the past year have connected U.S. and Kenyan experts and audiences to discuss food security, animation and filmmaking, hip hop music creation and marketing, journalism, entrepreneurship, COVID-19 prevention and mitigation measures, inter-religious relations, and disability rights. If confirmed, I will ensure that Embassy Nairobi continues to engage Kenyans to encourage mutual understanding with the United States.

Question. What public diplomacy challenges do U.S. diplomats face there?

Answer. Security conditions in certain counties, and even in parts of Nairobi, limit and restrict our interaction with key audiences, including at our American Corner on Lamu Island.

Question. How do you balance the importance of Main State versus the in-country mission when it comes to tailoring public diplomacy messages for foreign audiences?

Answer. I believe Main State and our mission in Nairobi each have an important role to play when it comes to tailoring public diplomacy messages for foreign audiences. Public diplomacy officials on the ground can use close relationships with local media to reach a broad array of Kenyans with our messaging. Officials in Washington—with a wider audience—offer a platform to amplify this messaging. If confirmed, I will ensure our mission and Main State effectively coordinate on messaging to ensure it is as effective as possible.

Question. “Anomalous health incidents,” commonly referred to as “Havana Syndrome,” have been debilitating and sidelining U.S. diplomats around the world for years. They have caused serious, negative consequences for U.S. diplomacy, yet many believe that the Department is not doing enough to care for, protect, and communicate to its personnel. The past occurrences and ongoing threat of anomalous

health incidents among Embassy personnel and their families poses a serious challenge to morale. When personnel at post fear for their safety or doubt that their case will be taken seriously if they were affected, the performance of Embassy operations can suffer.

- If confirmed, do you commit to taking this threat seriously?

Answer. Yes. I am deeply troubled by potential anomalous health incidents that have affected U.S. Government personnel and their family members. Serving one's country overseas should not come at the cost of one's health. I agree that such incidents may pose a threat to the well-being of U.S. personnel and must be taken extremely seriously. If confirmed, the health, safety, and security of Embassy staff, their family members, and all those supporting the mission will be my highest priority.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to talking as openly as you can to Mission Nairobi personnel?

Answer. If confirmed, I am committed to regularly share new information on this issue consistent with ensuring the integrity of ongoing investigations.

Question. Have you received a briefing on the anomalous health incidents that have occurred to U.S. Government personnel around the world, including at U.S. Embassies and other diplomatic posts? If you have not, and if you are confirmed, do you commit to receiving a briefing on the incidents before you depart for your post?

Answer. Yes, I commit to participating in the briefing on Anomalous Health Incidents, including in the Ambassadorial Seminar, and will seek further information in unclassified and classified meetings with the Coordinator of the State Department's Health Incident Response Task Force as well as relevant bureaus including Diplomatic Security and Intelligence and Research.

Question. In the event of an anomalous health incident among your Embassy personnel or eligible family members, do you commit to maintain detailed records of the incident, and share the information with the State Department and other embassies to contribute to the investigation of how these attacks are affecting U.S. missions and personnel around the world?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to engaging in the ongoing investigation into circumstances surrounding the unexplained health incidents. The Department continues to work in coordination with interagency partners on determining what happened to our staff and their families and to ensure their well-being and health going forward. There is no higher priority than the safety and security of our U.S. personnel and their families.

Question. Whether or not anomalous health incidents occur at your Embassy, how will you work to restore and preserve morale that may be lost due to the knowledge these attacks have been occurring at posts around the world?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to being open with my staff about what I know; I commit to taking seriously any report of an employee being harmed or under threat, whether that is related to anomalous health incidents or not; and I commit to keeping an open door so that my staff entrust me with any concerns that affect their morale. I also commit to speaking with my staff regularly about the Embassy's mission, to ensure that they know how their work fits into the bigger picture. I believe that a team's morale is best served by every member of that team understanding the way in which his or her work matters, and by every member of the team knowing that their leaders have their backs and care sincerely about their well-being.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO MARGARET C. WHITMAN BY SENATOR JEANNE SHAHEEN

Question. I have been closely following increased reports of directed energy attacks that have affected U.S. Government employees. As nominees to a role of Ambassador, I want to ensure that you are sufficiently prepared to respond accordingly if an unexplained health incident is reported in your mission. I understand that the State Department includes a briefing on this as part of the Ambassadorial Seminar that you are required to attend.

- If confirmed, will you commit to attending the Ambassadorial Seminar Session on AHIs and seek a classified briefing with State Department?

Answer. Yes, I commit to attending the session on AHIs and seeking a classified briefing at the State Department on this issue, if confirmed.

Question. If an incident occurs, please assure that you will do everything in your power to prioritize the health, treatment and safety of our diplomats?

Answer. Yes, I confirm that if an AHI incident occurs, I will do everything in my power to prioritize the health, treatment, and safety of our diplomats.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO MARGARET C. WHITMAN BY SENATOR MARCO RUBIO

Question. Nowhere else in Africa are the dangers of the Chinese Communist Party's Belt and Road Initiative more apparent than in Kenya. The People's Republic of China holds 67 percent of Kenya's total external debt, much of this is tied up in loans for infrastructure projects. One of these, a railroad and coal plant near the city of Lamu, is estimated to be nearly a fifth of Kenya's Government budget. It won't take much for the CCP to swoop in and demand control of these facilities, justifying that Kenya has not been timely in making loan repayments.

- What is your assessment of the development of CCP investment in Kenya?

Answer. I share your concerns about the approach to investment in Kenya by the People's Republic of China (PRC). Kenya's debt is approaching unsustainable levels, and the U.S. Government fully supports the International Monetary Fund's program in Kenya to help the Kenyan Government better control its external borrowing and fiscal deficit. I will support Kenyan civil society advocacy for improved transparency in contracting processes. In parallel, I will advocate for a level playing field for American investments to provide the people of Kenya better transparency, value, and quality.

Question. If confirmed, what do you plan to do to encourage Kenya to look to other sources of investment for its infrastructure projects?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work closely with the Kenyan Government and U.S. private sector to promote increased U.S. investment in Kenya and to maximize the broad range of U.S. Government resources available to support U.S. businesses seeking to invest in Kenya. I will highlight that U.S. investment brings sustainable financing, skills and technology transfer, quality job creation, accountability, and transparency—helping Kenya grow its economy and making its business environment more attractive to other foreign investment. The Nairobi-based tech hub known as the "Silicon Savannah" is one way to highlight the benefits of U.S. investment. Google's plans to open a product development center, as well as Microsoft's recent launch of its Africa Development Center in Nairobi will create high-skill technology jobs in a vital sector.

If confirmed, I will focus on how to best compete with the PRC by providing Kenya with sustainable alternatives, ensuring a level playing field for U.S. businesses, and calling out the PRC's corrosive business practices.

Endemic corruption in Kenya also deters domestic and international investment and limits opportunities for U.S. companies, as foreign competitors exploit corruption to secure overpriced and sub-standard commercial deals. If confirmed, I will work with the Government to institutionalize anti-corruption mechanisms in all facets of government and seek to leverage the Government of Kenya's strong desire for a Millennium Challenge Corporation compact to encourage further reforms that improve transparency and reduce corruption.

Question. Many of the CCP-backed projects in Kenya involve the fossil fuel industry. Do you believe that we should let the CCP operate unopposed in this economic sector, which is so crucial for Kenya's development?

Answer. We should not permit the PRC to operate unopposed in any economic sector. If confirmed, I will promote the prosperity of Americans and Kenyans through a fair and reciprocal economic partnership.

If confirmed, I will contrast the U.S. approach to the PRC's development model by ensuring that transparency, social, economic, environmental, and labor safeguards are built into the projects we support. I will highlight how our economic engagement in Kenya fosters mutual prosperity by increasing two-way trade and investment, private sector led growth, responsible economic governance, and entrepreneurship opportunities for women and youths.

Question. In January 2021, President Biden issued an executive order requiring DFC and multi-lateral banks only support projects that are consistent with the

Paris Climate accords. Do you think an exception to be made in cases like Kenya, where the Chinese Communist Party is making inroads through investment in fossil fuel projects?

Answer. No, we should not try to compete with the PRC by lowering our standards for investment. Instead, we should support Kenya's leadership in climate change and green energy, which was most recently demonstrated in its November 2020 decision to cancel a proposed Chinese-built coal plant on Lamu Island in response to environmental concerns. Kenya already produces over 90 percent of its grid power from renewable energy sources, setting an enviable standard for the whole world to follow.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO MICHAEL C. GONZALES BY SENATOR ROBERT MENENDEZ

Question. Zambia's unsustainably high levels of foreign debt resulted in its default in 2020, and is a top priority for President Hichilema.

- What role should the United States play in helping Zambia address its debt crisis, including support for debt relief at international financial institutions, engagement with bilateral creditors including China, and providing technical support for public financial management and oversight?

Answer. The United States strongly supports ongoing multilateral efforts to restructure Zambia's external debt. We work with the Paris Club, G20 partners, leadership from international financial institutions, and international experts to drive international support for Zambia's economic renewal and emergence from debt distress. U.S. experts also provide guidance and capacity building to Zambian regulators to ensure transparent, responsive, and accountable governance. Playing a leading role in these efforts directly supports Zambia's economic and political renewal and charts a path forward for other African and G77 partners currently struggling with unsustainable external debt and insufficient public resources.

Question. If confirmed, what how will you work with the Zambian Government to address debt and other economic issues, including diversification, privatization, and stopping illicit financial flows?

Answer. If confirmed, I will continue to lead U.S. efforts in support of Zambia's ongoing economic renewal. I hope to forge strong working relationships with representatives from the Zambian Government, international financial institutions, and the private sector to ensure the United States has broad visibility into macroeconomic conditions, reforms, and opportunities. I will seek to connect Zambian partners with U.S. Government and nongovernment experts who can advise on necessary reforms to the business enabling environment to attract and retain private investment. I will also strongly advocate for visits and programming by relevant interagency experts at the Departments of Treasury, Commerce, and Agriculture.

Question. President Hichilema campaigned on a promise to improve democracy and governance in Zambia, correcting the authoritarian course set by President Lungu.

- In your opinion, has President Hichilema kept that promise? What is the Embassy's role in assisting with the development and implementation of democratic and governance reforms, and how will you work to hold President Hichilema accountable to his promise of reform if confirmed?

Answer. The administration of President Hichilema has made significant progress in efforts to stop authoritarian drift and root out endemic corruption in Zambia in a very short time. More work must be done to consolidate democratic gains and respond to the Zambian people's demands for economic and political renewal. U.S.-funded programming, exchanges, and engagement build the capacity and independence of government officials, legislators, and civil society activists. If confirmed, I will use the broad range of our public and private diplomacy to hold President Hichilema accountable for his campaign promises, the Zambian Government's Summit for Democracy commitments, and the demands of the Zambian people for accountable governance.

Question. President Hichilema was elected partially on the support of women and youths, two groups that have been historically underrepresented in public life, and who may face barriers to social and economic advancement. LGTBI people still face significant social and legal discrimination.

- If confirmed, what will you do to advocate for changes in policy and law that address the marginalization of these groups?

Answer. The Zambian Government must do more to ensure the safety, representation, and economic participation of marginalized groups, in line with Zambia's constitutional and international commitments, and President Hichilema's stated commitments to promote respect for fundamental freedoms. If confirmed, I will continue the work of the U.S. Embassy in Lusaka to forge strong working relationships with the members, leaders, and institutions representing these communities. I hope to use this insight to identify challenges and opportunities for which U.S. assistance is best suited. Cultural and historical context in Zambia makes engagement on these issues particularly difficult. In all things, I will be guided by our "do no harm" policy.

Democracy & Human Rights

Question. What steps will you take—if confirmed—to support democracy in Zambia? What do you hope to accomplish through these actions? What are the potential impediments to addressing the specific obstacles you have identified?

Answer. If confirmed, I will continue U.S. efforts to support the consolidation of democratic gains in Zambia. Chief among these will be efforts to institutionalize reforms for accountable and responsive governance, including protecting opposition and civil society voices, independent media, and marginalized communities. Creating a more resilient, responsive Zambian Government would better equip Zambia to continue its long legacy as an anchor of democratic stability in southern Africa. The ability to execute ambitious reforms will depend upon Beijing's participation in multilateral debt restructuring negotiations and Zambia's ability to secure a swift and lasting resolution to its debt crisis.

Question. How will you utilize U.S. Government assistance resources at your disposal, including the Democracy Commission Small Grants program and other sources of State Department and USAID funding, to support investment and governance, and what will you prioritize in processes to administer such assistance?

Answer. If confirmed, I hope to begin my tenure by aligning Zambian Government priorities, available U.S. assistance, and local capacity to absorb new initiatives and support. I will also seek to assess preexisting programming from likeminded partners, who play an active and important role in Zambia. I hope to prioritize efforts to institutionalize reforms in an effort to ensure democratic gains outlast the current administration. Zambia's longer-term success requires fighting endemic corruption and enacting legislative, regulatory, and procedural reforms to improve the business enabling environment. If confirmed, these areas will be particular priorities for me and the U.S. Mission.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to meet with civil society members, human rights, and other non-governmental organizations in the U.S. and with local human rights NGOs, and other members of civil society in Zambia? What steps will you take to pro-actively address efforts to restrict or penalize NGOs and civil society via legal or regulatory measures?

Answer. Nongovernmental organizations play a critical role in ensuring official accountability. If confirmed, I hope to engage early, often, and meaningfully with U.S., Zambian, and international civil society organizations. I hope to use the breadth of the U.S. Embassy's public and private outreach to hold government officials accountable—both for their campaign promises of reform and for any efforts that impinge upon respect for fundamental freedoms of association or expression. I will also work closely with likeminded partners in Zambia to amplify messages in support of progress and in condemnation of regressive regulatory action.

Question. Will you and your Embassy team actively engage with Zambia on freedom of the press and address any government efforts designed to control or undermine press freedom through legal, regulatory, or other measures? Will you commit to meeting regularly with independent, local press in Zambia?

Answer. Yes.

Congressional Consultations

Question. Will you commit, if confirmed, to ensuring that you fully brief members of Congress and/or their staff each time you are in Washington for visits or consultations during your tenure as Ambassador to Zambia?

Answer. Yes, working through the Bureau of Legislative Affairs, I commit to briefing members and/or staff when I am in Washington for consultations.

Anomalous Health Incidents

Question. I am very concerned about directed energy attacks on U.S. Government personnel (so-called Anomalous Health Incidents). Ensuring the safety and security of our personnel abroad falls largely on individual Chiefs of Mission and the response of officers at post. It is imperative that any individual who reports a suspected incident be responded to promptly, equitably, and compassionately.

- Do you agree these incidents must be taken seriously, and pose a threat to the health of U.S. personnel?

Answer. I am deeply concerned by potential anomalous health incidents impacting U.S. Government personnel and their family members. These incidents affect the wellbeing of U.S. personnel serving their country abroad and their families and must be taken extremely seriously. If confirmed, I will make the health, safety, and security of Embassy Lusaka staff, their family members, and all those supporting the Mission my top priority, including contributing to the extensive, ongoing inter-agency investigation into the cause of these incidents and how we can best protect our people.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to ensuring that any reported incident is treated seriously and reported quickly through the appropriate channels, and that any affected individuals receive prompt access to medical care?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to ensuring that all reported potential anomalous health incidents are given serious attention and reported swiftly through the appropriate channels. I will also ensure that staff who are affected by these incidents receive prompt access to the treatment, support, and medical care that they need.

Question. Do you commit to meeting with medical staff and the RSO at post to discuss any past reported incidents and ensure that all protocols are being followed?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to meeting with medical staff and the RSO at Embassy Lusaka to discuss any reported anomalous health incidents so that I am most prepared to protect the safety of the U.S. Mission and ensure that all protocols regarding anomalous health incidents are being followed appropriately.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO MICHAEL C. GONZALES BY SENATOR JAMES E. RISCH

Question. Hakainde Hichilema's presidential victory in 2021 served as a critical moment in both Zambia and the region's democratic development. The success or failure of President Hichilema's presidency will hinge on his reforms, approach to governance, and an essential factor not entirely within his control—restructuring Zambia's approximately \$17.3 billion in external debt, of which Chinese state and commercial creditors account for about one-third.

- How is the United States supporting the Government of Hakainde Hichilema to deleverage their country from the stranglehold of Chinese debt?

Answer. The United States uses its seat at Paris Club meetings and in the G20 Finance Track to call for Beijing's immediate participation in restructuring discussions. Deputy Secretary Wendy Sherman met the Zambian Foreign Minister and Treasury Secretary on May 19 to discuss a coordinated response to Beijing's continued obstructionism. Our work with the Zambian Government encourages improvements in Zambia's investment climate, and we use public and private engagements in Zambia and the United States to highlight the investment opportunity presented by Zambia's pivot towards pro-market growth. Our public and private diplomacy highlights the centrality of private sector-led growth to sustainable development in Zambia.

Question. What steps can the United States take alongside its like-minded allies to support Zambia's democratic consolidation under President Hichilema while also minimizing the country's exposure to China's (often-malign) influence?

Answer. Public, private, and financial support for accountability institutions, civil society, and independent media will bolster Zambia's democratic resilience. The United States can work with likeminded partners to develop and deploy targeted programs in support of Zambia's Summit for Democracy Year of Action commitments to enshrine media freedoms, protect civil liberties, and strengthen the independence and transparency of the Elections Commission of Zambia. Supporting the Government's planned fiscal reforms with an emphasis on transparency and reduc-

ing opportunities for corruption will help re-establish fiscal stability and deliver a “democratic dividend” to the Zambian people.

Question. How is the United States supporting the continuation of multi-party democracy in Zambia to continue the consolidation of democracy in Zambia and ensure checks and balances on the Hichilema administration?

Answer. U.S.-funded programming advances the decentralization of power in Zambia, moving decision-making and critical services from Lusaka to local governments. Embassy officials work closely with civil society and media, government, and political parties to improve the legal and regulatory framework for elections, political reforms, and greater transparency in and oversight of public resource allocation. U.S. technical assistance and financial support also build the viability and quality of independent media and the capacity of civil society organizations to monitor government actions and ensure citizen perspectives are considered. Our support for Zambia’s participation in the Summit for Democracy will also entrench democratic reforms.

