

**NOMINATIONS OF THE 117th
CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION—PART III**

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

**COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
UNITED STATES SENATE**

ONE HUNDRED SEVENTEENTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

Part III

October 5, 2021 thru December 14, 2021

Printed for the use of the Committee on Foreign Relations



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NOMINATIONS

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 5, 2021 (a.m.)

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

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:17 a.m., in Room SD-106, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Robert Menendez, chairman of the committee, presiding.

Present: Senators Menendez [presiding], Cardin, Shaheen, Kaine, Booker, Van Hollen, Risch, Johnson, Young, Cruz, and Hagerty.

OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. ROBERT MENENDEZ, U.S. SENATOR FROM NEW JERSEY

The CHAIRMAN. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee will come to order.

We are here to consider the nominations for three important positions: Ms. Mallory Stewart to be the Assistant Secretary of State for Arms Control Verification and Compliance, Ms. Lisa Carty to be the U.S. Representative on the U.N. Economic and Social Council and an alternative representative to the U.N. General Assembly, and Mr. Steve Bondy to be the Ambassador to Bahrain.

Congratulations on your nominations. We appreciate your willingness and also those of your families to serve. Your families are, certainly, part of the sacrifice on behalf of the nation, so we appreciate them as well.

Ms. Stewart, the AVC Bureau is critical in the State Department and to our national security, leading U.S. diplomatic efforts to confront our adversaries about their most dangerous weapons.

I am pleased to see you bring a wealth of experience to this important role, including from your current service on the National Security Council as the Senior Director for Arms Control and Non-proliferation and your years in the State Department as Deputy Assistant Secretary in the AVC Bureau working on these issues.

If confirmed, you will have to address a series of challenges from the very start, including a weakened AVC Bureau, the result of years of neglect under the previous administration, at the exact moment that we are entering a more dangerous world.

The head of our nuclear forces, Navy Admiral Charles Richard, recently called China's explosive growth and modernization of its nuclear and conventional forces breathtaking.

Russia continues to modernize its shorter-range nonstrategic weapons and has shown a willingness to use chemical weapons against its own citizens.

Iran is moving closer to having enough material for a nuclear weapon. I am concerned that the Bureau is unprepared for this more dangerous world and that it lacks the resources and staff it needs to effectively negotiate with our strategic rivals.

I trust that, if confirmed, you will use your knowledge and skills to prioritize strengthening AVC, and I look forward to hearing your thoughts on how to address the challenges ahead.

Ms. Carty, congratulations on your nomination. It is reassuring that President Biden has nominated you, a consummate professional with decades of experience working with the United Nations and the Department of State to this role to help address the economic, humanitarian, and social challenges facing the globe.

Under President Trump, the United States, largely, abdicated a leadership role at the United Nations. From attempting to pull out of the World Health Organization in the middle of a global pandemic to undermining international protections for women, girls, and LGBTI individuals, to defunding or cutting funding to key agencies, we sent the signal that the United States would no longer lead, I should say, ceding space and influence to China and Russia.

If confirmed, you will join a new team committed to repair what has been undermined, including support for human rights, democracy, and addressing the metastasizing humanitarian crisis around the world, including the most recent one in Afghanistan after the rapid collapse of the Ghani Government and Taliban takeover.

I look forward to hearing your thoughts on how critical the agency's initiatives like those promoting the equal rights of women and girls can continue in Afghanistan. And, if confirmed, I trust that you will draw on your decades of relevant experience to effectively engage within and work to strengthen the U.N. system.

Mr. Bondy, welcome to the committee. I am pleased to see such an experienced diplomat and Livingston, New Jersey, native nominated for a critical Gulf post.

I am not surprised that someone from the Garden State has merited a dozen State Department awards, a Service Commendation award from the Department of Defense, and a Presidential Rank Award, and speaks five languages.

I would also like to note that I am not the only one to praise your service. Retired General Votel, former commander of CENTCOM who served with you, has noted that you are, quote, "extraordinarily well qualified for this position," and called you, quote, "an effective collaborator who is deeply respected across the military and within the interagency."

I also have a statement from Ambassador Hugo Llorens praising your service and record and, without objection, I move to enter those statements into the record.

[The information referred to above is located at the end of this hearing transcript.]

The CHAIRMAN. U.S.-Bahrain ties are long-standing. As the host of the U.S. Naval Forces Central Command and the Navy's Fifth Fleet, Bahrain is an essential U.S. partner in our shared efforts to maintain stability and security in the Arabian Gulf.

As the region continues to face instability of threats, most concerning from Iran, it is critical that we have a skilled diplomat in place to strengthen and maintain our partnership.

Bahrain has also led the change for more regional diplomacy as an original signatory to the Abraham Accords, and I have full confidence you will work to further their political, economic, and cultural normalization with Israel.

Your extensive experience in the Middle East, including time spent as the Counselor for Political and Economic Affairs in Bahrain and more recently as the Deputy Chief of Mission and charge d'affaires in Abu Dhabi, will certainly serve you well and the country well in navigating our Embassy in Manama.

I look forward to each of your testimonies. And with that, let me turn to the ranking member for his opening remarks.

**STATEMENT OF HON. JAMES E. RISCH,
U.S. SENATOR FROM IDAHO**

Senator RISCH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and good morning. Welcome to our nominees.

On the nomination of Assistant Secretary of State for Arms Control Verification and Compliance, I want to make clear that a sole-purpose nuclear declaratory policy or any perceived weakening of the U.S. nuclear deterrent will be a betrayal of our allies and will embolden China and Russia. It will also cause allies to lose confidence in the Biden administration's commitment to NATO's Article 5 commitments and to Asia security.

The position you have been nominated to is incredibly important to not only the United States but also our allies and, for that matter, our enemies.

For decades, U.S. administrations have embraced the long-standing policy of strategic ambiguity regarding the use of nuclear weapons. While administrations have thought about changing to a no-first-use policy, they realized international security was more important than ideology.

Indeed, the Obama administration itself studied this closely and rejected such a policy change twice. Earlier this year, our British allies also rejected this change.

The Biden administration says it wants to strengthen U.S. alliances. U.S. allies have told me and have told us that they strongly object to a change to a no-first-use or sole-purpose, which is nothing more than a no-first-use in disguise policy. This administration should listen to them.

On the nomination of Ambassador to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, the United States remains the largest donor to the United Nations.

In recent years, the Chinese Communist Party has used its minimal donations to leverage a large-scale malign influence campaign affecting, in particular, the NGO committee in order to block NGOs critical of China, and they support NGOs that are actually run by the Chinese Communist Party. More must be done to stop this harmful practice.

The Biden administration has also decided to run for a seat on the Human Rights Council. The Council is known for its anti-Israel

bias and troubling countries, including the worst human rights offenders on the planet like China, Cuba, Russia, and Venezuela.

I strongly oppose any attempt by the United States to rejoin this sham group until reforms have been achieved.

On the nomination of Ambassador to Bahrain, United States and the Kingdom of Bahrain have enjoyed a close relationship since the 1940s.

Home to the U.S. Navy's Fifth Fleet and the International Maritime Security Construct, Bahrain is a lynchpin for regional stability and serves as a critical front against Iran's regional aggression.

I remain concerned that Iran continues its efforts to destabilize Bahrain and arm the terrorist groups that operate there.

On the human rights front, Bahrain has come a long way since the Arab Spring. While there is more work to be done, certainly, the Kingdom has made strides in effective policing, advancing human rights, and curbing trafficking in persons. It is vital that we continue this important work.

Finally, I applaud Bahrain's growing relationship with Israel with its signing of the Abraham Accords. These agreements finally offer a path forward for peace in a troubled region, and the recent visit of the Israeli foreign minister and Embassy opening were encouraging steps.

Should you be confirmed, it is critical that you work to encourage Bahrain and Israel to deepen their diplomatic, economic, and security relationship. This is a priority effort.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator Risch.

All right. We will turn to our nominees. We ask you to summarize your statements in about five minutes or so so we can have an opportunity for robust questions.

Your full statements will be included in the record, without objection, and we will start with Ms. Stewart and work our way down the aisle.

STATEMENT OF MALLORY A. STEWART OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, NOMINATED TO BE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE (VERIFICATION AND COMPLIANCE)

Ms. STEWART. Thank you, Chairman Menendez, Ranking Member Risch, and members of this committee for the opportunity to appear before you today.

It is my distinct honor and pleasure to be President Biden's nominee for the role of Assistant Secretary for Arms Control, Verification and Compliance at the Department of State.

I want to thank the President and Secretary Blinken for their confidence in me and for the opportunity, if confirmed, to help advance and protect American national security.

I would also like to thank my colleagues and friends who have supported me throughout this process, and I would especially like to thank my parents, my husband, and our three children. I could not have achieved anything without their encouragement, their guidance, their patience, and their endless love and support.

The Arms Control, Verification and Compliance Bureau, AVC, is at the forefront of some of the most challenging and pressing na-

tional security priorities. I know firsthand just how important, complex, and challenging AVC's work is because, if confirmed, this would be a return to the Bureau in which I proudly served as the Deputy Assistant Secretary.

I also had the privilege of working on the AVC portfolio prior to that during my time in the State Department's Legal Adviser's Office, and I continue to work many of these issues in my current role at the National Security Council.

I joined the State Department's Legal Adviser's Office in 2002. I was inspired to leave my law firm job in part by the events of 9/11 amidst the swirl of international outreach, coordination, and concern.

Throughout my time working on arms control and treaty issues, I have personally witnessed the value of international cooperation, engagement, and dialogue, even and sometimes especially with nontraditional partners and potential competitors.

In order to most effectively achieve the Bureau's mission, AVC must continue its work to reestablish U.S. leadership in multilateral institutions and reengage with allies and partners.

The Biden-Harris administration recognizes that the challenges we face are not ours alone and cannot be solved by any one nation. That is why it has placed a great deal of importance on engagement and has begun the work to revitalize and strengthen our alliances in the Euro-Atlantic and Indo-Pacific to better deter and defend against growing threats.

But engagement with allies is only one piece of the diplomacy puzzle. We must also engage with our main competitors, like Russia and China, and attempt to keep an open dialogue.

It is important to be able to engage on security even at times of bilateral tension and disagreement. That is why this administration is engaged in a strategic stability dialogue with Russia and why we seek to engage in meaningful dialogue on nuclear and other strategic stability threats with China.

From an administrative perspective, I am specifically interested in expanding AVC's capacity to work on the challenges posed by these countries' increasingly aggressive behaviors.

If confirmed, I would welcome the opportunity to lead this important Bureau, together with the many dedicated professional public servants that uphold the Bureau's national security mission every day.

AVC's work to address the existential threat posed by nuclear weapons, deter the use of all weapons of mass destruction, and contend with emerging technology security challenges in a rapidly evolving security environment is critical to American security.

If confirmed, I would hope to partner with the Hill and with other departments and agencies to make sure the Bureau has the necessary support and resources to fulfill its important mission.

Working together, we need to make sure AVC has the best tools and analytical capabilities available now and in the future to provide robust verification of arms control, nonproliferation, and disarmament agreements and commitments, as well as rigorous assessments of compliance with those agreements and commitments, including in order to provide Congress with a complete and accurate

accounting of the arms control landscape through the Annual Compliance Report.

I was personally involved with the Compliance Report when I was a DAS in AVC, and I think it is critically important and it needs to be thorough, clear, and credible. If confirmed, I will make its timely delivery to Congress a priority.

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Ranking Member, members of this committee, you have my commitment that, if confirmed, I will work in close coordination with you and deeply respect your role in the formation of foreign policy.

There are a great number of challenges we face, but we face them together and we must resolve them together.

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

[The prepared statement of Ms. Stewart follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF MALLORY A. STEWART

Thank you, Chairman Menendez, Ranking Member Risch, and members of this committee for the opportunity to appear before you today. It is my distinct honor and pleasure to be President Biden's nominee for the role of Assistant Secretary for Arms Control, Verification and Compliance (AVC) at the Department of State. I want to thank the President and Secretary Blinken for their confidence in me and for the opportunity, if confirmed, to help advance and protect America's national security.

I would also like to thank my colleagues and friends who have supported me throughout this process. And I would especially like to thank my parents, my husband, and our three children. I could not have achieved anything without their encouragement, their guidance, their patience, and their endless love and support.

The Arms Control, Verification and Compliance Bureau (AVC) is at the forefront of some of the most challenging and pressing national security priorities. I know firsthand just how important, complex, and challenging AVC's work is because, if confirmed, this would be a return to the Bureau in which I proudly served as a Deputy Assistant Secretary during the Obama administration. I also had the privilege of working on the AVC portfolio prior to that during my time in the State Department's Legal Adviser's Office, and I continue to work many of these issues in my current role at the National Security Council.

I joined the State Department's Legal Adviser's Office in 2002. I was inspired to leave my law firm job in part by the events of 9/11, amidst the swirl of international outreach, coordination, and concern. Throughout my time working on arms control and treaty issues, I have personally witnessed the value of international cooperation, engagement, and dialogue, even—and sometimes especially with—non-traditional partners and potential competitors.

In order to most effectively achieve the bureau's mission, AVC must continue its work to re-establish U.S. leadership in multilateral institutions and re-engage with allies and partners. The Biden-Harris administration recognizes that the challenges we face are not ours alone and cannot be solved by any one nation. That is why it has placed a great deal of importance on engagement and has begun the work to revitalize and strengthen our alliances in the Euro-Atlantic and Indo-Pacific to better deter and defend against growing threats.

But engagement with allies is only one piece of the diplomacy puzzle. We must also engage with our main competitors, like Russia and China, and attempt to keep an open dialogue. It is important to be able to engage on security even at times of bilateral tension and disagreement. That is why this administration is engaged in a strategic stability dialogue with Russia, and why we seek to engage in meaningful dialogue on nuclear and other strategic stability threats with China. From an administrative perspective, I am specifically interested in expanding AVC's capacity to work on the challenges posed by these countries' increasingly aggressive behaviors.

If confirmed, I would welcome the opportunity to lead this important Bureau together with the many dedicated professional public servants that uphold the bureau's national security mission every day. AVC's work to address the existential threat posed by nuclear weapons, deter the use of all weapons of mass destruction, and contend with emerging technology security challenges and a rapidly evolving security environment is critical to American security. If confirmed, I would hope to

partner with the Hill and with other Departments and Agencies to make sure the Bureau has the necessary support and resources to fulfill its important mission.

Working together, we need to make sure AVC has the best tools and analytical capabilities available, now and in the future, to provide robust verification of arms control, nonproliferation, and disarmament agreements and commitments, as well as rigorous assessments of compliance with those agreements and commitments, including in order to provide Congress with a complete and accurate accounting of the arms control landscape through the annual Compliance Report. I was personally involved with the Compliance Report when I was a DAS in AVC. I think it is a critically important product that needs to be thorough, clear, and credible. If confirmed, I will make its timely delivery to Congress a priority.

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Ranking Member, members of this committee. You have my commitment that, if confirmed, I will work in close coordination with you and respect your role in the formation of foreign policy. There are a great number of challenges we face—but we face them together, and we must resolve them together.

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

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. Forty-seven seconds to spare. That is pretty good.

Mr. Bondy?

STATEMENT OF STEVEN C. BONDY OF NEW JERSEY, 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 KINGDOM OF BAHRAIN

Mr. BONDY. Chairman Menendez, Ranking Member Risch, distinguished members of this committee, thank you for your warm welcome and thank you for the opportunity to appear before you today as President Biden's nominee to be the United States Ambassador to the Kingdom of Bahrain.

I am extremely grateful to the President, a fellow Fightin' Blue Hen of the University of Delaware, and to Secretary Blinken for the confidence they have shown in me with this nomination.

It is the thrill of a lifetime to be in this position and, if confirmed, I look forward to working closely with this committee and the Congress on the important foreign policy interests of the United States in Bahrain.

I would like to start by recognizing and thanking my wife, Meghan, who has been a steadfast supporter and source of inspiration through thick and thin, including the two years I served in war zones.

Our daughter, Rachel, is here today and our son, Drew, is tuning in from Brooklyn. Rachel and Drew traveled the world with us and enrich our lives with their love and global perspective. My parents, George and Enid Bondy, are also watching today's proceedings from Daytona Beach. I owe them all more than I can say.

Mr. Chairman, I am excited at the prospect, if confirmed, of returning to a country where my family and I spent three wonderful years. Bahrain was a key part of the recent Operation Allies Refuge, facilitating and supporting over 7,000 Americans and others transiting the country on their way to the United States. Bahrain once again demonstrated it is not just a partner or an ally, it is a real friend.

The foundation of that friendship begins with our shared national security interests. The United States Navy has had an enduring presence in Bahrain since the 1940s and it has been home

to the U.S. Navy Central Command and Fifth Fleet since the Gulf War.

Bahrain is a safe, secure, and welcoming home to the 8,500 U.S. military members and their families who are in country.

The United States works collaboratively with the Bahraini Government to address threats to the internal security of the Kingdom and the region, particularly from Iran.

This joint security work helps keep safe American citizens, investments, and interests in the country, and if confirmed, I will have no higher priority than protecting the safety and security of Americans in Bahrain.

Mr. Chairman, a year ago, Bahrain and Israel signed the Abraham Accords agreement, shepherded by the United States. This bold act represents a change in the strategic orientation of the Kingdom, and it opened the door to Bahrain and Israel developing their relationship across a wide spectrum of shared interests.

If confirmed, I will devote my energy and creativity to expanding and strengthening this relationship. The President and the Secretary have been clear that human rights are at the center of our foreign policy.

If confirmed, a primary focus of our bilateral engagement will be to advance respect for human rights and political participation, particularly as the 2022 parliamentary elections approach.

We will continue to have open and honest exchanges with Bahrain on these important matters, recognizing both where more progress needs to be made as well as where and when Bahrain has made meaningful progress.

Mr. Chairman, I was fortunate to be serving in Bahrain when our bilateral free trade agreement entered into force in 2006. That agreement established a solid basis for our commercial relations, and American companies can play an important role as the Bahraini economy emerges from the COVID pandemic. If confirmed, I will advocate on behalf of American companies pursuing opportunities in Bahrain.

Mr. Chairman, the United States and Bahrain have a friendship that goes back almost 120 years when intrepid Americans established the American Mission Hospital and related school in Manama.

It will be my distinct honor, if confirmed, to build upon this legacy as the United States Ambassador to Bahrain.

I welcome any questions you may have.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Bondy follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT FOR STEVEN C. BONDY

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The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Ms. Carty?

STATEMENT OF LISA A. CARTY OF MARYLAND, NOMINATED TO BE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA ON THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL OF THE UNITED NATIONS, WITH THE RANK OF AMBASSADOR, AND TO BE AN ALTERNATE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE SESSIONS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS, DURING HER TENURE OF SERVICE AS REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA ON THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL OF THE UNITED NATIONS

Ms. CARTY. Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member Risch, distinguished members of the committee, it is truly an honor to appear before you today as President Biden's nominee to become the U.S. Representative to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations.

I am grateful to the President, to Secretary Blinken, and to Ambassador Thomas-Greenfield for their confidence in me. If con-

firmed, I will do my best to live up to their trust and to work closely with all of you on the committee.

I would like to begin by expressing my deep appreciation to my family, to my husband, Bill Burns, an exceptionally dedicated public servant who has inspired and supported me since we first met as Junior Foreign Service officers nearly 40 years ago, and to our daughters, Lizzy and Sarah, who from infancy through college shared our Foreign Service journey and the many moves that that entailed.

I wish that my parents and my in-laws, each models of exemplary service, could see this moment. My father was a proud graduate of the U.S. Merchant Marine Academy and a Korean War veteran, my mother, a public school special education teacher.

My father-in-law served in the U.S. Army for 34 years with my mother-in-law, his full partner in all the sacrifices that required. Their example and the love and support of my family are a very large part of why I am here today.

I approach this new challenge with considerable humility, with an abiding commitment to public service, with faith in the power of clear-eyed diplomacy in the pursuit of American interests and human rights, and with a well-grounded sense of both the possibilities and the limitations of the United Nations, and with few illusions about the complicated world around us.

It is a world in which the U.N. has a crucial role, especially in tackling the humanitarian, development, human rights, and social issues to which I have devoted nearly four decades as a career diplomat and then as an official of the United Nations.

It is a world in which the COVID pandemic and a changing climate have worsened problems of poverty, instability, and health insecurity, especially for women and girls, and where the U.N.'s Economic and Social Council can play a key role in mounting a global response consistent with U.S. interests.

It is a world in which authoritarian rivals like China and Russia and others seek advantage in the U.N. system and where active and energetic American diplomacy is required to counter them.

And it is a world in which the capabilities of the United Nations matter enormously, but also require relentless U.S. insistence on transparency, accountability, and reform as well as unwavering resistance to anti-Israel bias.

My professional background provides a unique combination of skills to help the United States take on these challenges. I spent 25 years as a Foreign Service officer working extensively on humanitarian, health, gender, and development issues, with field experience in Asia, Russia, and the Middle East.

I served as a Pearson Congressional Fellow working for Senator Nancy Kassebaum on the Africa Subcommittee, I worked for USAID on health programs in Russia, and served as the State Department's regional refugee coordinator based in Amman, Jordan.

I have decades of experience in multilateral diplomacy and a strong sense of how to navigate the U.N. system shaped by 10 years of work in U.N. entities, first, with the joint United Nations program on HIV/AIDS working hand in hand with PEPFAR, and most recently with the U.N.'s Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs where, through the combined efforts of U.S.

Government counterparts and courageous and committed U.N. colleagues, we helped alleviate suffering in some of the world's worst crises.

Mr. Chairman, if confirmed, I look forward to working hard to put that background to good use in support of American interests. I will work hard to ensure that U.N. efforts across the responsibilities of the Economic and Social Council are effective, well run, and consistent with U.S. goals.

I will work hard with allies and partners to mobilize coalitions and achieve practical outcomes and I will work hard with all of you to ensure the closest possible collaboration with Congress.

Thank you very much again, Mr. Chairman, for your consideration. This is truly the honor of a lifetime, and if confirmed, I will devote the full measure of my skill and experience to serve the best interests of the American people. I look forward to your questions.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Carty follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF LISA A. CARTY

Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member Risch, members of the committee, it is truly an honor to appear before you today as President Biden's nominee to become the U.S. Representative to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations. I am grateful to the President, Secretary Blinken and Ambassador Thomas-Greenfield for their confidence in me. If confirmed, I will do my best to live up to their trust and to work closely with all of you on this committee.

I would like to begin by expressing my deep appreciation to my family—to my husband, Bill, an exceptionally talented public servant, and accomplished diplomat, and to our daughters, Lizzy and Sarah, who from infancy through college, shared our Foreign Service journey and the many moves that entailed. Serving overseas, particularly at challenging posts, asks a lot of family members, and I will be forever grateful that they so readily embraced the demands of Foreign Service life. I wish that my parents, and my in-laws—each models of exemplary service—could see this moment. My father was a proud graduate of the U.S. Merchant Marine Academy and a veteran of the Korean War, my mother, a public-school special education teacher, my father-in-law served in the U.S. Army for 34 years with my mother-in-law his full partner in all the sacrifices that entailed. Their example, and the love and support of my family, are a very large part of why I am here today.

I approach this new challenge with considerable humility; with an abiding commitment to public service; with faith in the power of clear-eyed diplomacy in the pursuit of American interests and human rights; with a well-grounded sense of both the possibilities and limitations of the United Nations; and with few illusions about the complicated world around us.

It is a world in which the U.N. has a crucial role, especially in tackling the humanitarian, development, human rights, and social issues to which I have devoted nearly four decades as a career diplomat and then as an official of the United Nations. It is a world in which a changing climate and the COVID pandemic have worsened problems of poverty, economic development, instability, and health insecurity, especially among women and girls, and where the U.N.'s Economic and Social Council can play a key role in boosting a global response and recovery consistent with U.S. interests. It is a world in which authoritarian rivals like China, Russia, and others seek advantage in the U.N. system, demanding active and energetic American diplomacy to counter them. And it is a world in which the capabilities of the United Nations matter enormously—but also require relentless U.S. insistence on transparency, accountability and reform, as well as unwavering resistance to anti-Israel bias.

My professional background provides a unique combination of skills to help the United States take on these challenges. I spent a quarter-century as a Foreign Service Officer, working extensively on humanitarian, health, gender and development issues, with field experience in Asia, Russia and the Middle East. I served as a Pearson Congressional Fellow working for Senator Nancy Kassebaum on the Africa Sub-committee and with Congressman Tony Hall on the Select Committee on Hunger. I worked for USAID on health programs in Russia; and served as the Regional Refugee Coordinator for the State Department, based in Amman, Jordan. I have decades of experience in multilateral diplomacy, and a strong sense of how to navi-

gate the U.N. system shaped by ten years of work in U.N. entities—first with the United Nations Program on HIV/AIDS where I served as the principal U.N. focal point for the PEPFAR program and most recently with the U.N.'s Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, where I worked with U.S. Government counterparts and courageous and committed U.N. colleagues to help alleviate suffering in some of the world's worst crises.

Mr. Chairman, if confirmed, I look forward to working hard to put that background to good use in support of American interests at the United Nations. I will work hard to ensure that U.N. efforts across the responsibilities of the Economic and Social Council and its subsidiary bodies are effective, well-run, and consistent with U.S. goals. I will work hard with allies and partners at the U.N. to mobilize coalitions and achieve practical outcomes. And I will work hard with all of you to ensure the closest possible cooperation with Congress.

Thank you very much again, Mr. Chairman, for your consideration. This is the honor of a lifetime, and if confirmed, I will devote the full measure of my skill and experience to serve the best interests of the American people. I look forward to your questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you all very much. We will go through a series of five-minute rounds. But before we do that, I have a series of questions on behalf of the committee as a whole that I would like to ask each nominee.

They speak to the importance that this committee places on responsiveness by all officials in the executive branch and that we expect and will be seeking from you.

I would ask each of you to provide just a simple yes or no answer to the following questions.

Do you agree to appear before this committee and make officials from your office available to the committee and designated staff when invited?

Mr. BONDY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. If you can give me a verbal response, please.

Ms. STEWART. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Okay. I cannot hear you. Sorry. Your microphone is not on.

Do you commit to keep the committee fully and currently informed about the activities under your purview?

Ms. STEWART. Yes.

Mr. BONDY. Yes.

Ms. CARTY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you commit to engaging in meaningful consultation while policies are being developed, not just providing notification after the fact?

Ms. STEWART. Yes.

Mr. BONDY. Yes.

Ms. CARTY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And do you commit to promptly responding to requests for briefings and information requested by the committee and its designated staff?

Ms. STEWART. Yes.

Mr. BONDY. Yes.

Ms. CARTY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Okay. All of the witnesses—I mean, the nominees have answered yes to those questions. I will—the chair will reserve his time and I will turn to the ranking member.

Senator RISCH. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Ms. Stewart, I want to start, first of all, on the very important role you have on—that you are seeking here with the Bureau. And

as I said to you in my opening statement that the Biden administration wants to strengthen U.S. allies, and we all do, the alliances that we have and the agreements we have.

The U.S. allies, however, have told us that they strongly object to a change to a no-first-use or sole-purpose policy for reasons I have previously stated.

Are you aware of their objections?

Ms. STEWART. Thank you, Senator, for the question. I share your concern about allies and partners understanding U.S. deterrence.

Senator RISCH. That was not the question. The question was are you aware that they have strenuous objections to what the administration is proposing?

Ms. STEWART. I have seen some traffic and assessments of engagements, and there has been numerous engagements with allies and partners.

Senator RISCH. You are aware that our partners and our allies have strenuous objection to what is being considered here. Is that a fair statement or not?

Ms. STEWART. I think I am not sure if I understand the term "strenuous objection." I think they are concerned about what we are—

Senator RISCH. Will you go so far as to say they have an objection?

Ms. STEWART [continuing]. I do not even know if it is an objection. But, perhaps, the point is that I think through our engagement we hope to explain and understand and really hear from them further as to their—

Senator RISCH. You are telling me, as you sit here today, you do not understand that our allies have strong objections to what the administration is considering? Is that what you are telling me?

Ms. STEWART. I would definitely agree that there are certain concerns about what is possibly in the consideration process. But I think the effort that we are undergoing to engage with them is to really understand what those concerns are and to, hopefully, address those concerns through part of the engagement process.

Senator RISCH. You will not go to where I need you to be and that is to get a good clear understanding. If we, on the committee, on Republican side of the committee, have an understanding that our allies have strong, strong objections to what you are considering, how is it that you cannot concede that?

I understand you are saying they have concerns. Would you agree with me that they are stronger than concerns?

Ms. STEWART. I guess—and I definitely appreciate what you are trying to sort of get at here. My concern to completely satisfy your question is that we are still very much in the process.

We do not know the result of the Nuclear Posture Review that the Department of Defense is leading, and so it is very hard to say that allies and partners can have objections to a process that has not sort of played out and we have not had a chance to engage more fulsomely with them as to where the direction is going, and there is a lot of considerations in the process.

If they object, it seems like they are prematurely objecting to something that we have not established.

Senator RISCH. You have already said if they object. You do not know that they are objecting. Is that correct?

Ms. STEWART. I think the concern is what would they be objecting to at this point, without the actual report.

Senator RISCH. I am not going to get you there, so I am not going to pursue that any further. But let us—let me say I am disappointed in your answers.

We are acutely aware of objections. Strong objections have been raised by our allies. If you are not, you need to get on board before I am going to be able to vote for your confirmation.

You were in the same Bureau in the Obama administration. You are aware that twice they considered adopting a no-first-use or sole-purpose policy. You are aware that you, are you not? Once early on in their administration and then again during the time you were there between 2015 and 2017. Is that correct?

Ms. STEWART. Yeah.

Senator RISCH. Would you tell this committee why the Obama administration decided not to adopt the no-first-use or sole-purpose policy?

Ms. STEWART. My understanding is that they had a lot of effort to engage and understand partners' perceptions. And I am sorry that you take issue with my statement. I think the concern is that we really need to allow the process to play out and we need to understand the best advice from the Department of Defense leading this process and how that can be implemented through policy, that we work with partners and allies to explain and understand.

But to your question—sorry—the approach in the Obama administration to get to fundamental purpose of deterrence, was really to accommodate many of the challenges we faced with our deterrence efforts and to understand integrated deterrence issues within the report, and to address some of the existential threats that we faced at that time.

Senator RISCH. But you agree with me they specifically rejected adopting a no-first-use or sole-purpose policy? Do you agree with that?

Ms. STEWART. I was not part of the NPR process during that time.

Senator RISCH. Did not they or did not they?

Ms. STEWART. They did not have sole-purpose or no-first-use in the Obama—

Senator RISCH. And they specifically rejected it after considering it and studying it. Is that correct?

Ms. STEWART [continuing]. I assume that they looked at it closely, but I was not part of that process yet.

Senator RISCH. And I agree with you, we need to let the thing play out. But if we are going to let the—if we are going to let the process play out, we need to have at least a clear understanding of what our allies are telling us and it looks to me like you got a long ways to go to get there.

Thank you, Mr. Chair.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Shaheen?

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and congratulations to each of our nominees today. If confirmed, I look forward to working with you.

I would like to begin, excuse me, with you, Ms. Carty, and as the representative to the U.N.'s Economic and Social Council, I wanted to assess your feeling about the Commission on the status of women, which is the only global body dedicated to the promotion of women and girls empowerment and equality and aids to mainstream women's equality in U.N. activities.

[Clears throat.]

Senator SHAHEEN. Excuse me.

As you look at the role that you can play within ECOSOC and with the Commission, how do you think efforts to improve women's empowerment could be bolstered by the work of the Commission and do you see specific changes that you can be engaged in that will help with that?

Ms. CARTY. Senator Shaheen, thank you so much for that question. I have spent a fair part of my career working on issues related to women and girls and gender, and it is an issue that is very near and dear to my heart.

I see multiple opportunities, Senator, across the U.N. system where I could help through a position in ECOSOC advance U.S. goals regarding the well being of women and girls if I was confirmed for this position.

I think CSW offers particular opportunities. I think the important thing is to be very strategic and forward thinking in how we engage there and to make sure that we approach each CSW session with a very clear sense of what we want to try to achieve and we work very deliberately with CSW and other missions in New York, other governments, to try to make sure of one mind about the objectives we will pursue during those sessions.

Senator SHAHEEN. Can you give me an example of a priority that you would have as you are looking at a first place to focus?

Ms. CARTY. One issue, Senator, I feel is terribly important is the issue of education for women and girls. It is something, unfortunately, where there have been huge and significant setbacks in the context of the COVID epidemic.

We know that there are tens of thousands, millions, of girls out of school at this point who may never get back into school, and I think that would be a really important area, actually, across the U.N. system for specific focus, because we know that without that kind of access to education that it really imperils a young girl's future.

I would encourage CSW to look at that set of issues.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you. And we know that empowering women and girls also adds to the stability in communities and countries, the potential opportunities and prosperity and economic opportunities in countries as well.

Ms. Stewart, I was really pleased to see the Biden administration extend the New START treaty, something that I worked on 10 years ago when it was before this body.

But as we think about how we continue to engage with the Russians, where do you think we should be thinking and how can we build on that to cover tactical weapons, emerging nuclear technologies, other efforts that we really need to address?

Ms. STEWART. Thank you, Senator.

I share your concerns with respect to the Russian challenges that we are facing right now. Russia's new nuclear weapons and its diversification in dual-use delivery platforms represent a threat to strategic stability.

The strategic stability dialogue is an interagency process to seek risk reduction and greater understanding of the policies and actions of the two nations.

In the plenary led by Deputy Secretary Sherman, we have agreed to two working groups for experts. First, in principles and objectives for the future of arms control, and second, the capabilities and actions with strategic effect.

We have made clear that we want to address all of Russia's nuclear weapons, including nonstrategic nuclear weapons and novel delivery systems.

Our driving principles in this process will be increasing U.S. and allied security, ensuring effective verification and faithful compliance for legally binding measures, and avoiding future miscalculation or misunderstanding.

We are only at the beginning of our conversations, and so I agree with you we need to be careful to understand the full range of challenges and misunderstanding potentials that we face.

No determinations about specific approaches have been made. But the strategic stability dialogue is a very good first step to try to engage and understand where we have overlapping concerns and where we can make progress towards stabilizing our relationship.

If confirmed, I hope to consult closely with this Congress to address this process further and to truly understand how we can best evaluate and consider this threat.

Senator SHAHEEN. And so are you optimistic? You said you think it is a good first step. Are you optimistic that we may be able to make some progress?

Ms. STEWART. I am cautiously optimistic that, in certain arenas, there is some progress we can make that we can understand where our collective advantage for both the U.S. and Russia and, hopefully, the global community can be satisfied by taking important actions to address destabilizing behavior and to lead to the best norms of responsible behavior.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

I understand the next colleague who is available is Senator Van Hollen virtually.

Senator Van Hollen: Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and thank all the witnesses for your service. Congratulations on your nominations.

Ms. Carty, a question regarding the Sustainable Development Goals at the United Nations. We have gotten a recent report indicating that since the onset of COVID-19 we have seen an increase in extreme poverty, declines in educational achievement, increased violence against women and girls, and other trends that threaten to reverse some of the positive development gains that we have made in recent decades.

The Economic and Social Council of the United Nations has the main responsibility for integrating—addressing these issues across different U.N. agencies.

What goals you think we need to be most focused on when it comes to regaining lost ground? Where have we lost the most ground and what role can you play and the United States play in trying to catch up?

Ms. CARTY. Senator, thank you very much for that question and for flagging what really is an ancillary impact of the COVID epidemic that we all need to keep very much within our lines of sight.

The truth is the U.S. has driven so much of that global development progress over many decades and it is now all at risk. I do think, Senator, the SDGs present a very important roadmap for how to bring the global community together in a common effort to ensure that we are trying to regain ground on all those issues that you just mentioned, whether it is food insecurity, increasing rates of poverty, or you mentioned with Senator Shaheen children out of school.

The list is quite long, and many of the SDGs directly address those risk areas, Senator. There are ones focused on health, on education, on economic well being, on the climate. I think we actually have to be very strategic, look where the needs are right now most acute, and then try to prioritize action around those SDGs first.

But I would just be clear, Senator, in saying I know Secretary Blinken has embraced the SDGs as a roadmap for development, and I think one of the real values that they bring is they do provide a path, a common path, and set benchmarks for progress.

If confirmed for the position, Senator, I would very much look forward to focusing on the SDGs as a key component of my work. Thank you.

Senator Van Hollen: Thank you. Maybe you can follow up with respect to which areas you think are in most need of focused attention right now.

Mr. Chairman, can you still hear me?

The CHAIRMAN. I can, Senator.

Senator Van Hollen: I think—so I do not know if—Ms. Carty, just a follow-up question for you. According to a July report by the International Service for Human Rights, China has repeatedly used its seat on ECOSOC to block applications from NGOs working on human rights issues, and not only blocking NGOs working in China but China has, essentially, acted as a shield for other authoritarian regimes.

Are you familiar with this situation and what would you do about it, if confirmed?

Ms. CARTY. Senator, thanks very much. I am not familiar with that specific report. But I am, certainly, familiar with the broad issue at stake here. And just I would say to start that we have to be very clear we can leave no space for China to try to undermine the fundamental values and principles of the U.N. system.

We have seen this play out very specifically in the NGO committee, which is the committee that accredits NGOs for U.N. representation.

I have worked at many points over my career, Senator, with non-governmental organizations and I fully understand the importance of the perspective they can bring to the table. They must be there, but it must be legitimate credible NGOs that are there.

If confirmed for this position, I would work across the NGO committee to ensure that entities that should be at the table are, particularly those that China might seek to deny a place to, perhaps NGOs working on human rights or press freedoms or other broad democracy and governance issues, and I would ensure that those that do not belong at the table do not have a place.

Thanks, Senator.

Senator Van Hollen: Thank you. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I thank all of you. I have some questions to submit for the record, but congratulations to all.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Senator Kaine?

Senator KAINE. Thank you, Mr. Chair, and congratulations to all the witnesses.

Mr. Bondy, I think I will spend my five minutes with you. You have significant experience in a really important region of the world and I want to ask you about a couple of issues dealing with the U.S.-Bahrain relationship.

First, Bahrain has been a good partner in the United States in our evacuation of Afghans. They have been very helpful in being the home of our Fifth Fleet.

Bahrain has also had some serious concerns about human rights issues, mass arrests in 2011, and it is a country where the leadership is kind of a minority Sunni population that is in leadership, but about 70 percent of the population is Shi'a.

Talk about what you could do, should you be confirmed, to promote more attention to human rights in Bahrain.

Mr. BONDY. Senator, thank you very much for the question.

Indeed, as you say, there has been traditionally a fair bit of friction and tension within the Kingdom of Bahrain between the various communities. If we were to rewind 10 years ago, as you said, when there was quite a bit of strife in the country, we would have to say that the trend lines since then have been exceedingly positive.

Indeed, the Government of Bahrain has used a new legislative mechanism called the alternative sentencing law to release over 3,500 convicts who were in prison and they have now been able to depart the prison and find other ways to sort of get on with their lives.

Additionally, Senator, there is a new juvenile justice law which elevates the age from 15 to 18 of who can be tried as a majority age individual and that has resulted, in fact, in some people between the ages of 15 and 18 really serving kind of very shortened sentences in juvenile detention centers rather than as full-blown prisoners.

But, Senator, you absolutely have hit the nail on the head. Promoting human rights is absolutely an essential tenet of the administration's foreign policy, and if confirmed, I will seek to use several fora that we already have established either through the strategic dialogue or in regular quarterly meetings between the Embassy and an inter-ministerial grouping in Manama to continue to promote the values and the interests that we have with regard to human rights.

Senator KAINE. Mr. Bondy, thank you for that.

Switching to another topic, in the last couple days something positive happened. Foreign Minister Lapid of Israel visited Bahrain to open the Israeli Embassy there. Very, very positive.

I was a supporter of the Abraham Accords when they were announced for a couple of reasons. I feel like the normalization of relations between nations in the region and Israel was actually a public expression of what was already sort of going on sub rosa, and rather than have it be sub rosa why not put it on the table that we are now going to work together on issues of common cause?

A normalized diplomatic relationship is not a Good Housekeeping seal of approval but it is just a way of having channels of dialogue and communication and normal relations, which are beneficial.

But the other reason I strongly support the Abraham Accords is I have been just so discouraged about the absence of progress toward a two-state solution in Israel. I visited Israel for the first time in 1998. I went to the West Bank as well.

And, frankly, in the 23 years since then the situation has moved farther away from the peace between an Israel and Palestine living side by side that we contemplated when we recognized the State of Israel at its foundation during the Truman presidency.

I view the Abraham Accords as giving nations in the region kind of skin in the game. Their populations want them to do things to promote a successful resolution and a Palestinian nation that lives peacefully side by side with Israel.

You were the charge at the UAE. The UAE was one of the other nations that normalized relations with Israel in this way. What do you see as prospects of building upon the Abraham Accords to break the stalemate that has existed for so long and find a path forward to the peace that we have longed for for decades?

Mr. BONDY. Thank you, Senator, for that very important question and for your comments on the situation.

Indeed, the Abraham Accords are—they represent a strategic change for the region and, in fact, in my career I also served in Jordan when Jordan made peace with Israel. I view strengthening and expanding the relationship of two very good friends and allies, Bahrain and Israel, as a very important book end to my own career with the Foreign Service.

But I believe there is great potential for those two friends to build their relationship all the way across the spectrum, and I will devote my energy and creativity, if confirmed, to helping them to do exactly that, Senator.

Senator KAINE. Mr. Chair, I yield back.

Senator CARDIN. [Presiding.] Thank you, Senator Kaine.

I understand we have next by WebEx Senator Young.

[No response.]

Senator CARDIN. Senator Young, are you there?

[No response.]

Senator CARDIN. I will pursue my questioning and then we will come back to Senator Young if he is available.

First off, let me thank all of our nominees for their public service and they are willing to continue in public service. These are difficult times.

We thank you and your families. Each of the positions that you have been nominated to are extremely important to our national security and to America's interests.

Ms. Carty, I am going to follow up on the Sustainable Development Goals. I was listening to your response to Senator Van Hollen. But I want to concentrate on one that was not mentioned during that exchange and that is Sustainable Goal Number 16.

It is the one that the United States was the initiator of to include it among the SDGs. It is a new one so, therefore, it is going to be more challenging to implement accountability standards.

And it is a little bit more difficult to establish accountability standards for SDG 16 as compared to others that we have established ways of evaluating how well we are doing in meeting the SDG goals.

Will you tell me your strategy on dealing with SDG 16, which deals with good governance, so that I can have your assurances that this will be a very high priority if you are confirmed to this position?

Ms. CARTY. Thank you very much, Senator.

And I think it is so important that the U.S. did insist on adding that as one of the core SDGs because it is fundamental to everything else that needs to happen. It is fundamental to how the U.N. system needs to work.

If confirmed, Senator, I would work very aggressively with other like-minded governments to ensure that we did have the clearest possible benchmarks and indicators, meaningful benchmarks and indicators, practical benchmarks and indicators, to track progress on SDG 16 and also to ensure that where we saw backtracking we had effective means of calling that out.

I think it comports very well, Senator, with broader U.S. development policy and, if confirmed, I look forward to paying sustained attention and working with you and your staff on that.

Senator CARDIN. I appreciate that. We are going to try to help you by establishing a rating system for how well countries are doing on fighting corruption, which is one of the key ingredients—anti-corruption—to have good governance.

We are going to try to help you, but I can assure you I will be sending you information and expecting responses in regards to carrying out President Biden's acknowledgement that corruption is a national security core concern so you have a chance to do something about that with the SDG 16.

And speaking about backtracking on good governance, Mr. Bondy, Senator Kaine already covered this point but I just want to cover it from a little bit different angle, and that is that, yes, Bahrain is an important ally of the United States in so many different areas, including our strategies against Iran as well as the Abraham Accords and moving forward with normalization with relations with Israel.

During Arab Spring, Bahrain was one of the most aggressive countries in dealing with removing the rights of the citizens of their own country and abuses that occurred. We saw some reforms, but it appears now they have backtracked on many of those issues.

I appreciate your comments about some of the issues concerning youthful offenders. But my information shows they are still using

the arrest powers indiscriminately to crack down on any opposition to the Government at all, including peaceful demonstrations.

I just really want to stress the point that with a country that we have a strategic partnership with that is backtracking on their commitments on human rights, we have to be very clear that that is a major concern to us and it affects our ability to strengthen the ties between our two countries.

Mr. BONDY. Senator, I am very grateful for your comments on this important matter. It is difficult for me to comment on whether there is backtracking or forward movement as you know, obviously, I am not serving in the capacity.

However, I can assure you, Senator that raising the broad swath of human rights issues would be something that I would eagerly do if confirmed as ambassador, and we do have several mechanisms where we can raise kind of the broad policy issues as well as specific cases.

And I will say that my understanding is that our Bahraini partners have been very open to having that free and frank dialogue and, if confirmed, I would welcome the role of this committee and the Congress to play in this extremely important set of human rights issues.

Senator CARDIN. And let me mention one other part that our missions play in countries where NGOs or advocates have a challenging time in exercising their rights, their basic human rights, where the U.S. mission becomes a safe place for them to be able to get support for being heard.

Do you commit, if confirmed, that our mission in country will always be a safe haven for those trying to exercise their basic human rights?

Mr. BONDY. Yes, Senator, I do. Those activities go on already where we have a broad swath of outreach to human rights defenders and human rights organizations, and if confirmed, I absolutely want to continue that outreach.

Senator CARDIN. Thank you. I believe Senator Young is now available vis-a-vis WebEx.

Senator Young?

Senator YOUNG. Thank you so much, Mr. Cardin.

Mr. Bondy, very good to see you, sir. Congratulations to you on your nomination and to all the other panelists on your nominations.

Mr. Bondy, Bahrain recently committed to partner with Task Force 59 and will be the first nation to partner with that group. According to NAVCENT, they agreed to collaborate in October on manned/unmanned teaming exercise to evaluate advanced unmanned surface vessels.

Will you commit to support Bahrain's partnership with the Fifth Fleet's recently created unmanned systems task force, Task Force 59, and will you work to promote other Gulf States joining this important initiative?

Mr. BONDY. Senator, I absolutely can support that. I think it is a very important initiative in order to continue to promote freedom of navigation and safe transport in the—on the high seas.

Senator YOUNG. Very good.

Sir, in light of the Abraham Accords and Israel's entry into CENTCOM, will you commit to push as hard as possible to get the Israeli military as integrated as possible in the multilateral activities at CENTCOM and the Fifth Fleet lead out of Bahrain, including maritime security efforts in the Gulf and Red Sea and regional efforts on missile defense and counter drone efforts?

Mr. BONDY. Senator, I believe that moving forward on building the relationship between Israel and Bahrain in a broad spectrum of areas all the way, starting with military and security as you are describing and then moving all the way across to economy, trade, education, technology, and people-to-people ties, is incredibly important.

And certainly, if confirmed, I would like to find a way to use the convening power of the United States in order to involve Israel more closely in planning and discussions related to preserving security in Bahrain and the Gulf region.

Senator YOUNG. Thank you.

And lastly, sir, will you commit to work with CENTCOM and the Fifth Fleet to get an Israeli naval liaison officer assigned to NAVCENT in Manama?

Mr. BONDY. Senator, I admit that I am unaware of that specific initiative. But, if confirmed, I absolutely would want to consult with the Department of Defense, with NAVCENT, assist in any way that I could play a useful role.

Senator YOUNG. That makes sense, Mr. Bondy. I will look forward to, should you be confirmed, following up with you and your consultation with DOD, and if there is any way I could be of assistance in furtherance of that effort I will be happy to do so.

Ms. Stewart, congratulations to you as well. We continue to see the foundation of strategic arms control crumble away. Years ago, I spent a brief stint of time working on the staff of former Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee Dick Lugar. I feel especially responsible to ensure the legacy of arms control is protected and renewed.

To do that, we must have partners and processes that we can trust. At the same time, we want to ensure that we do not erode our defensive capabilities by entering into an agreement that is one sided.

What are the core areas of New START, Ms. Stewart, that need to be updated in order for the U.S. and Russia to have confidence in the agreement?

Ms. STEWART. Thank you, Senator, for that question. I definitely appreciate your background in this issue and I am very glad to hear that you are concerned about the future in this arena, as I am as well.

Because of the downturn in relations with the Russian Federation, effective arms control is more valuable now than it was in 2010, and it is important to maintain the boundaries on nuclear competition even as we hold the Russian Federation to account for its reckless and aggressive actions.

I think the verifiable limits on Russian intercontinental range nuclear forces allow us to make better informed judgments about the sufficiency of U.S. nuclear forces and help diminish the possibility of a costly and dangerous nuclear arms race.

As you know, New START also provides a forum for ongoing dialogue on strategic stability in nuclear weapons at a time when tensions between our countries are elevated and bilateral relations are increasingly challenged.

As to your specific question, it would be useful in the next steps beyond the New START treaty to address the nonstrategic nuclear weapons of the Russian Federation to understand their limitations, numbers, and parameters in a way that could comprehensively address our concerns with respect to a lack of strategic stability by their increasing presence.

As for the specifics of a next step agreement beyond New START, I think we definitely have to consider, as many administrations have, how to bring in the nonstrategic nuclear weapons and the novel delivery systems, including the unmanned delivery platforms, to address their concerns from a strategic stability vantage.

Senator YOUNG. Thank you. I think my time is about to end. I am curious whether there is any interest in Russia for a revised INF after the Trump administration pulled out on account of the fact that it had essentially become a unilateral agreement.

Unless you have a yes or no answer on that, which I would welcome, maybe we can talk about that later.

Ms. STEWART. Thank you. I look forward to discussing this with you, if confirmed.

Senator YOUNG. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. [Presiding.] Thank you.

Senator Cruz?

Senator CRUZ. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Welcome to the nominees.

Ms. Stewart, the post that you would hold, if you are confirmed, is one that is critically important to the national security of the United States. Among other things, the bureau you would be heading is responsible for the annual report mandated by Congress on international adherence to arms control treaties.

This report serves both as a proxy and a litmus test for the seriousness with which presidential administrations approach dangerous proliferation.

During the Trump administration, I repeatedly urged the president to untangle the United States from Cold War style treaties that only constrained us, both because Russia cheated on them and China was not even bound by them.

President Trump rightly extracted us from treaties like the INF and Open Skies. The annual compliance report, which documented Russian and Chinese proliferation, was a crucial part of the case I made and the decisions that President Trump took.

I want to discuss with you how you would approach these issues, if confirmed. Let us start with China. China is engaged right now in a nuclear buildup that likely puts them in violation of their obligations under Article 6 of the NPT. The U.S. has limited leverage to stop this buildup, though.

I have previously introduced legislation that would impose sanctions on parts of the Chinese military sector unless they come into compliance with their already existing NPT Article 6 obligations for good faith negotiations.

Do you agree that China is in violation of its Article 6 obligations?

Ms. STEWART. Thank you, Senator. I share your concern about China's growing nuclear arsenal, and it does pose a security threat to the United States and our allies.

That said, I intend to, if confirmed, work closely with the lawyers and the experts in the Arms Control Bureau to understand more fully the exact development and capacity enhancement that China is engaging in and to understand how that implicates their Article 6 obligations under the NPT.

Senator CRUZ. Does that mean you do not have an opinion right now about whether China is in violation of their Article 6 obligations?

Ms. STEWART. I think I need to understand better exactly the parameters of their development and what they intend to do. I understand there is future plans and, certainly, rapid expansion in the future, and I need to understand exactly where that is going to be implicated with respect to their nuclear capacities.

Senator CRUZ. All right. Let us turn to Russia.

You have been a noted advocate of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. As you know, the United States Senate has pointedly refused to ratify the CTBT, in part because of Russian behavior.

In its 2021 Compliance Report, the Trump administration rightly called out this behavior. I would like to quote from that report.

Quote, "The United States finds that since declaring its testing moratorium Russia has conducted nuclear weapons experiments that have created nuclear yield and are not consistent with the U.S. zero yield standard."

Do you agree with that assessment?

Ms. STEWART. I agree with the assessment in the Compliance Report, yes.

Senator CRUZ. Do you commit to ensuring, if you are confirmed, that you would continue to document such noncompliance?

Ms. STEWART. Absolutely.

Senator CRUZ. Okay. Let us shift then to Iran.

Since 2007, it has nearly always been the position of the United States that Iran is not a member in good standing within the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons, the NPT.

We know the Iranian regime kept nuclear weapons blueprints on the shelf even while they were still pretending to comply with the Iran deal.

In April 2019, then nominee to be Special Representative for Nuclear Nonproliferation, Jeffrey Eberhardt, confirmed in writing to this committee that, quote, "Iran's standing as a nonnuclear weapons state party to the NPT cannot be described as good."

Do you agree with Mr. Eberhardt's assessment?

Ms. STEWART. Thank you for the question. I do.

Senator CRUZ. Do you consider Iran's past possession of the nuclear archives seized by Israel, including materials in the archives relevant to the development of nuclear weapons, to constitute noncompliance by Iran of its obligation under the NPT?

Ms. STEWART. We, certainly, share the concern that this is a serious issue we need to look into. But I think we need more under-

standing and information regarding that background file to assess whether that constitutes a violation of the NPT.

Senator CRUZ. Okay. And final question. I am concerned about the possibility of the Biden administration adopting a, quote, “no-first-use” nuclear policy. China has formally declared a no-first-use policy, but the Chinese Communist Party has proven itself willing to break such promises after we agree to them.

Do you personally support a no-first-use policy for the United States?

Ms. STEWART. Thank you.

With respect to that question I would, certainly, defer to the Department of Defense process that is presently undergoing to understand what exact policy is being included in a statement of no-first-use.

That said, I appreciate that we need to ensure our extended deterrence commitments to our allies and partners remain strong and credible, as the President has stated that we would do in our Interim National Security Strategic guidance.

And it is important to make sure allies and partners understand that whatever steps we take our commitment to their defense is unshakable.

Senator CRUZ. You do not have any personal views on this topic, though?

Ms. STEWART. I have a lot of personal views with respect to the underlying policies being considered in the Nuclear Posture Review. But I am certainly—I am certainly welcoming the——

Senator CRUZ. What are those views? That is the question is what are those views?

Ms. STEWART. I think we have to—we have to really consider how we can take steps to reduce the role of nuclear weapons in our deterrence. But we have to do so in a way that ensures our extended deterrence commitments to our allies and partners remain strong and credible.

And I think, regardless of the policy language, the words will be informed by the concerns that the Senator raised earlier. They will be informed by our engagement with the allies and partners to ensure them of our unshakeable commitment.

And so if the policy is no-first-use, if it is sole-purpose, if it is fundamental purpose or if it goes back to the 2018 Nuclear Posture Review, it has to be done with a good sense of understanding of our commitments.

And we need to make sure that our commitments to our allies are strong and unshakable, and we need to understand their concerns and address them.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Senator CRUZ. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. There are no other members before the committee, as I understand it. I will ask questions myself.

Before I do, I want to wish Senator Cardin a very happy, joyous, and healthy birthday and many more, one of our key members of the committee.

[Singing.]

Senator CARDIN. We now understand that Senator Menendez's Senate career is his second career. His first career is as a singer and a performer. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. I am not giving up my day job. I like to eat. But happy birthday. This is what happens when you sing—I sang to Jeanne Shaheen. Now he wants to be sung to. I made that mistake of doing that in public. In any event, happy birthday, Ben.

And I understand—I do not know if he is here anymore, but a former member of the staff, John Ryan, who is at the State Department, shares an illustrious birthday with Senator Cardin. Happy birthday to him as well.

Let me, on a serious note, turn to our nominees.

Ms. Stewart, you may have heard my opening comments and I am wondering, do you believe that the department as it is presently configured, as it is presently staffed, is up to the challenge ahead?

Ms. STEWART. Thank you, Senator.

I share your concerns that the Bureau of Arms Control has been challenged through the previous administration—losing resources, losing supporting staff—and I agree that bringing on a new generation of experts and enabling the good transfer of institutional knowledge will be a priority as will expanding our ability to confront and contend with an increasingly aggressive China and new and emerging technological challenges.

I agree with you we also need to expand and enhance our work to create a new generation of tools and technologies that will enhance verification and allow us to better monitor compliance.

We need to position ourselves to work closely with the intelligence community and the U.S. interagency to explain the basis for the U.S. Government's compliance concerns to the international community in an effort to shine a light and, hopefully, resolve those concerns.

And finally, we need to work to rebuild an understanding of the importance of arms control measures in coordination with deterrence to achieve a lasting and sustainable strategic stability.

If confirmed, all of these are issues that I hope to work on in close cooperation with you to expand and enhance the capacity of the Bureau to address the numerous challenges that face us.

The CHAIRMAN. We have an extraordinary array of issues that your department would have responsibility for and for which I think we face some major challenges.

Let me ask you specifically, it appears that we have reached a critical juncture in our diplomatic efforts to contain Iran's nuclear program. It continues to stonewall the IAEA's investigation into undeclared nuclear materials and activities that were uncovered in 2018 and is refusing to allow the IAEA to assess critical monitoring equipment.

I do not even understand quite the much ballyhooed agreement that was reached by the IAEA. All they did is they took out the components that were previously being used for monitoring but which they cannot see and put in the new chips to continue to monitor but which they cannot see.

We do not have any eyes on site during this period of time to understand how far they have advanced, and Tehran is pressing for-

ward with their nuclear program with a current breakout time to produce the necessary material for a weapon near where it was before the JCPOA was signed.

What impact is Iran's refusal to cooperate with the IAEA having on compliance with the nuclear nonproliferation treaty and do you think that Iran has really walked away without very much consequence, that other states will follow Iran's lead and refuse to fully cooperate with the IAEA?

Ms. STEWART. Thank you, Senator. I completely share your concerns on this issue. This administration remains committed to ensuring Iran never acquires a nuclear weapon and we continue to believe diplomacy, in coordination with our allies and regional partners, is the best path to achieve that goal.

We, clearly, have a series of fundamental disagreements on a wide range of issues. Iran's lack of cooperation on safeguards in the JCPOA, its support for terrorism, its ballistic missile programs, destabilizing actions throughout the region, and its abhorrent practice of using wrongfully detained U.S. citizens and foreign nationals as political tools are all issues of grave concern.

But with respect to your specific point, if we do not address the numerous challenges that Iran poses, we will risk other countries following Iran's lead and we will risk the diminishment of the IAEA and the NPT itself.

This administration is very focused on understanding what we can do to address all of these challenges while supporting the IAEA.

AVC's sister bureau, the ISN Bureau, is the lead in the T family on this issue. If confirmed, I will work to make sure AVC is ably assisting the department in its efforts to prevent Iran from acquiring a nuclear weapon and to ensure support for the IAEA in all of its efforts.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. I have questions for you on China but I will submit them for the record. I would like a full answer when you receive them.

Let me turn to Mr. Bondy. We, obviously, you, obviously, support the continued partnership with Bahrain to address counterterrorism needs in the region. Is that correct?

Mr. BONDY. Yes, I do.

The CHAIRMAN. And as well as maintaining the close security partnership that we have between the United States and Bahrain?

Mr. BONDY. Yes, I do, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. We applaud that Bahrain and the UAE became countries that normalized relations with Israel. But, if confirmed, what steps can you take as ambassador to preserve the space for a continued dialogue on normalization, how we could help foster Israel's growing ties with Bahrain?

Mr. BONDY. Yes, Senator. Thank you very much for the question.

This is an issue set that, if confirmed, I would want to devote all of my creativity and energy in order to expand the relationship between two of our close friends and allies in the Middle East region.

Indeed, I believe there is quite a bit of progress that can be made. At least at this stage both sides have taken the fundamentally important step to complete and sign and promote the Abra-

ham Accords, and now comes the time where it needs to be operationalized.

As we heard earlier, the Israeli Foreign Minister did visit Bahrain just a few days ago. Bahrain does have an ambassador now in Israel and my understanding is Israel shortly will have an ambassador in Bahrain.

I would, certainly, want to, if confirmed, consult with the Israeli Embassy, the Israeli ambassador. But I do believe, Senator, that there is a great amount of room for joint cooperation be it in the military and security realm, all the way across to people-to-people contact, and I would want to look for opportunities in order to enhance that relationship.

The CHAIRMAN. I have said to several of our nominees going to some of these countries is that it is great that the Abraham Accords were signed. It is great that there is normalizing.

But normalizing has to go a step beyond. If you are allies you are allies. That means you stand up for Israel at institutions like the United Nations. It means you engage within the region to engage other countries within the region.

As you say, it has to become operational. Otherwise, it is just a piece of paper for which there is a recognition of a relationship. But what that relationship is is really, ultimately, embodied by the actions of both countries, bilaterally, in each case. I hope to see that in the case of Bahrain.

I do have questions about our—the human rights, and I will submit those for the record that I would like to see you respond to.

Finally, Ms. Carty, I look at what some people say about ECOSOC and there are some who say that ECOSOC lacks any real authority and that it works—overlaps with the activities of the U.N. General Assembly.

It has been suggested that the Council could play a greater role in global economic and development policy. The U.N. has passed several reforms over the years, including as recently as this year, to strengthen ECOSOC's policy guidance role and to improve collaboration between ECOSOC, its subsidiary councils, and other U.N. entities.

What is your assessment of the most recent ECOSOC reforms? Do you believe that ECOSOC should have a greater policy-setting role?

Ms. CARTY. Senator, thanks for the question.

I think it is still a work in motion, Senator, as best I understand the situation. ECOSOC does play an important role in framing the conversation that then goes on to the General Assembly in creating reports, resolutions, documents. It can set the context for how key issues are discussed, key issues that matter substantially to the United States.

If confirmed for this position, Senator, I would always keep that in mind, how do we work effectively across the ECOSOC body to ensure that their operations are effectively supporting important U.S. goals that are within the purview of the committee.

I am a firm believer, Senator that the U.N. functions best when the U.S. is in a leadership role and is, clearly, at the table and I would hope, if confirmed, to bring that to the ECOSOC discussion.

The CHAIRMAN. One last question for you. I am concerned about China's increasing influence and role in U.N. bodies. ECOSOC consults with more than 5,100 registered nongovernmental organizations to inform its work.

I am deeply concerned that within ECOSOC China has used its seat on the Council's committee on NGOs to block applications from NGOs working on human rights issues.

I know you are not there yet but you have been involved in this field in general. How do you assess China's efforts to use its increased influence at ECOSOC and elsewhere in the U.N. system to undermine civil society and silence the voices of those who champion human rights?

Ms. CARTY. Senator, I think this absolutely is a problem and it needs to be a top priority. We know that there is a broader effort undertaken by China across the U.N. system to try to insert its authoritarian values in place of core U.N. principles.

We cannot allow that to happen. There are particular risks in the ECOSOC space and, in particular, in the NGO committee where I understand China has acted to ensure that NGOs that represent Tibet or the Uighurs are not allowed to participate.

If confirmed for this position, Senator, I share fully with you the view that NGOs and civil society provide an absolute critical perspective. Credible organizations need to be at the table and I would devote the full measure of my energies to ensure that was, in fact, the case.

The CHAIRMAN. We look forward to that. This committee as well as the Senate has spoken with one voice on China and, therefore, whether it be on arms control issues or whether it be about its nefarious activities at the U.N. that I have just described, we look forward to a forceful response.

Senator Hagerty has made it under the wire. He is now recognized.

Senator HAGERTY. Thank you, Senator Menendez. It was my honor to follow you in the Banking Committee meeting just a few minutes ago and thank you for your comments there and your leadership there.

Ms. Stewart, I would like to turn a question to you. The United States has a long history of using nuclear deterrent to prevent not only nuclear aggression but nonnuclear forms of aggression that either threaten us or our allies.

Jim Baker, who served as President George H. W. Bush's Secretary of State, wrote about the use of calculated ambiguity. Using calculated ambiguity in America's policy to deter and prevent Saddam Hussein, I think, had a real effect, looking at the possible use of chemical and biological weapons of mass destruction during the 1991 Gulf War.

We use calculated ambiguity to make an enemy think really hard about the possible consequences before they might launch chemical or biological weapons against the United States, knowing that the response could include a full range of options, including nuclear.

In 2020, presidential candidate Biden argued that, and I am going to quote, "The sole purpose of the U.S. nuclear arsenal should be deterring and, if necessary, retaliating against a nuclear attack," the end of his quote.

From my perspective as a businessman, I always think it is a bad option to take tools and options off the table, particularly with dealing in situations where the United States or our allies might be in danger.

I want to ask you, Ms. Stewart, do you support adopting a sole-purpose policy?

Ms. STEWART. Thank you so much for that question. I agree, this is a really difficult area and it is a very complicated analysis that, right now is being led by the Department of Defense to really have a whole-of-government review of our deterrence posture, our Missile Defense Review, our nuclear policy, and our broader national defense guidance. I think this is a hard issue.

With respect to sole-purpose, with respect to no-first-use, with respect to sort of the policy formulations, ultimately, United States declaratory nuclear policy will be a decision for the President, and the particular language chosen for this policy will be fully informed by the perspectives of our allies and partners.

And as I mentioned before, we will engage allies and partners. We will continue—and we have been engaging with them—to assure them that the United States commitment to their defense is unshakable and to explain how our rationale for the declaratory policy is chosen by the President in the best national security interests and how we intend to assure our allies' and partners' security consistent with that policy.

To your specific question, the policy formulations that the Department of Defense right now is coming up with will fully take into account the strategic threat environment we face and will certainly lay out the concerns and the challenges with respect to any option on the table.

I do not want to get ahead of where the department is on this. But I understand that all different formulations of what that policy could be are on the table. The concern I have is when we say sole-purpose, what sort of formulation of that are we discussing? Or if we say no-first-use, what formulation?

There are several different, I guess, semantic conversations we could have about what you are looking at and what you are considering in the NPR process and what the Department of Defense is putting on the table, again, fully informed by their threat assessment.

There are certain sole-purpose formulations that may make more or less sense, depending on what we are trying to address throughout the NPR, and looking at the integrated deterrence considerations.

But I think these will all be very carefully observed and studied and presented to the President.

Senator HAGERTY. I can confidently say this, that anything we do in an environment like we have right now where the threat is escalating, anything that we might do that would limit our options would weaken the United States. It would embolden our adversaries and it will cause our allies to question us.

I encourage you strongly as you look at this policy, as you contemplate the responsibilities that you are facing, that you take every effort to broaden our options and not restrict them in any manner.

Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. That concludes our hearing.

The record for this hearing will remain open until the close of business on Wednesday, October 6th, 2021. I ask colleagues to ensure that questions for the record are submitted no later than tomorrow, on Wednesday.

I would say to the nominees inevitably there will be questions that will be directed to you. I would urge you to answer them fully as well as expeditiously as possible so that your nominations can be considered before the committee at a business hearing.

And with thanks to the committee, this hearing is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 11:40 a.m., the hearing was adjourned.]

Additional Material Submitted for the Record

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO MALLORY A. STEWART BY SENATOR ROBERT MENENDEZ

Question. Photos from commercial satellites have revealed three new fields of intercontinental ballistic missiles. The size and scope of these missile fields indicate China is abandoning its previous nuclear strategy based upon minimal deterrence and instead is moving toward a strategy of assured retaliation against the United States, which is similar to Russia's nuclear strategy. This committee began to address this issue in the bipartisan "Strategic Competition Act," which lays out the need for effective arms control in the face of China's military modernization and expansion. What are your thoughts about when and how the United States should approach China to begin talks on strategic stability or arms control?

Answer. I believe the United States must pursue arms control measures to reduce the dangers from the People's Republic of China's (PRC) growing nuclear arsenal. These efforts will go together with ones designed to bolster deterrence in the region. The administration hopes that Beijing will come to see that arms control is in its own security interest and is a mechanism to reduce the risk of military crises and manage the threat of destabilizing arms races. U.S. allies and partners will be key to success here and the administration will work with them to regularly urge the PRC to engage meaningfully with the United States on arms control. If confirmed, I commit to consult Congress at an appropriate time on potential measures to be pursued with China.

Question. What issues do you believe the United States should focus on?

Answer. The best way to address emerging nuclear threats to the United States and our allies and partners is to ensure our strategic deterrent remains safe, secure, and effective and pursue arms control that enhances U.S., allied, and partner security. The People's Republic of China's (PRC) growing nuclear arsenal represents one such threat that the United States must address over the coming years. If confirmed, one of my focus areas will be on how best the State Department can expand the expertise and resources needed to contend with arms control challenges posed by the PRC.

Question. Do you believe the AVC Bureau has the resources and staff necessary to effectively negotiate with China?

Answer. If confirmed, one of my top priorities is ensuring the Bureau has the appropriate resources to pursue the administration's arms control objectives, including potential engagement with the People's Republic of China. I would be grateful for Congressional support in this effort.

Question. I supported the extension of the New START Treaty for a full five years. I agreed with the Biden administration that a full extension would allow the United States to retain the benefits of New START while we address the many, many areas of concern we have with Russia. The United States and Russia just completed their second Strategic Stability Dialogue but it is still unclear to me what exactly we are seeking to accomplish in our discussions with Russia. Should the United States and Russia seek to build on New START with a new treaty that imposes deeper reductions in both sides' strategic nuclear forces?

Answer. The Biden-Harris administration will use the five-year extension of the New START Treaty to pursue with Russia, in consultation with Congress and U.S. allies and partners, arms control that addresses all Russian nuclear weapons. It would be premature to speculate about U.S. nuclear force levels and potential limits in future arms control before the Nuclear Posture Review is complete and President Biden sets U.S. nuclear strategy.

Question. Should we seek a new type of agreement that incorporates shorter-range nuclear weapons, not currently covered by New START?

Answer. The United States will use the time provided by the five-year extension of the New START Treaty to pursue with Russia, in consultation with Congress and U.S. allies and partners, arms control that addresses all Russian nuclear weapons, including novel strategic systems and non-strategic nuclear weapons. Incorporating Russian non-strategic nuclear weapons into arms control is a longstanding and bipartisan U.S. objective.

Question. What impact will China's nuclear buildup have on our ability to reach future arms control agreements with Russia?

Answer. The United States should pursue arms control measures with Russia and the People's Republic of China (PRC) that advance the security of the United States, U.S. allies, and partners. The PRC's rapid expansion of its nuclear arsenal presages a more dangerous future, with a considerably larger number of sophisticated nuclear delivery systems capable of targeting a multitude of actors in the Indo-Pacific and beyond. This larger nuclear arsenal will buttress a broader PRC military build-up and contribute to arms racing dynamics that will complicate how we approach arms control challenges in the future.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO MALLORY A. STEWART BY SENATOR JAMES E. RISCH

Duties and Qualifications

Question. What background and experience do you possess that qualify you to perform the duties of Assistant Secretary of State for Arms Control, Verification, and Compliance (AVC)?

Answer. In 2004, I joined the Office of Treaty Affairs in the Department of State's Legal Adviser's office and focused on the Arms Control and Nonproliferation treaties portfolio. I have been working on these issues ever since, as a lawyer for the AVC Bureau and as a policy maker in the Bureau. I was a principal member of the technical staff and senior manager at Sandia National Laboratories, where I worked on arms control and nonproliferation policy support. Most recently, I have served as Senior Director at the National Security Council for Arms Control, Disarmament, and Nonproliferation. Before I started as a Deputy Assistant Secretary in AVC, I was closely involved with many of the significant issues confronting the Bureau. For example, I was the lead lawyer for the delegations that negotiated our missile defense agreements with Poland and Romania. I also provided legal support for the New START negotiations and effort to develop rules of responsible behavior in emerging technology domains. I was also involved in the negotiations of the 2013 U.S.-Russian Framework for the Elimination of Syrian Chemical Weapons and the subsequent international architecture erected at the United Nations and in the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW) to implement that Framework. After becoming the Deputy Assistant Secretary for Emerging Security Challenges and Defense Policy in the AVC bureau, I led numerous space security dialogues with partners and allies, and I was able to support Assistant Secretary Frank Rose in the Space Security Dialogue with China. In that role, I also led the Bureau's efforts to produce the Annual Compliance Report, and then was responsible for briefing that report to the Hill, as well as foreign governments interested in its conclusions. During my time at Sandia National Labs, I learned more about the technical side of verification and compliance. I supported numerous projects on behalf of the State Department or the Department of Defense to further our arms control and nonproliferation policies and objectives, and gained a much deeper understanding of the crucial role of the national labs in so many of our deterrence, strategic stability, and arms control and verification capacities. Finally, as a Special Assistant to the President and the Senior Director for Arms Control, Disarmament, and Nonproliferation, I have been leading the interagency policy processes on these issues for over 8 months. This has provided me with a clear view of how the entire nuclear policy arena operates and interacts (both domestically and internationally).

and the challenges, stovepipes, and perspectives that exist. If confirmed, my experience and interagency connections in this field will serve me well in the role of AVC Assistant Secretary.

Question. If confirmed, do you believe that there are any steps that you need to take to enhance your expertise to perform the duties of Assistant Secretary of State for Arms Control, Verification, and Compliance?

Answer. Given the numerous challenges posed by weapons of mass destruction and emerging technologies, it is important that everyone working to mitigate these challenges continually enhance and expand our personal knowledge and understanding. If confirmed, I will continue my own efforts to understand the scope of both the challenges facing the Bureau and the varying perspectives—both international and domestic—on how to address them. This includes listening to and working with Congress, the interagency, as well as international allies and partners to maximize our collective efforts to improve international security.

Major Challenges and Priorities

Question. In your view, what are the major challenges confronting the next Assistant Secretary of State for Arms Control, Verification, and Compliance?

Answer. There are numerous challenges facing AVC as a whole, some of which I outlined in my opening statement. If confirmed, I look forward to tackling all of them with the help of the experts in the Bureau, at State and around the Government. A top priority would be to enable and empower the Bureau to bring in and retain the necessary expertise to effectively address the growing threats to strategic stability, including China, emerging technologies, and attribution and accountability challenges in the face of mis- and disinformation. Impending retirements and staff attrition must also be addressed. The institutional transfer of knowledge from key experts and opportunities for growth and career development would also be a major focus of mine.

Question. If confirmed, how would you address these challenges?

Answer. If confirmed, I would make it a priority to enhance bipartisan focus on the Bureau's crucial work on global strategic stability. I would also work to expand AVC's ability to work hand in hand with the U.S. interagency focused on nuclear policy, through more dialogues, detail opportunities, and other exchanges, so that the Bureau's tool set can be used to continue to strengthen national security and reduce risks internationally. In particular, I would want to focus on working with the interagency to better integrate deterrence and arms control policies, so they can be mutually reinforcing. Working together with the Hill, I would make the case that AVC needs the best tools and analytical capabilities available, now and in the future, to provide accurate, credible, and robust verification of arms control, non-proliferation, and disarmament agreements and commitments, as well as rigorous assessments of compliance with those agreements and commitments, including in order to provide Congress and our partners and allies with a complete and accurate accounting of the arms control landscape through the annual Compliance Report.

Question. If confirmed, what would be your main priorities?

Answer. Longstanding top priorities for the AVC Bureau continue to include reducing the risk of nuclear and conventional war through effective arms control mechanisms such as: risk reduction, transparency, prevention of unintended escalation, negotiation of effectively verifiable international agreements, and bilateral and multilateral diplomacy to prevent miscalculation and misunderstanding. The Bureau has also long sought to limit vertical nuclear proliferation, and to pursue accountability for and deter the use of chemical, biological, and all weapons of mass destruction. Rapid advances in science and technology require that the Bureau continue its work to tackle new challenges: from creating norms of responsible behavior in space, to addressing security challenges underseas and in the Polar regions, to grappling with advancements in cyber capabilities and other emerging technologies that can threaten strategic stability. Finally reinvigorating and reemphasizing the mission of the Bureau, and supporting the international organizations who support attribution and accountability in our arena, needs to be at the forefront of our efforts. Our ability to hold bad actors accountable under the arms control architecture requires unassailable credibility on our part. That means AVC must be at the forefront of fulfilling U.S. commitments to that architecture.

Question. The Bureau of Arms Control, Verification, and Compliance includes a diverse set of portfolios and issues. What criteria would you apply and what processes would you follow to establish priorities and evaluate tradeoffs in time and resources between the various AVC commitments?

Answer. If confirmed, I would strive to align the use of AVC's staff, time, funding, and other resources with priorities identified by the President and Secretary of State and articulated in the Interim National Security Strategic Guidance and other relevant administration documents, as well as by Congressional mandate. In general, and in conformity with these aforementioned sources of strategic guidance, I would also seek to devote resources to issues based on the magnitude of their potential impact on national security and potential benefit for U.S. efforts to enhance arms control, disarmament, and international security cooperation. If confirmed, I will work to ensure that AVC's Bureau Strategic Plan and Bureau Resource Request reflect full alignment with these criteria for prioritizing the use of resources to fulfill the Bureau's critical national security mission.

Question. What resources does AVC have to call upon within its own bureau, and that it has contracted, to verify, and make compliance determinations with respect to other nations' adherence to their NPT obligations, U.S. nuclear cooperative agreements, and the military diversion of civilian nuclear facilities in violations of existing IAEA safeguards agreements?

Answer. It is my understanding that AVC employs 1.25 FTEs engaged in assessing compliance with the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), which includes compliance with required IAEA safeguards agreements, but does not assess compliance with U.S. nuclear cooperative agreements. There are no contracts supporting verification of compliance with the NPT at present. The U.S. Government conducts its own analysis of Iran's compliance with the NPT and makes its own findings, drawing on the IAEA's reports, and extensive reporting by the U.S. Intelligence Community. The principal analysis for the annual Compliance Report is drafted by AVC and coordinated within the Department of State. This draft analysis and findings are then sent to the interagency and a thorough, government-wide vetting and clearance process takes place. When the interagency review is completed, State finalizes the analysis and findings as part of the annual Compliance Report.

Question. How do these resources compare with those AVC has on tap to make determinations regarding possible violations of the Outer Space Treaty, the CTBT, the BWC, and CWC? Please give specific staffing numbers in full-time staffer equivalents and in dollars contracted out for relevant outside analysis.

Answer. I understand that AVC's full-time staff equivalents devoted to verifying compliance with the specified treaties at present are as follows: zero FTEs for the Outer Space Treaty, zero FTEs for the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT), 3.5 FTEs for the Biological Weapons Convention (BWC), and 10.5 FTEs for the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC). Should compliance issues arise related to the Outer Space Treaty, AVC staff who cover Outer Space security issues could be allocated to assess such concerns. As the CTBT is not in force yet, no FTEs are dedicated to assessing compliance with it; however, two FTEs work on issues related to CTBT and work to assess compliance with the LTBT and TTBT, as well as states' adherence to their respective voluntary testing moratoria. There are no contracts supporting verification of compliance with the Outer Space Treaty at present. There are no contracts for monitoring compliance with the CTBT, since it is not in force, but ongoing projects relevant to monitoring compliance with the LTBT, TTBT, and states' adherence to voluntary nuclear explosive testing moratoria amount to \$1,310,324 at present. Currently, there are three projects supporting BWC compliance and strengthening attribution measures for biological weapons investigations totaling \$976,000. AVC also has two current projects related to supporting CWC compliance verification totaling \$350,075 at present.

Question. What percentage of verification and compliance analysis does AVC simply delegate to the Intelligence Community and State's Intelligence and Research Bureau?

Answer. As required by statute, the Department of State, led by AVC, prepares compliance analysis as part of the annual Compliance Report, in consultation with the Departments of Defense and Energy and the Joint Chiefs of Staff. As also required by statute, the report is submitted with the concurrence of the Director of National Intelligence. Thus, the Intelligence Community, including the Department of State's Bureau of Intelligence and Research, reviews and concurs with the annual Reports. The AVC Bureau is uniquely positioned to employ a cadre of WMD technical and arms control policy experts who are involved in the rigorous compliance assessment process. Compliance assessments are informed by all-source intelligence products, comprising both finished analysis and raw reporting, relevant to verification of foreign states' compliance with their obligations. For nearly all agreements, AVC convenes Verification and Compliance Analysis Working Groups at which interagency partners, especially those identified by statute as participants in

the annual compliance report process, participate in reviewing activities of concern and making recommendations on a compliance determination for respective Compliance Reports.

Question. What are your views on the relationship between the Assistant Secretary of State for Arms Control, Verification, and Compliance and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, in particular, and with Congress in general?

Answer. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee and Congress have an important role in the formation of foreign policy. You have my commitment that, if confirmed, I will work in close coordination with the committee and Congress.

Question. If confirmed, what actions would you take to sustain a productive and mutually beneficial relationship between Congress and the Assistant Secretary of State for Arms Control, Verification, and Compliance?

Answer. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee and Congress have an important role in the formation of foreign policy. My goal, if confirmed, is to work with Congress on resolving a number of challenges that we face as a nation. You have my commitment that, if confirmed, I will work in close coordination with the committee and Congress to achieve our shared objectives.

Question. U.S. Strategic Command leader Admiral Richard says China's "breath-taking" nuclear buildup is the final piece of capability to build a military able to coerce and confront the U.S. and our allies to change the world order. Do you agree with this assessment? Why or why not? What are your views on the causes of China's nuclear expansion? What are the implications?

Answer. The People's Republic of China's (PRC) ongoing rapid expansion of its nuclear arsenal presages a more dangerous future, with a considerably larger number of sophisticated nuclear delivery systems able to reach the United States and our allies and partners than in the past. This larger nuclear arsenal will buttress a broader PRC military build-up and its increasingly assertive and threatening behavior to U.S. allies and partners. Precisely because Beijing is the least transparent member of the P5 nuclear weapon states, accurate assessments of its nuclear trajectory and intentions are difficult. China's behavior, in addition to the concerns expressed by Admiral Richard and others, highlights why the United States must pursue arms control to reduce the dangers from the PRC's growing nuclear arsenal.

Question. Air Force Secretary Kendall recently referred to a potential Chinese fractional orbit bombardment system (FOBS). What can you share about a possible Chinese FOBS capability? How would such a capability affect the credibility of China's no first use policy?

Answer. I defer to the Intelligence Community for a specific assessment. Overall, China's ongoing advances to its nuclear arsenal raise questions regarding its intent and undermine its claims to seek a minimum nuclear deterrent backed by a no-first use policy.

Question. Would an operational FOBS violate the Outer Space Treaty?