Question. Zambia’s recent peaceful transfer of power from President Lungu to President Hichilema following a contentious campaign and electoral period was hailed as a democratic victory in what has otherwise been a challenging democratic landscape in the region.

- As U.S. Ambassador to Zambia, how will you engage with the new administration, as well as the political opposition and civil society, to ensure this democratic opening in Zambia remains on course?

Answer. If confirmed, I will seek to continue efforts by the U.S. Government and our likeminded partners to support the institutionalization of reforms that protect independent media, opposition voices, and marginalized groups. I will use public and private diplomacy to hold government officials accountable for campaign promises, including on the decentralization of political power and the repeal or amendment of regressive legislation. I will also develop strong, candid, and productive relationships with opposition party members and civil society activists in order to broaden our view of the Zambian people’s perspectives, challenges, and demands.

Global Competition and Malign Influence

Question. In November 2020, I published a Senate Foreign Relations Committee majority report entitled “The United States and Europe: A Concrete Agenda for Transatlantic Cooperation on China.” The report gave several recommendations for increased transatlantic cooperation, including on Africa, to counter malign Chinese influence more effectively.

- In what ways should the United States partner with European countries to build on likeminded interests in Zambia and counter the influence of China and other malign actors?

Answer. The U.S. Embassy in Lusaka works closely with our UK, EU, and European counterparts, and we cannot accomplish our core objectives in Zambia without their support. The perspective, funding, and expertise they provide directly supports our efforts to strengthen democracy, drive economic prosperity, and improve health outcomes in Zambia. If confirmed, I will continue and seek to deepen this collaboration in Lusaka, at capitals, and within multilateral institutions to advance a free and open, rules-based order that serves Zambian and our collective interests.

Relationship with USAID

Question. As is the case across the continent, Zambia is a recipient of significant foreign assistance, including for global health, democracy and governance, education, food security, conservation, and other critical areas for the U.S./Zambia relationship.

- How do you view the relationship between the Embassy and USAID at post?

Answer. The USAID Mission is an integral part of the U.S. Embassy and staff members from all U.S. Mission elements enjoy strong working relationships across agency lines. U.S. officials from across our interagency teamwork hand-in-hand to advance U.S. objectives in Zambia through formal working groups and myriad ad hoc targets of opportunity. Officials from the Departments of State and Defense and the Centers of Disease Control and Prevention rely heavily on the programmatic and thematic expertise of their USAID colleagues. USAID staff frequently attend external meetings, trips, and strategy sessions alongside counterparts from other U.S. agencies.

Question. How will you approach your role as Chief of Mission to engage USAID staff at Mission Lusaka?

Answer. If confirmed, I will champion, guide, and participate actively in the implementation of programs and engagements across all components of the U.S. Mission to advance U.S. interests in a concerted and complementary fashion. USAID is instrumental to our relationship, and, if confirmed, I will rely heavily on the USAID Mission Director and team for their expertise, unique skills, and insights in shaping and pursuing America's ambitious objectives in Zambia. Mission Lusaka enjoys positive interagency collaboration through an objective-based working group structure which, if confirmed, I would continue.

Question. Do you commit to respecting the mission of USAID in Zambia and supporting USAID and USAID staff to fulfill its mandate and role in advancing US foreign policy and interests in Zambia?

Answer. Yes.

Human Rights

Question. In the State Department's 2021 Trafficking in Persons Report (TIP), Zambia remained on the Tier 2 Watch List for the second consecutive year for inconsistent efforts to meet the minimum standards, including increasing investigations of trafficking crimes and jailing trafficking victims.

- How will you work with the Zambians to address these issues if you are confirmed as Ambassador?

Answer. If confirmed, I will use engagements with all levels of the Zambian Government to press for the adoption of recommendations listed in the 2021 TIP report, including institutionalizing trauma-informed victim referral protocols and training law enforcement on victim-centered investigations. I will also develop strong working relationships with civil society organizations across the country to ensure our efforts encompass the entirety of the challenge now present in Zambia. I will also use our public and private diplomacy to hold Government officials accountable, celebrate progress, and offer support for legislative reforms.

Question. If confirmed, what concrete steps could you take to help Zambia operationalize the prioritized recommendations contained in the TIP report?

Answer. My early engagements with Zambian officials will communicate the centrality of progress to combat human trafficking to U.S. foreign policy objectives in Zambia. If confirmed, I and the Embassy team will work closely with experts from civil society and international organizations to press Zambia to adopt anti-trafficking legislation that would more closely align with international law. I will encourage increased collaboration between the Government and civil society to help ensure victims of trafficking are identified and referred to care and that traffickers are vigorously prosecuted. I will also advocate for frequent programmatic support from and visits by experts from the Department of State's antitrafficking experts.

Question. In the State Department's 2020 International Religious Freedom report, Zambia was identified as lacking societal and governmental respect for religious freedom.

- What is your assessment of this particular issue and if confirmed, how will you work with the Ambassador At Large for International Religious Freedom to bolster religious freedom in-country?

Answer. Efforts to consolidate democracy and protect marginalized communities in Zambia must also include efforts to promote respect for religious freedom. The Zambian Government has passed meaningful legislation on the issue, but more must be done to ensure equal and effective enforcement. If confirmed, I will encourage close cooperation between the interagency team at U.S. Embassy Lusaka and work closely with the Ambassador At Large for International Religious Freedom and his office to advance the respect for freedom of religious and belief in Zambia.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to personally engaging with civil society on this issue?

Answer. Yes.

Question. If confirmed, what concrete steps can you take to help Zambia increase societal and governmental respect for religious freedom?

Answer. If confirmed, I will seek to support and accelerate the ongoing work by the interagency team at the U.S. Embassy in Lusaka. I hope to forge strong personal and institutional relationships with religious institutions, civil society organizations, international observers, and government regulators in order to assess where U.S. assistance can advance the U.S. Government's priorities around respect for religious freedom. I will seek to connect relevant Zambian Government and non-govern-

mental organizations with U.S. and international experts to share lessons learned and develop best practices.

Question. In the State Department's 2021 Human Rights Report, Zambia was identified as having significant human rights abuses, including restrictions on free speech and censorship online, undermining basic internationally-recognized human rights, and widespread child labor.

- If confirmed, what steps will you take to address these instances with the host government?

Answer. Zambian voters upheld Zambia's longstanding democratic tradition in the 2021 general elections and ousted a regime that was notorious for such abuses. But even with a new government in office, more must be done to enshrine protections for opposition voices and respect for human rights. If confirmed, I will press government officials to uphold Zambia's Summit for Democracy commitments in line with campaign promises around long overdue political reform, including the repeal of regressive colonial era laws that restrict freedom of peaceful assembly. I will also seek to build the capacity of watchdog agencies and civil society organizations which provide critical independent perspectives on government accountability.

Question. How will you direct Embassy Lusaka to work with civil society organizations to improve the human rights situation on the ground?

Answer. If confirmed, I will strongly and urgently support the ongoing work of the U.S. Embassy staff, who have forged strong relationships with a full spectrum of official, independent, and international human rights interlocutors. I will continue close collaboration with the Zambian Government to identify areas in which U.S. and likeminded assistance can help enshrine respect for human rights and press Zambian officials to live up to campaign promises on media freedom and institutional independence.

Zambia in the United Nations

Question. The Office of Multilateral Strategy and Personnel (MSP) in the State Department's Bureau of International Organizations is leading a whole-of-government effort to identify, recruit, and install qualified, independent personnel at the United Nations (U.N.), including in elections for specialized bodies like the International Telecommunications Union (ITU). There is an American candidate, Doreen Bodgan-Martin, who if elected would be the first American and first woman to lead the ITU. She is in a tough race that will require early, consistent engagement across capital and within the U.N. member states.

- If confirmed, do you commit to demarching the Zambian Government and any other counterparts necessary to encourage their support of Ms. Bogdan-Martin?

Answer. Yes. The Zambian Government has committed to support Ms. Bogdan-Martin's candidacy.

Question. If confirmed, how can you work with the Bureau of International Organizations and other stakeholders to identify, recruit, and install qualified Americans in positions like the Junior Program Officer (JPO) program at the U.N.?

Answer. The Zambian Government seeks to strengthen U.S.-Zambia collaboration at multilateral institutions. If confirmed, I will work closely with the Bureau of International Organizations to leverage this desire and develop a plan to advance the employment of qualified Americans in positions within international fora. I will advise and support the work of Washington-based colleagues in the Bureau of African Affairs in efforts to use their engagements with Zambian officials in Washington, New York, Geneva, and elsewhere to advance these goals.

State Department Management and Public Diplomacy

Question. Many U.S. missions have been under enormous stress over the last few years, in large part due to COVID.

- What is your understanding of morale throughout Mission Lusaka?

Answer. I understand that Mission Lusaka enjoys broadly positive morale, where staff members understand their roles and contributions, see the effects of their work, and feel appreciated. This is a testament to a dedicated team and the strong and collaborative leadership exhibited by the current Chargé d'Affaires, a.i., Martin Dale and his predecessors.

Question. How do you intend to improve morale at Mission Lusaka?

Answer. If confirmed, I intend to build on Mission Lusaka's existing systems and successes. I will show through my words and actions that every employee—regardless of nationality, role, or employment mechanism—is vital to our Mission's success

and is valued. I manage through discussion, engagement, and going to my teams' spaces, providing first-hand access and insight into morale trends. I intend to set a clear vision for the Mission, and to empower our teams to help define our collective strategies and objectives to ensure awareness, buy-in, and ownership. I also intend to understand the Mission's performance on meeting internal support service standards and press for improvements where they are missed to support our staff and families.

Question. How do you intend to create a unified mission and vision at Mission Lusaka?

Answer. If confirmed, I will lay out to Mission Lusaka a vision that emphasizes the opportunity and the vital role of each Mission element and staff-member. I will apply the Integrated Country Strategy (ICS) just produced collaboratively by the Mission and engage each Section and Agency to emphasize our vision. In so doing, I will listen to and learn about their existing and envisioned contributions to the ICS, and I will challenge them to share information proactively and seek synergies with other Mission elements to advance shared objectives. I will challenge the existing objective-based working groups to develop action plans for component teams to work complementarily toward achieving ambitious-yet-achievable tangible results.

Question. Management is a key responsibility for chiefs of mission. How would you describe your management style?

Answer. As a manager, I provide both strategic vision and roll-up my sleeves to contribute directly to Mission efforts while developing close, personal rapport with my team. I meet colleagues individually to understand their backgrounds, ambitions, communication styles, and preferences and I share mine. I rely on my staff as subject matter experts, with my role being one of empowering them, challenging them, identifying linkages that they may not be aware of, and providing more senior heft to help them clinch tougher results. I take an approach of being candid, honest, and personable so my team feels comfortable engaging me directly and offering dissenting or alternate perspectives so together we can achieve greater successes.

Question. Do you believe it is ever acceptable or constructive to berate subordinates, either in public or private?

Answer. No.

Question. How do you envision your leadership relationship with your deputy chief of mission?

Answer. If confirmed as Ambassador, I envision my leadership relationship with my DCM being one of a team, with a shared vision and shared values. I envision my DCM being a senior advisor, a confidante, and proxy in my absence. I will look to my DCM also to close the door when necessary and provide me with the feedback that others may not feel comfortable sharing.

Question. If confirmed, what leadership responsibilities do you intend to entrust to your deputy chief of mission?

Answer. If confirmed, I intend to rely on my DCM as the chief operating officer of the Mission, keeping the day-to-day pulse on Mission operations on both administrative and policy efforts. As Mission Lusaka will receive a new DCM in August, I will look to engage with my DCM early to understand our relative areas of expertise and interests, as well as knowledge gaps, and to understand in what areas and how she would like to further develop professionally. Based on that understanding of our respective skills and objectives, I intend to collaboratively identify what leadership responsibilities would optimally lie with each of us in the realms of policy development, performance management, and diplomatic engagement.

Question. In order to create and continue employee excellence at the Department, accurate and direct employee evaluation reports (EERs) for Foreign Service Officers are imperative, though often lacking.

- Do you believe that it is important to provide employees with accurate, constructive feedback on their performances in order to encourage improvement and reward those who most succeeded in their roles?

Answer. Yes.

Question. If confirmed, would you support and encourage clear, accurate, and direct feedback to employees in order to improve performance and reward high achievers?

Answer. Yes.

Question. It is imperative that U.S. diplomats get outside of posts abroad to meet with local actors, including host government officials, non-government organizations, and fellow foreign diplomats stationed in Zambia.

- In your opinion, do U.S. diplomats get outside of our embassy walls enough to accomplish fully their missions?

Answer. In my opinion, U.S. diplomats have both the intention and desire to engage robustly with non-Embassy contacts and counterparts, and I commit to encourage my staff to do that as much as possible. In my experience, however, the extent to which they can do this is often constrained by non-commensurate staffing or resources. Having served exclusively in what are among the least developed countries, I have generally seen work demands far outstrip what is realistically achievable. As a result, tough decisions on relative prioritization are constantly required, often leaving staff to do that which is required or urgent, while deferring that which may be ideal or preferred. If confirmed, I will advocate actively for adequate resources to pursue our mission.

Question. How do you intend to improve the ability of U.S. diplomats to better access all local populations? Public diplomacy is an important aspect of U.S. foreign policy efforts.

Answer. Empowering staff members—both as individuals and as members of a broader team—is a core tenet of my leadership ethos. If confirmed, I hope to build upon the already strong reach of the U.S. Embassy through the active and strategic use of in-person travel, social media outreach and virtual contacts, and traditional media engagement. I hope to rely upon the expertise of my American and Zambian counterparts, who are intimately familiar with the media landscape and local dynamics. While I will always prioritize the irreplaceable value of face-to-face diplomacy, I seek to do so in a way that prioritizes the safety and security of all U.S. Embassy staff.

Question. What is the public diplomacy environment like in the Zambia?

Answer. Zambians are eager consumers of U.S. news and developments within the United States. There is a strong appetite for engagement, which the very active Public Affairs team at the U.S. Embassy seeks to meet through a full spectrum of remote and in-person engagement. Media freedom has expanded under the current Zambian administration, but more needs to be done to enshrine legal protections for independent and opposition media outlets.

Question. What public diplomacy challenges do U.S. diplomats face there?

Answer. Lack of access to information and disinformation remain serious challenges to our public diplomacy efforts in Zambia. Ongoing efforts to expand electrification and internet access has expanded and amplified the diversity of views in Zambia, but it has also underscored the need for trusted sources and fact checking. Low levels of social media literacy propel the spread of unsubstantiated rumors, often clouding local perceptions of domestic and world events.

Question. How do you balance the importance of Main State versus the in-country mission when it comes to tailoring public diplomacy messages for foreign audiences?

Answer. Public diplomacy messages should have an objective and an intended audience. Determining the source, content, or method of delivering those messages, requires a nuanced assessment of the audience(s), their orientation, how to influence them, and potential unintended reactions by primary or other audiences. The issue, circumstance, and audience should inform whether the in-country Mission or Main State is better positioned to achieve the objective.

Question. “Anomalous health incidents,” commonly referred to as “Havana Syndrome,” have been debilitating and sidelining U.S. diplomats around the world for years. They have caused serious, negative consequences for U.S. diplomacy, yet many believe that the Department is not doing enough to care for, protect, and communicate to its personnel. The past occurrences and ongoing threat of anomalous health incidents among embassy personnel and their families poses a serious challenge to morale. When personnel at post fear for their safety or doubt that their case will be taken seriously if they were affected, the performance of embassy operations can suffer.

- If confirmed, do you commit to taking this threat seriously?

Answer. Yes. I am deeply troubled by potential anomalous health incidents that have affected U.S. Government personnel and their family members. Serving one’s country overseas should not come at the cost of one’s health. I agree that such incidents may pose a threat to the wellbeing of U.S. personnel and must be taken ex-

tremely seriously. If confirmed, the health, safety, and security of Embassy staff, their family members, and all those supporting the Mission will be my highest priority.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to talking as openly as you can to Mission Lusaka personnel?

Answer. If confirmed, I am committed to regularly sharing new information on this issue consistent with ensuring the integrity of ongoing investigations.

Question. Have you received a briefing on the anomalous health incidents that have occurred to U.S. Government personnel around the world, including at U.S. embassies and other diplomatic posts? If you have not, and if you are confirmed, do you commit to receiving a briefing on the incidents before you depart for your post?

Answer. Yes. I commit to participating in all aspects of the Ambassadorial seminar, including the briefing on Anomalous Health Incidents, and will seek further information in unclassified and classified meetings with the Coordinator of the State Department's Health Incident Response Task Force as well as relevant bureaus including Diplomatic Security and Intelligence and Research.

Question. In the event of an anomalous health incident among your embassy personnel or eligible family members, do you commit to maintain detailed records of the incident, and share the information with the State Department and other embassies to contribute to the investigation of how these attacks are affecting U.S. missions and personnel around the world?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to engaging in any investigations into circumstances surrounding the unexplained health incidents. The Department continues to work on determining what happened to our staff and their families and to ensure their well-being and health going forward. There is no higher priority than the safety and security of our U.S. personnel, their families, and U.S. Citizens.

Question. Whether or not anomalous health incidents occur at your embassy, how will you work to restore and preserve morale that may be lost due to the knowledge these attacks have been occurring at posts around the world?

Answer. If confirmed, I would consult the management team already present in the Mission—the health practitioner, the Community Liaison Officer, Human Resources Officer, etc.—to understand the degree and nuance of sentiments on this issue. Based on this information, I will consult with the management team, employee association, local staff association, and agency heads to devise an approach that would address the specific dynamics or relevant concerns.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO MICHAEL C. GONZALES BY SENATOR JEANNE SHAHEEN

Question. I have been closely following increased reports of directed energy attacks that have affected U.S. Government employees. As nominees to a role of Ambassador, I want to ensure that you are sufficiently prepared to respond accordingly if an unexplained health incident is reported in your mission. I understand that the State Department includes a briefing on this as part of the Ambassadorial seminar that you are required to attend.

- If confirmed, will you commit to attending the Ambassadorial seminar session on AHIs and seek a classified briefing with State Department?