Answer. Consistent with longstanding U.S. policy, an object carrying nuclear weapons or other weapons of mass destruction that completes only a fraction of an orbit is not a violation of Article IV of the Outer Space Treaty. Longstanding U.S. and international views are that while the Outer Space Treaty prohibits the placement of WMD in orbit, it does not prohibit nuclear weapons or other WMD transiting through space for part of their trajectory.

Question. We understand the prior administration AVC had found cause to find China in violation of the NPT Article VI. What is your view of Chinese refusal to engage in good faith negotiations as required by the NPT? Are they in compliance with article VI?

Answer. The PRC's nuclear weapons build-up risks undermining decades of international progress toward nuclear disarmament. The State Department's most recent Compliance Report did not find the PRC to be in violation of its obligations under Article VI of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. If confirmed, I will consult with legal and policy experts at the Department of State on a variety of matters related to the PRC's behavior in the nuclear weapon arena, including its compliance with Article VI.

Question. China has resisted numerous attempts to engage in bilateral or multilateral engagement regarding arms control, and has instead embarked on a major expansion and improvement of its nuclear forces. How do we get China to the arms control table?

Answer. The administration will pursue arms control measures to reduce the dangers from the People's Republic of China's (PRC) growing nuclear arsenal. These efforts will be paired with actions to bolster deterrence in the region. The administration is developing and evaluating specific proposals, and, if confirmed, I commit to consulting Congress at an appropriate time on potential measures to be pursued with the PRC and how best the State Department can develop and retain government expertise regarding arms control with the PRC.

Question. The New START Treaty excludes Russia's tactical nuclear weapons and so-called "exotic" strategic delivery systems. If Russia fields some of these exotic systems before the expiration of New START, how should the U.S. respond?

Answer. The New START Treaty limits Russia's Avangard hypersonic glide vehicle and will limit the Sarmat heavy ICBM at the appropriate point in its development cycle. Whether the two nuclear-powered novel systems announced by President Putin in March 2018 will be operational by New START's scheduled expiration in February 2026 remains to be seen. The United States will use the time provided by the extension of New START to pursue with Russia, in consultation with Congress and U.S. allies and partners, arms control that addresses all Russian nuclear weapons, including novel strategic systems not subject to New START and non-strategic nuclear weapons.

Question. Which of Russia's so-called "exotic" systems do you believe are most concerning for U.S. security? Please explain the reasoning behind your answer.

Answer. Each of the novel systems poses unique challenges. Based on the unclassified information that is available, the nuclear-powered, nuclear-armed cruise missile appears to be volatile, unreliable, and dangerous, posing a threat to the entire world, including Russia. If confirmed, I will consult with the U.S. Intelligence Community on Russia's "exotic" weapon systems, and I will engage with the Department of Defense on the military implications of these systems.

Question. What do you believe the Russian reaction will be, if any, to the recent U.S. declassification of nuclear stockpile numbers?

Answer. Declassifying U.S. nuclear stockpile numbers demonstrates the serious U.S. commitment to transparency and confidence-building measures that can enable further progress on reducing nuclear risks. We encourage Russia and the People's Republic of China (PRC) to do the same and act in a more transparent manner. The declassification of U.S. stockpile numbers has shown U.S. leadership in nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament efforts. Others have welcomed our transparency and joined us in calling on Russia or the PRC to declassify their nuclear stockpile numbers.

Question. What is your understanding of Russia's nuclear doctrine and how it views nuclear deterrence?

Answer. Russia publicly states it would only use nuclear weapons in two scenarios: in response to the use of weapons of mass destruction against it and/or its allies, or if the existence of the Russian state is threatened. Yet Russia conducts exercises with scenarios simulating limited nuclear first use and maintains an arsenal of 1,000 to 2,000 non-strategic nuclear weapons, which is projected to grow. Russia has developed a wide range of new dual-capable ground-, sea-, and air-based short- and intermediate-range missile systems. Such weapons range U.S. allies and partners in Europe and East Asia—as well as U.S. forces stationed there—and both our deterrence strategy and our approach to arms control must address these threats. If confirmed, I will consult with the U.S. Intelligence Community on Russian nuclear policy, strategy, doctrine, and forces.

Question. What are your views on what objectives the U.S. should have for the U.S.-Russia Strategic Stability Dialogues?

Answer. President Biden and President Putin agreed in June 2021 to pursue an integrated, robust, and deliberate Strategic Stability Dialogue. Through this dialogue, the Biden administration seeks to lay the groundwork for future arms control and risk reduction measures, while maintaining a consistent and iterative discussion on threats to strategic stability. While the administration seeks a more stable and predictable relationship with Russia through constructive engagement and aims to lessen the potential for miscalculations and misunderstandings, it will also hold Russia accountable when it disregards its international obligations and commitments. I agree with this approach.

Question. What is your understanding of Russia's objectives for the U.S.-Russia Strategic Stability Dialogues?

Answer. President Biden and President Putin agreed in June 2021 to pursue an integrated, robust, and deliberate Strategic Stability Dialogue. Through this dialogue, Russia has publicly stated it wants to raise U.S. capabilities and actions that it perceives as undermining strategic stability, such as U.S. missile defenses, U.S. precision-guided weapons, U.S.-NATO capabilities and exercises near Russian borders, and U.S. forward-deployed nuclear weapons in Europe.

Question. In a response to Congressional questioning in April 2021, the head of U.S. Strategic Command, Admiral Richard, stated that “Limited U.S. response options are intended to provide a more credible deterrent to limited attack against the U.S., Allies and partners rather than relying primarily on the threat of large-scale nuclear responses. Without this capability, Russia may perceive an advantage at lower levels of conflict that may encourage limited nuclear use.” Do you agree with Admiral Richard’s assessment? Does this capability enhance U.S. leverage in diplomatic engagement with the Russians over their own non-strategic nuclear arsenal?

Answer. I agree that limited U.S. response options are intended to provide a more credible deterrent to limited attack against the United States and our Allies and partners rather than relying primarily on the threat of large-scale nuclear responses. I believe the United States should have modern, credible, and effective nuclear forces that deter adversaries from nuclear use, no matter how limited. The ongoing Nuclear Posture Review process is analyzing how to accomplish this, and Admiral Richard’s expertise and views will factor into that analysis.

Question. Russia has violated previous arms control agreements like the INF Treaty and the BWC. It has repeatedly used banned chemical weapons against its own citizens and tolerated their use by its allies like the Assad regime. Since the fear of violating global norms and commitments does not appear to be a major constraint on Russia’s actions, what other strategies can we employ to actually enforce these norms and ensure Russian behavior does not deteriorate further?

Answer. The 2021 Compliance Report and the Condition 10(C) Report detail Russia’s violations of both the BWC and CWC. If confirmed, I intend to work closely with the interagency, Allies, and partners to identify options to hold Russia accountable for its use of chemical weapons (CW) and identify measures to bring Russia back into compliance with its treaty obligations. The United States uses the full range of tools in its toolkit to respond to Russia’s CWC and BWC violations. For example, the United States added key Russian Ministry of Defense institutes to the Department of Commerce’s Entity List because the U.S. Government has reasonable cause to believe these facilities are associated with Russian biological weapons program. The United States also led efforts at the OPCW that resulted in the addition of two families of Novichoks to the CWC Annex on Chemicals. Further, the United States imposed sanctions under the Chemical and Biological Weapons Control and Warfare Elimination Act of 1991 (“CBW Act”) on Russia for the use of a Novichok chemical weapon in the poisoning of Russian opposition leader Alexei Navalny that included restrictions on exports and purchases of Russian sovereign debt to send a clear signal that Russia’s use of CW has severe consequences.

Most recently, the United States, along with 44 other countries, posed a series of questions to Russia regarding the poisoning of Mr. Navalny under Article IX at the OPCW Executive Council meeting that took place October 5–8, 2021.

The United States will continue to take steps to deter Russia’s use of chemical weapons. This will include engaging Russia bilaterally and multilaterally, as well working with allies and partners at the OPCW Executive Council and Conference of the States Parties and in U.N. fora, including the Security Council, and using public messaging to express our concerns. If confirmed, I will explore further measures to address Russian non-compliance with the CWC. There can be no impunity for the use of chemical weapons.

Question. It is our understanding that Russia has withdrawn its offer to freeze its warhead production that was offered under the Trump administration. What is the administration’s strategy to constrain Russian non-strategic nuclear forces? What technology does the United States possess that would allow it to verify a potential Russian declaration? Has the State Department/AVC invested any funds in developing technologies that could assist in the verification of Russian NSNW? If so, what is the status of those programs and how far along in the TRL process is the technology?

Answer. Russia never proposed to freeze nuclear warhead production. It said in October 2020 that it could accept a U.S. proposal to freeze the size of each side’s nuclear arsenal, in conjunction with a one-year extension of New START. An arrangement on these terms was not finalized, in part, because Russia deemed U.S.

efforts to define “warheads” and discuss verification of the freeze as unacceptable extra demands.

The Biden-Harris administration will use the five-year extension of the New START Treaty to pursue with Russia, in consultation with Congress and U.S. allies and partners, arms control that addresses all Russian nuclear weapons, including non-strategic nuclear weapons. Identifying and analyzing appropriate verification technologies, ranging from National Technical Means to on-site inspections, will be an important component of those efforts. If confirmed, this would be a priority for me and an issue on which I would consult with Congress, including ensuring sufficient funding to explore and develop new verification technologies.

Question. What do you view as the purpose of Iran’s nuclear program?

Answer. The United States has made clear its longstanding concerns with Iran’s nuclear program, in particular Iran’s pre-2004 efforts to develop nuclear weapons. As a non-nuclear-weapon State Party to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, Iran is obligated not to manufacture or otherwise acquire nuclear weapons. Under the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action, Iran reaffirmed this commitment. If confirmed, I will strongly support the administration’s efforts to ensure that Iran never obtains a nuclear weapon.

Question. In your assessment, do Iran’s nuclear program and ballistic missile program indicate a desire by the Iranian Government to have a nuclear weapons capability?

Answer. The United States has assessed that Iran pursued nuclear weapons until late 2003. Iran’s long history of denial and concealment regarding its past nuclear weapons program, its continued escalation of nuclear activities beyond the limits in the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action, and its ballistic missile development and proliferation all remain serious concerns today. Like President Biden, I am committed to ensuring that Iran never acquires a nuclear weapon.

Question. Given Iranian advances in space-based delivery systems and ballistic missiles, does the Iranian regime remain in compliance with the NPT? Why or why not? Please provide a detailed answer.

Answer. The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) is solely focused on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and does not address missiles or any other potential delivery platform. Nonetheless, I have serious concerns about Iran’s compliance with the NPT independent of Iran’s ballistic-missile-related activities. If confirmed, I will work with legal and policy experts to monitor and assess Iran’s NPT compliance. President Biden has made clear he is committed to ensuring that Iran never acquires a nuclear weapon.

Question. Does the United States conduct its own analysis of Iranian compliance with its safeguards and other NPT commitments or does it rely strictly on the IAEA process? If the former, please describe in detail who makes that determination and what process it entails.

Answer. The U.S. Government conducts its own analysis of Iran’s compliance with the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and makes its own findings. The IAEA’s reports inform that analysis. After consultations with the U.S. Intelligence Community (IC), the principal analysis for the annual Compliance Report is drafted by the State Department. The Department’s draft analysis and findings are then sent to the interagency and a thorough, government-wide vetting and clearance process takes place. When the interagency review is completed, State finalizes the analysis and findings as part of the annual Compliance Report.

Question. Under the 2015 Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA), the limitations on Iran’s uranium enrichment expire between 2026 and 2031. If the U.S. rejoins the JCPOA, do you assess that Iran will be legally able to increase its uranium enrichment after 2031?

Answer. As reported by the International Atomic Energy Agency, Iran is currently pursuing a uranium enrichment program far in excess of the limits under the JCPOA. A mutual return to compliance with the JCPOA would restore important restrictions on the size and scope of Iran’s nuclear activities, and its uranium enrichment-related activities in particular, as well as the strongest verification and monitoring measures ever negotiated. While Iran would be permitted to expand key uranium enrichment activities again in 2031 under the JCPOA, the Biden administration has made clear that a mutual return to compliance with the deal remains the best available option to restrict Iran’s nuclear program and provide a platform to address Iran’s destabilizing conduct moving forward.

Question. In 2018, Israel's Mossad released a series of Iranian nuclear files, which included information about at least three uranium enrichment facilities that Iran had hidden from the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). Do you agree that providing the IAEA access to those sites is essential to ensuring oversight of Iran's nuclear program?

Answer. The administration takes Iran's full implementation of its legally binding obligations under the Non-Proliferation Treaty and its safeguards agreement with the IAEA very seriously. Iran must provide the IAEA with requested information and access in response to any question or concern related to potential undeclared nuclear materials and activities in Iran. If confirmed, I will strongly support the IAEA's monitoring and verification mandate in Iran.

Question. In 2018, Israel's Mossad released a series of Iranian nuclear files, which included information about at least three uranium enrichment facilities that Iran had hidden from the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).

Answer. My understanding is that the Biden administration will not take Iran at its word regarding assertions about its nuclear program. The JCPOA provided the strongest verification and monitoring measures ever negotiated to help ensure Iran's nuclear activities are exclusively peaceful. Resumption of mutual compliance with the deal would ensure the renewed implementation of these important measures, as well as restrictions on the size and scope of Iran's nuclear activities. Like President Biden, I am committed to ensuring that Iran never acquires a nuclear weapon.

Question. What are your views on how to define "integrated deterrence"?

Answer. I defer to the Department of Defense for a specific definition of integrated deterrence. The administration believes the security challenges faced by the United States and our allies and partners require a reliance on all elements of national power, not just military tools. As such, there is a strong role for diplomacy to play in strengthening the alliances, institutions, agreements, and norms that underwrite international security. If confirmed, I will engage with the Department of Defense and Congress on how arms control can be used to strengthen deterrence.

Question. How would unilateral U.S. reductions in the nuclear triad and the nuclear weapons complex enable the United States to negotiate with Russia and China from a position of strength?

Answer. Whether unilateral or reciprocal, any potential reductions would need to be carried out in a manner consistent with the objective of ensuring the United States sustains a modern, credible, and effective deterrent so long as nuclear weapons exist. I would never support unilateral reductions that endanger U.S. security or weaken U.S. negotiating leverage.

Question. Which emerging technologies most threaten strategic stability, and why? How can we best address these technologies through existing structures?

Answer. Emerging technologies offer challenges and opportunities to strategic stability. Artificial Intelligence (AI) and Quantum technologies have the potential to provide significant benefits to U.S. national security. AI, for example, could enhance deterrent capabilities and provide tools that improve situational awareness and decision-making capabilities, therefore, avoiding an unintended escalation during a crisis. However, it is important to consider the potential risks from such systems as well. If confirmed, we need to determine whether there are norms of responsible behavior that can be developed around the use of these systems. If confirmed, I look forward to addressing these challenges with Russia and the People's Republic of China.

Question. In your view, would allowing Russian or Chinese inspectors to visit U.S. missile defense sites be an acceptable measure to build trust and transparency? If so, should we insist on reciprocal inspection rights? How would such measures comply with the prohibitions of 10 USC § 130h?

Answer. No decision has been made on whether to seek agreement with Russia or China on transparency measures related to U.S. missile defense programs, including missile defense site inspections. The United States would condition any agreement on receiving reciprocal rights from the Russian Federation and/or the People's Republic of China (PRC). Also, to the extent any agreement would include inspections at U.S. missile defense sites on the territory of allied or partner nations, the United States has committed to approach each Host Nation, prior to any discussion with Russia, to obtain Host Nation approval and conditions for permitting such inspections, and their conduct, on their sovereign territory. I fully recognize that any agreement with the Russian Federation must comply with the prohibitions of 10 USC § 130h.

Question. Does the Biden administration support the development and deployment of INF non-compliant systems such as GLCM to Eastern Europe and Asia?

Answer. The U.S. withdrawal from the INF Treaty due to Russia's material breach and failure to return to compliance resulted in that treaty's termination. As such, there are no longer "INF non-compliant" missiles. The Department of Defense (DoD) continues work on capabilities that would previously have been prohibited under the INF Treaty. I defer to DoD for further program details, but the United States would consult with allies, partners, and Congress prior to any foreign deployments.

Question. What is the difference between a "no first use," "sole purpose," or "fundamental purpose" policy?

Answer. Various declaratory policy options will be reviewed as part of the Department of Defense-led Nuclear Posture Review. That ongoing analysis and the continuing allied and partner consultations will inform my own view on declaratory policy. It would be premature to define these terms before the NPR process has begun a detailed discussion on the matter. At the same time, I understand the concerns expressed among some allies and partners, members of Congress, and experts regarding U.S. adoption of a "no-first-use" or "sole purpose" policy. Those concerns will inform the review process.

[Additional Response—10/28/2021]. Among "no first use," "sole purpose," and "fundamental purpose," most commentators assess "no first use" to be more restrictive than the other two. More exacting distinctions will vary depending on how each is defined. The DoD-led Nuclear Posture Review (NPR) is developing and evaluating different declaratory policy options and their implications. The NPR process will seek to clarify exactly what the formulations mean and avoid potential misunderstandings regarding the implications of the various policies. It would be inappropriate to speculate on specific definitions or differences with the NPR work still ongoing.

Question. What are your views on the United Kingdom's declaratory policy? Was the UK wrong to maintain its long-standing policy of ambiguity in its latest integrated review?

Answer. The administration supports the UK's efforts to ensure its defense and commend the UK for its openness on its nuclear policy and posture. Such transparency reduces the risks of misunderstanding and promotes stability. We call on Russia and the People's Republic of China to adopt a similar level of transparency about their nuclear policies.

[Additional Response—10/28/2021]. I agree with the administration's view of UK declaratory policy, and the United States commends the UK for its openness on its nuclear policy and posture. The administration further supports the United Kingdom's efforts to maintain a credible nuclear deterrent. The United States calls on Russia and the People's Republic of China to adopt a similar level of transparency.

Question. We understand our allies have messaged strongly to the Biden administration against weakening the U.S. nuclear deterrent through adoption of a No First Use/Sole Purpose policy. The administration has previously ignored allied concerns on NordStream2, Afghanistan, and AUKUS. Given widespread allied concerns over a shift in declaratory policy, how would a major shift in this policy be consistent with the President's pledge to "rebuild," U.S. alliances? What concrete steps are you prepared to take to assure allies that the Biden Admin ensure their security?

Answer. The Biden administration is working to reinvigorate and modernize our alliances and partnerships around the world. They are a tremendous source of strength and a unique American advantage. We are working to reaffirm, invest in, and modernize NATO and our alliances with Australia, Japan, and the Republic of Korea—which, along with our other global alliances and partnerships, are America's greatest strategic assist. I understand the concerns expressed among some allies and partners, members of Congress, and experts regarding potential U.S. adoption of a no-first-use or sole purpose declaratory policy. These two options do not reflect a binary choice. They are among various declaratory policy options being reviewed as part of the Department of Defense-led Nuclear Posture Review. That ongoing analysis and the continuing allied and partner consultations will inform my own view. If confirmed, I will work to ensure the President is aware of allied and partner views to inform his decisions on U.S. nuclear posture and policies.

[Additional Response—10/28/2021]. Under the Biden-Harris administration, the United States is working to modernize its military capabilities and ensure the U.S. armed forces are equipped to deter adversaries, defend the U.S. people, interests, and allies, and defeat a variety of threats that emerge. As part of our overarching integrated deterrence, the United States will retain a strategic deterrent that remains

safe, secure, and effective so that U.S. extended deterrence commitments to its allies remain strong and credible for the purposes of assurance.

Question. We understand the State Department recently surveyed over 30 countries asking for their views on U.S. nuclear policy and any potential shifts in our declaratory policy. In addition to the responses to this outreach, we also understand there is at least one cable from this summer that codifies this feedback from a meeting between administration officials and their counterparts in the United Kingdom, France, and Germany in a cable. Do you commit to providing the committee with the details of allied feedback to the State Department, including the cable referenced previously?

Answer. As announced, the administration is implementing a robust engagement plan with allies and partners as part of the ongoing Nuclear Posture Review (NPR). Those consultations are classified diplomatic exchanges and part of a current and ongoing process. I will note that allies and partners have provided a broad range of views that are being fed into the NPR process. If confirmed, I commit to work with Congress, through the Department's Bureau of Legislative Affairs, to accommodate the vital oversight needs of this committee.

[Additional Response—10/28/2021]. Congressional oversight is a recognized and critical authority of Congress and of this committee. Taking into account the possible need for use of secure facilities and secure means of communication for classified information, and the potential for damage to diplomatic relations with our allies if confidential diplomatic communications are unduly disclosed publicly, I commit, if confirmed, to work with the Department to accommodate the oversight needs of this committee, including as to the matters you reference.

Question. In your testimony, you reference varying definitions of "Sole Purpose". How is this not an obfuscation and how would such a nuanced approach be a legitimate diplomatic response to our allies' and partners' grave concerns?

Answer. Allies and partners have provided a broad range of views that are informing the Nuclear Posture Review (NPR). The administration continues to factor those views into its deliberations, including of various declaratory policies. My point was that as the NPR evaluates various policies, how they affect allied and partner perceptions of the strength and credibility of U.S. extended deterrence commitments needs to both be understood within the U.S. Government and explainable to foreign governments.

Question. The Obama administration twice considered changing declaratory policy, and decided against changes both times. Why?

Answer. The Obama administration explained in its 2010 Nuclear Posture Review that it did not adopt a sole purpose declaratory policy because "there remains a narrow range of contingencies in which U.S. nuclear weapons may still play a role in deterring a conventional or chemical and biological weapon attack against the United States or its allies and partners."

[Additional Response—10/28/2021]. I was not part of the 2010 NPR process and have no firsthand knowledge into the decision-making process from 2010. Whether nuclear weapons may still play a role in deterring a conventional or chemical and biological weapon attack against the United States or its allies and partners is among the contingencies being evaluated as part of the ongoing DoD-led Nuclear Posture Review. It would be premature to comment prior to that analysis being completed.

Question. In what ways do you see the United States exercising its global leadership on arms control issues, and if confirmed, what would you do to advance and balance both U.S. interests and arms control efforts?

Answer. Some examples of current efforts that demonstrate U.S. leadership on arms control include the Strategic Stability Dialogue with Russia, support for disarmament and nonproliferation progress at the U.N. First Committee and in other multilateral institutions, efforts to modernize the Vienna Document and consider proposals for future conventional arms control architecture that enhances international security, continued efforts to marshal international support for holding countries like Russia and Syria accountable for their use of chemical weapons, and dialogue with our allies and partners to support action in concert toward these ends. We also strive to lead by example by ensuring that U.S. nuclear policy and doctrine are consistent with the President's guidance to find ways to reduce the role that nuclear weapons play in our national security posture while taking into account security conditions and ensuring that our deterrence capabilities, and extended deterrence for our allies, remain safe, secure, strong, and credible. If confirmed, I intend

to continue these efforts to protect our national security and ensure that the United States remains a leader in arms control by pursuing arms control dialogues, risk reduction best practices, and transparency and confidence-building measures that enhance strategic stability and reduce the risks of conflict escalation and miscalculation.

Question. The USG has once again released numbers on the U.S. nuclear weapons stockpile, and called on other states with nuclear weapons to do the same. Russia and China refused to reciprocate when the Obama administration first tried this. Do you believe they will reciprocate this time?

Answer. Declassifying U.S. nuclear stockpile numbers demonstrates the serious U.S. commitment to transparency and confidence building measures that can enable further progress on reducing nuclear risks. While we would encourage Russia and the PRC to be more transparent, the declassification of U.S. stockpile numbers has not harmed U.S. national security and has shown U.S. leadership in nuclear non-proliferation fora. Others have welcomed our transparency and joined us in calling on Russia and the PRC to do the same.

Question. Should the State Department present data on its own estimates for China and Russia record of progress toward the achievement of the goals of the NPT?

Answer. We assess a variety of information in evaluating progress toward the achievement of the goals of the NPT. I defer to the Intelligence Community on sharing sensitive information publicly. We are concerned about Russian and PRC weapons development and modernization. The Strategic Stability Dialogue with Russia, part of which will discuss next steps in nuclear arms control, is designed to address such concerns. If confirmed, I will consult with legal and policy experts at the Department of State on matters related to the PRC's behavior in the nuclear weapon arena, including its progress toward the achievement of NPT goals.

Question. What are your views with respect to the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW)?

Answer. The TPNW risks undermining U.S. deterrence relationships that are still necessary for international peace and security and may reinforce divisions that hinder our ability to work together to address pressing proliferation and security challenges. All NATO Allies remain opposed to the TPNW, as repeatedly stated by the North Atlantic Council, most recently in June of 2021. Any disarmament effort must take into account the international security environment, and legally-binding measures must include effective verification.

Question. Should the United States actively dissuade other States from joining the TPNW, or from participating in TPNW-related events and initiatives?

Answer. The United States has expressed, and will continue to express, our views on what we believe to be the significant defects of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW) and discouraged other states from becoming Parties to the TPNW. We have also shared our intentions not to participate in the first meeting of TPNW States Parties in March of 2022 in any capacity as such participation could be seen as giving the treaty unwarranted credibility. We also have encouraged our allies and partners not to participate.

Question. Should the United States deny assistance to allies or partners who join the TPNW?

Answer. Allies that benefit from extended nuclear deterrence have declined to join the TPNW. The United States continues to share our views on what we believe to be the significant defects of this treaty with our Allies and partners. We also have encouraged Allies and partners to conduct their own independent analysis of the potential impacts of the TPNW on national interests, legal commitments, and policy. It remains to be seen how TPNW states parties will interpret and implement many of the treaty's provisions, how this might impact their security relationships, and how the United States would react to specific situations.

Question. Do you believe that membership in the TPNW would preclude a country from being a member of NATO, a nuclear alliance? Would TPNW membership preclude a nation from partaking in NATO or U.S.-led exercises?

Answer. The Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW) is incompatible with U.S. extended deterrence relationships that are still necessary for international peace and security and may reinforce divisions that hinder the international community's ability to work together to address pressing proliferation and security challenges. U.S. allies covered by extended nuclear deterrence (which in-

cludes all NATO Allies, plus Australia, Japan, and South Korea) share our view that the TPNW is incompatible with our extended nuclear deterrence arrangements.

[Additional Response—10/28/2021]. The Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW) is incompatible with U.S. extended deterrence relationships that are still necessary for international peace and security, and U.S. allies covered by extended nuclear deterrence share this view. While it remains to be seen how TPNW States Parties will interpret and implement the treaty's provisions, the text of the TPNW could have significant negative consequences for States Parties' ability to cooperate with nuclear-weapon States such as the United States, including in the context of a nuclear alliance like NATO. In particular, the TPNW's prohibition on assisting, encouraging, or inducing conduct otherwise prohibited by the treaty, which includes the possession of nuclear weapons, is vague and, depending on how broadly the treaty's obligations are interpreted, could have potentially sweeping implications for a TPNW State Party's ability to participate in NATO, as well as its ability to join in U.S.-led military exercises.

Question. What do you see as your role, if confirmed, in strengthening support for the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) and the nuclear non-proliferation regime, as compared to the tenets of the TPNW?

Answer. If confirmed, I intend to work closely with the Bureau of International Security and Nonproliferation (ISN) to strengthen political support for the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and to achieve a positive outcome at the upcoming NPT Review Conference. I would support and contribute to efforts, led by the President's nominee for Special Representative for Nuclear Nonproliferation, Adam Scheinman, to explain the U.S. record on arms control and our demonstrated commitment to the ultimate goal of nuclear disarmament in accordance with NPT Article VI. I would continue to oppose the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons, which ignores the security environment, undercuts deterrence, and does not offer a practical path toward that goal.

Question. What are your views on the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT)?

Answer. A global, legally-binding ban on nuclear explosive testing in all environments is in the national security interest of the United States. Entry into force of the CTBT would enhance our efforts to prevent the further proliferation of nuclear weapons.

Question. What do you think the United States' role should be in continuing to work with the CTBTO?

Answer. I believe it is important for the United States to display leadership and remain fully engaged with the work of the CTBTO Preparatory Commission to ensure its capabilities are as robust as possible.

Question. Does U.S. annual support to CTBTO require any metric or reporting on how the funds are spent? How does the United States ensure the funds are strictly for the IMS not operations of the CTBTO or general expenses?

Answer. Through exchanges of letters in 2018 and again in 2021, the United States has conveyed all applicable U.S. funding restrictions on the funds it provides to the CTBTO Preparatory Commission. In response, the Preparatory Commission's Executive Secretary has acknowledged those restrictions and confirmed that U.S. funds will be used consistent with them.

Expenditures on the International Monitoring System (IMS) and International Data Centre (IDC) comprise more than 80 percent of the CTBTO Preparatory Commission's annual budget, while the U.S. assessed contribution provides 22.5 percent of the funds available to the Commission for all its activities.

Question. What are your views on the zero yield standard to which the United States adheres, as compared to the interpretation by other CTBT signatories such as Russia and China?

Answer. Once in force, the CTBT would ban nuclear explosive tests of any yield. The treaty's negotiating record and public statements by leaders and/or senior officials from every P5 state at the time the treaty was negotiated, signed, and presented for domestic approval make clear that the CTBT is a "zero-yield" treaty. Russian and PRC officials have since stated that their respective countries continue to have the same understanding of the CTBT scope that was discussed when the treaty was negotiated.

Question. For the past several years, the Intelligence Community and the Department of State have highlighted U.S. concerns that Russia, and especially China, are conducting nuclear tests that may be inconsistent with this standard. In your view,

should countries that conduct tests producing nuclear yield face repercussions? If so, what actions would you recommend the international community take in response to these alleged activities on the part of China and Russia?

Answer. The State Department's most recent Compliance Report outlines the findings and concerns the U.S. Government has regarding Russian and Chinese activities related to nuclear testing. Specifically, the Compliance Report analyzes adherence to each country's unilaterally declared nuclear explosive testing moratorium. Nuclear testing is a threat to international security and highlights the need for an in-force ban that the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty and its associated verification mechanisms can help provide. In the meantime, if confirmed, I pledge to work with allies and partners to highlight and confront nuclear testing wherever it occurs.

Question. The Obama administration considered supporting ratification of the CTBT through a resolution in the U.N. Security Council and a "political statement expressing the view that a nuclear test would defeat the object and purpose of the CTBT" that would be referenced in the U.N. resolution. Regardless of one's view about the necessity of nuclear testing, do you agree that seeking U.S. ratification of CTBT through customary international law mechanisms or any method outside Senate's advice and consent role is unconstitutional?

Answer. As I understand it, the Obama administration never sought to ratify the CTBT other than through the normal constitutional process. There is no mechanism for U.S. ratification of a treaty outside of such a process. The P5 statement in 2016 indicated that a nuclear explosive test would defeat the object and purpose of the CTBT, and a U.N. Security Council resolution then took note of that statement. This did not constitute U.S. ratification of the CTBT. The United States has not ratified the treaty and would require Senate advice and consent or statutory authorization under our domestic law before it could do so.

Question. To be clear, do you believe the President can circumvent the Senate's constitutional role regarding the ratification of treaties in any way?

Answer. No. Senate advice and consent or statutory authorization would be required in order for the United States to ratify the CTBT. Neither may be achieved without the Senate's approval.

Question. Please describe the main challenges you believe the United States faces when it comes to biological threats.

Answer. The biological threat landscape is broad, encompassing naturally occurring, accidental, and intentional incidents with potential impacts to humans, animals, agriculture, materiel, and the environment. Pathogenic biological threats do not respect national borders and create unique challenges to fully assessing, preventing, protecting against, responding to, and recovering from biological incidents. If confirmed, I would work to strengthen the Biological Weapons Convention so it is an improved resource for the international community to protect against the threat landscape, dissuade and deter BW development, and raise the costs of starting or maintaining a BW program, especially including State or non-state actor biological threats.

Question. Please describe your understanding of how advancements in biotechnology, including the emergence of synthetic biology, change the biological threat picture and create new challenges in assessing compliance with the Biological Weapons Convention. Is the Biological Weapons Convention fit for purpose in contending with emerging biotechnology that pose dual-use concerns?

Answer. The BWC prohibits the development, production, stockpiling, or transfer of biological weapons. It underscores the overarching global norm that the weaponization of disease is repulsive and unacceptable. Even as advancements in biotechnology broaden the spectrum of threats, this ban applies to all biological weapons—regardless of any new technological advances. The BWC also provides a unique international forum where States Parties can come together to share information and agree to take certain actions—like developing relevant national oversight or participating in transparency activities. There is an ongoing administration effort to strengthen the BWC. The BWC Review Conference planned for August 2022 will be a key opportunity. One of the United States' priorities will be to set up a systematic process to inform States Parties about science and technological advances, including synthetic biology, in part to support effective biological risk assessment and management.

Question. What is the United States doing to strengthen the BWC? Is the BWC verifiable? If not what are we doing to address U.S. understanding and knowledge of Chinese BW programs?

Answer. The COVID-19 pandemic underscores the need to prevent future outbreaks—whether natural, accidental, or deliberate in origin. To that end, there is more that BWC States Parties can do. If confirmed, I will work to break the two-decade deadlock over strengthening the Biological Weapons Convention and bring the Convention into the 21st century. In particular, I would lead the AVC Bureau's portion of efforts to strengthen the BWC at the upcoming Review Conference and take steps to intensively explore measures to strengthen implementation and promote compliance and transparency.

As noted in the 2021 Compliance Report, the People's Republic of China engaged in dual-use applications, which raises concerns regarding its compliance with Article I of the BWC. In addition, the United States does not have sufficient information to determine whether China eliminated its assessed historical biological weapons (BW) program, as required under Article II of the Convention. If confirmed, I will work closely with the Intelligence Community and interagency partners to improve the United States' understanding of Chinese efforts in this field and to clarify our concerns related to Chinese compliance with the BWC.

Question. Please describe your views on China's national strategy of military-civil fusion and the challenges it poses to the United States. How should military-civil fusion inform U.S. cooperation with China on biotechnology and other related sectors?

Answer. Through its Military-Civil Fusion (MCF) strategy, the PRC pursues collaboration with foreign research institutions, academia, and private firms to acquire the key technologies needed for the People's Liberation Army's future war fighting capabilities, often without those institutions' knowledge of the intended end-use/user or in contravention of existing export license conditions. As a result, its MCF strategy threatens the trust, transparency, reciprocity, and shared values that underpin international science and technology collaboration. It undercuts fair global business practices and is a direct challenge to the international rules-based order and the end-use assurance mechanisms by which we traditionally safeguard technology from military diversion.

Across all sectors, the U.S. continues to strengthen our investment review process, bolster export controls, secure supply chains, and prioritize cases involving the PRC's intellectual property theft. The administration is encouraging our allies and partners in government and industry to implement similar measures. As the PRC has explicitly highlighted the importance of international collaboration at the university level to drive this strategy, the United States issued Presidential Proclamation 10043 to restrict visas for some Ph.D. and post-doctoral researchers seeking to undertake studies in the United States. The United States should continue to raise awareness within the academic and business communities about the risks of collaborating with PRC-based and state-linked entities to protect intellectual property and prevent the misuse of technology—including biotechnology—to drive PRC military modernization. We should also encourage adoption of appropriate risk mitigation measures that include technology transfer and data protection controls, transparency of beneficial ownership, and ability to screen foreign investments against national security risks.

Question. Do you think the United States should cooperate with countries where we have concerns about compliance with the Biological Weapons Convention on biotechnology, pathogen research, and other categories of biological research that could be weaponized or serve a dual-use function?

Answer. It is my view that the United States should not cooperate with countries of compliance concern on specific research where we believe there is significant potential that information, technology, or material we provide could be used for nefarious purposes. In this vein, I strongly support oversight of Life Sciences Dual Use Research of Concern. It is important, however, to continue dialogue with those countries to clarify and resolve compliance concerns and to promote strong biosafety and biosecurity practices and governance. Further, if some countries have the only access to certain pathogens, the United States must find a way to ensure that public health experts can continue their necessary collaborative work to be able to protect us from naturally occurring outbreaks, while minimizing our national security risks.

Question. Do you commit to prioritizing engagement with industry, academia, the health research community, and other stakeholders outside traditional national security circles on the United States' compliance concerns with respect to the Biologi-

cal Weapons Convention? If so, what three steps will you take to make good on this commitment, should you be confirmed?

Answer. Yes, if confirmed, I commit that the AVC Bureau will engage those outside traditional national security circles (e.g., industry, academia, the health research community) and with international counterparts about the United States' compliance concerns with respect to the Biological Weapons Convention. The AVC Bureau plans to engage those outside (and inside) traditional national security circles in the run-up to the BWC Review Conference and during the BWC Review Conference itself through bilateral engagements and briefings, NGO roundtables, and public outreach events.

Question. Is there currently a review process within the United States Government for approving or disapproving life sciences or biological research collaboration with other countries that could pose dual-use concerns, including research on pathogens, viruses, and toxins? What role, if any, does the Department of State play in this review process? Within the Department of State, what role does AVC play in this process? If such a process exists, what type of evidentiary information must be included to determine whether such research collaboration is appropriate?

Answer. When researchers apply for federal funds to be used in a collaborative research project, a number of oversight mechanisms or other review processes may be triggered. For example, research projects funded by Federal agencies are subject to a variety of oversight policies implemented by the respective funding agency, including policies regarding Dual Use Research of Concern (DURC) and high-risk experiments involving pathogens of pandemic potential. Where collaborations involve the transfer of U.S.-origin materials, equipment, or intangible technology, such transfers may be subject to license requirements under relevant export laws and regulations. If such collaborations involve individuals from certain countries traveling to the U.S. for research-related purposes, those individuals may be subject to visa vetting procedures. The AVC Bureau would be consulted if the proposed cooperation raised any potential issues related to compliance with the Biological Weapons Convention.

Question. What role does the Department of State play in formulating and implementing the following guidance?

- United States Government Policy for Oversight of Life Sciences Dual Use Research of Concern, available at <https://www.phe.gov/s3/dualuse/documents/us-policy-durc-032812.pdf>;
- National Science Advisory Board for Biosecurity, Proposed Framework for the Oversight of Dual Use Life Sciences Research: Strategies For Minimizing The Potential Misuse Of Research Information (2007), available at <https://osp.od.nih.gov/wp-content/uploads/Proposed-Oversight-Framework-for-Dual-Use-Research.pdf>
- National Science Advisory Board for Biosecurity, Recommendations for the Evaluation and Oversight of Proposed Gain-of-Function Research (2016), <https://osp.od.nih.gov/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/NSABB-Final-Report-Recommendations-Evaluation-Oversight-Proposed-Gain-of-Function-Research.pdf>
- Report on Adherence to and Compliance with Arms Control, Nonproliferation, and Disarmament Agreement and Commitments (Compliance Report)

Answer. The Department of State participates in formulating U.S. Government policy guidance through interagency processes coordinated by the National Security Council, including the U.S. Government Policy for Oversight of Life Science Dual Use Research of Concern (the other two documents are not policies but reports that informed U.S. Government policy deliberations). As such, if confirmed, I would take part in the review of implementation of such U.S. Government policies. The Department of State is not involved in review processes that are established internal to other government agencies, unless that Department or Agency identifies a concern that would affect a Department of State equity, such as treaty compliance. If confirmed, I would strive to improve collaboration and transparency amongst interagency members on these issues.

Question. If confirmed, what standard will you use in deciding how much unclassified information is required to make an unclassified finding in the Compliance Report?

Answer. If confirmed, I will apply the same rigorous standard the United States has used since the report's inception to determine how much unclassified information is required to make an unclassified finding in the Compliance Report. It is important to be able to corroborate unclassified findings with supporting information,

so the public and country in question understands what led the United States to make the determination. The Department works closely with the Intelligence Community and interagency to determine what information can be included in the unclassified report. The classified annex provides additional substantiating information for Congress.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit not to conceal or obfuscate evidence of violations of arms control treaties or agreements just because they cannot be entirely proven in the unclassified domain?

Answer. If confirmed, I pledge to safeguard classified information in accordance with law, regulation, and policy. At every level of classification, I would seek to substantiate conclusions with material evidence at the appropriate level of classification and would consider advocating for declassification and public release of information where it is in the U.S. national security interest to do so.

Question. Do you disagree with any of the findings of the 2021 Compliance Report?

Answer. No, I do not disagree with any of the findings in the 2021 Compliance Report.

Question. Would you have disclosed the fact of Russia's violation of the Intermediate Range Nuclear Forces Treaty in 2014, even though this violation could not be conclusively proven in the unclassified domain?

Answer. U.S. compliance determinations are made stronger by how much evidence can be publicly shared. Sometimes there are legitimate reasons for limiting publicly available information. In 2014, the United States made public its determination of Russia's INF Treaty violation. That action was justified by years of accumulating and evaluating information, compliance analysis, and diplomacy with Russia.

Question. What role should concerns about Russian or Chinese diplomatic blowback play in determining whether to include an unclassified finding in the report?

Answer. It is my view that the report should provide as much detail as can be included in the unclassified Compliance Report regarding questions and concerns with countries' compliance with and adherence to arms control agreements and commitments to which they are party. If there is sufficient information to support making an unclassified finding in the Compliance Report, concerns regarding diplomatic blowback from Russia and China should not affect the inclusion of that finding. The AVC Bureau engages in bilateral dialogues with countries identified as having compliance concerns and that includes Russia and China. Including unclassified supporting information to corroborate the report's findings helps facilitate such bilateral dialogue.

Question. Do you believe that you, if confirmed as Assistant Secretary of State for the AVC Bureau, would need the approval of State Legal to offer policy assessments regarding any country's possible violation of existing arms control agreements, including, but not limited to the NPT?

Answer. If confirmed, I pledge to offer Secretary Blinken, President Biden, and all other senior U.S. Government officials my best possible policy advice, seeking legal advice, including from the Department's Office of the Legal Adviser, as appropriate. Any assessment of a country's compliance with its legal obligations under an international agreement will necessarily entail legal analysis as to the parameters of those obligations, as well as intelligence and other reporting furnishing the best available evidence of states parties' compliance or non-compliance with their binding obligations as the United States understands them.

Question. Do you agree, without qualification, if confirmed, and on request, to appear and testify before this committee, its subcommittees, and other appropriate committees of Congress? Please answer with a simple yes or no.

Answer. Yes.

Question. Do you agree, without qualification, if confirmed, to provide this committee, its subcommittees, other appropriate committees of Congress, and their respective staffs such witnesses and briefers, briefings, reports, records—including documents and electronic communications, and other information, as may be requested of you, and to do so in a timely manner? Please answer with a simple yes or no.

Answer. I commit to work to accommodate the vital oversight needs of Congress.

Question. Do you agree, without qualification, if confirmed, to consult with this committee, its subcommittees, other appropriate committees of Congress, and their respective staffs, regarding your basis for delay or denial in providing testimony, briefings, reports, records—including documents and electronic communications, and other information, as may be requested of you? Please answer with a simple yes or no.

Answer. Yes.

Question. Do you agree, without qualification, if confirmed, to keep this committee, its subcommittees, and other appropriate committees of Congress, and their respective staff apprised of new information that materially impacts the accuracy of testimony, briefings, reports, records—including documents and electronic communications, and other information you or your organization previously provided? Please answer with a simple yes or no.

Answer. Yes.

Question. Do you agree, without qualification, if confirmed, and on request, to provide this committee with records and other information within their oversight jurisdiction, even absent a formal committee request? Please answer with a simple yes or no.

Answer. I commit to work to accommodate the vital oversight needs of the committee.

Question. Do you agree, without qualification, if confirmed, to respond timely to letters to, and/or inquiries and other requests of you or your organization from individual Senators who are members of this committee? Please answer with a simple yes or no.

Answer. Yes.

Question. Do you agree, without qualification, if confirmed, to ensure that you and other members of your organization protect from retaliation any AVC employee, federal employee, or contractor employee who testifies before, or communicates with this committee and any other appropriate committee of Congress? Please answer with a simple yes or no.

Answer. Yes.

Question. If confirmed, do you agree to provide to this committee relevant information within the jurisdictional oversight of the committee when requested by the committee, even in the absence of the formality of a letter from the Chairman?

Answer. I commit to work to accommodate the important oversight needs of the committee in coordination with the Bureau of Legislative Affairs.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO MALLORY A. STEWART BY SENATOR EDWARD J. MARKEY

Question. The number of full time equivalents (FTEs) decreased for the Arms Control, Verification, and Compliance Bureau (AVC) during the Trump administration, which compounded a demographic problem where approximately half of the Bureau is eligible to retire. What is the current number of FTEs in the Bureau? And what additional hiring authorities from Congress would help recapitalize the AVC workforce to aid it in the robust bilateral strategic dialogue with Russia, efforts to engage China on meaningful arms control measures, and the host of other challenges that the Bureau is responsible for addressing?

Answer. If confirmed, rebuilding the workforce of the Bureau of Arms Control, Verification and Compliance (AVC) would be my top management priority. The total number of Washington, DC-based full-time equivalent staff in AVC as of October 2021 is 87, which is 23 percent lower than the total as of January 2017. AVC needs a reinvigorated workforce that can help address the dangers posed by chemical, biological, radiological, and nuclear weapons, and their delivery systems, as well as the emerging threats of the 21st century. It is my understanding that the Department would appreciate Congressional support to increase its capacity to address these critical issues of national security. If confirmed, I will support the Under Secretary's intention to recruit a diverse cadre of additional arms control experts. I also commit to uphold and fully implement the Department's leadership and management tenets, including support for diversity and inclusion, to strengthen the Bureau.

Question. Is the State Department concerned that the addition of two new nuclear weapon capabilities in the 2018 Nuclear Posture Review, the deployed low-yield W76(2) warhead and the planned sea-launched nuclear cruise missile, risk leading to inadvertent escalation in a conflict with an adversary? Would continuing to field these new roles for U.S. nuclear weapons be consistent with the President's Interim National Security Guidance to "take steps to reduce the role of nuclear weapons in [U.S.] national security strategy?"

Answer. The W76-2 and the nuclear-armed sea-launched cruise missile were directed in the 2018 Nuclear Posture Review. The ongoing NPR process is reviewing U.S. nuclear weapons capabilities, including the W76-2 and the nuclear-armed sea-launched cruise missile, to assess whether and how they fit into the administration's overarching objectives of reducing the role of nuclear weapons in our national security strategy, while ensuring our strategic deterrent remains safe, secure, and effective and that our extended deterrence commitments to our allies remain strong and credible.

Question. How has the United States recently worked through the Extended Deterrence Dialogues with Japan and South Korea, as well as other bilateral consultations related to the Nuclear Posture Review process, to reaffirm our commitment to our allies' defense irrespective of any possible changes to U.S. nuclear weapons declaratory policy or force structure?

Answer. Extended deterrence plays a foundational role in advancing U.S. national security objectives. In the Nuclear Posture Review process, the administration is consulting with U.S. allies and partners, including those in the Indo-Pacific, through a variety of standing deterrence dialogues and ad-hoc consultations. The Administration has conveyed to allies and partners the United States' commitment to ensuring U.S. extended deterrence remains strong and credible.

Question. China has reportedly recently constructed over 250 intercontinental ballistic missile silos as part of a plan to possibly expand its strategic forces in addition to plans to construct fast breeder reactors that could expand its stockpile of plutonium for nuclear weapons. At what level has the Department (or the White House) conveyed its concerns about any future effort to fill those newly discovered silos? In order to better understand the intent behind these developments, does the United States intend to invite China to a bilateral strategic dialogue or make it an agenda item of the P5 process?

Answer. Many U.S. officials, including Secretary of State Blinken at the ASEAN Regional Forum in August, have noted deep concern with the rapid growth of the People's Republic of China's (PRC) nuclear arsenal. Beijing has clearly and sharply deviated from its decades-old nuclear strategy based on minimum deterrence. In consultation with U.S. allies and partners, the administration will pursue arms control measures to address the PRC's growing nuclear arsenal. The administration is developing and evaluating specific proposals, and, if confirmed, I commit to consulting Congress at an appropriate time on potential measures and how best the State Department can develop and retain government expertise regarding arms control with the PRC.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO MALLORY A. STEWART BY SENATOR TODD YOUNG

Question. We have multiple open-source reports about China's increased nuclear posture. This clearly indicates that China must be incorporated into strategic arms discussions, and the longer they refuse the harder that conversation will be. I also recognize that China is coming from a different place than the United States and Russia which will require a different approach. If confirmed, how would you seek to contain China's growing nuclear weapons arsenal?

Answer. We must pursue arms control measures to reduce the dangers from the People's Republic of China's (PRC) growing nuclear arsenal. These efforts will be pursued in coordination with actions to bolster deterrence in the region. The Administration will work with allies and partners to regularly urge the PRC to engage meaningfully on arms control. The Administration is developing and evaluating specific proposals, and, if confirmed, I commit to consulting Congress at an appropriate time on potential measures to be pursued with China.

Question. The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) has publicly confirmed that it found particles of processed uranium at three undeclared facilities in Iran. Are you aware of that?

Answer. As reported by the IAEA Director General, the IAEA continues to investigate questions related to four undeclared locations in Iran, including three where the IAEA has detected the presence of nuclear material. Iran's failure to provide the IAEA with the necessary information and cooperation to resolve these questions is deeply troubling. The administration takes Iran's full implementation of its legally binding obligations under the Non-Proliferation Treaty and its comprehensive safeguards agreement with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) very seriously. Iran must provide the required cooperation with the IAEA without delay. If confirmed, I will work closely with the Bureau of International Security and Nonproliferation to ensure that the IAEA has our continued full support in urgently resolving safeguards problems with Iran.

Question. Commercial satellite imagery analyzed by independent researchers at the Institute for Science and International Security demonstrated that at one facility in Iran, there was a steady progression of containers being removed followed by sanitization work. The IAEA found uranium at that site. Do you agree with that assessment?

Answer. In a September report to the IAEA Board, the Director General reiterated his deep concern that the IAEA had found indications that nuclear material had been present at three locations in Iran, that Iran had yet to provide the necessary explanation for the presence of such nuclear material at those locations, and that the current locations of the nuclear material were not known to the IAEA. We have made clear our serious concerns that Iran has failed to respond to the IAEA on these matters. It is essential that Iran fully comply with its legally binding obligations under its comprehensive safeguards agreement with the IAEA without further delay, and if confirmed, I will work closely with the Bureau of International Security and Nonproliferation to ensure that the IAEA has our continued full support in urgently resolving these safeguards problems with Iran.

Question. Do you agree that it is an obligation under Article III of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT) to declare all nuclear material to the IAEA?

Answer. Article III requires each non-nuclear-weapon State Party to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) to accept safeguards on all of its source or special fissionable material in all peaceful nuclear activities, as set forth in an agreement to be negotiated and concluded with the International Atomic Energy Agency. The IAEA's comprehensive safeguards agreement enables NPT non-nuclear-weapon States Parties to implement this obligation and requires those states to declare to the IAEA all nuclear material that is required to be safeguarded under the NPT.

Question. Is Iran a party to the NPT with a signed Comprehensive Safeguards Agreement with the IAEA?

Answer. Yes. Iran ratified the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) in 1970 and remains a State Party to the Treaty. Iran's NPT-required Comprehensive Safeguards Agreement with the IAEA came into force in 1974 and remains in force.

Question. Do you agree that Iran is in non-compliance with the NPT?

Answer. I have serious concerns about Iran's compliance with the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), and if confirmed, I will help implement U.S. policy to support the IAEA's work to monitor and assess Iran's compliance with its NPT-required safeguards agreement. Iran must cooperate fully with the IAEA to address the serious, outstanding issues related to potential undeclared nuclear material in Iran. As a non-nuclear-weapon State Party to the NPT, Iran is obligated not to manufacture or otherwise acquire nuclear weapons.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO MALLORY A. STEWART BY SENATOR TED CRUZ

Question. Since 2007, it has nearly always been the position of the United States that Iran is not a member in good standing within the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT). Even pursuant to the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA), Iran would not have returned to being a member in good standing until the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) reached a "Broader Conclusion" verifying the exclusively peaceful nature of Iran's nuclear program. In April

2019, then-nominee to be Special Representative for Nuclear Nonproliferation Jeffrey L. Eberhardt confirmed in writing to this committee that “given Iran’s past noncompliance with both its safeguards agreement and its NPT obligations, its failure to fully address IAEA questions related to past activities relevant to the development of a nuclear explosive device, and the emergence of new questions surrounding Iran’s motives for retaining and concealing documents, equipment, and personnel related to its past nuclear weapons program, Iran’s standing as a non-nuclear-weapon State Party to the NPT cannot be described as ‘good.’”

- Do you agree with Mr. Eberhardt’s assessment?

Answer. Yes. Given Iran’s past non-compliance with its obligations under the NPT and Iran’s NPT-required safeguards agreement and its present failure to fully address the IAEA’s current questions related to implementation of that safeguards agreement, Iran’s standing as a non-nuclear-weapon State Party to the NPT cannot be described as “good.” The United States has thoroughly detailed the concern with Iran’s compliance with Article III of the NPT, including in the 2021 Compliance Report.

Question. Do you consider Iran’s past possession of the Nuclear Archive seized by Israel, including the materials in the Archive relevant to the development of nuclear weapons, to constitute non-compliance by Iran of its obligations under the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT)?

Answer. I have serious concerns about Iran’s compliance with the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), and if confirmed, I will work with legal and policy experts to monitor and assess Iran’s NPT compliance. Iran must cooperate fully with the IAEA to address the serious, outstanding issues related to potential undeclared nuclear material in Iran. As a non-nuclear-weapon State Party to the NPT, Iran is obligated not to manufacture or otherwise acquire nuclear weapons.

Question. Do you consider Iran’s past concealment of the Nuclear Archive seized by Israel, including the materials in the Archive relevant to the development of nuclear weapons, to constitute non-compliance by Iran of its obligations under the NPT?

Answer. Iran’s long history of denial and concealment regarding its past nuclear weapons program is of serious concern. The Biden-Harris administration will not take Iran at its word regarding assertions about its nuclear program and fully supports the IAEA as it uses its safeguards authorities to investigate any indication of undeclared nuclear material or activities in Iran. Like President Biden, I am committed to ensuring that Iran never acquires a nuclear weapon.

Question. Do you believe that Iran should be entitled to the use of civilian nuclear technology even if they are not a member in good standing of the NPT?

Answer. Article IV of the NPT recognizes the right of all the Parties to the Treaty, including Iran, to develop research, production and use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes without discrimination and in conformity with Articles I and II of the Treaty. Iran must, however, comply with its international obligations when undertaking nuclear activities, including its obligations under Article II of the NPT and its NPT-required safeguards agreement with the International Atomic Energy Agency.

Question. Do you consider Iran to be entitled to benefit from nuclear technology pursuant to Article IV the NPT?

Answer. Article IV of the NPT recognizes the right of all the Parties to the Treaty, including Iran, to develop research, production and use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes without discrimination and in conformity with Articles I and II of the Treaty. Iran must, however, comply with its international obligations when undertaking nuclear activities, including its obligation under Article II of the NPT not to manufacture or otherwise acquire nuclear weapons.

Question. Do you consider Iran to be specifically entitled to benefit from nuclear technology pursuant to Article IV the NPT?

Answer. Article IV of the NPT recognizes the right of all the Parties to the Treaty, including Iran, to develop research, production and use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes without discrimination and in conformity with Articles I and II of the Treaty. Iran must, however, comply with its international obligations when undertaking nuclear activities, including its obligation under Article II of the NPT not to manufacture or otherwise acquire nuclear weapons.

Question. Do you assess that China is in violation of its Article VI obligations?

Answer. China's nuclear weapons build-up risks undermining decades of international progress toward nuclear disarmament. If confirmed, I will consult with legal and policy experts at the Department of State on a variety of matters related to China's behavior in the nuclear weapon arena, including its compliance with Article VI.

Question. What leverage does the United States currently possess to dampen China's nuclear buildup?

Answer. U.S. allies and partners in Asia will be key to success in the administration's efforts to bring the People's Republic of China (PRC) into any arms control measures, and the administration will work with them to regularly urge the PRC to engage meaningfully with the United States on arms control. The administration will pursue arms control measures to reduce the dangers from the PRC's growing nuclear arsenal and will make the case to Beijing that arms control is in its security interest. Arms control is not a trap designed to weaken China's defenses, but a mechanism to reduce the risk of military crises and manage the threat of destabilizing arms races, something that is in the interest of all countries.

Question. For decades, China claimed that all it needed was a "minimum deterrent," but the CCP seems to be pursuing a capability far beyond that threshold. Why now? And how should the U.S. respond to China's nuclear modernization?

Answer. The People's Republic of China's (PRC) apparent build-up of nuclear capabilities is cause for concern and may signal a departure from its decades-long nuclear strategy based on minimum deterrence. I defer to the Intelligence Community for a specific assessment on the timing of this build-up. In parallel to the PRC's nuclear build-up, its broader geopolitical goals appear to be shifting as well. The PRC's military activities highlight Beijing's increasing comfort with the employment of military forces to achieve its foreign policy objectives. As the administration pursues arms control measures to reduce the dangers from the PRC's growing nuclear arsenal, the administration will simultaneously maintain the capabilities to defend against a range of PRC military threats to the United States and our allies and partners.

Question. Turning now to Russia. You have been a noted advocate of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. As you know, the United States Senate has pointedly refused to ratify the CTBT, in part because of Russian behavior. In its 2021 compliance report, the Trump administration rightly called out this behavior. I'd like to quote from that report: "The United States finds that, since declaring its testing moratorium, Russia has conducted nuclear weapons experiments that have created nuclear yield and are not consistent with the U.S. 'zero-yield' standard." Do you agree with that assessment?

Answer. Yes, I agree that since declaring its testing moratorium, Russia has at times conducted nuclear weapons tests or experiments that have created nuclear yield, which is not consistent with the zero-yield standard.

Question. Do you commit to ensuring, if you are confirmed, that you would continue to document such non-compliance?

Answer. Yes. I commit that, if confirmed, I will continue to document non-compliance and inconsistencies with arms control obligations and commitments in the annual Compliance Report.

Question. I am concerned about the possibility of the Biden administration adopting a misguided "no-first-use" nuclear policy. Russia used to have a no-first-use policy, but formally scrapped it years ago when the Kremlin feared its conventional forces were insufficient. Our principal adversary, China, has formally declared a no first-use policy, but the Chinese Communist Party has proven itself willing to break any promise that suits its ambitions.

- Do you believe China's commitment to not use nuclear weapons first in a conflict?

Answer. I doubt the People's Republic of China's (PRC) commitment to a no-first-use policy. There is ambiguity over the conditions under which Beijing would act outside of its professed no-first-use policy. Some People's Liberation Army (PLA) officers have written publicly of the need to spell out conditions under which China might need to use nuclear weapons first. There has been no indication that national leaders are willing to address such nuances and caveats publicly. However, ongoing PRC advances in its nuclear arsenal, such as an exploration of low-yield warheads, raise questions regarding PRC intent and undermine its claims to maintain a minimum nuclear deterrent backed by a no-first-use policy.

Question. Do you personally support a no-first-use policy for the United States?

Answer. No.

Question. Do you believe we have transparency into Iran's nuclear program?

Answer. While the IAEA maintains near daily access at key nuclear facilities in Iran under Iran's IAEA Safeguards Agreement, the IAEA has reported that its verification and monitoring activities have been seriously undermined as a result of Iran's decision to stop the implementation of its nuclear-related commitments under the JCPOA, including the Additional Protocol. A return to mutual implementation of the JCPOA would restore the JCPOA's transparency measures, which are the strongest verification and monitoring provisions ever negotiated.

Question. Given we do not have a comprehensive accounting of Iran's PMD program, and taking into consideration Iran's decades of deception to the IAEA on its nuclear program, how is it possible to have an accurate appraisal of Iran's activities as they evolve, when the international community lacks a baseline for verification efforts?

Answer. The IAEA has reported significant concerns regarding potential undeclared nuclear material and activities in Iran, and we have full confidence in the Agency to pursue its critical verification and monitoring responsibilities there. It is essential that Iran fully comply with its legally binding obligations under the NPT and its Comprehensive Safeguards Agreement with the IAEA to resolve these important matters without further delay. The JCPOA provided the strongest verification and monitoring measures ever negotiated. Resumption of mutual compliance with the deal would ensure the renewed implementation of these measures, as well as its restrictions on the size and scope of Iran's nuclear activities.

Question. Despite the Board of Governor's December 2015 Final Assessment, which closed the chapter on PMDs in order to move forward with implementation of the JCPOA, the issue of Iran's possible military dimension remains outstanding. If confirmed, do you plan to reopen the PMD file? If not, why not?

Answer. President Biden has made clear he is committed to ensuring that Iran never acquires a nuclear weapon. If confirmed, I will strongly support the Department's efforts, as they relate to my position as AVC Assistant Secretary, to bolster the IAEA's monitoring and verification activities in Iran so that the IAEA can provide the strongest possible assurance that Iran is not undertaking any undeclared nuclear activities. A return to mutual implementation of the JCPOA would restore the JCPOA's transparency measures, which are the strongest verification and monitoring provisions ever negotiated.

Question. On April, 1, 2018, Tiangong-1, China's prototype space station, re-entered the earth's atmosphere after an uncontrolled re-entry. On May 11, 2020, the Chinese Long March 5B rocket, re-entered the earth's atmosphere after an uncontrolled re-entry. On May 8, 2021, another Chinese Long March 5B core stage re-entered the earth's atmosphere after making an uncontrolled re-entry. In response to the most recent uncontrolled entry, NASA Administrator, Bill Nelson, said that "It is clear that China is failing to meet responsible standards regarding their space debris."

- Do you agree with the assessment that China is currently violating the spirit of the Outer Space Treaty?

Answer. Along with the United States and over 90 other members of the U.N. Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, the PRC joined consensus in June 2019 on 21 voluntary, non-legally binding guidelines for the long-term sustainability of outer space activities. One of these guidelines calls for states to "[t]ake measures to address risks associated with the uncontrolled re-entry of space objects." We urge all nations, including the PRC, to abide by their commitments and implement these guidelines, encouraging transparency and information sharing with other nations. If confirmed, I will work with my colleagues within State and at NASA to highlight the long-standing U.S. space policy principle that responsible space actors operate with openness, transparency, and predictability to maintain the benefits of space for all humanity.

Question. Do you agree that in the case that space debris causes damage in the United States or in other nations party to the Outer Space Treaty from a Chinese Government launched space vehicle, that China would accept liability for damages under Section VII of the Outer Space Treaty? If not, please list what specific actions the Peoples Republic of China has taken to assure the United States that it would comply with Section VII of the Outer Space Treaty?

Answer. In addition to its obligations under the 1967 Outer Space Treaty, the PRC is a party to the 1972 Convention on International Liability for Damage Caused by Space Objects. The Liability Convention provides that a launching State shall be absolutely liable to pay compensation for damage caused by its space objects on the surface of the Earth or to aircraft in flight and has fault-based liability for damage caused to objects in space. The Liability Convention also provides for procedures for the settlement of claims for damages. These two treaties, along with 1968 Astronaut Rescue and Return Agreement and the 1976 Registration Convention, provide a basic legal framework within which interested States can work to protect their interests. The PRC has also stated in the U.N. Committee on the Peaceful Use of Outer Space that “wide adherence to the United Nations treaties contributes to creating a safe, secure and sustainable atmosphere for the development of outer space activities.”

Question. Do you agree that China’s continued use of uncontrolled re-entries constitute a national security threat? If not, then why?

Answer. As NASA Administrator Nelson noted in May 2021, spacefaring nations must minimize the risks to people and property on Earth of re-entries of space objects and maximize transparency regarding those operations. The PRC has yet to implement responsible standards regarding some of their space debris, which results in uncontrolled re-entries. It is critical that the PRC act responsibly and transparently in space to ensure the safety, stability, security, and long-term sustainability of outer space activities as well as human life.

Question. On July 31, 2019[,] at a Brookings Institution event titled “Assessing Space Security: threat and response,” you stated that “the legal framework for both the commercial side and the military engagements and the evolution of the players in space has to catch up and it hasn’t caught up.” Please elaborate on your statement.

- Please list all aspects of the legal framework for “military engagements” that need to be updated and how would you, in your potential role at the Department of State, update them?

Answer. As the Biden-Harris administration’s Space Priorities Framework notes, “[as] space activities evolve, the norms, rules, and principles that guide outer space activities also must evolve.” In this regard, I believe that it is essential for the United States to continue to lead in strengthening global governance of space activities to uphold and strengthen a rules-based international order for space.

The principles of 1967 Outer Space Treaty remain the indispensable foundation for these efforts. In this regard, I fully support the Biden-Harris administration’s focus on developing legally non-binding approaches to reduce threats to space systems through the further development and implementation of norms, rules and principles of responsible behaviors. There are advantages to focusing on voluntary, legally non-binding norms of responsible behavior, such as the ability to adapt quickly to changing circumstances or technologies, allowing new and novel uses of space to be explored rather than restricted, and to allow civil and commercial operators to have more of a voice in their development.

Question. Please list all aspects of the legal framework for “commercial side” need to be updated and how would you, in your potential role at the Department of State, update them?

Answer. It is essential for the United States Government to work closely and collaboratively with U.S. commercial industry and allies to promote the implementation of existing measures and lead in the development of new measures that contribute to the safety, stability, security, and long-term sustainability of space activities. The United States also must demonstrate how the full range of its governmental and private sector space activities can be conducted in a responsible, peaceful, and sustainable manner.

Question. Will updating the legal frameworks for military or commercial engagements require updating or amending the Outer Space Treaty, if so how, if not, why not? Please describe any risks or potential disadvantages to updating or amending the Outer Space Treaty?

Answer. As the Biden-Harris administration’s Space Priorities Framework notes, “[as] space activities evolve, the norms, rules, and principles that guide outer space activities also must evolve.” In this regard, I believe that it is essential for the United States to continue to lead in strengthening global governance of space activities to uphold and strengthen a rules-based international order for space.

The principles of 1967 Outer Space Treaty remain the indispensable foundation for these efforts. In addition to the Outer Space Treaty, I fully support the Biden-

Harris administration's focus on developing legally non-binding approaches to reduce threats to space systems through the further development and implementation of norms, rules and principles of responsible behaviors. There are advantages to focusing on voluntary, legally non-binding norms of responsible behavior, such as the ability to adapt quickly to changing circumstances or technologies, allowing new and novel uses of space to be explored rather than restricted, and to allow civil and commercial operators to have more of a voice in their development.

Question. Please describe how updating "legal frameworks" would impact the commercialization of space and why?

Answer. U.S. commercial space activities are on the cutting edge of space technology, space applications, and space-enabled services. As a result, I believe that the existing international legal framework provides a solid foundation upon which commercial space activities and interests of the U.S. private sectors can thrive. Based upon this framework, domestic U.S. law and regulations must provide clarity and certainty for the authorization and continuing supervision of non-governmental space activities, including for novel activities such as on-orbit servicing and orbital debris removal.

Question. On January 11, 2007, China launched a ballistic missile from Xichang Space Launch Center that aimed at a nonoperative Chinese weather satellite, the Fengyun 1C, completely destroying the satellite. The destruction of the satellite created more than 3,000 pieces of space debris, the largest ever tracked, and much of it is expected to remain in orbit for decades.

- Please describe how China's actions, as described above, violate the Article IV and Article IX of the Outer Space Treaty? If not then, why not?

Answer. It is my understanding that the administration of President George W. Bush did not make a determination of Chinese compliance with the Outer Space treaty following China's 2007 ASAT test. If confirmed, I commit to working with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on enhancing countries' compliance with their Outer Space Treaty commitments.

Following Russia's reckless November 2021 destructive anti-satellite weapon test, Secretary Blinken stated, "We call upon all responsible spacefaring nations to join us in efforts to develop norms of responsible behavior and to refrain from conducting dangerous and irresponsible destructive tests like those carried out by Russia." In addition, Deputy Secretary of Defense Hicks called on all nations to refrain from recklessly conducting destructive anti-satellite testing, which significantly increases the risk to human spaceflight and other satellites, and to foster a safe, sustainable space environment.

China's ASAT test in January 2007 was inconsistent with the Space Debris Mitigation Guidelines of the Inter-Agency Space Debris Coordination Committee, which was endorsed by the China National Space Administration.

Question. Please describe the threat on space exploration and the commercialization of space from space debris, and further specifically describe the threat from space debris created as a result of Chinese, Russian, and North Korean actions.

Answer. Both China's ASAT test in January 2007 and Russia's in November 2021 were inconsistent with the Space Debris Mitigation Guidelines of the Inter-Agency Space Debris Coordination Committee, which were endorsed by Roscosmos and the China National Space Administration. Russia's November 2021 test also was inconsistent with the [voluntary, legally non-binding] Space Debris Mitigation Guidelines of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space in June 2007, which were endorsed by the U.N. General Assembly in December 2007. As NASA Administrator Nelson noted in May 2021, spacefaring nations must minimize the risks to people and property on Earth of re-entries of space objects and maximize transparency regarding those operations.

Question. Do you agree that China's actions threaten the United States' national security? If not, then why?

Answer. I am very concerned that the PRC has developed counterspace weapons capabilities intended to target U.S. and allied satellites and that both China and Russia believe that counterspace operations will be integral to potential military campaigns against the U.S. and its allies. If confirmed, I plan to work with the Department of Defense and the Intelligence Community to use those tools available to the Department of State to address these threats as part of a whole of government response.

Question. On December 13, 2001, President George W. Bush announced the United States' withdrawal from the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty, which took effect on June 13, 2002.

- Do you agree that the United States should attempt to re-enter the ABM treaty? If so, please describe why?

Answer. The ABM Treaty terminated upon the United States' withdrawal, and thus cannot be rejoined.

Question. On December 13, 2001, President George W. Bush announced the United States' withdrawal from the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty, which took effect on June 13, 2002.

- Please list what potential national security implications rejoining the ABM treaty would have on the United States?

Answer. The ABM Treaty terminated upon the United States' withdrawal, and thus cannot be rejoined. If the United States were still a party to the 1972 ABM Treaty, it would prohibit or constrain the United States from continuing to develop and deploy strategic and theater ballistic missile defense (BMD) systems in terms of, for example, capability, geographic location, numbers, and basing modes.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO STEVEN C. BONDY BY SENATOR JAMES E. RISCH

Trafficking in Persons

Question. In the 2021 Trafficking in Persons Report, Bahrain was identified as Tier 1 but still has room for improvement, especially on adequately identifying trafficking victims as compared to labor law violations.

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

Answer. Human trafficking is an issue of serious concern to the U.S. Government. While Bahrain has made strides to reform its labor sponsorship system in recent years, even as many of those reforms were politically sensitive within the country, I agree there is more that needs to be done. Bahrain is a regional leader on labor issues, and Bahrain's engagement with its neighbors on the subject has led to important reforms elsewhere. The annual State Department TIP report documents areas of concern and recommendations for further improvement. If confirmed, I intend to work with Bahraini officials to further improve efforts to address forced labor vulnerabilities inherent in the sponsorship system and safeguard workers against abuses.

Question. What is your assessment of this particular issue and if confirmed, how will you work with the Ambassador At Large to bolster religious freedom in-country?

Answer. Bahrain has been a regional leader in religious freedom for minority religious groups represented by Bahraini citizens as well as expatriates resident in the country. In that regard, following the signing of the 2020 Abraham Accords, Jewish life is reviving in Bahrain with a historical synagogue now being operational. Bahrain is the only Gulf Arab country that recognizes Ashura, the most significant time of the Shia religious calendar, as an official holiday. However, the International Religious Freedom Report documents continued discrimination against and marginalization of its Shia citizen population. If confirmed, I will urge Bahrain to continue to expand respect for freedom of religion or belief and to promote an inclusive society that upholds religious freedom for the members of all religions and religious sects. If confirmed, I look forward to working with the State Department's Ambassador at Large for Religious Freedom on this issue.

Question. If confirmed, what steps will you take to address these instances with the host government?

Answer. Human rights are at the forefront of the administration's foreign policy, as they have been for me throughout my career. If confirmed, I intend to lead several established channels for human rights dialogue with Bahrain, including through our annual Strategic Dialogue and other high-level engagements, as well as to engage on specific cases as needed. Our partnership with Bahrain is strongest when based on shared values and frank and honest engagement. I appreciate Congress's focus and engagement on this important topic, and if confirmed, I look forward to working with members to continue to advance human rights in Bahrain.

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

Answer. If confirmed, I will ensure the U.S. Embassy in Manama continues to engage a wide range of civil society, including activists both inside and outside of Bahrain and those associated with Bahraini citizens imprisoned for exercising their rights. If confirmed, I look forward to continuing this important work and will look for opportunities to build upon it.

Question. If confirmed, what steps do you plan on taking to further implementation of the Abraham Accords?

Answer. The Abraham Accords agreement between Israel and Bahrain represents a change in the strategic orientation of the Kingdom, and it has already made an important contribution to regional security and economic development. While the two countries have already opened embassies in each other's countries, launched direct air connections, and signed a number of MOUs, if confirmed, I would work to strengthen relations between these two important friends and allies across a wide spectrum of areas, from military to economic to trade to education. Building people-to-people ties is a particular area of interest that would yield long-term dividends. I would want to consult with the Bahraini Government and the Israeli Embassy in Bahrain to see where they felt the greatest opportunities lie.

Question. How would you propose strengthening the Bahraini public's support for normalization between Bahrain and Israel?

Answer. It is essential for both U.S. and regional security interests that Israel is further integrated into the region. To further demonstrate for the Bahraini public the benefits of normalization, relations and linkages must grow organically, particularly between the peoples of the two countries. Direct Gulf Air flights servicing travelers between Bahrain and Israel represent a big step in this regard and facilitate ties in a number of areas such as commerce, technology, medicine, education, and tourism. If confirmed, I would support building economic and trade partnerships between the two countries, or in a trilateral forum involving the United States, so that the Bahraini public can see and feel the benefits of normalization.

Question. In light of the Abraham Accords and Israel's entry into CENTCOM, if confirmed, will you commit to advocating for Israel's full integration into the multilateral activities that CENTCOM and the Fifth Fleet lead out of Bahrain, including maritime security efforts in the Gulf and Red Sea, and regional efforts on missile defense and counter-drone efforts?

Answer. Integrating Israel into Gulf security planning and operations represents one of the most significant potential benefits of the Abraham Accords. If confirmed, I will engage Bahraini and United States military leaders to promote integrating Israel into regional operations, including maritime and other security efforts commanded from Bahrain.

Question. In your view, what benefits would this have for regional stability?

Answer. Bahrain's leaders have been clear that their relationship with Israel and decision to normalize is in the country's strategic interest. Indeed, the two countries have many common security interests. Further cooperation and interoperability between the two countries can only strengthen their ties and security and improve regional and United States security.

Question. If confirmed, will you commit to work with CENTCOM and the Fifth Fleet to get an Israeli naval liaison officer assigned to NAVCENT in Manama? Please provide your assessment of the obstacles and challenges to doing so.

Answer. If confirmed, I will commit to work with CENTCOM and the Fifth Fleet to get an Israeli naval liaison assigned to NAVCENT in Manama. Enhanced Israeli participation in Gulf security planning and operations will improve regional and United States national security.

Question. What role should Bahrain play in efforts to counter Iranian regional aggression?

Answer. Bahrain is a steadfast U.S. ally and, as such, has consistently supported U.S. efforts to counter Iran's regional aggression. The threat posed by Iran and its proxies is very real to Bahrain and U.S. interests in Bahrain. If confirmed, I plan to work closely with our Bahraini partners to help bolster their security while supporting a comprehensive approach towards addressing Iran's destabilizing behavior.

Question. If confirmed, what steps do you plan on taking to build upon, and expand, the International Maritime Security Construct (IMSC) established in 2019 in response to growing Iranian threats to freedom of navigation in the Gulf?

Answer. Bahrain's hosting of the IMSC to ensure safe transit in the Gulf is an important example of its commitment to maritime security and freedom of navigation at a time when Iran continues to threaten commercial shipping in the Gulf. If confirmed, I will work with CENTCOM, NAVCENT, and the Bahrain Defense Force to ensure that their response to Iran in the region remains robust and forceful and facilitates the smooth flow of transport through open sea lanes.

Question. If confirmed, will you commit to support Bahrain's partnership with the Fifth Fleet's Task Force 59?

Answer. Yes, if confirmed, I will work with CENTCOM, NAVCENT, and Bahrain Defense Force leaders on Bahrain joining the Fifth Fleet's Task Force 59.

Question. How can the US leverage this partnership with Bahrain to encourage other Gulf states to join Task Force 59?

Answer. Task Force 59 is an innovative and unique initiative in the Gulf. If confirmed, I would work with CENTCOM and United States diplomatic missions in the region to encourage other Gulf states to join. Success in its mission would be the best advertisement for others to join.

Question. What is your assessment of Iranian efforts to destabilize Bahrain politically and militarily?

Answer. Iran directs, trains, supplies, and funds militia groups across the region to advance its interests, undermine regional stability, and threaten U.S. partners, including Bahrain. Iran has a long history of cultivating, advising, and training armed Shia militant groups in Bahrain. The threat from Iranian-backed militants and other destabilizing actors is real; Bahraini and U.S. authorities have worked closely together to counter it for years and continue to do so on an ongoing basis. If confirmed, I intend to coordinate closely with the Bahraini Government to ensure our joint interests are adequately protected from threats of all kinds. We will continue to use a comprehensive approach using a variety of tools to counter the full range of Iran's destabilizing behavior. Working with Bahrain to promote internal security protects American citizens, investments, and interests in the Kingdom.

Question. How can the United States, Bahrain, and potentially other regional partners strengthen cooperation to counter these efforts by Tehran?

Answer. The United States and Bahrain can continue to strengthen cooperation to counter Iran's destabilizing behavior through exercises and increased interoperability. Task Force 59 is a great example of a new initiative to counter evolving threats. Targeted United States training of vetted Bahraini internal security units and enhancing counter-terrorism financing/anti-money laundering activities all contribute to safety and security inside Bahrain. If confirmed, I would work to continue these efforts.

Question. If confirmed, how do you plan to work to ensure Bahrain's concerns are addressed in a future agreement with Iran?

Answer. The administration continues to consult closely with Bahrain and all of its regional partners on U.S. engagement with Iran. Commitment to Bahrain, a Major Non-NATO Ally, is strong and will remain so. If confirmed, I would work with the Government of Bahrain to keep them apprised of developments in U.S. engagement with Iran to further strengthen our partnership.

Question. Where should Iran's malign proxy activity fall in terms of the priorities in the context of negotiations with Tehran?

Answer. The President and the Secretary have been clear that the administration has fundamental problems with Iran's actions across a series of issues, including its support for terrorism, its ballistic missile program, its destabilizing actions throughout the region, and its abhorrent practice of using wrongfully detained U.S. citizens and foreign nationals as political tools. An Iran with a nuclear weapon would be likely to act even more provocatively when it comes to these issues, so the Biden-Harris administration has been clear that Iran will not be allowed to obtain a nuclear weapon. If confirmed, I will ensure continued support to a comprehensive approach using a variety of tools to counter the full range of Iran's destabilizing behavior, which includes its proxy activity in Bahrain.

Question. If nuclear talks between the U.S. and Iran fail to yield results, what steps should the U.S. be prepared to take to address Iran's malign proxy activity which pose a serious threat to partners like Bahrain?

Answer. The U.S. Government will continue to rely on a comprehensive approach using a variety of tools to counter the full range of Iran's destabilizing behavior and stand steadfast with our partners in the region in support of their security. If con-

firmed, I will work closely with Bahraini partners on ways and means to counter malign Iranian activity in the Kingdom.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO STEVEN C. BONDY BY SENATOR BENJAMIN L. CARDIN

Question. How, if at all, do you expect U.S.-Bahrain relations to change in light of Bahrain's 2020 normalization agreement with Israel?

Answer. Bahrain signing the 2020 Abraham Accords agreement with Israel represents a historic opportunity to deepen our relationship with Bahrain, which was already strong, and to assist our two regional friends and allies to broaden and strengthen their bilateral relationship. Bahrain's leaders have been clear that their relationship with Israel and decision to normalize is in their country's strategic interest. If confirmed, I intend to work to deepen not only the U.S.-Bahrain bilateral relationship and the Bahrain-Israel bilateral relationship, but also explore opportunities to promote the Bahrain-Israel-U.S. trilateral relationship.

Question. What can the U.S. Embassy in Bahrain do to elevate and enhance Bahrain's relationship with Israel?

Answer. If confirmed, I look forward to devoting my time and energy to operationalizing the Bahrain-Israel Abraham Accords agreement. While a number of MOUs have already been signed, I would work to broaden and strengthen relations between these two important friends and allies across the broad spectrum of topics, from military to economic to trade to education, and particularly on people-to-people ties, which provide benefits for the long term. I would also want to consult with the Bahraini Government and the Israeli Embassy in Bahrain to see where they felt the greatest opportunities lie.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO STEVEN C. BONDY BY SENATOR CHRISTOPHER MURPHY

Question. Can you please clarify your answer as to the status of human rights in Bahrain and how you will promote human rights if confirmed as Ambassador?

Answer. The United States is encouraged by steps the Bahraini Government has taken in recent years to improve its human rights record in the past decade. If confirmed, I will work to promote continued positive momentum. The Biden-Harris administration has been clear that there are continued concerns about the human rights situation in Bahrain, as detailed in the State Department's annual Human Rights Report and discussed often with Bahraini interlocutors. If confirmed, human rights will be a priority for me, and I intend to lead engagement in several established channels for human rights dialogue with Bahrain, including our annual Strategic Dialogue and other high-level engagements. I will engage on specific cases as these arise, including regarding those individuals imprisoned for exercising their rights. I appreciate Congress's focus and engagement on this important topic, and if confirmed, I look forward to working with members to continue to advance human rights in Bahrain.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO LISA A. CARTY BY SENATOR ROBERT MENENDEZ

Question. How can the United States work within ECOSOC to effectively push for consistent and high level U.N. engagement to address the undermining of humanitarian assistance and access? Does ECOSOC have a strong role to play here? How has ECOSOC's Humanitarian Affairs Segment (HAS) improved the U.N. response to the humanitarian crises and how can it be improved?

Answer. The U.N. Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) provides a multilateral platform for Member States to discuss ways to meet growing humanitarian needs and improve the humanitarian system to reach the most vulnerable communities. In 2021, the United States' ECOSOC engagement prioritized the coordination and provision of humanitarian assistance to vulnerable populations impacted by conflict, COVID-19, and natural disasters, as well as the importance of humanitarian access

and the protection and safety of United Nations and humanitarian personnel. If confirmed, I will ensure the United States continues working within ECOSOC to act ambitiously in addressing the compounded risks of conflict, climate and the COVID-19 pandemic while protecting and advancing principled humanitarian assistance.