Answer. I commit to participating in all aspects of the Ambassadorial seminar, including the briefing on Anomalous Health Incidents, and will seek further information in unclassified and classified meetings with the Coordinator of the State Department's Health Incident Response Task Force as well as relevant bureaus including Diplomatic Security and Intelligence and Research.

Question. If an incident occurs, please assure that you will do everything in your power to prioritize the health, treatment, and safety of our diplomats?

Answer. If confirmed as Ambassador to Zambia, I will make the health and safety of my staff my top priority. If confirmed, I will also commit to ensuring all reported incidents at Embassy Lusaka are treated seriously and quickly reported through the appropriate channels. I will ensure that any affected individuals receive prompt access to treatment and medical care.

Question. The Biden administration rightly prioritized protecting, improving, and expanding access to sexual and reproductive health care as one of ten key priorities in the National Strategy on Gender Equity and Equality. Across Africa, the unmet need for family planning is significant. Women and families struggle to access modern contraceptives or basic information to be able to make the right choices for their health and that of their families.

- If confirmed, do you commit to working with the respective USAID country missions, implementing partners and civil society to improve access and develop relationships to best administer the U.S.'s family planning programing?

Answer. Yes.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO MICHAEL C. GONZALES BY SENATOR MARCO RUBIO

Question. Zambia is among the world's top 10 producers of copper, which we all know is a critical component needed for computer chips, phones, and all sorts of electronics, including those used in military industries. The People's Liberation Army, the Chinese Communist Party's armed wing, knows that China alone does not produce enough copper to fight in a potential conflict with the U.S. military and has prioritized gaining control of international copper production.

- What is your understanding of CCP efforts to control Zambia's copper industry?

Answer. Beijing seeks to play an active role in Zambia, with a particular focus on its extractive industries. Beijing's failure to actively engage in multilateral debt restructuring negotiations has delayed much needed economic and political reforms. PRC-based creditors continue to vie for large infrastructure projects, including the construction and refurbishment of critical infrastructure corridors linking copper mines to global markets. If confirmed, I will use U.S. assistance and diplomatic engagement with the Zambian Government to promote procurement and debt transparency and an improved business environment to allow open competition and fight corrupt or predatory deals.

Question. Are you concerned that ongoing debt restructuring negotiations between Zambia and its creditors provide the CCP with an opportunity to further cement their control on Zambia's mineral wealth? Why or why not?

Answer. Beijing's failure to participate in multilateral debt restructuring negotiations in a timely and constructive manner is a serious concern. It has obstructed the disbursement of a much-needed financial rescue package from the International Monetary Fund and obstructed the implementation of President Hakainde Hichilema's pro-market economic reform agenda. People's Republic of China (PRC)-based creditors own a sizable portion of Zambia's external debt, providing Beijing significant influence over the pace and progress of these negotiations. An urgent and lasting resolution is in the immediate interest of both Zambia and the United States, and if confirmed, I will use all available U.S. tools to advocate for such a resolution.

Question. If confirmed, what actions would you recommend the United States follow in order to prevent the PLA from assuming control of Zambia's mineral resources?

Answer. The United States uses its seat at Paris Club meetings and in the G20 Finance Track to call for Beijing's immediate and active participation in restructuring discussions. If confirmed, I would seek to continue and support the United States' leading role in debt restructuring negotiations and our ongoing efforts to support Zambia's economic renewal. If confirmed, I also would explore, highlight, and support efforts to improve the business climate and expand commercial opportunities for U.S. companies in Zambia's minerals sector. I will also advocate for and leverage U.S. assistance to promote procurement transparency and accountability.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO JOHN T. GODFREY BY SENATOR ROBERT MENENDEZ

Question. The October 2021 military coup in Sudan constituted a major setback for the hopes and aspirations of the Sudanese people and U.S. interests in the region. The U.S. failure to call a coup undermined our standing in Sudan as an outspoken and unwavering voice for democracy and the rule of law. Resistance

Committees across Sudan form the center of civilian led efforts to restore civilian governance and wrest power back from the military junta. The horizontal structure of the Resistance Committees, however, poses a challenge for traditional facilitation efforts. This demands a more creative response geared toward amplifying civilian voices within the UNITAMS-AU-IGAD process to counterbalance military leaders.

- As Ambassador, how will you work to elevate, strengthen, and amplify Resistance Committees and civil society voices in Sudan? How will you engage with Resistance Committees to support their ability to shape and influence the trajectory of the UNITAMS-AU-IGAD facilitated, but Sudanese-led, transition process.

Answer. This UNITAMS-AU-IGAD process is about finding a way for the Sudanese people to insert their voices into conversations about their country's future. I understand that during initial UNITAMS consultations, more than 800 individuals representing a broad cross-section of Sudanese society, including women, youth, and historically marginalized groups and areas, voluntarily met with UNITAMS. If confirmed, I would endeavor to meet regularly with a wide cross-section of the Sudanese pro-democracy movement, including Resistance Committees, civil society groups, journalists, human rights advocates, and political parties. It is imperative that Sudanese remain the leaders in this process and that Sudan's military leaders create conducive conditions for dialogue—ending violence against protestors, releasing detained activists, and lifting the State of Emergency. I would draw on direct engagement with the Resistance Committees to ensure their perspectives are accounted for in the UNITAMS-AU-IGAD facilitated transition process. I would urge pro-democracy activists to engage constructively and inclusively in that process. If confirmed, I will continue the work that our embassy and the broader international community have been doing to support these groups, to ensure their inclusion in decision making processes, and to consult with them on and work to advance their equities.

Question. The scope of the control exerted by the Sudanese Armed Forces (SAF) and General Mohamed Hamdan Dagalo Hemedti's Rapid Support Forces (RSF) over the Sudanese economy is shocking. Combined, the SAF and RSF own as many as 400 companies involved in the banking, mining, and agriculture sectors among others. The RSF is actively working with the Russian Wagner Group to secure gold mines and export gold out of Sudan. The U.S. has tools for publicly imposing visa restrictions under 7031c and financial sanctions under GloMag on those responsible for serious human rights abuses and/or corruption. The decision to sanction the Central Reserve Police was seen in Sudan as symbolic but meaningless since no individuals were identified.

- Why hasn't the administration sanctioned any senior level Sudanese security force officials or the companies they own since the October 2021 coup? Does the administration have sanctions strategy for Sudan?

Answer. I understand that immediately following the military takeover, the United States paused and redirected U.S. foreign assistance to ensure that it did not benefit the Government of Sudan, and coordinated a pause in international credit, debt relief, and some development assistance that have been effective in limiting the military government's access to financial resources. I am aware that the U.S. Government designated the Central Reserve Police (on March 21, 2022) for serious human rights abuse in connection with use of excessive force against pro-democracy protesters. This designation underscored to other security actors that the international community will not tolerate such conduct. If confirmed, I will work with relevant colleagues at the Departments of State and the Treasury to determine how the use of Global Magnitsky or other sanctions authorities might advance our policy goals in Sudan and consider their use as appropriate. Prior to making any recommendation on potential additional use of sanctions authorities, I would want to more fully understand their likely impact on the behavior of military leaders, their practical impact on the military's ability to access financing, their impact on the Sudanese economy, and their relationship to our overall diplomatic strategy. If confirmed, I would also want to explore non-traditional methods beyond sanctions authorities to apply pressure to Sudanese military authorities. The recent U.S. Business Advisory was an important step in doing just that—highlighting the growing reputational and other risks to U.S. businesses and individuals associated with conducting business with Sudanese state-owned enterprises (SOEs) and military-controlled companies.

Question. Do you believe that imposing personal, targeted sanctions on members of the 'Hemedti' family and the myriad of companies he and his family own would

be an effective tool for persuading the Sudanese military to restore civilian rule and return to their barracks?

Answer. If confirmed, I would support the use of all appropriate tools to deal with threats to our interests posed by any actors in Sudan who have impeded a transition to civilian rule, committed human rights abuses, or benefitted from corrupt economic practices. However, prior to making any recommendation on potential additional use of sanctions authorities, I would want to more fully understand their likely impact on the behavior of military leaders, their practical impact on the military's ability to access financing, their impact on the Sudanese economy, and their relationship to our overall diplomatic strategy. Beyond potential reliance on available sanctions authorities, I would, if confirmed, also want to explore non-traditional methods to apply pressure to Sudanese military authorities. The recent U.S. Business Advisory was an important step in doing just that—highlighting the growing reputational and other risks to U.S. businesses and individuals associated with conducting business with Sudanese SOEs and military-controlled companies.

Question. Many in Sudan believe that regional actors in north Africa and the Gulf are providing support to the junta and undermining efforts by the U.S. and other members of the international community to support UNITAMS and a return to civilian-led governance.

- How as U.S. Ambassador will you engage with your international counterparts, special envoys, and the U.S. interagency to increase pressure on regional actors to ensure that their policies toward Sudan and the military junta align with U.S. and international efforts to support democracy and a return to civilian rule?

Answer. There are a number of regional actors with longstanding interests in Sudan, and it is important that we closely coordinate with them to ensure that their efforts and ours align. If confirmed, I will work with international counterparts to underscore to regional actors that Sudan's long-term stability can only come through an inclusive political process that results in a civilian-led transition to democracy. Continued military rule or a deal among elites will not be acceptable to most Sudanese and will not be stable or sustainable. With the other members of the Friends of Sudan, we support an inclusive political process facilitated by UNITAMS, the AU, and IGAD as the best mechanism to establish a framework for a civilian-led transition to democracy in Sudan.

Communication and coordination are imperative. If confirmed, I would work closely with my colleagues in the Near Eastern Affairs Bureau and Special Envoy for the Horn of Africa to reinforce this message to regional partners and to urge that their policies and engagement advance that shared objective.

Democracy & Human Rights

Question. What are the most important actions you have taken in your career to date to support democracy and human rights? What has been the impact of your actions?

Answer. Throughout my career I have been involved in efforts to support democracy and human rights. In pre-revolution Syria, I led the Embassy's engagement with the civil society actors advocating for greater political participation and freedoms through the brief "Damascus Spring" until they were suppressed. Many of those individuals later became leading members of the Syrian opposition to President Bashar al-Assad.

In Turkmenistan, I led the Embassy's engagement in support of civil society and religious freedom—including attending trials, advocating for the release of detained activists, and helping a persecuted former Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty correspondent exit the country and obtain asylum. I also coordinated closely there with international NGOs and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe in their efforts to build civil society capacity and advocate on behalf of individual activists, and was seconded as an election monitor with OSCE in the Republic of Georgia in the 2004 election that saw Mikheil Saakashvili elected President.

In Libya, I led the Embassy's human rights advocacy with the Government and was the primary international interlocutor with the most prominent political dissident in the country at the time, whose detention, failing health and ultimate death became a point of friction between the al-Qadhafi regime and political forces in Benghazi and Eastern Libya in the context of the subsequent civil war. In Iraq, I urged political actors in Northern Iraq to participate in the March 2010 elections, monitored the elections in Ninewa Province, and was closely involved in the ultimately successful post-election effort to form a new Iraqi Government.

In Saudi Arabia, I led Embassy engagement with the Government on religious freedom, judicial reform, and human rights, with a particular focus on women's rights. I visited the Eastern Province and engaged the MFA and Human Rights Commission after the Kingdom executed 47 Shi'a, including prominent cleric Nimr al-Nimr, in January 2016 to urge measures to address Shi'a concerns and ease tensions. I worked closely with NSC staff to formulate points highlighting human rights concerns—especially cases of detained women activists and religious freedom issues—that President Obama raised during his visit in April 2016. I also worked with the Ministry of Justice to build judicial capacity and regularize legal processes outside the confines of sharia law, contributing to the modernization of one of the Government's most conservative ministries.

In the Counterterrorism Bureau, I helped lead efforts to incorporate “soft skills” such as community policing into civilian counterterrorism capacity programs and to develop partners' capacity to effect so-called law enforcement “finishes”—detecting, investigating, prosecuting, sentencing and incarcerating terrorists, as opposed to using military force to remove them from areas of active hostilities. Much of that effort entailed working to develop national legal frameworks for handling terrorism-related cases, directly contributing to rule of law and partner governments' ability to provide effective governance.

Question. What steps will you take—if confirmed—to support democracy in Sudan? What do you hope to accomplish through these actions? What are the potential impediments to addressing the specific obstacles you have identified?

Answer. Sudan is emerging from 30 years of brutal military dictatorship and the obstacles to Sudan's democracy are clear. Its security forces continue to play a role in the country's politics, possess a stranglehold over its economy, and fail to provide nationwide security. The immediate imperative is establishing a civilian-led transitional government that leads the country toward democracy. After that, we must gather our international and Sudanese partners to build Sudan's institutions—including establishing legislative, judicial, transitional justice, and electoral mechanisms as well as redefining the military's role to focus on providing security to its citizens, rather than depriving them of it. Sudan has a strong history of political parties and civil society participation; the United States, international partners, and NGO's with expertise can help those actors develop platforms and organize themselves in a way that enhances competitive, multiparty democracy. If confirmed, I would pay particular attention to Sudan's historically marginalized areas to monitor the peace process and human rights issues and encourage participation in Sudan's political transition by those from those periphery areas.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to meet with civil society members, human rights, and other non-governmental organizations in the U.S. and with local human rights NGOs, and other members of civil society in Sudan? What steps will you take to pro-actively address efforts to restrict or penalize NGOs and civil society via legal or regulatory measures?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to meeting with civil society members, human rights, and other non-governmental organizations in the U.S. and with local human rights NGOs and other members of civil society in Sudan. I would urge the Government to end harassment of NGO and civil society representatives active in the pro-democracy movement and to create conditions conducive to dialogue by releasing unjustly detained pro-democracy advocates, ending further detentions, ceasing the use of violence against protestors, ending the State of Emergency, and ensuring full access to Internet and cellular telephones to enable free communication between and expression by NGO, civil society and other activists. I would emphasize to all parties the importance of building Sudan's institutions, including establishing legislative, judicial, transitional justice and electoral mechanisms, and redefining the military's role to focus on providing security to its citizens, rather than depriving them of it.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to meet with democratically oriented political opposition figures and parties? What steps will you take to encourage genuine political competition? Will you advocate for access and inclusivity for women, minorities, and youth within political parties?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to meeting regularly with a wide cross-section of the Sudanese pro-democracy movement, including Resistance Committees, civil society groups, journalists, human rights advocates, and political parties. Sudan has a strong history of political parties and civil society participation. The United States, international partners and NGOs with expertise can help those actors develop platforms and organize themselves in a way that enhances competitive, multiparty democracy. A democratic transition should have an enabling environment that allows all stakeholders to participate and freely express their views, without fear of vio-

lence. Full respect for freedoms of association, expression, and peaceful assembly is vital, as is progress toward transitional justice. Women, youth, and other marginalized groups have been at the forefront of the revolution since 2019, and their voices need to continue to be heard. A new civilian government will benefit from including these groups in deciding the future of their country.

If confirmed, I will continue the work that our embassy and the broader international community has been doing to be a vocal advocate for women, youth, and historically marginalized groups, ensure their inclusion in decision making processes, and consult with them about their equities and work with them to advance them.

Congressional Consultations

Question. Will you commit, if confirmed, to ensuring that you fully brief Members of Congress and/or their staff each time you are in Washington for visits or consultations during your tenure as Ambassador to Sudan?

Answer. I greatly value the role of Congress in developing our policy on Sudan. If confirmed, I commit to brief Members of Congress and/or their staff when I am in Washington.

Anomalous Health Incident

Question. I am very concerned about directed energy attacks on U.S. Government personnel (so-called Anomalous Health Incidents). Ensuring the safety and security of our personnel abroad falls largely on individual Chiefs of Mission and the response of officers at post. It is imperative that any individual who reports a suspected incident be responded to promptly, equitably, and compassionately.

- Do you agree these incidents must be taken seriously, and pose a threat to the health of U.S. personnel?

Answer. Yes, I agree that these incidents must be taken seriously and affirm that if confirmed the safety and security of embassy personnel and their families would be a top priority for me.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to ensuring that any reported incident is treated seriously and reported quickly through the appropriate channels, and that any affected individuals receive prompt access to medical care?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to ensuring that any reported incident is treated seriously and reported quickly through appropriate channels, and that any affected individuals receive prompt access to medical care. I would prioritize the health and safety of our embassy personnel and their family members.

Question. Do you commit to meeting with medical staff and the RSO at post to discuss any past reported incidents and ensure that all protocols are being followed?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to meeting with medical staff and the RSO to discuss any past reported incidents and ensure that protocols are being followed.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED TO JOHN T. GODFREY BY SENATOR JAMES E. RISCH

Question. What is your perspective on why is the United States not leading the charge in restoring Sudan's civilian-led transition to democracy, but instead supporting a diplomatic and political path that continues to entrench military-led rule and the restoration of officials from the autocratic regime of Omar al-Bashir? As Ambassador, if confirmed, would you work to change this?

Answer. The United States is leading international efforts to support the UNITAMS-AU-IGAD facilitated process as the best vehicle to support an inclusive, Sudanese-led dialogue that leads to a framework for a civilian-led transitional government and a path to democratic elections. While progress has not been as quick as hoped, the broad-based consultations that UNITAMS-AU-IGAD are leading have identified areas of consensus among key stakeholders and have started to narrow differences among stakeholders' views on the preferred framework for a civilian-led transitional government. If confirmed, I will fully support the facilitators' work towards those goals as rapidly as possible. I will not, however, support shortcuts that result in another elite power-sharing arrangement, which would not be acceptable to the Sudanese people and would likely generate more civilian unrest.

Question. What steps would you pursue as Ambassador, if confirmed, to pursue accountability for those military and security officials responsible for the October

2021 coup in Sudan that resulted in the ousting of the civilian-led transitional government?

Answer. The October 21 seizure of power by Sudan's military destroyed the civilian-military partnership that had been at the heart of Sudan's transition to democracy. A new framework that clearly establishes a civilian transitional government is now urgently required to meet the demands of the Sudanese people for freedom, peace, and justice. Questions of accountability for those responsible for the military takeover lie at the heart of the ongoing Sudanese-led political process to establish such a framework. If confirmed, I will support fully the international facilitation efforts designed to help Sudanese stakeholders address these questions, will provide support to civilian actors participating in such efforts, and will continue to seek ways to apply pressure on military actors to engage constructively in the process, to create conditions conducive to political dialogue, and to cede power to civilians.