The HAS provides an important platform for the international community to strategically engage on the most pressing humanitarian issues. If confirmed, I will seek to further improve the HAS by ensuring that its discussions are focused on the most urgent priorities aligned to U.S. humanitarian concerns, as well as issues related to advancing inclusion, including with respect to sex and gender, innovation and partnership, greater respect for international law, and accountability for those actors who obstruct humanitarian assistance.

ECOSOC Reform

Question. There are some who say ECOSOC lacks any real authority and that its work overlaps with the activities of the U.N. General Assembly. It has been suggested that the Council could play a greater role in global economic and development policy. The U.N. has passed several reforms over the years, including as recently as this year, to strengthen ECOSOC's policy guidance role and to improve collaboration between ECOSOC, its subsidiary councils, and other U.N. entities

- What is your assessment of the most recent ECOSOC reforms? Do you believe that ECOSOC should have a greater policy-setting role?

Answer. The reform of ECOSOC is an ongoing process. Sustained efforts by the United States have successfully influenced ECOSOC to implement reforms to improve its efficiency and effectiveness. For example, ECOSOC's ongoing revitalization work has reduced the number of days of ECOSOC activities by eliminating and/or shortening duplicative and lengthy segments and meetings, restructured the ECOSOC calendar into more streamlined groups, and required subsidiary bodies to assess whether they need annual negotiated outcomes. There has also been progress aligning the agendas of the General Assembly, ECOSOC, and ECOSOC's subsidiary bodies to eliminate duplicative segments. If confirmed, I will continue to urge ECOSOC to eliminate duplicative sessions, segments, and activities to allow ECOSOC and its subsidiary bodies to focus on core tasks.

Question. How, if at all, will these ECOSOC reforms contribute to U.N. efforts to more effectively respond to the COVID-19 pandemic and related humanitarian crises?

Answer. ECOSOC plays a pivotal role in addressing the COVID-19 pandemic, economic recovery, and humanitarian crises. If confirmed, I will work with ECOSOC and likeminded partners to press to make ECOSOC more relevant, effective, and accountable to its Member States. ECOSOC reforms will allow the organization to better rationalize and prioritize its work to successfully address the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic and make progress towards achieving the 2030 agenda.

Question. China's Role in ECOSOC, Targeting NGOs: I am concerned about China's increasing influence and role in U.N. bodies. ECOSOC consults with more than 5,100 registered non-governmental organizations to inform its work. I am deeply concerned that within ECOSOC, China has used its seat on the Council's committee on NGOs to block applications from NGOs working on human rights issues.

- How do you assess China's efforts to use its increased influence at ECOSOC and elsewhere in the U.N. system to undermine civil society and silence the voices of those who champion human rights? Are we doing enough to push back against this?

Answer. There is no doubt that China is seeking to advance its interests across the U.N. system. Countering malign Chinese action requires vigilant and energetic U.S. engagement. Chinese influence in ECOSOC has been a particular issue. Preserving space for credible NGO voices, on human rights or other key issues, must be a top priority. The United States has serious concerns about any ECOSOC NGO committee member insisting NGOs align with particular political positions as a condition for the committee to grant U.N. consultative status. The United States has had success, including at ECOSOC, coordinating with allies and partners to push back against PRC attempts to undermine core U.N. principles. If confirmed, I will work with allies and partners to continue to object to the PRC's practice of demanding NGOs use so-called "correct U.N. terminology" in their applications, websites, and documents when referring to Taiwan, Hong Kong, Macau, or Tibet, which has the effect of censoring organizations' online presence, unduly restricting freedom of expression of their members, and stifling dissenting voices. If confirmed, I will work diligently to counter unhelpful Chinese actions, in particular with NGO committee members, and to ensure representation of credible civil society groups.

Question. The rapid collapse of the Ghani Government and Taliban takeover exacerbated a large-scale humanitarian and forced migration crisis. Fragile financial conditions and the Taliban's sidelining of women and girls are among the broader challenges facing the country. I am concerned about the hundreds of U.N. Afghan staff, many women and ethnic minorities, whose lives are at great risk right now. The U.N. has reported dozens of incidences of looting of U.N. offices, threats and beatings of U.N. staff throughout the country. What more can be done to assist U.N. Afghan staff who are in great peril right now?

Answer. The United States, along with our partners, continues to engage diplomatically to press the Taliban to allow safe, unfettered access for all humanitarian actors, including female aid workers. We also strongly support the efforts of the U.N. security system, including the U.N. Department of Safety and Security, to advise U.N. personnel and NGO aid providers in the field on security risks and security measures. If confirmed, I will continue to press for the safety of all humanitarian workers and U.N. personnel and their unfettered access to deliver needed services to the Afghan people.

Question. What role should the Humanitarian Affairs Segment of ECOSOC play in bringing together actors from the U.N., private sector, and populations in need to meet the dire humanitarian needs within Afghanistan, particularly in light of the complex-and evolving-sanctions regime in place against the Taliban?

Answer. The ECOSOC Humanitarian Affairs Segment (HAS) has furthered efforts by the United States and our partners to ensure that humanitarian aid in Afghanistan adheres to humanitarian principles, reaches those most in need, is robustly funded, and leverages partnerships, including with the private sector, to maximize innovation and effectiveness in humanitarian response. If confirmed, I will seek to ensure the United States and our partners continue to support the HAS's important and growing role in bringing together stakeholders to address humanitarian needs and ensure unfettered access by and safety of U.N. and humanitarian partners.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO LISA A. CARTY BY SENATOR JAMES E. RISCH

Question. Are you familiar with S. 2297, the International Pandemic Preparedness and COVID-19 response Act?

Answer. I have read the legislation you reference and agree that sustained attention to the question of World Health Organization (WHO) reform is an urgent priority. If confirmed, I will support the Biden-Harris administration's active engagement in the WHO's Member State Working Group on Strengthening WHO Preparedness for and Response to Health Emergencies (WGPR). Through this mechanism, the United States is advancing its interests and demonstrating its commitment to strengthening and reforming the WHO to ensure it can deliver on its vital global mission to advance health, health security, and the prevention of and response to future biological catastrophes.

Question. If confirmed, will you commit to advancing the core principles of this Act through ECOSOC, including by elevating the importance of SDG #3 targets 3C and 3D?

Answer. I understand that the United States is already working to advance multi-pronged efforts that are consistent with the core principles of the draft International Pandemic Preparedness and COVID-19 Response Act.

The Biden-Harris administration is fully committed to supporting equity in global health emergencies in ways that are consistent with the Act and Targets 3C and 3D of the Sustainable Development Goals. This means ensuring that developing countries have access to vaccines, oxygen, and therapeutics, and investing in capacity building to equip developing and developed countries with tools for early warning and risk reduction as pandemic and other health threats emerge. If confirmed, I will work with allies and partners to advance these priorities, which were also reflected in the President's Global COVID-19 Summit on September 22.

Sustainable Development Goal #5

Question. Through its various bodies, specialized agencies, programs, funds, resolutions, and summits, the United Nations seeks to advance the status of women internationally, including through Sustainable Development Goal #5, relating to gender equality. Often times, this has included advocacy for "the reproductive health rights of women."

- In your view, does the term “reproductive health” include access to abortion?

Answer. My understanding is that the United States has a long history of joining consensus on the use of the term “reproductive health” in global multilateral forums as part of its commitment to gender equality and the empowerment and protection of women and girls. Since the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) defined the term in its Programme of Action as adopted by 187 governments, references to reproductive health have been included in scores of U.N. resolutions and included in the Sustainable Development Goals. The ICPD defined reproductive health as “a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity, in all matters relating to the reproductive system and to its functions and processes.” The ICPD Declaration definition does not include a direct reference to abortion. If confirmed, I will continue to support efforts to promote women’s physical, mental and social well-being and their comprehensive inclusion in all appropriate U.N. agencies, programs, funds, and resolutions.

Question. Is a woman’s access to abortion a “right” protected under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, an indicator of gender equality under SDG #5, or a target under SDG #3.7 (ensure universal access to sexual and reproductive health-care services)?

Answer. My understanding is that the term ‘abortion’ is not in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The SDG 5.6 indicators are: “proportion of women aged 15-19 years who make their own informed decisions regarding sexual relations, contraceptive use and reproductive health care” and “number of countries with laws and regulations that guarantee full and equal access to women and men aged 15 years and older to sexual and reproductive health care, information, and education.” Target 3.7 is “By 2030, ensure universal access to sexual and reproductive health care services, including for family planning, information and education, and the integration of reproductive health into national strategies and programmes.” If confirmed, I will continue to support efforts to promote women’s physical, mental and social well-being.

Question. If confirmed, will you commit to fully complying with current laws prohibiting the use of U.S. foreign assistance to perform or promote abortion as a method of family planning, to support involuntary sterilizations, or to lobby for or against the legalization of abortion overseas?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to upholding the law, including all laws related to our foreign assistance.

Question. If confirmed, will you also commit to ensuring full compliance with the U.N.’s “zero tolerance” policy with regard to sexual exploitation and abuse, whether such acts are committed by U.N. personnel themselves or partners implementing U.N. humanitarian and development assistance programs?

Answer. The United States will absolutely not tolerate sexual misconduct, including sexual exploitation and abuse (SEA), in any of its forms and at any level across the multilateral system. Such acts are a scourge that undermines the very foundation of foreign assistance. The United States has been a leader, including through pushing through a landmark U.N. Security Council resolution in 2016 and urging the U.N. system at the highest levels and throughout the organization to adopt detailed and robust policies to prevent and respond to sexual exploitation and abuse (SEA), including to ensure that the U.N. takes a survivor-centered response to any such allegation, strengthens and improves its reporting and response mechanisms, and holds all perpetrators accountable. If confirmed, I will support the administration’s push to fully enforce Secretary-General Guterres’s “zero tolerance” policy, including through the Office of the Special Coordinator on Improving the United Nations Response to Sexual Exploitation and Abuse and the Office of the Victims’ Rights Advocate for the United Nations.

Sustainable Development Goal #16

Question. While the Sustainable Development Goals failed to prioritize democracy and good governance as the foundation upon which all stable, healthy, and prosperous societies are built, SDG #16 may serve as a building block for future negotiations. Targets relating to the rule of law, government transparency and accountability, and combatting corruption are particularly relevant in the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic.

- If confirmed, how will you advance the principles of democracy and good governance as foundational to advancement to each of the SDGs?

Answer. The United States has consistently stressed that the fundamental values articulated in SDG 16 must form the basis for the achievement of the 2030 Agenda as a whole, and it has noted the importance of the cross-cutting and foundational values that drive progress on sustainable development, including transparency, good governance and the rule of law, and promoting equality and human rights. It is critically important for the United States to push for the recognition of the Agenda's underlying values across the U.N. system. If confirmed, I will work to ensure that these values feature prominently in U.N. resolutions and other negotiated documents and work closely with U.N. organizations to ensure that their policies and practices reflect those values.

Energy Security and Climate Action

Question. Expanding access to reliable and affordable energy will be key to the advancement of nearly all of the SDGs, particularly for SDG #1 (to end poverty in all its forms everywhere). Yet, many of the proposals coming out of the Biden administration appear to be prioritizing green energy options that are impractical and out of reach for the poorest of the poor and may exacerbate, rather than eliminate, energy poverty.

Moreover, there are serious concerns about the potential for China to manipulate commitments under the SDGs and the upcoming U.N. Climate Change Conference (COP26), such that the Chinese Government and its state-owned enterprises profit through the sale of “green” technologies to low carbon emitters in the developing world in order to meet U.N.-imposed policies and requirements while failing to take meaningful action to reduce its own consumption.

- If confirmed, how will you balance SDGs #7 (clean energy) and #13 (climate action) against each of the other SDGs?

Answer. It should be possible to advance progress on energy security and climate action without compromising progress across other SDGs. Renewables—specifically wind and solar—are the cheapest form of new electricity in most of the world today. The cost for many key clean energy technologies has continued to decline, additionally, they can be deployed cost-effectively at varying scales, making them increasingly essential to expanding energy access. Importantly, developing countries and major emitters, such as India, recognize these complementarities and have incorporated massive renewables deployment in their economic development agendas. It will be important as climate negotiations continue to ensure that China is not seeking unfair advantage or exploiting international agreements for its own gain. If confirmed, I would work to guard against unfair Chinese actions and develop complementarities across the energy, climate and other SDGs.

Question. How will you ensure that low carbon emitters in the developing world are not penalized by energy development and consumption policies and requirements imposed by the U.N.?

Answer. The Paris Agreement does not impose any “energy development and consumption policies or requirements” on emerging economies, and instead allows all parties to set nationally determined climate goals that reflect their unique national circumstances. The United States understands that every country, from high carbon emitters to low carbon emitters, faces a unique set of climate and energy-related challenges. As such, each country will follow a different path to successfully transition to a clean energy future. If confirmed, I would work to aim to encourage and support those transitions through both bilateral and multilateral engagements.

Question. The People's Republic of China (PRC) Government is actively trying to reshape international institutions to advance its malign development model, including the United Nations.

- If confirmed, how will you work with our democratic allies and partners to build resiliency to attempts by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) to undermine the integrity of multilateral institutions and longstanding, widely held democratic values, including with regard to the important work of ECOSOC to advance the Sustainable Development Goals?

Answer. There is no doubt that China is seeking to advance its interests across the U.N. system. Countering malign Chinese action requires vigilant and energetic U.S. engagement. If confirmed, I would make this a top priority. The United States has had success coordinating with allies to push back against PRC attempts to undermine core U.N. principles, including at ECOSOC. The committee's report, *The United States and Europe: A Concrete Agenda for Transatlantic Cooperation on China*, provides an important roadmap to help pursue this goal. The United States shares many priorities with countries around the world, including developing countries, yet too often in multilateral fora, and particularly at ECOSOC, votes do not

align. If confirmed, I will work with colleagues across the Department to strengthen current alliances and partnerships as well as improve outreach to a broader group of countries based on shared priorities, both in New York and through bilateral channels.

Question. Will you commit to monitoring such attempts and taking appropriate actions?

Answer. The United States is best able to address these attempts when we are engaged and leading at the U.N., the General Assembly, and its subsidiary bodies including ECOSOC. If confirmed, I will use our re-engagement with the U.N. system to reassert U.S. leadership and work with our partners and allies to push back against the PRC's attempts to reshape the U.N. and international rules, standards, and values. If confirmed, I will seek to improve the U.N.'s effectiveness, transparency, and impartiality, support qualified and independent candidates for key positions, and ensure that we advance our priorities on issues ranging from human rights to emerging technologies to the implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals.

Question. China has focused intensely on securing leadership roles in various U.N. agencies, particularly those overseeing technical standards that will shape the future. In many cases, these leaders have overtly advanced CCP goals, instead of acting independently to advance the global good. It is clear the United States has had mixed success with elections for heads of International Organizations in the past, and is taking more robust and coordinated steps to advocate for qualified and independent candidates in U.N. bodies.

- If confirmed, will you prioritize robust strategies to secure the election of qualified and independent candidates to lead ECOSOC?

Answer. If confirmed, one of my highest priorities will be the appointment and election of qualified, independent candidates to leadership positions in the U.N. system. I would hope to draw on my extensive experience in the U.N. system to help advance this goal. Such personnel are critical to ensuring the U.N. operates effectively and in line with its foundational principles and values, and they 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 our multilateral missions, including in New York and Geneva, to ensure the United States identifies and advocates on behalf of interested candidates for key positions across U.N. organizations and agencies.

Question. My report last year on U.S.-Europe cooperation on China notes that China abuses its seat on the U.N.'s NGO committee to block legitimate NGOs who would be critical of China's horrible human rights record, particularly against the Uyghurs and Tibetans.

- If confirmed, how would you ensure that China does not block legitimate NGOs from joining the committee?

Answer. PRC efforts to block legitimate NGOs from participating in the U.N. prevent the valuable contributions of civil society and other important non-state stakeholders. The United States has serious concerns about any ECOSOC NGO committee member insisting NGOs align with particular political positions as a condition for the committee to grant U.N. consultative status. The United States has had success, including at ECOSOC, coordinating with allies to push back against PRC attempts to undermine core U.N. principles. We will work with our allies and partners to continue to object to the PRC's practice of demanding NGOs use so-called "correct U.N. terminology" in their applications, websites, and documents when referring to Taiwan, Hong Kong, Macau, or Tibet, which has the effect of censoring organizations' online presence, unduly restricting freedom of expression of their members, and stifling dissenting voices. If confirmed, I will work with NGO committee members and allies to continue to push back against these efforts and ensure the committee's work is open, transparent, and accessible to civil society around the globe.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO LISA A. CARTY BY SENATOR BENJAMIN L. CARDIN

SDG

Question. As Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on State Department and USAID Management, International Operations, and Bilateral Development, my subcommittee has responsibility for reviewing the budget and operations of the State Department and USAID. SDG 16, in my view is the key to achieving all the other sustainable development goals, as it seeks to develop “peaceful and inclusive societies . . . provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels.”

- Should you be confirmed, how do you plan on ensuring that SDG16 will remain central to the UN’s approach to implementing the SDGs and keep adversaries from advancing an alternative view on democracy and human rights?

Answer. The United States has consistently stressed that the fundamental values articulated in SDG 16 must form the basis for the achievement of the 2030 Agenda as a whole, and it has noted the importance of the cross-cutting and foundational values that drive progress on sustainable development, including transparency, good governance and the rule of law, and promoting equality and human rights. It is critically important for the United States to push for the recognition of the Agenda’s underlying values across the U.N. system. If confirmed, I will work to ensure that these values feature prominently in U.N. resolutions and other negotiated documents and work closely with U.N. organizations to ensure that their policies and practices reflect those values.

Question. Unfortunately, the President’s budget omitted specific support for the U.N. Joint SDG Fund. In your capacity, will you recommend that the U.S. become a lead donor that will attract additional investment from like-minded countries, multiplying the Fund’s impact? How do you plan on engaging partners to encourage them to prioritize the Joint SDG Fund?

Answer. A key aspect of the 2030 Agenda was the recognition that countries are primarily responsible for their own achievement of the SDGs, using funding from all sources, including domestic resource mobilization, domestic and international public finance, private sector investment, and civil society. Initiatives like the Joint SDG Fund, which seeks to leverage contributions to catalyze larger financial flows, are an important U.N. contribution to that funding. If confirmed, I will carefully consider how U.S. assistance can best support U.S. policy goals and whether the U.S. should contribute to the Joint SDG Fund.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO LISA A. CARTY BY SENATOR TODD YOUNG

Question. The biggest issue that I, and many others have with the U.N. is that it allows any nation to participate as an equal member no matter what the nation’s current practices are.

ECOSOC is responsible for many committees’ councils and commissions including the Commission on the Status of Women. If ECOSOC is to be taken as a serious organization that promotes human dignity, then it can’t allow nations to make a mockery of basic principles at home while purporting to investigate similar abuses elsewhere.

- If confirmed, would you oppose the Taliban from occupying the Afghanistan seat on the Commission on the Status of Women?

Answer. Per longstanding practice, the United States will only support countries with a commitment to the full equality of women in law and practice for election to the Commission on the Status of Women. If confirmed, I will continue this practice.

Question. If confirmed, can you commit to opposing the Taliban from serving on any council or committee that is under ECOSOC?

Answer. As a general practice, U.N. subsidiary bodies such as those under ECOSOC defer questions on credentialing to the U.N. General Assembly and its Credentials committee. I understand the administration is working closely with like-minded governments and others in the international community to hold the Taliban to account for the statements and commitments it has made to responsible governance, including respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. The Taliban’s actions will matter more than its words. If confirmed, I will closely coordinate with

colleagues across the U.S. Government and U.N. system to support the administration's objectives to hold the Taliban to account.

Question. Across a variety of international organizations, China is attempting to place its candidates as leaders or manipulate international standards and avoid shining the spotlight on its country's authoritarian practices. Within ECOSOC, China has reportedly used its seat on the Council's committee on NGOs to block applications from NGOs working on human rights issues. What is your assessment of China's efforts to increase its influence in U.N. bodies, particularly ECOSOC?

Answer. There is no doubt that China is seeking to advance its interests across the U.N. system. Countering malign Chinese action requires vigilant and energetic U.S. engagement. Chinese influence in ECOSOC has been a particular issue. The United States has serious concerns about any ECOSOC NGO committee member insisting NGOs align with particular political positions as a condition for the committee to grant U.N. consultative status. The United States has had success, including at ECOSOC, coordinating with allies and partners to push back against PRC attempts to undermine core U.N. principles. The United States works with our allies to object to the PRC's practice of demanding NGOs use so-called "correct U.N. terminology" in their applications, websites, and documents when referring to Taiwan, Hong Kong, Macau, or Tibet, which has the effect of censoring organizations' online presence, unduly restricting freedom of expression of their members, and stifling dissenting voices. If confirmed, I will work diligently to counter unhelpful Chinese actions, in particular with NGO committee members and allies, to continue to push back against these efforts and ensure the committee's work is open, transparent, and accessible to civil society around the globe.

Question. If confirmed, what steps would you take to highlight China's manipulative practices and counter its efforts to control ECOSOC and related committees?

Answer. The United States is best able to address these attempts when we are engaged and leading at the U.N., including the General Assembly and its subsidiary bodies including ECOSOC. If confirmed, I will work with our partners and allies and strengthen partnerships to push back against the PRC's attempts to reshape the U.N. system and undermine the international rules-based order upon which it is based. If confirmed, I will also take targeted actions to oppose harmful PRC efforts that include its attempts to exploit the U.N. system and other international organizations to promote its "One Belt, One Road" Initiative as a way to achieve the Sustainable Development Goals or its efforts to introduce PRC ideology into negotiated U.N. products.

**Communications Received Supporting the Nomination of
Steven C. Bondy to be U.S. Ambassador to the Kingdom of
Bahrain**

LETTER SUBMITTED BY AMB. HUGO LLORENS (RET.)
IN SUPPORT OF STEVEN C. BONDY

The Office of Ambassador Hugo Llorens (ret.)

October 4, 2021

Dear Senator Menendez:

Steve Bondy is excited about his Senate Confirmation hearing this coming Thursday, October 7. As a long-time mentor, but also a friend, I have heard some say Steve may not be as sensitive about inter-agency cohesion. I wanted to convey that nothing could be further from the truth.

Steve worked for me as a member of my leadership team at the time I led the U.S. Embassy in Kabul in the period 2016-17. Steve was my Assistant Chief of Mission. In that position he served as the Chief Operating Office of the largest Embassy in history with a staff 8,500 representing 22 U.S. government agencies. Steve and I worked together on a daily basis, seven days a week and 12 or more hours per day. We managed some of the most challenging diplomatic and security issues on America's national security portfolio.

As the Assistant Chief of Mission, Steve's responsibilities were immense and the range of issues he managed were expansive, from oversight of security of thousands of Embassy staff in a war zone, to strengthening the physical plant of our perimeter and building, to combatting opium and heroin drug trafficking. Steve directly led the largest U.S. law enforcement team deployed overseas, including huge FBI and DEA contingents. In all of these roles Steve was a superb leader and manager. In all my dealings with him, I found him to be extraordinarily inclusive, collaborative, and supportive, engaging the range of section and agency heads under him to ensure they were closely synchronized and carrying out their operations in support of US national interests.

In my 36-year State Department career, with 20 years of senior leadership experience as a two-time Ambassador, two-

time DCM, and two-time Principal Officer, I have never worked with an officer who was as closely aligned with our military counterparts as Steve. He had a close, cooperative relationship with the commander of the Resolute Support Mission, General Mick Nicholson, and all of his senior staff officers. Through his experience working at JSOC for three years, Steve was intimately familiar with Special Operations and collaborated with the senior special operations officer in country, then-Major General Scott Howell, who Steve knew well from JSOC days. Steve also maintained extremely close and collaborative ties with the general officer responsible for intelligence and his team. Throughout, all of our military officer counterparts had the utmost respect for Steve. They respected his total dedication, his competence, and his talents as a team player.

Steve is an honorable and patriotic American. He is more than ready to be an outstanding US Ambassador to Bahrain. I have full confidence that he will develop a unified, cohesive Country Team and collaborate closely with the three-star commander of US Navy Central Command. We can rest assured that with Steve as a leader, our national security and foreign policy are in the very best hands.

Sincerely,



Ambassador Hugo Llorens (ret.)

LETTER SUBMITTED BY GEN. JOSEPH L. VOTEL, USA (RET.), PRESIDENT AND CEO, BUSINESS EXECUTIVES FOR NATIONAL SECURITY, IN SUPPORT OF STEVEN C. BONDY

**Business Executives
for National Security**

General Joseph L. Votel, USA (Ret.)
President and CEO

Applying best business practices to address the nation's most pressing security challenges

October 4, 2021

Senator Robert Menendez
Chairman, Senate Foreign Relations Committee
Hart Senate Office Building
SH-528
Washington, DC 20510

Mr. Chairman,

I am retired General Joe Votel, former JSOC, SOCOM and CENTCOM Commander, and I am writing to offer my very strongest endorsement for confirmation of Mr. Steve Bondy as our Ambassador to Bahrain.

I have known Steve since 2013 when I selected him from a group of senior Diplomatic Corps officers to be my Policy Advisor at the Joint Special Operations Command (JSOC). As such, he was my principal advisor on interagency communication, coordination and collaboration. In a word – he was excellent and I implicitly trusted his counsel on a variety of sensitive and high risk activities that we conducted pursuant to our assigned missions. When I departed JSOC in 2014 and moved to US Special Operations Command (SOCOM), and then subsequently to US Central Command (CENTCOM), I continued to interact regularly with Steve, who was then serving in key positions in Embassies across the Middle East. Again, he was a trusted voice whose input I personally sought and valued. As a Charge d'Affaires, his Country Teams were excellent and always well-coordinated. Steve always demonstrated, in abundance, the skills and attributes required for senior government leadership overseas and especially within the interagency. He is a skilled communicator and an effective collaborator who is deeply respected across the military and within the interagency.

I am confident that the Committee will find him an extraordinarily well qualified nominee for this position and one who will represent our President and our Nation with distinction, integrity and honor.

Very respectfully,



General Joseph L. Votel, USA (Ret.)
President & CEO

NOMINATIONS

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 5, 2021 (p.m.)

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

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 2:32 p.m., in Room SH-216, Hart Senate Office Building, Hon. Jeanne Shaheen presiding.

Present: Senators Shaheen [presiding], Menendez, Cardin, Murphy, Kaine, Markey, Van Hollen, Johnson, Romney, and Young.

OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. JEANNE SHAHEEN, U.S. SENATOR FROM NEW HAMPSHIRE

Senator SHAHEEN. Good afternoon, everyone. We are looking for Senator Markey, but we are going to go ahead and begin before he gets here. He is going to do introduction of Vicki Kennedy today.

At this point, the hearing of the Foreign Relations Subcommittee on European Affairs will come to order and I would like to recognize the ranking member, Ron Johnson, who is also here.

We are here today to consider nominations for four important positions representing the United States in several partner countries in Europe: Mr. Jeffrey Hovenier to be Ambassador to the Republic of Kosovo, Mr. Michael Murphy to be Ambassador to Bosnia and Herzegovina, Ambassador Julissa Reynoso Pantaleon—I am sorry for massacring your last name—to be Ambassador to the Kingdom of Spain and the Principality of Andorra, and Mrs. Victoria Reggie Kennedy to be Ambassador to the Republic of Austria.

Let me begin by congratulating each of you on your nomination and thank you for agreeing to take on the commitments of being an Ambassador of the United States, should you be confirmed.

Let me also welcome your relatives who are here. I always think of hearings for ambassadorial candidates as kind of like a wedding. Everybody is happy when they are here.

I wanted to take a moment also today to celebrate the diversity of our nominees appointed by this administration.

I have participated in a number of nomination hearings this year, and I have been struck by the diversity of the appointments which reflects the diversity of our country. Of the 21 nominees who have been confirmed by the Senate, 52 percent are women, over half of the State Department nominees are people of color, and one in three nominees is either an immigrant or a child of immigrants. You all are in very good company.

The nominees today are not only well qualified, but you offer a unique perspective that will serve to strengthen our ability to advance U.S. policy interests overseas.

I have been heartened to hear the stories of nominees who were born outside of the United States or whose parents immigrated to America in hopes of providing a bright future for their children.

Your experiences not only enrich America, they also advance America's interests overseas as a living testament to America's values in action. Thank you all for agreeing to stand as candidates for these positions.

I think we will go ahead and begin opening statements and take a break if Senator Markey is able to come here so he can do the introduction.

I also want to recognize former Senator Chris Dodd, who is hiding in the audience. Thank you very much, Senator Dodd, for being here. It is nice to see you, although I almost did not recognize you. But it is great to have you here.

I want to also point out that we are in the middle of votes, and so at some point Senator Johnson and I will take our leave to go vote and we will hand the gavel to each other during that time.

Again, thank you for agreeing to be considered for these posts.

For more than two decades, Kosovo has demonstrated the importance of the NATO Alliance. The U.S. and Kosovo's strong transatlantic and regional security cooperation is supported by the NATO-led Kosovo force, which has maintained peace and security in the country for more than 20 years.

In the coming years, Kosovo must work with Serbia to reach a final comprehensive agreement to normalize relations. This is paramount to a more stable region.

Unfortunately, corruption remains a problem in Kosovo and, as a committed ally, the U.S. should push Kosovo to address the underlying causes of corruption. Mr. Hovenier's distinguished career in the Foreign Service has prepared him for the geopolitics of the Balkans, I am sure.

He currently serves as the Deputy Chief of Mission in Ankara, Turkey, and has previously served in Berlin, Lima, Athens, and Vienna, to name a few places. I am sure that your deep diplomatic experience will serve you well in Kosovo.

I am going to do introductions for the other nominees and then we will ask you to give your opening statement.

Next, we have Michael Murphy, who is a career member of the Senior Foreign Service with a distinguished history with the department. He has been nominated to be the U.S. Ambassador to Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Like Kosovo, Bosnia has come a long way since the breakup of the Soviet Union. The Dayton Agreement continues to provide the framework for governance in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and I was glad to see earlier this year the appointment of a new High Representative to oversee civil aspects of the agreement.

If confirmed, I hope that a priority of yours will be addressing unemployment, particularly among the young people in the country. While down compared to recent years, the youth unemployment rate in Bosnia is at an abysmal 34 percent.

Bosnia and Herzegovina must continue to work with the U.S. and the international community to provide economic opportunities for its young people and prevent creeping malign foreign influence from taking advantage of the economic situation.

Julissa Reynoso Pantaleon, we welcome you back to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. You previously served as Ambassador to Uruguay and we welcome your nomination to the Kingdom of Spain and the Principality of Andorra.

Ambassador Reynoso, you have undoubtedly followed Spain's generous efforts in supporting the evacuation of vulnerable and at-risk Afghans through the use of two military bases.

Spain is a long-standing strong ally of the United States, and we hope your role will strengthen these bilateral ties. As a NATO ally, we are, of course, grateful for all of Spain's security contributions.

But we continue to urge the country to increase its defense spending to support NATO's collective efforts in addressing shared challenges. Although the war in Afghanistan has now ended, NATO must divert its attention to confront new pressing challenges, and we welcome Spain's partnership to help NATO rise to this challenge.

Ms. Reynoso, I, additionally, hope that your current role as First Lady Jill Biden's chief of staff and previous role as co-chair of the White House Gender Policy Council will help you ensure that gender equality and women's empowerment remains a concern across U.S. foreign policy.

I am now going to turn it over to Senator Markey to introduce Victoria Kennedy, and then I will ask Senator Johnson if he will give his opening statement.

Senator Markey?

**STATEMENT OF HON. EDWARD J. MARKEY,
U.S. SENATOR FROM MASSACHUSETTS**

Senator MARKEY. Thank you, Senator Shaheen.

And it is my pleasure to introduce my friend, Victoria Reggie Kennedy, as the President's nominee to be U.S. Ambassador to Austria. I would like to welcome her son, Curran, who is here with us today.

I also understand that Vicki's daughter, Caroline, and her husband, Alex, as well as Vicki's mother, Doris, are all watching on television today, and we know Vicki's late father, Judge Edwin Reggie, would be so proud of her.

Vicki is a public servant at heart, which is how she has fused her intellect with her desire to serve. She is an advocate for art education, has a track record of working on initiatives that empower women and girls to promote a more inclusive society.

While her roots are in Louisiana, where she was born, raised, and educated, Vicki has become a very valuable member of our community in Massachusetts. She is a member of the board of directors of the Greater Boston Chamber of Commerce and serves on the board of the New England Council.

Her legal and business experience make her perfectly poised to represent the United States in Austria, one of the top 10 fastest growing U.S. trade partners and foreign direct investors as of 2019.

From 2015 to 2020, direct foreign investment in the United States has grown by more than 40 percent, sustaining an estimated 34,000 jobs in our communities.

The modern U.S.-Austria relationship forged in the aftermath of World War Two is built on a commitment to our shared values of democracy, rule of law, and the protection of human rights.

These are values that Vicki Kennedy understands and promotes as the president of the board and co-founder of the Edward M. Kennedy Institute, a nonpartisan nonprofit organization headquartered in Boston that educates the public about the unique role of the United States Senate in our system of government, established in honor of her late husband and our former colleague, Ted.

The Kennedy Institute has won both domestic and international awards for its innovative and interactive design and approach to encouraging participatory democracy, invigorating civil discourse, and inspiring the next generation of citizens and leaders to engage in the civic life of their communities.

Vicki's commitment to public service, good governance, and civic engagement will serve her well as she represents the United States and Austria at a time when our cooperation with the European Union is vital as we grapple with the mutual challenges of the pandemic, rising authoritarianism and nationalism, and the climate crisis.

Vienna is also home to the International Atomic Energy Agency and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, both of which are key to President Biden's commitment to reinvigorate U.S. global leadership with a focus on diplomacy and rebuilding alliances.

Vicki's political skill will make her an important asset to the President's commitment to build back a better foreign policy after a period of tumults unique in our history.

And if I may quote my longtime delegation partner and Vicki's beloved husband, Ted, this is what he said: "Together, we have known success and seen setbacks, victory and defeat. But we have never lost our belief that we are called to a better country in a newer world."

Vicki has spent her life working for a better country. I have no doubt that Vicki will bring all of her skills to support this administration. Congratulations on your nomination. I look forward to more years of your dedicated service to our great nation, and I recommend with no conditions that this committee give her a unanimous vote of support to take on this very important position.

Thank you, Madam Chair.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you very much, Senator Markey.

I will now turn to Senator Johnson for his opening statement before asking each of our nominees to give their statements.

**STATEMENT OF HON. RON JOHNSON,
U.S. SENATOR FROM WISCONSIN**

Senator JOHNSON. Thank you, Madam Chair. In the interests of time, I will just ask that my prepared opening statement be entered in the record and, really, just wanted to welcome the nominees and their families.

Thank you for your past service. All of you, nominees and family members, I think you all realize, particularly those who have already served in similar capacities, this is a commitment. This is an act of service and sacrifice on the part of the entire family, and we truly appreciate it.

I do want to say thank you to those that took the time to meet with me. I am always struck, not only just today but in previous meetings with the ambassador nominees, how they generally express what an honor it is to represent the United States to the chosen country.

It is just true. I think we all recognize what a unique nation America is, and in discussions, whether it is with Kosovo or Bosnia and Herzegovina, these are nations that are struggling with democracy, and the advantage of representing the United States, as we discussed, is that they generally recognize America as wanting to be helpful. We are not there seeking some advantage. We are not there trying to control things. We just want what is best for the people of those countries. And so that makes it a pretty unique experience being U.S. ambassador to any nation.

And I think my only other comment—we had these in our meetings as well—is we do rely on ambassadors and members of the embassies to communicate with members here so that we can be helpful.

I think we need to be mindful as members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that what we say can have an impact passing resolutions, but we need the ambassadors and members of the embassy to let us know how we can be helpful.

In my previous life, I managed sales individuals, and I would always impress upon them, yes, it is your responsibility to represent the company to the customer.

It is your responsibility to represent America to your country but it is also important that you represent your country that you are ambassador to back to us. We need to have the expertise that you are going to develop as our ambassadors to these nations.

Again, I sincerely thank you for your past service. Thank you for your willingness to serve and I look forward to your testimony.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you very much, Senator Johnson.

We will now ask each of our nominees to give their opening statements. We are going to ask that you summarize your testimony in five minutes but your full statements will be included for the record, without objection.

And we will begin with you, Mr. Hovenier.

STATEMENT OF JEFFREY M. HOVENIER OF WASHINGTON, 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 KOSOVO

Mr. HOVENIER. Madam Chair, Ranking Member, and distinguished members of the committee, it is an honor to appear before you today as President Biden's nominee as U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Kosovo.

I am humbled by the trust and confidence the President and Secretary of State have placed in me, and I hope to earn your trust as well. If confirmed, I pledge to work closely with this committee and the Congress to advance the United States interests and priorities in and with Kosovo.

Thank you for this opportunity to recognize my wife, Laura Hovenier, who is here with me today and to thank her for her love, counsel, support, and patience. She and our four children—Helen Sabin, Peter Hovenier, Megan Atkin, and Julia Hovenier—have made significant sacrifices in this rewarding but challenging life we have shared as a Foreign Service family.

If confirmed, I would be particularly honored to serve as the U.S. Ambassador to Kosovo, a country that emerged from the horrors of the breakup of the former Yugoslavia and the ethnic cleansing of the Milosevic regime.

The United States played an essential role, together with our European partners, to protect the people of Kosovo and support them in their effort to establish a multi-ethnic democratic country.

I had the good fortune to participate in these efforts in various capacities, including as a member of the U.N. team led by former Finnish President Martti Ahtisaari that developed the “Ahtisaari plan” and paved the way for Kosovo’s independence.

The people of Kosovo have never forgotten America’s role and steadfast support over the last 22 years, and as a result, Kosovo is one of the most pro-American countries in the world and a close partner. Following democratic elections in February, a new government has taken office with a decisive mandate, and the U.S.-Kosovo relationship remains positive and productive.

I want to particularly acknowledge the early and generous response of the people in the Government of Kosovo in hosting evacuees from Afghanistan. The Government of Kosovo agreed to temporarily host up to 2,000 at-risk Afghans, many of whom served the U.S. Government and NATO at great personal risk.

But receiving refuge when in need is something that many Kosovoans intimately remember.

If confirmed, I intend to lead a whole-of-government effort to advance the following priorities.

Continuing U.S. support for a sovereign democratic Kosovo, as this remains essential to regional stability and key to our long-standing strategic goal of a Europe that is whole, free, and at peace.

Supporting the EU-facilitated dialogue to normalize Kosovo-Serbia relations, which, to quote President Biden, “should be centered on mutual recognition.”

Normalization is essential to regional stability and security, and will pave the way for both countries’ integration into Euro-Atlantic and European institutions. If confirmed, I will encourage Kosovo authorities to engage constructively, flexibly, and with urgency.

Continuing to help Kosovo rebuild from the COVID-19 pandemic—when Kosovo requested our help, the United States delivered. In September, the United States donated over 500,000 life-saving Pfizer vaccine doses to Kosovo. This shipment was the largest single COVID-19 vaccine donation to Kosovo by any country or organization.

If confirmed, I will continue to support the Government of Kosovo, Kosovo citizens, and its independent justice institutions as they work to strengthen the rule of law, improve governance, and combat corruption.

I will also work to advance human rights for all citizens of Kosovo, particularly emphasizing ethnic and religious minorities.

In 1999, our commitment to human rights led us to intervene with our NATO allies in Kosovo, saving innocent lives. We remain committed to this.

I will work with our partners in Kosovo to foster economic growth and an improved enabling environment to help address Kosovo's high unemployment rate and assist Kosovo in securing a sustainable and green energy future to attract investment, create jobs, curb migration, and reduce environmental damage.

Finally, if confirmed, I will support the Kosovo Security Forces' continued, gradual, and transparent development to a multi-ethnic NATO interoperable territorial defense force.

By building on Kosovo's first international deployment together with U.S. forces and its first hosting of Defender Europe 21 exercises, we can help Kosovo transition from consumer to provider of security.

Thirteen years ago, the people of Kosovo claimed their right to determine their own future and status as a sovereign and independent state. In those 13 short years they have achieved something remarkable, a capable and successful democracy with an economy that supports prosperity for all Kosovoans.

If confirmed, it would be the honor of my career to lead the women and men of the U.S. Mission to work with the Government and people of Kosovo and our international partners on these priorities.

Thank you for your attention. I would be pleased to take your questions.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Hovenier follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF JEFFREY M. HOVENIER

Madam Chair, Ranking Member, and distinguished members of the committee, it is an honor to appear before you today as President Biden's nominee as U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Kosovo. I'm humbled by the trust and confidence the President and Secretary of State have placed in me, and I hope to earn your trust as well. If confirmed, I pledge to work closely with this committee and the Congress to advance the United States' interests and priorities in and with Kosovo.

Thank you for this opportunity to recognize my wife, Laura Hovenier, and to thank her for her love, counsel, support, and patience. She and our four children—Helen Sabin, Peter Hovenier, Megan Atkin, and Julia Hovenier—have made significant sacrifices in this rewarding but challenging life we have shared as a Foreign Service family.

If confirmed, I would be particularly honored to serve as U.S. Ambassador to Kosovo—a country that emerged from the horrors of the break-up of the former Yugoslavia and the ethnic cleansing of the Milosevic regime. The United States played an essential role, together with our European partners, to protect the people of Kosovo and support them in their effort to establish a multi-ethnic, democratic country. I had the good fortune to participate in these efforts in various capacities, including as a member of the U.N. Team led by former Finnish President Martti Ahtisaari that developed the "Ahtisaari Plan" and paved the way for Kosovo's independence.

The people of Kosovo have never forgotten America's role and steadfast support over the last twenty-two years. As a result, Kosovo is one of the most pro-American countries in the world and a close partner. Following democratic elections in Feb-

ruary, a new government has taken office with a decisive mandate, and the U.S.-Kosovo relationship remains positive and productive.

I want to particularly acknowledge the early and generous response of the people and Government of Kosovo in hosting evacuees from Afghanistan. The Government of Kosovo agreed to temporarily host up to 2,000 at-risk Afghans, many of whom served the U.S. Government and NATO at great personal risk.

Receiving refuge when in need is something that many Kosovans intimately remember.

If confirmed, I intend to lead a whole-of-government effort to advance the following priorities:

Continuing U.S. support for a sovereign, democratic Kosovo, as this remains essential to stability in the region and key to our long-standing strategic goal of a Europe that is whole, free, and at peace.

Supporting the EU-facilitated dialogue to normalize Kosovo-Serbia relations, which, to quote President Biden, “should be centered on mutual recognition.” Normalization is essential to regional stability and security and will pave the way for both countries’ integration into the Euro-Atlantic institutions. If confirmed, I will encourage Kosovo to engage constructively, flexibly, and with urgency.

Continuing to help Kosovo rebuild from the COVID-19 pandemic. When Kosovo requested our help, the United States delivered. In September, the United States donated over 500,000 lifesaving Pfizer vaccine doses to Kosovo. This shipment was the largest single COVID-19 vaccine donation to Kosovo by any country or organization.

If confirmed, I will continue to support the Government of Kosovo, Kosovo’s citizens, and its independent justice institutions as they work to strengthen the rule of law, improve governance, and combat corruption.

I will also work to advance human rights for all citizens of Kosovo, including ethnic and religious minorities. In 1999, our commitment to human rights led us to intervene with our NATO Allies in Kosovo, saving innocent lives, and we remain committed to this.

I will work with our partners in Kosovo to foster economic growth and an improved enabling environment to help address Kosovo’s high unemployment rate and assist Kosovo in securing a sustainable and green energy future to attract investment, create jobs, curb migration, and reduce environmental damage.

Finally, if confirmed, I will support the Kosovo Security Force’s continued gradual and transparent development to a multi-ethnic, NATO-interoperable, territorial defense force. By building on Kosovo’s first international deployment together with U.S. forces, and its first hosting of Defender Europe 21 exercises, we can help transition Kosovo from consumer to provider of security.

Thirteen years ago, the people of Kosovo claimed their right to determine their own future and status as a sovereign and independent state. In those 13 short years, they achieved something remarkable—a capable and successful democracy with an economy that supports prosperity for all Kosovans. If confirmed, it would be the honor of my career to lead the women and men of the U.S. Mission to work with the Government and people of Kosovo and our international partners on these priorities.

Thank you for your attention. I would be pleased to take your questions.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you, Mr. Hovenier.

Mr. Murphy?

[No response.]

Senator SHAHEEN. You need to turn on your microphone.

STATEMENT OF MICHAEL J. MURPHY OF NEW YORK, 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 BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

Mr. MURPHY. I just realized that.

Chair Shaheen, Ranking Member Johnson, and distinguished members of the committee, it is a privilege to appear before you today as President Biden’s nominee as U.S. ambassador to Bosnia and Herzegovina.

I am honored by the confidence and trust the President and the Secretary of State have placed in me and, if confirmed, I pledge to work closely with this committee and others in Congress to advance the United States interests in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

I want to recognize my wife, Kimberly, who devoted 30 years to public service, starting in the Senate and followed by a career in the Foreign Service. Without her love, patience, and support, I would not be sitting here today.

I also want to thank my parents, John and Barbara Murphy, who died in 2019 and 2018, respectively, but who I am confident are watching over me now. They instilled in me the values that have guided my career: a strong work ethic, a devotion to public service, and a commitment to integrity.

If confirmed, I look forward to returning to Sarajevo, where I served from 2006 to 2009. I found the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina welcoming and friendly, and I am eager to engage with them again.

There has been a strong bipartisan consensus throughout my career that a Europe whole, prosperous, and at peace is in our national interests. The United States' engagement in and support for Bosnia and Herzegovina are critical to accomplishing that goal, and our leadership there is essential.

If confirmed, I will make it a priority to support implementation of the Dayton Peace Accords, subsequent state-level reforms, and most importantly, Bosnia and Herzegovina's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Twenty-six years of peace is a great achievement but we cannot take it for granted. We must steadfastly support an independent, democratic, and multi-ethnic Bosnia and Herzegovina. We must support the Office of the High Representative and implementation of its 5+2 agenda.

If confirmed, I will also support the following. First, I will support Bosnia and Herzegovina's Euro-Atlantic aspirations. I will work with our allies and partners to facilitate the reforms necessary for Bosnia and Herzegovina to move towards EU membership and a deeper partnership with NATO.

Euro-Atlantic integration is the surest path to the democratic, prosperous, and secure future that all of Bosnia and Herzegovina citizens seek and deserve.

Second, I will support rule of law reforms, especially anti-corruption activities. Corruption in Bosnia and Herzegovina damages U.S. national security by undermining the functionality and stability necessary for Dayton implementation, by putting at risk Bosnia and Herzegovina's Euro-Atlantic integration, and by exposing Bosnia and Herzegovina to malign external influences.

Third, I will support reforms to promote economic growth, bolster trade and investment with the United States, and create the prosperity necessary for the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina and their children to enjoy the opportunities that come from a thriving economy.

Fourth, I will work to counter efforts by local and outside actors, especially Russia and the People's Republic of China, that threaten our interests and undermine Bosnia and Herzegovina's future.

I am grateful for this committee's leadership highlighting the challenges posed by malign actors and providing tools and resources to push back against them.

Fifth, I will support efforts to advance reconciliation among Bosnia and Herzegovina's constituent peoples and others. The 1992–94 war in Bosnia and Herzegovina was a terrible tragedy. One hundred thousand lives were lost and horrible crimes were committed, including the genocide in Srebrenica.

The guilt for Srebrenica and other crimes rests with those who committed them, not with entire ethnic groups. The duty of today's leaders is to hold perpetrators accountable, acknowledge and honor the victims, and promote reconciliation.

It is also to focus their energies on building a common democratic and prosperous future for all in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Finally, if confirmed, I will focus on the safety and security of U.S. citizens as well as the security and well being of the United States mission in Sarajevo, its branch offices in Banja Luka and Mostar, and the employees of all three.

This includes hiring, recruiting, developing a diverse group of American and local staff, and ensuring our diplomatic platforms are sufficiently robust to advance our interests.

Madam Chair, I thank this committee and other members of Congress for your interest in Bosnia and Herzegovina. I appreciate your time, and I look forward to your questions.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Murphy follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF MICHAEL J. MURPHY

Madam Chair, Ranking Member, and distinguished members of the committee, it is a privilege to appear before you today as President Biden's nominee as U.S. Ambassador to Bosnia and Herzegovina. I am honored by the confidence and trust the President and the Secretary of State have placed in me. If confirmed, I pledge to work closely with this Committee and others in Congress to advance the United States' interests in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

I want to recognize my wife, Kimberly, who devoted 30 years to public service, starting in the Senate and followed by a career in the Foreign Service. Without her love, patience, and support, I would not be sitting here today. I also want to thank my parents, John and Barbara Murphy, who died in 2019 and 2018 respectively, but who I am confident are watching over me now. They instilled in me the values that have guided my career: a strong work ethic, a devotion to public service, and a commitment to integrity.

If confirmed, I look forward to returning to Sarajevo, where I served from 2006–2009. I found the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina welcoming and friendly, and I am eager to engage with them again. There has been strong bipartisan consensus throughout my career that a Europe whole, prosperous, and at peace is in our national interest. The United States' engagement in, and support for, Bosnia and Herzegovina are critical to accomplishing this goal, and our leadership there is essential.

If confirmed, I will make it a priority to support implementation of the Dayton Peace Accords, subsequent state-level reforms, and most importantly, Bosnia and Herzegovina's sovereignty and territorial integrity. Twenty-six years of peace is a great achievement, but we cannot take it for granted. We must steadfastly support an independent, democratic, and multi-ethnic Bosnia and Herzegovina. We must support the Office of the High Representative and implementation of its 5+2 agenda.

If confirmed, I will also focus on the following:

First, I will support Bosnia and Herzegovina's Euro-Atlantic aspirations. I will work with our allies and partners to facilitate the reforms necessary for Bosnia and Herzegovina to move towards membership in the European Union and a deeper partnership with NATO. Euro-Atlantic integration is the surest path to the demo-

cratic, prosperous, and secure future that all of Bosnia and Herzegovina's citizens seek and deserve.

Second, I will support rule-of-law reforms, especially anti-corruption activities. Corruption in Bosnia and Herzegovina damages U.S. national security by undermining the functionality and stability necessary for Dayton implementation, by putting at risk Bosnia and Herzegovina's Euro-Atlantic integration, and by exposing Bosnia and Herzegovina to malign external influences.

Third, I will support reforms to promote economic growth, bolster trade and investment with the United States, and create the prosperity necessary for citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina and their children to enjoy the opportunities that come from a thriving economy.

Fourth, I will work to counter efforts by local and outside actors, especially Russia and the People's Republic of China, that threaten our interests and undermine Bosnia and Herzegovina's future. I am grateful for this Committee's leadership highlighting the challenges posed by malign actors and for providing tools and resources to push back against them.

Fifth, I will support efforts to advance reconciliation among Bosnia and Herzegovina's constituent peoples and others. The 1992–1995 war in Bosnia and Herzegovina was a terrible tragedy. One hundred thousand lives were lost and horrible crimes were committed, including the genocide in Srebrenica. The guilt for Srebrenica and other crimes rests with those who committed them, not with entire ethnic groups. The duty of today's leaders is to hold perpetrators accountable, acknowledge and honor the victims, and promote reconciliation. It is also to focus their energies on building a common democratic and prosperous future for all in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Finally, if confirmed, I will focus on the safety and security of U.S. citizens as well as the security and well-being of the United States' mission in Sarajevo, its branch offices in Banja Luka and Mostar, and the employees of all three. This includes recruiting, hiring, and developing a diverse group of American and local staff and ensuring our diplomatic platforms are sufficiently robust to advance U.S. interests.

Madam Chair, I thank this committee and other members of Congress for your interest in Bosnia and Herzegovina. I appreciate your time, and I look forward to your questions.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you very much.
Ms. Reynoso?

STATEMENT OF HON. JULISSA REYNOSO PANTALEON OF NEW YORK, NOMINATED TO BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE KINGDOM OF SPAIN, AND TO SERVE CONCURRENTLY AND WITHOUT ADDITIONAL COMPENSATION AS AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE PRINCIPALITY OF ANDORRA

Ambassador REYNOSO. Madam Chair, the ranking member, and members of the committee, thank you for the opportunity to appear before you today as President Biden's nominee to be U.S. Ambassador to the Kingdom of Spain and Principality of Andorra.

I am deeply honored to be considered by the Senate for this position and grateful to President Biden and Secretary Blinken for the confidence they have placed in me.

Let me especially thank Dr. Jill Biden. Dr. Biden is the reason I am here. She is one of the most remarkable people I have ever met, and she and the President honored me by giving me the opportunity to serve this country and this administration.

If confirmed, I look forward to another opportunity to serve this great nation.

I would like to recognize my family, friends, mentors, colleagues who have supported me over the years, many of them who are vir-

tual at this time and in different parts of the world, primarily in New York City.

There are too many to name, but here present with me is my mother, Rosario, and my sister, Jessica, and my son is presently in kindergarten.

[Laughter.]

Ambassador REYNOSO. I will also like to extend my gratitude to my dear colleagues at the White House, especially those from the Office of the First Lady, who I am sure are eating popcorn and watching, and my colleagues at the General Policy Council. I want to especially thank my dear friend and brother, Anthony Bernal.

Finally, I want to thank Secretary Clinton and Cheryl Mills, who, in 2009, gave me the opportunity to first serve at the U.S. Department of State as the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State and then as U.S. Ambassador to Uruguay.

If confirmed, it would be my privilege to lead the U.S. mission to one of their strongest bilateral partners, where our talented interagency teams in Madrid and Barcelona work tirelessly to expand U.S.-Spanish cooperation in defense, law enforcement, commerce, and trade, science, education, and people-to-people exchanges.

The relationship between the United States and Spain is strong. We share important values including a commitment to democracy, human rights, and the rule of law. Sound economic policies, investment in people, a desire to protect the planet from the impacts of climate change, a commitment to peacefully resolve disputes between nations, and respect for the multilateral system.

If confirmed, I look forward to continue the productive partnership and transatlantic alliance between our two countries and will work diligently to advance those goals.

Spain is a vital bilateral partner and a NATO ally whose government is already reenergizing transatlantic cooperation with the Biden administration as a host of next year's NATO Summit, the outstanding cooperation we have enjoyed with our Spanish hosts at Naval Station Rota and Moron Airbase, for nearly 70 years the tangible example of our strong partnership including Operation Allies Refuge and Operation Allies Welcome.

In Afghanistan, over 30,000 Spanish military personnel served alongside Americans during the 20-year mission, and over a hundred Spaniards tragically lost their lives.

Beyond our strong defense partnership, Spain enjoys a special relationship with Latin American nations and Latinos in the United States due to linguistic, cultural, and historic affinities.

Spain and Latin American nations have a long and vibrant tradition of exchanges in training and law enforcement, defense, and other sectors.

Spain and the United States share goals in protecting human rights and democracy throughout the hemisphere. The United States and Spain also share a deep economic relationship, trading over \$36.9 billion in goods and services in 2020 alone.

Spain is the tenth largest source of foreign direct investment in the United States, and the United States, in turn, is the largest source of foreign direct investment in Spain.

If confirmed, I look forward to working with the Government of Spanish President Pedro Sanchez, civil society, and the private sector to build upon our already strong bilateral relations and expand the political, commercial, educational, and cultural ties between our two countries.

If confirmed, I also look forward to fostering a relationship with the Principality of Andorra and working together with Andorra's head of government, Xavier Espot Zamora, to further our joint goals to support democracy, human rights, and financial transparency.

Finally, if confirmed, I will work closely with this body, with the members of this committee, to ensure your interests and concerns are addressed and we work together to advance our interests while strengthening our partnership with Spain and Andorra.

Thank you for your time, members, and I am so happy to be here and happy to answer your questions—any questions you may have. Thanks again.

[The prepared statement of Ambassador Reynoso follows:]

STATEMENT OF HON. JULISSA REYNOSO PANTALEON

Madam Chair, Ranking Member, and members of the committee, thank you for the opportunity to appear before you today as President Biden's nominee to be U.S. Ambassador to the Kingdom of Spain and the Principality of Andorra.

I am deeply honored to be considered by the Senate for this position and grateful to President Biden and Secretary Blinken for the confidence they have placed in me. Let me specially thank Dr. Jill Biden. Dr. Biden is one of the most remarkable people I have ever met, and she and the President honored me by giving me the opportunity to serve this administration. If confirmed, I look forward to another opportunity to serve my country.

I would like to recognize my family, friends, mentors, and colleagues who have supported me over the years. There are too many to name here, but I would like to thank my mother Rosario, my sister Jessica, and my son Lucas. I would also like to extend my gratitude to my colleagues at the White House, especially Anthony Bernal. Finally, I want to thank Secretary Clinton and Cheryl Mills, who in 2009 gave me the opportunity to first serve at the U.S. Department of State as a Deputy Assistant Secretary of State and then as U.S. Ambassador to Uruguay.

If confirmed, it would be my privilege to lead the U.S. Mission to one of our strongest bilateral partners, where our talented interagency teams in Madrid and Barcelona work tirelessly to expand U.S.-Spanish cooperation in defense, law enforcement, commerce and trade, science, education, and people-to-people exchanges.

The relationship between the United States and Spain is strong. We share important values, including a commitment to democracy, human rights, and the rule of law; sound economic policies; investment in people; a desire to protect the planet from the impacts of climate change; a commitment to peacefully resolve disputes between nations; and respect for the multilateral system. If confirmed, I look forward to continuing the productive partnership and transatlantic alliance between our two countries and will work diligently to advance these goals.

Spain is a vital bilateral partner and NATO Ally whose government is already reenergizing transatlantic cooperation with the Biden administration as host of the 2022 NATO Summit. The outstanding cooperation we have enjoyed with our Spanish hosts at Naval Station Rota and Moron Air Base for nearly 70 years is a tangible example of our strong partnership, including Operation Allies Refuge and Operation Allies Welcome. In Afghanistan, over 30,000 Spanish military personnel served alongside Americans during the 20-year mission, and over 100 Spaniards lost their lives. Spain deploys roughly 3,000 troops overseas each year in NATO, EU, U.N., and national missions. It is a key partner in the Global Coalition to Defeat ISIS and maintains a contingent deployed to Iraq.

Beyond our strong defense partnership, Spain enjoys a special relationship with Latin American nations and Latinos in the United States due to linguistic, cultural, and historical affinities. Spain and Latin American nations have a long and vibrant tradition of exchanges and training in law enforcement, defense, and other sectors.

Spain and the United States share goals in protecting human rights and democracy in the hemisphere, most notably in Venezuela, Cuba, and Nicaragua.

The United States and Spain also share a deep economic relationship, trading over \$36.9 billion in goods and services in 2020. Spain is the tenth largest source of foreign direct investment in the United States, creating over 90,000 jobs in the United States. The United States is the largest source of FDI in Spain, supporting more than 178,000 Spanish jobs.

If confirmed, I look forward to working with the Government of Spanish President Pedro Sanchez, civil society, and the private sector to build upon our already strong bilateral relations and expand the political, commercial, educational, and cultural ties between our two countries.

If confirmed, I also look forward to fostering our relationship with the Principality of Andorra and working together with Andorra's Head of Government Xavier Espot Zamora to further our joint goals to support democracy, human rights, and financial transparency.

Finally, if confirmed, I will work closely with this body to ensure your interests and concerns are addressed, and that we work together to advance U.S. interests while strengthening our partnerships with Spain and Andorra.

Thank you for your time and consideration. I am happy to answer any questions you may have.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you very much.
Mrs. Kennedy?

STATEMENT OF VICTORIA REGGIE KENNEDY OF MASSACHUSETTS, NOMINATED TO BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE REPUBLIC OF AUSTRIA

Mrs. KENNEDY. I am having—am I on? Thank you.

Chairwoman Shaheen, Ranking Member Johnson, distinguished members of the committee, I am honored to appear before you to be Ambassador to the Republic of Austria.

I am grateful and humbled by President Biden's confidence in me. I thank Senator Markey for his generous introduction. I am delighted that my son, Curran, is here with me today, and it means the world to me to be joined by my dear friend, Senator Chris Dodd.

My daughter, Caroline, and her husband, Alex, are watching from Germany, and my mother and other family members are viewing from various parts of the country.

I am thinking today in a special way of my late husband, who revered this place, and of my late father, the first diplomat in our family, who was appointed by President Kennedy as Special Envoy to the Middle East in 1961.

One of the countries my father visited as envoy was Lebanon, the land his parents left in 1920 in their early 20s to come to America. Forty-one years later, their youngest son landed in Beirut to find his parents' entire village at the airport to greet him. His grandmother was in that crowd and he met her for the first time as the representative of the President of the United States. What a moving testament to the American dream.

I have five siblings, and all our lives were shaped by that sense of infinite possibility. I grew up in a small town, Crowley, Louisiana. I attended Catholic schools and then Newcomb College, followed by Tulane Law School. I clerked for a federal appellate judge and then began private law practice.

I first traveled to Europe with my brother when we were college students, faithfully following a guidebook entitled "Europe on \$5 to \$10 a Day." That gives you an idea how long ago it was.

But when we arrived in Vienna, we were overjoyed to find a letter from our parents with a little something extra in it and a note that read, "So you can enjoy the music." How glorious it was to attend the opera in Vienna and hear a concert in Salzburg.

From that time on, Austria was special to me. Of course, I could not have imagined then that I would be sitting here today. But I feel my background has prepared me well.

As a lawyer in a global law firm, I have led diverse teams to resolve complex problems, working collaboratively toward a common goal. I am a trustee of the Kennedy Center, where I have chaired the Education Committee for more than a decade.

I am president of the board of the Edward M. Kennedy Institute for the United States Senate, which focuses on the vital role of the Senate in our governance, fosters civil dialogue, and seeks to inspire new generations to engage in civic life. And I have been an active member of the business community in New England, serving on the boards of our Regional Business Council as well as the Chamber of Commerce.

U.S.-Austrian relations are strong, based on our mutual interests and shared ideals. We have been friends for a long time, first establishing formal diplomatic ties in 1838, and we have just marked the 74th anniversary of the Marshall Plan with which in partnership with Austria has turned into an investment that is an economic success story that continues to pay dividends for both of our countries.

Our bilateral economic ties are strong and growing. The United States is the second largest market for Austrian exports and bilateral trade is projected to be greater this year than last.

Austria recorded the second fastest rate of growth in foreign direct investment in the United States in 2020 and that direct investment overall has resulted in the creation of tens of thousands of U.S. jobs.

If confirmed, I am eager to strengthen our trade and investment relationship even further. Austria and the United States share many common values and perspectives, including support for human rights and the rule of law.

Austria is a member of the global coalition to defeat ISIS and has contributed peacekeepers and trainers around the world.

If confirmed, I will work tirelessly to advance America's interests and values, and strengthen and deepen our already strong relationship with Austria across the full range of political, security, economic, and social issues that bind us together.

Thank you very much. I look forward to answering your questions. It is an honor to appear before you today.

[The prepared statement of Mrs. Kennedy follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF VICTORIA REGGIE KENNEDY

I'm honored to appear before you as the nominee to be Ambassador to the Republic of Austria. I am grateful and humbled by President Biden's confidence in me.

I thank Senator Markey for his generous introduction. My son Curran is with me today. My daughter Caroline and her husband Alex are watching from Germany and my mother and other family members are viewing from various parts of the country. I'm thinking today, in a special way, of my late husband, who revered this place, and of my late father, the first diplomat in our family, appointed by President Kennedy as Special Envoy to the Middle East in 1961.

One of the countries my father visited as Envoy was Lebanon, the land his parents left in 1920, in their early 20s, to come to America. Forty-one years later, their youngest son landed in Beirut to find his parents' entire village at the airport to greet him. His grandmother was in that crowd, and he met her for the first time, as the representative of the President of the United States. What a moving testament to the American dream.

I have five siblings, and all our lives were shaped by that sense of infinite possibility. I grew up in a small town, Crowley, Louisiana. I attended Catholic schools and then Newcomb College, followed by Tulane Law School. I clerked for a federal appellate judge and then began private law practice.

I first traveled to Europe, with my brother, when we were college students, faithfully following a guidebook entitled "Europe on \$5 to \$10 a day." (That gives you an idea of how long ago it was.) But when we arrived in Vienna, we were overjoyed to find a letter from our parents with a little something extra and a note that read: "So you can enjoy the music." How glorious it was to attend the opera in Vienna and hear a concert in Salzburg. From that time on, Austria was special to me. Of course, I couldn't have imagined then that I would be sitting here today.

But I feel my background has prepared me well. As a lawyer in a global law firm, I have led diverse teams to resolve complex problems, working collaboratively toward a common goal. I'm a Trustee of the Kennedy Center, where I've chaired the Education Committee for more than a decade. I'm President of the Board of the Edward M. Kennedy Institute for the United States Senate, which focuses on the vital role of the Senate in our governance, fosters civil dialogue and seeks to inspire new generations to engage in civic life. And I've been an active member of the business community in New England, serving on the Boards of our regional business council as well as the chamber of commerce.

U.S.-Austrian relations are strong, based on our mutual interests and shared ideals. We've been friends for a long time, first establishing formal diplomatic ties in 1838. And we've just marked the 74th anniversary of the Marshall Plan, which helped rebuild Europe after World War II. Austria, in partnership with the United States, turned this investment into an economic success story that continues to pay dividends for both countries.

Our bilateral economic ties are strong and growing. The United States is the second largest market for Austrian exports, and bilateral trade is projected to be greater this year than last. Austria recorded the second fastest rate of growth in foreign direct investment in the United States in 2020. Their direct investments overall have resulted in the creation of tens of thousands of U.S. jobs. If confirmed, I am eager to strengthen our trade and investment relationship even further.

The United States and Austria share many common values and perspectives, including a support for human rights and the rule of law. Austria is a member of the Global Coalition to Defeat ISIS and has contributed peacekeepers and trainers around the world. Austria is also a valued partner in the Western Balkans, where it contributes nearly 350 troops to NATO's KFOR mission for peace and stability in Kosovo, and nearly 300 troops to the EU's stabilization mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

If confirmed, I will work tirelessly to advance America's interests and values and strengthen and deepen our already strong relationship with Austria across the full range of political, security, economic and social issues that bind our nations together.

Thank you very much for the opportunity to appear before you today. I would be happy to answer any questions.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you very much.

Before we begin the panel's questioning, I have some questions for each of the nominees that I am going to ask you to respond to either yes or no, and we will go down the line and ask that each of you verbally respond.

First question, do you agree to appear before this committee and make officials from your office available to the committee and designated staff when invited?

Mr. Hovenier?

Mr. HOVENIER. Yes.

Senator SHAHEEN. Mr. Murphy?

Mr. MURPHY. Yes.

Senator SHAHEEN. Ms. Reynoso?

Ambassador REYNOSO. Yes.

Senator SHAHEEN. Mrs. Kennedy?

Mrs. KENNEDY. Yes.

Senator SHAHEEN. Do you commit to keep this committee fully and currently informed about the activities under your purview?

Mr. HOVENIER. Yes.

Mr. MURPHY. Yes.

Ambassador REYNOSO. Yes.

Mrs. KENNEDY. Yes.

Senator SHAHEEN. Do you commit to engaging in meaningful consultation while policies are being developed, not just providing notification after the fact?

Mr. Hovenier?

Mr. HOVENIER. Yes.

Mr. MURPHY. Yes.

Ambassador REYNOSO. Yes.

Mrs. KENNEDY. Yes.

Senator SHAHEEN. And do you commit to promptly responding to requests for briefings and information requested by the committee and its designated staff?

Mr. HOVENIER. Yes.

Mr. MURPHY. Yes.

Ambassador REYNOSO. Yes.

Mrs. KENNEDY. Yes.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you to all of our nominees for answering yes to all four questions. We will hold you to that, once confirmed.

We are going to rotate questions as we normally do between the chair and ranking member, and then we will go to the other members who have arrived.

Each member is going to have five minutes to question and we may do more than one round, depending upon how many senators show up.

First of all, I am going to begin with you, Mr. Hovenier, as soon as I can find my question.

I think this is, really, both for you and for Mr. Murphy because it speaks to what is happening in the Balkans, and Kosovo and Bosnia and Herzegovina have long aspired for membership to the EU and NATO.

But it is unlikely, I think, based on what I am seeing and what I am hearing from Europeans that membership is unlikely to be granted anytime soon.

The question that I have is how do we keep those countries looking West? What kind of incentives can we provide to them to help them as they aspire to join the EU and look West so that they are not tempted by Russia and China?

I will begin with you, Mr. Hovenier.

Mr. HOVENIER. Thank you for that question.

In some respects, Kosovo is sui generis in the Balkans because since neither Russia nor China have recognized Kosovo as an independent state, while we still keep an eye on things, and if confirmed, this will be a very high priority of mine to keep an eye on efforts by Russia to exercise malign influence or by China in some

ways, there is not the same national affinity as in some other parts of the Balkans towards some of that behavior.

That said, the problem you raised is something that I think concerns all of us. As you are aware, the European Union will have a summit tomorrow, and if press reports can be believed they will reiterate and restate their commitment to enlargement, including the Western Balkans.

I think in the short term our task is to continue to encourage the authorities of Kosovo and, if confirmed, this will be a priority of mine, to continue to do the reforms that are required so that they are ready for membership both in the EU and in NATO.

The European Union has played a constructive role in many ways with regard to Kosovo, both through assistance. But you are right that this incentive of eventual membership has been a very important catalyst for reform and change and, if confirmed, one of my priorities will be to try to build further momentum and to work with our European Union partners to ensure that the prospect is real and that real reform is carried out consistent with their obligations, should they obtain membership either in the EU or in NATO.

And on that one last thing, I would like to add and would be to encourage those EU member states who have not yet recognized Kosovo to think seriously about the implications of that, which would also be part of our diplomacy.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you. Yes, that would be very helpful.

Mr. Murphy, really, the same question. I was in Bosnia and Herzegovina back in 2010 with then Senator George Voinovich, and one of the things we heard from the Bosnians was how important it would be to have some signal from NATO about the prospects there.

And we came back and argued very strongly that Bosnia should at least get MAP—Membership Action Plan—to help them understand that that aspiration was possible in the future, should they continue with reforms.

What do you think the most important aspects of reform are right now in Bosnia and Herzegovina so that they can continue to aspire to NATO and to the EU?

Mr. MURPHY. Let me start by emphasizing the importance of continued strong U.S. engagement and leadership in the Western Balkans and advising Herzegovina in particular.

I think our presence, our engagement, is critically important to motivating and pressing the domestic parties in Bosnia and Herzegovina to do the right thing.

Second, one of the things, if confirmed, that I will hammer home in my engagements publicly and privately is that the reforms associated with Euro-Atlantic integration, while it takes time to meet the EU requirements, have immediate benefits to the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina now.

That includes a more open and free democracy, a more open and free economy with greater opportunities for prosperity for all including the children of the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina, a better future for them. I would continue to stress those points, if confirmed.

With regards to NATO particularly, I want to underscore that the United States strongly supports NATO's open door policy and the membership aspirations of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

We are focused now on the benefits of deepening the partnership that exists between Bosnia and Herzegovina where there is a consensus within Bosnia and Herzegovina to pursue that partnership.

The key challenge there and one I will make a priority, if confirmed, is to encourage the Government to press forward with its reform program and present it to the Alliance because that will serve as a catalyst to getting more allied engagement to support the reforms necessary for Bosnia to move forward.

Thank you.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you very much. I am out of time, and I am going to go vote. But I am delighted that we are joined by the chair of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Senator Menendez, and I am going to turn it over to him to—because I know he has some questions.

The CHAIRMAN [presiding]. Thank you, Madam Chair, very much. Congratulations to all of you on your nominations, and I appreciate my colleague's indulgence.

I would have had this panel before a full committee, but in order to get nominees out there we had the able work of Senator Shaheen doing it so because your assignments are incredibly important, which is why I do not always come to subcommittee hearings. But I want to come to this one because there is a couple of nominees here to places that I deeply care about.

Ambassador Reynoso, let me start with you. It is good to see you again. I am concerned. Spain is an important ally. NATO ally, Rota Bay, the—all of the elements of our relationship is very important.

But I am deeply concerned that the Spanish have not been particularly helpful, particularly in the Western Hemisphere. I am sure that they would not like us acting the way they are acting towards us if it was in their sphere of the world.

And so I get deeply concerned that Spain has taken views that are outside of the democracy and human rights provisions that we would want to see of a NATO ally.

I am deeply concerned when I see their actions as it relates to Cuba and their unwillingness to join us in our global declaration.

It seems to me that the Spaniards are more—care more about their hotels and investments than they care about democracy and human rights there. It worries me to see what role the Spaniards are playing in Venezuela as well, which is a cancer in the Western Hemisphere.

And I could go on about other places as well where the Spaniards have not been as forthcoming but, if anything, not only not forthcoming, they seem to be contrary to where we are at in our own hemisphere.

If you are to be confirmed, would you tell me what you would do to try to get our Spanish friends more in line with democracy and human rights in this hemisphere?

Ambassador REYNOSO. Thank you, Senator. It is wonderful to see you again.

And let me start by thanking you for your leadership in this space. Obviously, this is an issue that you care deeply about and so do I.

Given my trajectory in Latin America and the Caribbean, I am quite familiar with the lackluster presence or politics and policy of Spain vis-a-vis some of these countries, primarily Cuba and Venezuela and Nicaragua, I should say as well.

If confirmed, my objective will be to work bilaterally with Spain and, obviously, given their presence and their important role in the European Union vis-a-vis Latin America and the Caribbean, I will urge them to be much more vocal and much more transparent and to hold the same standard in terms of enforcement and accountability with respect to the human rights violations and the lack of liberty and transparency and accountability in places like Cuba and Venezuela that they hold with respect to other countries.

Given their important leverage and their interests in these countries, primarily in Cuba, I think Spain can do a lot more and, frankly, sir, I look forward to working with you closely to make sure we can—you can help me inform those positions and ensure that Spain is doing more than it is doing currently.

The CHAIRMAN. I hope this will be a robust part of your agenda upon confirmation. We have a lot of things with the Spaniards. You know, I used to chair the U.S.-Spain Council for years in developing closer ties politically and economically.

But that does not mean that I am willing to turn a blind eye to their neglect in this hemisphere as it relates to human rights and democracy. That is something I care passionately about.

I have two final questions to Mr. Hovenier. You know, we seem to put a lot of focus on Kosovo, but I am not quite sure that I find Serbia to be a particularly good partner in this process in terms of the efforts that are taking place, and we want both sides to engage.

But how do you view—I know that is not—your assignment is not to go to Serbia. It is to go to Kosovo upon confirmation. But how do you view that reality?

Mr. HOVENIER. Like any other problem—thank you, sir, for the question—like any other problem in the Balkans, the problem is both multifaceted and requires work from both sides.

If I am confirmed, one of my highest priorities would be to seek to advance Kosovo-Serbia normalization. My focus has, of course, been the things I will need to do as the confirmed ambassador of the United States to encourage the authorities of Kosovo to engage constructively and with urgency and creatively in that process.

But I would agree with you that the authorities in Serbia equally require that sort of push and impetus, and I cannot dispute at all your assessment that the Serbian interlocutors have not always performed in that way in this process.

The CHAIRMAN. I appreciate that, because sometimes we say we want both sides to act but sometimes it is clear that one side is not doing their just part, and I often feel the State Department takes this leverage nuanced approach when one side is very clearly not participating.

And finally, Mrs. Kennedy, it is good to see you again.

Mrs. KENNEDY. Good to see you.

The CHAIRMAN. I just want to say I hope that you will take seriously, and I am sure you will but I want to hear it from you, when individuals come with Havana syndrome at—we have had a rash of them in our embassy there and in our various international organizations there where our people are serving, that you will make this a very serious part of your mission.

Mrs. KENNEDY. Senator, thank you so much for your leadership on this issue and thank you very much for that question.

As you know, my information is all public information at this point. I have not been read in specifically. But it is an issue I take very, very seriously.

The health and well being of the staff and family members of the members of the embassy is something I take extremely seriously, and I do pledge to you that I will take extreme care and be sure that everyone who has been affected by this syndrome will get the care—if I am confirmed, will get the care and attention that they need, but more than that, that I will, if I am confirmed, pledge that I will urge that we get to the bottom of what is causing this and really push on that and see what we can do about trying to prevent further incidents of it.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. I have other questions. I will submit them to the different nominees for the record. I understand Senator Johnson—

Senator JOHNSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Let me start with the Mr. Hovenier. Again, enjoyed our meeting this afternoon and our discussion. I think we all recognize, as the chairman had indicated, that both sides share responsibility to make concessions to move forward in the region between Serbia and Kosovo.

It is difficult to move on. There were—as I think you stated in testimony, there were atrocities on both sides. It is hard to just forgive and forget and that means we also discussed within the education systems that they are really not trying to instill a forgive and forget attitude.

I thought it was the right approach when Ambassador Grenell and President Trump engaged and got the parties to agree, focusing on the area of agreement in terms of economic cooperation. I mean, it is the best way to move beyond and put the past behind everyone if you really can show the people of the region what happens if you put your disagreements aside and concentrate on greater opportunity, greater prosperity, for yourselves and your kids and your grandkids.

But, Mr. Hovenier, can you just kind of speak to your basic approach when it comes to representing the U.S. to Kosovo and what we need—you know, what we are going to be looking for from Kosovo to be able to move forward?

Mr. HOVENIER. Thank you for that question.

Yes, as we discussed, first, the Washington commitments were an important step in reducing tensions and played a very important role in moving closer towards the outcome we would like to see, and this administration, of course, validated those.

And if I am confirmed, one of the things I hope to do, working with my colleague from Belgrade, is to see further implementation

of that broad swath of commitments that were achieved in the last administration.

More broadly, what I would like to see from Kosovo authorities, what the United States would like to see from Kosovo authorities, would be to engage actively, creatively, constructively, and with urgency in this EU-facilitated process to work towards a normalization of relations, which we believe should be centered in mutual recognition.

An incident of just the last few weeks with regard to temporary license plates shows what can be done when the leaders come together and they have a real problem that needs to be resolved. They can find common ground and it can be resolved. This model can be applied to a range of different issues that divide the two sides right now.

And as you point out, sir, this is very important. Without a normalization of relations, without mutual recognition, the region will be stymied.

Senator JOHNSON. I always point out—I mean, focus on the areas of agreement. There is plenty of things to disagree on. We are also trying to point out that a negotiation is a give and take. Give and take.

I think so often because we are an honest broker everybody wants the U.S. to get involved, but I always got the feeling they want us to get involved to take their side in things.

And would you agree with me that we do need to be that honest broker and we need to press all sides to not only be willing to take but also to be able to give in those negotiations?

Mr. Hovenier?

Mr. HOVENIER. Yes, sir. I agree with you completely.

Senator JOHNSON. This is for the other three nominees. I think, universally, we are seeing throughout Europe, Eastern Europe, not only what Russia is doing but what China is doing.

They have two totally different approaches. Russia just seems to destabilize just for, I guess, the sheer joy of destabilizing. China is far more focused and, I think, long-term strategic in terms of investment.

And I will just ask all the nominees. We will start with you, Mr. Murphy. What is your viewpoint of what it looks like in Bosnia and Herzegovina right now in terms of both Russia and China's influence?

Mr. MURPHY. Russia has a very different vision of Bosnia and Herzegovina than the United States. As I said earlier, we are for a democratic, prosperous, multi-ethnic Bosnia and Herzegovina that takes its place in the Euro-Atlantic family of nations.

Russia is presenting the image of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a failed state. It is stoking ethno-nationalist tensions. It is facilitating and taking advantage of the seams provided for by corruption, all of which is problematic to the future of Bosnia and Herzegovina and also to our interests, because if we believe in a Europe whole, free, prosperous, and at peace, and that has been a bipartisan national security objective for my entire career, then we need to address that and push back against malign influence.

The Chinese are taking a slightly different approach in Bosnia and Herzegovina. As you pointed out, Senator, they are looking at

economic investments, particularly in critical infrastructure, places like roads, power plants, IT, 5G networks, things of that nature.

And their game is a little bit, as you put it, more long term. Again, they are taking advantage of the seams and opportunities presented by corruption, which is one of the reasons, if confirmed, not only will we have to push back against malign influence from both actors but we have to be vigorous and aggressive in pursuing anti-corruption activities to close those seams to the malign outside actors who are seeking to destabilize the country.

Senator JOHNSON. I would just ask the other two nominees to also answer, but I think Mr. Murphy has kind of laid out what they are doing.

The question I would have for you then is what should be the U.S. response to their activities, Ambassador Reynoso?

Ambassador REYNOSO. With respect to Russia, Senator, obviously, there has been quite a bit of coverage of the allegations of disinformation with respect to the referendum in Spain, in particular.

The United States—I mean, I know the embassy already is engaging with our counterparts to ensure that the Russian tactics of fracking and disinformation are being addressed and that the Spaniards have the capabilities to investigate and prevent this type of practice.

More of that, more cooperation, more between our law enforcement and also our other agencies to ensure that we are working with one of—Spain, one of our key partners to prevent these types of tactics and practices, I think, will be key.

With respect to China, Spain is one of the few countries that has not signed the Belt and Road Initiative MOU and is quite, in my view, cautious with respect to moving forward with China, irrespective of the fact that it is a significant economic player in Spain.

We should continue to press allies, especially NATO allies like Spain, to ensure these engagements are limited and have a values-driven approach to engagement with countries like China.

And I should say both with respect to Russia and China, Spain, within the EU, has been an important partner in pursuing and supporting sanctions against both countries, especially when it comes to human rights violations.

Senator JOHNSON. Thank you.

Mrs. Kennedy?

Mrs. KENNEDY. Thank you, Senator. We want to be able to negotiate with China from a position of strength and we need a strong—we need strong relationships with our partners like Austria to be able to do that.

And if I am confirmed, I will just continue to—I will continue to press Austria and work with them on that. I think it is a real global approach to it.

With respect to Russia, countering malign influence is a top priority and that is an issue that I would also continue to raise. Austria is in a very interesting and unique position where it is geographically, where it is constitutionally, and where it is historically.

It is a, by constitution, a neutral country but it is firmly entrenched in the EU and in transatlantic relationships, and that is something that we would continue to foster and encourage.

But it also sees itself in a unique position as a place where it looks both East and West. It was the place where President Kennedy met Khrushchev. It is the place where President Carter met Brezhnev, and Austria is very proud of its ability to have those relationships where it can bring countries together in that way.

It is important that we recognize that role of Austria and—but to continue to work and strengthen our transatlantic ties and work with Austria in that way.

Senator JOHNSON. Thank you.

Thank you, Madam Chair.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you. I understand, Senator Kaine, you are next by agreement with Senator Van Hollen.

Senator KAINE. Thank you, and, actually, Senator Murphy has also deferred to me and I appreciate—I appreciate that, Madam Chair, and congratulations to the nominees. This is a very strong panel.

Mrs. Kennedy, let me start with you. What a treat to see you in this way, and it is good that you are on this panel together with two other ambassadors serving in European nations in the Balkans where Austria has troops participating in peacekeeping missions. It is a good panel together.

I wanted to follow up on what Senator Menendez asked you about the Havana syndrome reports and the obligation to try to keep people safe.

And just for the record, because Senator Menendez sort of short formed it and I do want the public to be aware of this as well, on the 23rd of September the Washington Post reported that the CIA had removed its Vienna station chief due to concerns that he was not adequately addressing a recent spate of what the CIA characterizes as anomalous health incidents reported by U.S. intelligence and diplomatic personnel.

These incidents are referred to by this committee and others as Havana syndrome. The chairwoman has been very active on this, as we all have. We have had a number of briefings about this over the course of the past few years, mostly classified.

But according to the Post article, dozens of U.S. personnel in Vienna, including diplomats and intelligence officials as well as some of the children of U.S. employees, have reported symptoms, according to the current and former officials who spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss a sensitive matter, and the reports are more significant in terms of the number and frequency in Vienna than any city other than Havana.

I know this is going to be a huge concern for you, certainly, for embassy personnel and others who are stationed in Vienna. And so, again, if you would just talk about the priority that you would place upon being responsive to U.S. employees under your supervision, should you be confirmed.

Mrs. KENNEDY. Thank you, Senator. And first, I want to say how much I personally appreciate the involvement of the committee and interest in this issue because I think it is a very significant issue.

If I am confirmed and am going to be in Vienna, I look forward to having the opportunity of addressing this issue and really delving into it in a very serious way.

The health and safety of the personnel, their families, their children, is of paramount importance. Getting prompt attention to these incidents is in—and medical treatment is imperative, but also getting to the bottom of it and also seeing if there are ways to prevent it but pushing, taking it seriously, pushing and working with you all as well.

And if I am confirmed, I look forward to communicating with you regularly about it and as well as with all of the people back here in Washington to see what we can do to get—try to get a resolution of this extremely serious matter.

Senator KAINE. Thank you so much. And I think I might speak in a bipartisan way for the whole committee to say we are not satisfied with the answers we are getting.

We have been getting briefings about this for a number of years, and now we are talking about multiple cities, including cities in United States, including in Virginia, where people have been subject to these kinds of attacks.

And with the most sophisticated intelligence operation in the world, I would have hoped that we might have had a better handle on this by October 2021 than we do. But your commitment to that, that will be heard well by embassy staff in Austria.

Ambassador Reynoso, I would just like to congratulate you. I am just going to be very brief because you sort of answered my questions about the role of Spain and Latin America in response to Senator Menendez's questions.

I am the chairman of the subcommittee overseeing the Western Hemisphere. I was, like Senator Menendez, honorary chair of the U.S.-Spain Council for five years, and I think the opportunities for Spain and the United States to work together on issues in Latin America are enormous.

I am doing everything I can to convince this administration to put a higher priority on Latin America. I think the State Department sometimes operates as if there is an East-West axis in the world and not a North-South access.

Your experience being an ambassador in the Americas and the work that you have done in the Americas, in my view, makes you uniquely well suited to be part of the—to be our ambassador in Spain.

But I hope that I will be successful in getting the administration to give a higher priority to the Americas. But I have reason to believe—I do not need to be hopeful, I am confident—that should you be confirmed, you will make that relationship between the U.S.-Spain on Latin America matters a high priority. Your background suggests that you will and that gives me strong reason to support your nomination.

Ambassador REYNOSO. Thank you.

Senator KAINE. Thank you, and if you would like to just say anything about that, but you have already done a pretty good job.

Ambassador REYNOSO. Those were incredibly kind words, Senator. My trajectory as an immigrant and also as a person who has worked in the Americas, I am completely committed to ensuring

that this country, our country, understands fully how important Latin America and the Caribbean is to our national security and our future.

And if I am confirmed as the ambassador to Spain, I will just continue to work to flourish and empower those connections, sir, and I really look forward to working with you to make sure we do give it the importance it requires.

Thank you.

Senator Kaine. Thank you so much. And with my thanks to my colleague, Senator Murphy, I yield back.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you.

Senator Murphy?

Senator MURPHY. Thank you very much, Madam Chair. Thank you to all four of you for your willingness and your continued willingness to serve.

Senator Dodd, good to see you back in the Foreign Relations Committee again. Thank you for your service to this committee and to our state.

Ambassador Reynoso, I want to take—continue along the line of questioning begun by my colleague, Senator Kaine. In July, Spain declined to sign a U.S.-led statement on the repression of protests in Cuba, and instead, they decided to lead an EU statement that expressed concerns about the repression of the protests but predictably called for an easing of external restrictions in order to promote reforms in Cuba.

You, obviously, have an enormous amount of experience here. You have seen firsthand the irritant that U.S.-Cuba policy has been both in our relations with countries in the Western Hemisphere but also occasionally with Spain.

And so I might just ask you to talk a little bit more about Spain's policy towards Cuba and how U.S. policy towards Cuba affects our ability to work with Spain in the Western Hemisphere.

I agree with Senator Kaine. This is an opportunity for us to integrate more broadly with Spain on Western Hemisphere policy. I worry, though, that Cuba stands in the way—U.S. policy towards Cuba stands in the way.

Ambassador REYNOSO. Make sure I get this right.

Yes, Senator, as you know, Spain and Cuba have a history together. It was one of the last Spanish colonies in the Western Hemisphere and there are affinities that go beyond the political and economic, so the cultural and national connections as well.

Spain's position, as far as I understand it, is that we share with the—Spain shares with the United States ideals of human rights and liberty as concepts. But in terms of tactics with respect to how they manage their affairs with Cuba, it has been—we have had important differences.

It has been much more tolerant, if you will, of certain actions by the Government and encourages more robust dialogue than we have been willing to engage in.

That said, in July, when there were important protests in Cuba, we and Secretary Blinken led an effort to have countries from—allies from throughout the world sign a statement and Spain refused. Did not do so, and went with the EU statement.

I do think the fact that they helped issue a statement is something. It is important that they did collectively push the EU to issue a statement.

My position is that we can be even more aligned because, optimally, our main objective is to see real reform in Cuba, both for the improvement of economic conditions of the Cuban people but also, obviously, the need for greater human rights.

I think we share those values and those objectives. How we get there is something we have to work on. Given that, I think the rest of the hemisphere, frankly, sir, has so many economic issues and struggles at this time that Cuba may not be as relevant as it was 20, 30 years ago on the ideological front.

I think, in that regard, Spain is an important partner for us because it is one of the most active for foreign governments in the region in terms of assistance and political relations and the like.

I really, if confirmed, hope to work with Spain, make sure that Cuba and the Cuba situation is not a point of conflict with the rest of the region but a point of focus to push forward for greater aligned interests and, again, driven by our collective values.

Senator MURPHY. Thank you. I apologize. I want to get in—thank you for that answer. I look forward to working with you. I want to get in one question to at least one of our nominees to the Balkans.

I have been fortunate enough to work with both Senator Shaheen and Senator Johnson on U.S. policy towards the Balkans. No surprise that inside the Pandora Papers were a number of Balkan officials who had been, potentially, using public funds in order to enrich their own bank accounts.

What is the importance of continuing a pathway to EU integration on our efforts to try to address what is still often far too rampant corruption in the Balkans with respect to Kosovo and Bosnia?

It seems that as the dream of Europe disappears for some so is the pressure relieved on many of our partners there to continue to make anti-corruption reforms.

Mr. HOVENIER. Thank you for that question. I presume I should go first.

What I would say is the pressure is not relieved and it should not be relieved. This is a critical part of our long-term project of seeing these countries integrate into European and Euro-Atlantic institutions but also being the sorts of partners we want them to be.

And if I am confirmed, an important element of our foreign assistance and our diplomatic engagement will be to partner with the Government of Kosovo and civil society to address corruption.

This is a primary concern of the current Government of Kosovo as well. The prime minister was elected on a record, a campaign, to combat corruption, seeking to enable him but also empowering civil society to hold their government more accountable and to work to ensure greater transparency and good governance.

We also hope that the incentive of integration in European institutions is not dead and we will continue to work as well as the administration with our European partners to keep that hope more alive than some suggest it is. Thank you.

Senator MURPHY. Thank you.

Mr. MURPHY. Senator, thank you for the question. Let me start by saying, if confirmed, rule of law reform and combating corruption would be among my top priorities. It damages the interests of the United States, the interests of the people and citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina in more ways than one, and Euro-Atlantic integration is one of those, as you have highlighted.

I think that we have to be prepared to continue the programs that we put in place to tackle rule of law, to promote an open economy and create space for civic-minded democracy in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and if confirmed, I will continue to do that.

In addition, if confirmed, I would support using the new sanctions authority that the President has recently enacted dealing with corruption to exact a price for those ethno-nationalist politicians who are not prepared to address the reforms necessary or to behave in a way that is beneficial not just to U.S. interests but, of course, to the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Senator MURPHY. Thank you, Madam Chair.

Senator SHAHEEN. I think we have Senator Van Hollen on WebEx.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. Thank you, Madam Chair and—

Senator SHAHEEN. Senator, can I just—I do not think we can control sound at our end. But maybe you could turn the sound down a little bit at your end because it is very loud.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. Is that better?

Senator SHAHEEN. Better. Thank you.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. All right. Sorry. I had wanted to get back in person, but congratulations to all of you.

And to Mr. Hovenier, I just want to associate myself with the comments that Chairman Menendez made with respect to the important U.S. role in seeking to normalize relations between Kosovo and Serbia. Obviously, it has been a long road, but we need to keep at that work.

Mrs. Kennedy, it is great to see you again. As you well know, the United States and Austria enjoy a long history of cultural and educational exchange programs.

Every year, about 1,000 Austrians study at universities in the United States and some 2,700 Americans study in Austria through programs developed by Austrian and American educational institutions.

I have a particular recent interest in this because my state of Maryland in 2020 signed an MOU between the U.S. Naval Academy and the Austrian Theresian Military Academy, which covers the exchange of Austrian cadets and U.S. Naval Academy midshipmen.

The first cadets and midshipmen participate in this program beginning this fall, and I am hoping that as our ambassador you will help to cultivate and strengthen this relationship and other exchange programs.

Can you just talk briefly to the significance of those people-to-people exchanges to continuing to maintain strong relations with Austria?

Mrs. KENNEDY. Thank you so much. It is good to see you, Senator.

What a wonderful program that you have described and how important people-to-people exchanges are—I think I will look this way, I think it is a better idea—and how important these people-to-people exchanges are.

Cultural exchanges help our countrymen understand Austria. They help Austrians understand our country, and they are really a vital part of our public diplomacy.

Embassy Vienna is very—has been very devoted to this type of exchange program and I am thrilled about cultural exchanges. I am thrilled about entrepreneurial exchanges and business exchanges.

I think there is no better way than actual hands-on exposure, learning from others, getting the real—that real kind of exposure.

I am excited about it, and if I am confirmed I look forward to having people-to-people exchanges and perhaps even expanding. Thank you very much.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. Thank you. I look forward to working with you on that.

Mrs. KENNEDY. Thank you. And if I am confirmed, Senator, I look forward to meeting some of those cadets. It would be fantastic.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. Terrific.

Ambassador Reynoso, as you know, the United States and Spain have cooperated over the years on security issues in Africa. Moron Air Base in Spain is the permanent headquarters of a rotational U.S. expeditionary force with the primary mission of responding to emergency calls for security assistance to U.S. embassies and other U.S. operations in Africa, among other things.

As you know, the French, who have had also a long-standing forces—long-standing forces in Africa have signaled that they intend to draw down their presence in the Sahel.

Does that affect U.S. security interests in the region and how would it affect our operations in Spain, if at all?

Ambassador REYNOSO. Thank you for the question, Senator.

Spain is, as you know, a critical ally and the fact that we have been working with Spain for so many years and that both the bases of Rota and Moron are used for our service people and their families who are located there but other allies also use those bases for operations in other parts of the world, in Africa in particular, says a lot about the strength of our relationship.

Spain is committed and has been committed to working with sub-Saharan Africa and the Sahel region to ensure that there is security. I think, frankly, they have been investing significant resources and capabilities to train in sub-Saharan Africa.

Our relationship with Spain is so strong that I believe we can continue using that relationship to increase our collaboration in sub-Saharan Africa and in the Sahel region in particular.

I do not think that the French position at this moment will impact, obviously, our relationship with Spain in continuing the security collaboration, and if confirmed I will work with Spain to make sure that we continue to fortify our security and comprehensive operations and developing our work in sub-Saharan Africa to continue the growth of our security and support for those countries.

I think it is a matter of continuing that support and strengthening those ties and increasing our work with them in sub-Saharan Africa.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. Thank you. Thank you, Madam Chair.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you.

Senator Cardin?

Senator CARDIN. Thank you, Madam Chair.

First, let me thank all four of our nominees for their willingness to serve our country and continuing to serve our country. We know that these are extremely challenging times and we thank you for making the sacrifice to serve our country and we also thank your families.

Senator Dodd, it is really good to see you. Brings back the time in 2007 when I was first elected to the Senate and got appointed to this committee. You were one of the senior members and you helped me in my original years in the United States Senate and mentoring me on this committee. It is good to see you in this capacity here in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

And let me start, if I might, with Mrs. Kennedy. It is great to see you.

Mrs. KENNEDY. Good to see you.

Senator CARDIN. I was in Vienna in July. Been to Vienna many times. Austria is a very important country for the United States, a strategic partner, and we have already talked about the fact that it is nonaligned so, therefore, it presents some challenges to us at times in regards to its relationship with Russia.

And, recently, we have seen that Austria has been supportive of the EU in regards to sanctions against Russia. But I think you are going to have a challenge in regards to our relationship of Austria as it relates to trying to show unity in Europe against the aggression of Russia.

I think less so with China because I think there is more unity there. I just bring that to your attention.

But I want to mention a second part that is unique about our mission in Vienna, and that is we have two other very important missions. We had the IAEA and we had the OSCE.

I am the chair of U.S.-Helsinki Commission. We rely a great deal on our mission in Vienna in addition to our OSCE mission for the support in regards to the OSCE.

I guess my comment is, yes, the bilateral, it is extremely important. We need to deal with unity in our quest against aggression of Russia. But we also are going to need cooperation and support between the three missions that we have and, quite frankly, the ambassador to Austria usually is the senior partner in that relationship.

I would just ask you to recognize that all three of these missions are critically important and you can play a role in assisting the other two missions.

Mrs. KENNEDY. Thank you so much, Senator. I appreciate that. It is good to see you and I am very much looking forward to working cooperatively with the Tri-Mission with the other two ambassadors and coordinating with them. That is something that, I think, would be very, very important, and if I am confirmed I look forward to that.

Senator CARDIN. Mr. Murphy, I enjoyed our conversation. It is interesting that Bosnia and Kosovo have a lot in common from the point of view they both have challenges of a strong central govern-

ment representing all of the population, the geographical population, with the challenges in the northern part of Kosovo with the Serbian population and, of course, in Bosnia with the impact of Serbia population and the desire for autonomy.

My question to both of you, we have talked about corruption. Both countries have real serious issues with corruption and we are going to work with you very closely on that.

But in Bosnia, we need to work to constitutional reform. In Kosovo, we need to have a government that is respected all of the communities and has the confidence of all the communities and can provide services to all the communities rather than relying on Serbia to provide a lot of the services to the Serbs that are in Kosovo.

What is your strategies to advance the unity of those two countries so they, ultimately, can make full integration into Europe and, hopefully, membership in organizations such as NATO?

Mr. MURPHY. Thank you very much, Senator, and I, too, enjoyed our conversation and I hope to welcome you and other members of the committee in Bosnia and Herzegovina if I am confirmed.

I want to start by just stating up front, because you spoke about unity and territorial integrity, I want to—I think it is really important to state clearly that we are fully committed to sovereignty and territorial integrity in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and rhetoric and actions that put that at risk and put at risk Bosnia's Euro-Atlantic integration, something the citizens want and make clear that they want and the politicians claim to support is both counterproductive, self-defeating, and itself quite risky.

Now, having said that, our immediate focus in the short term is on limited constitutional reform designed to increase the stability and functionality of the country, ensure greater equality for all citizens, and enhance democratic standards and meet a key target in Euro-Atlantic integration.

This has to do with the European Court of Human Rights cases that found elements of the constitution discriminatory.

In addition, we are also pressing for reforms in the rule of law area, in the economy, and others that are critical to the stability and functionality of the state and that would open up political space to more civic-minded parties and participation, and inject greater dynamism and energy into the economy, which would generate prosperity for more of Bosnia and Herzegovina's citizens.

And if confirmed, I intend to support all of those activities and I also very much look forward to working closely with you and other members of the committee on these reforms, but also to discuss longer-term possibilities for additional reforms that are going to be required to advance Bosnia and Herzegovina along the path of Euro-Atlantic integration.

Senator CARDIN. Mr. Hovenier?

Mr. HOVENIER. Thank you for that question. May I first beg your indulgence to simply note that my career in government began as an intern at the Commission for Security and Cooperation in Europe? And so I am delighted to be able to—

Senator CARDIN. You should have put that first on your resume.
[Laughter.]

Mr. HOVENIER. I think you have pointed out exactly what the challenge is. Kosovo is an independent country and the authorities

of Kosovo ought to govern their entire country, and the challenge is, of course, elements of the country that are either not interested in or, at times, the authorities in Kosovo find themselves actively subverted in exercising authority over their entire country. This needs to be done very carefully.

The European Union-facilitated dialogue has made real progress with some of this, and there is a multi-ethnic police nationwide that exercises authority including in the north with customs service, judiciary.

But there is still work to be done, particularly with municipal governments. And if I am confirmed, one of the challenges will be to work with authorities of Kosovo and for my colleagues in Belgrade to work with authorities in Serbia to move this EU-facilitated dialogue forward and further narrow the differences.

We accept that Serbia has desires to support the Serbian community in Kosovo. That is reasonable. But it needs to be done in the constitutional framework and under the legal jurisdiction of Kosovo.

One last thing I would say is another priority of mine would be to encourage the authorities of Kosovo to make abundantly clear that they are a multi-ethnic country and that all citizens, without regard to ethnicity, enjoy the same rights and privileges.

The Ahtisaari plan, the constitution of Kosovo, the Kosovo legal framework, is actually quite good in this regard and there is a number of rights guaranteed in law for ethnic communities.

Implementation has not always been what we would hope. But if I am confirmed, this will also be a big priority to help ensure that the ethnic communities in Kosovo, who have every right to be in their country and to exercise their rights as a citizen, feel safe in doing so.

Senator CARDIN. Thank you. Thank you, Madam Chair.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you, Senator Cardin. I do not think we have anyone else waiting for a first round of questions.

I do have several more questions that I would like to ask in a second round. Is there anyone else who has—Senator Johnson, Senator Cardin, do you have a second round that you would like to?

[No response.]

Senator SHAHEEN. I want to go back then to the questions about the directed energy attacks, the anomalous health incidents. I think, Mrs. Kennedy, you got a number of questions about that.

What you did not get asked is whether or not you have been briefed by the attacks that have happened in Vienna.

Mrs. KENNEDY. Senator, I have—my information on the attacks is on an unclassified basis.

Senator SHAHEEN. Okay. Can I ask each of the rest of you have you been briefed about anomalous health incidents and what to do if you are attacked or if any members, any employees who are working with you, were to be attacked?

Ms. Reynoso?

Ambassador REYNOSO. I have been briefed, broadly, but I have not been given specific instructions as to what to do in case of an incident.

Senator SHAHEEN. Mr. Murphy?

Mr. MURPHY. I am familiar with the communications that the department has provided to the field over the last several months about incidents and how they will respond to them and what is expected of us. But I have not received a classified briefing on incidents elsewhere in Europe.

Senator SHAHEEN. And have you been told that, if confirmed, you will be briefed?

Mr. MURPHY. If confirmed, I will seek such a briefing.

Senator SHAHEEN. Okay. How about you, Mr. Hovenier?

Mr. HOVENIER. Just as with regard to Mr. Murphy, I am aware of incidents, more broadly, and I am very aware of the guidance that has been provided out to all of our posts from the Department of State of what to do.

And, of course, in my last job as the Deputy Chief of Mission in Ankara, paid very close attention to that guidance as to what we should do if an employee complained or if we felt an incident took place. But I have not been formally briefed at a classified level and, if confirmed, I would absolutely seek such a briefing before heading to post.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you. I assume both Mrs. Kennedy and Ms. Reynoso have the same response on requesting a briefing.

Mrs. KENNEDY. Absolutely. I will request a briefing. Absolutely.

Ambassador REYNOSO. Yes, Senator.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you. My final question is for you, Ms. Reynoso, because there has been a lot of discussion in recent months about strategic autonomy on the continent of Europe, usually in the context of national security but not always.

And I know that or at least it appears that different countries in Europe define that term differently. Can you discuss how—your perception of how Spain defines strategic autonomy?

Ambassador REYNOSO. Thank you for the question, Senator.

As you know, Spain is quite active as a member of the European Union and also a NATO member. It is my understanding that, like anything else, these two institutions share a lot of members in common and also have quite a bit of values and goals in common.

That said, with respect to security in particular, NATO is the fundamental and essential institution that we, as the United States, support going—in terms of our broad strategic relationship with Europe.

And, obviously, for my purposes, the platform I will use to engage with Spain, especially in the short term, if confirmed, given its hosting of the NATO Summit next year, any movement in terms of creating other vehicles for security cooperation or security independence from the NATO platform that European members might take on such as Spain, obviously, will be helpful if, ultimately, it will lead to greater expenditure and defense and security support and spending overall in connection with their commitments and targets.

However, my position will be to have NATO and make NATO be and use that platform in my relationship and my work in Spain, if confirmed, as the primary institution of security cooperation and support.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you.

With that, thank you very much to each of our nominees for your testimony today. I look forward to working with all of you, should you be confirmed.

And for the information of all senators, the record of this hearing will remain open until close of business tomorrow, Wednesday, October 6th.

To my colleagues on the committee, if you have any questions for the record please submit them on time to the nominees. I urge you to answer any questions expeditiously so that your nominations can be considered before the full committee when we hold a business meeting.

With that, this hearing is adjourned. Thank you.

[Whereupon, at 4:04 p.m., the hearing was adjourned.]

Additional Material Submitted for the Record

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO JEFFREY M. HOVENIER BY SENATOR ROBERT MENENDEZ

Question. Kosovo's special police recently began enforcing a regulation requiring Serbian vehicles to remove their license plates when entering Kosovo. Kosovo Serbs began blocking border crossings in response, and Serbian military jets and helicopters began flying near the border. An agreement has been reached to resolve the issue, but tensions remain high. How can the United States help lower the temperature and best support the EU-led normalization efforts? What will you do if confirmed to help advance the Kosovo-Serbia dialogue?

Answer. If confirmed, I will continue to strongly support the EU-facilitated Dialogue to normalize Kosovo-Serbia relations, including through direct engagement with Kosovo's senior leadership and in collaboration with my counterpart U.S. Chief of Mission in Belgrade. Reaching a comprehensive normalization deal between the parties remains the only way to unlock Kosovo and Serbia's Western-oriented futures. We believe normalization should be centred on mutual recognition. The United States is ready to help the parties in any way possible to reach an agreement that will establish fully normalized relations. We are actively and closely engaged with both sides and the EU to help the process.

Question. Traffickers in Kosovo continue to force Kosovo citizens into sex trafficking and forced labor. Members of the Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian communities are among the most vulnerable. How will you work with the Government of Kosovo to combat sex trafficking and forced labor, and protect vulnerable communities from these heinous practices?

Answer. If confirmed, I will actively engage Kosovo authorities and civil society to address human trafficking issues. I will encourage the Government of Kosovo to: vigorously investigate, prosecute, and convict traffickers, including complicit officials, and impose strong sentences; provide adequate and consistent funding for NGO-run shelters; designate specific prosecutors and judges to handle trafficking cases; and provide advanced training to judges, prosecutors, and law enforcement on trafficking investigations and prosecutions to ensure appropriate sentences for traffickers. I will encourage the Government to adopt a new Anti-trafficking National Strategy and Action Plan and will meet with vulnerable communities to hear directly from them.

Question. Kosovo recently suspended the development of a gas pipeline partly financed by the Millennium Challenge Corporation. However, Kosovo continues to depend on coal-fired plants for 95 percent of its electricity. How will you encourage Kosovo to make the energy transition to gas and renewable energy sources, and help bolster its energy security?

Answer. Energy security is essential for Kosovo's future economic growth and overall stability. If confirmed, I will encourage Kosovo to finalize and implement a comprehensive energy plan that outlines a transition away from coal toward greater energy diversification, including natural gas and renewables, while securing a stable supply of energy. It should be noted that while the Millennium Challenge Corpora-

tion is supportive of the gas pipeline, its assistance was to be focused on demand creation rather than pipeline financing. Although MCC will no longer move forward with gas investments, due to timeline constraints, I will ensure the whole inter-agency encourages Kosovo to achieve decarbonization by 2050.

Question. Kosovo remains the only nation in Eastern Europe not allowed visa-free travel to European Union member states. The EU announced in 2018 that Kosovo met all requirements for visa liberalization. However, the EU has not made any progress towards Kosovo's integration. How will you engage the EU in regional formats on visa liberalization, and how will you approach dialogues regarding the possibility of EU accession?

Answer. Like other Balkan countries, it is important that Kosovo has a credible, concrete perspective for eventual Euro-Atlantic integration, and that the EU follows through. This is why the United States supports EU visa liberalization for Kosovo citizens. It is disappointing that the EU has not yet established visa-free travel for Kosovo, notwithstanding recognitions by the European Commission and Parliament that Kosovo has met all requirements. I confirmed, I will engage with Washington colleagues and the U.S. Mission to the EU to develop and implement a strategy to advance visa liberalization for Kosovo and to promote EU accession as well as encourage the Government of Kosovo to redouble efforts to meet the criteria for integration.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO JEFFREY M. HOVENIER BY SENATOR JAMES E. RISCH

Question. In the 2021 Trafficking in Persons Report, Kosovo was identified as Tier 2 due to lack of prosecutions, implementing an anti-trafficking framework, and identifying victims.

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

Answer. If confirmed, I will actively engage Kosovo authorities and civil society to address human trafficking issues. I will encourage the Government of Kosovo to: vigorously investigate, prosecute, and convict traffickers, including complicit officials, and impose strong sentences; provide adequate and consistent funding for NGO-run shelters; designate specific prosecutors and judges to handle trafficking cases; and provide advanced training to judges, prosecutors, and law enforcement on trafficking investigations and prosecutions to ensure appropriate sentences for convicted traffickers. I will also encourage the Government to adopt a new Anti-trafficking National Strategy and Action Plan.

Question. In the 2020 International Religious Freedom report, religious freedom in Kosovo was identified as generally strained, compounded by the lack of legal framework provided under the Law of Religious Freedom. Despite this law's lofty goal of religious tolerance and freedom, it has prohibited some religious minorities from obtaining legal status and therefore, buying property, open bank accounts, access courts, and more.

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

Answer. Kosovo's constitution commits it to the principles of freedom of worship and religious pluralism. If confirmed, one of my top priorities will be to advance religious freedom in Kosovo through working with the Ambassador-at-Large, the Government of Kosovo, civil society organizations, and religious communities to enact a revised Law on Religious Freedom. Likewise, I will press the Government to uphold the rule of law and court decisions respecting the protected status of the Serbian Orthodox Church (SOC) with particular focus on the Special Protective Zones around Church heritage sites. I will call on Kosovo authorities to implement court decisions directing the registration of property to the Decani monastery.

Question. In the 2020 Human Rights Report, Kosovo was identified as having significant human rights issues like undue restrictions on the press, including violence against journalists, significant government corruption, and attacks against minorities.

- If confirmed, what steps will you take to address these instances with the host government?

Answer. If confirmed I will continue to press the Government of Kosovo to address human rights challenges by improving relations between Kosovo's ethnic commu-

ities. I will also press the Government to ensure that authorities thoroughly investigate instances of violence and harassment against journalists and members of minority communities. My priority would be to reduce and prevent actions that harm relations between ethnic groups and contribute to cross-border tensions. Kosovo needs to do more to implement the laws it has in place, and to hold officials to account when they fail to do so.

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

Answer. If confirmed, I will direct the Embassy to continue actively engaging with Kosovo civil society to address a variety of human rights issues, to identify new civil society partners and amplify civil society voices, and to work in helping to shape Kosovo as a multiethnic and democratic society that reflects and values human rights for all. I will use the tools at our disposal, including U.S. assistance, to bolster the capacity, skills, and reach of civil society organizations.

Question. Many U.S. missions have been under enormous stress over the last few years due to COVID. Press reports in February indicated that Embassy Pristina sent a cable detailing extremely poor conditions at post, including long hours, an increase in staff mental health issues, and a rise in interpersonal conflicts, all while dealing with the threat of COVID among staff.

- What is your understanding of current morale throughout Mission Kosovo?

Answer. Kosovo was hard hit by the pandemic and registered the world's highest per capita death rate in August 2020. The COVID-19 pandemic, as well as movement restrictions and strain on Kosovo's healthcare system, presented new challenges for the Embassy. My understanding is that Embassy morale has improved considerably in recent months, particularly since vaccines were administered, and that on October 6 the Mission established its workforce posture as "least restrictive" under the Department of State's COVID-19 Mitigation Process. If confirmed, I will continually seek ways to promote good morale at post.

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

Answer. If confirmed, I will work with my Deputy Chief of Mission and senior leadership team to continue promoting an atmosphere that nurtures healthy living and work-life balance and strengthens the community. Additionally, I will foster an environment in which our staff have sufficient resources and training and are empowered to do their jobs. I will encourage them to bring serious issues to the highest level. I will ensure that everyone in the mission understands that my highest priority is the safety and security of the team and their dependents, and I will promote training and professional development and ensure that all staff members are aware of the employee and family support resources that the USG offers to assist employees.

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

Answer. If confirmed, I plan to establish a strong team with a clear understanding of our goals and objectives, maintain open and transparent communications throughout the mission by sharing information, empower staff to fulfill their missions and potential, and seek ways to support and ensure the safety and community of the mission the community—for both American and local staff.

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

Answer. My management style is to establish a vision and set clear priorities, ensuring that all team members have the training and resources needed to accomplish their tasks and achieve their goals, and to then delegate to members of the team while establishing mechanisms to ensure accountability.

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

Answer. No. While it is important for a leader to provide clear and candid feedback, that feedback should never take the form of berating a subordinate, either in public or private. I am committed to treating all members of any team I lead, or am a member of, with professionalism and respect.

Question. What lessons did you learn from your tenure as DCM in Mission Turkey?

Answer. I learned the importance of establishing a whole-of-mission and whole-of-government ethos. It is important that colleagues from other agencies can be con-

fidant that the Chief of Mission and Deputy Chief of Mission share their priorities just as they share Department of State priorities. Likewise, I learned the importance of frequent communication with the team and with Mission dependents, particularly in times of crisis and stress. Finally, while this was not a new lesson, I saw the importance of ensuring that my highest priority as a senior leader of a large Mission must be the safety and welfare of the entire Mission, including dependents; it is critical that this point be explicitly stated by the Chief of Mission and DCM and that it is backed up by actions.

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

Answer. To be successful, the Deputy Chief of Mission (DCM) must be the Chief of Mission's final/principal advisor, alter ego, and partner in managing and leading the mission. If confirmed, I fully expect to have that kind of relationship with my DCM in Pristina.

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) to manage the day-to-day operations of the Mission, and to be fully engaged on and informed about all aspects of policy and Mission management, should the DCM need to step in to lead. The DCM will also be responsible for the professional development of Mission personnel, and join me in advancing diversity, equity, and inclusion.

Question. How should the chief of mission lead a post with many U.S. Government agencies present?

Answer. The Chief of Mission should establish a whole-of-government and whole-of-mission ethos and foster a team atmosphere. She/he should understand and provide support to the priorities of each U.S. Government agency present in the Mission and ensure that U.S. Government agency heads participate in Country Team and relevant Mission functional meetings and discussions, with frequent direct engagement with the Chief of Mission and Deputy Chief of Mission. The Chief of Mission should also ensure that each U.S. Government agency provides input in establishing the Mission's strategic goals and objectives and understands its role in advancing them. If confirmed, I will work closely with each U.S. Government agency.

Question. In your experience, how important are interagency relationships within a post?

Answer. Strong interagency relationships are essential to forging a common understanding of the mission's vision and goals. Collegial and productive relationships and information sharing are especially crucial during times of crisis.

Question. If confirmed, how would you handle interagency disagreement within Mission Kosovo?

Answer. Strong interagency relationships are vitally important to the smooth functioning of a mission. Disagreements with process and policy are normal, and I welcome an open exchange of ideas. I will consider all viewpoints before taking final decisions and work with my team to arrive at common understandings.

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 it is critical to provide employees with accurate, constructive feedback on their performances, as well as to collaborate with them on planning and developing performance metrics for the coming year. This encourages improvement and rewards success while building a stronger team. If confirmed, I will hold accountable those who have performance or conduct issues. This is what I have done throughout my career.

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. I will hold accountable those who have performance or conduct issues.

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 everyday citizens.

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

Answer. In my experience, U.S. diplomats have gotten outside of our Embassy walls sufficiently to accomplish our mission, and if confirmed I will model the importance of getting outside of our Embassy. Access to, and engagement with, local contacts and the public is an important part of our work overseas. Throughout my career, I have participated in public outreach to all parts of society—from students to non-governmental organizations to the media—and will continue to do so.

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

Answer. If confirmed, I will encourage Embassy staff to spend time engaging with local populations and developing contacts. I will also lead by example to demonstrate to my team that it is important to engage with our local counterparts and to participate in public outreach to provide information about our goals in the country and to learn from our hosts about local conditions.

Question. Public diplomacy is an important aspect of U.S. foreign policy efforts.

- What is the public diplomacy environment like in Kosovo?

Answer. Kosovo has the youngest population in Europe, with approximately half of its two million residents under the age of 25 and 70 percent younger than 35. While the United States remains immensely popular in Kosovo, young people who grew up after the Balkans conflict, while appreciative of American culture, often look to the EU, not the U.S., for higher education and work opportunities. Public Diplomacy efforts in Kosovo target three primary audiences: established influencers and opinion leaders, emerging decision makers, and youth. Kosovo has a vibrant and crowded media sector, although the financial sustainability of outlets often leaves them vulnerable to political and external pressures.

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

Answer. The United States is immensely popular among Kosovans, and the media environment is vibrant in the Albanian language sector, with a healthy spectrum of differing views and information vital to any democracy. However, minority populations, such as Kosovo Serbs, do not have the same access to an array of Serbian language media due to language barriers, and, as a result, remain vulnerable to Russian disinformation, especially through Serbian-controlled outlets. Along with educational and economic prosperity focused programs, I will continue Public Diplomacy projects that support Kosovo-Serb and other minority communities, with the objective of enabling access to differing views and ideas.

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. If confirmed, I will focus on closely coordinating the efforts of Washington- and Pristina-based public diplomacy teams and support the strategic planning processes, such as the Public Diplomacy Implementation Plan, to ensure programmatic and message coordination between Post and Washington. I will ensure there is a unified approach to highlighting key messages and U.S. policies in Kosovo, and coordinate messages and information initiatives accordingly. The small size of the Kosovan media market and the great public interest in the U.S.-Kosovo relationship enable the mission to take advantage of the local traditional and social media platforms.

Question. Do you believe that the U.N. Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) is fulfilling its mandate? Please explain your answer.

- Do you believe that UNMIK's mandate of "promoting security, stability, and respect for human rights" is efficient in the current political-social climate in Kosovo?

Answer. The U.N. Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) has long since fulfilled its original purpose and is no longer relevant. UNMIK continues to operate with a diminished role since Kosovo declared independence in 2008. We continue to urge the U.N. Security Council to consider better ways to help Kosovo realize its full potential. Russia, as a permanent member of the U.N. Security Council, supports Serbian efforts to maintain UNMIK with its current mandate and staffing.

Question. UNMIK has an approved budget of \$44,192,100 for 353 total personnel, including civilians, experts, police, and U.N. volunteers. What are U.S. contributions to UNMIK?

Answer. The United States is assessed at 27.89 percent of all Member States assessments, but the Department of State pays 25 percent due to a legislative cap. The U.S. share of that budget, capped at 25 percent, is \$11,048,025.

Question. Will you commit to working with Congress, along with the A/S for International Organizations, to effectively measure our contributions against the effectiveness of the UNMIK mandate?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I commit to working with Congress along with the A/S for International Organizations, to effectively measure our contributions against the effectiveness of the UNMIK mandate.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO JEFFREY M. HOVENIER BY SENATOR BENJAMIN L. CARDIN

Question. The Helsinki Commission has expressed concern about the plight of Roma in Kosovo, who not only face the same discrimination faced elsewhere in Europe but were targeted as alleged Serbian collaborators.

- As Ambassador, how would you propose to find solutions for improved engagement with the Serbian community throughout Kosovo?

Answer. Kosovo's constitution affords Kosovo Serbs and other minorities extensive rights and protections, but Kosovo still has substantial work to do to ensure full implementation of the legal rights afforded to minorities and to ensure Kosovo Serbs feel they have a stake in their country's future. If confirmed, I will engage in active outreach to the Kosovo Serb community, seeking to include Kosovo Government and civil society officials in that outreach. I will also use U.S. assistance programs to focus on increasing constructive inter-ethnic cooperation, empowering all citizens to actively participate in government, ensuring equal access to services, and improving economic opportunities for minority citizens, particularly through youth.

Question. In your view, how would you pursue improved relations with other minority leaders, including from the Romani community, and advocate for the security of their communities and their integration in Kosovo society?

Answer. The Embassy has a strong record of engaging with minority communities and leaders across Kosovo, and, if confirmed, I will actively continue those efforts. Kosovo's legislative framework ensuring equal rights are afforded to members of minority groups is strong, but implementation is often weak. I will continue to encourage the Government of Kosovo to address human rights challenges within its borders and to uphold the rights of members of minority communities in line with Kosovo's constitution, laws, and international obligations. I will also call for Kosovo justice institutions to serve all citizens fairly, without prejudice, in accordance with the law, and to ensure that every resident has equal access to justice.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO JEFFREY M. HOVENIER BY SENATOR TODD YOUNG

Question. Kosovo has agreed to permit Afghan evacuees who fail to clear initial rounds of screening to be housed at Camp Bondsteel. This is a generous gesture by our ally in the midst of our strategic failure in Afghanistan. If confirmed, how will you work with the Government of Kosovo to ensure that Afghan evacuees do not become a burden or security risk to Kosovo?

Answer. Kosovo provided early and generous support by agreeing to host up to 2,000 at-risk Afghans in need of further processing before relocation to the United States. The decision to house Afghan refugees at Camp Bondsteel, at U.S. Government expense, minimizes the burden to Kosovo. If confirmed, I will work closely with the Kosovo Government in implementing the terms of our legal agreement.

Question. What will become of Afghan evacuees that do not clear their initial screenings within the one year time frame Kosovo will permit the evacuees?

Answer. An interagency team is working on the ground with the goal of clearing all Afghan evacuees at Camp Bondsteel for onward travel to the United States. Two plane loads of individuals and their accompanying family members have already

successfully cleared and departed Kosovo. U.S.-affiliated Afghans who clear screening will be relocated to the United States as they clear. The United States will work with IOM and UNHCR to relocate to safe and willing third countries any individuals who do not clear screening processes before the one-year period elapses.

Question. If confirmed, what procedures will you put in place to ensure constant and careful communication with the Government of Kosovo regarding all Afghan evacuees?

Answer. If confirmed, I will continue the Embassy's close coordination with the Government of Kosovo, including with the highest levels of the Government of Kosovo, regarding Afghan evacuees in the country under U.S. auspices. The generous arrangements provided by the Government of Kosovo are clear evidence of the pre-existing close communication between Kosovo officials and Embassy staff. If confirmed, I will continue to prioritize and enable close coordination between the Embassy and the Government of Kosovo on the political, consular, security, medical, and humanitarian aspects of this endeavor.

Question. Last week we saw that NATO had to increase patrols on the Kosovo/Serbian border due a dispute over vehicle registration. While this is just one issue of many it hints at the continued strain between the two neighbors. What is your assessment of Serbian/Kosovo relations?

Answer. Serbia/Kosovo relations remain strained and complex. Serbia remains unwilling to acknowledge the reality that Kosovo is an independent state; Kosovo maintains a deep distrust of Serbian motivations and intentions. Both sides have taken actions that have jeopardized the prospects of normalization of relations, which should be centered on mutual recognition. The recent agreement on license plate issues brokered by the EU with strong U.S. support demonstrates that when leaders in the region engage openly and constructively, they can find common ground benefitting all citizens. The United State considers the EU-facilitated Dialogue the best platform to resolve outstanding issues and to normalize relations centered on mutual recognition.

Question. Do you see the current dispute escalating into anything further?

Answer. Conditions at the border crossings are calm and traffic is flowing both ways smoothly. I understand that NATO KFOR troops' presence at the affected border crossings is temporary and limited to approximately two weeks.

Question. How long do you see the NATO mission in Kosovo lasting?

Answer. NATO's current presence in Kosovo provides strategic stability in the region and reduces tensions between Kosovo and Serbia. If confirmed, I will, together with senior USG officials, continue our robust support to the EU's efforts to achieve progress in the Dialogue it facilitates between Kosovo and Serbia. We see progress towards a comprehensive, verifiable normalization agreement as a precondition to any NATO departure.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO MICHAEL J. MURPHY BY SENATOR ROBERT MENENDEZ

Question. Bosnia was ranked 111th on Transparency International's Corruption Perceptions Index for 2020, a decrease of seven points since 2012. What can the United States and its European allies do to help Bosnia and Herzegovina tackle corruption? How will you advance efforts to tackle corruption as ambassador?

Answer. The administration has made clear that by countering corruption and demonstrating the advantages of transparent and accountable governance, we can secure a critical advantage for the United States and other democracies. If confirmed, I will work with our international and local partners to advocate for key anticorruption, election integrity, and rule of law reforms. I will also continue to leverage U.S. assistance programs to increase government transparency, strengthen civil society, support investigative journalism, and promote the effective investigation and prosecution of corruption. Finally, I will recommend use of U.S. sanctions tools, as appropriate, to advance these priorities.

Question. Bosnia and Herzegovina will hold general elections in October 2020. The High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina, Christian Schmidt, recently said that he supports electoral reform in advance of the elections. What reforms do you believe need to be prioritized? Should they be electoral or constitutional? How will you work with the High Representative, and counterparts in the Bosnian Govern-

ment, to enact these reforms? How do you assess these reforms' likelihood of being adopted?

Answer. If confirmed, I will prioritize limited constitutional reform as well as election law and election integrity reforms in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH). These reforms are necessary for BiH's integration into Euro-Atlantic institutions and to strengthen BiH's electoral processes. The United States remains steadfast in its support of the Office of the High Representative (OHR) in BiH, and if confirmed, I will closely collaborate with High Representative Schmidt as well as U.S. allies and partners to promote BiH's stability and functionality. The United States welcomes OHR's focus on fulfillment of the 5+2 Agenda, as the agreed upon conditions for OHR closure.

Question. The Republika Srpska parliament passed a law in July on the "non-implementation" of the High Representative's decision banning genocide denial. The law would send those who call the Republika Srpska "genocidal" to jail. How can the United States work to increase tolerance in Bosnian society, while also addressing important legacy issues?

Answer. The United States does not condone efforts to deny historical facts with respect to crimes committed in the 1992–1995 conflict, including the genocide in Srebrenica. A fact-based approach with respect to the past is essential to advancing reconciliation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. If confirmed, I will continue to promote transitional justice and reconciliation efforts and support local actors who work to promote human rights and mutual respect. I will engage with younger generations to ensure a more tolerant, equitable, and prosperous future for BiH.

Question. In 2019, the EU identified fourteen priorities for Bosnia and Herzegovina to address relating to democracy, rule of law, fundamental rights, and public administration. Bosnia and Herzegovina established the Commission for Cooperation in NATO to help facilitate its Reform Program for 2021–2022. How do you assess progress made by Bosnia since the 2019 priorities were identified? How will you engage with the Bosnian Government on its Reform Program?

Answer. The United States fully supports Bosnia and Herzegovina's (BiH) integration into Euro-Atlantic institutions. The reforms outlined in the EU's 14 priorities and in BiH's Reform Program with NATO are necessary for BiH to progress towards membership in both institutions. While there has been some progress, there is much work to be done. If confirmed, I will work with BiH's leaders and the United States' international partners to advance the reforms outlined in the EU's 14 priorities and BiH's Reform Program with NATO. Euro-Atlantic integration is the surest path to the democratic, prosperous, and secure future that all of BiH's citizens seek and deserve.

Question. The mandates for the EU and NATO missions in the Bosnia will be up for reauthorization at the U.N. Security Council in November. Russia has already expressed displeasure with the appointment of Christian Schmidt as High Representative and could potentially veto the reauthorization. How will you work to ensure these critical missions are reauthorized and what will you do in the event of a Russian veto?

Answer. The United States firmly supports EUFOR's Operation ALTHEA and NATO's presence in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH). EUFOR plays an important role in maintaining security and stability in BiH. NATO's presence is equally vital. Instability in BiH is not in the interest of any part of the international community, including Russia. If confirmed, I will support the continuation of these important missions.

Question. Having previously served in Bosnia and Herzegovina, you are quite familiar with the region's political dynamics. Are there any significant changes in the Balkans' political dynamics compared to when you were last posted to Sarajevo? How has Bosnia and Herzegovina's relations with its neighbors, Serbia and Croatia, changed over the past decade?

Answer. The Western Balkans has made significant strides since 2009 when I departed Sarajevo. Croatia joined the EU; Albania, Croatia, Montenegro, and North Macedonia joined NATO; and Greece and North Macedonia reached the historic Prespa Agreement. The U.S. has good relations with Croatia and Serbia. Their commitment to BiH's sovereignty and territorial integrity is essential to the entire region's stability and security. The biggest change since 2009 is that Russia and the People's Republic of China (PRC) play a more prominent and negative role in BiH and the Balkans. If confirmed, I will work to counter efforts by local and outside

actors, especially Russia and the PRC, that threaten our interests and undermine BiH's future.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO MICHAEL J. MURPHY BY SENATOR JAMES E. RISCH

Question. In the 2020 Trafficking in Persons Report, Bosnia was upgraded to Tier 2 due to overall increasing efforts to meet the minimum standards to eliminate trafficking especially during the COVID-19 pandemic.

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

Answer. Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) has made commendable progress combating trafficking in persons; therefore, BiH was upgraded to Tier 2 in the 2021 TIP Report. Nonetheless, there is more work to be done. If confirmed, I will press for more vigorous investigations, prosecutions, and convictions for this crime. I will urge local officials to increase resources, personnel, and training for law enforcement to investigate these crimes and institute screening procedures to identify trafficking victims within migrant flows. I will encourage BiH officials to standardize victim assistance throughout the country, and I will continue to support assistance for prosecutors and judges so that they focus on the needs of victims and understand the severity of trafficking when seeking and issuing sentences.

Question. In the 2020 International Religious Freedom report, the need for respect of religious freedom was underscored by the U.S. Embassy as well as between religious minorities and government officials. What is your assessment of this particular issue and if confirmed, how will you work with the Ambassador-at-Large to bolster religious freedom in-country?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work with the Office of International Religious Freedom to promote universal respect for freedom of religion and belief in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) and ensure that the embassy and its branch offices recommend, develop, and implement policies to address any religiously-motivated abuses, harassment, and discrimination. Finally, if confirmed, I will continue to promote inter-religious dialogue and protections for religious minorities in BiH as well as encourage the country's religious communities to support reconciliation in BiH.

Question. In the 2020 Human Rights Report, Bosnia was identified as having significant human rights issues, including a lack of independence of the judiciary, restrictions on free expression, the press, and the internet, violence against journalists, corruption, and more. If confirmed, what steps will you take to address these instances with the host government?

Answer. If confirmed, I will privately and publicly raise U.S. concerns about violence against journalists, corruption, and other human rights issues. I will work with governmental and non-governmental partners in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) to improve legal protections throughout BiH for free expression and public gatherings. I will continue assistance programs with local, cantonal, entity, and state-level administrative, investigative, and justice officials to improve anti-corruption coordination and promote public accountability and transparency. Finally, if confirmed, I will continue to push for adoption and implementation of legislative reforms to improve judicial independence.

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

Answer. If confirmed, I will work with civil society organizations to improve the human rights situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) and advocate, privately and publicly, to advance human rights issues of concern in BiH. I will continue to support U.S. assistance programs and public engagement opportunities to increase the capacity of civil society organizations and amplify their voices, and work, on human rights issues.

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 Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH)?

Answer. If confirmed, I will prioritize the well-being of my staff and listen to concerns they may have about the operating environment in Sarajevo, Banja Luka and Mostar, and where I have the authority and resources, I will work to put in place measures to address them.

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

Answer. If confirmed, I want Americans and local staff under my leadership to feel heard, respected, and engaged; and I plan to set the tone by my example. I will maintain open and regular communication with the Employee Association, Community Liaison Office, and Locally Employed Staff Committee to discuss issues of concern at mission Sarajevo, including its branch offices in Banja Luka and Mostar. Where I have the authority and resources, I will work to put in place measures to address them.

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

Answer. If confirmed, I will communicate clearly and regularly to all mission personnel U.S. foreign policy objectives in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH). I will empower American Direct hire employees from across the interagency and the mission's exceptional local staff to advance these objectives as well as to build and sustain the management platform required to support this work. If confirmed, I will expect collaboration across the mission, including Sarajevo, Banja Luka, and Mostar, and among all U.S. agencies present in BiH. I will expect members of the mission to pro-actively share information with one another.

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

Answer. I encourage clear, direct and open communication with me about policy, management and other issues. I believe strongly in empowering my team to advance foreign policy and management priorities, and I encourage my team to think creatively, pro-actively and "outside the box" to address challenges and resolve problems. I encourage team members to present their perspectives when discussing policy options, but to respect and execute decisions once they are made. I value diversity of perspectives, honesty, and, above all, integrity.

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 acceptable nor constructive to berate subordinates, either in public or private. Mutual respect in the work place is essential for building the cohesive team required to achieve U.S. policy goals.

Question. What lessons have you learned from your tenure as a DAS in EUR?

Answer. My more than three years as Deputy Assistant Secretary (DAS) have underscored the importance of: 1) clearly defining strategic objectives and priorities; 2) empowering subordinates to accomplish organizational objectives; 3) forging strong, collaborative interagency relationships to develop and implement policy; and 4) devoting time and energy to recruiting, hiring, and developing a diverse staff. In addition, I have learned that integrity is the most important leadership and management value a leader can possess and must safeguard.

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

Answer. I have great respect for the current Deputy Chief of Mission, Deborah Mennuti, with whom I have worked previously. If I am confirmed, I anticipate and look forward to a positive and productive working relationship with her.

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

Answer. If confirmed, I will entrust the Deputy Chief of Mission (DCM) with day-to-day responsibility for mission operations. I will also expect the DCM to be fully engaged with, and informed on, all aspects of policy, so that the DCM is prepared to step into the role of Charge d'Affaires, when necessary, and ensure continuity of operations.

Question. How should the chief of mission lead a post with many U.S. Government agencies present?

Answer. As in Washington, interagency communication and coordination at an overseas mission is critical to effective policy development and implementation. If confirmed, I will work to facilitate unity of purpose and vision as well as operational coordination among all agencies at post. I will build strong relationships with each member of the country team, who I will also expect to work cordially and collaboratively with one another. If confirmed, I will also tackle any difficult issues and challenges that may emerge within country team.

Question. In your experience, how important are interagency relationships within a post?

Answer. In my experience, strong interagency relationships are essential to effective policy development and implementation. If confirmed, I will expect members of my country team to work cooperatively and collaboratively to advance U.S. foreign policy objectives in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Question. If confirmed, how would you handle interagency disagreement within Mission BiH?

Answer. If confirmed, I will expect members of my country team to work cooperatively and collaboratively to advance U.S. foreign policy objectives in Bosnia and Herzegovina. I will make use of internal interagency working groups and other fora to develop policy and ensure effective coordination of its implementation. If confirmed, I will encourage team members to present their perspectives when discussing policy options, but to respect and execute decisions once they are taken. If confirmed, I will also tackle any difficult issues and challenges that may emerge within country team.

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 accurate, constructive feedback on performance is necessary to both encourage improvement and reward officers who excel in the performance of their duties.

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 encourage all supervisors to provide clear and direct feedback to subordinates 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 everyday citizens. In your experience, do U.S. diplomats get outside of our embassy walls enough to accomplish fully their missions?

Answer. Each overseas operating environment is unique. In my experience, U.S. diplomats excel at building the relationships necessary to advance U.S. foreign policy. During the more than 18 months in which physical outreach has been limited by the global pandemic, our missions in Europe, including Sarajevo, have used technology and other creative means to build and nurture the relationships crucial to advancing U.S. foreign policy objectives. If confirmed, I will ensure that the mission in Sarajevo and its branch offices in Banja Luka and Mostar actively engage with a full range of outside contacts to advance U.S. interests in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

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

Answer. If confirmed, I will work to support the continued expansion of U.S. engagement across all populations in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH). Whether meeting with politicians, engaging young people on social media, or hosting civil society leaders, U.S. diplomats are always seeking new tools and avenues to advance U.S. interests. I will support my team in continuing to develop new connections in BiH.

Question. Public diplomacy is an important aspect of U.S. foreign policy efforts. What is the public diplomacy environment like in BiH? What public diplomacy challenges do U.S. diplomats face there?

Answer. Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) is fertile ground for Public Diplomacy (PD) programs, and these programs are critical to advancing our foreign policy objectives in BiH. Students and professionals alike are eager to participate in our exchange programs, and the Public Diplomacy Section has a grants program that supports democracy, economic reform, and reconciliation. As with many other missions, our public diplomacy work is limited by the finite nature of our staffing and budgets. If confirmed, I will strongly support the work of the PD section and leverage public diplomacy resources to advance U.S. policy in BiH.

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. U.S. foreign policy and national security goals are the same, whether in Washington or in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH). If confirmed, I will ensure my public diplomacy team coordinates closely with Washington, develops a clear message regarding U.S. policy, and communicates it to all intended audiences in BiH, and that Washington does the same with U.S.-based audiences.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO MICHAEL J. MURPHY BY SENATOR EDWARD J. MARKEY

Question. As you noted in your testimony, U.S. support to Bosnia and Herzegovina is critical to maintaining peace in the Balkans and moving the country towards a better future. How will you work with key members of the international community to push reforms that cement support for individual human rights, and bring Bosnia into compliance with the ruling of the European Court of Human Rights Court regarding Sejdic and Finci vs. Bosnia and Herzegovina?

Answer. The United States welcomes efforts by Bosnia and Herzegovina's (BiH) leaders to increase the integrity and transparency of BiH's democratic processes and advance BiH on its Euro-Atlantic path. If confirmed, I will work with local political and civic leaders and key European partners, including the European Union, to encourage reforms that address decisions of BiH's Constitutional Court and the European Court of Human Rights. If confirmed, I will also support efforts to ensure BiH's electoral system meets international recommendations for electoral integrity, including those made by the OSCE and the Council of Europe.

Question. China and Russia are working to increase their malign influence in Bosnia and Herzegovina daily. As you noted, they aim to keep the country in a state of paralysis to ease their ability to influence local actors. The COVID-19 pandemic has provided another opportunity for China and Russia to play politics with people's lives. In June, President Biden committed 500,000 Pfizer vaccines to Bosnia and Herzegovina based on extremely low availability in-country, and a continued spread of the virus. This commitment is critical in our global fight against COVID-19 in low- and middle-income nations, and reinforces our deep ties with the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina. When will the administration deliver on this now months-long commitment, and will you continue to advocate for support if the county continues to lag compared to its neighbors in vaccine availability?

Answer. Bosnia and Herzegovina suffers from serious healthcare deficiencies across all levels of healthcare administration, which delayed and inhibited government response to COVID-19. If confirmed, I will work with local actors and international partners to support BiH efforts to combat COVID-19 and move out of the pandemic. If confirmed, I will also remain committed to coordinating within the administration to expedite delivery of any currently planned, or future, vaccine donations to BiH.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO MICHAEL J. MURPHY BY SENATOR TODD YOUNG

Question. The fragile stability in Bosnia and Herzegovina is threatened by growing Russian and Chinese manipulation in the country. China has over \$2 billion in infrastructure projects in the country, most of it in opaque and likely corrupt deals. Russia is allied with leaders in Republika Srpska that are calling for secession from the country and challenging the legitimacy of the country's institutions. If confirmed, how will you confront Russian and Chinese manipulation and influence in Bosnia and Herzegovina?

Answer. Russia and the People's Republic of China (PRC) have very different visions than the United States for the future of Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH). The United States believes that our interests, and the interests of BiH, are best served by building a common democratic and prosperous future for all BiH citizens based upon reconciliation, good governance, economic reform, and rule of law. Euro-Atlantic integration is the surest path to this future. If confirmed, I will continue a whole-of-government approach that leverages the full range of U.S. Government capabilities in supporting BiH on this path as well as to counter efforts by local and outside actors, especially Russia and the PRC, that threaten our interests and BiH's future.

Question. How can the United States engage more with Republika Srpska and other sub-national states in support of the Dayton Agreement?

Answer. The United States remains fully committed to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Both the Republika Srpska and the Federation entities are fundamental elements of the internal political organization of BiH, which is, and must remain, one country. If confirmed, I will continue to engage with local political and civic leaders from across the country on a range of issues to advance full implementation of the Dayton Peace Agreement and support the reforms necessary to build a common democratic and prosperous future for all citizens of BiH.

Question. How do you assess Chinese economic influence in Bosnia and Herzegovina? What investment sources can the United States promote in the country as an alternative to China's opaque and onerous terms?

Answer. Investment from the People's Republic of China (PRC) in BiH is growing and focuses on critical infrastructure such as telecommunications, energy, and transportation. The PRC's opaque business practices and lending mechanisms exploit corruption in BiH. If confirmed, I will continue to support economic and anti-corruption reforms that advance BiH's Euro-Atlantic integration and promote sustainable, transparent economic growth. If confirmed, I will also work with colleagues across the U.S. Government, the private sector, and the Western Balkans region to advance opportunities for U.S. businesses and investment consistent with the highest transparency, labor, digital, and green standards.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO HON. JULISSA REYNOSO PANTALEON BY SENATOR ROBERT MENENDEZ

Latin American Migration to Spain

Question. Spain received the second largest number of asylum seekers in the European Union in 2020—at nearly 21 percent of the EU's total asylum applications. The top five nationalities included Venezuelan, Colombian, Honduran, Peruvian, and Nicaraguan. This year, conditions in Latin America have become more complex, with poverty and inequality on the rise, transnational criminal groups gaining strength, and dictatorships increasingly cracking down on populations in Cuba, Nicaragua, and Venezuela. Based on previous migration trends and an analysis of conditions in Latin America, it is a safe bet to assume that asylum applications from Latin Americans in Spain will continue to increase. If confirmed, how will you engage with Spain to align our humanitarian objectives in Latin America? How will you work to facilitate improved data sharing with Spain and an exchange of experiences on refugee and migration challenges?

Answer. Latin America remains a priority for Spain's foreign policy. The United States and Spain are in broad agreement about promoting democracy, the rule of law, and economic prosperity in Latin America. Spain is one of our key partners in providing development assistance in the region, which supports U.S. Government efforts to tackle root causes of migration. Spain is also strongly committed to addressing the needs of those affected by the Maduro regime-caused humanitarian crisis and is a leader in providing assistance to countries in the region hosting millions of Venezuelans and others who have fled their homelands. If confirmed, I will seek opportunities to coordinate with Spain on these efforts and work to expand existing cooperation.

Spain and Venezuela

Question. Last month, Spanish authorities arrested the Maduro regime's former intelligence chief, Hugo Carvajal, and I hope that he will soon be extradited to the United States to face charges related to his role in drug trafficking. However, I am concerned that Spain may be playing a risky game when it comes to the political situation in Venezuela, including the Sanchez Government's repeated outreach to senior members of the Maduro regime at the expense of similar contacts with Venezuela's Interim Government. What steps will you take to ensure better alignment between the United States and Spain when it comes to Venezuela, in particular on the key issues of supporting new presidential elections in Venezuela and advancing accountability for the Maduro regime's crimes against humanity?

Answer. The United States and Spain are largely aligned in seeking a democratic transition through free and fair elections in Venezuela. Both countries share an interest in ending the crisis caused by the Maduro regime. If confirmed, I will work

with Spain to support the Venezuelan people and hold the Maduro regime accountable.

Spain, NATO & Afghanistan Evacuations

Question. As a trusted member of NATO, Spain maintains troops in Iraq and stood with the United States and our allies in Afghanistan during the last two decades. In August, Spain evacuated over 2,200 of our Afghan partners and their families following the fall of Kabul. How do you assess Spain's efforts in Afghanistan? Please outline your priorities for our defense cooperation with Spain, including via NATO?

Answer. Since the evacuation of our Afghan partners began in August, Spain has been a trusted and indispensable partner in the effort to evacuate at-risk individuals and their families from Afghanistan. Spain is a committed NATO ally and will host the 2022 NATO Summit, in celebration of the 40th Anniversary of Spain's entry into NATO. If confirmed, I would seek to expand existing cooperation on shared objectives with Spain.

Catalonia

Question. Prime Minister Sanchez pardoned nine pro-independence leaders from Catalonia in June 2021. However, former Catalan President Carles Puigdemont was arrested in Sardinia a few weeks ago on a Spanish Supreme Court warrant. How does the Biden administration view the pro-independence movement in Catalonia? How will you approach these issues, if confirmed?

Answer. The United States supports a strong and united Spain.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO HON. JULISSA REYNOSO PANTALEON BY SENATOR JAMES E. RISCH

Trafficking in Persons

Question. In the 2021 Trafficking in Persons Report, Spain was identified as Tier 1 but it was noted that investigations, prosecutions, and convictions decreased.

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

Answer. During the COVID-19 pandemic, investigations, prosecutions, and convictions decreased worldwide. The isolation created by the pandemic also made it easier in some cases for traffickers to operate. We have a close working relationship with the Spanish on anti-trafficking. If confirmed, I will continue to work with the Spanish Government, our international law enforcement colleagues, and civil society partners, to shine a spotlight on these cases, and to push for greater action at all levels to ensure prevention efforts are effective, those who engage in trafficking in persons are brought to justice, and survivors receive the holistic assistance they need.

Question. How can Spain be a model for other western European countries that are not Tier 1 but aspire to be?

Answer. This year, Rocio Mora Nieto, a Spanish national, was chosen as one of the Department's TIP heroes—thanks to her work, and her mother's work before her, shelters for women victims of trafficking have been established and there has been continued work with the Government to ensure survivors have access to key services. This kind of partnership between government and civil society organizations is a model for other countries. Spain's toll-free assistance number, holistic support services for survivors, and significant sentences that are sufficient to deter traffickers, are also examples for other countries to follow.

International Religious Freedom

Question. In the 2020 International Religious Freedom report, Spain was identified as having some issues of religious tolerance within various communities. Notably, there were a large number of religiously motivated hate crimes in 2020.

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

Answer. If confirmed, I will incorporate these topics into the mission's broader efforts to promote interfaith tolerance and the safety of religious, racial, and ethnic minority communities in Spain and Andorra. I will encourage the Government at the national, state, regional, and local levels to take steps to improve protection for

religious minority communities, places of worship, and other culturally meaningful sites, incorporating experience and expertise of those communities. I will direct my Country Team to support encounters with and within minority communities that promote tolerance and respect for religious freedom, to include community projects and interfaith coalitions. Finally, I will empower local voices to speak out against hate crimes.

Human Rights

Question. In the 2020 Human Rights Report, Spain was identified as having no reported incidents of significant human rights abuses during the reporting period.

- Despite this positive news, how will you direct your embassy to work with civil society organizations to continue to improve the human rights situation on the ground?

Answer. If confirmed, I will direct my entire team to continue working closely with the Spanish Government and civil society to promote fundamental freedoms and protect the rights of women and girls; LGBTQI+ individuals; people with disabilities; ethnic, racial, and religious minorities; and other marginalized communities.

Spain/Venezuela

Question. Please describe your understanding of the extent of money laundering and corruption schemes in Spain involving Venezuelans who are both part of and connected to the Maduro regime.

Answer. The United States has shared with our Spanish partners information about a number of individuals and their relatives who reside in Spain and who benefitted from money laundering and corruption schemes in Venezuela, many of them with connections to the Maduro regime. The administration continues to share, in real time, intelligence and evidence about such cases, in the hopes that this information can be used for investment screening and can lead to law enforcement actions, including indictments and property seizures.

[Additional Response—10/18/2021]. The United States has shared with our Spanish partners information about a number of individuals and their relatives who reside in Spain and who benefitted from money laundering and corruption schemes in Venezuela, many of them with connections to the Maduro regime. If confirmed, I will prioritize efforts to share intelligence and evidence about such cases and encourage this information be used to support law enforcement actions, including indictments and property seizures. I will advocate for multilateral and bilateral pressure on Maduro, and all manners of accountability, and appropriate sanctions against Venezuelan officials credibly accused of corruption or human rights abuses.

[Additional Response—10/28/2021]. While I am not currently responsible for this issue and not involved in current policy formulation or implementation, nor privy to classified information on the subject, it is my understanding from public reporting that the United States has shared with our Spanish partners information about a number of individuals, Venezuelan and Spanish, and their relatives who reside in Spain, who benefitted from money laundering and corruption schemes in Venezuela. Many of these money laundering and corruption schemes implicate individuals with connections to the Maduro regime. I also understand that there are ongoing efforts to share intelligence and evidence about such cases and if confirmed I will work to encourage this information be used to support law enforcement actions, including indictments and property seizures. I will also advocate with the Government of Spain for multilateral and bilateral pressure on Maduro to allow for free and fair elections, as well as all manners of accountability, and appropriate law enforcement actions and sanctions against Venezuelan officials credibly accused of corruption or human rights abuses.

Question. In your view, does Spain share our objective of advancing a negotiated and peaceful solution to Venezuela's political, economic, and humanitarian crisis?

Answer. Yes. Spain shares our overarching goal to support a peaceful democratic transition in Venezuela, through free and fair presidential and parliamentary elections, and to help the Venezuelan people rebuild their lives and their country. If confirmed, I will look for ways to strengthen our coordination with Spain to ensure we are making progress on our shared objectives in Venezuela.

Question. On January 23, 2020, then-Minister of Transports, Mobility and Urban Agenda Jose Luis Abalos met with Maduro official Delcy Rodriguez for ninety minutes at the Barajas Airport in Madrid. Rodriguez has been sanctioned by the United

States and is barred from entering Spanish and European territory per EU sanctions.

- Do you agree that robust enforcement of EU sanctions by Spain is fundamental to achieve a negotiated and peaceful solution to Venezuela's political, economic, and humanitarian crisis?

Answer. I agree that robust enforcement of EU sanctions by Spain, and all EU members, is fundamental to a peaceful solution to the crisis in Venezuela. If confirmed, I will work closely with the Spanish Government to ensure we remain closely aligned on sanctions enforcement and that our actions are consistent with the message those sanctions are intended to send.

Question. Do you commit to pushing Spain to enforce those sanctions?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I will emphasize to Spanish officials, including together with EU representatives in Madrid, the importance of enforcing EU sanctions to promote accountability for those who engage in human rights abuses, corruption, and undermining democracy.

Question. In February 2020, the US imposed sanctions on Rosneft Trading SA for their role in facilitating Venezuelan oil exports. If confirmed, what would be your message to Spanish companies, such as Repsol, on their current activities in Venezuela?

Answer. If confirmed, I will highlight that our sanctions policy targets those who provide economic and material support to the Maduro regime. Our goal is a peaceful, stable, and democratic Venezuela through free and fair presidential and parliamentary elections. I will encourage Spanish companies operating in Venezuela to support efforts toward that goal.

Question. Please explain how the United States could work more closely with the European Union—and specifically Spain—to increase economic pressure on Maduro.

Answer. The United States should maintain multilateral pressure on the Maduro Government and its enablers, hold regime officials accountable for their illicit activities, implement appropriate sanctions against corrupt officials who undermine democracy or abuse human rights, and provide humanitarian assistance to alleviate the suffering of the Venezuelan people. Because sanctions policy is within EU competency, I will work with Spain, as a key member state focused on Venezuela, to drive EU sanctions policy to put pressure on the Maduro Government to allow for free and fair elections.

[Additional Response—10/18/2021]. Nicolas Maduro's repression, corruption, and mismanagement have created one of the worst humanitarian crises in the Western Hemisphere. If confirmed, I will ensure we use every tool available to the United States to hold the Maduro Government accountable. The United States must maintain multilateral and bilateral pressure on the Maduro regime and its enablers, hold regime officials accountable for their illicit activities, implement appropriate sanctions against corrupt officials who undermine democracy or abuse human rights, and provide humanitarian assistance to alleviate the suffering of the Venezuelan people. The United States and the EU agree that there must be a negotiated solution to the crisis precipitated by Maduro, and there must be free and fair presidential and parliamentary elections in Venezuela.

[Additional Response—10/28/2021]. While I am not currently responsible for this issue and have not had access to policy formulation or implementation in this regard, it is my view that close, open diplomatic relations with both the European Union and Spain are key to bringing greater economic pressure on the Maduro regime to change its antidemocratic behavior and ongoing human rights abuses. Nicolas Maduro's repression, corruption, and mismanagement have created one of the worst humanitarian crises in the Western Hemisphere. If confirmed, I will ensure we use every tool available to the United States to hold the Maduro Government accountable. In my view, these tools should include pursuit of criminal cases against regime actors where they have violated laws and concerted sanctions by the U.S., EU, and the U.N. against the regime and individuals in the regime. In my view, the United States must maintain concerted and coordinated multilateral and bilateral economic pressure on the Maduro regime and its enablers, including holding regime officials legally accountable for their illicit activities.

Question. Please explain your views on the effectiveness of activating Title III of the 1996 Helms-Burton Act. Under what conditions would you advise the President to suspend its activation?

Answer. I understand some provisions of the Helms-Burton Act have long been controversial, both with our international partners, and with some Americans who

seek compensation for the Cuban Government's confiscation of their property. If confirmed, I will support the administration in carefully considering the best ways to support U.S. nationals' claims.

[Additional Response—10/18/2021]. Americans who seek compensation for the Cuban Government's illegal confiscation of their property should be supported in their efforts to get justice. If confirmed, as U.S. Ambassador to Spain, I would defer to the administration on Cuba policy, but as a principal I believe U.S. citizens should be protected from illegal seizure of property wherever that might be.

[Additional Response—10/28/2021]. While I am not currently responsible for the implementation of the Helms-Burton Act nor involved in policy deliberations about it, it is my view that the Act, properly understood and administered, can play a legitimate role in our foreign affairs policies in this area. I also understand the administration is carefully considering the best ways to support U.S. nationals' claims. If confirmed, I know this will be a challenging issue in my work with the Government of Spain and commit to defending the rights of U.S. persons and entities under the Act.

State Department Management

Question. Mission Spain has been under enormous stress over the past few years due to COVID.

- What is your understanding of morale throughout Mission Spain?

Answer. While the pandemic has taken a toll on all of us, my understanding is that morale at Mission Spain is generally high. Mission Spain has a very experienced and motivated team of Americans from across the interagency and excellent local staff working at Mission Spain. The entire team showed enormous flexibility during the worst of the pandemic. Mission personnel are now enjoying fairly normal living and working conditions as Spain's infection rates have dropped and Spain's vaccination rate is now among the highest in the world.

Question. How do you intend to improve morale across all of Mission Spain?

Answer. If confirmed, I intend to continue the good work of our current leadership team, including the development of a plan to maintain some of the workplace flexibilities introduced because of the pandemic. I will reach out to members of the team at all levels, including local staff, contractors, and the family members of all the U.S. Government agencies represented at the Mission to learn about their concerns.

Question. How do you intend to create a unified mission and vision across Mission Spain?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work with the Country Team and seek their input to update the Integrated Country Strategy. I will share our mission and vision widely and frequently to the entire team. I will create opportunities for frequent messaging and dialogue through events targeting the entire community, such as Town Halls, awards/promotion ceremonies, community events, and other forms of active outreach.

Question. Management is a key responsibility for chiefs of mission.

- How would you describe your management style?

Answer. My career is rooted in public service, and I have demonstrated an ability to work with colleagues of all backgrounds in a constructive manner. I regularly engage with members of my team and always seek to create a space for open dialogue and diversity of thought. If confirmed, I will work hard to foster an environment of respect as Mission Spain carries out important work on behalf of the American people. I believe in setting high standards and leading by example. Our employees are our most important asset. I am dedicated to professional development and helping employees grow and advance.

Question. How do you believe your management style will translate to an embassy setting, where resources may not be readily available and your diplomatic workforce are career employees?

Answer. My career in public service includes previously serving as an ambassador. If confirmed, I will ensure everyone on my team is treated professionally, their rights are respected, they are safe and secure, and they have the resources necessary to perform their jobs. My commitment will be to ensure we use our available resources as effectively as possible to advance our top policy priorities. I believe that all members of U.S. Mission Spain are one team working for the good of the U.S.-Spain and U.S.-Andorra relationships and the interests of the United States and the American people.

Question. What lessons did you learn from your tenure as U.S. Ambassador to Uruguay?

Answer. As U.S. Ambassador to Uruguay, I saw firsthand the importance of good communication and close coordination within the U.S. interagency. I learned to invest heavily in building and deepening our relationships both inside and outside the embassy. If confirmed, I will collaborate with my counterparts in the State Department, as well as other government agencies, to ensure Mission Spain successfully advances U.S. policies.

Question. As a political appointee rather than career diplomat, do you believe it is incumbent on new chiefs of mission to integrate themselves into embassy operations and culture?

Answer. Yes.

Question. If yes, how do you intend to do so?

Answer. If confirmed, one of my first actions as ambassador will be to meet the entire team at the Mission and work closely with the Deputy Chief of Mission, as well as at our Consulate General in Barcelona and in our consular agencies around Spain to ensure the smoothest of processes and transitions.

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 relationship with your deputy chief of mission?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work closely with the Deputy Chief of Mission to advance U.S. priorities in Spain, including: protecting the safety and security of Americans, growing our economic relationship, and advancing shared political priorities. I expect to have a positive working relationship and to work together closely.

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

Answer. If confirmed, one of my first actions as ambassador will be to meet the entire team at our Embassy in Madrid and our Consulate in Barcelona, including the Deputy Chief of Mission. I will consult closely with the Deputy Chief of Mission on a range of issues and value the institutional knowledge provided.

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 everyday citizens.

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

Answer. Yes. In my experience with the Department, U.S. diplomats have done a remarkable job to get outside our embassy walls and advance U.S. objectives to accomplish our Mission by meeting local actors in diverse settings and environments. I will encourage the Embassy team to maximize opportunities to advance our interests with all sectors of the Spanish populace.

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

Answer. U.S. diplomats in Spain face no restrictions on their movement or interactions with the local population. I will encourage them to take full advantage of this environment to advance our interests with all sectors of the Spanish populace.

Question. Public diplomacy is an important aspect of U.S. foreign policy efforts.

- What is the public diplomacy environment like in Spain? What public diplomacy challenges do U.S. diplomats face?

Answer. Public diplomacy is a vital part of our mission. The Fulbright program in Spain is one of the largest in the world with hundreds of American and Spanish scholars and students benefiting every year. Spain also has over 140 different daily newspapers in circulation, and newswire EFE is one of the biggest media organizations in the world. These outlets are constantly seeking commentary and clarification from the U.S. Embassy. Other international players like Xinhua, Sputnik, and Russia Today also compete for influence in the Spanish media space, making media monitoring and skilled engagement to push back against disinformation even more important. Our digital engagement efforts are key to engaging Spain's current and future opinion leaders.

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. Unity of message is important in foreign policy, so when it comes to public messaging on policy issues, the Embassy should and does depend on guidance from Main State. However, it is up to the in-country team members to more robustly understand the local audiences and context, build key bilateral and multilateral partnerships, and effectively tailor Washington's messages for the local context. Embassy Madrid's public diplomacy team does that very well, and if I am confirmed, I'll make sure that we keep up that caliber of work.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO HON. JULISSA REYNOSO PANTALEON BY SENATOR TIM KAINE

U.S. Citizen Detained in Spain

Question. U.S. citizen and Virginia resident Victor John Stemberger has been incarcerated in Spain since July 2019 on drug trafficking charges. Mr. Stemberger and his family maintain that he knew nothing about the drugs and was in fact duped into acting as an unwitting courier for a West African cartel. The family has also noted that Mr. Stemberger suffered a medically-documented brain aneurysm in 2005 that greatly diminished his logic and decision-making abilities, for which a medical expert provided documentation at his trial. On July 30, 2020, a Spanish court found Mr. Stemberger guilty of drug smuggling and sentenced him to seven years in prison. The Spanish Supreme Court denied hearing his appeal on April 9, 2021. Given Mr. Stemberger's age (78) and prior health complications, as well as risks associated with COVID-19 for those over the age of 60, there is even greater urgency in having Mr. Stemberger return to the United States as soon as possible.

- My office has continued to push for his release with both U.S. federal agencies and Spanish authorities. If confirmed, what will you do as Ambassador to press for Mr. Stemberger's expedited and safe return to his family in Virginia?

Answer. There is no higher priority than the safety and welfare of U.S. citizens, and I know the U.S. Embassy in Madrid is tracking this case closely. If confirmed, I will urge Spain to consider all options in accordance with Spanish laws for letting Mr. Stemberger serve his sentence in his home in the United States. The embassy will continue providing support to him, his lawyers, and family members in their requests for appeals and release.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO HON. JULISSA REYNOSO PANTALEON BY SENATOR TODD YOUNG

Question. Spain has close historical ties with countries throughout Latin America. Unfortunately, we have seen this relationship abused by the authoritarian regimes in Venezuela, Cuba, and Nicaragua. Leaders in these countries have reportedly hidden away some of their ill-gotten gains via the Spanish financial system to avoid U.S. sanctions. We have not seen Spanish leadership within the European Union to resolve these crises as we would have hoped. If confirmed, how would you engage with the Government of Spain to better coordinate in support of democracy, human rights, and transparency in Latin America?

Answer. The United States and Spain are in broad agreement about promoting democracy, the rule of law, and economic prosperity in Latin America. Spain actively influences debates in the EU on Latin America and has led international efforts to provide assistance to countries in the region, including by hosting the millions of Venezuelans who have fled the crisis caused by the Maduro regime, as well as Cubans and Nicaraguans who have fled those repressive regimes. If confirmed, I will seek opportunities to expand our coordination with Spain on these efforts.

Question. From your perspective, what is preventing greater U.S.-Spanish coordination on Latin American policies? Given both of our country's deep strategic interests in the region, what steps could be taken to jointly take actions to hold despotic leaders in Latin America accountable through sanctions, travel restrictions, or other actions?

Answer. Spanish officials assert that their policy objectives are the same as those of the United States, but they believe the best path to achieve economic and democratic reforms is through engagement and dialogue. Economic and commercial con-

cerns are an important element of Spanish relations with the region. The U.S.-Spain bilateral relationship is an important building block for increasing cooperation on Latin America, and if confirmed, I will seek to expand our coordination with Spain on these efforts.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO VICTORIA REGGIE KENNEDY BY SENATOR ROBERT MENENDEZ

Question. Austria has so far remained committed to EU sanctions against Russia for its illegal annexation of Crimea. However, Austria has close economic and energy ties with Russia. How do you assess the Austrian Government's continued commitment to these sanctions? How will you engage the Government to ensure its continued commitment?

Answer. If confirmed, I would continue to emphasize to the Austrian Government the importance of maintaining U.S.-EU unity on sanctions, emphasizing that any reduction of sanctions must be contingent on Russian actions—beginning with the withdrawal of its forces from eastern Ukraine, combined with the implementation of Russia's commitments under the Minsk agreements, and, finally, return of control of the Crimean peninsula to Ukraine.

Question. Chancellor Kurz recently hosted leaders from the Western Balkans, expressing that the EU would only be complete once all Western Balkan countries have joined the bloc. How will you work with Austrian partners to highlight the benefits of EU enlargement, including its potential to combat Chinese influence in Europe?

Answer. Austria supports U.S. goals for a stable, secure, and prosperous Western Balkans. Austria also supports the transformation of the Western Balkans into a zone of stability through the EU accession process. Steps toward accession advance our mutual interest in protecting democracy, stability, and the rule of law, while promoting prosperity and integration of the Western Balkans in transatlantic institutions. These steps and relationships would allow the aspirants to deal with the PRC from a position of strength.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO VICTORIA REGGIE KENNEDY BY SENATOR JAMES E. RISCH

Question. In the 2020 Trafficking in Persons Report, Austria was identified as Tier 1 but has room for improvement regarding convictions of more traffickers and remedying gaps in the referral process for potential victims.

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

Answer. Austria continues to take trafficking in persons issues seriously and has been a steadfast partner in coordinating on the issue with the United States. If confirmed, I will engage with U.S. and Austrian authorities to encourage cooperation and regularly raise trafficking in persons at the highest levels of the Austrian Government. I will urge the Austrian Government to take further concrete actions to address the recommendations from this year's Trafficking in Persons Report. Specifically, I will encourage the Government of Austria to increase efforts to identify victims among vulnerable groups, ensure all victims have access to services, and increase efforts to identify victims of labor trafficking.