Follow-up Questions

In your response to the preceding question, you stated: "Questions of accountability for those responsible for the military takeover lie at the heart of the ongoing Sudanese-led political process to establish such a framework."

Question. How can "the ongoing Sudanese-led political process" credibly address "questions of accountability for those responsible for the military takeover" when a significant party to the "process" to "establish a new framework that clearly establishes a civilian transitional government," is the military—which has and continues to commit atrocities—and the coup leaders?

Answer. The main goal of the tripartite political process is to establish an agreed-upon framework among all stakeholders for a civilian-led transitional government in Sudan. Discussions about an agreement on the broad framework for justice and accountability and other core transitional tasks for the transitional period will need to be an integral part of negotiations among stakeholders. It will ultimately be the responsibility of the institutions of a civilian-led transitional government and future democratically elected governments to finalize the specifics of and implement accountability mechanisms. If confirmed, I would work with international partners and civilian stakeholders to ensure that any framework agreement for a transition provides future governments with the space to do so effectively and in line with the democratic aspirations of the Sudanese people. I would also coordinate with partners to press the military to ensure that the tripartite facilitated political process moves forward in an environment that allows all stakeholders to participate and freely express their views, without fear of detentions or violence. Full respect for freedoms of association, expression, and peaceful assembly is vital.

Question. How will you appropriately balance your full support for "the international facilitation efforts designed to help Sudanese stakeholders address these questions (of accountability for the coup)" while also avoiding supporting "fully" a process that is heavily dependent on the acquiescence and endorsement of the same military leaders who carried out the October 25 coup?

Answer. Broad-based Sudanese-led discussions under the tripartite-facilitated political process represent the best foreseeable vehicle to establish a framework for a civilian-led transitional government in Sudan. As we saw in the initial stakeholder consultations undertaken by UNITAMS, all stakeholders recognize that the Sudanese people are demanding that this new framework be predicated on full civilian control of transitional government institutions, in contrast with the civilian-military partnership under the rubric of the previous transitional government. The tripartite facilitation is working towards a framework agreement based on that desire for a civilian-led transitional government, which would undertake core transitional tasks, such as finalizing the specifics of and implementing accountability measures. If confirmed, I would continue to emphasize the importance of proceeding along these lines. If confirmed, I would also continue emphasizing to senior military leaders the imperative of fully handing power over to a civilian-led transitional government, the costs of failing to do so, and our abhorrence of the violations and abuses of the human rights of the Sudanese people.

Question. At the end of 2020, Congress appropriated \$700 million in Economic Support Funds (ESF) in the FY21 budget to support Sudan’s democratic transition. Due to delays in programming the \$700 million, and the October 25, 2021 coup that removed Sudan’s civilian leadership from power, the majority of the \$700 million remains unobligated and is set to expire on September 30, 2022.

- What are your priorities for the balance of the \$700 million in ESF for Sudan?

Answer. I understand that the administration has drafted a notional spend plan for part of the \$700 million in Title IX Economic Support Funds and has begun consultations with Congressional staff to seek feedback and input on the notional plan. I know that the administration welcomes advice and input from Congress on its proposal and wants to work closely with Congress in shaping the final plan. If confirmed, I am committed to working closely with Congress to ensure that these funds are used to support establishment and furtherance of a civilian-led transition to democracy in Sudan. I have not been involved in developing the specifics of the notional spend plan, but I understand that it focuses on technical assistance to the UNITAMS-AU-IGAD facilitated political process; support to pro-democracy actors; documenting human rights abuses and economic and political corruption; supporting peace-building in historically marginalized areas; and food security and resilience.

Follow-up Questions

In your answer to the preceding question, you stated that you understand the administration’s “notional spend plan for part of the \$700 million in Title IX Economic Support Funds . . . focuses on technical assistance to the UNITAMS-AU-IGAD facilitated political process; support to pro-democracy actors; documenting human rights abuses and economic and political corruption; supporting peace-building in historically marginalized areas; and food security and resilience.”

Question. Do you support the inclusion of “food security and resilience” as part of this spend plan? Please explain your answer.

Answer. Based on my understanding of the proposed spend plan, I believe that this is a sensible proposal. However, if confirmed I would want to review the specifics of the proposal with the Embassy Country Team and interagency partners before reaching a definitive judgment. I am gravely concerned about Sudan’s deteriorating economy, which I understand has been characterized by a reduction in household purchasing power, domestic food shortages, and sharply rising prices. If left unaddressed, this has the potential to negatively impact Sudan’s pro-democracy movement and further strengthen the hand of the military. I also recognize the potential for agricultural development to increase household income and undercut the economic dominance of Sudan’s military, particularly in historically marginalized communities. If confirmed, I would want to ensure that the food security and resilience projects being proposed will have a quick and meaningful impact that directly advances Sudan’s pro-democracy movement, are distinct from and reach a different target audience than our critical humanitarian assistance programs, and appropriately prioritize development of a non-military-controlled private sector economy.

Question. Given your understanding of the “notional (ESF) spend plan,” and what you understand as the urgent priorities given the current political context in Sudan, what should be the top priority for these funds among the many put forward by the administration during its consultations with Congress?

Answer. The top priorities should be technical assistance to the UNITAMS-AU-IGAD facilitated political process; support to pro-democracy actors as they press to establish a civilian-led transition to democracy; documentation of human rights abuses and economic and political corruption; and supporting peace-building in historically marginalized areas. These are all key elements in supporting the Sudanese people as they seek to effect change and erode military dominance.

Question. Do you commit, if confirmed, to making yourself available to the committee to discuss the use of the \$700 million and other bilateral assistance to Sudan?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to making myself available to the committee to discuss the use of the \$700 million and other bilateral assistance to Sudan.

Question. As U.S. Ambassador to Sudan, if confirmed, how will you approach any engagement with Generals Burhan and Hemedti, given their role as coup-leaders derailing Sudan's democratic transition?

Answer. If confirmed, I would make clear to Sudan's military regime that it cannot be "business as usual" in our bilateral relationship. Building on the important work that my predecessors have done, I would continue to emphasize to senior military leaders the imperative of quickly ceding power to a civilian transitional government, the costs of failing to do so, and our abhorrence of violations and abuses of the human rights of the Sudanese people. If confirmed, I would also underscore the need to end reappointments of National Congress Party officials, the risks of continued engagement with Russia and Russia-backed actors, and the imperative of constructive engagement in the UNITAMS-AU-IGAD-facilitated political process. I remain convinced that delivering such messages directly to Sudan's military leadership is important, particularly given their increasing isolation from the global community.

Question. If confirmed, you will be the first U.S. Ambassador to Sudan in 25 years. This comes at a time when the country is led by a military junta that came to power via coup.

- How do you plan to approach your role as Ambassador in a way that doesn't legitimize the military but instead, restores the Sudanese people's trust in the U.S. as a partner and ally?

Answer. If confirmed, I would prioritize public and private engagement with pro-democracy elements—including resistance committees, civil society groups, journalists, human rights activists, and political parties—to make clear the values for which the United States stands and our support for the Sudanese people and their aspirations for civilian rule. If confirmed, I will also ensure—publicly and privately—that our condemnation of the military takeover and the military regime's human rights abuses are clearly understood. I will continue the work our Embassy has been doing in supporting our longer-term goal of a democratic, human rights-respecting Sudan ruled by civilians and whose military protects the country's borders and its people.

Follow-up Question

Question. Do you commit if confirmed, to making yourself available to the committee to discuss the use of the \$700 million and other bilateral assistance to Sudan?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to making myself available to the committee to discuss the use of the \$700 million and other bilateral assistance to Sudan.

Question. What will be your approach to collaborating with a Special Envoy to the Horn of Africa, if one is nominated and appointed, to ensure that a cohesive and effective Sudan strategy is developed and implemented?

Answer. If confirmed, I would welcome the opportunity to work closely with a Special Envoy for the Horn of Africa, if one is appointed. This position has played an important role in engaging regional and international partners on the intersecting issues at play in the Horn of Africa. I would view our work as complementary and would seek to collaborate closely on issues related to Sudan, including developing and implementing a cohesive and effective Sudan strategy, and communicating to regional actors with longstanding interests in Sudan that Sudan's long-term stability can only come through an inclusive political process that results in a civilian-led transition to democracy. Continued military rule or a deal among elites will not be acceptable to most Sudanese and will not be stable or sustainable.

Question. The root causes of the October 25th coup and the current situation, including the military's involvement in all sectors of the economy, rampant corruption, and the lack of accountability, have failed to be addressed.

- How do you think the U.S. can be most helpful in not only supporting a process to achieve genuine democracy in Sudan but to bring about security sector reform, transitional justice and limiting the economic role of the military?

Answer. The systematic weakening of civilian institutions during decades of military rule has enabled political and economic domination by Sudan's military. While the immediate priority for the United States and the international community is to facilitate agreement on the framework for a credible, civilian government, this will need to be rapidly followed by extensive technical and financial support to strengthen the civilian institutions of such a government. Moreover, the United States and

international partners will need to focus on policy advocacy for free market economic reforms that end preferential treatment for companies linked to the security services, facilitate the development of a vibrant civilian private sector, and redirect state resources to civilian institutions. Priority should be given to assisting a future civilian government with the recovery of assets stolen by the former regime and its military allies in a manner consistent with the rule of law.

The integration of Sudan's competing militaries and private armed movements will ultimately require international advice and support. U.S. engagement in this area could be valuable but should be predicated on a requirement for clear civilian control of these institutions. The development of transitional justice mechanisms in line with Sudanese desires will be required to enable the country to deal with the legacy of human rights abuses and economic crimes committed over several decades. Immediate work by the United States to assist civil society organizations with the documentation of abuses and collection and preservation of evidence would have immediate value. Longer term engagement to assist Sudanese stakeholders in the design and implementation of credible transitional justice mechanisms and programs and sustained advocacy for victims should also be prioritized.

Question. Russia has provided material support and hosted Sudan's coup leaders in Moscow the day Russia's invasion into Ukraine began. Russia has been moving closer to an agreement to establish a naval base in Sudan, in exchange for material hardware including anti-aircraft missile systems, fighter jets and other supplies. Such a base would expand Russia's ability to project power in the Red Sea and Indian Ocean.

- Given Russia's long-standing support for authoritarian governments, how can the U.S. best counter Russia's influence and support for the coup leaders?

Answer. I am gravely concerned by reports that Russia is seeking a logistical base along Sudan's Red Sea Coast, as are a number of Sudan's regional neighbors. While sovereign countries have their choice of partners, Russia has made clear that it does not respect countries' sovereignty. Should Sudan's military government pursue implementation or renegotiation of the Port Sudan agreement—or pursue any other form of security cooperation with Russia—it would further isolate itself. I will reiterate to Sudanese leadership the risk of working with Russia and Russian-backed groups, including and especially Yevgeniy Prigozhin's network. These groups exploit instability to advance Kremlin and private Russian interests across the continent. I would coordinate with regional partners to urge them to convey similar concerns to Sudan's military leaders.

Question. Sudanese security forces continue to violently attack peaceful protesters and medical personnel, and to arrest former civilian government officials, journalists, and critics of the junta. The military leadership has proven it doesn't have the interest of the population and won't respect agreements it has committed to. The State Department has asserted that the U.S. supports the UNITAMS process, which has the goal of "supporting Sudanese stakeholders in agreeing on a way out of the current political crisis and agree on a sustainable path forward towards democracy and peace." SRSG Volker Perthes has insisted that the military must be part of the dialogue, while the pro-democracy youth activists have insisted that the military should not have a seat at the table.

- How can the U.S. play a more significant role in supporting the priorities of civil society and the pro-democracy movement that insists on a civilian-only government?

Answer. The United States has been clear in our view that the Sudanese military's actions on October 25 irrevocably broke the civilian-military partnership that lay at the heart of the previous transitional agreement. We have also been clear that a new transitional framework that sees the military exit politics is required. Robust U.S. advocacy for such a framework is an important source of support for Sudan's pro-democracy movement and, if confirmed, I would continue such advocacy within the UNITAMS-AU-IGAD facilitated political process. I would also seek to ensure that Sudan's pro-democracy movement had the technical support required to translate its vision into a viable transitional government framework, to defend its interests effectively within the UNITAMS-AU-IGAD political process, and to sustain pressure on the military to cede power to civilians. I would seek out opportunities to apply further U.S. diplomatic and financial pressure on those blocking the transfer of power to civilians and would work closely with international partners to work to develop a plan of support to assist a new civilian transitional government to succeed.

Question. The trilateral mechanism, consisting of the African Union, IGAD and UNITAMS, is currently engaged in a facilitated dialogue with the goal of finding a path forward for democratic transformation. UNITAMS is grossly under-resourced and there are questions on other members of the process being genuinely invested in supporting democracy.

- What is your perception of the tripartite UNITAMS/AU/IGAD effort to support negotiations to return Sudan to a civilian-led democratic transition?

Answer. The United States has joined other members of the Friends of Sudan in supporting the UNITAMS-AU-IGAD facilitated process as the best mechanism to establish a framework for a civilian-led, democratic transition in Sudan. UNITAMS has a U.N. Security Council mandate for this sort of “good offices” work, an on-the-ground presence in Khartoum, and established relationships with Sudanese stakeholders, including relationships of trust with actors beyond the traditional elite. The co-facilitation of the AU and IGAD, which have relationships of their own with important actors in Sudan, is important to help ensure the full support of African partners for the process. It is imperative that Sudanese remain the leaders in this process and that the security forces create conducive conditions for it—halt the use of violence, release detained activists, cease unjust detentions of activists, and lift the state of emergency to allow participation by all actors. It is also important that pro-democracy activists engage constructively and inclusively in the UNITAMS-AU-IGAD facilitated process.

Follow-up Questions

In your response to the preceding question, you stated: “It is also important that pro-democracy activists engage constructively and inclusively in the UNITAMS-AU-IGAD facilitated process.”

Question. Do you agree that the reason many “pro-democracy activists” may not “engage constructively and inclusively” in a tripartite facilitated process is that it includes as parties to the negotiations leaders of a military junta that have betrayed the people of Sudan, including carrying out a coup against the previous civilian-led transitional government?

Answer. There are a range of reasons why some pro-democracy activists are hesitant to engage constructively and inclusively in the political process, including reservations about the military-led government’s sincerity given its takeover of government on October 25. That is an important part of the reason why we continue to press military leaders to undertake further confidence building measures such as ending violence against protestors, releasing those who have been unjustly detained and refraining from reimposing the state of emergency. Doing so would demonstrate the military’s commitment to the tripartite process and political dialogue as well as help create an environment in which all stakeholders feel they can safely participate in that process. For this process to succeed it is vital that it be inclusive. If confirmed, I will urge all Sudanese political actors to seize the opportunity the UNITAMS-AU-IGAD facilitated political process offers to establish a civilian-led transition to democracy and stability.

Question. What specific steps will you take, if confirmed, to build stronger links with those pro-democracy activists who still have such a distrust of the leaders of Sudan’s military junta that they cannot and will not bring themselves to participate “constructively and inclusively” in a dialogue process they view as fundamentally flawed?

Answer. I understand that during the initial UNITAMS consultations, more than 800 individuals representing a broad cross-section of Sudanese society, including women, youth, and members of historically marginalized groups and areas, voluntarily met with UNITAMS. I believe that maintaining contacts with as broad a range of actors as possible, including those who do not participate in formal political processes, is a critical responsibility of any U.S. Ambassador. If confirmed, I would endeavor to meet regularly with a wide cross-section of the Sudanese pro-democracy movement, including resistance committees, civil society groups, journalists, human rights advocates, and political parties. I would continue efforts to press Sudan’s military leaders to create conditions conducive to dialogue - ending violence against protestors, releasing activists who have been unjustly detained, and refraining from reimposing the state of emergency. I would draw on direct engagement with the resistance committees and other pro-democracy activists to ensure their perspectives are accounted for in the UNITAMS-AU-IGAD facilitated transition process, would explore whether

specific confidence building measures could help allays their concerns about participating, and would urge them to engage constructively and inclusively in it. If confirmed, I will continue the work that our Embassy and the broader international community have done to support members of historically marginalized groups, to ensure their views are reflected in decision making processes, and to consult with them on and work to advance their equities.

Question. If confirmed, how do you plan to approach the tripartite UNITAMS/AU/IGAD process and current dialogue?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work closely with UNITAMS, AU, and IGAD leadership on the ground to provide diplomatic support for facilitation efforts and ensure the U.S. Government is responsive to any technical assistance requirements that the facilitation has. I understand UNITAMS has already augmented its staffing and technical capacity with support from the U.N. mediation unit. I also understand both the State Department and USAID are looking to provide coordinated support to augment areas of need, including legal expertise and training for civil society, in support of the UNITAMS-AU-IGAD effort. If confirmed, I will also work closely with key international partners to ensure that our efforts to support the UNITAMS-AU-IGAD process are coordinated and complementary. I am committed to continuing to support effective on-the-ground coordination mechanisms such as the Ad Hoc Support Group, which I understand our Embassy leadership currently convenes at the facilitators' request.

Question. In your opinion, is the involvement of the AU and IGAD helping or hindering the current situation?

Answer. The co-facilitation of the AU and IGAD, which have relationships of their own with important actors in Sudan, is important to help ensure the full support of African partners for the process, which is vital. If confirmed, I will work closely with the facilitators and, in coordination with the U.S. Mission to the AU and other colleagues, the AU and IGAD more broadly to align efforts related to supporting a democratic transition in Sudan.

Human Rights

Question. In the State Department's 2021 Trafficking in Persons Report (TIP), Sudan was upgraded to Tier 2 for overall efforts to meet the minimum standards to eliminate trafficking, including ceasing to recruit and use child soldiers, implementing amendments to its national laws about trafficking, and investigating more trafficking cases.

- How will you work with the Sudanese to address these issues if you are confirmed as Ambassador, particularly given the situation post-October 25, 2021?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work closely with the State Department's Trafficking in Persons office and others within the interagency to continue engagements with the Government and with civil society that seek to encourage improvement of government efforts to investigate and prosecute trafficking cases, reform laws as needed, and to identify and support victims. I would also continue engaging the Government and other forces to ensure the cessation of the recruitment of child soldiers is sustained.