Question. In the 2020 International Religious Freedom report, Austria was identified as having community issues regarding religious freedom. The U.S. Embassy during the reporting period did good work on the ground to support programs to combat Anti-Semitism and promote religious dialogue.

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

Answer. Austria takes religious freedom seriously and respects the rights and freedoms of its population. Austria's constitution provides for freedom of religion; other laws and policies contribute to the generally free practice of religion in Austria. There are, unfortunately, increasing reports of societal abuses or discrimination based on religious affiliation, belief, or practice, including an increase in anti-Semitic incidents in 2020. If confirmed, I look forward to working together with the Ambassador-at-Large, as well as the Department's Special Envoy to Monitor and

Combat Anti-Semitism, to bolster respect for the freedom of religion or belief and the rights of members of religious minority groups.

Question. In the 2020 Human Rights Report, significant human rights issues in Austria were identified as violence or threats of violence motivated by anti-Semitism.

- If confirmed, what steps will you take to address these instances with the host government?

Answer. The Austrian Government is dedicated to fighting anti-Semitism and has been quick to condemn words and acts of anti-Semitism. The Government announced a strategy to combat anti-Semitism in January 2021. There was an increase in anti-Semitic incidents in 2020, including violence targeting Austria's Jewish community and online hate and incitement. If confirmed, I will publicly and privately reiterate to the Government the importance of this issue and identify areas where the United States can cooperate with the Government and with Austria's Jewish community to combat anti-Semitism, working in coordination with U.S. Office of the Special Envoy to Monitor and Combat Anti-Semitism.

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

Answer. If confirmed, I will work closely with civil society organizations to help us assess human rights issues, develop programs, and advocate for stronger policies and reforms. The U.S. Embassy in Vienna enjoys strong and longstanding relationships with civil society on human rights and democracy issues. Civil society has played an important role in promoting accountability of elected leaders, driving meaningful reform, supporting the rights of members of minority groups and access to justice for vulnerable communities, and strengthening independent media.

Question. Mission Austria has been under enormous stress over the past few years due to COVID.

- What is your understanding of morale throughout Mission Austria?

Answer. Austria has enforced three strict national lockdowns. The American and local employees at Embassy Vienna have dealt with significant challenges posed by COVID-19. I am grateful for their service, despite the difficulties. If confirmed, I will prioritize meeting with and supporting Embassy employees, including the Deputy Chief of Mission, to understand the impact of the pandemic on the mission.

Question. How do you intend to improve morale across all of Mission Austria?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work with my Deputy Chief of Mission to ensure that we create an atmosphere in which our staff knows that they can bring serious issues to us and know that they are being heard at the highest level. I will do personal outreach to the staff when I arrive at Post and will ensure that everyone in the Mission understands that my highest priority is the safety and security of the team. If confirmed, I will promote training and professional development, and ensure that all staff members are aware of the employee and family support resources that the Department offers to assist employees.

Question. How do you intend to create a unified mission and vision across Mission Austria?

Answer. If confirmed, I plan to establish a strong team with a clear understanding of our goals and objectives, maintain open and transparent communications throughout the Mission by sharing information, and seek ways to support and ensure the safety and community of the Mission the community—both American and local staff. I will treat the team with respect and professionalism and give them the tools they need to do their jobs. I believe that all members of U.S. Embassy Vienna are one team working for the good of the U.S.-Austria relationship and the interests of the United States and the American people, and, if confirmed, my goal will be to have everyone inspired to work in that direction.

Question. Management is a key responsibility for chiefs of mission.

- How would you describe your management style?

Answer. I have a collaborative management style. I believe in sharing information and empowering my team, being open to ideas and suggestions from throughout the mission, and providing clear guidance and decisions as needed to lead. I regularly engage with members of my team and always seek to create a space for open dialogue and diversity of thought.

Question. How do you believe your management style will translate to an embassy setting, where resources may not be readily available and your diplomatic workforce are career employees?

Answer. As I understand it, the State Department continuously reviews its priorities, organization, and staffing relevant to the needs of each mission. If confirmed, my commitment will be to ensure we use our available resources as effectively as possible to advance our top policy priorities. If necessary, I would advocate for additional resources to carry out our mission.

Question. As a political appointee rather than career diplomat, do you believe it is incumbent on new chiefs of mission to integrate themselves into embassy operations and culture? If yes, how do you intend to do so?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, one of my first actions as ambassador will be to meet the entire team at our Embassy in Vienna and to schedule opportunities for regular coordination and planning of Embassy operations. I will also create opportunities for more informal meetings and events with members from across the Embassy community, so that I have a strong awareness of community concerns and the state of Embassy morale.

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

Answer. I do not believe it is ever acceptable or constructive to berate subordinates, either in public or private.

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

Answer. If confirmed, I hope to establish a positive relationship where my Deputy Chief of Mission will be my trusted partner, confidante, and alter ego in managing and leading the Mission.

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

Answer. If confirmed, I look forward to having a close working relationship with my Deputy Chief of Mission (DCM). The DCM must be fully engaged on and informed about all aspects of policy and Mission management should the Deputy need to step in to lead. If confirmed, I look forward to working with my DCM once I arrive in Vienna to collaboratively work through the best division of labor in managing the Mission.

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 everyday citizens.

- How do you intend to increase the ability of U.S. diplomats to access all local populations?

Answer. If confirmed, I would stress the importance of getting outside of our Embassy by example. Access to and engagement with local contacts and populations is an important part of our work overseas. If confirmed, I look forward to participating in public outreach to all parts of society, from students to non-governmental organizations to the media, and will encourage the diplomats of Embassy Vienna to do the same.

Question. Public diplomacy is an important aspect of U.S. foreign policy efforts.

- What is the public diplomacy environment like in Austria? What public diplomacy challenges do U.S. diplomats face?

Answer. In Austria, as has happened everywhere, COVID has affected in-person public diplomacy programming. Recently announced new travel rules, once implemented, should help alleviate increased skepticism about the perceived imbalance between measures that make travel to the United States very restrictive for Austrians. U.S. public diplomacy programming supports Mission goals through student and scholarly exchanges; media engagement; educational outreach; speaker series; support for culture and the arts; and entrepreneurship, bilateral trade and investment ties. If confirmed, I look forward to engaging with the Austrian public to increase dialogue about a range of issues and support for our policies.

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. If confirmed, I will work with the Public Diplomacy Section to closely coordinate the efforts of Washington and Vienna-based public diplomacy professionals to ensure that there is a unified approach to highlighting the key U.S. messages

and policies in Austria and around the world. The Public Diplomacy Section engages on six different social media platforms: Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, YouTube, LinkedIn, and Flickr to deliver tailored messages on U.S. foreign policy priorities, promote Embassy activities and events, provide information on security, voting, and other topics to U.S. citizens, and communicate with the Austrian public.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO VICTORIA REGGIE KENNEDY BY SENATOR BENJAMIN L. CARDIN

Question. As Ambassador to Austria, how would you respond to the September 23rd report in the Washington Post alleging that dozens of U.S. personnel, including diplomats, intelligence officials, and in some cases their children, have reported “Havana Syndrome” symptoms?

Answer. This is a sensitive ongoing investigation and is a top priority for Secretary of State Antony Blinken. It is also an issue I take very seriously. If I am confirmed, the safety and well-being of Embassy personnel and their families will be my highest priority. If I receive information about individuals being affected by these incidents, I will ensure that they get the immediate, prompt medical attention they deserve and need. I understand a major interagency effort currently is underway to investigate the cause of the incidents and how the Embassy community can be protected. If confirmed, I will continue to urge investigation into the cause of the incidents and ways to prevent them.

Question. What additional steps would you take to ensure the safety of your staff?

Answer. If confirmed, I will ensure that any employees or their family members who report a possible health incident will receive immediate and appropriate attention and care. If confirmed, I will communicate with our workforce to provide care for affected employees and their family members and work together with partners in Washington and the interagency to do what we can to protect against these incidents and, of course, to find the cause of what has been impacting these members of our Embassy team. I will also consider it my primary responsibility to ensure the safety and security of the Embassy community. If confirmed, I will work with my team to review the current procedures and modify them in collaboration with Washington if necessary.

Austria and EU Integration

Question. Some supporters of increased EU integration have criticized Chancellor Kurz for opposing proposals for migrants and refugees to be resettled across the EU, as well as proposals for more EU fiscal integration, including financial assistance to member states in economic difficulty.

- How would you characterize the Kurz Government’s approach to the EU?

Answer. Austria is an active and committed member of the EU and regularly supports initiatives in the multilateral field, such as disarmament, strengthening human rights and the rights of minorities, and arms control and non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. Austria has been a strong supporter of EU enlargement in the Western Balkans. However, within the EU, there is not always unanimity of position on every issue. If I am confirmed, I will continue to speak with officials in the Austrian Government about issues upon which we may differ but where we might be able to find some common ground.

Question. As the Ambassador nominee to Austria, do you believe that Kurz’s vision for the EU aligns with the Biden administration’s goals in Europe?

Answer. The President has emphasized the United States’ continued commitment to the goal of a Europe whole, free, and at peace. While former Chancellor Kurz stepped down from his position on October 11, 2021, I look forward to emphasizing this continued commitment with new Austrian Chancellor, Alexander Schallenberg.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO VICTORIA REGGIE KENNEDY BY SENATOR TODD YOUNG

Question. Given its central location, Austria has long positioned itself as a builder of bridges between the east and the west. But I worry about Russia using that bridge for its own purposes. For instance, the Austrian firm OMV is one of the main companies financing the Nordstream 2 pipeline. Austria reportedly has worked to

block robust EU sanctions in Belarus to protect some of its banks that have interests there and throughout Eastern Europe. Austria was one of the few EU countries that did not expel Russian diplomats in response to the poisoning of Sergei Skripal by Russian intelligence. What is the current relationship between Austria and Russia?

Answer. The concept of neutrality has shaped Austria's relations since its adoption of a constitutional law in 1955, allowing it to host many Cold War-era U.S.-Russia meetings. Current attitudes toward Russia, including public support for U.S.-Russia talks on strategic stability and nuclear disarmament and calls for high-level EU-Russia dialogue, remain influenced by these events. Austria supports EU sanctions against Russia over the 2014 invasion of Ukraine, and the ongoing occupation of Crimea and conflict in Ukraine. Austria supported four rounds of EU sanctions related to Belarus. Austria has supported sanctions against Russia in response to the imprisonment of Alexei Navalny and the repression of peaceful protesters.

Question. What are Russia's interests in Austria?

Answer. Russians invested \$25.9 billion in Austria in 2020, and Russia is the country's second-largest foreign investor. Most recent investments have been in real estate and gas storage infrastructure. Austrian banks established a strong presence in the Russian financial sector after the fall of the Berlin Wall, but with many banks consolidating their Eastern European portfolios, only Raiffeisen Bank International (RBI) remains active in Russia. The Russian market accounted for almost one third of RBI's total profits in 2020 (\$858 million).

Question. If confirmed, how would you engage the Austrian Government to better respond to Russian actions?

Answer. If confirmed, I would continue to emphasize to the Austrian Government the importance of maintaining U.S.-EU unity on sanctions, emphasizing that any reduction of sanctions must be contingent on Russian actions—beginning with the withdrawal of its forces from eastern Ukraine, combined with the implementation of Russia's commitments under the Minsk agreements, and, finally, return of control of the Crimean peninsula to Ukraine.

NOMINATIONS

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 20, 2021 (a.m.)

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

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:01 a.m., in Room SD-G50, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Robert Menendez, chairman of the committee, presiding.

Present: Senators Menendez [presiding], Cardin, Shaheen, Coons, Murphy, Kaine, Markey, Merkley, Van Hollen, Risch, Johnson, Romney, Young, Barrasso, Cruz, Rounds, and Hagerty.

Also Present: Senators Durbin and Hickenlooper.

OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. ROBERT MENENDEZ, U.S. SENATOR FROM NEW JERSEY

The CHAIRMAN. This hearing of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee will come to order.

We are here today to consider nominees for three important positions—Ambassadors to China, Japan, and Singapore. On the first panel, we will hear from Ambassador Nick Burns, to be Ambassador to China. I understand Senator Markey will introduce Ambassador Burns. So, I will turn to him at this time.

Senator Markey?

STATEMENT OF HON. EDWARD J. MARKEY, U.S. SENATOR FROM MASSACHUSETTS

Senator MARKEY. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member Risch.

It is my absolute honor and pleasure to introduce our nominee today, Nicholas Burns, nominated to be the Ambassador of the United States to the People's Republic of China.

Ambassador Burns is a cherished son of Massachusetts, a fellow Boston College alumnus, and a proud member of Red Sox Nation. I would also like to welcome Ambassador Burns' wife, Libby, who has joined us today.

Name a diplomatic flashpoint of the last four decades, and there is a good chance that Ambassador Burns was either a witness or an active participant. In his exemplary career as a member of the Foreign Service, he served four U.S. Presidents. Among his assignments, he spent 5 years at the National Security Council, first as Director of Soviet Affairs under President George H.W. Bush and later as Senior Director for Russia, Ukraine, and Eurasia Affairs under President Clinton.

In those roles, Ambassador Burns helped shepherd the United States through the collapse of the Soviet Union and the establishment of new relationships with the former Soviet bloc countries. In 1997, he was named U.S. Ambassador to Greece, where he helped to expand our bilateral defense relationship and counterterrorism.

In 2001, President George Bush selected him to serve as U.S. Ambassador to NATO. He took this post 1 month before the attacks of 9/11, just 1 month before 9/11, when the alliance invoked Article 5 for the first time in its history. He later served as Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, the highest-ranking Foreign Service officer in Foggy Bottom.

Ambassador Burns has established a deep understanding of the United States' relationship with China and has been a returning visitor to China for more than three decades. As a junior officer, he first accompanied Secretary George Shultz in 1988 and President Bush in 1989. He later accompanied Secretary Madeleine Albright to Hong Kong in June of 1997 for its handover from the United Kingdom to the People's Republic of China.

After his retirement from the Foreign Service, Ambassador Burns turned his attention to training the next generation of diplomats and security professionals at the Harvard Kennedy School. In short, there is no more qualified person than Ambassador Burns to serve in Beijing as our top diplomat.

I am confident that Ambassador Burns will seek to engage Beijing where we must on the existential issues of the climate crisis and nuclear nonproliferation, on curbing the flow of synthetic opioids to our shores, and bringing North Korea to the negotiating table. But I am equally confident that he will speak out forcefully against the Chinese Government's abuses in Xinjiang, Hong Kong, and elsewhere.

In Ambassador Burns, the men and women of the Foreign Service will have no greater champion. He has the experience, the knowledge, and the leadership skills for this critical post in a difficult, but crucial time in our relationship with the People's Republic of China.

In a commencement speech at our alma mater, Boston College, in 2002, Ambassador Burns concluded in summing up the school's ethos. "It is the core belief that how we lead our lives should not be just about and for ourselves, but about what we all can do, in the poet Tennyson's words, 'to seek a newer world' here on Earth."

We are honored that you have again decided to take this opportunity, Ambassador Burns, to once again seek that newer world here on Earth.

I yield back, Mr. Chairman, and I urge the support of every committee member for this great Ambassador.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator Markey, for that glowing introduction. We appreciate it. You are, of course, an important member of our committee. So, we look forward to you joining us on the regular dais when you are finished.

Ambassador Burns, welcome to you and your wife. You are an outstanding public servant. As a career Foreign Service officer, we are grateful to you and your family for your willingness to serve our country again.

As you know, if confirmed, you will have a monumental task before you. As I have said before, the China of 2021 is not the China of 1971 or even the China of 2011. China today is challenging the United States and destabilizing the international community across every dimension of power—political, diplomatic, economic, military, and even cultural—with an alternative and deeply disturbing model for global governance.

I truly believe that China today, led by the Communist Party and propelled by Xi Jinping's hypernationalism, is unlike any challenge we have faced as a nation before. For decades, we failed to comprehensively address China's growing reach, from its predatory economic behavior and aggressive efforts to coerce its neighbors in the maritime domain, its dangerous flexing of military muscle against Taiwan, to the crushing of the religious and cultural autonomy of Tibet, and its campaign of genocide against the Uyghur people, as well as the imposition of a chilling system of digital authoritarianism to suppress and oppress its own people. China today is more active and more emboldened than ever before.

There should be little doubt that the right basic framework for thinking about our relationship with China today is strategic competition. Not because that is necessarily what we want, but because of the choices Beijing is making. Therefore, if confirmed, you will need to be clear-eyed about Beijing's intentions and actions and play a key role in calibrating this administration's still-emerging policy and strategy regarding China.

This committee has engaged extensively on China over the last several months, including passing the Strategic Competition Act with overwhelming bipartisan support. Enacting the bill is one critical step in ensuring a solid framework for White House and State Department efforts to address the challenge posed by China.

I know you bring to this job a wealth of diplomatic experience and skill. So, we are very interested in hearing from you today about how you think of the challenge and the international—that the challenge that the international community faces from China and how you think we need to frame our strategy for success in this new era of strategic competition.

I look forward to hearing your testimony. Let me turn to the ranking member for his opening comments.

**STATEMENT OF HON. JAMES E. RISCH,
U.S. SENATOR FROM IDAHO**

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

I, like most members or many members of the committee, have known Nick for a long time. We first met in the early part of the last decade in Luxembourg when he was serving as the Ambassador to NATO.

It is, I think, appropriate that Ambassador Burns was appointed to this position, which really demands a bipartisan approach, and, I think, Congress, notwithstanding our other emaciations on other issues, has certainly been—has taken a bipartisan approach to the challenges that China has presented to us and that we will face over the rest of the century, I believe.

The position of Ambassador to China is one of the most important ambassadorial nominations we will consider in this committee.

The People's Republic of China is leveraging its political, diplomatic, economic, military, technological, and ideological power to wage strategic competition against the United States. Chinese Communist Party policies and actions threaten U.S. interests and values, as well as allies and partners, on just about every continent, but particularly in the Indo-Pacific.

While this challenge will persist for decades, the competition is here now, and we must act urgently. Advancing U.S. interests in the Indo-Pacific region must be our number-one foreign policy priority. If confirmed, Ambassador Burns, you will be on the front lines of this competition.

There are a few priorities that form the foundation of the bipartisan Strategic Competition Act, led by Senator Menendez and myself, which passed through this committee earlier this year. First, China's growing military might is dramatically shifting the regional balance of power in the Indo-Pacific in its favor. We need to counter China's conventional and nuclear build-up that threatens our interests and our allies.

Nowhere is China flexing this military might as much as it is in the Taiwan Strait. Taiwan's President Tsai is right. "If our Taiwan were to fall, the consequences would be catastrophic for regional peace and the democratic alliance system." It is imperative that we work actively to deter PRC's coercion and aggression towards Taiwan.

Another issue that is not discussed as often, but must be, is China's pursuit of life sciences research with potential for weaponization, causing concern about potential violations of the Biological Weapons Convention. I have introduced legislation, the Biological Weapons Policy Act, that would give our country team in China a larger role in ensuring that biological research cooperation with China does not put us or the world at risk.

Second, our diplomatic mission in China must be strengthened to address the economic and political facets of the competition at hand. That includes providing information to decision-makers in Washington on how the CCP seeks to exert undue political influence in our open society.

On the economic front, we must ensure our economic corps in Mission China is up to the task of dealing with new challenges. China is rolling out laws and regulations to punish companies for complying with U.S. law, including our sanctions laws. The Chinese Government is also stamping out all free market activity by asserting control over its financial institutions and its technology companies.

Another challenge where we need an active economic corps is addressing pressing supply chain vulnerabilities, especially in technology and healthcare. Of course, advancing human rights must continue to be a central priority in our China policy.

Ambassador Burns, you face a tough environment. China has said it will not work with us on anything until the United States gives into the demands of its two lists. You and I discussed those lists yesterday, and some day, I hope to be able to see those lists. How the Biden administration plans to deal with that is not clear.

In our diplomatic engagements, China has repeatedly shown a lack of interest in good faith discussions. Yet the administration

continues to assert that China can be a partner on a variety of issues, notably climate. On Taiwan, I applaud recent defense sales, but we have also seen a lot of unclear messaging, including recent allusions to a Taiwan agreement.

And despite China's massive and unconstrained nuclear build-up, the administration is considering, considering, a sole purpose nuclear declaratory policy that would put U.S. allies at immense risk and shake confidence in U.S. deterrence commitments. I know that our allies have communicated serious objections to the administration on this topic.

So, far, the administration is refusing to share those communications with Congress. This issue is even more important given China's test this past weekend of a fractional orbital bombardment system carrying a hypersonic glide vehicle. Such a system would allow the PRC to completely circumvent U.S. early warning capabilities and increase the vulnerability of the continental U.S. to a nuclear attack.

I look forward to hearing how you plan to address all of these challenges and to help us win this competition.

With that, I yield back. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator Risch.

And with that, Ambassador, you are recognized. We ask you to summarize your statement in about 5 minutes or so. We will include your full statement for the record.

And with that, the floor is yours.

STATEMENT OF HON. R. NICHOLAS BURNS OF MASSACHUSETTS, NOMINATED TO BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

Ambassador BURNS. Mr. Chairman, thank you very much. Ranking Member Risch, members of the committee, thanks very much for the opportunity to be with you this morning.

I am very grateful to President Biden for this nomination to be the next United States Ambassador to the People's Republic of China.

I owe profound thanks to my wife of 40 years, Libby, who is with me today, seated just behind me. Together, we have served the U.S. Government overseas in Mauritania, West Africa, in Egypt, in Israel, in Greece, and at NATO in Belgium. And both of us are grateful to our three daughters, our son-in-law, and our grandchildren.

If confirmed by the Senate, I look forward to returning to public service and a State Department where I have spent the bulk of my professional career. I worked for administrations of both parties, and I would be honored to lead our team at the U.S. Mission in China. That team is on the front lines of this complicated and consequential relationship that we have with China.

I would like to explain our policy and the policy that I would like to support, if confirmed by the Senate. Secretary Tony Blinken said in March that the United States' relationship with the PRC is the biggest geopolitical test of the 21st century. We will compete and compete vigorously with the People's Republic where we should, in-

cluding on jobs and the economy, on critical infrastructure, on emerging technologies.

As President Biden has said, when the United States competes on a level playing field, there is no country on Earth that can match us. We will cooperate with the PRC where it is in our interest, including on climate change, counternarcotics, global health, and of course, on nonproliferation.

The world cannot solve the climate crisis without the PRC doing more to reduce their emissions. It is to our benefit to maintain engagements between our peoples as well, including students, scholars, diplomats, and journalists, so long as America's laws are respected.

Finally, and crucially, we will challenge Beijing where we must, including when it takes actions that run counter to American values and American interests, actions that might threaten the security of the United States or our allies and partners, or undermine the rules-based international order.

The PRC seeks to become the most powerful country economically, politically, and militarily in the Indo-Pacific. We have to stand with our allies and our friends to uphold a free and open Indo-Pacific, including by maintaining America's commercial and military superiority in 21st century technologies. We also have to hold the PRC accountable for failing to play by the rules on trade and investment, including its theft of intellectual property, use of state subsidies, dumping of goods, and unfair labor practices. These hurt American workers, and they hurt American businesses.

Beijing has been an aggressor against India along their long Himalayan border, against Vietnam, the Philippines, and others in the South China Sea, against Japan in the East China Sea, and Beijing has launched an intimidation campaign against Australia and, even more recently, Lithuania.

The PRC's genocide in Xinjiang, its abuses in Tibet, its smothering of Hong Kong's autonomy and freedoms, and its bullying of Taiwan are unjust and must stop. Beijing's recent actions against Taiwan are especially objectionable. The United States is right to continue its one China policy, but we are also right to support the peaceful resolution of disputes in this region and to oppose unilateral actions that undermine the status quo and undermine the stability of the region.

The administration and Congress, together on a bipartisan basis, should help Taiwan to maintain a self-defense capability, and that is the language of Taiwan Relations Act of 1979. The Biden administration as well is surely right to seek effective channels of communication with Beijing to manage this competition responsibly, to diminish the risk of an accidental conflict, and above all, to maintain the peace. The United States has to proceed from a position of strength and pursue intense diplomacy in all these matters.

Beijing proclaims that the East is rising, and the West is in decline. I am confident in our own country. I believe that, together with our allies and our partners, we can prove them wrong. This will require very close alignment here in Washington between Congress and the executive branch. The bipartisan Senate passage of the Innovation and Competition Act earlier this year is a very wise investment in America's future and our ability to compete.

And finally, Mr. Chairman, I say this, my final point. The People's Republic of China is not an Olympian power. It is a country of extraordinary strength, but it also has substantial weaknesses and challenges demographically, economically, politically.

We should have confidence in our strengths, American strengths. Confidence in our business community, in our innovation community, in our universities, in our ability to attract the best students from around the world, confidence in our unmatched military and our first-rate Foreign Service and civil service. Confidence in our values that stand in brilliant opposition to China's authoritarian regime.

We will succeed if we build this American strength around our diplomacy with the People's Republic of China. On that basis, Mr. Chairman, if confirmed, I am looking forward to working with you, the ranking member, and Republicans and Democrats on this committee. I have enjoyed my meetings over the last 3 weeks, and I hope together we can form an effective and strong policy towards China.

Thank you very much.

[The prepared statement of Ambassador Burns follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. NICHOLAS BURNS

Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member Risch and members of the committee, thank you for this opportunity.

I am grateful to President Biden for this nomination to be the next Ambassador to the People's Republic of China.

I owe profound thanks to my wife, Libby, who is here with me today. Together, we have served the U.S. Government overseas in Mauritania, Egypt, Israel, Greece, and Belgium. I am also grateful for the support of our three daughters, our son-in-law, and our grandchildren.

If confirmed, I look forward to returning to public service and the State Department, where I have spent the bulk of my career in administrations of both parties. I would be honored to lead our team at the U.S. Mission in China, which is on the front lines of this complicated and consequential relationship.

As Secretary Blinken said in March, the United States' relationship with the People's Republic of China is "the biggest geopolitical test of the 21st century."

We will compete—and compete vigorously—with the PRC where we should, including on jobs and the economy, critical infrastructure, and emerging technologies. As President Biden has said, when the United States competes on a level playing field, "there's no country on Earth . . . that can match us."

We will cooperate with the PRC where it is in our interest, including on climate change, counter-narcotics, global health, and nonproliferation. The world cannot solve the climate crisis unless the PRC does more to reduce their emissions. And it is to our benefit to maintain engagement between our people, including students, scholars, diplomats, and journalists—so long as America's laws are respected.

Finally, and crucially, we will challenge the PRC where we must, including when Beijing takes actions that run counter to America's values and interests; threaten the security of the United States or our allies and partners; or undermine the rules-based international order.

The PRC seeks to become the most powerful military, economic, and political actor in the Indo-Pacific. We must stand with our allies and partners to uphold a free and open Indo-Pacific—including by maintaining America's commercial and military superiority in 21st century technologies.

We also must hold the PRC accountable for failing to play by the rules on trade and investment, including its thefts of intellectual property, use of state subsidies, dumping of goods, and unfair labor practices. These actions harm American workers and businesses.

Beijing has been an aggressor against India along their Himalayan border; against Vietnam, the Philippines, and others in the South China Sea; against Japan in the East China Sea; and has launched an intimidation campaign against Australia and Lithuania.

The PRC's genocide in Xinjiang and abuses in Tibet, its smothering of Hong Kong's autonomy and freedoms, and its bullying of Taiwan are unjust, and must stop.

Beijing's recent actions against Taiwan are especially objectionable. The United States is right to continue to adhere to its one-China policy. We are also right to support the peaceful resolution of disputes, and to oppose unilateral actions that undermine the status quo and stability in the Indo-Pacific.

The administration and Congress should help Taiwan "to maintain a sufficient self-defense capability," as the Taiwan Relations Act clearly states.

The Biden administration is right to seek effective channels of communication with Beijing to manage our competition responsibly, to diminish the risk of an accidental conflict and, above all, to maintain peace.

The United States must proceed from a position of strength and pursue intense diplomacy—with the People's Republic of China, and with our allies and partners in the Indo-Pacific, Europe, and around the world. Our alliances and partnerships are a unique comparative advantage for the United States.

As in all things, the United States will lead with our values—democracy and free expression, free press and free enterprise, support for human rights and human dignity. These are at the center of the Biden administration's foreign policy.

Beijing proclaims that the "East is Rising and the West is in Decline." I am confident in our country, and believe that, together with our allies and partners, we will prove them wrong.

That will require alignment in Washington. The bipartisan Senate passage of the Innovation and Competition Act earlier this year is a wise investment in America's future.

Finally, it is important to keep our rivalry with Beijing in perspective.

The PRC is not an Olympian power. While the PRC has many strengths, it also faces substantial demographic, economic, and political challenges.

We should have confidence in our own strengths—our scientific and technological capacities, world-class universities and research institutions, our military power, our first-rate diplomatic corps across both the Foreign Service and civil service, and, especially, our values that stand in brilliant opposition to Beijing's actions. We will succeed if we build our diplomacy around these strengths and remain optimistic about America's future.

If confirmed, I look forward to working with the members of the Senate to pursue such a strategy that will protect and advance American interests in our relationship with the PRC.

Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Ambassador.

We will start a round of 5 minutes. Before I start mine, let me ask some questions we ask for the committee as a whole. These are questions that speak to the importance that this committee places on responsiveness by all officials in the executive branch that we expect and will be seeking from you. So, I ask you to provide just a simple "yes" or "no" answer to these questions.

Do you agree to appear before this committee and make officials from your office available to the committee and designated staff, when invited?

Ambassador BURNS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you commit to keep the committee fully and currently informed about the activities that will be under your purview?

Ambassador BURNS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you commit to engaging in meaningful consultation while policies are being developed, not just providing notification after the fact?

Ambassador BURNS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And do you commit to promptly responding to requests for briefings and information requested by the committee and its designated staff?

Ambassador BURNS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Well, let me start off. First of all, I think your statement encompasses many of the sentiments, concerns, and questions that members of the committee have, and so it was very encompassing of many of the issues I think we care about. And together, we have to work to make sure that Xi Jinping is wrong. That the West is not setting, but it will continue to shine.

Now many experts emphasize the importance of U.S. collaboration and joint action with allies, partners, and multilateral organizations to address the challenges that China poses. However, collaboration can be harder in practice than in theory, particularly when countries have different views and competing interests.

In what specific areas can you speak to that collaboration has been helpful in addressing the challenges that China poses? And in what areas and with which country do you see particular opportunities or constraints?

Ambassador BURNS. Mr. Chairman, thank you. And I think this is the right question to ask about how we form a strategy that can be successful against the Chinese Government.

The comparative advantage that we have versus China is that we have treaty allies. We have partners who deeply believe in us, and the Chinese really do not. And so, in the Indo-Pacific, I think President Biden has tried to emphasize the need for us to be very closely aligned with Japan, with South Korea, with Australia, our treaty allies, our defense partners, the Philippines and Thailand.

As you know, and I think every administration since President Clinton has been working on this, we have a newfound security partner in India. That makes a great difference to have Indian-American interests aligned, as they clearly are, strategically in the Indo-Pacific. And President Biden, of course, has taken the QUAD idea—and I give credit to President Trump and Secretary Pompeo for reinvigorating the QUAD in 2019 and 2020. But President Biden has held two head of government meetings of the QUAD, one virtual and one in person at the White House.

President Biden's initiative for AUKUS, to deepen our strategic engagement with our great ally Australia and our ally the United Kingdom, could be transformational and I think has been widely praised to be such in the Indo-Pacific. So, as we confront China, whether it is on the military balance of power in the Indo-Pacific, whether it is the fight that we have to convince China, push China to play by the rules on trade, we have a coincidence of use with Japan, the European Union, the European allies on all these issues, and I think the President has focused on the Indo-Pacific, but he is also focusing on the European allies.

And I have seen a change in the last 2 or 3 years in the attitudes of most European governments, now much more skeptical about China on 5G, on China's nefarious belt-and-road initiative influence in Eastern Europe. And so I do think this is a big part of the strategy that we need to continue to work on.

The CHAIRMAN. Now let me turn to Taiwan. Given increasing aggression and threatening rhetoric from Beijing, some have called for an end to the policy of strategic ambiguity with regard to Taiwan. How do you think the United States can most effectively signal our resolve and deter Chinese aggression towards Taiwan?

Ambassador BURNS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. This is a central question these days, particularly after all the bullying and intimidation tactics of the Chinese towards Taiwan, the sending of 150 Chinese aircraft into the air identification zone of Taiwan just 10 days ago.

My own view—and fortunately, this is backed up, I think, by both the Biden administration's and every other administration going back four decades—is that we have enormous latitude—Congress and the executive branch—under the Taiwan Relations Act to deepen our security assistance to Taiwan.

The Taiwan Relations Act, written in January 1979, is remarkably modern for the strategic questions we are facing in 2021. It says that we have an unofficial relationship with Taiwan, obviously, but we have a responsibility to help Taiwan achieve a self-defense capability through the provision of defense articles and services. So, in the last—since 2009, the Obama and the Trump and the Biden administrations have provided about \$30 billion worth of assistance to Taiwan.

Given what China has done, given China's, frankly, objectionable statements towards Taiwan, I think the Congress and the executive branch have every right to continue to deepen our security cooperation, to expand our arms provisions to Taiwan. That is the most important thing we can do.

In addition to that, the Taiwan Relations Act also calls for the United States to provide the strongest possible deterrent in the Western Pacific, the language of 1979, or the Indian Ocean, as we would refer to it today. And in addition to that, as a third measure, we ought to be asking and we are asking our allies to show a real commitment to Taiwan. And we are seeing that from Japan and other allies.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, we have got to be very clear about our criticism of China. And what the Chinese are trying to do to this very successful society on Taiwan, with its very healthy democracy, extraordinary performance in the coronavirus, is to simply intimidate them. And so we have all got to speak up and shine a light on those Chinese actions and Chinese rhetoric.

That is essentially the policy of the last 40 years. I think that policy is the right one and the smart one for today.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. Senator Risch?

Senator RISCH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Let us pick up with Taiwan where you left off.

How do you differentiate what happened in Hong Kong with Taiwan? In reading and listening to the Chinese, it seems to me that Taiwan is even more of an irritant to them than Hong Kong was. Fortunately, Taiwan has got the sea between themselves and China, but I really fear that we are going to see the same kind of pushing the envelope in Taiwan that gets it to a point where there is a crisis. What are your views on it?

Ambassador BURNS. Senator, you are right to ask that question. I share your concern.

As Senator Markey mentioned, I was State Department spokesperson. I accompanied Secretary Albright on June 30, 1997, to the handover from the UK to the PRC on Hong Kong. And all of us remember, but I particularly remember from our meeting with the

Chinese leadership that day the commitments they made to the people of Hong Kong and to the rest of us around the world. And the Chinese have gone back on every one of those commitments.

So, if we link that to Taiwan, we obviously cannot trust China to meet the commitments it has made on the Taiwan issue. When Congress passed the Taiwan Relations Act, when administration after administration pursued a one China policy, we obviously did so on the presumption that there would be peace in the cross-strait relationship between Taiwan and China, and there is not much peace today. There is assertiveness and aggression.

So, I do not think we can—we certainly cannot trust the Chinese on this issue. We have to be aware of their rhetoric, aware of it. And the rhetoric of its leader and many other Chinese leaders in recent months has been that they intend to take back Taiwan.

Our responsibility is to make Taiwan a tough nut to crack, help it increase its asymmetric defenses through the Taiwan Relations Act. And other countries can do that as well. It is a central issue in the relationship now.

Senator RISCH. And I agree with that. The thing that I guess I am concerned about as much as anything, watching what they have been doing with their incursions into the air space reminds me a lot of Hong Kong. It is just pushing the envelope. It is a camel's nose in the tent, and it just gets worse and worse until it collapses. So, that is going to be something I think we are going to have to watch very closely.

Let us talk about China's nuclear build-up. Do you agree that they are pursuing a massive nuclear build-up in China?

Ambassador BURNS. It certainly appears so, both in the western part of China, where their IC—the reports of the ICBM expansion and also with this novel delivery system that has been publicized of late.

Senator RISCH. One thing that is very concerning to me and I think other members of this committee is that there is this discussion within the administration of a sole purpose nuclear declaratory policy, which is, in essence, no first use. It is another way of saying no first use, but it is not as direct. But it is the exact same thing.

I would hope you would become a spokesman within the administration about how damaging that that kind of a declaration would be, a sole purpose declaration. I am not sure if you are aware of this or not, but I can guarantee you that the allies, particularly the ones that are counting on us in the Indo-Pacific region, are very concerned about the declaration of sole purpose nuclear declaratory policy. What are your thoughts on that?

Ambassador BURNS. Senator, I appreciated our conversation last evening about this in your office, and as I explained, I am a private citizen appearing before you as a nominee without access to the intelligence. I do not have a security clearance. So, I am very reluctant to speak specifically about the Nuclear Posture Review, which is underway.

But I do know that President Biden has indicated clearly that he is going to support the strongest possible and the safest American nuclear deterrent, as every President has done since President Harry Truman, and that is obviously an obligation to the American

people. I would also just add, Senator Risch—we also talked about this last week—I think the spotlight should be on China. They have said for decades, the Chinese Government, that they want to have a minimum nuclear deterrent. They are blasting past that definition, and they are rapidly engaged in a build-up of their nuclear arsenal, including the disturbing reports of the hypersonic technology.

So, I think the spotlight has to be on the Government of China.

Senator RISCH. Well, I agree with that. You having the credentials that you have on a bipartisan basis and your deep knowledge of our allies, particularly ones that we have a defense posture with, I would hope you would be a spokesman within the administration regarding this. I am very concerned about it. A lot of people are concerned about it.

And I understand that you have done an excellent job throughout your career of carrying water on both shoulders for administration from either party. I think that brings a tremendous amount of credibility to you, and I think your words in that regard would be very important as they proceed with the Nuclear Posture Review. I have no doubt they will be consulting with you, given the position you are in. So, I would urge that you communicate in the strongest terms to the administration the concern that our allies in the region have with this policy.

Thank you. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. Senator Cardin?

Senator CARDIN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Ambassador Burns, first of all, let me thank you for your incredible career of public service. You have really advanced American values globally in every post that you have held, and I personally have appreciated your advice during very difficult times. So, thank you very much for your service to our country and your willingness to continue in this critical role as our Ambassador in China.

There are so many issues that we need to talk about, and we have already mentioned a lot of our national security concerns. We know that China is belligerent in the China seas, making claims that are outrageous and affect international commerce and our national security. We know that they are trying to change the rules of engagement economically so that they determine the rules based upon a government-controlled economy rather than an open economy, which is against our national security interests. We know how belligerent they are against Taiwan, and the list goes on and on and on.

But I want to devote my time to what President Biden has said that we are strongest when we conduct our foreign policy based upon our values. And China, in the recent decades, has just been moving in the wrong direction on universal human rights values, and we could go through the entire list, and it is a long list.

So, I guess, my question to you is: how will you balance and strategize America's presence in China through your mission to advance universal values—of the respect for individuals' religious freedom, human rights, and basic beliefs that the universal community that believes in democracy looks to America's leadership as hope for the future?

Ambassador BURNS. Senator, thank you very much for that question, and thank you for your decades of service to those issues, and I am very well aware of that.

I think you are right to suggest that as we think about our tools, our strengths, as we compete with China, it is our belief in human freedom and human rights and democracy and the rule of law and press freedoms that really stands in opposition to an authoritarian dictatorship in Beijing. And so if we can marshal those strengths—and President Biden and his administration believe this is at the center of their foreign policy—on Xinjiang, on Tibet, on Hong Kong, on the repression of the Chinese people, we cannot just do that sometimes. We cannot be silent if there are atrocities occurring or, in the case of Xinjiang, a genocide is occurring. We have to speak out.

And you have seen the President, Secretary Blinken, and all of the officials been very forthright about that since January 20 of this year. I think that will continue, and that will certainly be, if I am confirmed, a hallmark of what I try to do, speaking directly to the Chinese Government in Beijing.

Senator CARDIN. I would ask also that you inform this committee as to how we can give you a stronger hand in dealing on these issues. We have passed sanction regime laws that have been used against oppressors in China, individual sanctions such as Magnitsky as well as sectoral sanctions have been used, and I think they have their effect. I think they are extremely important.

But we need to also think beyond that as to what we can do to give you what you need. The competitiveness bill that the chairman mentioned I think is going to be an extremely important part of our strategy again in standing up to China's oppression on the economic front. But we should also be looking at what we can do as a Congress to give you a stronger hand in China in dealing with these universal rights.

So, I would welcome your advice as to what we can do to give you a stronger toolbox in dealing with these issues.

Ambassador BURNS. Thank you, Senator. And I would just suggest a couple of things, and I have spoken to the chairman and other members of the committee in my individual meetings about them.

First and foremost, when the coronavirus mercifully ends and when the restrictions on China—there is a 3-week quarantine in China for visitors—at some point end, I hope that Members of Congress from both parties will travel to China. And if I am confirmed, I would like to help you to do that. I think they need to hear directly from our legislative branch on these issues. These will be difficult conversations for you and for me with the Chinese leadership, but we have to have them.

Secondly, I would encourage you, respectfully, to continue what you are doing, what this committee has done under the chairman's leadership and Senator Risch's leadership, on a bipartisan basis to speak out and legislate when necessary and to sanction when necessary.

Third and finally, President Biden was right on the issue of Xinjiang and the Uyghurs and the other Turkic Muslim peoples when he coalesced with Canada, the European Union, and the

United Kingdom in multinational sanctions against specific Chinese individuals responsible for carrying out the atrocities in Xinjiang. I think that can be helpful as well, to expand the universe of—expand our voice to work with other nations, perhaps through the NATO Parliamentary Assembly and your parliamentary exchanges with the Japanese, the Australians, and others.

Senator CARDIN. Thank you. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. Senator Johnson?

Senator JOHNSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Ambassador Burns, thank you for your prior service and your willingness to serve in this capacity.

I agree with you that if we act intelligently, the U.S. in concert with our allies in the West, we can compete with China. China, though, has advantages in terms of very long-term, very strategic thinking, authoritarian. They do not have the back-and-forth of elections, that type of thing. So, they have utilized that long-term strategic thinking while the West literally has not done much to counter their infiltration to our institutions, their stealing of our intellectual property since their entry into the WTO.

I would just like you to comment on how do we—how do we counter what they have done, and how do we do that effectively?

Ambassador BURNS. Senator, thank you. I think it is—I think it is a central question.

We have to have a strategy to match China's strategy. I think that is beginning to develop over the last several years in the last three administrations—President Obama, President Trump, and President Biden.

And as I said in my testimony, what distinguishes us and strengthens us is the fact that we have our alliance with Japan and our alliance with Australia and South Korea. And I have been involved in my past diplomatic career in intensive discussions with the Europeans. I think they are less united perhaps in the European Union right now, but I sense that the Europeans are shifting to understand the threat, a threat to them as well as to us and our Indo-Pacific allies.

So, I think operating on an allied basis is the most important thing we can do. And sometimes that means we form institutions. So, the QUAD is an institution that both parties can be proud of. Republican and Democratic Presidents have supported the QUAD, and now President Biden is operationalizing it at the head of government level, which we had not done before.

AUKUS, three countries coming together. We need to build the institutions that are permanent and that take this policy that we are discussing this morning into the 2030s because the competition with China will be multi-decade.

Senator JOHNSON. Yes, I do want to address specifically their infiltration into our university systems, the Confucius institutes, their investment in things like medical journals. It really concerns me.

There is so much we do not know, for example, about the coronavirus, so much we do not know about COVID. I really do—I really want to get your take on a real potential fault line when we start learning more, for example, about the origin theory. I

mean, I do not know whether it was lab leak or whether it was natural origin. People are starting to look into that.

Obviously, there was a cover-up here for 18 months, and it, as a result, gave China a really good head start at burying evidence. Back in March of 2020, you participated in a virtual event at Harvard's Kennedy Center, and you definitely were critical of China, saying that this was an army exercise. But at the same time, you were very critical of President Trump for calling it the "Chinese virus" and the "Wuhan virus." You said that we all know that is wrong. We all know that is racist. We all know that is not true.

I guess I am kind of wondering how did you know? We still do not know. How were you so positive that this was not a lab leak theory, and have you changed your mind? Have you seen other evidence that would at least open up your mind to that prospect? Because if it is determined that it probably was not natural origin and did leak from a lab in Wuhan, that will have very serious geopolitical repercussions between—in our relationship with China.

Ambassador BURNS. Thank you, Senator. I want to agree with you briefly on the issue of students and exchanges.

We ought to welcome Chinese students into the United States. But student visas are not a right. They have to be earned. Our laws have to be observed. There are some Chinese student applicants who have ties to the PLA, the People's Liberation Army, and China's intelligence services, and we should turn them down for visas. And we have to be clear about that.

But we also have 375,000 students in our universities and secondary schools in your State and my State, at my university, and we are better off having them in this country to learn about our democracy.

On the coronavirus, the problem here is with China. The Chinese Government withheld information very clearly from their own people and the rest of the world for about a month in late December and January of 2020. I have consistently criticized the Chinese Government for that, and they deserve to be criticized. And they have been stonewalling all of us around the world since January of 2020, including this week, when they refused to act to work with the World Health Organization's new investigative body to answer the question that you rightfully asked.

Senator JOHNSON. But again, my question, are you still so certain that lab leak is off the table? Because you were very certain back then. You said it was, you know, we all know that is not true. Have you changed your thinking on that? Because I mean, it is important if you are going to be Ambassador to China that you have a more open mind on this than you exhibited back in March of 2020.

Ambassador BURNS. So, Senator, I spoke often about this issue of U.S.-China relations at that period of time, and I believe that that quote from the Kennedy School event was directed to President Trump's use of the term "Wuhan virus," which I did not think would be effective with the Chinese Government or Chinese people or people around the world. It had nothing to do with the origins of the crisis, of the pandemic.

My position has been all along, and continues this day, we need to investigate. We do not know where the—how this virus origi-

nated for sure. There are multiple theories, and the Chinese need to answer the questions.

So, I have never been a proponent of either one of these two options. But I think, as President Biden has said, we need to push the Chinese to come clean about what happened.

Senator JOHNSON. Okay, thanks for that clarification. I appreciate it. Thank you.

Ambassador BURNS. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Shaheen?

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

And Ambassador Burns, thank you for your willingness to continue to serve the United States.

As I am sure you are aware, there have been reported cases of anomalous health incidents in China, also known as “Havana syndrome” cases. Have you been briefed on the reported cases in China?

Ambassador BURNS. Senator, I do not have a security clearance. So, I have not been briefed in detail about what has happened to our mission personnel there, but I have had unclassified, open conversations with the State Department. And what I would say to you is my own view, just as a private citizen, is that this is real. It is happening to our diplomats and other Government personnel all around the world. And if confirmed, my obligation to you and, more particularly, to the men and women of our mission in China is to do everything under my power to protect them, working with the Secretary of State and all of our other officials.

Senator SHAHEEN. Well, thank you very much. I appreciate that. I hope you will also request from the State Department, once confirmed, that classified briefing that also includes how to encourage personnel to respond if they are affected and what to look for in terms of those attacks because, to date, there does not seem to be a consistent response and direction for personnel.

Ambassador BURNS. Thank you.

Senator SHAHEEN. You mentioned in your opening remarks and in the questioning about the increased Chinese influence in Eastern Europe and also Lithuania, which is one example of an Eastern European country that has taken a hard stance on China. In July, they actually became the first European country to allow a Taiwanese diplomatic presence using the island’s name in the country.

Can you talk about what you think the impact of Lithuania’s stance is? We know it has produced a response from China, but will it have impact on other Eastern European countries and encourage them to take a hard look at what China is doing?

Ambassador BURNS. Thank you.

Lithuania has chosen its course, and every country has a right to define its relationship with Taiwan. And I am proud that the Biden administration has stood up for Lithuania. And you know, it is extraordinary. The Chinese Government has launched an intensive intimidation campaign, economic intimidation of Lithuania, and the Lithuanians have stood up and they have held their ground. They deserve our support, as Australia does. And Australia has been subjected to the same treatment.

We have our own policy, the one China policy, which we should adhere to. Our unofficial relationship with Taiwan, which has

served us well. Every other country should have a right to determine what they want to do, and they should not be bludgeoned and bullied by the Chinese leadership.

Senator SHAHEEN. Well, thank you very much. I could not agree more with that, and I think Lithuania deserves a lot of credit for a small country being willing to stand up in the way that they have.

Earlier this month, NATO Secretary Jens Stoltenberg insisted that NATO must engage politically with China, but the alliance does not seem to see China as as much of a threat as they do Russia. Does China view NATO in the same way, and what do you think NATO's strategy should be towards China?

Ambassador BURNS. Thank you, Senator.

It has been really interesting for me, as a former Ambassador to NATO, to see how high on the agenda China has become over the last couple of years during President Trump's time and now President Biden's time. And the focus is right. I mean, certainly, Russia is the immediate focus of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and especially considering Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, and Poland right up on the front lines as we try to contain Russian power.

But I think the NATO countries, led by a great Secretary General, Jens Stoltenberg, also understand China is—the belt-and-road initiative is now in 16 countries in Eastern Europe. The Chinese are actively trying to separate countries in Eastern Europe from the European Union and NATO. And if you think about Chinese energy activities and military activities in the Eastern Mediterranean Sea, which is part of the NATO littoral geography, and think about the interests of Germany and France, Italy, any of the NATO countries, they have got to be concerned by what is happening in Xinjiang Province and what has happened to Hong Kong, the threats against Taiwan, and the economic practices of China.

My last point would be if we can coalesce with the European Union, the United States and Japan, on some of the economic issues, we are well more than 60 percent of GDP. It is real leverage. So, Europe has to be part of this strategy, and I credit the Secretary General. I credit Ambassador Kay Bailey Hutchison, who was our great American Ambassador under President Trump. She pushed this issue, and she was right to do that.

Senator SHAHEEN. And do you think China has become concerned about NATO's increasing interest in what China is doing in Europe, or are they ignoring that?

Ambassador BURNS. I do not think they are ignoring it, Senator. I mean, the reason I used the term "China is not an Olympian power" in my statement, and I meant it specifically. They have enormous strengths. They have very few friends. They have no real allies.

And think of the strategic advantage we have with our 29 allies in Canada, the Europeans in NATO, and our multiple treaty allies in the Indo-Pacific. It is our comparative advantage, and I think President Biden has been working overtime with Secretary Blinken to reach out to the allies both in NATO and the Indo-Pacific to say we need to be working together strategically on China.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. Let me just quickly echo Senator Shaheen's comments about Lithuania.

Lithuania and how we respond to help it is a test for the West. Because when a country stands up against China and then faces the enormous economic consequences that China is creating against Lithuanian businesses by denying them supply chain opportunities, which is a wakeup call for the world, I think it is incredibly important that we stand by Lithuania extremely strongly.

Senator Romney?

Senator ROMNEY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

And I wish to associate myself with the comments of the chairman and the ranking member at the beginning of this hearing. It is good to see you, Ambassador, and very deeply appreciate your willingness to serve once again your country at a critical time.

We all know China's ambition. They have described what it is. They seek to replace us as the global leader. The prospect of a global order led by China is one which is troubling for many reasons. We could see what that might look like based upon what they are doing even now, censoring their media, blacking out social media in their country, stealing intellectual property from us and from others, reneging on treaties and promises they made, repressing religion and people of faith, monitoring their own citizens and assigning social grades based upon their loyalty to the Chinese regime, the Communist regime, oppressing minorities of all kinds and, of course, committing genocide.

We say that quickly, but genocide. Eliminating a people, enslaving a people, as they are—all these things suggest that a global order led by China would be something which the world could not possibly endure.

There was probably a time a decade or so ago when, if you were the Ambassador to China, you could go in and pound your fist on the table, and they would take note and perhaps change course on some of the things we care most about because they were worried about their access to the U.S. market. Is that true today? Can we sort of tell China what to do, and do they respond? Or are we no longer in that position?

Ambassador BURNS. Senator, thank you, and I appreciated the conversation we had in your office 2 weeks ago about all these issues.

I think our relationship is fundamentally different now than it was 10 years ago or 20 years ago. And I have spoken to most of the former American Ambassadors about this, and we are in an entirely new age where we have got to have channels of communication to work with the Chinese.

First of all, we want to mitigate the danger of an accidental conflict. We want to maintain the peace, but we also want to have clear messaging, and I think multiple channels make sense. If confirmed, I will be on point for the country and the Government in Beijing talking directly to the Chinese. I think it is very important for Members to travel there, Members of Congress, and ultimately, most important for the President to have direct conversations, as he is seeking to do. He has had phone conversations with President Xi Jinping.

But these are difficult conversations, and you have seen the aggressiveness of the Chinese officials. You have seen the nationalism. You have seen the warrior diplomacy. It is part of the fabric of what we are dealing with now.

And my final point, Senator, would be to say we are a strong country. We should be confident of our values and our interests, and we can stand up to the Chinese, but our allies and partners can help to do that so that there is real weight and leverage. And I do think that is the focus.

Senator ROMNEY. What is your sense of the commitment of our allies to that effort? We have spoken already this morning about NATO and our friends and allies there. Perhaps Germany is not quite as committed as, let us say, Lithuania. But as you look at our allies, are we advancing in terms of our mutual efforts, or is there some retreat on the part of key allies?

Ambassador BURNS. I do not see retreat. Certainly, I think we are seeing a stiffening of the resolve of Japan, which is so important for us. Australia, rock solid on these issues. India, not an ally, not a treaty ally, but a strategic military partner in the Bay of Bengal and the Western Pacific. Very important for us.

Europe is different. There are so many countries with different views. Of course, we are waiting for the formation of the German Government. So, we will have to wait and see what the Social Democrats and the Greens do, but I would note that the Greens were very critical of China during the recent campaign in Germany. And certainly, President Macron has spoken out about the dangers of China in the Indo-Pacific, and France is unique among the European powers because it is an Indo-Pacific country as well.

And so, I think, we have got to work both the North Atlantic Alliance, the European Union, but especially our Indo-Pacific allies to be successful.

Senator ROMNEY. There are some who look at China and say it is a juggernaut. There is no way to slow it down. It is on a course that is unstoppable. Do you see it that way? Is there a way of dissuading China from a course as malevolent as what we are seeing today? Do they have some fundamental weaknesses that the rest of the world recognizes and can get them to divert from the course they are on?

Ambassador BURNS. It is certainly—yours is certainly a key analytical question, and none of us can deny the extraordinary growth in the power of China militarily, technologically, economically, and politically over the last 30 to 40 years. But we should not exaggerate that power. I said in my statement China has significant demographic challenges over the next few decades. It has angered nearly all the countries on its border by being overly aggressive and overly acquisitive.

Think of the South China Sea and the outrageous attempts by the Chinese Government to run roughshod over the Law of the Sea Treaty and the legal obligations that China is ignoring. Think of the East China Sea and their attempt to intimidate, but they have not succeeded, our ally Japan, and think of Taiwan.

And so I think the Chinese have, by being so aggressive, they have now stirred up a lot of opposition to them, and I think we ought not to exaggerate their strengths or underestimate the

strengths of the United States. What we need is self-confidence that the United States is a strong country, and I do think our values are the strongest part of our strategy towards China.

Senator ROMNEY. Thank you, Ambassador.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. Senator Coons?

Senator COONS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman and Ranking Member.

Thank you, Ambassador Burns, for your willingness to continue your service overseas. You are the right nominee at the right moment for what is an absolutely critical relationship for the 21st century, and I think in your opening statement you laid out wisely the challenges that are before us.

So, I am particularly pleased, given your deep experience in the Foreign Service, as Ambassador to Greece and to NATO, your work leading the Aspen Strategy Group, through which I have gotten to see your remarkable talents of both strategic insight and interpersonal diplomacy. And my thanks to Libby, to the support you have gotten from your spouse and your family across a long career in service.

Just a few questions, if I might, because I know there are many others who have questions. But first, I think part of what you bring to this is an understanding of how to effectively deploy that key strategic advantage of allies and partners, and I think you correctly point out that China's greatest current global weakness is the absence of any real partners or allies.

So, given your experience as Ambassador, first to Greece and then later to NATO, how do you envision the U.S.-Europe Transatlantic alliance responding to the strategic competition with China, the values competition? And how do you think you can best play a role in engaging our allies in the Indo-Pacific and in Europe?

Ambassador BURNS. Senator, thank you very much for those comments and for your question.

In my entire diplomatic career, probably the lesson I learned most most vividly was 9/11, when I was a very new Ambassador. I was in my 12th day, and we were hit hard, 3,000 people dead in the United States. And we could not reach the Pentagon, the White House, and the State Department because they had all been evacuated, but my phone started to ring at NATO headquarters, and it was the Canadian Ambassador, David Wright, and the German Ambassador, and the Italian and French Ambassadors. "We are with you. We want to invoke Article 5." That is the bond.

We invoked Article 5 the next day, and that is the bond we have in our allies. And it is based in part on strategic interests that we have in common, but it is fundamentally based on values and belief in democracy and human rights. And that is the coalition that we need to form vis-à-vis China.

And I credit President Biden. When he came to office from his inaugural speech, to his first speech at the State Department, to his G7 and NATO and EU meetings—and you know this very well, Senator, because you are so close to him—he has been consistent in saying we are going to succeed most if we are with our allies. And Secretary Blinken has been working tirelessly on this.

And I think it is going to be, frankly, most challenging perhaps in Europe. It is not the fault of the Europeans, but it is a big group of countries and a multiplicity of views. NATO is in one way the

right institution for certain issues, and we are working those there, but the European Union on others.

And I would just say, and we had a chance to talk about this this morning together, we need to be together on human rights. We need to stand up together, Europeans and Americans, on the Uyghur issue, on Tibet, on Hong Kong, and on Taiwan. And we need to be together on trade because both of us are victims of Chinese unfair trade practices.

And think of the power of the EU, the U.S., perhaps Japan, working together. I think that is the part of the strategy that we have to operate.

Senator COONS. Thank you, Ambassador.

I do think we are in an era where concerns about the digital world and the role of the individual in a digital age are also at the forefront. I am very concerned about the way in which China has developed and deployed the technology to surveil and to censor, to even control its own population and actions they have taken to export not just that technology, but that attitude to other countries around the world.

How do you think we can best work with global partners to offer an alternative vision in which digital technologies serve democratic values and then to embed that in a common trade framework with the values partners you were just referencing?

Ambassador BURNS. Thank you, Senator.

This is also a central question, and President Biden, from his inaugural speech on, has been talking about the need for democracies to recognize the threat from the authoritarian world. And that is principally the People's Republic of China and Russia and others around the world.

And to see the pernicious use of—misuse of technology to repress their own citizens and then to try to export that technology in countries where there is a struggle between democratic, small “d” democratic forces and authoritarian forces, we have got to be operating all across the world to help the democratic forces and to help blunt this technological impact.

I think it is a very important issue. I know the State Department and Secretary Blinken are seized by it.

Senator COONS. Well, thank you, Mr. Ambassador. I look forward to supporting your nomination and working closely with you. I think better understanding China, better communicating with China about our risks and opportunities is an important and critical role, but also clearly advocating for America's interests and values is an essential role, and I think you will be an excellent Ambassador. I look forward to supporting your nomination.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. Senator Barrasso?

Senator BARRASSO. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Ambassador Burns, welcome to the committee.

The Chinese Communist Party cannot be trusted. The world has seen China's brutality, deception, illegal activities. We have seen China cover up, spread disinformation about the coronavirus. We have seen China destroy Hong Kong's autonomy. We have seen them engage in unlawful military activities in the South China

Sea. We have seen China steal American intellectual property, commit terrible human rights abuses.

Now these, to me, are actions of a dangerous and authoritarian regime. It is not a nation committed to the rule of law, to free markets, to protecting the rights of people. It is clear the United States and the international community must hold China accountable for its increasingly dangerous behavior.

So, just recently, the CIA Director Bill Burns stated that China “presents the greatest challenge to U.S. interests and to international order.” He also announced the creation of a new China Mission Center to “strengthen our collective work on the most important geopolitical threat that we face in the 21st century, which is an increasingly adversarial Chinese Government.”

Do you concur and believe that China’s increasingly adversarial government is the most important geopolitical threat that the United States faces in the 21st century?

Ambassador BURNS. Thank you, Senator.

I agree with my longtime friend and Foreign Service colleague Director Bill Burns. I agree with the statement he made. I noticed it. I read his statement. He and I grew up in the first 10 years of our career where the end of the Cold War, when the Soviet Union was the greatest threat.

There is no question in the 21st century, given Chinese power that we have talked about this morning, China is the greatest threat to the security of our country and of the democratic world.

Senator BARRASSO. Thank you.

I want to ask you about the U.S.-China Phase One agreement. Remember, January of 2020, the United States and China signed a Phase One trade agreement. China committed to buy \$468 billion of U.S. goods, energy, agriculture, and services over a 2-year period of time. But they really do—China appears to be failing to comply to this agreement.

Reports indicate that China’s purchases have fallen far short for both 2020 and 2021. Do you believe China is committed to abiding by its promises under this agreement, and what are options available to us to ensure that China does fulfill the terms of the agreement?

Ambassador BURNS. Thank you, Senator.

This is going to be a contentious issue, and it has been for a long time between our two countries. I think you know that the U.S. Trade Representative, Ambassador Katherine Tai, gave a speech here in Washington 2 1/2 weeks ago, and she was very forthright in saying—I will just summarize, which—her main point, saying that she would talk to her Chinese counterpart about that Phase One deal and about the performance of the Chinese Government in meeting or not meeting its commitments.

And I think she was right to suggest that that has to be the first order of business on trade with China. And obviously, we in the United States need to make investments in our own economy to strengthen it, which the President and Congress are working on. And we have to overcome the ravages of COVID-19 before we can probably get on to bigger initiatives, but I think she was right to start there. Hold China to account for what it promised President

Trump, and I think most observers and experts would say they have not fulfilled their obligations.

Senator BARRASSO. In addition to goods and energy and agriculture products, there is also intellectual property obligations under this U.S.-China Phase One agreement. What steps can we take to ensure that China fully implements and complies with the intellectual property?

Ambassador BURNS. That is a key issue because it gets to the systemic violations of China's WTO commitments. I named some of them in my statement—intellectual property theft, dumping, state subsidies, unfair labor practices. So, when we talk to the Chinese about trade, part of it is our two-way \$559 billion trade relationship in goods and then more in services. Part of it is getting at these systemic problems that I think every recent President has wrestled the Chinese on.

Senator BARRASSO. For my final question, earlier this year, China and Iran signed a memorandum of understanding in which China would invest as much as \$400 billion in Iran over the next 25 years. Last month, Iran was accepted as a member of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. China has long been importing Iranian oil in contravention of the U.S. sanctions on Iran. Sanctioned Iranian airlines continue to fly to China.

Not simply a matter of a few Chinese companies violating U.S. law, there is a lot going on here. It appears to be a strategic decision by the Chinese Government to allow these violations to take place. What is your assessment of the current relationship between China and Iran?

Ambassador BURNS. This is a very serious issue. As you portray it, and you are right, this is a closer relationship than China and Iran had, say, when I was the Iran negotiator for Secretary Condoleezza Rice, when China joined us in three U.N. Security Council sanctions resolutions Chapter 7 against the Iranians in 2006, '07, and '08. And now they have a closer relationship.

I think what we ought to do and we will do, I am sure, under President Biden's administration, talk to the Chinese directly about this and, obviously, hold the Chinese to account to abide by every U.N. Security Council sanctions resolution that prohibits most of this activity.

Senator BARRASSO. Thank you, Mr. Ambassador. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. Senator Murphy?

Senator MURPHY. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Ambassador, thank you very much for your long service to the Nation, for your willingness to continue in a very difficult, but critical post.

When the Obama administration negotiated the Paris Accords, it was critical that they secure commitments from the fastest-growing economies, which happened to be the fastest-growing polluters, to make significant commitments. Of course, India and China are at the top of this list. We lost 4 years in holding both of those nations to their commitments, and so you and this administration are going to be making up for lost time.

India is, arguably, in the neighborhood of being able to make their commitment in Paris. China is not. In fact, a recent report

found that Chinese emissions in 2019 were so big that they were larger than that of the entire developed world as a whole.

And so I would be interested to hear from you what you believe are the commitments that can be realistically made by the Chinese, especially in the short term as we get ready for COP26, and the extent to which our ability to pass significant climate legislation will enable you to be a more forceful interlocutor with the Chinese on questions of climate.

Ambassador BURNS. Thank you, Senator. Another central question.

And it does—this is a side of the relationship where we have to engage China and seek cooperation, if it is possible. And this makes this relationship so difficult because we are competing, and we are engaging at the same time.

Climate is perhaps the signature issue on the cooperation side, and obviously, President Obama was able to work with President Xi Jinping back in 2015. That was positive. Former Secretary John Kerry is now working tirelessly on this issue. And China, as I understand China's current position, its emissions will not begin to diminish until 2030. And most climate experts, if not all, think that is not sustainable, that China needs to make a greater effort to diminish its carbon emissions before 2030.

And also they say they will be carbon neutral by 2060. It has got to be well before that. Because you are right, China is by far the larger emitter of carbon in the world today, by a long mile past the United States and any other country. And so they have an obligation to the rest of us. Beginning at COP26 and going on, this will be a major issue in our relationship.

Senator MURPHY. I want to ask you, second, about your assessment of the scope and breadth of Chinese diplomacy today. There was a sort of flurry of attention to a milestone in 2019, where China surpassed the United States with respect to the number of diplomatic posts it has around the world.

I was in Ireland that same year, where there was an important telecommunications tender, and we were hearing stories about a surge of diplomats being sent to the embassy in Dublin. Meanwhile, we had one very nice and capable military attache, who was the beginning and end of our diplomatic team working on behalf of U.S. companies for this tender.

It seems as if China is—has diplomatic reach in new places and has an ability to be flexible and nimble in a way that we do not. One of the things that I believe we should be engaging in is more subnational diplomacy, using our State leaders and our local leaders to engage all around the world on behalf of the United States, something that China does fairly well.

Just a quick assessment from you as to the state of Chinese diplomatic efforts around the world, how it has changed over the past 5 or 10 years, and any recommendations that you might give to this committee as we seek to empower U.S. diplomacy to compete with China.

Ambassador BURNS. Thank you, Senator.

The Chinese have sought to become the most active, in their minds, and most powerful diplomatic force in the world. For my entire career until a couple of years ago, the United States had more

embassies and consulates in the world than any country. As of last autumn, China had 275 embassies and consulates, and the United States 273. Is it meaningful? Yes.

It means we have to compete—we are competing militarily. We are competing economically. We have got to compete diplomatically. I can assure you we have an outstanding Foreign Service. I have gotten to know over the last couple of months the men and women of the China desk in our East Asia Bureau. They are superb experts, and we do need to make a commitment, as the President and Secretary Blinken are doing, to modernize, strengthen our Foreign Service and our civil service. That is part of our diplomatic power.

And finally, Senator, I think you are right. Diplomacy is not just for people like me, State Department diplomats. We need multiple channels to create the coalitions and friendships that can limit China, and that can be State governors and legislatures and NGOs, subnational actors, as you call them.

And I think we have got to have an all-country embrace of connecting with our allies to support our interests vis-à-vis China.

Senator MURPHY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. Senator Hagerty?

Senator HAGERTY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Ambassador Burns, nice to have you here today. I would like to talk with you about China's strategy to dominate the 21st century.

We just learned over the weekend that China has deployed for the first time what is known as the hypersonic glide missile. As the Financial Times reported, and I am going to quote, "China tested a nuclear-capable hypersonic missile in August that circled the globe before speeding toward its target, demonstrating an advanced space capability that caught U.S. intelligence by surprise."

If China deploys hypersonic glide vehicles, this would enable China to circumvent U.S. ballistic missile defense and strike the U.S. homeland without warning.

Ambassador Burns, this new military capability is deeply worrisome, but I believe the even bigger alarm is continued complacency about China, complacency that we still see far too much in the national security establishment here in America. We see this when China probes and menaces our democratic ally Taiwan, and the administration responds with silence or with presidential talk about a so-called Taiwan agreement that does not exist.

Xi Jinping has made clear that the Chinese Communist Party has a plan for China to dominate the world diplomatically, economically, technologically, and militarily. Xi Jinping and the Chinese Communist Party want to achieve dominance and displace the United States by 2049, the 100-year anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. And they are certainly locking in every advantage that they can along the way.

President Trump awakened our Nation to the Chinese threat, and the Biden administration has inherited a very strong China strategy, one that I helped to craft and implement when I served as U.S. Ambassador to Japan. As part of the China strategy, the Trump administration also rightly determined that China is engaged in genocide and crimes against humanity with the Uyghur population and other Muslims that live in the Xinjiang Province.

I worry that the Biden administration will try to strike some sort of naive grand bargain on climate or other issues with China that effectively might erase the strong position that we have with China today. Such a naive deal could significantly weaken our energy independence.

Meanwhile, China will continue to burn more coal and emit more greenhouse gases than all of the developed world combined, with an unenforceable pledge to reduce their carbon footprint at some undetermined time in the future. Ambassador Burns, that is my view of what is at stake strategically, but let us focus on China's immediate threat with respect to Taiwan.

It is clear that the Chinese Communist Party is stepping up its military posture in the Taiwan Strait. The world is alarmed, and Taiwan could be the first domino to fall in the Indo-Pacific. Ambassador, what is your view on the Taiwan issue, and should the United States revisit the issue of strategic ambiguity with respect to Taiwan?

Ambassador BURNS. Senator, thank you, and thank you for your service as a U.S. Ambassador to Japan.

I agree with you that China is our strongest, I would say most dangerous, competitor in the world. President Biden has followed a very tough-minded policy against China. I counted up yesterday at least 15 sanctions or executive orders limiting the ability of the Chinese Government to be influential around the world or in our own society. So, I think there has been—under President Obama, President Trump, now President Biden—an increasing emphasis on what we need to do to limit China, and President Biden's policies are very tough and very strong.

On Taiwan, we need to do multiple things. We need to strengthen our commitment to Taiwan's security under the Taiwan Relations Act. The Biden administration proposed the sale of M109A6 Howitzers this past spring, a \$750 million deal that would help the Taiwan authorities to defend themselves. There is substantial leverage in the Taiwan Relations Act available to the executive and legislative branches to continue to provide arms sales for defensive purposes, defense articles and services, to Taiwan.

And maybe the most important thing we can do is maintain a strong American military deterrence in the Indo-Pacific. You were part of that as Ambassador. Our alliance with Japan, our alliance with the Republic of Korea, our alliance with Australia, the presence of our Navy and Air Force at Andersen Air Force Base in Guam, our rotational deployments. Of course, our deployments through the international waters of the South China Sea. This is all-encompassing strategy designed to support our side and to strengthen our ability to help Taiwan defend itself.

Senator HAGERTY. I agree with you on our military strategy and our posture. We need to maintain it. We need to strengthen it. I am interested still, though, in your view on whether we should revisit our posture of strategic ambiguity, how we talk about the Taiwan situation.

Ambassador BURNS. This is an important question. My own view is that we are better off and will be more effective in staying with the one China policy of the last four decades. We recognize the People's Republic of China as the sole legal Government of China, and

yet we have unofficial relations with Taiwan, and we have under the Taiwan Relations Act the ability, in fact, the imperative of helping Taiwan to defend itself.

Every President, Republican and Democrat, has followed that policy. In the face of the Chinese build-up—and they are more aggressive now—that is the best way for us to strengthen the ability of Taiwan to defend itself.

Senator HAGERTY. My time has come to a close. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator KAINE [presiding]. Absolutely. Ambassador Burns, I am sitting in while Senator Menendez votes, and it is my turn in the order.

So, congratulations to you. You are a wonderful public servant.

I am going to ask you a couple of questions about assumptions. So, pre-2000, China had to sort of make a case to the United States every year to be granted Most Favored Nation status, and it was an annual decision that the President would make. And China, that annual decision provided a forum for discussions about human rights issues and such.

In 2000, Congress granted China permanent normal trade relation status, which paved their path to becoming a member of the WTO. So, we no longer have that annual determination and opportunity, and I think possibly we have lost some focus on some of the human rights and other issues for that reason.

The decision was made because of a belief that if China was part of the WTO, they would conform themselves to global trade rules, and I think everyone, whatever their thought at the time, would say that China's behavior has been disappointing, that they have not done what we hoped. I am curious, do you think that was a mistake for us to grant China legal permanent trade relations in 2000?

Ambassador BURNS. Thank you, Senator Kaine.

I was not involved in U.S.-China relations at that time. I was focused on Greece and NATO in those years. And of course, it is always perilous to be a Monday morning quarterback and sit in judgment of people I really admire. But personally, the assumptions that many made about China in those years turned out not to be accurate.

China took advantage of its presence in the WTO as a so-called developing country. China then did not meet its obligations under the WTO, and who suffered? American workers and American businesses. And you and I have met with a lot of American businesses who had their IP ripped off by the Chinese and made their business decisions very difficult.

So, I do think at this point in 2021, I hope there will be bipartisan support for a very aggressive American policy to hold China to account. If you read Ambassador Tai's speech of 2 1/2 weeks ago, Ambassador Katherine Tai's speech, the U.S. Trade Rep, she was very clear about her determination on behalf of the President to protect American workers and protect American businesses, and I think that has to be the focus of our efforts right now.

Senator KAINE. Thank you for that answer.

Some of my Republican colleagues actually have filed a bill to undo the legal permanent trade relations that we accorded China

21 years ago. It might be hard to get the genie back in the bottle because supply chains and others have sort of reformed and recombined to reflect the new reality.

But I think with the best of intentions, there were a lot of optimism and hopes about China—members of both parties, Presidents of both parties—that have proven to be wrong. And we have to be willing, as we were with the Competitiveness Act we recently passed, to lean much more forward in the relationship.

There is another assumption, and you touched on it in your discussion. The United States has a wonderful network of allies, but China really does not. China really does not. And we see this again and again. I think it is a statement that is actually true.

But here is something I worry about. When I see China and Russia doing joint naval exercises in the Straits of Japan, as they recently did, or other joint military exercises—they have done joint military exercises with Iran in the Persian Gulf—I start to worry a little bit about an assumption that we have long made in national security thinking that China and Russia will never be too cooperative. They seem to be combining frequently now.

They are very different countries, but they both are authoritarian nations that do not respect democratic norms and institutions and actually believe democracy is a dying governmental model. How worried should the United States be about increasing cooperation between China and Russia, especially on military matters?

Ambassador BURNS. It is a very—it is a reality, and I think a lot of us maybe 10, 20 years ago would not have anticipated that China and Russia would begin to work together strategically, but they are. All the more reason why we need to deepen our own alliances and partnerships.

I would say this, Senator, and this is just speculative. I spent 5 years of my career at the White House on Soviet and Russian affairs. My numbers may be a little bit off, but I think there are 6 or 7 million Russians living east of the Ural Mountains in that vast expanse, and there are 300 or 400 million Chinese living below them. The Russians are going to have to worry long term about economic domination of Russia by China.

And in response to what Senator Risch asked me, the Russians ought to be worried about a Chinese nuclear weapons build-up in the western part of China, about the hypersonic missile that Senator Hagerty—test that Senator Hagerty just raised, and the fact that China is completely unconstrained.

Of the five permanent nuclear powers of the Security Council, it is the only one that refuses to be part of any arms control regime. We have been part of one for 60 years, since the Test Ban Treaty of 1963. And so, obviously, that has got to be a focus for all of us, I would say including the Russians, going forward.

Senator KAINE. Thank you. I am over my time. I believe Senator Young by Webex is next up?

Senator YOUNG. Yes, Senator Kaine, Chairman, thank you so much.

Yes, Mr. Burns, I am sorry I just hopped on, Ambassador, but congratulations on your nomination, and thank you for your years of distinguished service.

This week, we have seen public reporting suggesting that China successfully tested a nuclear-capable hypersonic missile. Earlier this summer, we saw additional reporting indicating that China had dramatically increased the size and scope of its nuclear arsenal. These reports have evoked fears of a new cold war with China.

These nuclear weapons concerns come amid rapidly escalating tensions over Taiwan. Our strategic competition, of course, is nothing new, but I am concerned with the growing risks of miscommunication or misinterpretation of our actions. In your view, sir, what is motivating these sorts of provocative actions from Beijing?

Ambassador BURNS. Senator Young, thank you, and thank you for your leadership on the strategic innovation bill that is so important to the future of our country.

I think you are right to focus on this issue. Part of what we will need to do in the U.S.-China relationship is mitigate the possibility of an accidental conflict and to maintain the peace between our two countries and in the region. And that will require our military leadership, the civilian leadership of the Defense Department, the State Department, and the White House to have effective communication channels into the Chinese leadership.

And of course, every administration has wanted to do this, has worked on it, but we need to work on it very intensively because, at all costs, we want to compete with China, but we do not want to find ourselves, in the words of my Harvard colleague Joe Nye, being “sleepwalkers” into a conflict with China. So, part of the job of an American Ambassador to China, if I am confirmed, will be to work with my colleagues in the U.S. Government to make sure we have those effective communications channels with the Chinese leadership.

And finally, Senator, I would just say to you I completely agree with you. We should all be concerned by the nuclear build-up in China, and that has to be a concern for allied nations as well as the United States.

Senator YOUNG. Well, thank you. I wish you luck. If there is any way Congress can be constructive in helping open up those channels of communication, whether it is through visits to the country, expressing our collective desire to make sure that we are talking, we avoid any scenarios that our leadership and our peoples would regret, I am—enlist me in the cause, sir.

Ambassador BURNS. Thank you.

Senator YOUNG. My State of Indiana, Ambassador, is the most manufacturing-intensive State in the United States, and our businesses rely on a diversified supply chain and market access. Over the years, China has used localization requirements, intellectual property theft, and forced transfer of data to hamstring our enterprises that are dependent on technology.

I firmly believe the United States should advocate for integrity in digital trade provisions of our trade agreements. This includes holding bad actors accountable, especially Communist China. I am currently working on a resolution to solidify the U.S. commitment to high-standard digital trade principles.

If confirmed, how will you address continued action by China that purposefully causes harm to American businesses, knowing that you will need to coordinate with Ambassador Tai on this?

Ambassador BURNS. Senator, thank you.

In my opening statement, I focused on this issue of trade because of the enormous damage to your State and every other State, to our workers, and to our businesses. This is a high priority for the Biden administration, and obviously, if confirmed, I will be working very intensively on this issue with the White House, with the Commerce Department, the Treasury Department, and of course, principally with Ambassador Tai and her colleagues.

Senator YOUNG. Ambassador, accept my apologies if you discussed this in your opening statement, but could you just explain why actions like IP theft and data localization requirements are issues of national security, not just economic issues?

Ambassador BURNS. In thinking about this job, I have been consulting with a lot of experts on China across the country, and it has really been interesting to hear. But I think the great majority of them would say that the focal point, the most important part of our competition with China will be on economics and technology in the future.

We are going to have a military competition for power, which we had with the Soviets in the old Cold War. What distinguishes our competition with China, which makes it unlike the old Cold War, is the fact that they seek dominance on technology, on AI and machine learning, quantum sciences, biotechnology. They seek to militarize those technologies.

That may be the central focus of the competition. So, therefore, we in the executive branch and you in Congress need to unite on a bipartisan basis and be fundamentally focused on it.

The CHAIRMAN [presiding]. Thank you.

Senator YOUNG. And I would say, Ambassador, thank you for bringing up my legislation. That is the purpose, to address this threat, technology threat, economic threat, that China poses to us, the U.S. Innovation and Competition Act. So, I hope that broadly bipartisan legislation passes before year's end.

Thank you so much, sir.

Ambassador BURNS. Thank you for your leadership.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Van Hollen?

Senator VAN HOLLEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

And congratulations, Mr. Ambassador. Thank you for your long service to this country, and to your family.

Just picking up on some of the points Senator Young made, and I was pleased to hear you mention in your opening remarks the issue of China's systematic theft of intellectual property. That is why Senator Sasse and I teamed up, and we passed a bipartisan bill here in the Senate called Protecting American Intellectual Property Act. It is actually incorporated in the U.S. Innovation and Competition Act, which, as you know, passed the Senate and is pending in the House.

And the whole idea is that U.S. companies that are victimized by intellectual property theft do not have just sole recourse in the United States courts. And so in those situations where we are not talking about garden-variety trademark violations, but in fact, sys-

tematic theft of U.S. strategic technology and other cutting-edge technologies, the U.S. Government would weigh in and be authorized to impose economic sanctions and penalties. This was a measure supported by the previous administration and I think also by the current administration.

I want to flag that because I look forward to working with you as we get that through the congressional process because there has to be a price to pay. And when you are talking about the Chinese Government weighing in and being part of this theft, you cannot leave it simply to the court system to defend American companies.

Similarly, I believe China has got to be paying a higher price for its malign actions and its violation of international agreements, and we have seen a gross violation of those agreements in the case of Hong Kong, where China has cracked down on democracy. Senator Toomey and I passed legislation last year called the Hong Kong Autonomy Act. It is in—part of the law now.

This administration has used it to apply sanctions to 24 individuals who were complicit in cracking down on democracy in Hong Kong. But we would like to see them identify some of the banks and financial institutions that are aiding and abetting that activity because the sanctions also apply to them.

But my broader question here relates to how we raise the price China has got to pay for these malign actions. Yes, we have got to make sure we strengthen our own position, both at home and around the world, certainly with our allies, certainly provide Taiwan with more of the means to defend itself. But how can we raise the cost to China of the kind of actions they have taken in Hong Kong, and do you agree that they have felt the pain at all of international response, for example, in Hong Kong? Is there more we can be doing?

Ambassador BURNS. Senator, thank you very much, and thank you for authoring that legislation. I do think it was particularly effective to sanction specific individuals in Hong Kong who are responsible for the repression of the people of Hong Kong, and that is similar to the Biden administration sanctions on those individuals in Xinjiang Province who did the same.

I do think that we are stronger if we can create global alliances on all of these issues. So, encouraging the European Union to be with us, not just in condemning human rights violations, but sanctioning. And that was the case, they were with us in sanctions on Xinjiang. And I think Hong Kong is particularly important.

I mentioned earlier in the testimony I was with Secretary Albright in Hong Kong on the day of the handover, June 30, 1997, and all of us with Secretary Albright remember the specific commitments China made, and it has reneged on all of them. So, this is not just a U.S. concern. It has to be a global concern.

And I do think one of the changes President Biden has brought to our strategic policy towards China is to emphasize our allies and partners on this issue as well as the others that we have been talking about.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. I appreciate that. I think you have to have that multiplier effect in order to make these sanctions ultimately effective. If not reversing the actions that China has taken, letting

them know that they will pay a higher price for similar actions going forward.

Just in conclusion, you are obviously going to be our Ambassador to China and talking about these important issues between our two countries, but how important is it that we strengthen ourselves here at home, both in terms of modernizing our infrastructure and trying to address the depolarization that we face in this country?

Ambassador BURNS. It may be the most important thing we could do is to invest in our technological future, as the Senate is doing with your strategic innovation bill, which I very strongly—that the administration very strongly supported, and I do, too. And it is to prepare ourselves to strengthen—to have a clean energy future; strengthen our technology base; be funding, I would hope, our universities and research institutions because that is where the cutting-edge technology is happening.

Supporting our businesses because they are the ones who make America powerful economically in large part. And so that strategy is probably the most important thing we can do to stand up to the China challenge over the next 20 to 30 years. I do think this is going to be a long-term challenge.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. Thank you. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. Senator Rounds?

Senator ROUNDS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Ambassador Burns, first of all, let me just begin by saying thank you for the time that you spent with us last evening. It is appreciated, and I most certainly enjoyed the conversation.

As you know, I sit on the Senate Armed Services Committee and its Strategic Forces Subcommittee. I would be very interested in your thoughts on China's nuclear stockpile and its expanding capabilities, specifically with regard to our challenge right now here within the discussions going on that some of our members think it is okay if we were to perhaps not modernize our own triad. In fact, they question whether anybody really cares whether we have a triad or not.

China—and this is on an unclassified level—they have been increasing their stockpile. Some folks do not think that we need to be improving and upgrading and modernizing our own nuclear triad. I think China is aggressively growing their own, and I think this is a critical part of their foreign policy strategy, and I think it is one way in which the PRC in terms of their diplomatic efforts uses it as a hammer when they deal with other countries. Could you share a little bit about how you see that impacting your ability to negotiate with the PRC once you are there?

Ambassador BURNS. Senator, thank you, and thank you for the conversation we had in your office last evening.

And as I explained to you, one of the curiosities of coming up for confirmation as a private citizen is that, quite properly, I do not have access to classified information. So, in this realm, and Senator Hagerty asked me about it as well, I am a little bit limited by not having that access. But I will say this.

Based on the press reports, we should all be concerned by the build-up of China's nuclear forces in the western part of China. And then many Members have asked me about these press reports of these novel delivery systems, these hypersonic systems. What I

think has to bother all of us is the attitude of the Chinese Government. They do not believe that they should be constrained in any way, shape, or form by arms control.

The United States submits to that. Russia submits to that, at least did in the past. Our other nuclear allies—the United Kingdom and France—do. And so I think it is going to be very important.

I know the Trump administration made an effort to do this and was right to do it, to push the Chinese to think about their obligations, and I think it is very important that we do that on a bipartisan basis. But certainly, these are troubling developments, and I said earlier, Senator, the Chinese have been saying for decades that they would like to have a minimum nuclear deterrence, and they seem to be quite rapidly moving away from that older policy of the Chinese Government.

Senator ROUNDS. Thank you.

Let me just continue down that line a little bit. It is more than simply nuclear development. There is also the issue of artificial intelligence. They will be a key player with regard to the deployment of artificial intelligence not just in regard to national defense issues, but in all areas of technology. We have got before us the opportunity and I think the National Security Commission on Artificial Intelligence made major requests to Congress to fund artificial intelligence activity and opportunities, not real expensive, but clearly something that is not just the United States, but China is working on.

Could you talk about the need for the United States to continue to take a very active role in the most technologically advanced fields, including artificial intelligence, in order to maintain our leadership role not just with regard to defense, but with regard to trade as well?

Ambassador BURNS. Thank you, Senator.

Two years ago, I organized a meeting of the bipartisan Aspen Strategy Group. I am the Director of the group. And we focused over 3 days on this issue, and we had some of the best experts from the U.S. Government and the private sector, the tech companies come and talk to us. And they identified the same concern that you have, that China will be competing us for commercial superiority in AI and machine learning—and this is their stated 2025 policy—in quantum sciences and biotechnology.

They are obviously going to try to militarize those technologies, and the United States cannot let ourselves be in an inferior position and have the Chinese leapfrog over us on these technologies 5 or 10 or 30 years from now. So, I think I agree wholeheartedly with you. We need to make strategic investments, and the Senate is doing that.

And we need to continue to do that in this strength of the American economy, innovation, high tech, biotech because it is likely to be the central arena of competition between us with China. And if I am confirmed, it will be a central focus. It already is of the Biden administration, but I will be very focused on it.

Senator ROUNDS. Thank you, sir, and I look forward to supporting your nomination.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Ambassador BURNS. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. Senator Merkley?

Senator MERKLEY. Thank very much, Ambassador, for service over a long career.

I wanted to start with recognizing you have noted that China is not an Olympian power, and that just catches my attention because the Olympics in China are just 4 months away in February. And as we discussed in my office, I am very concerned about the fact that the International Olympic Committee has placed the Olympics in a nation that is conducting genocide against its own people.

And my preference would certainly have been for the Olympic Committee to say China had failed to follow its 2015 promises on human rights and that the Olympics were to be moved. That is not going to happen. The IOC has made that very clear.

However, there are things that can be done to keep China from using the Olympics to gloss over its horrific human rights activities. For example, a diplomatic boycott. Another example would be fiercely defending the right of athletes to express themselves on what is going on in China while they are in China performing.

What do you think is—what would you recommend to essentially try not to have China be able to use the Olympics as a way to create a cheerful facade over their horrific activities against minorities in their own country?

Ambassador BURNS. Senator, thank you.

And I used the term “Olympian” not to refer, as you know, to the Olympics, but just to suggest that and if you think about ancient Greece, China is not all-powerful.

Senator MERKLEY. No, understood.

Ambassador BURNS. On the question of the Olympic Games, the Winter Games to be held in Beijing, it looks like it is going to be the most unusual games ever. It looks like, if you look at the rules and regulations that the Chinese authorities have worked out with the International Olympic Committee, there will be really nobody there from around the world because the precautionary measures that people are being asked to take, and obviously given a pandemic, will make it almost impossible for spectators from Japan or the United States to be there. So, I think you will largely have a Chinese audience.

I think you are right, and I enjoyed our conversation about this 3 days ago. We obviously want to make sure that the American athletes, if they are there, and other athletes are able to speak their minds, are able to have access to the media to say what they wish to say because they come from democratic countries. And I hope and trust that the International Olympic Committee will make that possible.

Senator MERKLEY. Thank you, Ambassador. And I think fierce advocacy will be very valuable and in coordination with other nations.

The Olympic Committee members say it is all about the athletes so we do not really want to bring up “political issues” like human rights. But what they have done is force the athletes to become unwilling or unwitting participants in this—well, this effort to put a very bright and happy face on China at the same time there are such tragic and horrific practices.

One of the biggest factors is the treatment of the Uyghurs and essentially engaging millions in slavery, many high-tech practices, forced sterilization, forced birth control, forced labor that is slave labor, and in Hong Kong, where they have stripped the political rights. The Congressional Executive Commission on China held a hearing in which we heard advocate after advocate say this is a moment for the United States to grant P2 status to those who are trying—are particularly vulnerable in these two situations, both in Hong Kong and, if you will, among Xinjiang Province, the Uyghur community.

This is status given to groups of special humanitarian concern. Individuals still have to establish their personal vulnerability within that group that allows them to apply from inside or outside the country and that it is the right fit. Is P2 status for those who are vulnerable in Hong Kong and in Xinjiang Province something that you would support?

Ambassador BURNS. Senator, thank you.

What I would like to do is check with the State Department, because I am unsure of the answer to your question, and come back to you with an answer. Perhaps we can do that in written form, or I can—we can meet and talk about it.

I do know that President Biden has allowed Hong Kong residents to stay in the United States on a lengthier basis than they normally would because of the fear of persecution should they go back, given what has happened in Hong Kong. But I am just not aware of what other measures the administration has taken or is planning, but I am happy to take that question for the record.

[The response to Senator Merkley's question follows:]

The United States Government is exploring migration policies that would best support Hong Kongers. The Department of State also remains focused on the humanitarian concerns of the Uyghur community by coordinating with UNHCR to ensure it can refer vulnerable Uyghurs to the United States Refugee Admissions Program for resettlement consideration without delay and to determine if there are other steps needed to ensure humanitarian access to resettlement.

If confirmed, I will continue to support policies that show our unwavering support for the Uyghur community, as well as for people in Hong Kong, including humanitarian pathways to the United States.

Senator MERKLEY. Yes, that status of deferred and forced departure has been granted to those from Hong Kong who are already in the country.

Ambassador BURNS. Right.

Senator MERKLEY. It is an 18-month provision, has not been granted to Uyghurs. We had testimony from Uyghurs who have been here for 4 years because of their high vulnerability in return and have lost—their families have lost any formal status in our country, and they are awaiting action.

I will just close with a comment. If the chair feels there is time to respond, fine, but I am over time. Which is that I would really love to see champions in our diplomatic team push for an official determination of genocide in Myanmar because the actions against the Rohingya fully justify it, just horrific activities. The hesitation amongst some in the State Department has been to be critical because there is a fledgling democracy, except there is no longer a fledgling democracy because the military conducted a military coup and put Aung San Suu Kyi under arrest.

When we fail to call out genocide in Myanmar, it undermines the legitimacy of the strength of our position on genocide elsewhere, including Xinjiang Province. So, I am encouraging consistency in calling out such horrific human practices when they occur.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much. Senator Cruz?

Senator CRUZ. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Ambassador Burns, welcome. I have long believed China poses the single-greatest geopolitical threat to the United States for the next century. There are many domains on which we are standing up to China. One of the most important concerns Taiwan, and I worry that the threat to our Taiwanese allies is becoming acute.

This week, the Chinese filled commercial ships with dozens of military tanks and practiced their amphibious landing capabilities in preparation for “future battlefields.” Earlier in the month, 149 Chinese aircraft made incursions into Taiwan’s air defense zone over the span of just 4 days. U.S. commanders have publicly assessed that an invasion of Taiwan is “much closer to us than most think.”

Meanwhile, Taiwan has been asking the United States to expedite the delivery of several squadrons of F-16s ordered in 2019. I strongly believe we have to do more to get them what they need to defend themselves, and I want to ask you a couple of questions about that.

Number one, how do you see the Chinese threat to Taiwan, and what should we be doing to deter that threat?

Ambassador BURNS. Senator, thank you.

It is a growing Chinese threat to Taiwan, attempts to bully and intimidate and to send these 149 aircraft into the air defense identification zone of Taiwan. And you combine that with the statements of the Chinese leadership, which are very aggressive and clear, we obviously have a self-interest and under the Taiwan Relations Act an obligation and commitment to help deepen our involvement in helping Taiwan to defend itself. And Congress and the executive branch—and we talked about this when we met in your office—have that authority and have that responsibility.

On the F-16 issue, the Biden administration has come forward with advanced Howitzer sale of \$750 million. I think a lot of experts believe that Taiwan needs a greater asymmetric defense capacity, needs to spend money on that to repel, as you say, an amphibious, the threat of an amphibious invasion or an airborne invasion, whatever the Chinese are thinking of. And I think that in the Taiwan Relations Act, it talks about the United States needing to make clear that its deterrent is in place, the power of our military, in the Indo-Pacific, and our allies, of course, have to be part of this.

So, I think everyone here who has talked about Taiwan, and myself included, ought to be more concerned because the Chinese clearly are on a different path than they were 30 or 20 years ago.

Senator CRUZ. I think one of the most important steps we can and should take to stand with Taiwan is help prepare and equip them to defend themselves and to defend themselves effectively against a serious military incursion from China. I am intending to introduce legislation, the Taiwan Arms Act, that raises Taiwan’s status for arms sales to that of our closest allies and partners.

It is important, and I look forward to working with my colleagues on this committee and other committees to see that it expeditiously becomes law.

But let me turn to another aspect. One part of the solution to ensuring that our Taiwan allies have what they need to defend themselves involve arms sales such as the legislation I am introducing, the Taiwan Arms Act. Another component of it, however, derives from our current policy of strategic ambiguity towards Taiwan and towards Taiwan status. And I am concerned that that longstanding policy—and it is a policy that has existed across Democrat and Republican administrations. I am concerned that it is undermining our efforts to bolster Taiwan.

I have long advocated there is great virtue to clarity in foreign policy. The State Department is notorious for embracing lack of clarity, and strategic ambiguity seems to be one of the favorite tools of Foggy Bottom. In the context of China and Taiwan, the Chinese Communist Party I believe interprets ambiguity as weakness and as a signal that we are not committed to Taiwan's security.

How do you assess our current efforts to deter China, and what do you think the role that strategic ambiguity has in those current efforts?

Ambassador BURNS. Thank you, Senator.

My own view, and this is also the view, of course, and more importantly of the Biden administration, is that the smartest and effective way for us to help deter aggressive actions by Taiwan—by China, excuse me, across the Taiwan Strait will be to stay with the policy that has been in place, and that is the Taiwan Relations Act, the three joint statements of 1972, '79, and '82, and President Reagan's six assurances of 1982.

They are time-tested. They allow under the Taiwan Relations Act the executive and Congress to do more, if you choose to do more, if both branches choose to do more to help Taiwan defend itself. Clearly, this is a different situation. You are right about that, but this is a policy that can succeed if we execute it consistently and with some strength.

And as I said before, and I do not mean to repeat myself, but maybe the most important thing we could do is maintain the American military position in Japan, in the Republic of Korea, in that first island chain, but also out to our Andersen Air Force Base in Guam, and to be an effective deterrent to keep the peace. That is also part of the Taiwan Relations Act, that the United States has a role. Japan has a role.

And I think under the banner or the umbrella of a one China policy, where we recognize the People's Republic as the sole legal Government of China that has been the policy since 1979, we also have this unofficial relationship with Taiwan, and we can exercise responsibilities within that context. And I think that is the smartest way to deter the Chinese from trying to exercise force, as opposed to keeping the peace and having a more respectful, long-term conversation with Taiwan.

Senator CRUZ. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much. Thank you.

Thank you, Ambassador, for your answers to the questions that have been posed.

The record for this particular part of the hearing will remain open until the close of business on Thursday, October 21. Please ensure that questions for the record are submitted no later than Thursday. I would urge you, Ambassador, that upon receipt of questions for the record that you answer them as expeditiously and as fully as possible so that we can schedule your nomination for a business meeting.

And with that and the thanks of the committee, you are excused at this time.

Ambassador BURNS. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

We have two nominations on the next panel, and we will ask those nominees to come forward.

[Pause.]

The CHAIRMAN. I would ask our nominees to take their seats. We have two nominations on this second panel. They are Rahm Emanuel to be the Ambassador to Japan and Mr. Jonathan Kaplan to be the Ambassador to Singapore.

I understand that Senator Durbin and also Senator Hagerty will be introducing Mayor Emanuel today and that Senator Hickenlooper will be introducing Mr. Kaplan.

So, I see Senator Durbin is here with us. Let me turn to Senator Durbin.

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

Senator DURBIN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman and Ranking Member Risch.

It is an honor to have the opportunity to share a few words of introduction for Rahm Emanuel to be our next Ambassador to Japan. Yesterday, a few colleagues and I had a chance to speak with the new IAEA Director General, Mariano Grossi. I think several of you may have met with him as well.

We talked about not only Iran's future and nuclear program, but also North Korea. It reminded me that Japan, one of our most important allies in Asia, is at the forefront of several key national security priorities for our Nation. Notably, the nuclear threat on and from the Korean peninsula, Chinese actions in the South China Sea, and regional economic pressure, the undermining of Hong Kong's democracy and threats against Taiwan.

With the dawn of the AUKUS pact, America has signaled a national commitment to the Indo-Pacific region. We need to be certain that our allies and friends and partners like Japan have a clear understanding of our goals. That is why the appointment of a new Ambassador to Japan is timely and critical. Rahm Emanuel is the right person for that responsibility.

I have known Rahm for more than 30 years. Perhaps his wife Amy is the only one in the room who has known him longer. I have worked with him in many capacities, his work as staff leader in the Clinton White House, as a member of the Illinois congressional delegation, when he became chief of staff to President Obama, and

most closely when he was mayor of the city of Chicago. I can tell you what is obvious. He is bright, energetic, and focused.

Any mayor who can cobble together a budget in the Chicago City Council is ready for major league diplomacy. He has repeatedly shown that he can build winning coalitions at every level, and he has delivered with a legacy that we still enjoy in the city of Chicago and State of Illinois. We can still see his good work today in the Chicago Public School System, transportation modernization, and in the game-changing projects like the Riverwalk in the city of Chicago.

I understand Senator Hagerty is also going to introduce Rahm. I thank him for that, and he previously served as Ambassador to Japan and knows the challenges all too well.

Quite simply, Rahm Emanuel's lifetime of public service has prepared him to speak for America on the global stage. As such, I hope this committee will look favorably on his nomination.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Senator Durbin.

I see Senator Hickenlooper is with us. So, let me turn to Senator Hickenlooper.

**STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN W. HICKENLOOPER,
U.S. SENATOR FROM COLORADO**

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Thank you, Chair and Ranking Member. Appreciate your time and effort on this committee.

I am honored to join you today to introduce Jonathan Kaplan, President Biden's nominee for U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Singapore.

Mr. Kaplan—well, in politics, as you all know, you get to meet a number of remarkable people, and Mr. Kaplan is one of the more, if not one of the most, perhaps the most remarkable person I know. But before I go into some of the accolades on Mr. Kaplan, let me give a little context.

Singapore is a crucial partner in an important region, Asia's largest recipient of U.S. foreign direct investment, a close ally in cooperation on security and defense. There is a truly dynamic trade relationship with Singapore, and they share our commitment to the rule of law. It is also a part of the world that has an enduring sense of possibility.

Both of our countries are diverse, multicultural hubs of innovation. They are both grappling with the looming threat of climate change and the rise of China. So, much in common and a lot to learn from one another, and it is essential to have someone of great quality to steer this partnership at such a sensitive moment.

And that leader we have in Jonathan Kaplan, who shares that enduring sense of possibility. He is a tested entrepreneur who understands the importance of bringing people together to achieve common goals to solve problems in the most effective and efficient ways possible.

He is the chair of EducationSuperHighway, a nonprofit organization dedicated to bridging the digital divide in schools. Jon and his team built a bipartisan movement across all 50 States to bring high-speed Internet to over 99 percent of American schoolchildren.

He worked with governors like me. In 2016, Colorado partnered with EducationSuperHighway on Kids Link Colorado and expanded

quality, affordable broadband to schools across the State. It was a huge success, and these investments proved critical when learning went online during COVID.

Jon has the mindset of an inventor and an innovator. As an inventor, he has the patents to prove it. He never accepts things as they always have been. He is always envisioning how they could be better and then bringing people together to create that future.

Maybe you will remember the flip phone video, which he was behind and responsible for. His numerous business ventures have transformed how we use not just technology, but how we record video, as I said, how we play online games, and even how you get your lunch to go.

He has extensive experience in the East Asian theater. He has traveled to over 75 countries around the world. He has worked especially closely with corporate and government officials in China, Japan, and South Korea. He has exactly the right perspective and exactly the right experience to represent the United States in Singapore, a country that embodies the same commitment to innovation and that same enduring sense of possibility for this vitally important partner at this vitally important time.

It has been now almost 4 years since this post was last filled. It is critical that we act swiftly to confirm a U.S. Ambassador to Singapore and, hopefully, with a large majority, which sends a message in and of itself.

So, I support Jon's nomination, and I hope this committee will do the same.

Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator Hickenlooper.

I see that Senator Hagerty has joined us as well and wants to join in introducing Senator—excuse me, Mayor Emanuel.

**STATEMENT OF HON. BILL HAGERTY,
U.S. SENATOR FROM TENNESSEE**

Senator HAGERTY. Thank you very much, Chairman Menendez, Ranking Member Risch. I appreciate your holding this hearing.

I want to thank you for allowing me to introduce the person I think will be the next U.S. Ambassador to Japan. It is a position that I hold very near and dear to my heart, having served as our most recent Ambassador to Japan from 2017 to 2019.

And I would like to say this. That representing one's own country is one of the greatest honors in the world. It really brings home the importance of the exceptional nation that the United States is, and it is an incredible honor that is being bestowed upon those of you that will serve our Nation as Ambassador. It is certainly an incredible honor that my family and I cherished, and I feel certain that you will, too.

Today, I am here in a very different role. I am here as a member of the committee that oversaw my nomination. I am over here in a different seat to introduce the nominee to be our next Ambassador to Japan.

While our political backgrounds could not be more different and I am sure there are many issues upon which we strongly disagree, but through our recent discussions it has become clear to me that Mayor Emanuel shares my unwavering conviction that the U.S.-

Japan relationship is the cornerstone for peace and prosperity in the entire Indo-Pacific region. It is a region that has become even more dangerous day by day, and that makes the position of U.S. Ambassador to Japan all the more important for the United States. This is a position that has remained vacant for too long.

When I served as U.S. Ambassador in Tokyo, my ability to directly engage in person with senior Japanese Government officials, with business leaders, and most importantly, the Japanese people helped to bring our strategic relationship with Japan to new heights. During my tenure, tensions in the region were remarkably high, with North Korea launching multiple ballistic missiles over Japan and Communist China threatening Japan's administration of the Senkaku Islands in the South China—in the East China Sea. The Japanese people and the world needed to hear directly from the U.S. Ambassador when those threats occurred, and they did.

As the global security focus continues to shift toward the Indo-Pacific to counter Russia's aggression and the predatory actions of Communist China, the U.S.-Japan alliance must remain the cornerstone of peace, prosperity, and security in the region. And for this posture to hold, the U.S. Ambassador will need to play a critical role in advancing the relationship.

Today, we have a great threat from Communist China toward our mutual friend Taiwan. This is a threat that requires a strong and unified response from both the U.S. and Japan. Mayor Emanuel understands this critical circumstance and has assured me that he will do everything in the immense power of the U.S. Ambassador to Japan to stand strong for Taiwan's freedom, for their democratic rule.

Our next Ambassador to Japan must be prepared to continue a strong and clear-eyed stance for America's interest in the Indo-Pacific. He must stand for the strength of the U.S.-Japan alliance throughout the region while continuing to support and strengthen our military presence in Japan. This presence is the largest complement of U.S. military forces stationed anywhere in the world. Mayor Emanuel has committed to me that he will be that Ambassador.

As a former Ambassador, I know that sometimes challenges occur from within the host nation. Japan has an outdated judicial system that places that nation at a constant competitive disadvantage. We have American citizens—today, a Tennessee citizen—who are caught in the Japanese judicial system, suffering from unfair and barbaric treatment in the so-called hostage justice system of Japan. It is cruel, it is inhumane, and it is unjust.

Mayor Emanuel has assured me that he will make addressing this sad and difficult situation a top priority if he is confirmed. This matters a great deal to me, and it matters to the people of Tennessee. We must stand for the human rights of U.S. citizens. And when our citizens are unjustly held, they must be returned home.

The region and the world will need to hear that the commitment of the United States to defend Japan remains ironclad and unwavering. That was my message as Ambassador, and it is a message that I am confident Mayor Emanuel will deliver if he is confirmed.

While the United States will remain the predominant global power for the foreseeable future, the emerging set of challenges in the Indo-Pacific region will require our friends to stand shoulder to shoulder with us, especially Japan. As I mentioned, Mayor Emanuel and I have had many long and productive conversations about this position, both the challenges of the position and the expectations. I welcome him today, and I intend to provide him with the bipartisan support that I was fortunate to receive from this committee during my U.S. Senate confirmation. A critical post like this deserves no less from a qualified and capable nominee.

I once again congratulate Mayor Emanuel and his family. I welcome them here. And as I said at the beginning of my remarks, I hope this committee takes into consideration the importance of the position and the consequence for our national security if this post were allowed to remain vacant any longer.

Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator Hagerty. Thank you for your service to our Nation as our former Ambassador to Japan. We appreciate that service and your insights here on the committee, and we appreciate you lending your bipartisan vote—voice Mayor Emanuel's nomination.

Let us turn to the nominees. Mayor Emanuel, it is good to see you again. We welcome you and your family. And I want to note that your son Zach is with us, who is a U.S. Naval officer, and we appreciate his service to our country.

I believe that you have the necessary knowledge and experience to represent us well in Japan. As you know, Japan is one of our four most important allies in the world. For over 70 years, the U.S.-Japan partnership has played a vital role in ensuring peace, stability, and economic development in Asia and beyond. Our bilateral alliance serves as proof that two nations can overcome past differences and work together towards a better future.

If confirmed, I trust that Mayor Emanuel's vast experience, both in public service and in the private sector, will serve him and our country well as he navigates the opportunities and complexities of the U.S.-Japan relationship and safeguarding our partnership, one that is grounded in common interests and common values. I will look forward to hearing from you about how you plan to approach Japan and the region as well and the type of Ambassador you hope to be.

As you are aware, today is also the anniversary of the murder of Laquan McDonald. My heart goes out to his family on this day. I believe all of us share that sentiment. And just so many other victims and their families, as we work to deliver meaningful reforms to the black and brown communities who endure injustices every day. And certainly, we will give you an opportunity to speak to that in the course of this hearing.

Mr. Kaplan, congratulations on your nomination. We welcome your family as well. Singapore, as I know you appreciate, is central for our engagement in Southeast Asia and with ASEAN, and success in Southeast Asia is central to our success in the Indo-Pacific and with our challenge with China.

While the Biden administration has launched significant initiatives to bolster the broader regional architecture, including through

AUKUS and the QUAD, I believe that more attention is needed in Southeast Asia, including on issues like regional trade engagement and economic statecraft. At the end of the day, how we integrate with the region's political economy is far more consequential than our military or security presence alone, and Singapore is, of course, a key regional trade and economic partner.

I was encouraged by recent agreements with Singapore to support our common goals in addressing climate change, cybersecurity, and supply chain resilience. Overall, I believe we need to reinvigorate our diplomatic presence and outreach to Singapore, and I trust that you will be up to that task. I look forward to hearing your goals for how we can deepen this important diplomatic relationship even further.

We recently—Senator Risch and I recently had the Singaporean foreign minister here, and he spoke about how he desires—he and Singapore desires to see our engagement. But when we have not had a confirmed Ambassador in Singapore for almost 5 years now, it is tough to have diplomatic engagement, which underscores the importance of getting you in place as soon as possible.

With that, let me turn to the ranking member for his remarks.

Senator RISCH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

And thank you, both of you, to our nominees for your willingness to serve, and your families as well.

On the nomination of Ambassador to Japan, our alliance with Japan is the bedrock of our ability to advance a free and open Indo-Pacific. Over the past decades, the U.S.-Japan alliance has become a critical example of how strong defense ties can bring about stability and prosperity.

As we look forward to working with the new Japanese prime minister and his team, it is vital that we strengthen and sustain this critical alliance, especially in the face of growing regional threats. We have seen important steps in that direction, including the emphasis on cooperation with Japan, Australia, and India through the QUAD.

The U.S. and Japan are also working together with other partners in the region to finance the construction of a reliable and secure undersea cable connecting Palau to the rest of the Indo-Pacific as well as bring electricity to Papua New Guinea. This is the foundation for future U.S.-Japan cooperation in advanced technology, supply chain diversification, global health, and other critical areas.

On the security front, we must maintain and strengthen the credibility of U.S. extended deterrence commitments. I have said it before, and I will say it again now. A sole purpose nuclear declaratory policy or any perceived weakening of our extended deterrence is a betrayal of our alliance in the Indo-Pacific, including Japan. We must ensure our system is equipped to provide advanced capabilities to our allies in the region. To achieve this, Japan must do its part and work with us on cybersecurity and technology security as committed during the Suga summit, or the Biden-Suga summit.

However, certain parts of the State Department that come up with reasons not to provide these critical capabilities are a major impediment on this issue. If confirmed, you are—Mayor Emanuel, you are going to see the security environment we face firsthand, and I expect that you will encounter instincts and policies that

would weaken our security ties with Japan. We should not tolerate those.

On the nomination, Mr. Kaplan, to be Ambassador to Singapore, if confirmed, you will be our steward in one of our closest partners in Southeast Asia. Idahoans know just how important our security partnership with Singapore is. We are proud to host, and have for some time, Singaporean F-15 pilots and their families as they train at Mountain Home Air Force Base in Mountain Home, Idaho. We should all support expanding our security cooperation with Singapore, building on the memorandum of understanding renewed in 2019.

On the economic side, I want to hear how you will apply your private sector background to growing economic cooperation with Singapore, including on supply chain issues. Singapore is an important trading partner for the State of Idaho.

On the defense side, Singapore has made clear that while it seeks a close relationship with the United States, it also seeks to maintain cooperation with China, including through increased defense ties. Another critical task for our next Ambassador is to work with Singapore on the issues where China seeks to exert pressure or undue influence in the country.

And along with the chairman, I want to underscore the meeting that we had that was, I think, a very significant and forward-looking meeting we had with the people from Singapore. I look forward to hearing your thoughts on all of those issues. With that, I yield back, Mr. chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator Risch.

We will turn to our nominees. We ask you to summarize your statements in about 5 minutes. Your full statements will be included in the record, without objection.

And we will recognize Mayor Emanuel first.

STATEMENT OF HON. RAHM EMANUEL OF ILLINOIS, NOMINATED TO BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO JAPAN

Mr. EMANUEL. Chairman Menendez, Ranking Member Risch, members of the committee, it is an honor to appear before you as President Biden's nominee to serve as the United States Ambassador to Japan. I appreciate the confidence that President Biden has placed in me, and I am grateful for the consideration of this distinguished committee.

Over 23 years in public service, there has been one constant in my life—Amy, my wife of 27 years. Six elections, two White House appointments, and one nomination later, she is the reason I am here today. Amy is living proof of the timeless truth that behind every successful person is an astonished spouse.

Together, we have raised three great children. Zach graduated from UCLA and is serving as an intelligence officer in the United States Navy. Ilana, a Brown graduate, joined a cable news network, and Leah is a junior at Princeton.

This post has been held by distinguished Americans—Vice President Walter Mondale, Speaker Tom Foley, Senator Majority Leaders Howard Baker, Mike Mansfield, and Ambassador Caroline Ken-

nedy. This long list also includes a member of this committee, Senator Hagerty. I want to thank him for his words and his comments earlier. If confirmed, I will continue the example he and his predecessors set and ensure America's interests in the region remain paramount.

An Ambassador is only as effective as the civil and Foreign Service professionals and U.S. armed forces who surround them. In Japan, these Americans have advanced our Nation's ideals without an appointed Ambassador for 2 years. I want to take this opportunity to thank them for their patriotism and professionalism to our mission in Japan, and I hope soon to serve our country alongside them.

We are at a critical juncture in our foreign policy, in American foreign policy in this region. What we build in partnership with Japan over the next 3 years will determine America's posture for the next 30. The challenges and opportunities we face underscore the imperative of strengthening our bonds with our closest ally, Japan.

For more than 60 years, the partnership between the United States and Japan has been the cornerstone of peace and prosperity in a free and open Indo-Pacific. Our alliance advances our shared interests and shared values. If confirmed, my top priority will be to deepen these ties while we confront our common challenges.

China aims to conquer through division. America's strategy is security through unity. That regional unity is built on the shoulders of the U.S.-Japan alliance. If confirmed, I will draw on my two and a half decades of public service. As senior adviser to President Clinton and chief of staff to President Obama, I served as a trusted adviser on domestic and national security issues.

As mayor, my administration made it a priority to bring the world to Chicago and Chicago to the world. During my tenure, Chicago led the Nation in corporate relocations and foreign direct investment for 7 consecutive years. I also presided over the most active sister city organizations in America.

As mayor, I traveled to Japan to meet with public and private sector leaders and signed the Japan-Chicago Partnership Agreement with the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs and eight additional ministries, marking the first time the Japanese Government entered into a formal agreement with a North American city.

In addition, the Governor of Tokyo signed the Chicago Climate Charter, a first-of-its-kind municipal agreement. This trip laid the groundwork for deepening Chicago and Japan relations, including corporate relocations by two preeminent Japanese companies, DMG Mori and Beam Suntory, and many cultural exchange initiatives.

Two people inspired me to enter public service nearly 30 years ago. My mother, Marsha Emanuel, has spent her entire life serving others as a nurse, social worker, and a leader of CORE, the Congress On Racial Equality, in Chicago, where she was instrumental in the integration of Chicago's beaches and housing in the early '60s.

This past October 3 marked the 2-year anniversary of my father's passing. Dr. Benjamin Emanuel immigrated to this country in 1953 with just \$13 in his pocket after fighting in Israel's War

of Independence. He campaigned for national healthcare during the early '60s and quit the AMA over its opposition.

He then sued the City of Chicago for lead in household paint and started a pediatrics practice based on one rule. No child was rejected because their parents could not pay. Through his years, he built his practice into one of the largest in Chicago.

If confirmed, this will be the first professional pursuit I will undertake without my best friend, my father, by my side. The drive and values I have come from my parents, who always loved and supported me, even though I did not become a doctor like my older brother.

For my mother and father, America was a place of possibility. In his wallet, my father carried a picture of the boat that brought him to the United States. That photo represents what he instilled in me and my two brothers, the beacon of hope, possibility, and endless opportunity this country is to the world.

I wish he were here today. First, while my mother is proud, he would be shocked and amazed that I am sitting here. And second, it would reaffirm his belief in that special place we all love, America.

And the final thing I have to say is the first thing I want to do, work closely with this committee and the Congress as a whole to ensure that we work seamlessly across the aisle, across the Capitol, and across the Pacific to advance America's interests in the vital Indo-Pacific region.

I would like to thank this committee for your consideration of my nomination. If confirmed, I intend to work with you to promote our economic prosperity, strengthen our national security, and ensure our democratic values remain paramount to the U.S.-Japan alliance.

Under your leadership, Mr. Chairman, working with the ranking member, Senator Risch, this committee has continued its proud bipartisan tradition of putting country ahead of party. That is a mission and a mandate I proudly share.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Emanuel follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT BY HON. RAHM EMANUEL

Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member Risch, and members of the committee: It is an honor to appear before you as President Biden's nominee to serve as the United States Ambassador to Japan. I appreciate the confidence that President Biden has placed in me, and I am grateful for the consideration of this distinguished committee.

Over 23 years in public service, there has been one constant: Amy, my wife of 27 years. Six elections, two White House appointments, and one nomination later, she is the reason I am here today. Amy is living proof of the timeless truth that behind every successful person is an astonished spouse.

Together, we've raised three great children. Zach graduated from UCLA and is serving as an Intelligence Officer in the Navy. Ilana, a Brown graduate, joined a cable news network. Leah is a junior at Princeton.

This post has been held by distinguished Americans—Vice President Walter Mondale, Speaker Tom Foley, Senate Majority Leaders Mike Mansfield and Howard Baker, and Ambassador Caroline Kennedy. This long list also includes a member of this committee—Senator Hagerty. If confirmed, I will continue the example he and his predecessors set, and ensure America's interests in the region remain paramount.

An Ambassador is only as effective as the Civil and Foreign Service Professionals, and U.S. Armed Forces who surround them. In Japan, these Americans have ad-

vanced our nation's ideals without an appointed Ambassador for two years. I want to take this opportunity to thank them for their patriotism and professionalism to our Mission in Japan, and I hope to soon serve our country alongside them.

We are at a critical juncture in American foreign policy in this region. What we build in partnership with Japan over the next three years will determine America's posture for the next 30. The challenges and opportunities we face underscore the imperative of strengthening our bonds with our closest ally, Japan.

For more than 60 years, the partnership between the United States and Japan has been the cornerstone of peace and prosperity in a free and open Indo-Pacific. Our alliance advances our shared interests and shared values. If confirmed, my top priority will be to deepen these ties while we confront our common challenges.

China aims to conquer through division. America's strategy is security through unity. That regional unity is built on the U.S.-Japan alliance.

If confirmed, I will draw on my two-and-a-half decades of public service. As Senior Advisor to President Clinton and Chief of Staff to President Obama, I served as a trusted advisor on major domestic and national security issues.

As Mayor, my administration made it a priority to bring the world to Chicago, and Chicago to the world. During my tenure, Chicago led the nation in corporate relocations and foreign direct investment for seven consecutive years. I also presided over the most active sister cities organization in America.

As Mayor, I traveled to Japan to meet with public and private sector leaders and signed The Japan-Chicago Partnership Agreement with the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the eight additional ministries, marking the first time the Japanese Government entered into a formal agreement with a North American city. In addition, the Governor of Tokyo signed the Chicago Climate Charter—a first-of-its-kind municipal agreement. This trip laid the groundwork for deepening Chicago and Japan relations, including corporate relocations by two preeminent Japanese companies—DMG Mori and Beam Suntory—and many cultural exchange initiatives.

Two people inspired me to enter public service nearly 30 years ago. My mother, Marsha Emanuel, has spent her entire life serving others as a nurse, a social worker, and head of CORE—the Congress of Racial Equality—in Chicago, where she was instrumental in the integration of Chicago's beaches and housing in the early 1960s.

October 3rd marked the two-year anniversary of my father's passing. Dr. Benjamin Emanuel immigrated to this country in 1953 with just \$13 in his pocket after fighting in Israel's War of Independence. He campaigned for national health care during the early 1960s and quit the American Medical Association in protest over its opposition. He then sued the City of Chicago for lead in household paint and started a pediatric practice based on one rule: No child was rejected because their parents could not pay. Through his years, he built his practice into one of the largest in Chicago.

If confirmed, this will be the first professional pursuit I will undertake without my best friend—my father—by my side. The drive and values I have come from my parents, who always loved and supported me—even though I didn't become a doctor like my older brother.

For my father and mother, America was a place of possibility. In his wallet, my father carried a picture of the boat that brought him to the United States. That photo represents what he instilled in me and my two brothers: the beacon of hope, opportunity, and endless possibility this great country is to the world.

I wish he was here today. First, while my mother is proud, he would be shocked and amazed that I was sitting here. Second, it would reaffirm his belief in that special place we love—America.

The final thing I have to say is the first thing I want to do: work closely with this committee and the Congress as a whole to ensure that we work seamlessly, across the aisle, across the Capitol, and across the Pacific, to advance America's interests in the vital Indo-Pacific region.

I would like to thank this committee for your consideration of my nomination. If confirmed, I intend to work with you to promote our economic prosperity, strengthen our national security, and ensure our democratic values remain paramount through the U.S.-Japan alliance. Under your leadership, Mr. Chairman, working with Ranking Member Senator Risch, this committee has continued its proud bipartisan tradition of putting country ahead of party. That is a mission and a mandate I proudly share.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Mayor.
Mr. Kaplan?

**STATEMENT OF JONATHAN ERIC KAPLAN OF CALIFORNIA,
NOMINATED TO BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND
PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO
THE REPUBLIC OF SINGAPORE**

Mr. KAPLAN. Chairman Menendez, Ranking Member Risch, and distinguished members of the committee, I am proud and honored to be asked to serve our country as the Ambassador to the Republic of Singapore, and it is my privilege to appear here before you today.

I would like to begin my remarks by thanking President Biden and Secretary Blinken for their trust and confidence in me. I am also grateful to share this day with my friends, family, and especially my daughter, Samantha.

Finally, I would like to thank Senator Hickenlooper for his words of introduction and to the hard-working professionals at the State Department and the White House for their steadfast support of my nomination throughout this process.

Vice President Harris noted during her August visit to Singapore our world is embarking on a new era, one with many new challenges and exciting new opportunities. Our partnership with Singapore is critically important to strengthen our relationship and defend our positions within the Indo-Pacific region. For 55 years, U.S.-Singapore diplomacy has fostered a strong friendship, a mutual respect, and a steadfast commitment to one another.

The United States and Singapore's enduring partnership is based on mutual economic interests, robust security and defense cooperation, and strong people-to-people ties. Our two countries are close partners in support of a rules-based economy and unwavering security throughout the region.

Mr. Chairman and members of this committee, Singapore is a vital economic partner to the United States. More than 5,400 U.S. companies are registered in the city-state, and these businesses provide responsible, sustainable investment for the region and directly support more than 215,000 American jobs here at home.

In 2003, the United States and Singapore signed a free trade agreement, our first bilateral goods and services agreement with any Asian country and the cornerstone of a now \$90 billion trade partnership. The United States is the largest foreign investor in Singapore with more than \$270 billion in direct investments, making Singapore the largest recipient of U.S. investment in the Indo-Pacific.

If confirmed, I plan to strengthen our bilateral trade relationship, advance an economic agenda that promotes a shared prosperity, further secure our economic resiliency and access to supply, and work closely with Singapore to tackle the climate crisis.

Singapore is a critical partner in enabling strong U.S. security presence in the region. It is Southeast Asia's largest purchaser of U.S. military equipment, with more than \$20 billion invested in both direct commercial sales and foreign military sales over the past decade.

Singapore's agreement to purchase the F-35B aircraft highlights the historically close relationship between our air forces and exemplifies our close security cooperation. The cornerstone of this partnership is the 1990 U.S.-Singapore Memorandum of Under-

standing, which governs our presence in Singapore and allows for the rotational deployment of both U.S. littoral combat ships and Navy P-8s. If confirmed, I look forward to the opportunity to strengthen our security cooperation and defend a rules-based international order, which has supported peace and prosperity in the Indo-Pacific region.

The United States and Singapore have also benefitted from a strong law enforcement and home security partnership. This work strengthens the security of our citizens, our companies, and our nations by combatting the difficult challenges of commercial crime, terrorism, cybercrime, and illicit trade. Personal relationships are the foundation of a strong and secure Indo-Pacific region. U.S.-Singapore people-to-people ties are robust, and Singaporeans are active participants in U.S. educational and exchange programs.

Prior to the pandemic, more than 4,000 Singaporeans were studying in the United States, and more than 1,000 Americans studied in Singapore. In fact, more than half of Singapore's cabinet ministers have studied in the United States, including the current prime minister, who studied at Harvard.

The United States and Singapore have also bonded together through our third-country training program. For more than 10 years, the program has provided technical assistance and educational opportunities to over 1,500 ASEAN officials, drawing on the depth and breadth of the U.S.-Singaporean friendship and our expertise.

If confirmed, I look forward to working closely with this committee to advance the United States interests in Singapore, to create an even stronger set of relationships between our two countries, and to help further a secure and rules-based Indo-Pacific region overall.

Mr. Chairman, members of this committee, I thank you for the opportunity to appear here today, and I look forward to any questions.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Kaplan follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF JONATHAN ERIC KAPLAN

Chairman Menendez, Ranking Member Risch, and distinguished members of the committee, I am proud and honored to be asked to serve our country as the Ambassador to Singapore and it is a privilege to appear before you today.

I'd like to begin my remarks by thanking President Biden and Secretary Blinken for their trust and confidence in me. I'm also grateful to share this day with my friends, family, and especially with my daughter, Samantha. Finally, I'd like to thank Senator Hickenlooper for his words of introduction and to the hardworking professionals at the State Department and the White House for their steadfast support of my nomination throughout this process.

Over the past several decades, I have had the pleasure to visit more than 75 countries, 22 of them within Asia. I've been a successful executive, entrepreneur, and philanthropist. I've built diverse teams with common purpose and have led large organizations through difficult times and within challenging environments.

As Vice President Harris noted during her August visit to Singapore, our world is embarking on a new era—one with many new challenges and exciting new opportunities. Our partnership with Singapore is critically important to strengthen our relationships and defend our positions within the Indo-Pacific region. U.S.-Singapore diplomacy has fostered a strong friendship, a mutual respect, and a steadfast commitment to one another.

For 55 years, the United States and Singapore have forged an enduring partnership based on our mutual economic interests, robust security and defense coopera-

tion, and strong people-to-people ties. Our two countries are close partners in support of a rules-based economy and unwavering security throughout the region.

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Singapore is a critical partner in enabling a strong U.S. security presence in the region. It is Southeast Asia's largest purchaser of U.S. military equipment, with more than \$20 billion invested in both direct commercial sales and foreign military sales over the past decade. Singapore's agreement to purchase the F-35B aircraft highlights the historically close relationship between our air forces and exemplifies our close partnership. The cornerstone of our security cooperation is the 1990 U.S.-Singapore Memorandum of Understanding, which governs our presence in Singapore and allows for the rotational deployment of both U.S. littoral combat ships and Navy P-8s. If confirmed, I will look for opportunities to strengthen our security partnership and defend the rules-based international order, which has supported peace and prosperity in the Indo-Pacific.

The United States and Singapore have also benefited from a robust law enforcement and homeland security partnership that strengthens the security of our citizens, our companies, and our nations by combating the complex challenges of commercial crime, terrorism, cybercrime, border security, and illicit trade.

Personal relationships are a foundation of a strong and secure Indo-Pacific region. U.S.-Singapore people-to-people ties are robust, and Singaporeans are active participants in U.S. educational and exchange programs. Prior to the pandemic, more than 4,000 Singaporeans were studying in U.S. universities, while more than 1,000 Americans studied in Singapore. In addition, more than 350 Singaporeans participated in other cultural and educational exchanges in the United States in 2019, most notably through the Fulbright Program, the Young Southeast Asian Leaders Initiative, and the Southeast Asia Youth Leadership Program. More than half of Singapore's cabinet ministers have studied in the United States, including the current Prime Minister who studied at Harvard University. Over the past decade, the United States and Singapore have partnered together through the Third Country Training Program to provide technical assistance and educational opportunities for over 1,500 ASEAN officials, drawing on the depth and breadth of U.S. and Singaporean friendship and expertise.

If confirmed, I look forward to working closely with this Committee to advance the U.S. interests in Singapore, to create even stronger relationships between our two countries, and help to further a secure and rules-based Indo-Pacific region overall.

Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, thank you for the opportunity to appear here today, and I look forward to your questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you both.

We will start a round of 5-minute questions. Before I recognize myself for that, let me ask some questions that are on behalf of the committee as a whole. They speak to the importance that this committee places on responsiveness by all officials in the executive branch and that we expect and will be seeking from you. So, I would ask each of you to provide a "yes" or "no" answer to the following questions.

Do you agree to appear before this committee and make officials from your office available to the committee and designated staff, when invited?

Mr. EMANUEL. Yes.

Mr. KAPLAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you commit to keeping the committee fully and currently informed about the activities under your purview?

Mr. EMANUEL. Yes.

Mr. KAPLAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you commit to engaging in meaningful consultation while policies are being developed, not just providing notification after the fact?

Mr. EMANUEL. Yes.

Mr. KAPLAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And do you commit to promptly responding to requests for briefings and information requested by the committee and its designated staff?

Mr. EMANUEL. Yes.

Mr. KAPLAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. The nominees have both responded “yes” to all those questions.

Well, let me start off. Mayor Emanuel, I want to talk to you about our previous nominee. We were talking about China a lot, and Japan is going to play a big role in that. Given the realities of our new era of strategic competition with China, what do you think the U.S.-Japan alliance needs to concentrate and act upon to be capable to meet the new and emerging regional challenges? In essence, how do we get them to be all in?

Mr. EMANUEL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for the question.

As we discussed yesterday, I think the world has learned a lot in COVID. We exposed some of our vulnerabilities, and I think China has been exposed for their venality. You can ask that of India. You can ask that of the people leaving Hong Kong. You can ask that of what has happened now to Australia in that area, and you can also see it by how Philippines have reacted to what has happened to their fish fleet out and in their border.

The region is desperate for America’s leadership, and that was seen recently with AUKUS. The entire strategy in the region, when we repeat the words “Indo-Pacific,” that actually was an architectural frame first deposited by former Prime Minister Abe. And we have all adopted it, which means that our ally sees their vision as one that we have adopted and will advance.

Every effort we make in bringing our allies together not only militarily or strategically, but also with economic integration, also with cultural and political, is built on the shoulders of a U.S.-Japan relationship. And to me, the way we confront China, their entire strategy, as I think everybody can see, is to literally make sure that all roads—it is a one-way road to Beijing’s benefit.

And the countries in that area know that. They are desperate for America all in, and Australia showed they are ready to bet long on America. That is also true of Japan, our longest, deepest ally in the region. And what we must do is make that a cornerstone of both military efforts, strategic efforts.

And I would conclude on this one point. The recent prime minister gave a speech and said that they are going to raise their budget in defense spending above 1 percent, which has been the norm. That means for the first time—I know that Senator Hagerty must have been lobbying on that constantly—it is happening.

Making sure that they do the type of weapons acquisitions that are interoperable with us, but also part of our strategic blueprint and frame makes that a key opportunity. Because I think now not just in the region, but in this particular friendship and partnership, it is at an inflection point. As I said in my remarks, and I want to echo it again, what we do over the next 3 years will determine our presence, our vision for the next 30 in the region.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me turn to Japan in terms of the context of being one of the world's leading technology industries, especially in fundamental technologies like semiconductor components. How do we facilitate greater cooperation between the United States and Japan on tech and innovation, and how do we make steps to better integrate those efforts with a regional strategy more broadly?

Mr. EMANUEL. Well, Mr. Chairman, I see this as a unique opportunity. Whether it is on intellectual property, whether it is on infrastructure investment, whether it is on supply chain, we have a partner that is begging for America's continued investment window. When Australia, by way of example, bet long on the United States, China's reaction was to say we want to end TPP. That was an attempt to say we are going to be the dominant player.

Everything we do has to send one message, one signal. It is a good bet to bet long on the United States. And Japan has a huge partnership, whether it is in the pharmaceutical space, the IP in general, infrastructure, supply chain, to be that partner. And you can see that already by President Biden and his partnership is not only in the QUAD, the two meetings they have had, but also in his discussions with individual or with the Japanese prime minister.

The issue of supply chain, the issue of microchips is key to that strategy, and I think Japan is ready for the type of next stage in U.S.-Japan relationships. And that as we make these investments, it is an opportunity to actually start to, as I would say, tighten the economic integration of the largest and the third-largest economy. When those two are tight, it is a very, very strong force.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Lastly, as I noted earlier, I would like to give you an opportunity to address the committee concerning Laquan McDonald. So, take a moment to do so.

Mr. EMANUEL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and thank you for the opportunity to address the question.

Seven years ago, a young man had his life taken on the streets of the city of Chicago. He had all the promise ahead of him, and a police officer took his life, killed him. I said then I am the mayor, and I am responsible and accountable for fixing this so this never happens again.

And to be honest, there is not a day or a week that has gone by in the last 7 years I have not thought about this and thought about the "what ifs" and the changes and what could have been. And I think we all know that over the last 10 years, there is not a city in this country, regardless of size, that has not dealt with the gulf between police activities and the oversight and accountability that is necessary, and Chicago is no different.

As soon as events happened, IPRA, the oversight authority, is on the scene. Shortly after that, the State's attorney opened an investigation, and not too far from then, the U.S. attorney and the FBI

opened an investigation. And you have three ongoing investigations happening simultaneously of that night and events thereof.

As you know, there is a longstanding protocol and practice that nothing is released in the middle of an investigation for fear of either prejudicing a witness or endangering the prosecution. That was the practice longstanding not just in Chicago, but across the country.

And as recently as May 2 of this year, the New York Times wrote a story saying—or reported a story that there is no uniform standard or policy for the release of police video. It does not exist today, and it did not exist back in 2014 and 2015, except for the policy that had been place about the integrity of an investigation. And you do not want to prejudice a witness. You do not want to prevent a prosecution because of premature release of video or any prima facie evidence.

Now that view and that principle runs headlong into another very important value, and that is the deep suspicion, distrust, and skepticism that exists in the community about the authorities investigating the authorities and getting to the bottom of what happened. And the longer an investigation goes on, the greater the distrust and the greater the skepticism about what is really happening here, that it is not about finding out what happened and getting to the bottom of it, but this is a whitewash and a cover-up.

And you have this kind of tension to conflict between the integrity of an investigation, so you do not harm it, and the deep, well-deserved, and well-earned distrust by the community in the authorities. Now I see in that—and this is my view—that the last person you want to make a unilateral decision about the release of a video while the FBI and the U.S. attorney, the State's attorney, and IPRA are investigating is a politician. It should be made by professionals.

The moment a politician unilaterally makes a decision in the middle of an investigation, you politicize that investigation and, more importantly, you may have endangered the prosecution in bringing somebody to justice.

Second, I would say in the first term of my tenure, I made a number of changes that dealt with oversight accountability, and it is clear to me those changes were inadequate to the level of distrust. They were, on the best, marginal. I thought I was addressing the issue, and I clearly missed the level of distrust and skepticism that existed, and that is on me.

In addition, I would say, third, the point of afterwards, there was a number of inquiries both by the inspector general, a special prosecutor, all looked at what happened and the events afterwards, and nobody suggested or concluded that anybody in my office or I, myself, did anything improper.

Now this committee is in the possession of a lot of letters of support, from the leadership of the Black Caucus in Chicago to the leadership in the House, Nancy Pelosi, the Speaker; Majority Leader Hoyer; Whip Clyburn; the chairmen of the two committees, Greg Meeks, your sister committee in the House; Chairman Adam Schiff.

You also have letters from the Chamber of Commerce and the Chicago Federation of Labor and Building Trades. All speak to my

professional capacities. You also have a letter from Pastor Marvin Hunter. He is a reverend on the West Side of the city of Chicago. And the reason that is relevant is he speaks to my person and my character, not just my professional abilities. And he is Laquan McDonald's great uncle.

We have prayed together over the last couple of years, gotten to know each other. Gotten to talk about if we had a magic wand how we would fix what is broken in our criminal justice system. Talked about current events. We have even argued about the Cubs and the Sox.

But most importantly, we have gotten to find a common understanding, and I am appreciative of his support for my nomination, as I am of the other leaders in Chicago and the leaders here in the House that I served with. And I am appreciative of what they have said.

That all being said, Mr. Chairman, it does not take away from the fact that a grave tragedy occurred 7 years ago to this day on the streets of the city of Chicago, and that tragedy sits with me, as it has every day and every week for the last 7 years.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

And you mentioned letters in the possession of the committee. All of those letters will be included in the record, including Mr. McDonald's relative.

[The information referred to above is located at the end of this hearing transcript.]

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Risch?

Senator RISCH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator Hagerty has an important engagement and has asked me to yield to him.

The CHAIRMAN. Happy to have you defer to Senator Hagerty. Senator Hagerty?

Senator HAGERTY. Thank you very much, Ranking Member Risch and Chairman Menendez. I will have to confess that that important engagement is my ninth grade daughter's parent-teacher conference that is coming up, and I appreciate your accommodating me to take care of that.

The CHAIRMAN. That is a super important engagement.

Senator HAGERTY. Indeed, sir. Thank you.

Mayor Emanuel, I would like to talk about the relationship between the United States and Japan. As you know, we have a critically important economic relationship with Japan. In fact, Japan is the number-one investor in my home State of Tennessee, more than all the other nations combined, in fact. That has been a vital and critical relationship with my home State.

But today, there exists a real impediment to that relationship. It has to do with the case of a U.S. citizen, a Tennessee citizen named Greg Kelly, and it is in our Nation's interest to resolve this situation quickly.

I would like to go through the facts. Greg Kelly of Tennessee was arrested in Tokyo, Japan, on November 19, 2018. Greg, a lawyer at Nissan, was charged by a Tokyo prosecutor with conspiring to underreport Carlos Ghosn's compensation as a Nissan director. Greg's defense attorneys plan to present their closing arguments

next Wednesday, October 27, 35 months after Greg was deceived into leaving his home in Tennessee and he was arrested in Japan.

Let me underscore that. It has been 35 months to get to this point where his defense attorneys are actually able to close their case. For reasons that defy logic, a verdict is not expected until March of next year, 18 months after the trial began and more than 3 1/2 years after Greg's trial—after Greg was first detained.

Here is the injustice. Impartial Japanese expert observers, including private corporate lawyer Keiko Ohara, have said that this matter should have been handled internally, not in a courtroom. Media reports indicate even Prime Minister Shinzo Abe held this view. Former Japanese prosecutor Nobuo Gohara and criminal accounting specialist Yuji Hosono have publicly stated Japan's judicial system has violated Greg's human rights and that there was no reason to arrest him because there was no criminal violation.

Mr. Kelly's lawyers believe the evidence introduced at his trial made abundantly clear that no crime was committed. In reality, this was a coup by those within Nissan management who resisted further integration into the parent Renault, and they were willing to do anything to take down someone standing in their way.

I have conveyed this concern directly to the cabinet level in Japan. I have let them know that America is the largest investor in Japan, that American executives see this as an issue that rightfully should have been resolved in a corporate boardroom, not in a prosecutor's office. This is a terrible message to send to the rest of the world.

It is bad for Japan's brand, and it is devastating to any American that happens to get caught in this system. With this type of justice system, I fear that American executives will start thinking twice about doing business in Japan.

So, here is the duty. Our embassy has a responsibility to protect U.S. citizens, to protect Mr. Kelly from this injustice. Mayor Emanuel, if you are confirmed as Ambassador, will you make it matter of top priority to see that Mr. Kelly's name is cleared and he is returned to the United States as soon as possible?

Mr. EMANUEL. Senator Hagerty, as you know, we have talked about this. The good news is there is Japanese media here. So, I want them to hear exactly, if I am fortunate to have the support of this committee. I have already started to inquire about this, and I want a report on my desk. You and I both know that if you start asking that, that goes from here to up here as a top priority.

Number two, this is a constituent. I was a former congressman. I am going to not treat this as a piece of business as being an Ambassador. I am going to treat this as would a former congressman approach when a constituent is in trouble and underscore what I think is an important point right now. Number-one responsibility of an embassy and an Ambassador is to make sure of the safety and ensure the safety of a U.S. citizen on foreign soil.

You have my word. As I said to you privately, I am saying it publicly. Again, I am not confirmed, and I wish I—hope I do get the confidence of this committee. But I know that the Japanese media is here. So, they can hear it directly.

This is not just another piece of business to be checked off. I am going to be approaching this subject as a former U.S. congressman who knows what it means when you have a constituent at heart.

Senator HAGERTY. Well, thank you very much. I intend to support your confirmation, and I appreciate your taking on this matter of critical interest to Tennesseans and to my constituent, but also a matter of critical national interest for our two nations.

Thank you.

Mr. EMANUEL. Senator, I have had a ninth grader, a 9-year-old on my watch, three of them. You get the medical slip right now. I would get over there.

Thank you.

Senator HAGERTY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Cardin?

Senator CARDIN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

And let me thank both of our nominees for their willingness to serve our Nation in critically important positions.

Mr. Kaplan, later today I am going to be chairing a hearing of the U.S.-Helsinki Commission on the freedom of the media. We will have the OSCE representative Ribeiro, who is the representative for the freedom of the media. I mention that because when people think of Singapore, and I have been to Singapore, you know its economic power, and you know what it means as a strategic location in the shipping lanes. You recognize the importance of this economic partnership that the United States has with Singapore, including the free trade agreement.

But there is another part of Singapore. It is a rigid country. It is ranked by Reporters without Borders as 160th out of 180 in its annual World Press Freedom Index behind its neighbors such as Cambodia and Myanmar.

So, my question to you, President Biden has made it clear that our foreign policy is going to be wrapped in our values, and freedom of the media is critically important for any democratic state. How will you make this a priority, that the safety of reporters and the freedom of the media will have a voice in our mission in Singapore?

Mr. KAPLAN. Thank you very much for that question, Senator.

You know, for 55 years, the United States and Singapore have been incredible partners. We have been partners on counterproliferation. We have been partners on maritime security. We have been, as you said so eloquently, incredible trading partners and economic partners.

And when it comes to fundamental freedoms, especially freedom of the press, which is an incredibly important topic for us as a country for sure, you know, I think this is an area where, if I am confirmed, we are going to have to engage with the Singapore Government. The nice thing is friends are able to talk about difficult topics. They may not want to change. We are going to want them to change, but we are going to have a dialogue.

This is an area of fundamental freedoms. This is a topic of importance for the administration, and this is a priority for me.

Senator CARDIN. Will you make your office available for those in Singapore who need a voice in regards to the freedom of the media?

Mr. KAPLAN. Absolutely.

Senator CARDIN. Thank you.

Mr. KAPLAN. Again, globally, this is an important issue. It is not just an issue that is personally important to me, but is important to the United States and to the administration overall.

Senator CARDIN. Thank you.

Mayor Emanuel, it is good to see you. Thank you for your willingness to continue to get involved in helping our communities. You have taken on some tough assignments, from the chief of staff of a President to being a congressman dealing with the day-to-day activities of keeping the constituents happy to being a mayor of Chicago.

I want to talk about one issue in regards to our relationship with Japan. We can talk about a lot of different issues. We have already talked about some of the military aspects.

We have 50,000 troops stationed in Japan. We are in a process of negotiating the special measures agreement that will deal with a transition—you already mentioned the 1 percent, but the transition to the post World War II concept of Japan being a strategic partner of the Western powers in dealing with protecting democracy.

So, I just really want to get your thoughts as to how you will be engaged with our committee, with Congress, and certainly with the Defense Department and the White House as we talk about Japan's modernization of its military capacity and commitment and how that will affect U.S. military presence in Japan and the current arrangements that we have between our two countries?

Mr. EMANUEL. Senator, thank you very much for the question.

As we have talked before, Japan today willing to go from 1 percent to 2 percent is a sea change in thinking. It is a reflection that they know they have a greater role to play and they have greater threats. Not just the percentage of a number, but what that number would reflect. What are they looking at buying. What are they looking at adding. That is essential for their security and also essential for our partnership and that effort.

I do think not just in that 2 percent and that strategy, I do not think it gets lost on all of us that they were the first country to articulate the idea of a free and open Indo-Pacific. That has now become the nomenclature and the term that we use, they use, and our other allies do.

And it is also a bulwark that it makes sure that China hears that this is a part of the world that we are going to stay in, that our ally, our number-one ally in the region is now upping its game in a way that could not happen before. If you look over the span of the last 60 years, Japan has moved forward each time in taking a more critical and a more, for lack of a better way of saying it, forward-leaning effort.

But I would like to also stress the military hardware is one thing. It is just a component when you link up the United States and Japan. It is also the opportunity to seek climate change investments, infrastructure investments, IP protection, IP investments. Those are not challenges. Those are opportunities.

And so, when we do that together not only do we send a signal to China, but more importantly, we send a signal about America. We are strong because of our allies and our unity.

China has one strategy, a one-way road to Beijing's benefit, and everybody in that region—most importantly, Japan—know that a United States doubling down on its commitments in the Indo-Pacific area makes them more secure, makes the region more safe and open. And it is a values-based system, not based on one country's proclivity. And anything that challenges that must be met with the united force of all of our allies and friends in the region.

Senator CARDIN. Thank you. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. Senator Risch?

Senator RISCH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mayor Emanuel, you and I have talked about this, but I want to underscore again this particular subject. As you know, our extended nuclear deterrence underpins U.S. security architecture in the Indo-Pacific, and of course, a part of that is strategic ambiguity. You maybe heard our discussions a bit about consideration at least of U.S. adopting a sole purpose statement, as opposed to strategic ambiguity.

I would urge that when you go to the Indo-Pacific and you hear not only from Japan, but from all of our partners there, their concerns about this, I hope you will convey that in the strongest terms to the current administration. Can I get your thoughts on that?

Mr. EMANUEL. Thank you, Ranking Member Risch.

It is a good question, and I would—as I said to you privately, you and I know that the last time there was a review of our posture in the region, there was no country—and not just in the region, internationally, around the world—no country was greater consulted and whose views were greater considered as we enunciated our policy than Japan. While I am not privy to those conversations today, I would be shocked that it was not following that pattern, that Japan's security interests are paramount to the articulation and vision as we look to the policy.

And I will just say nothing about the current events, whether that is what is happening in North Korea, what China just did over the last 2 weeks vis-a-vis Taiwan or with the hypersonic, has given anybody any sense that as we review this policy, it has to be done in consultation with our allies and friends in the area. And none more important than Japan.

And so when I articulate it, but it is not me, it is President Biden who has said everything we do there is built on the shoulders of the U.S.-Japan friendship, that is where the rubber hits the road exactly on that area.

Senator RISCH. Well, I am glad to hear that. And with your experience, I have no doubt that you are able to deliver tough messages sometimes when people do not want to hear it. So, I will be—

Mr. EMANUEL. Senator, Mr. Ranking Member, I think it can be said, a moment of self-awareness, nobody has ever walked out of a meeting saying, "I wonder where Rahm stands on this?" So, you have my assurance.

Senator RISCH. That is comforting. Thank you so much for that.

Mr. Kaplan, I really am impressed with the fact that the administration has seen fit to appoint someone with your qualifications from the private sector, a capitalist, if you would, to Singapore. Our trade relationship with Singapore, I think, is not very much appre-

ciated by most Americans, and your appointment there I think will help underscore that.

In Idaho, they are one of our important trade partners. We have enjoyed a great relationship with them, and of course, they have the troops stationed there that are in constant training. So, appreciate you doing that. I hope that you will take into consideration how important they are as a trading partner and continue to encourage that. It is a great benefit both ways.

So, thank you much.

Mr. KAPLAN. I look forward to it. Thank you, sir.

Senator RISCH. Thank you. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Kaine?

Senator Kaine. Thank you, Mr. Chair, and congratulations to both of the nominees.

Mr. Kaplan, your background of work in Asia makes you uniquely suited for this position, and Mr. Mayor, it is good to see you here. The Japan-U.S. relationship requires that an Ambassador go to Japan and the Japanese understand this is somebody who is very close to the President, that they really want to see an Ambassador who has a direct line to the President. And you do, and I believe that is the reason you have been chosen.

I appreciate you sharing at length about Mr. McDonald because what a tragedy. And I was a mayor, and every day in cities, beautiful things happen, and tragic things happen. And that is the case in any city, and you cannot be a mayor, especially of a city like Chicago, without picking up some scar tissue on the way.

But your description of what you learned along the way, the levels of distrust that some in communities feel toward people in power, toward politicians, toward police, I had to learn and then relearn those lessons often in my time as the mayor of a majority African-American city. And I am sure, since Chicago is a much bigger city than Richmond, Virginia, those lessons were challenging and painful for you during your entire tenure, but you served in an admirable way.

I want to just ask you one question that really it is maybe a little bit about Japan's domestic politics, which Ambassadors do not get involved in. But you pointed out accurately that the U.S. network of alliances in the Indo-Pacific is incredibly important as we think about the China threat. And there is no alliance that is more important than the U.S.-Japan alliance.

I am very excited that numerous Presidents now have invested in this notion of the QUAD and that—and President Biden is really operationalizing it beyond strategic dialogue to do vaccine diplomacy and other things. But as I look at the QUAD, there is an obvious omission, and that is South Korea.

South Korea should be in that, and yet the challenges between Japan and South Korea have been of longstanding—you know, longstanding historical challenges. What might you be able to do as an Ambassador to Japan to help encourage closer and closer relationships between these two nations that are such great allies of the United States and have so much in common in terms of the threats that they face in the region?

Mr. EMANUEL. Senator Kaine, thank you for the question.

I think that Japan, I mean, to be—Japan has a new prime minister, and there is a new election. That will also be true in the spring of the coming year in South Korea. I think we are both familiar, having run for office, what that does.

As a general principle, and this has been articulated by the President, and I have heard him in different situations in the prior—when I wore a different hat than mayor, but as a chief of staff. I think as it relates to this as a general kind of 10,000 feet, you never want the 20th century to rob us of the opportunities of the 21st century.

Not that those are not heartfelt and serious, and they are. So, it is, one, keeping people focused on the future and our commonality, not what divides us. And the United States and our Ambassador both from the United States here, but also in South Korea can play an important role in facilitating that focus on the future rather than any tensions that legitimately exist about the past.

And that said, and I am aware like you of politics, which is not a bad word, is nobody at this point, you do not want to embarrass or shame any one of the two parties publicly. So, the goal would be to keep the private conversations moving forward so there is no sense in a public way that they have been from their own respective roles and responsibilities to their publics are not cornered from the opportunity to make the most of the 21st century.

What Japan faces, South Korea, the United States, I see the—what people refer to as either climate change, infrastructure, IP protection, investments in the supply chain, those are not challenges. They are tremendous opportunities for greater integration, greater advancements of our cooperation, and strengthening a rules-based system that all three share.

So, from the challenges, make them opportunities for greater cooperation between the three parties. Two, focus on the 21st century opportunities, not the challenges of the 20th century, and do not let the 20th century rob us of what we can build together, the three. And third, do not do anything that surprises people in public so they have the opportunity to be, for lack of another way of saying it, to lean forward in a collaborative and productive way.

Senator Kaine. Thank you for that.

And Mr. Kaplan, I am going to be very proud to support your nomination. I am just going to ask you a question about press freedom, the same question that Senator Cardin asked. There is so much right in the U.S.-Singapore relationship. The low ranking of Singapore on global press indices is a continuing challenge, and I will look forward to—I am confident you will be confirmed, and I will look forward to working with you on this.

Mr. Kaplan. If I am confirmed, I will obviously look forward to working with you.

Senator Kaine. Thank you so much. Thanks, Mr. Chair.

The Chairman. Senator Coons?

Senator Coons. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

And Mayor Emanuel and Mr. Kaplan, I very much look forward to our exchange today and appreciate the testimony you have already provided. And let me also thank your families for supporting you. To Amy and to Zach, who I had the opportunity to meet in person but had spoken to before, and to Ilana and other family

members, Leah, who are watching. And thank you, Mayor, for sharing your personal story and journey and what that has brought to you in your decades of public service.

And to Mr. Kaplan and your daughter, Samantha, and other members of your life who are with us today, it is wonderful to have both of you in front of us and to have this chance to interact with you about these two important positions that have been vacant for too long with two absolutely vital Indo-Pacific partners for the United States.

I am, as I think you both know, the chair of the Appropriations Subcommittee responsible for our foreign assistance. Japan is also a major donor in development assistance in the region, and one of the reasons I worked with a number of my colleagues to help create the Development Finance Corporation was so that we had a new and more modern tool, more capable of partnering with JBIC and ADB, the Asian Development Bank and Japanese investment entity.

How do you believe, Mr. Mayor, that we can use the DFC to more closely partner with Japan's development entities, and how do you think partnering with our regional allies, whether it is Australia or Japan, South Korea, others, in development finance that might actually create a new chapter in providing alternatives that are more transparent, that are more sustainable for the development of the region?

Mr. EMANUEL. Senator Coons, thank you for that question.

I do want to take one second and personally, as I have privately, thank you publicly. When you were on a CODEL to Korea, you personally called Zach to check in on him. In a high order, you made one Jewish grandmother and mother very happy, and that is a very tall order. So, I want to thank you, Senator, for doing that personally.

On a serious note, in the process of talking to a lot of people, one, I did not realize that Japan is an actually larger investor in infrastructure around the region than China. We hear a lot about belt and roads, about the China plan. Japan is actually by about a number of about 75 billion in U.S. dollars bigger than China in the region. That is a big asset with our ally.

Second, on top of it, if you do polling among the public in the region, Japan is the most popular country. Again, a big asset in our partnership.

Third, as I have repeated—as I said earlier and I want to repeat, the architecture from Prime Minister Abe lives on and is now adopted by all, which is a free and open Indo-Pacific.

I think making these investments in infrastructure, our creative financing, our strategy to make an opportunity both for these type of economic opportunities that would exist and infrastructure that is linked in with the United States and Japan. And two, because we will do it in a way that is open, based on a rules-based system, it will stand in direct contrast to the violations of China's belt and roads that does not meet the standards of OECD standards.

And I think that opportunity for us to talk to future countries that may be looking at the United States or Japan and say here are the way we are going to do this so you do not become debt dependent like often happens with China. That is a key opportunity

with an ally, a popular ally who shares the same values and commitment to a rules-based system. That is something that we want to harness to our strategic overall interests in the region.

Senator COONS. Thank you.

Let us talk a little bit more, if we can, about the modern digital economy and ways in which trade and better integration with Singapore, with Japan, with the region would actually serve our interests. The digital trade agreement between the United States and Japan that we concluded in 2019 could be a useful starting point.

Singapore has been a leader in creating digital trade agreements with its trading partners, and USTR Katherine Tai recently met with her Singaporean counterpart, and they expressed an intent to work together on digital trade. I would be interested in hearing from both of you, if I can, how we could advance work with Japan and with Singapore to set rules and standards for the digital economy that can serve as a model for the region, model for the world, and help provide a more attractive alternative to digital authoritarianism.

Mr. EMANUEL. Do you want to go first?

Mr. KAPLAN. Sure. Thank you so much for that question.

I think, as I said, since 2003, we have enjoyed an incredible free trade agreement with Singapore, and the \$90 billion that is passing between our borders is a critical component to the economic success of really the region and of both countries. And I think as the world moves digital, I think it is going to be incredibly important for me, if I am confirmed, to make sure that Singapore understands this, make sure that we are involved in these discussions, make sure that as Japan and other countries in the Indo-Pacific region start to develop these agreements that the United States is right there front and center.

Mr. EMANUEL. I want to echo my friend. Ambassador-to-be, hopefully, Kaplan has said we talked about this in our training, and I would just say, again, if I have the opportunity to be confirmed, work alongside. A digital writing of the rules is exactly what we want to be doing by saying this is a rules-based system, not based on one country's own self-interest, but what stands the test of time for all the countries in the party.

And as somebody who has been a student of our politics, talking about it this way, approaching the digital piece of the economy, the writing of rules gets us away from the kind of what I would call hunger games of our politics the moment you say the word "trade" or the moment you talk about that. But dealing with writing the rules goes to the strength of a partnership based on a values-based, rules-based system rather than going and dealing with I think the weaker part of our politics.

And I think that would advance our interests in the region, and it is very clear that the Ambassador to the USTR for the United States, she has made that clear as well.

Senator COONS. Well, thank you both. Mr. Mayor, you have demonstrated your diplomatic skill with the breadth of who introduced you today. You were both introduced by wonderful colleagues. I look forward to visiting Japan and Singapore in the future and to working with you in your roles.

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand Senator Van Hollen is with us virtually?

Senator VAN HOLLEN. Yes, thank you, Mr. Chairman.

And congratulations to both of these nominees. I wanted to get back in person, but the scheduling prevented that.

So, to Congressman Emanuel, good to see you back on Capitol Hill. I want to ask you about the North Korean threat because, as you know, just a few days ago, North Korea launched a ballistic missile into the waters off of Japan. This has been part of a pattern over many, many years as North Korea has also strengthened its nuclear weapons capacity.

Japanese Prime Minister Kishida said in response to the most recent launch, "We cannot overlook North Korea's recent development in missile technology and must work with them and the threat—work to address the threat in the region."

So, a number of years ago, Senator Toomey and I worked together. The Congress passed something called the BRINK Act, the Otto Warmbier BRINK Act. And it requires the executive branch to impose secondary sanctions on financial institutions that are helping North Korea escape the sanctions regime. I think we need to do a better job at making sure that we are imposing those sanctions because it seems to be a pretty leaky sanctions regime right now.

But given the interest that Japan and, of course, South Korea have in addressing the ongoing threat of North Korea, what should this administration be doing, the Biden administration be doing, and what will you do, if confirmed as our Ambassador to Japan, to help address this threat?

Mr. EMANUEL. Senator Van Hollen, thank you for the question.

I would like to note since we usually—since we were in the first—our classes together when we got elected to Congress, we talk to each other by first name, but Senator Van Hollen. Look, I think North Korea's recent actions in just the past month, a number of tests of new missiles and new offensive weapons, has alerted Japan and South Korea to the collaboration and cooperation that is essential with the United States of having a common front. And my intention is to work as a representative for the United States Government and doing everything to facilitate, as I think I said to an earlier question, that we make sure that we deal with 21st century issues as allies and partners and not let the 20th century rob or mug that opportunity.

This is a serious challenge as it relates to security, and it is security related to both South Korea and Japan. And therefore, it is a security concern for the United States. And it will be one of the top priorities I will have is to work on that collaboration and understanding so there is a united front with the United States, Japan, and South Korea.

And I will be put—you know, obviously, this is much higher, if I was to be confirmed, than my pay grade, but I will be putting my oar in the water to pull alongside and make sure that the objectives laid out by the Secretary of State, the President of the United States, as we confront this common challenge is make sure that it is executed upon and that it stays front and center.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. No, I appreciate that. Look, I think the new administration, the Biden administration is still sort of framing its approach to North Korea. But I think this most recent missile test underscores the importance of determining exactly what approach we are going to take and, obviously, working closely with our allies Japan and South Korea and others.

Speaking about security arrangements and allies, the QUAD has become an increasingly important sort of structure for addressing security and economic and other issues in the Indo-Pacific region. Can you talk a little bit about how you envision working with Japan to strengthen the QUAD partnership?

Mr. EMANUEL. I mean, you are exactly right, and I would say, if you could, we could hold the QUAD up, and what the President is doing is taking something that was a bipartisan concept started in prior administrations and really has evolved, including under President Trump and prior to that President Obama, and President Biden has put some real meat on the bones, and it is not an accident. That is, the QUAD, both virtually and in person, is the only entity that he has met with now twice in his short tenure as President.

And all the parties—India on its own border, Australia with the recent change in the nuclear sub, nuclear-powered sub acquisition, and then Japan with its own recent budget on its defense investment—know that the partnership here is an essential one for the strategic interests as we—all the parties confront a threat both by China and any threat strategically or militarily.

And so I see the QUAD as the President has enunciated, as the backbone of both economic and security interests in the region of the United States and working with our closest allies who have the same sense that this is an important—for now a very, very important tool for America's foreign policy in the area in strategic interests being articulated and acted upon.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. Thank you. Thank you, and Mr. Chairman, thank you. And my best to Amy and the family, and I look forward to supporting your nomination.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. Senator Merkley?

Senator MERKLEY. Oh, thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

And thank you both. Extensive records of public service. And Mayor, there is no question, as members of the Senate have pointed out, you have an extensive depth and breadth of public service that brings a tremendous amount of knowledge to serving the United States, when confirmed.

But I feel it is important to explore one piece that you have made reference to. We received on the committee a letter from a dozen aldermen, State representatives, State senators, a county commissioner, asking we take a close look at the question of systemic racism and how the role of city leaders working closely with police departments sustains inequities.

And certainly in my home State, we have wrestled with this. My largest city, Portland, has a predominantly white police force. It has a record of shootings and shootings of members of the minority community, black and Hispanic citizens, that has been a very contentious issue.

And Chicago had this as well. 2010 to 2015, police fired 528 cases. They hit citizens 262 times. They fatally shot 92 individuals. Of those who were hit, 94 percent were members of minority communities, Asian, black, or Hispanic.

When you and I met—and I appreciated your comments and thoughts—you said kind of the big mistake you made was that you took at full faith an evaluation from a group of police officers that the shooting of Laquan McDonald was a “good shooting,” a term that apparently the police use. That group of officers that rendered that, was that an official police review board?

Mr. EMANUEL. We said, Senator—and I thank you for the question—and I think there are two parts. So, I would like to address both, if I could?

Senator MERKLEY. But please do not eat up all my time.

Mr. EMANUEL. Oh, no, I will not.

Senator MERKLEY. I know that is a great tactic, but I really wanted to get to the heart of this, and I just want to understand since that is the key thing that you said was a mistake. I want to understand was an official police board that rendered that evaluation?

Mr. EMANUEL. No, no. The police leadership the next morning after a police-involved shooting reviews a shooting.

Senator MERKLEY. It was the morning after?

Mr. EMANUEL. Right. Yes, yes. Right.

Senator MERKLEY. So, you had conveyed to me that that kind of shaped your thinking up through the eventual release the following—a year later, and then your public commentary in November of 2015.

My understanding is that the mother of Laquan McDonald learned about the nature of the shooting when she was called by the funeral house who said to her, “Do you realize your son was shot multiple times? That his body is riddled with bullets.” She did not know apparently at that point. That information had not been shared with her.

And then her attorney subpoenaed records in November of 2014, and when the attorney subpoenaed records, did that trigger the conversation that filled you in? I know you have said you never saw the videos, but filled you in on the fact that this was an unusual case where a child had been shot 16 times?

Mr. EMANUEL. As I said in the answer to Chairman Menendez, there is an investigation going on by three entities—the U.S. attorney, the State’s attorney, IPRA. They were the ones dealing with this, and as I believe, you do not want a politician to make a unilateral decision while those investigations are going on because it would violate a sacrosanct protocol and principle of ensuring that nothing is out prior to an investigation being wrapped up.

Senator MERKLEY. Yes, Mayor, but that was not my question. My question was when her attorneys sought the evidence from the city, is that when you learned about the nature of what had happened from the city attorney or from the police or—

Mr. EMANUEL. As I said, when the video became public is when I learned what happened and the consequence and what happened that night.

Senator MERKLEY. Okay. So, in December, the family viewed the tapes, and the city required that they enter into a nondisclose agreement. That is a pretty significant decision. You are saying you had no idea of the circumstances of the shooting? No one had told you that a child had been shot 16 times or that the child was lying on the ground, that a revolver was reloaded? You had no idea in December when the family reviewed the tapes?

Mr. EMANUEL. Senator, is that situation, the family approached the city about a settlement. An NDA is a standard practice at that time, and also the public information, as you know, when the city council is asked to work with the family, come up with the resources for the compensation, all the members of the city council heard that, and it passed 50 to 0. So, that was the kind of description that was in the public domain when it was voted on.

Senator MERKLEY. Yes. Of course, I did not ask about the NDA. I asked if at that point you were briefed on the details of the shooting?

Mr. EMANUEL. Oh, I am sorry. The details were in the public domain when the corporation counsel briefed the aldermen.

Senator MERKLEY. So, in February and March, the city reached out proactively. Please, Chairman, can I finish a few questions here?

The CHAIRMAN. I do not know about a few questions, but this has been explored, and it is now almost 2 minutes over. So, I will give you another minute.

Senator MERKLEY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I will submit questions for the record so that you can address these things. But I think that in this time of national reckoning with the challenge of Black Lives Matter, when aldermen and State representatives and State senators say this was an issue that there was close cooperation during your time as mayor between the mayor's office to essentially discourage the release of information and to not develop significant reforms, which I know that you have a story to tell about the reforms. And I will submit questions for the record so you can tell that story.

I think it is important for this committee to actually weigh this. And so thank you for meeting with me before. Thank you for addressing this now.

But just to clarify, because all these things happened—the family requested the video. The city attorney reached out proactively before there was a lawsuit to ask for a settlement. The settlement was approved in a less than 1 minute meeting with no public discussion. It seems hard to believe that all those things happened, and yet you were never briefed on the details of the situation when you were leading the city.