Question. If confirmed, what concrete steps could you take to help Sudan operationalize the prioritized recommendations contained in the TIP report?

Answer. I understand that Sudan made progress that resulted in its movement off the TIP watchlist in 2021. If confirmed, I would look to build on that progress to encourage greater efforts in legal reform and victim identification and support.

Question. In the State Department's 2020 International Religious Freedom report, Sudan was identified as lacking societal and governmental respect for religious freedom.

Answer. If confirmed, I will support efforts to monitor and report on religious freedom, and to encourage steps by the Government to ensure respect for the practice of all faiths.

Question. What is your assessment of this particular issue and if confirmed, how will you work with the Ambassador At Large for International Religious Freedom to bolster religious freedom in-country?

Answer. The Ambassador at Large and the Office for International Religious Freedom have a long history of engaging the Sudanese Government and with religious leaders of many faiths representing Sudan's diversity of belief and practice. If confirmed, I look forward to maintaining these relationships, to coordinating closely

with the Ambassador at Large for International Religious Freedom, and to building on previous work to urge progress toward greater religious freedom in Sudan.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to personally engaging with civil society on this issue?

Answer. Yes, I commit to engaging civil society on this issue.

Question. If confirmed, what concrete steps can you take to help Sudan increase their societal and governmental respect for religious freedom?

Answer. If confirmed, I would engage with representative leaders of Sudan's faith communities and other stakeholders to learn more about the status of religious freedom and their most pressing concerns about societal and governmental respect for religious freedom. I would coordinate with those stakeholders and representatives of international communities of interest to urge the Government to take specific steps to address those concerns, including any legal or legislative measures needed to codify protection of religious freedoms.

Question. In the State Department's 2021 Human Rights Report, Sudan was identified as having numerous, significant human rights abuses.

- If confirmed, what steps will you take to address these instances with the host government, particularly given the situation post-October 25, 2021?

Answer. If confirmed, I will focus in the near-term on pressing for respect for freedom of expression and assembly, an end to the use of violence against protesters, release of individuals unjustly detained, an end to the State of Emergency, and the protection of civilians in Darfur and other conflict areas. Improvements in these areas are urgently needed to create an environment conducive to an inclusive political dialogue leading to a framework for a civilian-led transitional government.

Question. How will you direct Embassy Khartoum to work with civil society organizations to improve the human rights situation on the ground?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work with the Embassy and Mission to support efforts by civil society organizations to document and preserve evidence of human rights abuses needed to facilitate future efforts to hold those responsible accountable, including through formal and informal transitional justice efforts. I would also support continued efforts to provide assistance to civil society groups in areas related to good governance, anti-corruption and peacebuilding, as well as legal expertise needed to support those groups' efforts.

Sudan in the United Nations

Question. The Office of Multilateral Strategy and Personnel (MSP) in the State Department's Bureau of International Organizations is leading a whole-of-government effort to identify, recruit, and install qualified, independent personnel at the United Nations (U.N.), including in elections for specialized bodies like the International Telecommunications Union (ITU). There is an American candidate, Doreen Bodgan-Martin, who if elected would be the first American and first woman to lead the ITU. She is in a tough race that will require early, consistent engagement across capital and within the U.N. member states.

- If confirmed, do you commit to demarching the Sudanese Government and any other counterparts necessary to encourage their support of Ms. Bogdan-Martin?

Answer. Yes, I commit to demarching the Government of Sudan and any other counterparts as appropriate to encourage support for the American candidate.

Question. If confirmed, how can you work with the Bureau of International Organizations and other stakeholders to identify, recruit, and install qualified Americans in positions like the Junior Program Officer (JPO) program at the U.N.?

Answer. The appointment and election of qualified and independent candidates to positions in the U.N. system is critical to ensuring that the U.N. operates effectively and in line with its foundational principles and values. Qualified U.S. citizens bring strong technical and policy skills that enhance the performance and outcomes within the U.N. system, which in turn bolster our efforts on U.N. reform and good governance. The Bureau of International Organization Affairs has established a new office focused in part on managing, supporting, and coordinating elections and appointments for qualified U.S. and likeminded candidates for leadership roles in the U.N. system. That office works closely with posts and embassies, such as Embassy Khartoum, to ensure the United States is well-positioned to identify and advocate on behalf of interested candidates for key positions across multiple U.N. organizations and agencies. If confirmed, I will prioritize engaging our partners and allies

to vigorously advocate for placement of well-qualified applicants and candidates, including U.S. citizens, at the U.N. and in specialized and technical agencies.

State Department Management and Public Diplomacy

Question. Many U.S. missions have been under enormous stress over the last few years, in large part due to COVID.

- What is your understanding of morale throughout Mission Khartoum?

Answer. I understand that the challenging environment, including the security situation, political developments in the host country and the workload occasioned by them, has put strains on morale at post. Having served in hardship and danger posts, I recognize the challenge that the host country environment and security restrictions can pose for morale and staff recruitment. I also know that morale is often highest at hardship posts at which people feel they work they do is uniquely important. If confirmed, I am committed to doing everything I can to create an environment in which people fully recognize the importance of the mission in which they are engaged, receive the support they need to do their jobs effectively, and are able to work in an atmosphere that is safe, respectful and supportive, and in which morale is high and performance is rewarded.

Question. How do you intend to improve morale at Mission Khartoum?

Answer. If confirmed, I am committed to doing everything that I can to create an environment in which people fully recognize the importance of the mission in which they are engaged, morale is high, and performance is rewarded. That includes focusing on ways in which the Embassy Front Office can provide support and lift to teammates' efforts, which in turn depends on ensuring that members of staff clearly understand the goals the Mission is trying to advance and how their work fits into those efforts. It also entails understanding and providing the support they need to do their jobs effectively and sustaining an Embassy environment that is safe, respectful, and supportive. Clear, consistent communication and signaling openness to input and feedback—including in meetings with each member of the Embassy team—are critical and would be a high priority for me if I am confirmed. I would also leverage Town Halls to foster conversations about management, security, and other issues of concern to the Embassy community.

Question. How do you intend to create a unified mission and vision at Mission Khartoum?

Answer. If confirmed, I would make clear from my first day on the ground the expectation that all agencies at post will function as a single team. I firmly believe that if properly structured and run, the Embassy Country Team is one of the most effective interagency coordination mechanisms in government. I would focus on ensuring that interagency representatives at post are appropriately included in Country Team deliberations and that agency and section heads keep their respective teams closely apprised of those conversations. I would also prioritize regular meetings with individual offices and sections to ensure that they clearly understand the goals the Mission is trying to advance and how their work fits into those efforts, and that they have opportunity to provide input and feedback. I would leverage Town Halls to foster conversations about management, security, and other issues of concern to the Embassy community, emphasizing the importance of providing people what they need to do their jobs effectively and to sustaining an Embassy environment that is safe, respectful, and supportive.

Question. Management is a key responsibility for chiefs of mission. How would you describe your management style?

Answer. I would describe my management style as one that is focused on clearly and regularly communicating strategic goals, understanding operational details to understand how leadership can support and give lift to teammates' efforts, and ensuring that people have what they need to do their jobs and a safe, respectful, and supportive environment, all with the overall goal of driving results that advance U.S. interests. I am a strong believer in what former Secretary of State Shultz called "walking around management"—meeting people in their workspaces to keep a finger on the pulse of the Mission, understand what concerns people have and what is on their minds, and build relationships of trust that can be critical in times of crisis. I prioritize giving clear guidance and establishing high standards for the quality of the team's work, and emphasizing the importance of expressing views, especially if they differ from my own.

Question. Do you believe it is ever acceptable or constructive to berate subordinates, either in public or private?

Answer. I do not believe that it is ever acceptable or constructive to berate subordinates, either in public or in private.

Question. How do you envision your leadership relationship with your deputy chief of mission?

Answer. The relationship between a chief of mission and deputy chief of mission is essential to the effective operation of any Embassy. In my experience the best COM-DCM relationships are a partnership in which there are no publicly perceived differences of view between the two, in which it is clear that the DCM speaks for the COM in her/his absence, and in which the DCM is understood to have the lead on managing Embassy operations as the de facto chief operating officer. It is also vitally important that there be trust between the COM and the DCM and that the DCM feel empowered to privately provide candid counsel to the COM, especially when that advice does not comport with the COM's views.

Question. If confirmed, what leadership responsibilities do you intend to entrust to your deputy chief of mission?

Answer. If confirmed, I would want to assess upon arriving at Post what specific leadership responsibilities I would entrust to my Deputy Chief of Mission. I would anticipate that those would include, inter alia, leading management of Embassy operations as the chief operating officer-equivalent; counseling, mentoring, and supporting the career development of entry-level and mid-level staff; fostering collaboration between interagency representatives at post; and engaging senior host government, international and U.S. interagency counterparts when I am unavailable.

Question. In order to create and continue employee excellence at the Department, accurate and direct employee evaluation reports (EERs) for Foreign Service Officers are imperative, though often lacking.

- Do you believe that it is important to provide employees with accurate, constructive feedback on their performances in order to encourage improvement and reward those who most succeeded in their roles?

Answer. I believe that it is very important to provide employees with accurate, constructive feedback on their performances in order to encourage improvement and reward performance. That includes conveying assessments through employee evaluation reports (EERs) and via the regular counseling sessions that are prescribed as part of the EER cycle.

Question. If confirmed, would you support and encourage clear, accurate, and direct feedback to employees in order to improve performance and reward high achievers?

Answer. If confirmed, I would support and encourage providing clear, accurate and direct feedback to employees—including through employee evaluation reports (EERs) and the regular counseling sessions that are prescribed as part of the EER cycle—to improve and reward performance.

Question. It is imperative that U.S. diplomats get outside of posts abroad to meet with local actors, including host government officials, non-government organizations, and fellow foreign diplomats stationed in Sudan.

- In your opinion, do U.S. diplomats get outside of our Embassy walls enough to accomplish fully their missions?

Answer. I strongly believe that U.S. diplomats must get outside the walls of the Embassy and outside capital cities to meet with local actors and establish constructive relationships that inform a sophisticated understanding of the countries to which they are assigned. I believe it is important that we provide clear information on U.S. policy to the foreign publics with whom we engage. If confirmed, I would prioritize engagement with pro-democracy elements—including resistance committees, civil society groups, journalists, human rights activists, and political parties—at all levels to make clear the values for which the United States stands and our support for the Sudanese people and their aspirations for civilian rule. If confirmed, I will also ensure that our condemnation of the military takeover and the military regime's human rights abuses are clearly understood. In all of those efforts I would pay particular attention to Sudan's periphery areas to monitor the peace process and human rights issues, and to encourage participation in Sudan's political transition from those in historically marginalized areas. I would encourage our officers to travel to periphery areas, with the appropriate security measures, to engage Sudanese interlocutors there directly and to gather information to inform efforts to advance our objectives in Sudan.

Question. How do you intend to improve the ability of U.S. diplomats to better access all local populations?

Answer. If confirmed, I intend to clearly communicate our policy goals to members of the Embassy team, explain how their work helps advance those goals, and work with management and security officials to assess what further resources might be needed to enable our diplomats to get outside the Embassy and outside the capital to engage local interlocutors. I would make it clear that such engagement is a high priority and would work closely with the Deputy Chief of Mission, Regional Security Officer, and Management Officer to ensure that related security and management support is provided to the maximum extent possible.

Question. Public diplomacy is an important aspect of U.S. foreign policy efforts. What is the public diplomacy environment like in the Sudan?

Answer. My understanding is that despite years of tense relations with the Government, the Embassy maintains a robust public diplomacy platform allowing for regular direct interactions with the Sudanese public and the development of strong relationships with a range of stakeholders. The Sudanese people remain interested in the United States and having a relationship with it at the people-to-people level. If confirmed, I look forward to further building those relationships.

Question. What public diplomacy challenges do U.S. diplomats face there?

Answer. Limited internet access and government restrictions on speech and assembly are primary challenges that Sudanese face, especially as it relates to U.S. public diplomacy. The United States can play a significant role in supporting freedom of expression and countering digital authoritarianism in Sudan. That has to date included repeated calls to the Sudanese Government to lift its declared state of emergency and allow full availability of internet and cellular communications. If confirmed, I look forward to working with the State Department's newly established Bureau of Cyberspace and Digital Policy, as well as other interagency partners and Congress, to urge an end to restrictions on speech and assembly and combat digital authoritarianism.

Question. How do you balance the importance of Main State versus the in-country mission when it comes to tailoring public diplomacy messages for foreign audiences?

Answer. I believe it is important that we provide clear information on U.S. policy to the foreign publics with whom we engage. If confirmed, I would prioritize direct engagement with pro-democracy elements—including resistance committees, civil society groups, journalists, human rights activists, and political parties—to make clear the values for which the United States stands and our support for the Sudanese people and their aspirations for civilian rule. If confirmed, I will also ensure that our condemnation of the military takeover and the military regime's human rights abuses are clearly understood. Doing so effectively requires a mix of messaging from Washington and Embassy Khartoum.

Question. "Anomalous health incidents," commonly referred to as "Havana Syndrome," have been debilitating and sidelining U.S. diplomats around the world for years. They have caused serious, negative consequences for U.S. diplomacy, yet many believe that the Department is not doing enough to care for, protect, and communicate to its personnel. The past occurrences and ongoing threat of anomalous health incidents among Embassy personnel and their families poses a serious challenge to morale. When personnel at post fear for their safety or doubt that their case will be taken seriously if they were affected, the performance of Embassy operations can suffer.

- If confirmed, do you commit to taking this threat seriously?

Answer. Yes, if confirmed I commit to take these threats seriously and would do everything in my power to prioritize the health, safety, and treatment of our Embassy personnel and their families in Sudan.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to talking as openly as you can to Mission Khartoum personnel?

Answer. I firmly believe that clear, consistent communication is a vital component of any well-functioning team. If confirmed, I commit to talking as openly as I can with Mission Khartoum personnel.

Question. Have you received a briefing on the anomalous health incidents that have occurred to U.S. Government personnel around the world, including at U.S. embassies and other diplomatic posts? If you have not, and if you are confirmed, do you commit to receiving a briefing on the incidents before you depart for your post?

Answer. Yes. I have attended the Ambassadorial seminar session on AHIs in advance of my anticipated departure for post and have received a classified briefing on this matter. I will seek further information in unclassified and classified meetings with the Coordinator of the State Department's Health Incident Response Task Force as well as relevant bureaus, including Diplomatic Security and Intelligence and Research.

Question. In the event of an anomalous health incident among your Embassy personnel or eligible family members, do you commit to maintain detailed records of the incident, and share the information with the State Department and other embassies to contribute to the investigation of how these attacks are affecting U.S. missions and personnel around the world?

Answer. Yes, if confirmed I commit to working with Diplomatic Security and other interagency representatives in investigating potential anomalous health incidents, to maintaining detailed records of the incident(s), and to sharing that information with the State Department and other embassies to contribute to the assessment of how these attacks are affecting U.S. missions and personnel around the world.

Question. Whether or not anomalous health incidents occur at your Embassy, how will you work to restore and preserve morale that may be lost due to the knowledge these attacks have been occurring at posts around the world?

Answer. If confirmed, I would in the case of any anomalous health incident prioritize the health and safety of our Embassy personnel and their family members and do everything in my power to ensure that those impacted receive proper treatment. Communication is critical. If confirmed, I will keep my team informed, talk with them as openly as I can, ensure I have a good understanding of their concerns, and do all that I can—including working with Washington colleagues to get needed resources—to create a safe environment for them to carry out the Mission's work.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO JOHN T. GODFREY BY SENATOR JEANNE SHAHEEN

Question. I have been closely following increased reports of directed energy attacks that have affected U.S. Government employees. As nominees to a role of Ambassador, I want to ensure that you are sufficiently prepared to respond accordingly if an unexplained health incident is reported in your mission. I understand that the State Department includes a briefing on this as part of the Ambassadorial seminar that you are required to attend.

- If confirmed, will you commit to attending the Ambassadorial seminar session on AHIs and seek a classified briefing with State Department?

Answer. Yes. I have attended the Ambassadorial seminar session on AHIs and a classified briefing on this matter in advance of my departure for post. If confirmed, the safety and security of embassy personnel and their families would be a top priority for me.

Question. If an incident occurs, please assure that you will do everything in your power to prioritize the health, treatment, and safety of our diplomats?

Answer. If confirmed, in the case of any anomalous health incident, I would prioritize the health and safety of our diplomats and their family members and ensure that those impacted receive the proper treatment.

Question. The Biden administration rightly prioritized protecting, improving, and expanding access to sexual and reproductive health care as one of ten key priorities in the National Strategy on Gender Equity and Equality. Across Africa, the unmet need for family planning is significant. Women and families struggle to access modern contraceptives or basic information to be able to make the right choices for their health and that of their families.

- If confirmed, do you commit to working with the respective USAID country missions, implementing partners and civil society to improve access and develop relationships to best administer the U.S.'s family planning programming?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I commit to working with USAID and embassy partners to improve access and develop relationships to administer U.S. family planning programming.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
 SUBMITTED TO JOHN T. GODFREY BY SENATOR MARCO RUBIO

Question. As you know, the previous administration had instituted a number of policies in 2020 to support the then-transitional Government of Sudan. This included rescinding Sudan's designation as a state sponsor of terror, announcing an intention to appoint an Ambassador for the first time in decades, and hundreds of millions of dollars in development spending. I'm also aware that the previous administration had pushed Sudan to normalize its relationship with Israel and join the "Abraham Accords." Among the consequences of the coup of last October, the U.S. had paused the nearly \$700 million in development assistance intended for Sudan in fiscal year 2021.

- Do you envision the post-coup Government of Sudan to walk back its commitment to the Abraham Accords if U.S. development spending is not allowed to proceed to Sudan?

Answer. The commitments made to the Abraham Accords were made by the Civilian Led Transitional Government led by Prime Minister Hamdok. Since seizing power, the Sudanese military authorities have taken no steps to roll back their commitments to improving relations with Israel.

Question. If confirmed, will you advocate to rescind foreign aid to Sudan indefinitely if the post-coup government reverses normalization of relations with Israel?

Answer. The United States strongly supported the efforts of Sudan's former civilian-led transitional government to improve the country's relationship with Israel. Since the military's seizure of power, we have suspended delivery of outstanding U.S. commitments linked to normalization of relations with Israel until such time as a credible, civilian transitional government is established. If confirmed, I would support sustaining that policy.

Question. In his first interview with the media after orchestrating the October coup, General Burhan choose to speak to Sputnik News. Sputnik, as we all know is a mouth piece of Vladimir Putin's propaganda operation. In that interview, he confirmed that Sudan would honor an agreement made by the former dictator Omar Bashir to establish a Russian naval base on the Red Sea. As the U.S. Government is stepping up efforts to secure Europe's energy security, Russian control of the Red Sea could threaten to cut off a source of natural gas that Europe could use as an alternative to Russian gas. What is your assessment of Sudan's relations with Russia, especially since the resumption of Russia's hostilities against Ukraine in February 2022?

Answer. I am gravely concerned that since the fall of the Bashir regime in 2019, Russia has consistently pressured successive Sudanese administrations to provide it access to a naval facility on the Red Sea, a concern shared by Sudan's regional neighbors. Thus far, Sudanese Governments have resisted such pressure and have taken no concrete steps to implement the Bashir-era agreement. Should any Sudanese Government do so, it would be acting contrary to the interests and wishes of the Sudanese people and would increase the country's isolation. I share the dismay that the Sudanese people expressed at the ill-timed, ill-conceived, and inappropriate decision by Sudanese Rapid Support Forces Commander LTG Hemedti to visit Russia on the eve of its unprovoked and unjustified invasion of Ukraine. I understand this visit was sponsored by entities linked to Russian oligarch Yevgeny Prigozhin, whose companies have a long history of destabilizing African states and governments. LTG Hemedti's relationship with Prigozhin is deeply problematic, and if confirmed, I would press for the severing of these relationships and for an end to any connection between Prigozhin companies and Sudanese Government entities.

Question. If confirmed, what steps will you take to counter the establishment of a potential Russian base in Sudan?

Answer. If confirmed, I would reiterate to Sudanese leadership the destabilizing impact that a Russian naval facility on the Red Sea would have on Sudan, the Horn of Africa, and the Gulf region. I would work with our international partners to underscore the increased international isolation that would follow should Sudan implement or renegotiate establishment of a Russian base or any other form of security cooperation with Russia. I would also work to ensure the Sudanese Government and public fully understand the risk of working with Russia and Russian-backed groups, including and especially Yevgeny Prigozhin's network, and their history of exploiting Africa's natural resources and destabilizing its states. These groups exploit instability to advance Kremlin and private Russian interests across the continent. I would highlight the prime example of the fact that countries in which the Wagner

Group has deployed find themselves poorer, weaker, and less secure. If confirmed, I will explain clearly why partnership with the United States more squarely and sustainably meets Sudan's strategic objectives and benefits the Sudanese people.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO MICHAEL J. ADLER BY SENATOR ROBERT MENEDEZ

Question. Under the Revitalized Transitional Government of National Unity, elections were supposed to occur in 2023. Many experts now warn that, due to the failure of the South Sudanese transitional government to implement the revitalized peace agreement, elections in 2023 are no longer possible and could trigger a return to war if held absent the necessary preparations.

- What are the specific legal and legislative and confidence building steps South Sudan must take, in accordance with the revitalized peace agreement, to get to credible election? Are these a priority focus for the U.S. Government?

Answer. Under the terms of the revitalized peace agreement, credible elections are to be preceded by an inclusive constitution-making process, updating, and passing key electoral legislation, carrying out a national census, the development of transparent and inclusive electoral mechanisms, adequate funding for the election administration to carry out its duties professionally and comprehensively, and the formation and training of the Necessary Unified Forces (NUF). All of these are long overdue.

The South Sudanese people have been clear that they desire a political and economic transformation in their country that advances democracy, freedom, peace, transparency, and accountability. The actions necessary to enable credible elections are, therefore, a priority for the United States. If confirmed, I would work closely with international partners and regional actors to bring diplomatic and other forms of pressure to bear on South Sudan's leaders to ensure that the people's voices are heard and respected as these decisions are made. In addition, if confirmed, I would prioritize efforts to empower civil society and independent media, which provide an essential role in monitoring the Government, promoting positive policy changes, and expressing the will and priorities of South Sudanese citizens.

Elsewhere in Africa, the African Union, United States, and international community have insisted that transitional leaders should not double as candidates in elections they are charged with organizing. This principal has been articulated in reference to Mali, Central African Republic, Guinea, Burkina Faso, and most recently Chad.

Question. Do you agree that this principle—barring transitional leaders from doubling as candidates—should be applied the leaders of South Sudan's Revitalized Transitional Government of National Unity, and specifically President Kiir and Vice President Machar?

Answer. I agree that the principle of barring transitional leaders from doubling as candidates would have been appropriate in South Sudan and believe this condition should have been included in the 2018 Revitalized Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan (R-ARCSS).

The South Sudanese people should be the ultimate arbiters in determining who their leaders should be through free, fair, and credible elections. To give them the opportunity to do so, it is imperative that South Sudan move forward with an inclusive constitutional drafting process, the adoption of electoral reform legislation, and the development of transparent and inclusive electoral mechanisms. These steps will allow the South Sudanese people to set the ground rules for the country's leadership and create conditions under which they can select their own leaders.

Question. The United States has not had an Ambassador in South Sudan since 2018.

- How has this interval affected Embassy management and morale in what is already a difficult overseas assignment? What steps will you take to support the morale of direct and local hire staff?

Answer. The long interval since South Sudan last had a confirmed U.S. Ambassador, as well as frequent changes in Chargés d'Affaires, has made it harder to address management and morale challenges in a tough working environment. If I am confirmed, improving morale, and taking care of my colleagues will rank among my highest priorities. I would immediately work with my team to analyze current challenges and any management shortfalls and develop strategies to address them. I

would focus on mentoring employees from all of the agencies represented in the mission and at all stages of their careers. I would also work to ensure that people have opportunities to pursue and receive rewarding onward assignments that acknowledge their service in South Sudan. If confirmed, I would also seek to address the morale issues and challenges faced by locally employed (LE) staff including by working closely with the LE staff committee.

Question. Previously, Uganda was one of South Sudan's strongest allies. In recent years, however, President Kiir seems to have turned north and strengthened relations with members of the Sudanese junta in Khartoum.

- How do you assess the role and influence of Khartoum on South Sudan and what steps can the U.S. take to counter this influence?

Answer. As guarantors of the revitalized peace agreement Sudan, Uganda, and the other member states of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), have important influence with the parties which we should continue to urge them to use to press for full implementation of the peace agreement. Sudan and South Sudan share a long history and will likely remain politically and economically intertwined. I am very cognizant of the likelihood that military actors in Sudan seek to influence events in South Sudan to advance their own political and economic interests, and, if confirmed, I am committed to working closely with our Embassy in Khartoum to monitor, understand, and as needed, work against such self-interested engagement. I would do so through direct diplomatic engagement with the South Sudanese Government and civil society to raise awareness of and press against such problematic behavior, and through engagement with other regional actors to seek their intervention in more positive directions.

At the same time, I recognize that there have been cases, such as with the April 3 agreement on sharing command of the Necessary Unified Forces, in which Sudanese engagement has been useful to help push through an impasse. I would seek, therefore, to build on such positive engagement when opportunities occur.

Question. What steps will you take—if confirmed—to support democracy in South Sudan? What do you hope to accomplish through these actions? What are the potential impediments to addressing the specific obstacles you have identified?

Answer. If I am confirmed, I would press South Sudanese leaders to take the predicate steps necessary to hold free, fair, and credible elections. These include an inclusive constitution-making process, key electoral legislation, such as laws allowing for the participation of political parties and a functioning electoral commission. To secure the electoral process, South Sudan also needs to complete the unification of the Necessary Unified Forces. I would work with international partners, particularly the Troika (U.S., U.K., and Norway), the U.N. Mission in South Sudan, and IGAD, to press transitional leaders to complete these steps. Citizens in a democracy must also have the tools and information necessary to hold leaders accountable for public financial management and to make ballot decisions based on whether their leaders have been responsible and transparent stewards in the proper use and management of public resources for government functions and ensuring equitable delivery of public services. I would use our rotating position, along with our other Troika partners, on South Sudan's public financial management oversight committee to take full advantage to urge and guide reforms that facilitate economic transparency and accountability.

To create a lasting democracy, the loudest voice for change must come from the people of South Sudan. Freedoms of expression and peaceful assembly are integral parts of a functioning democracy, and if South Sudan is ever to become a vibrant democracy, it must respect these and other human rights. If confirmed, I would increase diplomatic engagement, leverage all public diplomacy tools, and evaluate our foreign assistance mechanisms to ensure we are providing as much support as possible for freedoms of expression and peaceful assembly so that the South Sudanese people can participate fully in the political process.

The major impediment to progress in building these democratic institutions is the network of political elites, mostly in Juba, whose interests are served by blocking further implementation of the peace agreement and promulgating an environment that permits non-transparent deals that generate illegitimate income or funnel revenue from national resources into individual accounts.

Question. How will you utilize U.S. Government assistance resources at your disposal, including the Democracy Commission Small Grants program and other sources of State Department and USAID funding, to support democracy and governance, and what will you prioritize in processes to administer such assistance?

Answer. If confirmed, I would evaluate the full range of U.S. Government assistance tools available to support democracy and governance. I would work closely with USAID to expand and diversify their funding to promote human rights and bolster civil society, independent media, and citizens' active participation in democratic political and peace processes. We should continue support for democracy and governance programming and engage other donors on their ability to contribute. The Government of South Sudan must demonstrate the political will to implement credible elections with U.N. support.

Within the State Department, I would work with the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor to identify all resources available to African countries to the extent consistent with applicable restrictions on U.S. assistance, to fund programs that would build the capacity of the South Sudanese to build and function in a truly democratic society.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to meet with civil society members, human rights, and other non-governmental organizations in the U.S. and with local human rights NGOs, and other members of civil society in South Sudan? What steps will you take to pro-actively address efforts to restrict or penalize NGOs and civil society via legal or regulatory measures?

Answer. Yes, if confirmed, I would commit to meet with civil society members, human rights, and other non-governmental organizations in the United States and local human rights NGOs, and other members of civil society in South Sudan.

It is my view that the South Sudanese people have made clear their desire for meaningful political and economic transformation in their country to advance freedom, democracy, peace, accountability, and transparency. I believe that a sustained diplomatic investment by the United States, as well as our regional and international partners is required to assist the South Sudanese people in achieving these goals. If confirmed, I would seek to press all of South Sudan's leaders to remove restrictions and other impediments to NGOs and civil society and to provide a safe and open environment for their activities.

Question. Will you and your Embassy team actively engage with South Sudan on freedom of the press and address any government efforts designed to control or undermine press freedom through legal, regulatory, or other measures? Will you commit to meeting regularly with independent, local press in South Sudan?

Answer. Yes, if confirmed, I would actively engage with South Sudan on freedom of expression, including for members of the press, and address any government efforts designed to limit or undermine press freedom through legal, regulatory, or other measures. I would meet regularly with independent, local press in South Sudan.

I would work to ensure that Embassy Juba engages frequently with local journalists. I would also press the Government of South Sudan to cease any censorship and arbitrary detentions of journalists and guarantee that journalists and all members of civil society have a safe space and an enabling environment that allows them to provide accurate and unbiased information to citizens about government actions.

Question. Will you commit, if confirmed, to ensuring that you fully brief Members of Congress and/or their staff each time you are in Washington for visits or consultations during your tenure as Ambassador to South Sudan?

Answer. Yes.

Anomalous Health Incidents

Question. I am very concerned about directed energy attacks on U.S. Government personnel (so-called Anomalous Health Incidents). Ensuring the safety and security of our personnel abroad falls largely on individual Chiefs of Mission and the response of officers at post. It is imperative that any individual who reports a suspected incident be responded to promptly, equitably, and compassionately.

- Do you agree these incidents must be taken seriously, and pose a threat to the health of U.S. personnel?

Answer. I am deeply concerned by potential anomalous health incidents impacting U.S. Government personnel and their family members. These incidents affect the wellbeing of U.S. personnel serving their country abroad and must be taken extremely seriously. If confirmed, I will make the health and safety of my staff my top priority, including contributing to the extensive, ongoing interagency investigation into the cause of these incidents and how we can best protect our people. If confirmed, the health, safety, and security of Embassy Juba staff and all those supporting the Mission will be my highest priority.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to ensuring that any reported incident is treated seriously and reported quickly through the appropriate channels, and that any affected individuals receive prompt access to medical care?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to ensuring that all reported potential anomalous health incidents are given serious attention and reported swiftly through the appropriate channels. I will also ensure that staff who are affected by these incidents receive prompt access to the treatment, support, and medical care that they need.

Question. Do you commit to meeting with medical staff and the RSO at post to discuss any past reported incidents and ensure that all protocols are being followed?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to meeting with medical staff and the RSO at Embassy Juba to discuss any reported anomalous health incidents so that I am most prepared to protect the safety of Mission South Sudan and ensure that all protocols regarding anomalous health incidents are being followed appropriately.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO MICHAEL J. ADLER BY SENATOR JAMES E. RISCH

South Sudan

Question. What is your perspective on South Sudan's current leadership—namely President Salva Kiir and First Vice President Riek Machar?

Answer. From my perspective, South Sudan's current leadership—including both President Salva Kiir and First Vice President Riek Machar—has failed to act to implement successive peace agreements, build democratic institutions for the South Sudanese people, use the nation's vast oil wealth for the benefit of all its citizens, and ensure peace and respect for human rights. I believe that South Sudan's leaders have a shared responsibility to act with urgency to advance progress toward the future the South Sudanese people seek of democracy, security, and economic prosperity. If confirmed, I would press all of South Sudan's leaders to maintain the permanent ceasefire, end sub-national violence, respect human rights, address corruption and other obstacles to economic growth, and immediately take all predicate steps necessary to enable the South Sudanese people to select their leaders through free, fair, and credible democratic elections.

Question. Would you characterize South Sudan's current leadership as spoiler's to South Sudan's peace, democracy, and development?

Answer. South Sudan's leaders have yet to deliver the peace, democracy, and development that was expected following their country's emergence as an independent country in 2011. If confirmed, I will provide my unvarnished assessment of which elements in the leadership are most responsible for this delay. It is already clear to me that the ongoing competition for power in South Sudan, occurring in the absence of an established democratic process, continues to contribute to violence and has had a longstanding spoiler effect on efforts to establish the better future the South Sudanese people deserve and the United States, along with other major donors, expects. It is also clear to me, that the South Sudanese people are eager for the political, economic, and security transformation of their country. For this to occur, it is imperative that South Sudan move forward with an inclusive constitutional drafting process, the adoption of electoral reform legislation, and the development of transparent and inclusive electoral mechanisms. These steps will ultimately allow the South Sudanese people to select their own leaders through free, fair, and credible elections. This is the first key step to establishing the Government's accountability to its citizenry. If confirmed, I would work closely with international partners and regional actors to bring diplomatic and other forms of pressure to bear on South Sudan's leaders to ensure that the people's voices are heard and respected as these decisions are made.

Question. Do you regard President Salva Kiir as the legitimate democratic leader of the Republic of South Sudan? Please explain your answer.

Answer. Though not democratically elected, Salva Kiir is the President of the Republic of South Sudan during the transitional period as agreed by the signatories of the Revitalized Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan signed on September 12, 2018. The transitional period originally planned for 36 months has been extended to February 2023.

Question. As discussed in my S.Res.380, which passed the Senate by unanimous consent on December 9, 2021, the United States spends more than \$1 billion per

year on the fallout of the conflict in South Sudan, mostly for humanitarian assistance and through contributions to the U.N. peacekeeping mission UNMISS. In 2018, President Trump called for a review of U.S. assistance to South Sudan, to ensure that U.S. funds are not contributing to the war economy or inadvertently perpetuating conflict.

- Do you commit to supporting an assistance review for South Sudan, if confirmed?

Answer. I understand the former administration initiated an assistance review the results of which have never been finalized. I further understand that the interagency is reviewing data from this review, with the intention to provide it to Congress. If confirmed, I would give my full support to this review, if it remains ongoing, and would work closely with implementing partners and the broader international community to ensure that we have effective safeguards in place to ensure that U.S. assistance goes only to those for whom it is intended and does not contribute to continuation of conflict.

Follow-up Questions

My office has been told by State and USAID officials that there is no active assistance review, but rather that USAID shared a report with the interagency with no further action was taken.

Question. Regardless of if “the interagency is reviewing data from this (assistance) review” (initiated under the Trump administration), do you commit, if confirmed, to supporting and participating in a renewed and more productive examination of U.S. assistance that encompasses the current context in South Sudan?

Answer. Yes, I commit that if I am confirmed, I will support and participate in such a review of U.S. assistance.

Question. Regardless of the timing of releasing the results of the current or a future assistance review, will you commit, if confirmed, to convening your Embassy team to regularly assess the role of U.S. assistance to South Sudan in countering or furthering the crisis in the country?

Answer. Yes. I commit to regularly convening the Embassy country team to consistently assess the role of U.S. assistance to South Sudan in countering or furthering the crisis in the country.

Question. What other measures will you take, should you be confirmed, to ensure “U.S. assistance goes only to those for whom it is intended and does not contribute to (the) continuation of (the) conflict?”

Answer. As a nominee, I commit to making this a priority. If confirmed, I would act quickly to identify specific steps that could be taken in this regard by consulting with USAID, other members of the interagency, and implementing partners to ensure I had a full understanding of any deficiencies of current safeguards and the best means to strengthen them. I would make such consultations a regular practice throughout my assignment to Juba so that we can assess the effectiveness of the initial measures we take and ensure that we respond swiftly to any indications of diversion. I would be prepared to consider whatever steps are necessary to ensure U.S. assistance does not contribute to the continuation of the conflict, including proposing adjustments to aid and expanded use of sanctions, where available, in response to confirmed indications of diversion by malign actors. I would also engage with partner country embassies to encourage a coordinated donor effort to prevent such diversion. If confirmed, I would welcome the opportunity to consult regularly with committee staff on the steps we take in this area.