Mr. EMANUEL. Since you brought up the aldermanic letters, as you will see also here, the leadership of the Black Caucus has signed a letter in support of my nomination. Those are the members that worked with me. That does not take away from the fact, as I have said before, and I want to repeat because I think it is important, all those are not technicalities.

This is a tragedy that happened, as you know, as you have made reference to what is going on in Portland. And as I said, no city of any size has not confronted the gulf and the gap that exists be-

tween police practices and the oversight and accountability. I made efforts of them. They missed the mark because they totally missed how deep that distrust is and, as in the reverend or the pastor's letter, how broken the system is that we all relied on.

Senator MERKLEY. Yes, and I did note that——

The CHAIRMAN. The chair—the chair would just say to my distinguished colleague I have allowed you to go 4 minutes over the 5 minutes. So, I think that questions for the record would be appropriate.

Senator MERKLEY. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Mr. Kaplan, before we adjourn this hearing, I do not want you to think you are not the object of my affection for the position you are going to have. So, let me ask you, Singapore along with other countries in the region face a time of increasing geopolitical uncertainty with China's growing assertiveness in the Pacific. What is your assessment of how Singapore's thinking on China has evolved in recent years?

How do we influence Singapore's approach towards both confronting and competing with China in a way that aligns it more with our values, which I believe they generally share, versus the values that China is promoting?

Mr. KAPLAN. Thank you very much for that question.

The U.S. must engage with China from a position of strength, and strength comes from our partnerships and our partnerships within the region. We have talked about this throughout this hearing, and I believe that Singapore is a tremendously strong partner of the United States. They are involved in our F-35 program. We have naval operations that we do with them. As the ranking member mentioned, we train their air force.

So, if I am confirmed, I look forward to continuing to work with the Government, continuing to come up with ways for us to support a partnership that addresses these threats that China continues to bring upon not just the United States, but the world overall.

The CHAIRMAN. Enduring support for ASEAN is critical to the United States posture in the Indo-Pacific and central to the engagement with our partnership with Singapore. When the foreign minister was here, we had a significant conversation about ASEAN.

What steps would you take to help Singapore in bolstering ASEAN centrality in the Asia-Pacific region?

Mr. KAPLAN. Well, I think the President and the Secretary of State want to have a multifaceted approach to the region. They have AUKUS. We have QUAD. And of course, we have ASEAN. And Singapore is a founding member of ASEAN. The United States has always been a firm supporter of ASEAN. The Secretary and the President have reaffirmed their commitment to ASEAN.

And again, if confirmed, I look forward to working with the Government, working with industry, working with Singapore to ensure that everyone knows that we are behind ASEAN. Singapore remains an important part of ASEAN, and ASEAN will play a critical role in the safety and security of the region.

The CHAIRMAN. And finally, Mayor Emanuel, I want to just go back to Japan very quickly, but importantly. We need—and I said this to leaders from both countries who have come to visit us here

in Washington. We need Japan and South Korea to understand that their unity along with us is critical to deal with the regional security questions and certainly with North Korea.

And I think, in my 30 years of doing foreign policy between the House and the Senate, this is not one of the best moments I have seen between the two countries. I hope you will use, upon confirmation, your efforts to try to get the Japanese from their side and then we will get our person in South Korea to do the same to find some common ground.

There are historical issues. I understand that. But the security of both nations and its people should supersede their common interests in that regard. Is that something we can count on you to try to do?

Mr. EMANUEL. A hundred percent, Mr. Chairman. And I would just, in the remaining minutes here, say this is, no doubt there has been highs and lows in the relationship between Japan and South Korea. I think that given what North Korea has done and is doing, what China has done and is doing, makes this an opportunity in an organizing way to have both parties try—meaning the United States, Japan, and South Korea—to now focus on what is not a theoretical threat, but a reality, as the recent test just the other day by North Korea has shown. That this is not theoretical, given the sub test that was just—submarine test that was just done.

So, that, to me, underscores there is a level of urgency for all parties to now find the common ground, focus on the future, focus on what binds us together, and not allow tensions of the past and disagreements to actually in any way endanger, and I do think—endanger the relationship.

I would close with one other thought. China, Russia, North Korea are trying to find cracks and fissures in the alliances between the United States and Japan, the United States and South Korea, the United States, Japan, and South Korea. Our job, as a facilitator, is to create the bonds of unity that we speak with one voice, one interest, and one imperative. This is one of, if not the highest priority to find that unity so we can confront the attempt by China and North Korea to divide us.

The CHAIRMAN. Finally, as in all relationships, the question of press freedom of Singapore was raised earlier. In this case, more than 475 U.S. children have been kidnapped in Japan, and the U.S. has named Japan a top three worst offender of international parental child abduction. There has been no significant improvement between since Japan acceded to the Hague Convention on the civil aspects of international child abduction in 2014.

So, when you are confirmed, I hope that you will make one of your priorities to get the Japanese Government to understand that when you enter into an international convention and when American children are involved, we certainly expect you to live up to your obligations under the convention.

Mr. EMANUEL. And Mr. Chairman, I would underscore at this point, if I was fortunate to get the committee and the full Senate's support to be confirmed, your word is your bond. If you signed into an agreement to be trusted as a partner and ally, you must uphold the principle of that agreement.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. This record for this hearing will remain open until the close of business tomorrow, Thursday, October 21. To members of the committee, please ensure that questions for the record are submitted no later than Thursday.

To our nominees, I would just urge you upon receipt—inevitably, there will be questions for the record—that you answer them expeditiously and fully so that then we can consider your nominations before the committee for a business meeting.

And with the thanks of the committee, this hearing is adjourned.

Mr. EMANUEL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. KAPLAN. Thank you.

[Whereupon, at 1:37 p.m., the hearing was adjourned.]

Additional Material Submitted for the Record

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO HON. R. NICHOLAS BURNS BY SENATOR ROBERT MENENDEZ

Question. As you know, the U.S.-China Phase One Agreement requires China to change several of its regulations concerning intellectual property protection. However, many of the ways that China undermines intellectual property protections are through informal coercion or outright theft.

- If confirmed, how will you help to ensure that China fully implements and complies with the intellectual property requirements in the U.S.-China Phase One Agreement?

Answer. If confirmed, I will ensure that we closely monitor the PRC's implementation of its IP commitments under the Phase One Agreement. Along with our inter-agency partners, we will hold the PRC accountable using the full range of tools we have and develop new ones in order to defend U.S. economic interests from the PRC's harmful policies and practices. As we enforce the terms of the Phase One Agreement, I will also work with allies and partners and press Beijing bilaterally to address our concerns with the PRC's unfair, non-market practices that distort competition by propping up PRC state-owned enterprises and limit market access, and its coercive and predatory practices in trade and technology.

Question. The Chinese Government has not provided sufficient details regarding how it intends to comply with several of the intellectual property obligations contained in the U.S.-China Phase One Agreement, including those related to biopharmaceutical innovation.

- If confirmed, how will you help to ensure that China complies with its intellectual property obligations under the U.S.-China Phase One Agreement?

Answer. The IP Chapter of the Phase One Agreement identified 133 IP-related commitments that the PRC must take action on, including related to biopharmaceutical innovation. If confirmed, I will ensure that we closely monitor the PRC's implementation of all its IP commitments under the Agreement. Along with our inter-agency partners, we will hold the PRC accountable using the full range of those tools we have and develop new ones in order to defend U.S. economic interests from the PRC's harmful policies and practices.

Question. As Ambassador, will you commit to making the case of Kai Li and his return back to his family a priority?

Answer. If confirmed, I will advocate for the immediate and unconditional release of all those wrongfully or arbitrarily detained, and for the immediate lifting of travel restrictions for those subject to coercive exit bans in the PRC. I will work closely with the Special Presidential Envoy for Hostage Affairs and the Bureau of Consular Affairs to resolve the case of Kai Li and the cases of other U.S. citizens wrongfully detained or subject to coercive exit bans by the PRC.

The use of human beings as bargaining leverage is unacceptable, has been condemned by the global community, and is inconsistent with China's international human rights commitments.

USICA

Question. As you know, earlier this year, the Senate passed a sweeping China competitiveness legislation that included this committee's Strategic Competition Act. This legislation puts core American values and human rights at the heart of our foreign policy, replenishes sources of our national strength here at home, supports our alliances and stability, and prioritizes fair economic competition. What are your thoughts on the U.S. Innovation and Competition Act?

Answer. I strongly support the Senate's passage of the Innovation and Competition Act and the leadership of the Foreign Relations Committee on this vital issue. This bill will strengthen the ability of the United States to compete with China in the decades ahead. As Secretary Blinken has made clear—our domestic renewal and our strength in the world are completely entwined. A key component of the policy is revitalization of our democracy and economy here at home. This also requires we invest in American workers, companies and technologies to outcompete the PRC.

Question. What should the United States be doing to deter and respond to such aggression in the digital space?

Answer. All instruments of national power are available to respond to malicious cyber activity, including diplomatic, information, military, economic, financial, intelligence, law enforcement, and public attribution capabilities. We collaborate with our like-minded partners to uphold our shared vision for a cyberspace that allows all to prosper and to hold accountable those that would use it to cause harm and sow instability.

Shared concerns regarding the PRC's malicious cyber activities are bringing countries around the world together to call out those activities, promote network defense and cybersecurity, and act to disrupt threats to our economies and national security. We cannot protect against malicious cyber activity on our own. Our allies and partners are a tremendous source of strength, and our collective approach to cyber threat information sharing, defense, and mitigation helps hold countries like the PRC to account.

We have raised our concerns about specific incidents, including the Microsoft Exchange hacks, as well as the PRC's broader malicious cyber activity with senior PRC Government officials, making clear that the PRC's actions threaten security, confidence, and stability in cyberspace. The United States and our allies and partners are not ruling out further actions to hold the PRC accountable.

Question. How can the United States strengthen its cooperation with like-minded countries to promote collective norms and values surrounding cyberspace and other emerging technologies?

Answer. The United States takes a whole-of-government approach to combating malicious cyber activities. As part of that effort, the Department has achieved international consensus on the elements that make up a framework of responsible state behavior and is building a robust coalition of likeminded states who are willing to hold irresponsible states accountable when they transgress the framework, including through the imposition of consequences when appropriate. In July 2021, 38 countries joined the United States in calling out the PRC's role in the Microsoft Exchange hacks.

In addition, the Department is also ramping up its coordination of U.S. inter-agency efforts to develop policies and processes to respond quickly to destructive, disruptive or otherwise destabilizing cyber incidents. The Department also works to promote cybersecurity due diligence globally and to strengthen transnational cooperation in the fight against cybercrime.

Question. How should the United States evaluate critical supply chains and protect itself from chokehold vulnerabilities and security risks? If confirmed, as Ambassador, what would you see as your role in China?

Answer. More secure and resilient supply chains are essential to our national security, our economic security, and our technological leadership. The administration's efforts to diversify supply chains, support increased trade between like-minded partners, and encourage best practices to screen potentially threatening investments will help to build resilience and reduce the impact of PRC coercion. The COVID-19 pandemic has exposed vulnerabilities in our global supply chains for critical products, including medical equipment, supplies, and semiconductors. If confirmed, I will support the administration's efforts to build diverse, secure, and resilient supply chains for the future.

Question. In addition to export control measures, what other actions do you believe the United States should take to limit the Chinese Government's access to

technologies that enhance its military capabilities and facilitate repression in Xinjiang and Hong Kong?

Answer. If confirmed, I will leverage the full breadth of authorities available to us to protect our economic and national security interests, and support enhanced investment screening efforts. I will support the Biden-Harris administration efforts to ensure the PRC cannot exploit U.S. capital markets to support the PRC's national strategy of military-civil fusion and PLA military modernization and the use of PRC surveillance technology in human rights abuse. If confirmed, I would also work with our allies and partners to encourage and strengthen national security-focused investment screening mechanisms to mitigate the risks of concerning third-country investments, including from PRC-backed companies making third country investments.

Question. Do you see opportunities for technology collaboration with China? How would you propose the United States pursue these opportunities?

Answer. If confirmed, I will pursue cooperation with the PRC where it is in our interest, and in consultation with the Congress, our allies and partners, and other stakeholders.

South China Sea

Question. I welcomed the Trump administration's clarification of our legal position on China's unlawful claims in the South China Sea. But as you know, international law is not self-enforcing, and having now taken this position, it is critical that we make our legal position a reality, not just a rhetoric.

- How would you, if confirmed, intend to implement this approach? And how would you plan to work with partners and allies to forge unified approach to the South China Sea?

Answer. The Biden-Harris administration has reaffirmed the July 2020 policy statement on the U.S. position on maritime claims in the South China Sea and regularly consults with partners and allies to support international law in this crucial waterway. We have made clear that we stand with Southeast Asian claimant states in resisting PRC coercion. The administration is committed to upholding a free and open South China Sea. As a result of U.S. efforts with allies and partners in Asia and beyond, we have seen a greater willingness by countries to underscore the importance of making and pursuing maritime claims in accordance with international law.

Question. How can the United States—working with our partners in the international community—be effective in supporting the people of Hong Kong? If confirmed, what role would you expect to play as Ambassador?

Answer. The United States must stand with the international community on Hong Kong. We must create global partnerships on this issue in both condemning human rights violations and abuses as well as considering responsive actions including sanctions. This is not just a U.S. concern, but a global concern. If confirmed, I will continue President Biden's policy of emphasizing the role of our allies and partners on Hong Kong, as well as other areas of human rights concern in the PRC.

Hostage Diplomacy

Question. I am relieved about the release of Michael Kovrig and Michael Spavor, however, I am disturbed by implications of "hostage diplomacy" in an apparent trade for Meng, which may incentivize China to continue this type of troubling behavior.

- Do you share this assessment? As Ambassador, how will you approach any similar cases that may arise?

Answer. The Department of Justice said it reached the decision to offer a deferred prosecution agreement with Ms. Meng based on the facts and the law, and an assessment of litigation risk.

If confirmed, I intend to raise individual cases with the PRC Government and insist that U.S. citizens wrongfully or arbitrarily detained be released, that coercive exit bans be lifted, and that the PRC refrain from using such measures in the future.

Human Rights

Question. The Chinese Government is openly hostile to universal human rights and democratic values. We have seen this over and over again, including in its continuous abuses in Tibet and of the Uyghur population in Xinjiang.

- If confirmed, what will you do to defend fundamental human rights in China?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work to promote accountability for People's Republic of China (PRC) officials responsible for genocide and crimes against humanity in Xinjiang and other human rights abuses in Tibet and elsewhere in the PRC. I will also support efforts to protect human rights in the PRC, including for religious and ethnic minorities.

If confirmed, I will consider all appropriate tools to promote accountability for those responsible to end abuses, to include but not limited to, actions already implemented by the U.S. Government: visa restrictions, import restrictions, export restrictions, and financial sanctions.

I will also commit to meet regularly with members of civil society and to raise specific cases of arbitrary detention or human rights violations directly with the PRC Government.

International Organizations and Standard Setting Bodies

Question. The Chinese Government has demonstrated an increasingly malign presence and willingness to abuse their positions in international organizations and standard setting bodies.

- If confirmed, as Ambassador, what would you do to address these issues in China?

Answer. The People's Republic of China (PRC) seeks to advance its national agenda in a manner that often undermines the independence, impartiality, and transparency, of international organizations. Through partnerships, we have had some success at defending against these attempts and upholding the rules-based international order. In China I will seek to broaden these partnerships to shore up international resolve. If confirmed, I will work with allies and partners to ensure that international organizations operating in China, including those affiliated with the U.N. system, remain aligned with U.N. principles and values, including relating to human rights, and do not inappropriately promote PRC policies to third countries. If confirmed, I will also confront PRC hypocrisy as it rhetorically espouses "true multilateralism" while coercing countries to support its unilateral objectives in international organizations.

Question. If confirmed, do you think you will be able to support Special Envoy Kerry by diffusing China's conflation of issues with climate, and create some space for progress on working to enhance China's climate ambition?

Answer. Yes. The United States is engaged in stiff competition with the PRC, but also has an interest in working together on vital transnational challenges, such as climate. We reject the linkage of action on climate to other issues in the bilateral relationship, and we have made this clear to the PRC. We are taking action on climate because it is an existential crisis, and we discuss this with the PRC because that is what responsible nations do—and that is what we have done with other countries around the world to raise the global ambition. As two large nations, we both have responsibilities, and that is why we are engaging and exploring areas where our interests align. The Biden administration is right to seek effective channels of communication with Beijing, in order to manage this competition responsibly. Climate is one of several transnational issues where our interests align, and former Secretary of State John Kerry works tirelessly on this issue. The PRC is by far the largest emitter of carbon in the world today. The world cannot solve the climate crisis without the PRC doing substantially more to reduce its emissions at the pace and magnitude required to limit global temperature rise to 1.5 degrees Celsius as the science requires.

Nury Turkel

Question. Nury Turkel serves as the Vice-Chair of the United States Commission on International Religious Freedom, appointed by House Speaker Pelosi. For decades, he has shed light on the PRC's atrocities against the Uyghur community and advocated for political dissidents and refugees. Because of Turkel's human rights work and now serving in on a U.S. Government commission, the PRC has engaged in a campaign of harassment against his family members—specifically his ailing parents. Despite Turkel's efforts to reunite with his ailing parents in the past 12 years, Chinese security will not let them leave China to be with their two US citizen sons and five grandchildren born in the US. I understand that Deputy Secretary Sherman raised Turkel's case during her trip to China in July. However, we are not aware of any concrete follow-up related to Turkel's parents' passports. Further delay may signal to the Chinese Government that the U.S. Government is not serious about securing the elderly Turkels departure from China.

- Can you commit to reviewing and prioritizing the Turkels' case; including sharing with us any specific, concrete steps that the Biden administration is considering taking next?

Answer. I am very concerned by the People's Republic of China (PRC)'s mistreatment of Mr. Turkel's parents, to include blocking them from leaving China. If confirmed, I will advocate vigorously on their behalf with the PRC Government and work to secure their reunification with Mr. Turkel and with their other children and grandchildren.

Question. How would you navigate the situation if the Chinese Government insists on passing the Anti-Foreign Sanctions Law in Hong Kong, and American and other international firms are forced to decide whether to comply with Chinese law or US law?

Answer. Hong Kong's success as an international business hub has been built on a transparent regulatory framework and adherence to the rule of law. This law, if imposed, will further undermine the transparency that has been the bedrock of Hong Kong's business environment. Failure to comply with U.S. sanctions can result in civil and criminal penalties under U.S. law. If confirmed, I will advocate for U.S. businesses operating in Hong Kong, provide these companies with my best advice on Hong Kong's operating environment, and will advise companies with questions about their sanctions compliance obligations to contact OFAC.

Question. What is your assessment of how the U.S. Government should respond to the potential passage of Article 23 legislation in Hong Kong which will further increase the potential penalties for foreign NGOs and pro-democracy activists in the city?

Answer. I am very concerned by the potential passage of Article 23 legislation. When attempts were made to introduce this legislation in 2003, Hong Kongers made clear that they did not agree with the legislation, which would severely curb their rights and freedoms. I was with Secretary Albright in Hong Kong on the day of the handover in 1997. I clearly remember the specific commitments Beijing made, which it has failed to meet. The PRC's actions have undermined Hong Kong's "high degree of autonomy" and Hong Kongers' rights and freedoms protected under the Sino-British Joint Declaration. If confirmed, I will work with the administration to support people in Hong Kong and will continue to stand up for the human rights and freedoms they are guaranteed.

Question. Taking into account the current Evergrande crisis, what is your view of Blackrock's recent call for investors to triple their equity holdings in China? How would you navigate a situation where there was a sudden string of property firms defaulting and American investors were caught in the middle? What would you say to the financial executives who will be lobbying you to increase and deepen ties between US and Chinese financial markets? Is this in our interests? What steps should the United States take to protect the international financial system from CCP digital surveillance that undermines human rights and freedoms?

Answer. There are significant concerns regarding the lack of transparency in the PRC financial market and the recent series of politically-driven regulatory actions. If confirmed, I will continue to monitor these risks from the field and will work to raise awareness for U.S. and global investors, in support of efforts by the Treasury Department and other economic agencies.

Beijing's recent actions to strengthen political control over financial markets—and the broader economy and society—are drawing international attention to the risks of doing business in an economy that is required to operate at the behest of an autocratic regime, even when this is at odds with market principles.

The United States must continue to demonstrate the strength of our own financial system, including the value of transparency, openness, rule of law, and respect for privacy. If confirmed, I intend to work closely with the American business community to help remove barriers to its success in China.

Question. Further to this issue, billions of USD is currently invested in Chinese technology firms with ties to the Xinjiang surveillance state, as well as in Chinese state-owned banks which fund firms with ties to the PLA. Can this be justified in the era of ethical—or ESG investing?

Answer. Certain transactions with PRC firms can create exposure to a range of risks. These risks include sanctions, human rights abuses, threats posed by the PRC national strategy of military-civil fusion, thefts of intellectual property, and other threats to U.S. national security and technological competitiveness. The President took an important step in issuing Executive Order 14032 on June 3, 2021, "Addressing the Threat from Securities Investments That Finance Certain Companies of the

People's Republic of China." If confirmed, I will work to ensure that the U.S. business community and other U.S. parties, such as state and local governments, are aware of these risks, including those outlined in the Xinjiang Supply Chain Business Advisory and applicable U.S. laws, and will encourage them to conduct heightened human rights due diligence on their investments in high-risk markets in line with the U.N. Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights and OECD Guidelines on Multinational Enterprises. If confirmed, I will also work with allies and partners on these issues.

Question. In the Spring of this year, H&M faced a major boycott of its goods in China because it refused to source Xinjiang cotton. Do you agree that something is wrong when firms which take the moral stance are punished while those who continue to source cotton farmed by slaves' benefit? Do you agree that the time has come to level the playing field, correct the market inefficiency which encourages the use of slave labor, and that the best and easiest way of doing this would be to introduce a ban on cotton from Xinjiang, similar to that proposed in the United States?

Answer. As a matter of law and policy, the United States is opposed to forced labor. At the June 2021 G7 Summit in Cornwall, United Kingdom, the world's leading democracies stood united against forced labor, including in Xinjiang, and committed to ensure global supply chains are free from the use of forced labor. USTR Katherine Tai and the other G7 trade ministers said in their October 22 statement they are seriously working to identify areas for strengthened cooperation and will continue working together to protect individuals from forced labor, to ensure that global supply chains are free from the use of forced labor, and those who perpetrate forced labor are held accountable. The Department is working across multiple bureaus and the interagency to end forced labor and hold those accountable who knowingly contribute to these human rights abuses in our global supply chains. If confirmed, I will support and advocate for the end of forced labor and elimination of human rights abuses in our global supply chains.

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 troubled by the 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 Mission China staff, their family members, and all those supporting the Mission will be my highest priority. 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. If confirmed, I commit to meeting with medical staff and the RSO in Mission China during my first working day at the embassy to discuss past reported anomalous health incidents so that I am most prepared to protect the safety of Mission China staff and ensure that all protocols regarding anomalous health incidents are being followed appropriately.

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 in Mission China during my first working day at the embassy to discuss past reported anomalous health incidents so that I am most prepared to protect the safety of Mis-

sion China staff and ensure that all protocols regarding anomalous health incidents are being followed appropriately.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO HON. R. NICHOLAS BURNS BY SENATOR JAMES E. RISCH

Question. Please describe, in detail, what U.S. policy towards China should be.

Answer. The U.S.-China relationship is the most consequential and complex bilateral diplomatic relationship in the world. How we manage this relationship will be the biggest geopolitical test that the United States faces in the 21st century. We will compete vigorously with China where we should, including on jobs, the economy, on critical infrastructure, and on emerging technologies. We will cooperate with China in areas that are in our national interest, including climate change, counter-narcotics, global health security, and nonproliferation. Finally, we will challenge the PRC in areas we must, including when it takes actions that are contrary to American values and interests and that threaten American national security and the security of our partners and allies or undermine the rules-based international order, including on human rights.

Question. What are the top 2 to 3 issues in U.S.-China relations?

Answer. I highlighted the top issues on the U.S.-China agenda in my October 20 testimony to the Foreign Relations Committee. If confirmed, I look forward to regular consultations with committee members and staff.

We will compete vigorously with the PRC where we should, including on jobs and the economy, critical infrastructure, and emerging technologies. As President Biden has said, when the United States competes on a level playing field, “there’s no country on Earth . . . that can match us.”

We will cooperate with the PRC where it is in our interest, including on climate change, counternarcotics, global health, and nonproliferation. The world cannot solve the climate crisis unless the PRC does more to reduce their emissions. And it is to our benefit to maintain engagement between our people, including students, scholars, diplomats, and journalists so long as America’s laws are respected.

Finally, and crucially, we will challenge the PRC where we must, including when Beijing takes actions that run counter to America’s values and interests; threaten the security of the United States or our allies and partners; or undermine the rules-based international order.

Question. What do you think are the strengths and weaknesses of the Indo-Pacific strategy declassified at the end of the Trump administration? Which parts would you continue, if confirmed?

Answer. I welcome the bipartisanship that has shaped and characterized our engagement in the Indo-Pacific, and if confirmed I look forward to continuing these efforts. As Vice President Harris stated during her August 24 speech in Singapore, the United States will continue to pursue a free and open Indo-Pacific that promotes our interests and those of our allies and partners. Our alliances and partnerships are a unique advantage for the United States. If confirmed, I will work to continue strengthening our treaty alliances, particularly with Japan, the Republic of Korea, the Philippines, Thailand, and Australia. If confirmed, I will work multilaterally, through longstanding institutions, like ASEAN and APEC, which remain central to the region’s architecture. I will also work with new, results-oriented groups, like the Quad.

[Additional Response—11/8/2021]. I welcome the bipartisanship that has shaped and characterized our engagement in the Indo-Pacific, and the Biden administration has continued to focus on allies and partners. If confirmed I look forward to continuing these efforts. As Vice President Harris stated during her August 24 speech in Singapore, the United States will continue to pursue a free and open Indo-Pacific that promotes our interests and those of our allies and partners. Our alliances and partnerships are a unique advantage for the United States. If confirmed, I will work to strengthen our treaty alliances, particularly with Japan, the Republic of Korea, the Philippines, Thailand, and Australia. If confirmed, I will work multilaterally, through longstanding institutions, like ASEAN and APEC, which remain central to the region’s architecture. I will also work with new, results-oriented groups, like the Quad.

Question. Do you agree the U.S. and China are in a strategic competition that encompasses military, economic, technological, political, and ideological competition?

Answer. Yes, the Biden-Harris administration has based its policy on a sober assessment of strategic competition. We will continue to strengthen our own competitive hand to out-compete the PRC and work closely with our allies and partners on our shared vision. We are approaching Beijing from a position of strength and engaging in robust diplomatic, economic, technological, and military competition. That said, we should also cooperate with Beijing when our interests align.

Question. The Chinese Government has doubled down on its “all or nothing” negotiating strategy, demanding the U.S. meet its “two list” criteria—most of which are fundamentally incompatible with U.S. policy and national interests—before China is willing to cooperate with the U.S. on key issues. How should the U.S. engage—and how will you do so in your role if confirmed—with its counterparts if the Chinese Government refuses to cooperate without us meeting their list of demands?

Answer. The U.S. is not beholden to any list of demands from the PRC Government. We reject the linkage of action on transnational challenges, such as climate, to other issues in the bilateral relationship. Strategic competition, however, does not, and should not, preclude working with the PRC when it is in the U.S. national interest. If confirmed, I will make clear to my PRC counterparts that we will welcome the PRC Government’s cooperation on issues where our interests align and where the PRC has a global responsibility to act such as the climate crisis, global health security, strategic stability, counter-narcotics, and nonproliferation, while being clear-eyed about the challenges that our relationship with the PRC poses, and will work with the interagency and our allies to overcome those challenges.

Question. Do you think the Foreign Service is prepared to execute sustained competition with China? Are there any changes or reforms that need to be made to ensure our diplomatic corps is better positioned to advance these goals? What are some ideas you have in this vein that can be executed in Mission China?

Answer. Yes. The Foreign Service is prepared to execute sustained competition with the People’s Republic of China (PRC), as it has with strategic competitors in generations past. As part of this effort, the Department is realigning resources and personnel and developing nimble new organizational structures and strategic approaches. The Department also continues to benefit from Congressional funding to support this new effort, such as the Counter China Influence Fund (CCIF).

All of our foreign posts have dedicated “China Watchers”—reporting or public diplomacy officers covering the PRC as part of their portfolio. These China Watchers collaborate with interagency colleagues to monitor and counter PRC problematic behaviors in State’s global network of posts and missions, under the strategic direction of Chiefs of Mission. In 2019, the Department established the Regional China Officers (RCOs) program, which has recently expanded to 19 officers. RCOs help assess and respond to problematic PRC behavior at the sub-regional, regional, and global levels, in coordination with posts’ “China Watchers” and leadership.

Mission China also continues to work tirelessly and under increasingly difficult conditions to engage the PRC on several important challenges and matters of shared interest, and to provide the best possible reporting back to Washington. To enhance our effectiveness in achieving these diplomatic efforts, Mission China continues to require support for the facilities and personnel appropriate to match the PRC’s rapidly expanding resources and capabilities.

Question. Do you commit to messaging to China the dangers and risks of its destabilizing actions against Taiwan?

Answer. Yes. The Biden-Harris Administration has repeatedly underscored to the People’s Republic of China (PRC) that the PRC’s actions are destabilizing, risk miscalculations, and undermine regional peace and stability. If confirmed, I commit to continuing to emphasize those points to Beijing and to undertaking efforts to shine a light on those PRC actions and PRC rhetoric.

Question. What should we be doing now to deter China from aggressive and destabilizing action in the Taiwan Strait?

Answer. This is a priority for the Biden-Harris Administration, which continues to take steps to strengthen deterrence in the Western Pacific. First, we have continued to make available to Taiwan the defense articles and services necessary to enable Taiwan to maintain a sufficient self-defense capability, consistent with the Taiwan Relations Act and our “one China” policy. In doing so, we are in particular focused on helping Taiwan implement an asymmetric defense strategy that best aligns Taiwan’s resources and advantages against the threat posed by the PRC. Second, we are building international support for the maintenance of peace and stability in the Taiwan Strait and for Taiwan, as the joint statements between President Biden and former Prime Minister Suga and President Moon respectively as

well as the G7 Leaders Communiqué, Joint AUSMIN statement, and increasing unilateral messaging from other allies and partners illustrates. Third, we are supporting Taiwan beyond our security cooperation to demonstrate the strength of our partnership, push back on the PRC's destabilizing pressure tactics, and elevate Taiwan's contributions to the international community—we have donated COVID vaccines to Taiwan, restarted Trade and Investment Framework Agreement (TIFA) talks, and advocated for Taiwan's membership or meaningful participation in international organizations.

Question. Do you commit that, in your role, you will always pursue policies that enable the Taiwan people to choose their own future?

Answer. Yes, and if confirmed, I would continue to support a peaceful resolution of cross-strait issues, consistent with the wishes and best interests of the people of Taiwan. I would urge Beijing to cease its military, diplomatic, and economic pressure against Taiwan, and instead engage in meaningful dialogue with Taiwan. I will support the longstanding U.S. policy to assist Taiwan in maintaining maintain a sufficient self-defense capability, consistent with the Taiwan Relations Act and our "one China" policy.

Question. What are your views on exercising economic, financial, and other tools to limit China's ability to benefit from Hong Kong as a financial center—both to impose costs for violating a treaty and to deter action against Taiwan? That would be a bit more than some individual visa sanctions.

Answer. I think it was particularly effective to sanction specific individuals in Hong Kong who are responsible for the repression of the people of Hong Kong. If confirmed, I will continue to consider all available policy tools to impose costs on Beijing for its actions in Hong Kong, including sanctions and highlighting unacceptable PRC behavior through joint messaging with partners and allies.

Question. The PLA has established its first overseas military base in Djibouti, and the U.S. is concerned about PLA presence at Ream in Cambodia. How would you address this issue, if confirmed?

Answer. Strategic competition, including military competition, with the PRC will remain a major feature of the bilateral relationship for the foreseeable future. The U.S. Government is closely watching the PLA's activities in Djibouti. I have serious concerns about the PRC's military presence and construction of facilities at Ream Naval Base on the Gulf of Thailand. Maintaining an independent and balanced foreign policy is in the best interests of the Cambodian people. If confirmed, I will make this a priority issue.

[Additional Response—11/8/2021]. Strategic competition, including military competition, with the PRC will remain a major feature of the bilateral relationship for the foreseeable future. The U.S. Government is closely watching the PLA's activities in Djibouti. I have serious concerns about the PRC's military presence and construction of facilities at Ream Naval Base on the Gulf of Thailand. Maintaining an independent and balanced foreign policy is in the best interests of the Cambodian people. If confirmed, I will make this a priority issue. If confirmed, I am open to providing more information about this issue and the administration's policy to respond to PRC overseas basing during a closed briefing after I have had the opportunity to consult on the specifics with the Department of State, Department of Defense, and National Security Council.

Question. Do you commit that you will not advocate for or take steps to restore China programs under Mutual Education and Cultural Exchange Act without prior and meaningful congressional consultation?

Answer. If confirmed, I will support the Secretary's goal of working with this Committee and Congress to ensure this Administration meets the China challenge. I commit to prior and meaningful consultations with Congress on this issue.

Question. Do you support the designation of certain PRC entities under the Foreign Missions Act?

Answer. Organizations in the United States that are wholly owned or effectively controlled by a foreign government ought to operate transparently and in accordance with U.S. laws. If confirmed, I look forward to working with the Office of Foreign Missions to advance that goal.

[Additional Response—11/8/2021]. It is my understanding that the Foreign Missions Act (FMA) permits the Secretary to treat certain types of non-diplomatic organizations as "foreign missions" for FMA purposes. It is also my understanding that the issue of whether any particular organization is eligible and should be treated as a foreign mission under the FMA requires a fact-specific review. As a general matter,

organizations in the United States that are wholly owned or effectively controlled by a foreign government ought to operate transparently and in accordance with U.S. laws. If confirmed, I look forward to working with the Office of Foreign Missions to advance that goal.

Question. What are your views on the issue of undue influence actors in the PRC in U.S. universities?

Answer. This is a major concern and high priority for the U.S. Government. A clear understanding of the organizations and entities Beijing uses to attempt to influence U.S. society is important. They must be held to the same standard as all organizations operating in the United States. Of particular concern are activities that lack transparency and attempt to hide or downplay their affiliations and objectives.

If confirmed, I will continue to promote transparency on the topic to relevant stakeholders within the United States, including state and local governments, universities, and business associations, as appropriate.

Question. Do you think there should be greater scrutiny of foreign donations and contracts between U.S. universities and donors from countries that do share our interests, such as China and Russia? If so, how can Mission China contribute to that goal?

Answer. I am supportive of measures to ensure that donations and contracts between U.S. universities and foreign entities benefit the United States and are not subject to undue foreign influence, including by the Government of the People's Republic of China. If confirmed, I will encourage Mission China to support the State Department's efforts to educate and inform educational institutions about their possible exposure to undue foreign influence through such arrangements.

[Additional Response—11/8/2021]. I am supportive of measures to ensure that donations and contracts between U.S. universities and foreign entities benefit the United States and are not subject to undue foreign influence, including by the Government of the People's Republic of China. If confirmed, I will also ensure Mission China supports the State Department's efforts to educate and inform educational institutions about their possible exposure to undue foreign influence through such arrangements.

Question. If confirmed, will you highlight corrupt Chinese practices, including by government officials and PRC companies operating in the domestic and foreign markets?

Answer. If confirmed, I will push back on corrupt or coercive political and economic practices that damage our interests and those of our partners, including control over resources, predatory lending practices, and the abusive use of new security technology.

Question. In your view, what are the implications of China being able to pressure and punish U.S. persons and companies into accepting or at least not pushing back on the political positions of the Chinese Government, even when those positions undermine the fundamental political principles and values of the United States? What can and should private sector actors be doing to address this issue? What is the proper role of the U.S. Government?

Answer. If confirmed, I will encourage the business community to consider the risks of doing business with the PRC. I will also stress the importance for U.S. companies to ensure they avoid complicity with forced labor in the PRC, adhere to U.S. sanctions, and align their activities with the high standards of responsible business conduct we expect from U.S. firms. While we are not asking U.S. companies to advocate actively for our foreign policy, we expect them to take positions that align with American values and U.S. law. If confirmed, I will work to help U.S. companies to build resilience against PRC efforts to coerce them to take positions at odds with human rights, the rule of law, and responsible business conduct.

[Additional Response—11/8/2021]. U.S. companies face a difficult balancing act in China. Many, from large multinationals to smaller firms operating in the U.S. heartland, have longstanding business relationships and operations in the PRC, whether in manufacturing or sourcing their goods and inputs for Chinese and global markets, or selling to Chinese consumers.

If confirmed, I will encourage the business community to consider the risks of doing business with the PRC. I will also stress the importance for U.S. companies to ensure they avoid complicity with forced labor in the PRC, adhere to U.S. sanctions, and align their activities with the high standards of responsible business conduct we expect from U.S. firms. While we are not asking U.S. companies to advocate

actively for our foreign policy, we should expect them to take positions that align with American values, their own corporate values, and the expectations of their shareholders. If confirmed, I will work to help U.S. companies to build resilience against PRC efforts to coerce them to take positions at odds with human rights, the rule of law, and responsible business conduct.

In instances where American corporations are publicly or privately coerced by the PRC to take actions that violate their corporate values or are punished for taking corporate positions that run counter to the PRC's false political or human rights narratives, I will, if confirmed, work to provide them with all available U.S. Government support. I also commit to working with like-minded partners to discourage companies from third countries from backfilling commercial opportunities when American companies stand their ground against the PRC or must refrain from pursuing opportunities due to their compliance with U.S. sanctions. Effective resistance to PRC coercion is most successful when we stand together with our partners and allies to encourage the business community to do what is right in China.

Question. In your view, what are the goals of “One Belt, One Road”?

Answer. The Belt and Road Initiative uses projects spread across 125 countries to create new markets for Chinese exports, new sources of energy and other raw materials for the PRC's factories and power plants, and new avenues for rewriting international rules and standards to serve Beijing's own interests.

Unlike the United States and most G20 countries, PRC state-backed lending disregards international standards and best practices that stress transparency, sustainability, and quality. Beijing's state banks generally do not consider debt sustainability risks in the borrowing country, conceal or obfuscate the amount and terms of the country's loans, and discourage borrowing countries from reporting through borrower non-disclosure arrangements. Instead of fair competition, the PRC channels billions of dollars in government subsidies to its exporters and civil engineering companies, allowing it to unfairly undercut its global competitors. BRI projects also often fail to implement international labor standards and environmental and social safeguards.

If confirmed, I will promote development that emphasizes democratic governance, social and economic safeguards, transparency, and sustainable financing. I will work with our allies and partners to shine a spotlight on how the PRC's opaque loans and investments threaten fiscal stability and good governance while contributing to developing countries' unsustainable debt loads.

Question. The Trump Administration undertook a major push to keep products from China's Huawei out of 5G networks in countries across the world, especially in allied nations in Europe. Multiple countries have chosen to exclude Huawei from their emerging 5G networks, including the United Kingdom, Czech Republic, Poland, Sweden, Estonia, Romania, Denmark, and Latvia.

- How will you address the issue of keeping 5G networks clean from Chinese equipment and the consequent security hazards?

Answer. The Biden-Harris administration views 5G security as a top priority because the stakes for securing these networks could not be higher. The United States advocates for a vibrant digital economy worldwide that enables all citizens to benefit from the promise of 5G and future telecommunications networks. At fora such as the Quad, the U.S.-EU Trade and Technology Council, the G7, and at the upcoming Third annual Prague 5G Security Conference, and in our bilateral relationships, the Department actively promotes 5G network security and vendor diversity, in partnership with the interagency, as part of that approach.

Question. The Trump Administration undertook a major push to keep products from China's Huawei out of 5G networks in countries across the world, especially in allied nations in Europe. Multiple countries have chosen to exclude Huawei from their emerging 5G networks, including the United Kingdom, Czech Republic, Poland, Sweden, Estonia, Romania, Denmark, and Latvia.

- Looking beyond 5G, what other emerging technologies do you think would create risks for the United States and its allies if we have an undue reliance on untrusted vendors? Are there areas you will prioritize, and how so?

Answer. The Biden-Harris Administration views emerging technologies, infrastructure, and energy as critical to the U.S. future national security and economic prosperity. Advanced and future telecommunications technologies—5G, 6G, and beyond—as well as the semiconductors and microchips that are integral to those and so many other technologies, are high priorities. So too is the responsible stewardship of trustworthy artificial intelligence (AI) that is developed and used in line with democratic values and respect for human rights. Supercomputing, cloud computing,

data storage, and quantum information technologies are already changing the way we live—a trend that will only increase. Advanced energy—from renewable energy and storage to microreactors and fusion energy—will power these technologies. If confirmed, I will work with allies and partners, companies, universities, and civil society organizations that promote democratic values and share a commitment to design and deploy technology for the benefit of all people.

Question. Do you commit that you will not advise Secretary Blinken, the President, or any other official to sacrifice other U.S. interests for the sake of an agreement with or promises from China on climate change?

Answer. I reject the linkage of action on climate to other issues in the bilateral relationship. As Special Presidential Envoy Kerry has noted, climate is a critical standalone issue, and other aspects of the U.S.-PRC relationship will not be traded for separate U.S. interests. We will compete, and compete vigorously, with the PRC where we should, and we will cooperate with the PRC where it is in our interest, including on climate change. The PRC is by far the largest emitter of carbon in the world today. The world cannot solve the climate crisis without the PRC doing substantially more to reduce their emissions at the pace and magnitude required to limit global temperature rise to 1.5 degrees Celsius, as the science requires. This is a major issue for the entire world, as well as in our relationship. At the end of the day, this Administration will look at what Beijing does—not what it says it will or will not do—to determine whether the PRC is serious about climate action.

Question. Do you commit that you yourself will not take any steps to trade other U.S. interests for the sake of an agreement with or promises from China on climate change?

Answer. Yes, I commit that I will not take steps to trade other U.S. interests for the sake of an agreement or promises from the PRC on climate change.

Question. To the best of your understanding, does Mr. Kerry have authority to be involved in any other issues in our China policy, other than climate?

Answer. No. As Special Presidential Envoy for Climate, former Secretary of State John Kerry's role is to lead U.S. diplomatic efforts worldwide to reassert U.S. climate leadership and raise global ambition to meet the daunting climate challenge. His climate diplomacy work is closely coordinated with other U.S. diplomatic efforts.

Question. If Mr. Kerry begins playing a major role in non-climate aspects of the U.S.-China relationship, what will you do to remedy that?

Answer. Special Presidential Envoy for Climate (SPEC) Kerry has not done so. His role is to lead the U.S. diplomatic efforts worldwide to reassert U.S. climate leadership and raise global ambition to meet the challenge. His climate diplomacy work will continue to be closely coordinated with other U.S. diplomatic efforts. If confirmed, I look forward to working closely with SPEC Kerry on pushing the PRC to take stronger and faster climate action. I have very high regard for John Kerry and his experience and effectiveness as a negotiator.

Question. Mr. Kerry and Secretary of Commerce Raimondo have both said that if we cooperate with China on climate and commercial ties, it will help us to cooperate in other areas. Do you agree with that assessment?

Answer. I agree with the administration's competitive approach to the PRC. I believe we should continue to strengthen our own competitive hand vis-à-vis the PRC. This does not preclude cooperation in areas where our interests align, such as climate. If confirmed, I will pursue cooperation with the PRC where it is in our interest, and in consultation with the Congress, our allies and partners, and other stakeholders.

[Additional Response—11/8/2021]. I agree with the administration's competitive approach to the PRC. The United States will compete vigorously with the PRC where we should, and we will cooperate with the PRC where it is in our interest.

I believe we should continue to strengthen our own competitive hand vis-à-vis the PRC. This does not preclude us from raising areas where we have concern with the PRC's actions nor from cooperating in areas where our interests may align, such as climate. If confirmed, I will pursue cooperation with the PRC where it is in our interest, and in consultation with the Congress, our allies and partners, and other stakeholders.

Question. Mr. Kerry stated in a Bloomberg interview on September 22 in response to a question about "how one trades off climate against human rights" (the interviewer's exact words): "Well life is always full of tough choices in the relationship between nations. Even as there were egregious human rights issues [with the Soviet

Union], which Ronald Reagan called them out on, we had to find a way forward to make the world safer and protect our countries and act in our interests. We can and must do the same thing now. Yes, we have issues, but first and foremost, this planet must be protected.”

- Do you agree that climate should come “first and foremost” in the U.S.-China relationship?

Answer. As Special Presidential Envoy Kerry has noted, climate is a critical standalone issue, and other aspects of the U.S.-China relationship will not be traded for separate U.S. interests. This administration will compete, and compete vigorously, with the PRC where we should, and we will cooperate with the PRC where it is in our interest. Climate is perhaps the signature issue on the cooperation side. The United States is committed to working with the international community and the PRC on climate as an urgent issue, and I hope Beijing will engage with us on the same basis.

[Additional Response—11/8/2021]. As Special Presidential Envoy Kerry has noted, climate is a critical standalone issue, and other aspects of the U.S.-China relationship will not be traded for separate U.S. interests. This administration will compete, and compete vigorously, with the PRC where we should, and we will cooperate with the PRC where it is in our interest.

The administration has consistently said climate change is an area where our interests align, and has regularly raised with the PRC the importance of taking bold actions to address the climate crisis. There is simply no way to solve the climate crisis without the significant emission reductions from the country that today leads the world with 28% of global emissions.

The United States is committed to working with the international community and the PRC on climate as an urgent issue, and I hope Beijing will engage with us on the same basis.

Question. Do you think there is a “tough choice” between promoting human rights in China and coming to an agreement on climate?

Answer. No, as Special Presidential Envoy Kerry has noted, climate is a critical standalone issue, and other aspects of the U.S.-China relationship will not be traded for separate U.S. interests. We will compete, and compete vigorously, with the PRC where we should, and we will cooperate with the PRC where it is in our interest, including on climate change. Human rights will remain a major priority issue on the U.S. agenda with China.

Question. In various publications, you’ve written we need China to “mitigate environmental catastrophe or engineer a stable, global economy,” or cooperate with China on “transnational threats” such as “combatting piracy and drug and crime cartels and responding to pandemics of the future.” You’ve also written that we share interests with China and Russia on “climate change, terrorism, Iran, and North Korea” and “proliferation.” Are there other issues where you have a similar view? What do you think China is willing to do in each of these issue areas?

Answer. I am clear-eyed about the challenges that our relationship with the PRC poses and, if confirmed, will work with the interagency and our allies to overcome them. Strategic competition does not, and should not, preclude working with the PRC when it is in the U.S. national interest to do so. In fact, we will welcome the PRC Government’s cooperation on issues such as the climate crisis, global health security, strategic stability, counter-narcotics, and nonproliferation when our interests align.

We actively seek the PRC’s cooperation in efforts to constrain Iran’s nuclear program, as it has no interest in seeing Iran develop a nuclear weapon and the profoundly destabilizing impact that would have in a region upon which China depends for its oil imports.

On climate issues, the PRC is by far the largest emitter of carbon in the world today. The world cannot solve the climate crisis without the PRC doing substantially more to reduce their emissions at the pace and magnitude required to limit global temperature rise to 1.5 degrees Celsius, as the science requires. This is a major issue for the entire world, as well as in our relationship. At the end of the day, this Administration will look at what Beijing does—not what it says it will or will not do—to determine whether the PRC is serious about climate action.

Question. The Chinese Communist Party is cracking down against financial institutions, technology companies, and individual wealth accumulation. What is your assessment of the future of China’s economy, and what risks do these regulatory changes present to U.S. businesses in China or with supply chains in China?

Answer. The PRC's increasingly intrusive business regulations, political demands, and national security laws are contributing to a deteriorating investment climate and rising political risk for companies. If confirmed, I will encourage the business community to consider the risks of doing business with the PRC. I will make every effort to help U.S. businesses to succeed in China.

Question. How will you strengthen the economic corps in Mission China?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work to ensure the Mission China economic corps has the resources and support they need to advance a foreign policy for the middle class, to ensure American businesses are positioned to compete and win on a global stage, and to confront the PRC's economic abuses.

[Additional Response—11/8/2011]. If confirmed, I will work to ensure the Mission China economic corps has the resources and support they need to advance a foreign policy for the middle class, to ensure American businesses are positioned to compete and win on a global stage, and to confront the PRC's economic abuses. If confirmed, I will ask my Country Team to assess ways in which the economic corps could be strengthened, and if needed, work with State Department colleagues and Congress to identify corresponding resources.

Question. What will you ask the economic corps in Mission China to prioritize? Please be specific.

Answer. We must hold the PRC accountable for failing to play by the rules on trade and investment, including its theft of intellectual property, use of state subsidies, dumping of goods, and unfair labor practices. These actions harm American workers and businesses. The best way to meet this challenge is to form common cause with U.S. allies and partners to confront the PRC's anti-competitive, market distorting, and coercive behaviors. If confirmed, I will also work to create a level playing field for U.S. businesses, coordinating with Congress and interagency partners, including the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative, the Department of the Treasury, the Department of Commerce, and the Department of Agriculture, along with partners and allies to develop policies that counter the PRC's abusive and unfair economic practices.

Question. In particular, how would you, if confirmed, and the economic corps at Mission China help deal with the PRC's growing use of laws and regulations to pressure foreign companies not to comply with U.S. laws, including our sanctions laws?

Answer. President Biden is firmly committed to taking on the challenge of the PRC's abusive and unfair practices. The best way to meet this challenge is to work alongside U.S. allies and partners to confront the PRC's anti-competitive, market distorting, and coercive behaviors. If confirmed, I will work to create a level playing field for U.S. businesses, coordinating with Congress and interagency partners, including the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative, the Department of the Treasury, the Department of Commerce, and the Department of Agriculture to develop policies that counter the PRC's abusive and unfair economic practices and hold Beijing accountable when it employs them.

The administration should not be deterred from taking actions to hold Beijing accountable for human rights violations, the erosion of Hong Kong autonomy, and other problematic behavior. If confirmed, I will work to help American businesses to succeed, while also encouraging the business community to consider the risks of doing business with the PRC. If confirmed, I will also support and encourage U.S. businesses to respect human rights in line with the U.N. Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights and the OECD Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises.

Question. Do you agree on the need to move certain supply chains out of China?

Answer. I fully support the Biden-Harris administration's effort to realize resilient, diverse, and secure supply chains to ensure our economic prosperity and national security, including by encouraging American companies to diversify their People's Republic of China (PRC) sourcing and supply chains to create more resilient supply chains that can reduce vulnerabilities to economic coercion and other PRC actions. Chief among our concerns are the PRC's use of state-led, non-market interventions, to capture large portions of value chains in sectors crucial to U.S. national and economic security. Our approach must also reflect other vulnerabilities, such as pandemics and other biological threats, climate shocks and extreme weather events, and cyber and terrorist attacks. The PRC has used its dominance of critical sectors as economic leverage to advance its own geopolitical agenda, including numerous cases of economic coercion against trading partners who do not fully support Beijing's policies. If confirmed, I would support U.S. efforts to diversify critical supply

chains beyond China to avoid the unacceptable risk that the United States could be placed in a similar situation.

Question. Do you agree with the need to reduce our reliance on China overall in terms of supply chains? If so, what sectors or items would fall into either of these categories for you?

Answer. I fully support the Biden-Harris administration's effort to reduce U.S. reliance on the PRC for critical supply chains. Chief among these are the critical sectors noted in Executive Order (E.O.) 14001 on public health supply chains and E.O. 14017 on America's Supply Chains, which identified semiconductors and advanced packaging, high-capacity batteries, critical minerals, pharmaceuticals, and active pharmaceutical ingredients (APIs), and supplies necessary for responding to the COVID-19 pandemic. The Administration's efforts to review supply chains related to six industrial bases—for defense, energy, transportation, information, and communication technology (ICT), public health, and agriculture and food—may yet identify additional critical sectors of concern with respect to the PRC's current or prospective dominance that may merit further action.

Moreover, American companies must ensure that their PRC supply chains are free of forced labor, including those for silica-based products, and those for cotton and tomatoes produced in Xinjiang. As President Biden made clear at the G7 Summit, the United States will not tolerate forced labor in our supply chains.

Question. What will you do to help U.S. companies achieve either of the goals of reducing reliance on China in terms of supply chains and moving certain supply chains out of China, and to withstand costs imposed by the PRC Government of doing so?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work closely with U.S. companies to reduce our reliance on the PRC for critical supply chains. This includes actively engaging with industry and other key stakeholders, including labor and civil society, to fully understand the complex nature of supply chains that originate in the PRC as well as the risks and vulnerabilities that they pose. I will also work within the Administration to use the full extent of our trade, commercial and diplomatic tools to support U.S. firms' efforts to diversify, as appropriate, their PRC-based critical supply chains and sourcing activities. I will also vigorously defend the interests of U.S. companies if PRC authorities punish them for actions taken to support resilient supply chains in the U.S. national interest.

Question. The Biden Administration updated a Trump-era executive order addressing the threat of securities investments by Chinese companies linked to the People's Liberation Army. The Trump Administration formed the ICTS process to protect against untrusted information communications technology and services in U.S. supply chains. The SEC is taking a stronger stance on Chinese companies not abiding by accounting and auditing standards. There is greater attention on the presence of PRC companies listed in capital markets that also work with the Chinese military or are potentially complicit in human rights abuses. The State Department can play a role in providing valuable information to support some of these processes. It can also advocate inside the interagency for rigorous enforcement of these tools.

- Do you commit to making this a priority?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work with my interagency colleagues to hold PRC firms to the same audit compliance standards that apply to other companies around the world as a requirement for listing in U.S. financial markets. I would also work with our allies and partners to encourage and strengthen national security-focused investment screening mechanisms to mitigate the risks of concerning third-country investments, including from PRC-backed companies making third country investments. If confirmed, I will support the Biden-Harris Administration efforts to ensure the PRC cannot exploit U.S. capital markets to support PLA military modernization and the use of PRC surveillance technology in human rights abuse.

Question. If so, what steps will you take to do so?

Answer. If confirmed, I will leverage the full breadth of authorities available to us to protect our economic and national security interests, and support enhanced investment screening efforts. I would confront unfair and inappropriate trade practices—including intellectual property theft for commercial and military enhancement and coercive economic practices, use of state subsidies, dumping of goods, and unfair labor practices.

Question. You supported TPP. Would you advocate inside the administration for the U.S. joining CPTPP, especially now that China has made a bid for it?

Answer. Trade policy in the Indo-Pacific is a key part of the Biden-Harris administration's effort to Build Back Better. The administration's approach to trade is focused on supporting American working families, defending our values, and protecting the long-term prosperity and security of the United States. As President Biden has said, the United States is focused on making investments in U.S. workers and U.S. competitiveness before he signs new trade agreements, including in the Indo-Pacific. The United States is working with allies and partners in the Indo-Pacific region to identify ways to address specific trade issues such as infrastructure, the digital economy, and energy.

[Additional Response—11/8/2021]. If confirmed, I will faithfully represent the administration's trade policies. The administration's approach to trade is focused on supporting American working families, defending our values, and protecting the long-term prosperity and security of the United States. As President Biden has said, the United States is focused on making investments in U.S. workers and U.S. competitiveness before he signs new trade agreements, including in the Indo-Pacific. Ambassador Tai has stated, "We will create durable trade policy that benefits a broad range of stakeholders by rebuilding trust with our workers and aligning our domestic and foreign policies."

Question. PRC military modernization and expansion is dramatically shifting the balance of power in the Indo-Pacific. Do you commit to ensuring the U.S. does not weaken its defense posture in the Indo-Pacific, or take any measures that would lessen our security commitments to our allies and partners in the region?

Answer. The Peoples Republic of China's (PRC) military build-up and coercive activities highlight Beijing's increasing comfort with employing military forces to achieve its foreign policy objectives. The United States and its allies and partners will continue to make every effort to strengthen our ability to deter and defend against aggression, and the administration has been clear that our security commitments to our allies and partners will remain strong and credible.

[Additional Response—11/8/2021]. Yes. The Peoples Republic of China's (PRC) military build-up and coercive activities highlight Beijing's increasing comfort with employing military forces to achieve its foreign policy objectives. The United States and its allies and partners will continue to make every effort to strengthen our ability to deter and defend against aggression, and the administration has been clear that our security commitments to our allies and partners will remain strong and credible.

Question. What do you think is motivating China's massive nuclear build-up?

Answer. China's build-up highlights why the administration will pursue strategic stability measures to reduce the dangers from the PRC's growing nuclear arsenal. These efforts will be paired with actions to bolster deterrence in the region. Because Beijing is the least transparent member of the P5 nuclear weapons states, accurate assessments of its nuclear intentions are difficult. I defer to the Intelligence Community for a specific assessment of the factors driving the PRC's rapid nuclear build-up.

[Additional Response—11/8/2021]. China's build-up highlights why the administration will pursue strategic stability measures to reduce the dangers from the PRC's growing nuclear arsenal. These efforts will be paired with actions to bolster deterrence in the region. Because Beijing is the least transparent member of the P5 nuclear weapons states, accurate assessments of its nuclear intentions are difficult. I defer to the Intelligence Community for a specific assessment of the factors driving the PRC's rapid nuclear build-up. If confirmed, I commit to brief you and your staff after I have had the opportunity to consult within the administration.

Question. In light of China's nuclear build-up, do you think it is the right decision for the United States to adopt a 'sole purpose doctrine' or a 'no first use' policy, based on information that's in open source?

Answer. I understand the concerns expressed among some allies and partners, members of Congress, and experts regarding potential U.S. adoption of a no-first-use or sole purpose policy. In the face of the PRC's rapid nuclear build-up, the Administration will ensure our strategic deterrent remains safe, secure, and effective and that our extended deterrence commitments to our allies and partners remain strong and credible, while also taking steps to reduce the role of nuclear weapons in U.S. national security strategy. The ongoing analysis within the Department of Defense-led Nuclear Posture Review will inform the Administration's approach to nuclear posture and policy. I do not want to get ahead of that process.

Question. Do you believe that unilateral U.S. nuclear reductions would enable the United States to negotiate with Russia and China from a position of strength?

Answer. I would never support unilateral reductions that endanger U.S. security or weaken U.S. negotiating leverage. The U.S. should maintain a modern, credible and effective nuclear deterrent.

Question. What do you think would incentivize China to engage in arms control discussions?

Answer. The Administration hopes that Beijing will come to see that arms control is in its own security interest, as such measures would contribute to reducing the risk of military crises and would manage the threat of destabilizing arms races. U.S. allies and partners will be key to success in these efforts. If confirmed, I commit to consulting with Congress at an appropriate time on potential measures to be pursued with Beijing.

Question. If we are not able to commence discussions on arms control with China, what should the U.S. be doing instead to address various arms controls issues we have with China?

Answer. Given the PRC's rapid military expansion, the United States and its allies and partners need to strengthen their ability to deter and defend against aggression. Beijing's nuclear build-up highlights that there is a need for crisis communication, risk reduction, and strategic stability. These efforts will be paired with actions to bolster deterrence in the region.

Question. Do you think the United States should cooperate with countries where we have concerns about compliance with the Biological Weapons Convention on biotechnology, pathogen research, and other categories of biological research that could be weaponized or serve a dual-use function?

Answer. It is my view that the United States should not cooperate with countries of compliance concern on specific biological research where we believe there is significant potential that information, technology, or material we provide could be used for nefarious purposes. In this vein, I strongly support oversight of life sciences dual use research of concern. It is important, however, to continue dialogue with those countries to clarify and resolve compliance concerns. Further, if certain countries have the only access to certain pathogens, then the United States must find a way to ensure that public health experts can continue their necessary collaborative work to be able to protect us from naturally occurring outbreaks and accidents, while minimizing risks to our national security.

Question. Would you work to limit cooperation with the PRC on biotechnology, and to increase scrutiny of any such cooperation?

Answer. The United States has oversight policies and regulations for federally funded research. These policies require careful consideration of risks and benefits of proposed research, and where appropriate, measures to mitigate those risks. Policy development is led by the National Security Council and by the White House Office of Science and Technology Policy and decisions about the funding of specific research proposals are made by the responsible funding agency. If confirmed, I will work closely with the ISN and AVC Bureaus on issues concerning the PRC to ensure that policy development considers both our international obligations and the international implications of policy choices.

Question. Do you commit to prioritizing engagement with industry, academia, the health research community, and other stakeholders outside traditional national security circles on the United States' compliance concerns with respect to the Biological Weapons Convention? If so, what three steps will you take to make good on this commitment, should you be confirmed?

Answer. Yes, if confirmed, I commit to working with the AVC Bureau to engage those outside traditional national security circles (e.g., industry, academia, the health research community) and with international counterparts about United States' concerns regarding other countries' compliance with the Biological Weapons Convention. The State Department plans to engage those outside (and inside) traditional national security circles in the run up to the BWC Review Conference and during the BWC Review Conference itself through bilateral engagements and briefings, NGO roundtables, workshops, and public outreach events.

Question. Do you think the U.S. Government should be funding research with China on pathogens, viruses, and toxins? If so, do you think the State Department should have a role in reviewing whether such proposals are in the national security interests of the United States?

Answer. It is my view that the United States should not cooperate with countries of compliance concern on specific biological research where we believe there is sig-

nificant potential that information, technology, or material we provide could be used for nefarious purposes. It is important, however, to continue dialogue with those countries to clarify and resolve compliance concerns. Further, if the PRC has the only access to certain pathogens, the United States must find a way to ensure that public health experts can continue their necessary collaborative work to be able to protect us from naturally occurring outbreaks, while minimizing our national security risks.

The United States has federal funding and oversight for research that might pose safety or security risks and require additional oversight by Departments that fund such research. These policies establish a high bar for funding based on a careful assessment of risks and benefits and require steps to mitigate any risks. The AVC Bureau would be consulted if the proposed cooperation raised any potential issues related to compliance with the Biological Weapons Convention.

Question. What is your assessment of the strategic threat China presents in the Arctic?

Answer. China is pursuing greater influence in the Arctic, seeking to leverage investments in scientific research and critical infrastructure to secure footholds and extend its soft power across the region. We coordinate closely with allies and partners in the Arctic on the protection of critical infrastructure and to keep Arctic states at the forefront of governance in the region.

Question. According to the 2019 National Drug Threat Assessment, fentanyl and other highly potent synthetic opioids continue to be the most lethal category of illicit substances in the United States. The 2020 DEA report on fentanyl flows to the United States highlights that China remains the primary source of fentanyl and fentanyl-related substances trafficked into the United States, increasingly through Mexico. Mexican transnational criminal organizations are producing increased quantities of fentanyl and cartels such as the Sinaloa and the New Generation Jalisco cartel are the primary trafficking groups responsible for smuggling fentanyl into the United States from Mexico.

- Please explain your understanding of the actions and steps the Chinese Government needs to take to reduce, and eventually eliminate, the transshipment of fentanyl precursor chemicals to Mexico.

Answer. The PRC is the primary source for precursor chemicals used to manufacture fentanyl, opioids, methamphetamine, and other synthetic drugs globally. Addressing this challenge is an Administration priority. If confirmed, I will support this priority and coordinate closely with interagency partners to raise this issue through bilateral channels and multilaterally with allies and partners. If confirmed, I will press the PRC to take a number of actions that could reduce the transshipment of fentanyl precursor chemicals, including the investigation and prosecution of the use of false documents and shipping labels, implementation of “know your customer” regulations.

Diminishing shipments of fentanyl precursors from the PRC to Latin American transnational criminal organizations to stop flows to the United States will require tangible working-level with Beijing and cooperation with allies and partners, including in Congress. If confirmed, I also will work with interagency partners to utilize all available tools to promote accountability for illicit actors involved in the fentanyl supply chain. I look forward to close continued consultation and cooperation with Congress on this issue.

Question. Please describe your understanding of U.S. concerns with Chinese malign behavior in the Western Hemisphere.

Answer. The Secretary called our competition with the PRC a defining challenge for the 21st century. The PRC represents a serious challenge to U.S. interests in the region, with its growing security ties and opaque infrastructure investments that undermine transparency and sovereignty. The Department does not oppose Beijing’s engagement and investment throughout the region. The Department, however, echoes the long-standing calls from Latin American capitals that PRC actions respect local laws and interests, particularly regarding the human rights of all, including workers, and protections for the environment.

Question. Do you agree with these concerns?

Answer. The Department seeks to strengthen the Western Hemisphere as a coalition of resilient democracies that champions our shared values. The Department does this by working with allies and partners, with a sustained commitment in virtually every dimension of our bilateral and multilateral relationships. As Secretary Blinken has made clear, we do not seek to force our partners to choose between the United States and the PRC. We offer a partnership that works in our interests and

those of our partners, undergirded by our shared values of democratic governance; respect for human rights; entrepreneurship; transparency; inclusive economic growth; environmental stewardship; and diversity, equality, and inclusion.

Question. If confirmed, what specific steps will you recommend to diminish Chinese malign influence in the Western Hemisphere region?

Answer. I support the Administration's efforts to build on our shared values of democracy, human rights, and the rule of law. We welcome our allies and partners' expertise and resources to support the region's COVID-19 response, entrepreneurship, and sustainable infrastructure. We support high-standard investment in infrastructure and transparent economic development that creates jobs essential for regional pandemic recovery. We employ a diverse range of tools to strengthen regional prosperity, security, and democracy, from diplomatic engagement to technical exchanges, public diplomacy and targeted foreign assistance, and partnership with the private sector and civil society.

Question. Please describe your views about Chinese illegal, unreported, and unregulated (IUU) fishing in the waters of the Western Hemisphere?

Answer. IUU fishing by foreign vessels in our Western Hemisphere waters, particularly by PRC-flagged and PRC-associated vessels, raises serious concerns. The Department works with the interagency community, including U.S. Coast Guard, the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, and the U.S. Agency of International Development, to improve diplomatic and enforcement tools and to promote respect for maritime sovereignty and international standards in environmental and labor practices. IUU fishing activities negatively affect coastal countries in South America, Central America, and the Caribbean, whose coastal communities rely on fishery resources. The actions of a large, primarily PRC-flagged fishing fleet that targets squid in the high seas outside of South American exclusive economic zones have raised substantial concerns. Analysts have linked this fleet to IUU fishing activities in the past, and its behaviors, such as vessels turning off identification systems for periods of time, have raised questions about the fleet's activities. Analysts have most frequently cited PRC-associated vessels as engaging in IUU fishing activities in other countries' jurisdictions. PRC-associated vessels around the world also engage in other concerning behavior—including overfishing, using forced labor, operating in disputed waters accompanied by the Chinese Coast Guard, and reinforcing unlawful maritime claims in the South China Sea.

Question. Please explain how you would convey U.S. concerns about IUU fishing in the Western Hemisphere to the Chinese Government.

Answer. If confirmed, I would recommend continuing to raise our concerns about IUU fishing in the Western Hemisphere to the PRC in bilateral meetings, as well as through public statements and cooperation with like-minded coastal, fishing, and market states. IUU fishing remains a growing global concern. The Department urges the PRC to operate transparently about its fishing activities, enforce its own stated "zero-tolerance" policy regarding IUU fishing, and fulfill its flag state responsibilities to monitor and control its fleet.

Question. Please describe your concerns about the objectives of Chinese military engagement throughout Latin America.

Answer. The United States must maintain its substantial edge in military cooperation and sales to the hemisphere. The PRC's growing military engagement with the hemisphere remains limited but is growing and requires close attention.

Question. Please describe your concerns about the purpose of the so-called space station and the threat it presents to national security.

Answer. We have publicly discussed our concerns regarding the People's Liberation Army's efforts to develop bases around the world. Those concerns apply to the ground station in Argentina that supports the PRC's space operations. We would be happy to provide you with more detail about our national security concerns about that particular facility in a closed session.

Question. Chinese companies such as ZTE and Huawei have made significant inroads in Latin America. Chinese surveillance system providers have updated security and telecommunications infrastructure in countries like Mexico, Brazil, Ecuador, and Venezuela, among others, and have sought to export Chinese surveillance techniques and equipment throughout the region.

- Please describe the threat Chinese surveillance systems present to the safety and security of citizens in these countries.

Answer. The Chinese Communist Party seeks to obtain sensitive personal data around the world. The PRC could compel PRC-linked companies to provide access to data, facilities, and equipment to security and intelligence services, potentially including those companies that export communications equipment and services around the world, including in the Western Hemisphere. The financing of “safe cities” in the region, often through the sales of surveillance technology, is not altruism—it is potentially unimpeded access to bulk surveillance data and the export of the tools of authoritarianism.

Question. Chinese companies such as ZTE and Huawei have made significant inroads in Latin America. Chinese surveillance system providers have updated security and telecommunications infrastructure in countries like Mexico, Brazil, Ecuador, and Venezuela, among others, and have sought to export Chinese surveillance techniques and equipment throughout the region.

- How does the proliferation of Chinese telecommunications infrastructure in Latin America threaten U.S. national security interest?

Answer. The United States is deeply concerned about the dangers of installing networks that can be manipulated, disrupted, or controlled by governments that have no regard for privacy or human rights. In the PRC, where vendors are beholden to the whims of the PRC, this control is spelled out explicitly in the Chinese National Intelligence Law: “Any organization and citizen shall, in accordance with the law, support, provide assistance, and cooperate in national intelligence work, and guard the secrecy of any national intelligence work they are aware of.” There can be no trust when a company lacks meaningful judicial recourse to challenge government overreach. These vendors could provide the PRC the capability and opportunity to disrupt or weaponize critical applications and infrastructure.

These concerns are not hypothetical—we have all seen news reports of the PRC attempting to coerce countries by withholding COVID-19 vaccines or threatening economic or trade retaliation if they do not allow Huawei access to their markets.

Question. What is your assessment of the human rights situation in China?

Answer. Human rights and democracy are at the core of U.S. foreign policy. The People’s Republic of China (PRC) is committing genocide and crimes against humanity, including sexual violence, against members of ethnic and religious minority groups in Xinjiang, including Uyghurs, who are predominantly Muslim. The PRC continues a government policy of widespread forced labor, including through the continued mass arbitrary detention of more than one million Uyghurs, and members of other Muslim minority groups in Xinjiang. The PRC Government is repressing Tibetans’ distinct language, religion, and culture. It is eroding Hong Kong’s autonomy and democratic institutions and processes. The PRC continues to detain lawyers and other human rights defenders and to curtail the freedoms of expression, religion and belief, and movement throughout the country. The United States has called on the PRC to respect the human rights and fundamental freedoms, and to adhere to its obligations with regard to Hong Kong.

If confirmed, I will seek to promote accountability for those responsible for PRC human rights violations and abuses and support efforts to protect human rights in the PRC, including for religious and ethnic minorities.

Question. What additional tools are available to the United States Government to incentivize the Chinese Government to improve its human rights record?

Answer. If confirmed, I will consider all appropriate tools to promote accountability for those responsible to end abuses, to include but not limited to, actions already implemented by the U.S. Government: visa restrictions, import restrictions, export restrictions, and financial sanctions.

[Additional Response—11/8/2021]. If confirmed, I will consider all appropriate tools to promote accountability for those responsible to end abuses, to include but not limited to, actions already implemented by the U.S. government: visa restrictions, import restrictions, export restrictions, and financial sanctions.

In consultation with the White House and within the State Department, I will actively consider additional tools to incentivize the PRC government to improve its human rights record.

Question. Do you commit to implementing laws passed in the 116th Congress on both Hong Kong and Xinjiang?

Answer. Yes.

Question. Do you commit that you will prioritize investigating forced labor issues in China to inform broader interagency efforts such as sanctions and issuance of withhold release orders?

Answer. Human rights and democracy are at the core of U.S. foreign policy. If confirmed, I will ensure that the PRC is held accountable for its human rights abuses and support efforts to protect human rights in the PRC, including for religious and ethnic minorities.

[Additional Response]. Human rights and democracy are at the core of U.S. foreign policy. The sanctions against two PRC nationals for their role in serious human rights abuses in Xinjiang, and the release of an updated business advisory pointing to growing evidence of the use of forced labor in Xinjiang demonstrate the administration's continuing commitment to human rights. If confirmed, I will implement the administration's priorities, ensure that the PRC is held accountable for its human rights abuses, including forced labor, and support efforts to protect human rights in the PRC, including for religious and ethnic minorities.

Question. Do you commit to prioritizing this issue even if it endangers U.S. climate goals with China?

Answer. As Special Presidential Envoy Kerry has noted, climate is a critical standalone issue, and other aspects of the U.S.-China relationship will not be traded for U.S. interests.

Question. Do you commit to contributing to ensuring that U.S. Government financing does not touch—in any way, shape, or form—any entity in China that engages in forced labor?

Answer. Forced labor and human rights abuses in the PRC span multiple sectors and regions, and PRC officials continue to obstruct international efforts to identify and monitor these abuses. If confirmed, I will support the Biden-Harris Administration's steadfast commitment to combat forced labor.

Question. Should the Development Finance Corporation invest in solar projects that source equipment from China until the United States has a fuller understanding of how prevalent forced labor is in solar panel and other related supply chains in China?

Answer. Forced labor and human rights abuses in the PRC span multiple sectors and regions, and PRC officials continue to obstruct international efforts to identify and monitor these abuses. Addressing this will require work with allies and partners, as well as a whole-of-government effort to diversify solar supply chains away from the PRC and end their dominance of the sector. If confirmed, I will work to support the Biden-Harris Administration in its steadfast commitment to combat forced labor while promoting the global clean-energy transition with secure, diversified supply chains.

[Additional Response—11/8/2021]. Forced labor and human rights abuses in the PRC span multiple sectors and regions, and PRC officials continue to obstruct international efforts to identify and monitor these abuses. The world's largest producers of silicon metal and polysilicon have known ties to forced labor programs in Xinjiang, which could taint global solar supply chains and other industries that rely on silicon metal and products, such as electronics, automobiles, and shampoos, deodorants, and skincare. DFC is exploring opportunities in the solar sector to support geographical diversification of the supply chain as well as technologies that may not have the same reliance on traditional solar panels. In the meantime, I believe we must carefully scrutinize PRC sourcing of each solar project that comes before the board on a case-by-case basis. Addressing this will require work with allies and partners. If confirmed, I will work to support the Biden-Harris administration in its steadfast commitment to combat forced labor while promoting the global clean-energy transition with secure, diversified supply chains.

Question. Do you believe Beijing should have the honor of hosting the 2022 Olympics while it is conducting ongoing human rights abuses, including crackdowns on nearly all types of civil liberties, a genocide against the Uyghur minority, and obliterating Hong Kong's autonomy at the expense of thousands of protestors?

Answer. If confirmed, I will closely review the issue of China hosting the Winter Olympics in 2022, particularly in light of its abhorrent human rights record and genocide and crimes against humanity in Xinjiang.

The administration will consult closely with Congress, allies and partners to define our common concerns and establish a shared approach to the PRC in advance of and during the 2022 Beijing Games.

[Additional Response—11/8/2021]. Developing a position on the Beijing Winter Olympics is important. If confirmed, I will closely review the issue of China hosting the Winter Olympics in 2022, particularly in light of its abhorrent human rights record and genocide and crimes against humanity in Xinjiang.

Further, if confirmed, I will consult closely with Congress, allies, and partners to define our common concerns and establish a shared approach to the PRC in advance of the 2022 Beijing Games.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to working with the American Olympic Committee to ensure the safety of our athletes while in Beijing or while trying to exit China after the 2022 Olympics?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work with the U.S. Olympic Committee to help ensure the safety of American athletes in Beijing. I am deeply concerned by the PRC's continued use of arbitrary or wrongful detentions and coercive, non-transparent exit bans on foreign citizens. As a former Consular Officer serving in Egypt, I understand protecting U.S. citizens overseas is a fundamental obligation of the U.S. Government.

The use of human beings as bargaining leverage is unacceptable, has been condemned by the global community, and is inconsistent with China's international human rights commitments. If confirmed, I will raise arbitrary or wrongful detentions and coercive exit bans at every opportunity. I will also call on Beijing to end arbitrary travel restrictions imposed on U.S. citizens and other foreigners in China.

Question. Do you believe that the United States Government should execute a diplomatic boycott of the 2022 Olympic Games to be held in Beijing? Please explain your answer.

Answer. If confirmed, I will consult closely with key stakeholders in developing our approach in advance of and during the 2022 Beijing Games.

[Additional Response—11/8/2021]. I agree that developing an appropriate U.S. Government posture for the Beijing Winter Olympics is important, and I will participate in these discussions in consultation with the White House and Department of State, if I am confirmed. If confirmed, I will consult closely with key stakeholders on our approach in advance of and during the 2022 Beijing Games.

Question. The recent deal between the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and the Canadian Government to engage in hostage diplomacy was a win for the CCP. How do you intend to keep Americans safe when traveling within China?

Answer. The use of human beings as bargaining leverage is unacceptable, has been condemned by the global community, and is inconsistent with China's international human rights commitments.

I am deeply concerned by the PRC's continued use of arbitrary or wrongful detentions and coercive, non-transparent exit bans on foreign citizens. As a former Consular Officer serving in Egypt, I understand protecting U.S. citizens overseas is a fundamental obligation of the U.S. Government. If confirmed, I will raise arbitrary or wrongful detentions and coercive exit bans at every opportunity. I will also call on Beijing to end arbitrary travel restrictions imposed on U.S. citizens and other foreigners in China.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to pursuing release for all Americans who are being held as hostages or are detained on political grounds with a robust engagement within the interagency to secure their immediate release?

Answer. I am deeply concerned by the PRC's continued use of arbitrary or wrongful detentions and coercive, non-transparent exit bans on foreign citizens. Protecting U.S. citizens overseas is the U.S. Government's highest priority.

If confirmed, I will raise arbitrary or wrongful detentions and coercive exit bans at every opportunity and pursue the release of all Americans imprisoned. I will also call on Beijing to end arbitrary travel restrictions imposed on U.S. citizens and other foreigners in China.

Question. The CCP has detained millions of Uyghurs and put them into internment camps with little to no hope of escape or reuniting with their loved ones. This includes family members of American citizens, especially as retribution for speaking out about the atrocities committed against their community and families. If confirmed, do you commit to raising these cases directly with the CCP?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to raising individual cases with the PRC Government directly, including cases of family members of U.S. citizens affected by these atrocities and other human rights defenders.

If confirmed, I will work with likeminded partners and the international community in calling on the PRC to end atrocities in Xinjiang, immediately and unconditionally release all those arbitrarily detained, abolish internment camps, and end forced labor. I will also continue pressing for the international community to protect those from Xinjiang who seek asylum and to resist PRC pressure to forcibly return these asylum-seekers back to the PRC.

Question. China is ranked #177 out of #180 on Reporters Without Border's (RSF) 2020 Press Freedom Index, indicating one of the most restrictive and oppressive environments for journalism in the world. What is your assessment of freedom of the press in China, and if confirmed, do you commit to working with civil society on bolstering press freedom in country?

Answer. Unfortunately, the pandemic has provided a pretext for repressive governments to intensify pressure on independent media. The hostile environment that media now face in these countries means that freedom of expression is even more crucial in alerting the public to abuses and corruption and in countering dangerous misinformation and disinformation.

I am deeply concerned with the increasingly harsh surveillance, harassment, and intimidation of U.S. and other foreign journalists in the People's Republic of China (PRC). The PRC Government's harsh rhetoric, promoted through official state media, toward any news it perceives to be critical of PRC policies, has provoked negative public sentiment leading to tense, in-person confrontations and harassment, including online verbal abuse and death threats of journalists simply doing their jobs. We have called on the PRC Government to release citizen journalists arrested and detained for their work covering the pandemic.

If confirmed, I will continue to call on PRC officials to ensure that journalists remain safe and are able to report freely.

Question. According to RSF, China jailed the most journalists globally in 2021, totaling more than 115 persons. If confirmed, what actions are available to you to advocate for the release of these journalists?

Answer. Many foreign journalists say they face the toughest conditions reporting in the PRC since 1989. I also know the number of U.S. reporters in the PRC right now is roughly half what it was just two years ago. The United States draws on a range of diplomatic tools to advocate for press freedom online and offline, and to protect journalists and media workers worldwide. In her July 26 meetings with PRC officials in Tianjin, Deputy Secretary Sherman specifically raised the importance of media access, freedom from harassment, and press freedom for journalists working in the PRC. If confirmed, I will continue to call on PRC officials to ensure that journalists remain safe and able to report freely.

Question. Does the definition of human rights include the right to "safe, clean, healthy, and sustainable environment?" why or why not?

Answer. The United States recognizes that climate change and environmental degradation can affect the enjoyment of human rights. A "right" to a clean environment has no agreed definition in international law. In our view, trying to define a right detracts from the important work of ensuring that States have strong environmental laws and enforcement.

If confirmed, I will continue to support the rights of all individuals to freedoms of association, peaceful assembly, and expression, which includes the freedom to seek, receive, and impart information. These rights protect environmental defenders, facilitate public awareness of environmental information, and contribute to good environmental policy making.

Question. Last year, Beijing implemented the "National Security Law" in Hong Kong, which effectively put Hong Kong's legal system and law enforcement under Beijing's control and severely undermined China's international treaty obligations to respect Hong Kong's autonomy and the rights protected in the Basic Law.

- How will the Biden administration address these violations of international law?

Answer. The Biden-Harris administration will continue to consider all policy tools available, including sanctions, highlighting unacceptable PRC behavior through joint messaging with partners and allies, and exploring ways to support Hong Kongers that fear persecution.

[Additional Response—11/8/2021]. The Biden-Harris administration will continue to consider all policy tools available to address Beijing's failure to meet its commitments, including sanctions of individuals involved in the implementation of the National Security Law or other actions that have reduced Hong Kong's autonomy, highlighting the National Security Law and other unacceptable PRC actions through joint messaging with partners and allies, and exploring ways to support Hong Kongers that fear persecution.

Question. Will you commit to continue imposing costs on Beijing for its oppressive actions in Hong Kong?

Answer. The Department will consider all available policy tools to impose costs on Beijing for its actions in Hong Kong, including responsive policies such as sanctions.