Question. Will you commit, if confirmed, to be personally available to the committee to discuss U.S. assistance matters regarding South Sudan?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I commit to being personally available to the committee to discuss assistance matters regarding South Sudan as well as any other topics of interest to the committee.

Question. As Ambassador, if confirmed, how would you pursue reducing the need for U.S. humanitarian assistance to South Sudan due to persistent conflict?

Answer. If confirmed, I would prioritize the sustainment of the permanent ceasefire and advancing political, economic, and security sector reforms that would address the root causes of the need for humanitarian as-

sistance. I would make use of the U.S. role as co-chair—in rotation with Norway and the United Kingdom—of South Sudan’s Public Financial Management Oversight Committee to press the South Sudanese Government to use its resources transparently for the benefit of its citizens, thereby reducing the need for humanitarian aid.

Question. As Ambassador, if confirmed, how would you pursue reducing the need for U.S. humanitarian assistance to South Sudan due to persistent conflict?

Answer. If confirmed, I would prioritize the sustainment of the permanent ceasefire and advancing political, economic, and security sector reforms that would address the root causes of the need for humanitarian assistance. I would make use of the U.S. role as co-chair—in rotation with Norway and the United Kingdom—of South Sudan’s Public Financial Management Oversight Committee to press the South Sudanese Government to use its resources transparently for the benefit of its citizens, thereby reducing the need for humanitarian aid.

Follow-up Questions

While South Sudan’s Public Financial Management Oversight Committee is an important tool “to press the South Sudanese Government to use its resources transparently for the benefit of its citizens,” the U.S. has an important bilateral role to play in the oversight of its own humanitarian assistance in South Sudan.

Question. If confirmed, what other steps would you take as Ambassador to reduce South Sudan’s need and dependency on U.S. humanitarian assistance?

Answer. I agree that the United States has an important bilateral role to play in the oversight of our humanitarian assistance in South Sudan. If confirmed, I would also press the South Sudanese Government to make clear that they must take the necessary steps to create the political environment necessary to foster economic growth and prosperity. The South Sudanese Government must work with more urgency to take the predicate actions necessary to hold credible elections, such as legislation regarding constitutional and electoral processes, the formation of institutions, the complete unification of forces, and a safe space for civil participation in politics. Peace, democracy, and stability are key to South Sudan’s ability to grow its economy. If confirmed, I would consider the possibility of promoting policy reforms that facilitate the development of South Sudan’s agricultural potential and decrease its reliance on humanitarian assistance.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to ensuring that US humanitarian assistance to South Sudan adheres to the principal of “Do No Harm?”

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I commit to ensuring that U.S. humanitarian assistance to South Sudan adheres to the principal of “Do No Harm.”

Question. As U.S. Ambassador if confirmed, how will you work with the USAID Mission Director and your interagency colleagues to ensure U.S. humanitarian assistance is not abused or used by the South Sudanese Government to lessen its responsibility to care for its people?

Answer. If confirmed, I would work with the USAID mission director and interagency colleagues to evaluate where current safeguards may be deficient in protecting U.S. humanitarian assistance from abuse, and to seek to strengthen them. I would make these consultations a regular practice and incorporate lessons learned into our assistance plans, including being ready to adjust aid as appropriate or propose sanctions, where available, against actors who divert or manipulate U.S. assistance, as needed. I would also work with partner embassies to coordinate assistance and share information to prevent diversion that facilitates the South Sudanese Government shirking responsibility to provide services to the people of South Sudan.

Question. As Ambassador, do you commit to considering novel policy approaches to South Sudan related to the country’s leaders, the peace agreement (R-ARCSS), and pervasive corruption?

Answer. Yes. The United States, in close consultation with our international partners, is actively working on a range of policy initiatives to support the South Sudanese people’s demands for meaningful political and economic transformation in their country. This includes helping the people in South Sudan establish the necessary conditions to allow them to choose their leaders freely and to hold leaders account-

able for their actions. If confirmed, I would continue robust engagement with South Sudan's leadership, both bilaterally and in concert with the Troika and other allies, to impress upon them the need to advance the peace process and move towards elections.

Question. Much of your professional experience has been in the Asia and the Near East regions.

- If confirmed as Ambassador to South Sudan, how do you think your previous experiences can be applied to the complex dynamics of both South Sudan and the region?

Answer. If confirmed, I would draw on my 30 years of experience in the Foreign Service, including in countries in the midst of transition under conflict and post-conflict conditions. In particular, my experiences in Bosnia (1998–2001), Iraq (2003–2004 and 2005–2006), and Afghanistan (2010–2011) have taught me important lessons about the challenges of advancing progress toward the establishment of democratic institutions and the need to hold host country leaders accountable for lack of sustained progress and tolerance of corruption. My professional experiences have also taught me the need for Embassy leadership to encourage continuous, sustained efforts to deepen understanding of complex societies by broadening Embassy outreach as far as possible among political actors and civil society. I have also learned the critical importance, especially in hardship posts, of Ambassadors clearly communicating policy goals and engaging to ensure the morale and productivity of the entire interagency team at post.

Question. How do you plan to engage with civil society and stakeholders to become grounded in the intricacies and challenges of working in South Sudan?

Answer. If confirmed, prior to departing for post, I would immediately seek meetings with the broad range of South Sudan experts in the United States, including from the diaspora community, with active ties to South Sudanese civil society. Following my arrival at post, I would meet with the country team to examine ways that I, as Ambassador, and the entire Embassy staff can amplify our outreach to civil society to improve our understanding of the dynamics driving political, economic, and security challenges in South Sudan. If confirmed, I would also prioritize travel by Embassy officials outside of the capital city of Juba, as security conditions permit, to ensure that our perspective and policy advice take into account the full complexity of the country.

Question. What will be your approach to collaborating with the Special Envoy to the Horn of Africa, if one is nominated and appointed, to ensure that a cohesive and effective South Sudan strategy is developed and implemented?

Answer. If confirmed, I plan to work closely with the Special Envoy to the Horn of Africa if one is appointed. I would view our roles as complementary to one another and would seek to use the Special Envoy's office's ongoing engagement with key regional actors to advance the required political and economic transformation in South Sudan, should that be in the envoy's remit. I would seek to establish clear channels of communication with any Special Envoy to the Horn of Africa if one is appointed and would work closely with that individual to develop and implement a cohesive and effective South Sudan strategy.

Question. South Sudan presents many operational challenges for humanitarian agencies, including bureaucratic impediments, difficulty reaching communities in need due to poor infrastructure, and attacks against aid workers and assets. South Sudan is one of the most dangerous places in the world for humanitarian workers seeking to help the more than 8 million South Sudanese in need of assistance.

- How will you work with the Government of South Sudan to reduce these barriers to aid delivery and end impunity for attacks on humanitarian workers?

Answer. It is a tragedy that so many aid workers have died trying to assist the people of South Sudan. The failure of the South Sudanese Government both to ensure the safety and security of humanitarian workers and to hold accountable those who are responsible for violence against them is inexcusable. If confirmed, I will consistently underscore the urgent need for the Government to strengthen its efforts to work with the international community to ensure the protection of aid workers and will press the Government to investigate and prosecute all those responsible for violence against them. I would also work closely with the United Nations Mission in South Sudan and the broader international humanitarian community to review risk management procedures and to ensure that we are all taking sensible steps to provide critically needed humanitarian assistance in as safe and secure an environment for humanitarian workers as possible.

In addition to the security threat, it is unacceptable that those who seek to provide assistance to the South Sudanese continue to encounter bureaucratic impediments and harassment. I will work with all U.S. Government agencies and their implementing partners as well as agencies responsible for delivering humanitarian aid (especially U.N. agencies, the World Food Program in particular) to hear their concerns, share information, and identify ways to support the safety of their staff through continued engagement with the Government of South Sudan.

Question. The U.S. played a critical role in South Sudan achieving independence in 2011. Plans for elections to be held in February 2023 are moving forward despite the current conditions not being conducive for free, fair, and transparent elections.

- What benchmarks do you believe must be met to create an environment conducive to conducting free, fair, and transparent elections in South Sudan? What role should the U.S. play to support such conditions?

Answer. It is important that the leaders of South Sudan abide by the commitments they made in the peace agreement. Under the terms of the revitalized peace agreement, free, fair, and credible elections are to be preceded by an inclusive constitution-making process, updating, and passing key electoral legislation, the development of transparent and inclusive electoral mechanisms, and the formation and training of the Necessary Unified Forces. All of these are overdue.

The South Sudanese people have been clear that they desire a political and economic transformation in their country. The actions necessary to enable free, fair, and credible elections are, therefore, a priority for the United States. If confirmed, I would work closely with international partners and regional actors to bring diplomatic and other forms of pressure to bear on South Sudan's leaders to ensure that the people's voices are heard and respected as these decisions are made. In addition, if confirmed, I would prioritize work to empower civil society and independent media, which provide an essential role in monitoring the Government, promoting positive policy changes, and expressing the will and priorities of South Sudanese citizens.

Question. Despite international pressure, implementation of the 2018 peace agreement by the Revitalized Transitional Government has been incredibly slow. While politicians delay reforms, South Sudanese face insecurity in many parts of the country. What the people of South Sudan ultimately need is sustainable peace, which requires a political solution.

- What do you see as the path for that solution, and what steps will you take to help the country achieve it?

Answer. The 2018 revitalized peace agreement is a flawed document, but it has tempered large-scale violence and lays out important political commitments for signatories that, if implemented, could lay the groundwork for meaningful political, economic, and security sector reform. If confirmed, I would support continuing to use the agreement as appropriate to advance our policy objectives. I believe that a sustained diplomatic investment by the United States, as well as our regional and international partners, is required to assist the South Sudanese people in achieving their goals to advance freedom, democracy, peace, accountability, and transparency. I would seek to press all of South Sudan's leaders to advance the demands of the South Sudanese people, including through focusing on providing a safe and open environment for the work of civil society and political actors, an inclusive constitution drafting process, the establishment of democratic institutions, progress on public financial management reform, the unification of security forces, and an effective transitional justice framework. This would serve as a foundation for subsequent, better governing administrations. In addition, I would carefully evaluate and be prepared to recommend the use of other tools at our disposal—including targeted sanctions—to impose costs on those responsible for delaying implementation of the peace process.

Follow-up Questions

In your response to Question 12, you stated the “2018 revitalized peace agreement is a flawed document” that “if implemented” could “lay the groundwork for meaningful political, economic, and security sector reform.” However, this agreement's implementation is also flawed, and the hope of laying such a groundwork for “meaningful” reform seems empty. In fact, the flawed implementation of this flawed agreement is occurring as South Sudan gets more dangerous by the day. You also mentioned the importance of “sustained diplomatic investment by the United States...is required to assist the South Sudanese people in achieving their goals to advance freedom, democracy, peace, accountability, and transparency.”

Question. What are the administration's current U.S. policy objectives for South Sudan?

Answer. The Biden-Harris administration is committed to empowering the South Sudanese people to achieve a peaceful transition to an elected government in South Sudan that is built on strong democratic institutions, is characterized by leadership that is responsive to the desires of the South Sudanese people, and is committed to necessary political, economic, and security sector reforms that contribute to peace, improved governance, and transparent use of the country's natural resources for the benefit of all South Sudanese. This includes using our diplomatic influence and foreign assistance resources to press for and facilitate the predicate actions the South Sudanese Government needs to take to allow for an inclusive constitution-drafting process, necessary electoral mechanisms, unified security forces, and economic transparency.

U.S. policy is to promote public financial management reform to combat corruption and improve transparency in the management of national resources to create the economic climate necessary for growth and to attract investment. The United States is also committed to addressing the drivers of sub-national violence and pressing the Government to hold perpetrators of violence accountable. Our policy strives to improve South Sudan's resilience to environmental, conflict-driven, and economic shocks and reduce dependence on humanitarian assistance.

Question. If the "2018 revitalized agreement is a flawed document" and its implementation remains seriously flawed, how does your support to "continuing to use the agreement as appropriate" actually advance U.S. policy objectives?

Answer. One of the primary flaws in the text of the 2018 peace agreement is its failure to include a provision stating that transitional government officials should not be eligible to run for office in the country's post-transition elections. The South Sudanese people will need to determine how best to address this key omission, as they embark on an inclusive constitution drafting process and establish the legal and institutional framework for eventual elections. I am also concerned that the revitalized peace agreement has lacked robust mechanisms to ensure that all parties live up to its timelines and political, economic, and security sector reform commitments. Addressing this will require robust diplomatic engagement from the United States to which I am committed should I be confirmed. The revitalized peace agreement has prevented a return to large-scale violence, but its oversight mechanisms have paid insufficient attention to addressing the drivers of localized violence—an area in which I would also place diplomatic effort, if confirmed.

Despite these key obstacles which need to be addressed, the revitalized agreement enumerates and commits the parties to many of the key predicate actions that are necessary, if not fully sufficient, to lay the groundwork for the political and economic transformation of the country demanded by the South Sudanese people and which U.S. policy is committed to supporting. If confirmed, I would propose to use the document to press parties to live up to such commitments, while simultaneously pressing them to go further in addressing the reform demands of the South Sudanese people.

Question. Do you believe the current administration's approach to South Sudan reflects a "sustained diplomatic investment by the United States?" If so, how?

Answer. U.S. diplomatic investment in South Sudan continues to put pressure on the Government to take the predicate actions needed to implement the 2018 peace agreement, support South Sudan's democratic transition, and hold free, fair, and credible elections. Some recent signs of progress include the announcement of a command sharing agreement for Necessary Unified Forces, legislation on the participation of political parties, and the introduction of legislation on constitution drafting. Much more progress is needed. If confirmed, I will give my utmost in support of U.S. diplomatic engagement and investment to reflect the urgency of progress needed in South Sudan.

Question. Aside from South Sudan's political elites and official parties to the conflict, do you believe the South Sudanese people have faith in the future implementation of the "flawed" 2018 revitalized agreement as a path to a sustainable peace?

Answer. The South Sudanese people have lived with conflict and suffering due to political and environmental causes for many years. It is easy to understand that they are skeptical that needed progress will take place to reach sustainable peace. At the same time, I believe that the population of South Sudan does not want to continue to live with current levels of violence that infects their communities and makes it difficult or impossible to feed and care for their families. They continue to make known their demands for democracy, peace, and responsible economic management. If confirmed, I will support the voices of members of civil society, so that the South Sudanese people have a mechanism through which they can effectively engage government institutions and press for the changes they believe will best improve accountability of officials and advance their democratic aspirations. If confirmed, I am committed to using our diplomatic influence to advocate for a safe space in which civil society actors can carry out this important work and to supporting policy reforms that contribute to the transition to an elected government in South Sudan that is accountable to its people and delivers results for all of them in a transparent fashion.

Question. In the State Department's 2021 Trafficking in Persons Report (TIP), South Sudan remained Tier 3 for failing to make significant efforts to meet the minimum standards to eliminate trafficking.

- How will you work with the South Sudanese to address these issues if you are confirmed as Ambassador?

Answer. If confirmed, I would work with South Sudanese officials, including the Ministries of Justice and Immigration, to advocate for establishment of a legal framework to address trafficking in persons and ratification of the Palermo Protocol to Prevent, Suppress, and Punish Trafficking in Persons Especially Women and Children. I would also seek to establish appropriate connections among regional immigration authorities to address South Sudan's border security so that the country becomes less open to trafficking.

Question. If confirmed, what concrete steps could you take to help South Sudanese operationalize the prioritized recommendations contained in the TIP report?

Answer. I would press South Sudanese officials to cease immediately the unlawful recruitment and use of child soldiers and release any that are under the command of government forces. If confirmed, I would also engage regularly with senior officials and cabinet officials to urge that necessary legislation to address trafficking in persons moves forward. I would look for opportunities to foster discussion and information sharing between South Sudanese officials and U.S. law enforcement to discuss ways to build training programs for immigration officials and police to identify trafficking victims and to investigate and prosecute traffickers. Public diplomacy is another strong tool that I would leverage to offer programs that educate the broader population about the dangers and detrimental impact of trafficking in persons on a society.

Question. In the State Department's 2020 International Religious Freedom report, South Sudan was identified as lacking societal and governmental respect for religious freedom.

Answer. If confirmed, I would advocate strongly for the Government to respect religious freedom including by thoroughly investigating all reports of violence against members of religious groups, whether allegedly perpetrated by the South Sudan People's Defense Forces, other armed groups, or separate societal elements. I would press for the arrest and prosecution of all those found to be responsible for such violence. I would also engage with the heads of religious communities and other partners to demonstrate United States support for religious freedom in South Sudan.

Question. What is your assessment of this particular issue and if confirmed, how will you work with the Ambassador At Large for International Religious Freedom to bolster religious freedom in-country?

Answer. U.S. support for religious freedom, along with human rights more broadly, was a driving factor behind years of U.S. Government and civil society engagement in support of the South Sudanese people prior to the country's independence in 2011. The United States must lead the international community in pressing the South Sudanese leadership to respect religious freedom and to ensure that no groups, religious or otherwise, are subjected to violence. I would draw on the support of the Ambassador-at-large for International Religious Freedom as well as other senior Department officials to amplify this message, as required. In my advocacy efforts on this subject, as well as on human rights more broadly, I would under-

score the importance of this issue to both the executive and legislative branches of the U.S. Government.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to personally engaging with civil society on this issue?

Answer. I commit to personally engaging with civil society on religious freedom.

Question. If confirmed, what concrete steps can you take to help South Sudan increase their societal and governmental respect for religious freedom?

Answer. I would make clear to South Sudanese leaders and all audiences that respect for religious freedom, along with human rights more broadly, is a foundational element in our bilateral relationship. If confirmed, I will work with my team to assess the political will of the South Sudanese leadership and other societal actors to improve respect for religious freedom. Should that assessment identify specific individuals and groups most responsible for harming others based on religion, I will work with Washington colleagues to identify appropriate actions the United States should take in response, including, as appropriate, in coordination with other partners.

Question. In the State Department's 2021 Human Rights Report, South Sudan was identified as having systemic, significant human rights abuses.

- If confirmed, what steps will you take to address these instances with the host government?

Answer. If confirmed, I would press South Sudanese leaders to take a strong stance to jointly condemn human rights violations and abuses, prevent their occurrence, and hold perpetrators accountable. I would underscore that tolerance of human rights violations and abuses will have long term consequences for South Sudan's international standing as well as for its stability and future political and economic trajectory. I would make clear to the country's leadership the need to do everything possible to immediately address abuses when they happen and hold the perpetrators accountable.

The United States has sanctioned individuals in South Sudan in connection with serious human rights abuse, and supports the U.N. sanctions regime, including targeted sanctions and the arms embargo, and is committed to promoting full implementation. If confirmed, I will examine whether expanded use of sanctions is warranted if the human rights situation does not improve.

Question. How will you direct Embassy Juba to work with civil society organizations to improve the human rights situation on the ground?

Answer. If confirmed, I would lead my team in conveying a consistent message of partnership and engagement with civil society organizations committed to improving human rights in South Sudan. In particular, we would work with organizations positioned to collect data on human rights violations and abuses when they occur, in coordination with the U.N. Mission in South Sudan, the U.N. Commission on Human Rights in South Sudan, the State Department's Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, and the peace agreement ceasefire monitoring mechanisms. This information is critical to document atrocities on the ground and ultimately to hold perpetrators accountable.

Question. The Office of Multilateral Strategy and Personnel (MSP) in the State Department's Bureau of International Organizations is leading a whole-of-government effort to identify, recruit, and install qualified, independent personnel at the United Nations (U.N.), including in elections for specialized bodies like the International Telecommunications Union (ITU). There is an American candidate, Doreen Bodgan-Martin, who if elected would be the first American and first woman to lead the ITU. She is in a tough race that will require early, consistent engagement across capital and within the U.N. member states.

- If confirmed, do you commit to demarching the South Sudanese Government and any other counterparts necessary to encourage their support of Ms. Bogdan-Martin?

Answer. Yes.

Question. If confirmed, how can you work with the Bureau of International Organization Affairs and other stakeholders to identify, recruit, and install qualified Americans in positions like the Junior Program Officer (JPO) program at the U.N.?

Answer. The Junior Professional Officer program is one of the key opportunities offered by the U.N. to encourage young professionals interested in serving in international organizations, and it provides them with hands-on experience across various U.N. agencies. If confirmed, I will coordinate closely with my colleagues in the

Bureau of International Organization Affairs and other stakeholder bureaus and agencies and consult with Congress to ensure we have sufficient resources, tools, and staffing to support more positions for American citizen JPOs in the U.N. system. With these resources, we can work strategically to increase the number of JPO opportunities funded by the U.S. Government into key agencies and bodies that work on U.S. priorities, expand our recruitment and outreach activities to ensure these opportunities are widely known and available to interested U.S. citizens, and provide tools and services to strengthen our competitiveness in placing qualified American citizens into the U.N. system.

Question. Many U.S. missions have been under enormous stress over the last few years, in large part due to COVID. What is your understanding of morale throughout Mission Juba?

Answer. I understand that the challenging work environment, including both the security situation and the condition of the Embassy compound, has placed strains on morale at post. If confirmed, I would prioritize steps to improve morale and support the entire Mission Juba team.

For U.S. direct hire employees, I would immediately take steps to understand any current challenges or management shortfalls and address them. I would focus on mentoring employees from all of the agencies represented in the mission and at all stages of their careers. I would also actively seek to work with senior colleagues in Washington and at other U.S. embassies to ensure that service at Embassy Juba is appropriately rewarded. Locally Employed (LE) staff face the same morale issues as U.S. direct hires plus a myriad of other challenges related to working at a U.S. mission in the country where they live. If confirmed, I would commit to working closely with the LE staff committee and addressing these unique challenges.

Question. How do you intend to improve morale at Mission Juba?

Answer. I will meet with every member of my team within my first weeks at post to hear directly their views about their satisfaction with their roles at the mission, challenges to morale, and any obstacles to their ability to perform their missions in support of United States policy objectives. I would conduct a climate survey. Based on responses and my discussions with members of the team, I would formulate a plan with specific steps to improve morale at post, in consultation with the DCM, USAID Mission Director, and other members of the country team.

I will also hold regular country team meetings, Embassy all hands town halls, and other regular meetings with Mission personnel, if confirmed. I would consistently communicate that I have an open door to any member of the team who wishes to raise issues with me related to morale. I will make a practice of visiting offices of all members of the team on a regular basis, giving particular priority to the work areas of personnel who are not on the country team and who may not otherwise be in daily contact with the front office.

Question. Management is a key responsibility for chiefs of mission. How do you intend to create a unified mission and vision at Mission Juba?

Answer. If confirmed, I would make clear from day one my expectation that all agencies at post will function as a single U.S. Government team. I will ensure that all agency perspectives are represented in all significant discussions of policy and management issues. I will share with the country team my draft list of priorities for Mission Juba in order to seek their input so that a document that fully integrates all agency interests can be shared with the broader team and incorporated into the Mission Juba strategy. Believing that successful management is a continuous process, I would dedicate myself to sustained communication in support of mission unity throughout my assignment.

Question. How would you describe your management style?

Answer. I take a consultative approach to managing teams. Before making a decision, I ensure that I have heard and understand all relevant perspectives from members of my team. I encourage open expression of views differing from my own. Once I have made a decision, I prioritize clarity in the guidance I provide, but I welcome continued consultation as implementation moves forward. I seek to convey on a sustained basis what the team's priorities and objectives are. I make clear that any member of the team is welcome to meet with me directly to raise issues related to morale and performance, including when we have to adjust deadlines given limited resources. I believe and communicate to my teams that we must all hold ourselves accountable to adhere to the highest professional standards and to achieve results for the United States.

Question. Do you believe it is ever acceptable or constructive to berate subordinates, either in public or private?

Answer. No. I do not believe that it is ever acceptable to berate subordinates, either in public or in private.

Question. How do you envision your leadership relationship with your deputy chief of mission?

Answer. If confirmed, I would partner with the deputy chief of mission to help ensure that I hear all perspectives at post on policy and management issues. While I would actively seek views from all components of the Mission, I am aware that it is sometimes challenging at embassies for personnel to express new ideas if they assess that the Ambassador has a different point of view. I will make clear to the deputy chief of mission that we must prioritize establishing and maintaining an inclusive interagency team in which candor is respected and valued.

Question. If confirmed, what leadership responsibilities do you intend to entrust to your deputy chief of mission?

Answer. As I do at the start of all new working relationships, I would first want to assess dynamics at post before assessing how to form an effective Embassy leadership team. Drawing on the most successful Embassy front offices I have observed during my career, I anticipate that I would look to the DCM to mentor staff, conduct performance counseling as needed, and foster interagency collaboration and a strong spirit of a single Mission team. I would also seek to enable the DCM to fill in for me with external contacts, both South Sudanese and in the international community, when I am out of the country. However, I would remain fully engaged in and hold myself ultimately responsible for the internal management and external engagements of Mission Juba.

Question. In order to create and continue employee excellence at the Department, accurate and direct employee evaluation reports (EERs) for Foreign Service Officers are imperative, though often lacking.

- Do you believe that it is important to provide employees with accurate, constructive feedback on their performances in order to encourage improvement and reward those who most succeeded in their roles?

Answer. I believe that it is essential to provide constructive feedback on a regular basis, to address areas where improvement is needed swiftly and transparently, and to reward those who have succeeded in their roles. With respect to the latter, it is particularly important for both the Ambassador and the DCM to demonstrate commitment to support successful employees' efforts to obtain onward assignments that accelerate their ability to achieve their professional objectives. I strongly believe that Embassy leaders must be fully committed to the professional development of all employees, both by addressing deficiencies and by helping high performers continue to succeed and move up to the next level.

Question. If confirmed, would you support and encourage clear, accurate, and direct feedback to employees in order to improve performance and reward high achievers?

Answer. If confirmed, I would prioritize mentoring, as I have throughout multiple leadership roles.

Question. It is imperative that U.S. diplomats get outside of posts abroad to meet with local actors, including host government officials, non-government organizations, and fellow foreign diplomats stationed in South Sudan.

- In your opinion, do U.S. diplomats get outside of our Embassy walls enough to accomplish fully their missions?

Answer. I think that U.S. diplomats must consistently strive to increase and expand their external outreach to advance U.S. policy objectives. If confirmed as Ambassador to South Sudan, I would consider it my responsibility to work consistently to maintain an appropriate risk management approach to enable personnel to get off compound as often as possible or practical in order to fulfill the mission, while giving appropriate consideration to security concerns.

Question. How do you intend to improve the ability of U.S. diplomats to better access all local populations?

Answer. South Sudan's security environment has placed constraints on Embassy external outreach. If confirmed, I would work with the DCM, the Regional Security Officer, the USAID Mission Director, and the other members of the Emergency Action Committee (EAC) to identify ways to support the ability of Embassy personnel to increase external engagements safely, especially outside of Juba. I would lead my

team in maintaining good relationships with the U.N. Mission in South Sudan and other diplomatic missions to ensure we have information and additional resources to increase our capacity for safely visiting additional sites in South Sudan. I would also work with my public diplomacy team to pursue new networks and platforms to reach a broader range of the South Sudanese population.

Question. Public diplomacy is an important aspect of U.S. foreign policy efforts. What is the public diplomacy environment like in the South Sudan?

Answer. The United States' stature as the country's largest donor and a key international supporter of the process which led to South Sudan's independence in 2011 gives us a strong basis to advocate publicly for U.S. objectives and values with the South Sudanese media and civil society. If confirmed, I commit to making full use of all appropriate public diplomacy tools to advocate for progress toward urgently needed political, security and economic reforms. This includes exploring new ways to strengthen the capacity of independent media and civil society organizations.

Question. What public diplomacy challenges do U.S. diplomats face there?

Answer. U.S. diplomats face myriad challenges conducting public diplomacy in South Sudan. The security situation makes in-person outreach difficult. There is also a very low rate of penetration of internet access and social media use, making some of the tools available to our public diplomacy officers in other countries ineffective in South Sudan. In addition, the Government's past behavior to shut down meetings and media access for civil society actors makes it difficult for us to engage for fear of making them a target for harassment or even unjustified detention. If confirmed, I will work closely with the Public Affairs Officer at post and the broader country team to overcome these challenges.

Question. How do you balance the importance of Main State versus the in-country mission when it comes to tailoring public diplomacy messages for foreign audiences?

Answer. In my experience, the right balance varies from country to country. In the South Sudan context, where it is imperative that we amplify our message about the urgent need for movement on political, economic, and security reform, I view public messaging about U.S. policy priorities as a core Embassy responsibility. However, I anticipate that there will be occasions when statements from Main State will be appropriate to reinforce key points. I would seek to identify and maintain the right balance through frequent consultations with the Department of State about developments on the ground in South Sudan, particularly in the public diplomacy sphere, and junctures where Washington-based statements would be timely.

Question. "Anomalous health incidents," commonly referred to as "Havana Syndrome," have been debilitating and sidelining U.S. diplomats around the world for years. They have caused serious, negative consequences for U.S. diplomacy, yet many believe that the Department is not doing enough to care for, protect, and communicate to its personnel. The past occurrences and ongoing threat of anomalous health incidents among Embassy personnel and their families poses a serious challenge to morale. When personnel at post fear for their safety or doubt that their case will be taken seriously if they were affected, the performance of Embassy operations can suffer.

- If confirmed, do you commit to taking this threat seriously?

Answer. Yes, if confirmed, I commit to take these threats seriously and would do everything in my power to prioritize the health, treatment and safety of our diplomats and any USG personnel in South Sudan.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to talking as openly as you can to Mission Juba personnel?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I will exercise and maintain open communication with Mission Juba personnel.

Question. Have you received a briefing on the anomalous health incidents that have occurred to U.S. Government personnel around the world, including at U.S. embassies and other diplomatic posts? If you have not, and if you are confirmed, do you commit to receiving a briefing on the incidents before you depart for your post?

Answer. Yes. I have attended the Ambassadorial seminar, which included an unclassified briefing on AHIs. Prior to my departure for post, I will seek further information in a classified setting from the Coordinator of the State Department's Health Incident Response Task Force as well as relevant bureaus including Diplomatic Security and Intelligence and Research.

Question. In the event of an anomalous health incident among your Embassy personnel or eligible family members, do you commit to maintain detailed records of the incident, and share the information with the State Department and other embassies to contribute to the investigation of how these attacks are affecting U.S. missions and personnel around the world?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to maintaining detailed records of any anomalous health incidents that may occur, sharing that information with the State Department and other embassies, and to engaging constructively in the ongoing global investigation into circumstances surrounding unexplained health incidents. The Department continues to work to determine what has happened to our staff and their families and to ensure their well-being and health going forward. There is no higher priority than the safety and security of our U.S. personnel, their families, and U.S. citizens.

Question. Whether or not anomalous health incidents occur at your Embassy, how will you work to restore and preserve morale that may be lost due to the knowledge these attacks have been occurring at posts around the world?

Answer. If confirmed, I would in the case of any anomalous health incident prioritize the health and safety of the Embassy community and ensure that those impacted receive the proper treatment. I will keep my team informed, talking with them as openly as I can, and work to understand their concerns and create a safe environment for them to carry out our mission.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO MICHAEL J. ADLER BY SENATOR JEANNE SHAHEEN

Question. I have been closely following increased reports of directed energy attacks that have affected U.S. Government employees. As nominees to a role of Ambassador, I want to ensure that you are sufficiently prepared to respond accordingly if an unexplained health incident is reported in your mission. I understand that the State Department includes a briefing on this as part of the Ambassadorial seminar that you are required to attend.

- If confirmed, will you commit to attending the Ambassadorial seminar session on AHIs and seek a classified briefing with State Department?

Answer. Yes. I have attended the Ambassadorial seminar, which included an unclassified briefing on AHIs. Prior to my departure for post, I will seek further information in a classified setting from the Coordinator of the State Department's Health Incident Response Task Force as well as relevant bureaus including Diplomatic Security and Intelligence and Research.

Question. If an incident occurs, please assure that you will do everything in your power to prioritize the health, treatment, and safety of our diplomats?

Answer. If confirmed as Ambassador to South Sudan, I will make the health and safety of my staff my top priority. If confirmed, I will also commit to ensuring all reported incidents at Embassy Juba are treated seriously and quickly reported through the appropriate channels. I will ensure that any affected individuals receive prompt access to treatment and medical care.

Question. The Biden administration rightly prioritized protecting, improving, and expanding access to sexual and reproductive health care as one of ten key priorities in the National Strategy on Gender Equity and Equality. Across Africa, the unmet need for family planning is significant. Women and families struggle to access modern contraceptives or basic information to be able to make the right choices for their health and that of their families.

- If confirmed, do you commit to working with the respective USAID country missions, implementing partners and civil society to improve access and develop relationships to best administer the U.S.'s family planning programming?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I commit to working with USAID, implementing partners, and civil society to improve access and develop relationships to best administer family planning programming and health services, and to advocate strongly on behalf of the rights of women.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO MICHAEL J. ADLER BY SENATOR MARCO RUBIO

Question. As we see with almost all African countries, the Chinese Communist Party is the major player in South Sudan's oil sector, which it protects with the largest presence of Chinese peacekeepers overseas. After civil war broke out in the country in 2013, Beijing played a significant role in increasing the UNMISS authorized troop strength and modifying the U.N. Mission in South Sudan's (UNMISS) mandate to include a broader interpretation of the U.N.'s nonintervention policy. In this expanded mandate, Beijing successfully lobbied for a provision to include the protection of workers on oil installations. Although the provision initially encountered resistance from officials in the U.N. Department of Peacekeeping Operations, who argued the change would undermine the U.N.'s neutrality and place peacekeepers on the side of the South Sudanese Government and the oil industry, the mandate expansion was ultimately adopted unanimously by the U.N. Security Council in 2014. This effectively aligned peacekeepers with Beijing's economic interests. It's pretty clear that the CCP is looking ahead to a future conflict with the United States, during which it will need to secure reliable sources of oil, for when the U.S. and its allies stop exporting oil to China.

- What is your assessment of China's involvement in South Sudan's oil sector?

Answer. It is indisputable that the People's Republic of China is a major player in South Sudan's oil sector. In addition to any prepositioning the PRC might be doing to secure sources of oil, the PRC's approach to human rights and transparency is diametrically opposed to our own. China's purchases of crude oil and its investment in the sector without questioning the corruption involved provides cover for the diversion of resources from providing services to the South Sudanese people. If confirmed, I would pursue all opportunities to call attention to this unhealthy relationship.

Question. How will you push back on Chinese attempts to use the U.N. Peacekeeper system to further its own economic interests?

Answer. If confirmed, I would work with my colleagues in the Bureau of International Organization Affairs and the U.S. Mission to the United Nations to ensure U.N. peacekeeping remains impartial and to counter any attempts to manipulate peacekeeping mandates for the benefit of the PRC's economic interests.

Question. Do you support the United States competing with Chinese influence in south Sudan's oil sector?

Answer. South Sudan's oil sector is currently not suitable for U.S. investment due to rampant corruption that would put U.S. companies at risk of violating the Foreign Corrupt Practices Act and fueling economic crimes that harm the South Sudanese people. Reflecting this, in 2018, the United States added 15 South Sudanese companies operating in South Sudan's oil sector to the U.S. Department of Commerce's Entity List. If confirmed, I will prioritize engagement and advocacy in support of reforms and action against corruption that, if successful, would create an environment in which U.S. companies could compete successfully in the oil sector.

More broadly, the best way to help South Sudan reach a point where it can attract U.S. investment is through U.S. diplomatic engagement in South Sudan and the region to urge South Sudan's leaders to speed up the pace of political, economic, and security sector reforms demanded by the South Sudanese people, including implementation of their commitments regarding establishment of conditions and institutions for a free and fair electoral process, public financial management reform, the unification of security forces, and the establishment of transitional justice mechanisms.

Question. If confirmed, will you advocate for a change in U.S. policy towards supporting investments in fossil fuel projects?

Answer. If confirmed, once South Sudan reaches a point where it is conducive to U.S. investment in its oil sector, I would work hard with colleagues in the Departments of Energy and Commerce to attract U.S. oil exploration and production companies to bring their tremendous expertise and best practices to improve the way oil is extracted in South Sudan. I would support investment by U.S. companies in both fossil fuel and renewable energy sources.