[Additional Response—11/8/2021]. Yes. Since the implementation of the National Security Law, the United States has sanctioned 42 Hong Kong or PRC nationals. If confirmed, I will work with the Department to continue considering all available policy tools to impose costs on Beijing for its oppressive actions in Hong Kong, including responsive policies such as sanctions.

Question. Do you believe that our government has effectively taken measures to counter Beijing's actions in Hong Kong? Please explain your answer.

Answer. The Department of State, often in concert with the Departments of the Treasury, Homeland Security, and Commerce, as well as the White House, has undertaken a number of actions to counter Beijing's escalatory actions in Hong Kong, including issuing the Hong Kong Business Advisory warning of emerging risks, sanctioning senior PRC and Hong Kong officials, authorizing Deferred Enforced Departure for Hong Kongers in the United States, and pursuing sustained joint messaging with likeminded allies and partners. If confirmed, I will continue to pursue policies that hold Beijing to account for its unacceptable actions to undermine Hong Kong's autonomy and stifle the democratic freedoms of people there.

Question. Various countries globally have forcibly returned Uyghurs to China at the request of the CCP. What actions can you take, specifically within the interagency, to end this practice?

Answer. I am clear-eyed about the challenges that our relationship with the PRC poses and, if confirmed, will work with the interagency and our allies to overcome them.

If confirmed, I will work with likeminded partners and the international community in calling on the PRC to end atrocities in Xinjiang, immediately and unconditionally release all those arbitrarily detained, abolish internment camps, and end forced labor. I will also continue to press other governments to protect those subjected to PRC atrocities, harassment, and surveillance, including those seeking asylum. I will also work within the interagency to ensure we leverage all possible tools to combat PRC Government transnational repression and will work with civil society to identify perpetrators of these abuses that expand well beyond the PRC's borders.

[Additional Response—11/8/2021]. I am clear-eyed about the challenges that our relationship with the PRC poses and, if confirmed, will work with the interagency and our allies to overcome them. If confirmed, I will work with interagency partners to urge third countries to act to avoid complicity in the PRC's human rights violations and abuses committed against Uyghurs and other ethnic and religious minorities from Xinjiang, including by providing protection to and preventing the forcible return of individuals seeking to flee the PRC's repressive policies. I will also work within the interagency to ensure we leverage all possible tools to combat PRC government transnational repression and will work with civil society to identify perpetrators of these abuses that expand well beyond the PRC's borders.

Question. The Chinese Government continues to "Sinicize" religions, which the Congressional Executive Commission on China describes as "a campaign that aims to bring religion in China under closer official control and into conformity with officially sanctioned interpretations of Chinese culture." These policies affect Christians, Muslims, Han Buddhists, Taoists, and many others. What can the Biden Administration do to support freedom of religious practice for the people of China, free from interference and enforced conformity?

Answer. I share your concerns regarding the ongoing deterioration of freedom of religion or belief in the PRC. The PRC demonstrates blatant disregard for freedom of religion or belief and exercises extreme hostility toward members of all religious and spiritual communities, particularly Muslim Uyghurs, Tibetan Buddhists, Protestants, Catholics, and Falun Gong.

If confirmed, I will speak out consistently with allies and partners to condemn these abuses against members of minority religious groups, and I will consider all appropriate tools to promote accountability for those responsible and to deter future abuses. I will also continue to press the PRC to uphold its international commitments with respect to freedom of religion or belief for all individuals and call on the international community to condemn with a united voice the PRC's genocide and crimes against humanity in Xinjiang.

Question. Various bureaus within the State Department have been developing programs with civil society to bolster internet freedom in China. How can you, if confirmed, assist with this endeavor?

Answer. If confirmed, I will remain committed to the principle that people everywhere should enjoy the human rights online that are inherent to their dignity offline.

For over a decade, the U.S. Department of State has funded programs to advance Internet freedom globally and especially in Internet-repressive environments such as the People's Republic of China, where governments and other actors actively restrict the right of individuals to be free from arbitrary violations of their privacy and deny fundamental freedoms of expression, peaceful assembly, and association online.

These programs support research to identify the greatest threats to Internet freedom, seek to secure and safeguard protections for human rights online under the rule of law through policy advocacy, support essential digital security capacity-building and emergency response services for civil society organizations and members of at-risk and vulnerable populations, and support the development, localization, deployment, and operation of anti-censorship circumvention tools that allow unrestricted access to the open, interoperable, reliable, and secure Internet.

Question. Do you believe that internet shutdowns are a threat to human rights?

Answer. In May, Secretary Blinken condemned the use of partial or complete government-imposed Internet shutdowns, among other tactics, to prevent the exercise of freedom of expression online. I believe that in addition to restricting the exercise of human rights, Internet shutdowns disrupt access to essential services such as healthcare and emergency services, and negatively affect the economy. If confirmed, I will raise U.S. concerns bilaterally and will support the U.S. Government's continued participation in multilateral fora that raise awareness, such as the G7 and the President's Summit for Democracy process, and our efforts in multi-stakeholder coalitions to address Internet shutdowns such as the Freedom Online Coalition, where I understand the United States plays a leadership role.

Question. Big Tech companies like Twitter, Facebook, LinkedIn, and others have been forced to cease or significantly scale back their operations in China due to the CCP's encroaching demands on free speech. Most of these companies are American and inherently want to provide access for free speech and dialogue online.

- How will you engage with the Chinese Government on this particular issue?

Answer. Beijing's use of propaganda and disinformation overseas through its state-owned media platforms to undermine and interfere in democracies, while restricting freedoms of the press and speech in China, is a serious concern for the U.S. and our allies. If confirmed, I will work with like-minded allies and partners to define an affirmative, rights-respecting vision for the global information space, build resilience against these threats, and expose the PRC's activity. I will also raise these areas of concern directly with the PRC Government.

Question. How will you engage with American companies on free speech and human rights issues?

Answer. Defending freedom of expression in the global information space is a priority concern for me. Beijing's use of propaganda and disinformation overseas through its state-owned media platforms to undermine and interfere in democracies, while restricting freedoms of the press and speech in China, is a serious concern for the United States and our allies. The PRC continues to target its own citizens, as well as the people of the United States and countries around the world, through well-resourced state-run media operations.

If confirmed, I will encourage the business community to consider the risks of doing business with the PRC and ensure they are aware of Beijing's disinformation and propaganda efforts. If confirmed, I will also support and encourage U.S. businesses to respect human rights in line with the U.N. Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights and the OECD Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises.

If confirmed, I will support efforts of the Global Engagement Center (GEC) and other bureaus in the Department to counter PRC coercive and corrupting information activities and boost understanding of the tactics, techniques and procedures the PRC uses to advance its interests in the information space.

Question. In my China-Europe report released last year, I laid out a strategy to combat malign Chinese influence at and within the United Nations. Are you familiar with this report and its recommendations? What are your views on these recommendations?

Answer. The United States and Europe share interests in ensuring that qualified and independent candidates are selected to lead the U.N., its specialized agencies, and related organizations; reforming key institutions to be more effective, accountable, and transparent; and using our combined influence to protect the values, principles, and institutions that have built and kept the peace, fostered sustainable development, and promoted respect for human rights for more than 75 years. If confirmed, I would consistently engage allies and partners at senior levels on our multilateral priorities, expanding outreach beyond European countries and the European Union to include allies and emerging partners in other regions.

[Additional Response—11/8/2021]. I am familiar with the report and its recommendations. I agree that the United States and Europe, working together with other developed and developing countries, should build upon existing efforts and strengthen transparency, accountability, and good governance throughout the U.N. system. I also agree with the report's recommendations that the United States and its partners share interests in ensuring that qualified and independent candidates are selected to lead the UN, its specialized agencies, and related organizations; reforming key institutions to be more effective, accountable, and transparent; and using our combined influence to protect the values, principles, and institutions that have built and kept the peace, fostered sustainable development, and promoted respect for human rights for more than 75 years. If confirmed, I will engage allies and partners at senior levels on our multilateral priorities, expanding outreach beyond European countries and the European Union to include allies and emerging partners in other regions. If confirmed, I would also appreciate the opportunity to continue consultations with you and your staff on these matters.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to working with the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, the Assistant Secretary for International Organizations, and the Secretary to combatting this malign influence at every opportunity?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I will work with the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, the Assistant Secretary for International Organizations, and the Secretary to defend and strengthen the rules-based international order. The Bureau of International Organization Affairs has established a new office focused in part on advancing this effort, including opposing efforts by the PRC to reshape the international system. If confirmed, I will work with the Bureau of International Organization Affairs to address the PRC's harmful efforts both within China and in international organizations.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to engaging with Congress and my office about campaigns to elect qualified, independent candidates to important posts like Doreen Bogdan-Martin to lead the International Telecommunication Union (ITU)?

Answer. If confirmed, I will support efforts to ensure appointment and election of qualified, independent candidates to leadership positions in the U.N. system, including the U.S.-nominated candidate for Secretary-General of the International Telecommunication Union, Ms. Doreen Bogdan-Martin. U.S. candidates are critical to ensuring the U.N. operates effectively and in line with its foundational principles and values. They 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.

Question. If confirmed, how will you engage with your interagency partners as you push back on CCP goals in the International Organization space?

Answer. The United States' Mission to China can provide critical support to Department and interagency efforts to strengthen and defend the rules-based international order, including through international organizations. This includes analyzing how the PRC seeks to reshape international values and principles or to use international organizations to advance its unilateral priorities, such as the Belt and Road Initiative. If confirmed, I will work with interagency partners based in Beijing as well as through interagency processes to assist in the development and implementation of strategies to address these challenges.

Question. In March 2020, the Peace Corps evacuated nearly 7,000 volunteers across the globe, including from China. The Peace Corps in China had already been slated to close and the Peace Corps was in the process of phasing out new cohorts of volunteers. Do you believe that the Peace Corps should have a mission in China? Please explain your answer.

Answer. If confirmed, I will consult closely with key stakeholders in determining whether to resume Peace Corps operations.

Question. The Dalai Lama is the most important spiritual leader of Tibet and self-selection of its next leader should be paramount to you, if confirmed. In 2011, Chinese leadership asserted that only China should be able to select the next Dalai Lama and no recognition should be given to any other succession candidate.

- Who do you believe should select the next Dalai Lama?

Answer. The matter of the Dalai Lama's succession should strictly be left to Tibetan Buddhists to decide in accordance with their faith, beliefs, and traditions. If confirmed, I am committed to supporting Tibetans' religious freedom, including their ability to select, educate, and venerate their religious leaders, like the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama, according to their own beliefs and without government interference.

Question. Do you commit, if confirmed, to engaging directly with the Chinese on this religious freedom and human rights issue?

Answer. The Biden-Harris administration is committed to putting human rights, democratic values at the center of our foreign policy and to standing up for democracy, human rights, and human dignity. If confirmed, I will always be willing to speak out on behalf of our values and the rights of the people of China. Also, if confirmed, I plan to work with the Office of the U.S. Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues, and will press Beijing to return to direct dialogue with the Dalai Lama or his representatives, without preconditions, to achieve meaningful autonomy and religious freedom for Tibetans.

Question. Do you commit, if confirmed, to publicly disavowing Chinese meddling of the selection of the next Dalai Lama?

Answer. If confirmed, I am committed to promoting respect for the religious freedom of all Tibetans globally and to taking all appropriate measures to promote accountability for PRC Government officials who attempt to interfere in the Dalai Lama's succession, consistent with the Tibetan Policy and Support Act of 2020.

Question. The Vatican recently extended an agreement with the Chinese Government that establishes a process for appointing bishops in China. Under the Agreement, bishops in China are in communion with Rome but also approved by the Chinese Government. The details of this agreement have never been made public. Despite the agreement, Catholic bishops not affiliated with the Chinese Catholic Patriotic Association continue to face persecution.

- Will you, if confirmed as Ambassador, raise this issue with your counterparts?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I would urge PRC officials to uphold the PRC's international commitments with respect to the right to freedom of religion or belief for all individuals in China, including Catholics.

Question. In your testimony before this committee, you mentioned the necessity of working with the United States' treaty allies like Japan, South Korea, and Australia.

- What role, if any, do you believe that NATO and its member allies should play in standing up to China's wide variety of abuses, assertiveness, and aggression?

Answer. The revitalization and modernization of U.S. alliances is a central pillar of President Biden's strategy to reinforce the rules-based international order. NATO's partnerships with U.S. treaty allies in the region should foster inter-theater strategic alignment, including on the PRC, and NATO's Asia-Pacific Four format for consultation with its partners in the region is a novel forum for collaboration.

In June, NATO Allies pointed out the challenges the PRC poses to our values and collective security. Cooperation with our Transatlantic Allies is essential to maintain peace and stability in the Indo-Pacific and enrich the fabric and resilience of the international order.

Question. How do you plan to leverage your NATO experience to best represent U.S. interests in the PRC?

Answer. China has very few friends and no real allies. Our 29 NATO allies in Canada and Europe, and our multiple treaty allies in the Indo-Pacific are our comparative advantage. I understand that President Biden has been working with Secretary Blinken to reach out to allies, both in NATO and the Indo-Pacific, to emphasize the need to work together strategically on China. If confirmed, I will use my NATO experience working with these same partners and allies to promote security, stability and the rules-based international order, to meet the challenge posed to U.S. interests by the PRC.

Question. Do you believe that Freedom of Navigation Operations conducted in the South China Sea by NATO members like France are useful to the United States' goals in the region? Why or why not?

Answer. I believe that Freedom of Navigation Operations conducted by France and other NATO allies are supportive of U.S. goals in the region. The United States believes that all nations—whether they are NATO members or not—enjoy as a matter of international law the freedoms of navigation, overflight and other lawful uses of the sea. The exercise of those freedoms ought to be routine and not elicit particular notice or attention. That said, in the context of the South China Sea, a country's exercise of those rights and freedoms can also be a strong symbol of support for the rights enjoyed by all states under the international law of the sea.

Question. What capabilities, either military or diplomatic, would you advise NATO allies to strengthen in order to better stand up against China's abuses, assertiveness, and aggression?

Answer. The PRC is a full-spectrum, long term, systemic threat, and the most significant geopolitical test of the 21st century for the international order. At the June 2021 NATO Summit, NATO Heads of State and Government declared that the PRC's "stated ambitions and assertive behavior present systemic challenges to the rules-based international order and to areas relevant to Alliance security." If confirmed, I will continue this Administration's work with allies to prepare NATO for the challenges the PRC poses, including from its rapidly expanding nuclear arsenal, opaque military modernization, military-civil fusion strategy, investments in critical infrastructure that can threaten Allies' resilience, and cyberspace threats.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to regularly engaging with your counterpart, the U.S. Ambassador to NATO?

Answer. If confirmed, I will engage regularly with my counterpart, the U.S. Ambassador to NATO, to work together strategically to advance our and our Allies' readiness to counter the challenges the PRC poses to our values and collective security.

Question. How do you believe China views the NATO alliance?

Answer. The NATO alliance is a comparative advantage for all NATO members, and the PRC recognizes that. In June, the PRC Mission to the EU denounced a NATO statement that declared the PRC a "security challenge" as a "slander on China's peaceful development, a misjudgment of the international situation and (NATO's) own role." If confirmed, I will draw from my NATO experience to reach out to our NATO allies and other partners to promote security, stability, and the rules-based international order that PRC continues to challenge. The persistent strength of NATO signals to Beijing that members stand together to safeguard the security of members and their surrounding regions.

Question. What is your understanding of the way that Germany, a leader in the European Union, views the PRC and its business interests in the PRC?

Answer. In line with the EU, Germany sees the PRC as a partner, economic competitor, and systemic rival. The German government has maintained an uneasy balance in protecting German firms' access to the PRC market while increasingly criticizing Beijing's crackdowns in Hong Kong, Xinjiang, and Tibet. A leader in shaping a more assertive China policy in the EU, including pushing for an EU-level investment-screening mechanism, Germany has increasingly countered the threats the PRC's aggressive actions pose to the rules-based international order. If confirmed, I will work to find a strategic alignment with Germany so that we can both successfully manage our relationships with the PRC.

[Additional Response—11/8/2021]. In line with the EU, Germany sees the PRC as a partner, economic competitor, and systemic rival. The German government has maintained an uneasy balance in protecting German firms' access to the PRC market while increasingly criticizing Beijing's crackdowns in Hong Kong, Xinjiang, and Tibet. A leader in shaping a more assertive China policy in the EU, including pushing for an EU-level investment-screening mechanism, Germany has increasingly countered the threats the PRC's aggressive actions pose to the rules-based international order. If confirmed, I will encourage Germany to continue working closely with the United States to advance our shared interest in countering the malign influence of the PRC.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to working with Embassy Berlin to decrease China's influence in Germany?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work with the U.S. Embassy in Berlin and German counterparts in Beijing to deepen U.S.-German cooperation to further increase the

scrutiny of China's influence in Europe. Germany's September 2020 Indo-Pacific policy guidelines outline plans to expand defense cooperation and call for more economic transparency, sustainability, and fair competition. As the United States finalizes its own national Indo-Pacific Strategy, we will seek to identify opportunities to bolster the United States' and Germany's strategic and security ties with Indo-Pacific partners; diversify and strengthen our countries' economic ties with the region; and jointly tackle global challenges like climate change and protection of universal human rights.

Question. How do you believe China views its relationship with Russia?

Answer. I understand that China and Russia cooperate in certain areas, touting their relationship as a "comprehensive strategic partnership," but remain competitors in others. If confirmed, I would work to stop Beijing and Moscow from undermining U.S. leadership and reshaping the rules-based international order, particularly in the defense, democracy, and human rights realms. The partnership is still one of convenience and transaction, and the PRC appears to view it as such.

Question. What benefits do you believe China gets from its seemingly growing relationship with Russia?

Answer. Russia and China share certain common goals, including undermining the United States' global leadership role and subverting the international rules-based order to advance their own interests. Russia's aggression in foreign affairs can be both an asset and a liability to the PRC, depending on the situation. They have supported each other's efforts in international fora to advance ideology and policy of mutual interest, including jointly blocking the appointment of candidates for senior U.N. positions. The two countries have also repeatedly threatened to veto UNSC resolutions and block Presidential Statements and other products to keep them from being tabled and have stymied other discussions, including on the Venezuelan presidency crisis. Given the alignment of their interests in the multilateral realm, Russia and China are likely to remain in lockstep.

Question. What, in your opinion, is the most concerning aspect of the China-Russia relationship?

Answer. President Biden, from his inaugural speech on, has discussed the need for democracies to recognize the threat from the authoritarian world, including Russia and China. In addition to their concerning and aggressive joint military exercises, I am concerned about their mutual misuse of technology to repress their own citizens and continued joint efforts to export that technology to states struggling to maintain a democratic governance system.

Question. In 2020, the United States—European Union China Dialogue was initiated. Do you believe that this collaboration has thus far proven useful to the United States?

Answer. The dialogue appears to be facilitating an increased convergence in understanding between the United States and the EU of the challenges the PRC poses to our shared values, prosperity, and the rules-based international order. I welcome the joint public statements made since the dialogue's launch identifying the PRC as a systemic rival and competitor; concerns about Xinjiang, Tibet, and Hong Kong; the risks of PRC economic coercion; and the importance of Taiwan's meaningful participation in international organizations. If confirmed, I will work with the U.S. Embassy in Beijing and colleagues in Washington and Brussels to carry out joint and coordinated actions with the EU, including through this dialogue.

Question. In 2020, the United States—European Union China Dialogue was initiated. What elements does the Dialogue not address that you believe it should?

Answer. I do not have any knowledge of the non-public specifics of the dialogue, including meetings that may have taken place or topics that have been discussed since the first high-level meeting in May 2021. The public messaging from the United States and EU around this dialogue has been positive and appears to outline a strong basis for cooperation, including on important issues such as Taiwan, human rights, disinformation, and cooperation with the PRC on areas of shared concern. If confirmed, I will prioritize working with EU counterparts to ensure this dialogue is a forum not only to exchange views but also to identify concrete areas for U.S.-EU cooperation and implement them.

Question. In 2020, the United States—European Union China Dialogue was initiated. How do you believe China thinks about this Dialogue?

Answer. At the first U.S.-EU Dialogue on China in May, the two sides underscored the shared U.S.-EU interest in strengthening the rules-based international

order and pledged further close cooperation in support of democratic values, global and regional stability, and human rights. The two sides reiterated that the United States' and EU's relations with China are multifaceted and comprise elements of cooperation, competition, and systemic rivalry. They also discussed pursuing constructive engagement with China on issues such as climate change and non-proliferation, and on certain regional issues.

The U.S.-EU Dialogue on China signals to Beijing the intent of the United States and the EU to work together and coordinate our approaches to China on issues including security, economics, human rights, and strengthening the rules-based international order.

Question. The Belt and Road is planned to cut straight through Central Asia to reach Europe by land. Central Asian nations have strived to maintain a balance among the increasing influences of the West, the Middle East, Russia, and China. Now, China has been making inroads by funding infrastructure projects and embedding itself in their economies.

- Does the fall of Afghanistan and a decline in U.S. leadership in the region leave C5 countries vulnerable to outsized Chinese influence?

Answer. Following the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Afghanistan, U.S. leadership and engagement in Central Asia remain strong and growing. Russia and China remain involved in the region for historical and geographic reasons. Three ministerial-level C5+1 diplomatic platform meetings in 2021 led by Secretary Blinken, Homeland Security Advisor to the President Sherwood-Randall, and Special Presidential Envoy for Climate Kerry, demonstrate U.S. commitment and involvement in the region and the meetings' outcomes reflect success advancing U.S. national security interests.

[Additional Response 11/8/2021]. China has influence with C5 countries due to its geographic proximity and strong economic ties. To support the independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of Central Asian states, U.S. leadership in Central Asia has increased during this Administration. More senior-level engagements, including through the C5+1, increased programming, and shared security interests have elevated our regional and bilateral relationships and counters the growth of Chinese government influence.

Question. How can the U.S. best compete with Chinese targeted investment and infrastructure embedment in Central Asia?

Answer. The U.S. Central Asia Strategy represents a clear-eyed vision for advancing U.S. values and interests in Central Asia, including enabling an environment for business in Central Asia that is transparent, open, fair, attractive to U.S. businesses, and supportive of broader development goals. The United States is working with each Central Asian country to undertake the reforms needed to attract more quality foreign investment, including from U.S. businesses.

Question. Mission China has been under enormous stress over the last few years, in large part due to COVID.

- What is your understanding of morale throughout Mission China?

Answer. I am advised that Mission China faces a very challenging work environment due to rigid quarantine restrictions and additional travel and other restrictions put in place by Chinese authorities. These realities have a major impact on morale. I take morale very seriously and will work hard, if confirmed, to improve it and the quality of life and work environment for all our personnel.

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

Answer. I will make morale at Mission China an immediate priority, if confirmed. Based on my prior experience as a Chief of Mission, I know how important it is that we listen to all our personnel, respond quickly to their concerns and seek to improve conditions of work and daily life for them and for their families. As in my past leadership roles, I will seek to meet each employee in my first weeks in Beijing at the embassy. I will seek to travel to each of our Consulate Generals in my first months as Ambassador to meet our employees in Shanghai, Guangzhou, Wuhan and Shenyang. If confirmed, one of the issues that will be at the top of my management agenda will be supporting any personnel affected by health incidents. Finally, I will advocate personally for our mission employees with the State Department and other cabinet agencies in Washington on issues that affect morale.

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

Answer. One of the keys to our diplomatic success in China will be a unified mission based on the President's instructions to me and overall U.S. policy toward China. I will lead regular country team meetings and visit each of our embassy offices to listen to the ideas of my colleagues and to ensure that all understand our policy objectives in China.

Question. Management is a key responsibility for chiefs of mission.

- How would you describe your management style?

Answer. As Ambassador to Greece and NATO, as Under Secretary of State and during my time at Harvard University, I have taken my management and leadership responsibilities seriously and treated them as very high priorities. My practice has been to meet frequently with my colleagues, to communicate openly, to invite ideas and constructive criticism and to help each employee to succeed in his or her responsibilities. If confirmed as Ambassador to the PRC, it will be my responsibility to ensure the President's guidance, instructions and policy priorities are being carried out faithfully and effectively by Mission China.

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

Answer. No. I believe it is always more productive and effective to deliver feedback or criticism in a constructive, respectful and helpful manner.

Question. What lessons did you learn from your prior tenures as a chief of mission?

Answer. I learned many lessons about mission management and leadership. I learned to listen carefully to mission colleagues about policy issues and to invite alternative views and constructive criticism so that we avoided group think and challenged our working assumptions. I also learned the effectiveness of delegating responsibility when that is possible. While the Ambassador must lead on priority issues, our mission colleagues respond well to the delegation of responsibility. In particular, it is important for the training and formation of mid-level and junior officers that they be given real responsibilities in their areas of competence. Finally, I learned how important it is to have a close-knit country team, to meet with the team regularly and to form a sense of collegiality on policy and administrative issues.

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. Mission employees deserve honest, constructive feedback on their work. This can have a major, positive impact on morale.

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. This will be a priority for my management of the mission.

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 everyday citizens.

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

Answer. Based on my prior experience in the Foreign Service, it depends on local and national conditions, the security and terrorist threats and whether or not the host government is friendly and takes its responsibility seriously to provide external security for the embassy and its employees. It also depends on mission leadership. I believe it is important that our mission officers get outside of the embassy as frequently as possible and to travel in the country. This is essential for them to be successful in their work. Protecting mission personnel from terrorist and criminal threats is also a fundamental responsibility for mission management. If confirmed, I will take that responsibility seriously and be attentive to the need to protect all our employees.

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

Answer. I agree that we should insist on reciprocal treatment to that afforded to PRC diplomats in our own country. If confirmed, I will work with other mission leaders to facilitate the work of our employees and to encourage them to be in contact with Chinese citizens in all regions of the country.

Question. What is the public diplomacy environment like in China?

Answer. The operating environment for United States public diplomacy in the PRC is challenging. Yet, our public diplomacy programs are critical to the U.S. Government's ability to engage with current and future government and civil society leaders. Exchange programs provide authentic first-hand experiences of the United States and its people. Exchange experiences can lead participants to a more nuanced understanding of U.S. policy objectives, and demonstrate the benefits to political, economic, and social life of a diverse, engaged civil society.

Exchanges that involve athletes, musicians, and other artists show the dynamism of American culture that thrives in our free society. They advance conversations on American values that lead to positive change in important areas such as human rights.

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

Answer. PRC authorities restrict the ability of U.S. diplomats to engage with university faculty and students. Despite the strong interest in, and expressed need for, English to contribute to China's development, Mission China educational programs also face increasing challenges reaching Chinese secondary school students.

Despite these difficulties, Mission China continues to reach out to contacts in the academic and think tank communities to discuss how they can work together to convene important conversations on topics of common concern.

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. Effective public diplomacy must be strategic. We must survey the global terrain to ascertain America's natural competitive advantages in meeting threats and challenges.

Every Mission's Public Affairs Section undertakes an annual strategic planning process to align public diplomacy activity to foreign policy goals. If confirmed, I will ensure our strategic planning takes into account both local conditions and Main State priorities and guidance.

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.

- If confirmed, do you commit to taking this threat seriously?

Answer. Yes. It will be a high priority for me as Chief of Mission. As the Department does, I consider the safety and health of our employees and their family members as my top priority. If confirmed, I will energetically support the Department's established reporting and care protocols for possible anomalous health incidents.

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

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I will tackle this issue on my first day as Ambassador in Beijing, meet with employees to discuss it, invite their views and remind them that every report will be handled with sensitivity and the utmost discretion, consistent with appropriate regulations and protocols. Communication that is clear, complete, concise, and timely is a central part of leadership and management. I believe that a well-informed workforce is a more effective one. If confirmed, I will use the Mission's weekly Country Team meetings, regular meetings with top managers, established procedures for notices and policies, and town hall meetings to convey our mission and vision and to give all information needed to enable our success.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO HON. R. NICHOLAS BURNS BY SENATOR TIM KAINE

Question. Dr. Gulshan Abbas, a medical doctor who spent her career caring for patients in Xinjiang and whose family resides in Virginia, has been unjustly detained by the Government of China since September 2018. Dr. Abbas is being held due to her daughter Rushan Abbas' advocacy on behalf of the Uyghur community

in China. Ms. Rushan Abbas is a former journalist for Radio Free Asia and U.S. Government translator.

If confirmed, how would you push China to end its unjust detention of Uyghurs, especially the continued detention of individuals with family members in the United States?

Answer. If confirmed, I will consider all appropriate tools to promote accountability for those responsible and deter future abuses, to include but not limited to, actions already implemented by the U.S. Government: visa restrictions, import restrictions, export restrictions, financial sanctions. If confirmed, I will advocate for the release of Dr. Abbas and other detained individuals with family members in the United States.

Question. China is utilizing transnational repression—like family intimidation and detention—to silence dissent among diasporas and exiles abroad. As Ambassador, how would you confront China over the use of these tactics?

Answer. The United States opposes People's Republic of China (PRC) efforts to repress its citizens outside of the PRC and continues to provide support for Uyghurs and dissidents and coordinate with allies and partners to speak out against such actions and to provide protection to targeted individuals. If confirmed, I would call on PRC authorities to respect human rights and fundamental freedoms, including freedom of religion or belief, consistent with the PRC's international obligations and commitments, within its borders and outside of them.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO HON. R. NICHOLAS BURNS BY SENATOR MARCO RUBIO

Question. As you know, there is bipartisan consensus on the need to address the Chinese Communist Party's (CCP) human rights abuses and genocide against Uyghurs and other Turkic Muslims in Xinjiang. My and Senator Merkley's Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act would go a long way to end the financial incentives for the CCP's oppression of the Uyghurs. However, there are recent concerns that certain figures in the Biden administration would prefer this legislation not get enacted, because they believe it is acceptable to sacrifice America's commitment to human rights in order to extract empty promises from the CCP to address climate change.

- Are you aware that there are voices inside the Biden administration lobbying against the bipartisan Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act?

Answer. As a nominee, I am not yet part of the President's administration and cannot speak to the validity of these claims. If confirmed, I remain committed to working with the administration to address forced labor practices in Xinjiang and elsewhere in the PRC. I will also work closely with you and other Members of Congress on this important issue.

Question. What are your views on this legislation? Do you support its passage?

Answer. I am aware of the legislation and, if confirmed, will plan to work with the administration to address forced labor practices in Xinjiang and elsewhere in the PRC. If confirmed, I also plan to work with you and Members of this Committee to address forced labor practices in China, and will follow all U.S. laws as they pertain to this issue.

Question. If confirmed, how will you approach those in the administration who would rather the United States give up its support for Uyghurs, Tibetans, and Chinese victims of the CCP's human rights abuses in hopes that the CCP will support global efforts to reduce carbon emissions?

Answer. If confirmed, I will advocate vigorously to promote accountability for the PRC's human rights abuses and support efforts to protect human rights in the PRC, including for religious and ethnic minorities. I will not advise that the United States sacrifice vital U.S. interests for PRC promises on climate change. As Special Presidential Envoy Kerry has noted, climate is a critical standalone issue, and other aspects of the U.S.-PRC relationship will not be traded for separate U.S. interests.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to regularly advocate for the basic rights and fundamental freedoms of all Uyghurs, Tibetans, Hong Kongers and Chinese in your interactions with senior Chinese officials?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I will advocate vigorously to promote accountability for the PRC's human rights abuses and support efforts to protect human rights in the PRC, including for religious and ethnic minorities.

Human rights and democracy are at the core of U.S. foreign policy. I agree with the Biden-Harris administration's position that the PRC is committing genocide and crimes against humanity against members of ethnic and religious minority groups in Xinjiang, including Uyghurs, who are predominantly Muslim. It is repressing Tibetans' distinct language, religion, and culture. It is eroding Hong Kong's autonomy and democratic institutions and processes. The United States has called on the PRC to respect the human rights and fundamental freedoms, and to adhere to its obligations with regard to Hong Kong.

Question. If so, what does this support look like in actionable terms?

Answer. If confirmed, I will consider all appropriate tools to promote accountability for those responsible to end abuses, to include but not limited to, actions already implemented by the U.S. Government: visa restrictions, import restrictions, export restrictions, and financial sanctions.

Question. Do you believe that it is possible to rule out the use of forced labor for producing solar panels in China?

Answer. Forced labor and human rights abuses are widespread in the PRC, including in sectors other than the solar industry. If confirmed, I will support and amplify the administration's ongoing efforts to ensure that suppliers in the solar industry and other industries that use forced labor are unable to import goods into the U.S. market and promote accountability for human rights abuses.

Question. If so, how can this be done in an environment in which PRC authorities do not permit companies to conduct proper due diligence?

Answer. I support U.S. Government efforts, such as the Xinjiang Supply Chain Business Advisory, to highlight the risks for U.S. businesses with supply chain and investment links to Xinjiang and other locations in the People's Republic of China where entities are complicit in forced labor and other human rights abuses. If confirmed, I will continue efforts to make clear that U.S. businesses and individuals that do not exit supply chains, ventures, and/or investments connected to Xinjiang run a risk of violating U.S. law.

Question. In your opinion, can climate targets and human rights be treated on different tracks when negotiating with Chinese officials?

Answer. Support for human rights and human dignity go hand-in-hand with climate progress. If confirmed, I will advocate for both issues to remain at the forefront of American foreign policy.

Question. If confirmed, how do plan to press the CCP to stop its oppression of the Uyghurs and other groups forced to work in renewable energy supply chains?

Answer. If confirmed, I will continue the work of the Department, in coordination with the interagency, to promote accountability for the PRC's human rights record in Xinjiang. I will support the administration's efforts to impose costs on Beijing's use of forced labor, signaling to the renewable energy industry the imperative to diversify and clean up its supply chain. I will work with like-minded partners and the international community to call on the PRC to end genocide and crimes against humanity in Xinjiang, immediately and unconditionally release all those arbitrarily detained, abolish internment camps, and end forced labor. I will also urge the international community to protect those from Xinjiang who seek asylum and to resist PRC pressure to forcibly return these asylum-seekers back to the PRC. We will continue utilizing public messaging, diplomacy, and other foreign policy tools to bring attention to the PRC's poor human rights record in Xinjiang.

Question. Do you commit to bringing up human rights cases—including all of those identified by the CECC—in your discussions with PRC officials?

Answer. The United States has utilized public messaging, diplomacy, and other foreign policy tools to bring attention to the PRC's poor human rights record in Xinjiang and elsewhere. If confirmed, I will raise directly with PRC officials specific human rights cases to promote accountability.

Question. Do you commit to prioritizing seeking the release of prisoners who are the family of American citizens and legal permanent residents?

Answer. If confirmed, this will be a major priority for me. I commit to raise directly and vigorously the need for the PRC to release prisoners who are the family of American citizens and legal permanent residents. If confirmed, I commit to working closely with the Special Presidential Envoy for Hostage Affairs and the Bureau

of Consular Affairs to resolve the cases of U.S. citizens wrongfully detained or subject to coercive exit bans by the PRC. I also commit to keeping you and interested members informed, in concert with my colleagues and in accordance with applicable privacy concerns.

I am deeply concerned by the PRC's continued use of arbitrary or wrongful detentions and coercive, non-transparent exit bans on foreign citizens. Protecting U.S. citizens overseas is the U.S. Government's highest priority.

Question. I noticed that since 2011 you have served as a Director for Entegris, Inc. According to its website, Entegris has operated in China for more than 25 years, and has offices in Shanghai, Beijing, Xi'an, Xiamen, and Wuhan. I understand that Entegris produces inputs for use in the electronics and technology industry. I've called out this administration for failing to fully confront the CCP's injecting of forced labor into global supply chains, notably for the solar and apparel industries. Last week, we learned that Special Envoy for the Climate John Kerry holds large investments in Chinese companies determined by the previous administration to be complicit in the surveillance, detention, and repression of Uyghurs in Xinjiang. Knowing this, you can understand why I'm concerned by your ten-year tenure on the board of a company that operates in China's technology sector.

- Could you explain why you thought it was in the best interests of the United States to support a U.S. company that sells key products needed for semiconductor fabrication to China?

Answer. I am proud of my service on the Board of Directors of Entegris, Inc. since 2011. Entegris is a successful firm headquartered in the United States with significant manufacturing and Research and Development operations in Texas, Colorado, Minnesota, Massachusetts, California, Pennsylvania, Connecticut and six other states. A majority of the firm's roughly 6,600 employees are located in the United States and the firm expects to have hired approximately 1,000 additional employees in the United States this year.

Entegris produces products and solutions used by the global semiconductor ecosystem, as well as other high-technology industries, including life sciences. For example, Entegris developed a unique high-purity bag used for the cold storage of biologics. This bag has been critical to the Covid-19 global vaccination campaign.

Entegris sells its products and solutions to many markets around the world, including China, in full compliance with all applicable laws. Entegris has never transferred any manufacturing to China.

Question. Are you aware of the CCP's goal to become independent of foreign semiconductor manufacturing and to eventually dominate the global industry?

Answer. The People's Republic of China (PRC) has invested heavily in its semiconductor industry to build indigenous capabilities and has ambitions to develop the most advanced chips that can support military applications. If confirmed, I will work with allies and partners to strengthen diverse, resilient, and secure supply chains that will maintain U.S. technological advantage over strategic competitors such as the PRC and create good jobs for U.S. citizens in the semiconductor field.

Question. Do you understand the tremendous risks to our national security that would result if the CCP were to succeed in this endeavor?

Answer. The United States is engaged in strategic competition with the People's Republic of China (PRC), and technology is the central domain of that competition. The PRC's objectives are to undercut U.S. longstanding technological advantage and to displace the United States as the global leader in cutting edge research and development, and the technologies and industries of the future. The national security and economic consequences of allowing that to happen are simply unacceptable. It is a critical U.S. interest to make sure we protect the technology and intellectual property that is produced in this country and that, if used to advance the PRC's military modernization, could undermine our security.

Question. Are you confident that Entegris' supply chains in China are free of inputs produced through the forced labor of Uyghurs and other groups?

Answer. Yes. I consulted with the company, and can confirm the following information. Entegris performs regular reviews of its supply chain to ensure that its inputs are not produced through the forced labor of Uyghurs and other groups. Entegris does not source material from regions identified for using the forced labor of Uyghurs and other groups and, to Entegris' knowledge, none of the suppliers utilized by Entegris use the forced labor of Uyghurs and other groups. Furthermore, Entegris has maintained a supply chain that does not have significant reliance on operations in China. For the first three quarters of 2021, less than 3 percent of Entegris' overall supply spending was for goods exported from China.

Question. Do you believe that your ten-year history with Entegris has created biases that will shape your decisions and influence U.S. policy towards China?

Answer. No. If confirmed, I will take an oath of office to support and defend the Constitution against all enemies, foreign and domestic, and will swear that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same, and that I will well and faithfully discharge the duties of the office. I will serve the United States with professional excellence, the highest standards of ethical conduct, and diplomatic discretion and effectiveness.

Question. Specifically, will you commit to making decisions in the best interests of the United States, even if those decisions stand to significantly reduce the profitability of Entegris' operations in China?

Answer. If confirmed by the Senate as U.S. Ambassador to China, I will always act in the best interest of the United States. If confirmed, I will support the Biden-Harris administration's commitment to use of the full array of tools necessary to counter the PRC's abusive economic practices and hold Beijing accountable.

Question. If confirmed, will you resign immediately from Entegris' Board of Directors and divest yourself from the company?

Answer. If confirmed by the Senate, I will resign from the board of Entegris and divest all my stock holdings as soon as practicable but no later than 90 days after confirmation. The ethics agreement I entered into with the State Department's Designated Agency Ethics Official was provided to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Question. If confirmed, what specific actions will you take to press the PRC authorities to allow a credible international forensic investigation of the Wuhan Institute of Virology and other labs in question?

Answer. Reaching any conclusive assessment on the COVID-19 virus's origin would likely require cooperation from Beijing, yet the PRC continues to hinder the global investigation, resist information-sharing, and shift blame elsewhere throughout the world. If confirmed, I support using the tools that could have the greatest chance of getting to the goal of the PRC Government's cooperation to an international inquiry. I would not cease to keep up the pressure on this issue, in conjunction with partners in the international community. If confirmed, I will also continue working with likeminded partners around the world to press the PRC Government to participate in a full, transparent, evidence-based, expert-led study into the origins of COVID-19 and to provide access to all relevant complete, original data and samples.

Question. U.S. federal agencies funded risky research at the Wuhan Institute of Virology that could have contributed to the outbreak of SARS-CoV-2. Until we can get to the bottom of what exactly caused the pandemic, what will you do, if confirmed, to prevent U.S. funding and collaboration for risky lines of research involving human pathogens and potential pathogens?

Answer. The COVID-19 pandemic, regardless of its origins, underscores the need to prevent, detect, and address emerging threats to global health security—whether naturally occurring, accidental, or deliberate. If confirmed, I will work with my colleagues in the Department, interagency, and intelligence community to ensure appropriate oversight of life sciences research collaborations with China.

Question. More generally, what would you do as Ambassador to ensure that the United States does not unintentionally contribute to research in the PRC that has dual-use applications, or the potential to enable the PRC to develop a technological edge over the United States in emerging fields?

Answer. Whether in life sciences or other sectors, we need to be vigilant against transactions that could potentially facilitate the transfer of sensitive technologies to the PRC that could threaten our national security. If confirmed, I will work with my colleagues in the Department, interagency, and intelligence community to work to ensure appropriate oversight of life sciences research collaborations with China.

Question. If confirmed, what are your plans for CCP leaders to understand that the United States is serious about its "rock-solid" commitment to Taiwan, and will respond forcefully to any acts of aggression or coercion aimed at Taiwan?

Answer. I would continue to reinforce to PRC leaders that the Biden-Harris administration remains committed to upholding the principles of the Taiwan Relations Act, namely: that the United States will continue to assist Taiwan in maintaining a sufficient self-defense capability; that the United States would regard any effort to determine the future of Taiwan by other than peaceful means a threat to the

peace and security of the Western Pacific and of grave concern to the United States; and that the United States will maintain the capacity to resist any resort to force or other forms of coercion that would jeopardize the security, or the social or economic system, of the people of Taiwan.

Question. U.S. policy toward Taiwan differs in many important respects from the PRC's "one-China principle." If confirmed, do you commit to articulating those key differences and resisting PRC efforts to conflate our policy with theirs?

Answer. Our one China policy, which is guided by the Taiwan Relations Act, the three Joint Communiques, and the Six Assurances, has fostered peace and prosperity in the region for over 40 years. We will continue to note publicly that our policy differs from the PRC's "one China principle."

Question. Specifically, will you oppose all suggestions that the United States must recognize Taiwan as a part of the PRC?

Answer. Consistent with our one China policy, we do not take a position on the ultimate status of Taiwan—we acknowledge the PRC's position on this, but we do not accept it. We will continue to make clear that we support a peaceful resolution of cross-strait issues, consistent with the wishes and best interests of the people of Taiwan.

Question. Will you instead insist that Taiwan's status remains unresolved, and that a PRC resort to force to resolve Taiwan's status will be met with a robust counter response from the United States and our allies and partners?

Answer. The United States has a long abiding interest in maintaining peace and stability in the Taiwan Strait. The United States will continue to make available to Taiwan the defense articles and services necessary to enable Taiwan to maintain a sufficient self-defense capability that is commensurate with the growing PRC threat. We also will continue to deepen our security relationship with Taiwan in line with the one China policy, which is guided by the Taiwan Relations Act, the three Joint Communiques, and the Six Assurances. And we will continue to underscore to the PRC that any effort to determine the future of Taiwan by other than peaceful means is a threat to the peace and security of the Western Pacific and of grave concern to the United States.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to counter the CCP's propaganda about the "superiority" of its totalitarian system, and to promote Taiwan instead as a model of how democracy can flourish in a Chinese speaking society?

Answer. Taiwan is a leading democracy and critical economic and security partner. Working with allies and partners, we have highlighted Taiwan's successful democratic processes as well as its importance to the global community. The international community has increasingly expressed its concern over the PRC's coercive and aggressive behavior toward Taiwan.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO HON. R. NICHOLAS BURNS BY SENATOR EDWARD J. MARKEY

Question. The reported use of Cambodia's Ream Naval Base on the Gulf of Thailand by the People's Republic of China (PRC) is inconsistent with Cambodia's status of neutrality under the Paris Peace Agreements, which the Constitution of the Kingdom of Cambodia later defined, in part, as: "not permit(ing) any foreign military base on its territory." When confirmed, will you pledge to report regularly with the Committee on the People's Republic of China's (PRC) activities at the Ream Naval Base and all those related to its Belt and Road Initiative?

Answer. Yes, I pledge to do so. I am concerned about PRC activity in the region, including the PRC's military presence and construction of facilities at Ream Naval Base. The State Department has raised these concerns at the highest levels of the Cambodian government. The Government of Cambodia has not been fully transparent about the intent, nature, and scope of this project nor the role the PRC military is playing in its construction, raising concerns about the intended use of the naval facility. I agree with the administration's concerns that the erosion of multiparty democracy in Cambodia has exacerbated this situation.

Question. The PRC has thus far been unwilling to engage with the United States on substantive discussions on nuclear weapons policy and doctrine. As Ambassador, how will you specifically encourage Beijing to engage on these issues? What motiva-

tion is behind efforts by the PRC to increase the role of nuclear weapons in its military strategy?

Answer. President Biden has indicated clearly that he is going to support the strongest possible and the safest American nuclear deterrent, as every president has done, since President Harry Truman. The administration will pursue strategic risk management measures to reduce the dangers from the People's Republic of China's (PRC) growing nuclear arsenal. These efforts will be paired with actions to bolster deterrence in the region. The administration is developing and evaluating specific proposals to be pursued with the PRC. Beijing's larger nuclear arsenal will buttress a broader PRC military build-up and its increasingly assertive and threatening behavior to U.S. allies and partners. Precisely because Beijing is the least transparent member of the P5 nuclear weapons states, accurate assessments of its nuclear trajectory and intentions are difficult.

Question. We must find ways to lower tensions and avoid miscalculation in the Taiwan Strait to avoid an inadvertent conflict. In your experience, what role can Track 1.5 dialogues—those that include a mix of government and non-government officials—play in reducing mistrust between countries? As Ambassador, will you commit that the State Department will actively promote such dialogues on regional stability issues in the Indo-Pacific?

Answer. Yes. The administration seeks to minimize the risk of miscalculations on both sides of the Taiwan Strait and dialogue is a means to do that. If confirmed, I will speak directly to the PRC Government about the importance of a stable and peaceful dialogue across the Taiwan Strait free from coercion.

Question. President Biden and President Xi Jinping are due to hold a virtual summit in December 2021. If confirmed by that date, will you commit to advocate that negotiating nuclear risk reduction measures with the PRC will be a focal point of that summit?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work with the Biden administration to seek effective channels of communication with Beijing to manage competition responsibly, to diminish the risk of an accidental conflict, and above all, to maintain the peace. The United States has to proceed from a position of strength and pursue intense diplomacy in all these matters. The administration will pursue crisis communications, risk reduction, and strategic stability measures to reduce the dangers from the People's Republic of China's (PRC) growing nuclear arsenal. The administration hopes that Beijing will come to see that reducing nuclear risks is in its security interest and the administration has raised these issues with the PRC, making very clear the U.S. interest in substantively engaging with China.

Question. In your testimony, you signaled your support for the longstanding U.S. "One China" policy and for a robust unofficial U.S. relationship with Taiwan consistent with our commitments under the 1979 Taiwan Relations Act (TRA). The TRA makes it U.S. policy: "to preserve and promote extensive, close, and friendly commercial, cultural, and other relations between the people of the United States and the people on Taiwan, as well as the people on the China mainland and all other peoples of the Western Pacific area." Is it your assessment that creating a fellowship program with Taiwan—modeled on the Mansfield Fellowship with Japan—would strengthen implementation of this provision of TRA and expand U.S. Government employee's knowledge of the Indo Pacific region?

Answer. Taiwan is a leading democracy, an important economic and security partner, and force for good in the world. If confirmed, I will support the Department's longstanding efforts and will work with Congress to deepen our people-to-people ties and enhance our ability to learn from each other and work on issues of common concern. If confirmed, I will be happy to discuss the Fellowship proposal with you.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO HON. R. NICHOLAS BURNS BY SENATOR TED CRUZ

Question. China and Iran struck a deal earlier this year which resulted in a \$400 million commitment by the Chinese to invest in Iran's oil and gas sector, in addition to a military cooperation component. While U.S. sanctions on Iranian oil exports are still on the books, enforcement has faded to insignificance. According to an August report by the U.S. Energy Information Administration (EIA), Iran's crude oil production fell to an almost 40-year low in 2020. This decline in production was triggered in 2018, when President Trump pulled the U.S. out of the JCPOA, and reimposed

sanctions on Iran. Today, China receives half of all Iran's crude and condensate exports.

- What do you assess is going wrong with sanctions enforcement?

Answer. The United States has been engaged with JCPOA participants, including China, in an effort to achieve a mutual return to compliance with JCPOA commitments with Iran. Current Iran-related sanctions remain in effect.

China has long been importing Iranian oil, and the administration will continue to oppose Iranian sanctions evasion efforts, including those involving Chinese entities.

The administration will continue to raise this issue directly with the Chinese as part of its dialogue on Iran policy and I agree that, in general, this is a more effective path forward to address our concerns.

I agree with the administration that while strategic competition defines many aspects of our relationship with China, multilateral cooperation to constrain Iran's nuclear program is vital, as the world has no interest in seeing Iran develop a nuclear weapon. If confirmed, I will engage vigorously with China to discourage them from taking steps vis-a-vis Iran that threaten our interests.

Question. Please assess the benefits that China gets from such sanctions-busting.

Answer. The U.S. opposes China's decision to permit some of its companies to import oil from Iran in contravention of U.S. sanctions. While strategic competition defines many aspects of our relationship with China, multilateral cooperation to constrain Iran's nuclear program is very much in its interest, as it has no desire to see Iran develop a nuclear weapon and the profoundly destabilizing impact that would have in a region upon which China depends for its oil imports.

The President is committed to ensuring as broad a multilateral coalition as possible to address Iran's nuclear program and destabilizing activities. That will mean seeking to work with China, which has close ties to Iran, and some of whose small independent refiners continue to transact with Iran notwithstanding U.S. sanctions. China's large state-owned oil companies have avoided purchasing Iranian oil because they place greater weight on the risk of exposure to U.S. sanctions due to their global business.

If confirmed, I will engage vigorously with China to discourage them from taking steps vis-a-vis Iran that threaten our interests.

Uyghur Human Rights Case

Question. The People's Republic of China (PRC) and Chinese Communist Party (CCP) engage in sustained, systematic, and granular intimidation of dissidents in China and abroad. That harassment includes the abuse and imprisonment of dissidents' family members.

Nury Turkel is a Uyghur-American lawyer and leading critic of the PRC's atrocities against, and genocide of, the Uyghurs. In addition to testimony, op-eds, speeches, and other activities he currently serves as the Vice Chair of the United States Commission on International Religious Freedom.

The PRC is engaged in a campaign of intimidation to silence Turkel by targeting his family members. They refuse to let his ailing parents leave China and be reunited with him.

This campaign directly harms U.S. citizens: his parents have two sons who are U.S. citizens and five U.S.-born grandchildren, who they've never met. Additionally, the campaign is an effort to interfere in American internal affairs and exercise leverage over U.S. policy on religious freedom.

U.S. officials have reportedly raised Turkel's case with the Chinese, but there has been no sustained follow-up and the Chinese are apparently under the impression the inquiries were pro-forma.

- What leverage does the U.S. have to mitigate the harassment and intimidation of family members of Chinese dissidents, especially American citizens?

Answer. The United States opposes PRC efforts to repress its citizens or their family members, whether inside or outside of China. If confirmed, I will continue administration efforts to provide support for Uyghurs and other human rights defenders and coordinate with allies and partners to speak out against such actions and to provide protection to targeted individuals. If confirmed, I also commit to raising individual cases with my PRC Government counterparts.

Question. Can you commit to conveying to the Chinese that the United States expects and demands they allow Turkel's parents to be reunited with their American citizen children and grandchildren?

Answer. I am very concerned by the People's Republic of China (PRC)'s mistreatment of Mr. Turkel's parents, to include blocking them from leaving China. If confirmed, I will advocate strongly on their behalf with the PRC government and work to secure their reunification with Mr. Turkel and with their other children and grandchildren.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO HON. RAHM EMANUEL BY SENATOR ROBERT MENENDEZ

Question. As Ambassador, will you be prepared to work with the organizing committee to find ways to alleviate the financial harm shouldered to U.S. companies in this regard, including Jet Set Sports?

Answer. Regarding Jet Set Sports (JSS), I understand that neither the U.S. Government nor the Government of Japan is a party to the commercial contract between the Tokyo Organizing Committee of the Olympic and Paralympic Games and JSS. If confirmed, I will encourage both parties to seek an amicable resolution in accordance with the terms of their agreement.

Question. What do you plan to do to encourage the Japanese to continue and expand their reconciliation program for former American POWs of Japan and their families that began in 2010?

Answer. The Japanese-American POW Friendship Program has signaled an important step in our bilateral relationship and is giving both Japan and the United States an opportunity to remember and learn from the U.S. POW World War II experience and to reflect on our past, present, and future. We have come far since the dark days of the Pacific campaign to today's world where the U.S.-Japan Alliance had its 50th Anniversary; this program is yet another important chapter in our shared history.

Question. What opportunities and what challenges do you see for the Quad's resurgence in the region, and in our foreign policy?

Answer. The U.S.-Japan Alliance has served as the cornerstone of peace, security, and prosperity in the Indo-Pacific and across the world for more than six decades, and it has never been stronger. The American and Japanese people share deeply rooted values of defending freedom, championing economic and social opportunity and inclusion, and respecting human rights, and the rule of law. We welcome Japan's expanding position as a leader not just in the Indo-Pacific but globally. Its founding role in creating the Quad was an example of this leadership. If confirmed, I would work with Japan to take advantage of the Quad forum to support the rule of law, freedom of navigation and overflight, solutions to the climate crisis, peaceful resolution of disputes, democratic values, and territorial integrity in the Indo-Pacific and beyond.

Question. If you're confirmed as Ambassador to Japan, what role do you anticipate playing as it relates to the Quad?

Answer. If confirmed, I would support Japanese leadership in the Quad and work with Quad counterparts and other likeminded nations to better coordinate and advance our common goals of prosperity, security, and freedom in the Indo-Pacific. The Embassy Tokyo team is expanding joint engagement with partners such as Australia and the UK, and I would seek to continue partner-focused outreach.

Question. Where do you think the U.S.-Japan alliance needs to concentrate, and act, to be capable to meet new and emergent regional challenges?

Answer. In an increasingly challenging security environment, the United States and Japan will continue to closely coordinate on how to effectively deter and, if necessary, respond to growing threats to the U.S.-Japan Alliance and regional security in the Indo-Pacific region. If confirmed, I would work with Japan to promote greater mutual investment in defense and improve our forces' interoperability to ensure our alliance is able to adapt quickly to a changing security landscape with the necessary capabilities and military readiness. Japan is in a position to play an even greater role on regional security issues by supporting and encouraging closer cooperation with other like-minded partners.

Question. What specific steps would you take as ambassador to help improve relations between Tokyo and Seoul?

Answer. A robust and effective trilateral relationship between and among the United States, the ROK, and Japan is critical for our shared security and common

interests. If confirmed, I would work to strengthen the relationship with our key allies, Japan, and the ROK, both trilaterally and bilaterally.

Question. What role should Japan play in facilitating nuclear and missile diplomacy with North Korea?

Answer. We have worked hand-in-hand with Japan and the ROK on the security challenges related to the DPRK, including through Deputy Secretary Sherman's bilateral and trilateral discussions with her South Korean and Japanese counterparts, as well as discussions between Special Representative for the DPRK Sung Kim and his counterparts. Japan is and will continue to be a key player on this and all security issues in the region.

Question. Has there been any indication from North Korea that it will attempt to address the Japanese abductions issue?

Answer. I understand that Prime Minister Kishida is prepared to meet with the DPRK leader Kim Jong Un without preconditions and remains committed to the immediate resolution of the abductions issue. We hope the DPRK will respond positively. As President Biden and former Prime Minister Suga reaffirmed in their April 2021 Joint Leaders' statement, the United States is committed to the immediate resolution of the abductions issues.

Question. What are the economic and strategic implications for the United States of not participating in these initiatives and how can the United States ensure that its economic priorities are shaping regional trade rules?

Answer. We are looking at a range of options to forge stronger economic partnerships in the Indo-Pacific that promote shared goals of cooperation and inclusive prosperity. We are committed to strengthening trade and investment in the region in a manner that promotes good paying American jobs, high standards, and supply chain resiliency and offer the same benefits for our Indo-Pacific partners. The administration is reviewing the CPTPP to evaluate its consistency with the Build Back Better agenda. If confirmed, I will support trade policies that advance the interests of all Americans, support U.S. innovation, and enhance our competitiveness.

Question. Where do you see opportunities for US-Japan development cooperation in Southeast Asia and with the Pacific Islands, including to address climate change and a transition to a zero-carbon future?

Answer. The United States-Japan Climate Partnership provides a strong basis for U.S.-Japan cooperation in Southeast Asia and the Pacific Islands. If confirmed, I would work with Japan to further these shared objectives in the region, including supporting the energy transition, enhancing resilience, and ensuring we reach our collective climate goals. The United States and Japan held the first Japan-U.S. Clean Energy Partnership (JUCEP) meeting on June 10, chaired by the U.S. Department of State and the Japanese Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry. The United States and Japan will focus JUCEP cooperation in the Indo-Pacific to address climate change, support competitive energy markets, facilitate universal access to affordable, clean, and reliable energy, and engage Indo-Pacific partners to encourage rapid deployment of clean energy and drive the decarbonization of their economies. In addition, we are working with Japan through the Japan-U.S. Mekong Power Partnership (JUMPP) to promote sustainable energy in the Lower Mekong region. If confirmed, I would push forward U.S.-Japan cooperation in Southeast Asia and the Pacific Islands under JUCEP, JUMPP, and other initiatives.

Question. How can we facilitate greater collaboration between the United States and Japan on tech and innovation? What steps can be taken to better integrate those efforts with the regional strategy more broadly?

Answer. Japan is one of our closest partners on technology development and deployment. Joint initiatives have produced results in such fields as clean energy, infectious diseases, particle physics, advanced computing, fusion plasma, materials discovery, natural resources, neuroscience, space, cancer biology, and natural disaster resiliency. Our two countries have ongoing cooperation and hold regular bilateral meetings on a full range of the most challenging and relevant science and technology issues, including cyber security, AI, quantum computing, and "beyond 5G" telecommunications networks. If confirmed, I would work to deepen these ties with Japan to help ensure we are working effectively with them and all of our regional partners to advance technology and innovation.

Question. Beyond the quiet diplomacy that has been tried for years, what specifically will you do, if confirmed, to prioritize the reunification and return of the hundreds of American children kidnapped to Japan?

Answer. These cases of family separation are painful and tragic. If confirmed, the rights and wellbeing of U.S. citizen children and parents would be one of my highest priorities. While it has been a long time coming, I understand there has been improvement in terms of Japan's record in parental child abduction cases over the last four to five years. We cannot undo the pain of the past, but I believe Japan's ratification of the Hague Convention on International Child Abductions in 2014 was an important step forward in recognizing that custodial determinations should be made solely with the court of competent jurisdiction in the child's place of habitual residence, and not necessarily where the child is located. If confirmed as Ambassador, I would work with our Consular officials in resolving these cases and advocate for the parental rights of American citizen parents.

Question. Anomalous Health Incidents: 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 also 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.

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, the health, safety, and security of Mission Japan staff, their family members, and all those supporting the Mission will be my highest priority. 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 team at Mission Japan and to discuss past reported anomalous health incidents so that I am most prepared to protect the safety of Mission Japan staff and ensure that all protocols regarding anomalous health incidents are being followed appropriately.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO HON. RAHM EMANUEL BY SENATOR JAMES E. RISCH

Question. What are the core American strategic interests in the Indo-Pacific, and what role does Japan play in securing those interests?

Answer. For more than 60 years, the partnership between the United States and Japan has been the cornerstone of peace and prosperity in a free and open Indo-Pacific. Our alliance advances our shared interests, shared values, and shared goals. As Ambassador, my top priority would be to deepen these ties while we confront our common challenges.

[Additional Response—11/8/2021]. The United States is a proud part of the Indo-Pacific. Our exports to the Indo-Pacific region in 2019 supported more than three million American jobs, and in 2020 the United States conducted \$1.75 trillion in two-way trade in the region. As part of the Indo-Pacific community, I believe the United States shares a strategic interest in helping to bring forth the vision we share with Japan and other key allies of peace and stability, freedom of the seas, unimpeded lawful commerce, protecting human rights, a commitment to the international rules-based order, and the recognition that our common interests are not zero-sum. These shared interests also include peace and stability in the Taiwan Strait and support for Taiwan's participation in the international community. As I mentioned in my testimony, the United States is committed to a free and open Indo-Pacific, a vision we closely share with Japan. I believe there is no country more cen-

tral to our interests—political, strategic, or economic—in the Indo-Pacific than Japan.

Question. In your opinion, what is going well in the U.S.-Japan alliance right now, and where should Japan be taking on a greater role and responsibility?

Answer. As the most dynamic and fastest-growing region on earth, the Indo-Pacific is a vital region that is a leading priority for U.S. foreign policy. The concept of a free and open Indo Pacific (FOIP), first coined by former Japanese Prime Minister Abe, has shaped the vision of all of our allies in the region. In an increasingly challenging security environment, the United States and Japan will continue to closely coordinate on how to effectively deter and, if necessary, respond to growing threats to the U.S.-Japan Alliance and regional security in the Indo-Pacific region. If confirmed, I would work with Japan to promote greater mutual investment in defense and improve our forces' interoperability to ensure our alliance is able to adapt quickly to a changing security landscape with the necessary capabilities and military readiness. Japan is in a position to play an even greater role on regional security issues by supporting and encouraging closer cooperation with other like-minded partners.

Question. If confirmed, will you encourage Japan to increase its defense spending?

Answer. Yes. And as recently as last week, Japan's new prime minister announced the goal to increase defense spending. Simply put, security costs more in today's increasingly challenging regional environment. Only with greater mutual investment in defense can we ensure the U.S.-Japan Alliance is positioned to adapt quickly to a changing security landscape with the necessary capabilities and military readiness. We appreciate Japan's acknowledgement that its alliance contributions must expand to meet future challenges.

Question. Do you agree the Senkaku Islands are covered by our Mutual Defense Treaty with Japan, and that any attack on these islands would fall under our security commitments to mainland Japan?

Answer. Yes. Every recent president from President Obama to President Trump to President Biden has emphasized that the United States' commitment to Japan's security is absolute. This is the stated policy of the United States. I understand that the Senkaku islands fall within the scope of Article V of the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty, and that the U.S. Government is opposed to any unilateral attempts to change the status quo in the East China Sea. The U.S.-Japan Alliance has never been more important, and, if confirmed, I would stand firmly behind this commitment.

Question. Do you support Japan's acquisition of independent counterstrike capabilities designed to defend against missile threats from China and DPRK?

Answer. If confirmed, I would work with the Department of Defense and my counterparts in the Government of Japan to meet the challenges of today and tomorrow and defend against threats to our shared security interests. I would consult closely regarding the appropriate mix of offensive and defensive capabilities required to effectively deter and, if necessary, respond to growing threats to the U.S.-Japan Alliance and regional security in the Indo-Pacific region. I would work with these officials to facilitate a strategic plan to meet the challenges posed by the People's Republic of China and North Korea.

[Additional Response—11/8/2021]. Against the backdrop of an increasingly challenging regional security environment, if confirmed, I would welcome the expansion of Japan's contributions towards enhancing our mutual defenses against threats to our shared security interests. I understand Japan's deliberations regarding these capabilities are internal and under political consideration, but if confirmed, my top priority would be to strengthen our alliance, so of course I would welcome Japan's decision if it decided to acquire new capabilities. I would work with the Department of Defense and my counterparts in the Government of Japan to ensure we collaborate closely to effectively deter and, if necessary, respond to growing threats to the U.S.-Japan Alliance and regional security in the Indo-Pacific region.

Question. What are your views on deployment of U.S.-origin intermediate range missiles in the Indo-Pacific, including Japan?

Answer. If confirmed, I would work with Japan to defend against threats to our shared security interests and consult closely with relevant U.S. and Japanese officials regarding our defense posture and capabilities. I understand the Department of Defense continues work on capabilities that would previously have been prohibited under the INF Treaty. I defer to DoD for further program details, but the

United States would consult with allies, partners, and Congress prior to any foreign deployments.

Question. Where do you think our conversations with Japan on missile defense should be focused now that Aegis Ashore has been cancelled?

Answer. For decades, U.S.-Japan Ballistic Missile Defense (BMD) cooperation, and Japan's deployments of missile defense capabilities, have been critical not only for Japan's own self-defense but also for the U.S.-Japan Alliance and regional stability in East Asia. The United States worked closely with Japan to assist in their study of Aegis Ashore alternatives and I understand its decision demonstrates Tokyo's determination to enhance its BMD capabilities. The development of Aegis System-Equipped Vessels will improve the alliance's defensive coverage of the Japanese archipelago. If confirmed, I would ensure that the United States and Japan continue to coordinate closely on how to deter most effectively and defend against increasingly sophisticated regional missile threats.

[Additional Response—11/8/2021]. The United States worked closely with Japan to assist in its study of Aegis Ashore alternatives. I understand its decision to develop Aegis System-Equipped Vessels demonstrates Tokyo's determination to enhance its ballistic missile defense capabilities. Recognizing the increasingly challenging range of regional ballistic and air-breathing missile threats, the Japanese are studying additional defensive options. As allies with shared security interests, the United States and Japan must continue to coordinate closely on how to deter most effectively and defend against increasingly sophisticated regional missile threats. If confirmed, I would look forward to working with the Department of Defense and Japanese leaders to continue improving the alliance's defensive coverage of the Japanese archipelago.

Question. What role do you see Japan playing in the Australia-United Kingdom-United States (AUKUS) deal in which UK will help Australia to acquire nuclear-powered submarines?

Answer. AUKUS builds on the administration's commitment to two key priorities: 1) revitalizing and modernizing our alliances and partnerships around the world; and 2) enhanced engagement in the Indo-Pacific to advance our long-term interests. It is about connecting with existing U.S. allies and partners in new ways and amplifying our ability to collaborate. Japan is foremost among our regional allies and this initiative is an important supplement to—not a replacement for—the other institutions and mechanisms we have in the Indo-Pacific region to advance security cooperation.

Question. Does Japan have a role in helping in the construction or development of the nuclear-powered submarines for Australia?

Answer. The pact announced in September between Australia, the United Kingdom and the United States, AUKUS, is about more than submarines. It will bring together our sailors, our scientists, and our industries to maintain and expand our edge in military capabilities and critical technologies. Much of the history of the 21st century will be written in the Indo-Pacific, and I was pleased Japan welcomed the partnership, which is why it is crucial for us to deepen cooperation on new and emerging areas of interest. We need to be able to address both the current strategic environment in the region and how it may evolve. Through AUKUS, we will significantly deepen cooperation on a range of security and defense capabilities.

Question. Military readiness is critical to deterring aggression by China. If confirmed, how will you work in cooperation with U.S. Forces Japan to encourage the Japanese to improve training and readiness of the Japanese self-defense force and Japan-based U.S. forces?

Answer. The U.S.-Japan Alliance and U.S. forward-deployed forces in Japan continue to benefit both our countries and are the cornerstone of peace, stability, and freedom in the Indo-Pacific region. In that spirit—one of friendship and seriousness about the challenges ahead—I understand Japan acknowledged that its alliance contributions must expand to meet future challenges. Greater mutual investment in training is essential to ensuring U.S. and Japan forces are able to adapt quickly to a changing security landscape with the necessary capabilities and military readiness.

Question. Do you support the adoption of a “sole purpose” nuclear declaratory policy?

Answer. I understand the administration is undertaking a review of various national security policies, including nuclear deterrence issues through the ongoing Nuclear Posture Review. If confirmed, I would contribute to those processes. I understand the concerns expressed among some allies and partners, members of Congress, and experts regarding U.S. adoption of a sole purpose policy. I do not want

to get ahead of the NPR process, but if confirmed, that ongoing analysis would inform my own view on declaratory policy.

[Additional Response—11/8/2021]. I understand that the role of U.S. nuclear weapons in deterring a conventional or chemical and biological weapon attack against the United States or its allies and partners is among the issues being evaluated as part of the ongoing DoD-led Nuclear Posture Review. It would be premature to comment prior to that analysis being completed.

Question. What impact would a U.S. sole purpose nuclear declaratory policy have on our extended deterrence commitments in the Indo-Pacific, especially to Japan?

Answer. I understand the administration is working to reinvigorate and modernize U.S. alliances and partnerships around the world and has highlighted the need to ensure extended deterrence commitments to U.S. allies remain strong and credible. It is my understanding that various declaratory policy options are being reviewed as part of the Department of Defense-led Nuclear Posture Review. I do not want to get ahead of the NPR process, but if confirmed, I look forward to working with U.S. and Japanese leaders to ensure our nuclear deterrent remains safe, secure, and effective and that our extended deterrence commitments to our allies remain strong and credible.

[Additional Response—11/8/2021]. Whether nuclear weapons may still play a role in deterring a conventional or chemical and biological weapon attack against the United States or its allies and partners is among the contingencies being evaluated as part of the ongoing DoD-led Nuclear Posture Review. It would be premature to comment prior to that analysis being completed. Regardless of the U.S. nuclear declaratory policy, President Biden has underscored the United States' unwavering commitment to the defense of Japan through the full range of U.S. capabilities, including nuclear weapons. I strongly support this decades-long commitment.

Question. Do you think a sole purpose doctrine would increase or decrease Japan's security?

Answer. President Biden has underscored the United States' unwavering commitment to the defense of Japan through the full range of U.S. capabilities, including nuclear weapons. It is my understanding that various declaratory policy options will be reviewed as part of the Department of Defense-led Nuclear Posture Review, which includes consultations with close allies such as Japan. I do not want to get ahead of that process, but if confirmed, that ongoing analysis would inform my own view on declaratory policy.

[Additional Response—11/8/2021]. Whether nuclear weapons may still play a role in deterring a conventional or chemical and biological weapon attack against the United States or its allies and partners is among the contingencies being evaluated as part of the ongoing DoD-led Nuclear Posture Review. It would be premature to comment prior to that analysis being completed. Regardless of the U.S. nuclear declaratory policy, President Biden has underscored the United States' unwavering commitment to the defense of Japan through the full range of U.S. capabilities, including nuclear weapons. I strongly support this decades-long commitment.

Question. Do you agree that weakening U.S. nuclear deterrence increases the likelihood that Japan would develop its own nuclear capabilities?

Answer. While the administration will take steps to reduce the role of nuclear weapons in our national security strategy, it will ensure our nuclear deterrent remains safe, secure, and effective and that our extended deterrence commitments to our allies remain strong and credible. Japan is party to and in full compliance with the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, forswearing its development of nuclear weapons.

[Additional Response—11/8/2021]. As stated in the Interim National Security Strategic Guidance, the administration will ensure that our strategic deterrent will remain safe, secure, and effective, not be weakened. For decades, U.S. extended deterrence has formed the basis for allied and partner security, which enables most to eschew possession of nuclear weapons. In addition, Japan is party to and in full compliance with the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, forswearing its development of nuclear weapons.

Question. Please describe your views on China, including your views on what you think U.S.-China policy should be. In your opinion, is China the number-one foreign policy challenge for the United States?

Answer. I do believe the PRC is the number one foreign policy challenge for the United States. The PRC has adopted an aggressive foreign policy. It is the only competitor potentially capable of combining its economic, diplomatic, military, and tech-

nological power to mount a sustained challenge to the stable and open rules-based international order. As Secretary Blinken has said, our relationship with the PRC should be competitive when it should be, collaborative when it can be, and adversarial when it must be.

Question. Japan has been the target of Chinese economic coercion, which other U.S. allies, such as Australia, have also experienced. What role can the United States play in helping to push back against such coercion and support our allies and partners who are harmed?

Answer. I understand the goal of the administration is to reassure allies that the U.S. economy is a safe and strong bet. That means reviewing IPR, 6G, AI, climate change, supply chains, semiconductors infrastructure—strengthening our economic ties with Japan and expanding opportunities for greater collaboration and integration to help Japan and the United States withstand any economic coercion from malign actors. The United States must continue to work with Japan to strengthen economic security to ensure critical technology and technical expertise will not illicitly flow into countries of concern. At the same time, we will need to hold the PRC accountable for its unfair economic practices and its coercive actions around the world. If confirmed, I would support work bilaterally and multilaterally, including through the Quad, to advance economic opportunity and our vision for a rules-based international order in the region. If confirmed, I would work towards a free and open Indo-Pacific in partnership with Japan.

Question. Commerce Secretary Gina Raimondo said recently that commercial ties with China will help improve our relationship overall. John Kerry has also said we should prioritize climate cooperation with China so we can make gains on other issues like cyber and nuclear non-proliferation.

- Do you agree with Secretary Raimondo's statement?

Answer. As Secretary Blinken has said, our relationship with the PRC will be competitive when it should be, collaborative when it can be, and adversarial when it must be. The United States has longstanding concerns about the PRC's unfair business practices. If confirmed, I will work with Japan and other allies and partners in the region to stop the PRC's state-centered, non-market trade practices that distort competition by propping up state-owned enterprises, limit market access, and undermine the global trading system.

[Additional Response—11/8/2021]. If confirmed as the Ambassador to Japan, I will not only work to deepen our trade and investment ties with Japan, but also work with Japan to stop the PRC's state-centered, non-market trade practices that distort competition by propping up state-owned enterprises, limit market access, and undermine the global trading system. National Security Advisor Jake Sullivan has recently raised a number of areas where we have concern with the PRC's actions, including actions related to human rights, Xinjiang, Hong Kong, the South China Sea, and Taiwan, yet made clear that we will also continue to engage with the PRC at a senior level to ensure responsible competition. At the same time, strategic competition does not, and should not, preclude working with the PRC when it is in the U.S. national interest.

Question. Do you agree with Mr. Kerry's statement?

Answer. This administration will compete, and compete vigorously, with the PRC where we should, and we will cooperate with the PRC where it is in our interest. Climate is perhaps the signature issue on the cooperation side. The PRC has consistently sought to link their action on climate with us making changes in the bilateral relationship, and we reject that linkage. If confirmed, I will pursue cooperation with the PRC where it is in our interest to do so, and in consultation with the Congress, our partners and allies, and other stakeholders. I would work to rally allies such as Japan to join us in promoting our shared interests, pooling our negotiating leverage, and showing our collective power and resolve.

[Additional Response—11/8/2021]. I have not had the opportunity to discuss with Special Presidential Envoy Kerry the above statement or the exact context of the remarks. But I will note that Special Presidential Envoy Kerry has regularly made clear that he approached his engagement with China on climate as a standalone issue, and that other aspects of the U.S.-PRC relationship will not be traded for separate U.S. interests. Japan has taken a similar approach on its engagement with China on its climate policy. If confirmed as the Ambassador to Japan, I will work with Japanese officials, Congress, the administration, and other stakeholders to press the PRC and other countries to raise their ambition to address the climate crisis.

Question. In your opinion, on what evidence were Secretary Raimondo and Mr. Kerry relying upon with regard to our past experience with China?

Answer. I defer to Secretary Raimondo and Secretary Kerry on their statements. However, I would reiterate that the relationship with the PRC will be competitive when it should be, collaborative when it can be, and adversarial when it must be. We must manage the relationship responsibly and work with Beijing when our interests align, including parts of the trade relationship.

[Additional Response—11/8/2021] I have not discussed the statements with Secretary Raimondo and Special Presidential Envoy for Climate Kerry, and do not have the context of their statements.

Question. How do you think a change in Taiwan's status quo would affect the U.S. relationship with Japan?

Answer. In their joint statement in April of this year, President Biden and former Prime Minister Suga underscored the importance of peace and stability across the Taiwan Strait and encouraged the peaceful resolution of cross-Strait issues. The United States' commitment to Taiwan is rock-solid and contributes to the maintenance of peace and stability across the Taiwan Strait and within the region. The administration has stated that United States will continue to support a peaceful resolution of cross-Strait issues, consistent with the wishes and best interests of the people of Taiwan, and has urged Beijing to cease its military, diplomatic, and economic pressure against Taiwan and instead engage in meaningful dialogue with Taiwan.

[Additional Response—11/8/2021]. Peace and stability in the Taiwan Strait is critical to broader regional peace, stability, and prosperity. We have no more important ally than Japan. If confirmed, I would continue to work closely with Japanese leaders to ensure we remain well aligned across the full range of policy priorities, including on shared security interests such as maintaining peace and stability in the Taiwan Strait.

Question. What are your views on comments by Japanese leaders regarding Taiwan?

Answer. The United States and our allies and partners must work together to support Taiwan and preserve peace and stability in the Taiwan Strait. I understand that the United States welcomes comments by Japanese leaders, including former Prime Minister Suga and President Biden's Joint Leaders' statement from April of this year which underscored the importance of peace and stability across the Taiwan Strait and encouraged the peaceful resolution of cross-Strait issues.

Question. Do you support pushing for more U.S.-Japan-Taiwan cooperation, including defense cooperation?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I would encourage our allies and partners to continue to work together to advance our shared prosperity, security, and values in the Indo-Pacific region.

Question. Do you support working with Japan on preparing for potential diplomatic or intervention scenarios involving Taiwan?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed I will work to ensure that the United States and our allies and partners pool our collective strength to advance shared interests and deter common threats. We will underscore the importance of peace and stability across the Taiwan Strait.

Question. How would you describe the role of the Quad in the region?

Answer. The Quad is an essential multilateral grouping that convenes four like-minded democracies—the United States, Australia, Japan, and India—to coordinate in the Indo-Pacific, reflecting our collective commitment to peace, security, and prosperity in the region. The United States and our partners strive for a region that is free, open, inclusive, healthy, anchored by democratic values, and unconstrained by coercion. Engagement through the Quad is one of the many ways we support the rule of law, freedom of navigation and overflight, peaceful resolution of disputes, democratic values, and territorial integrity.

Question. In your opinion, what areas are ripe for more Quad cooperation?

Answer. If confirmed, I would work with Quad partners to advance coordination on issues such as COVID vaccine assistance, post-pandemic economic recovery, climate change, humanitarian assistance, maritime security, supply chain resilience, critical and emerging technologies, counter-terrorism, infrastructure cooperation, and countering foreign disinformation, among others.

Question. Do you support cooperating with European allies in the Indo-Pacific? If so, how? Please be specific.

Answer. Yes. The United States should cooperate with European allies in maintaining a free and open Indo-Pacific. We should also welcome support from all who believe in a rules-based system, and not arbitrary decisions made by one nation for its own benefit. President Biden has identified the invigoration and modernization of U.S. alliances and partnership as a central pillar of his administration's foreign policy and effort to reinforce the rules-based international order. An important aspect of that overall effort is breaking down the silos between U.S. alliances. NATO's partnerships with U.S. allies such as Australia, Japan, the Republic of Korea, and New Zealand represent an important avenue for increasing strategic alignment on transnational threats and geo-strategic challenges. Such engagement helps to support the rule of law, freedom of navigation and overflight, peaceful resolution of disputes, democratic values, and territorial integrity. If confirmed, I would continue to coordinate and encourage cooperation with our European allies on shared lines of effort in the Indo-Pacific region.

Question. Do you agree with Secretary Austin's comments about the United Kingdom: "If for example, we focus a bit more here [in Asia], are there areas that the UK can be more helpful in other parts of the world"?

Answer. Secretary Austin noted in his remarks that "[a]s we look to balance our efforts in various parts of the world, we are not only looking to help each other in the Indo-Pacific but we are looking to ensure that we help each other in other parts of the world as well." I believe that it is that balance that is vital, as the United States and our allies and partners combine our respective strengths to pursue prosperity, security, and freedom not only in the Indo-Pacific, but worldwide.

Question. Would you like to see the United Kingdom be more involved in the Indo-Pacific specifically?

Answer. The United Kingdom has longstanding interests in the Indo-Pacific. As a likeminded, key ally and friend to the United States, I would welcome their involvement in areas of mutual concern.

Question. Do you support Japan undertaking more extensive security cooperation in Southeast Asia?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I look forward to working with Japanese leaders to advance our shared interests and values in Southeast Asia. Enhancing security cooperation, in particular in the realm of maritime domain awareness, is essential to preserving a rules-based order that fosters free, open, inclusive, and healthy societies that are anchored by democratic values and unconstrained by coercion. As a capable, thoughtful, and dynamic partner that is widely admired throughout the region, Japan remains well positioned to help secure our common interests and values more effectively than we could do alone.

Question. How do you see the future of Japan-ROK relations?

Answer. Japan and the ROK are both key allies, and I am confident that even while they continue to address sensitive historical issues, we will continue moving forward to embrace opportunities to advance our common regional and international priorities, with a focus on the future. The future of the 21st century offers tremendous opportunities for both Japan and ROK. A robust and effective trilateral relationship between and among the United States, the ROK, and Japan is critical for our shared security and common interests. They include defending freedom and democracy, upholding human rights, championing women's empowerment, combating climate change, building secure and resilient supply chains, promoting regional and global peace and economic security, and bolstering the rule of law in the Indo-Pacific region and across the globe.

Question. What role should the United States play in managing this relationship?

Answer. I understand that the United States does not take sides in bilateral tensions between allies. We have long encouraged the ROK and Japan to work together on history-related issues in a way that promotes healing and reconciliation. Even while addressing sensitive historical issues, cooperation on our common regional and international priorities must proceed so that we can together make the most of the 21st century opportunities.

Question. What challenges does it present to the trilateral relationship?

Answer. The United States is more secure when our key allies, particularly neighboring allies, have good relations. If confirmed as Ambassador, there would be no

greater priority for me than to support closer relations and cooperation among and between the United States, Japan, and the Republic of Korea.

Question. Growing our economic relationship with Japan and throughout the Indo-Pacific region is critically important. If confirmed, how would you go about increasing trade and investment with Japan and in the Indo-Pacific?

Answer. The United States has the largest economy in the world. Japan's is number three. When our two countries are aligned, it is a powerful force to set standards for the Indo-Pacific region and the globe. With more than \$250 billion worth of goods and services exchanged each year, the United States and Japan are top trading partners, and the U.S.-Japan bilateral economic relationship is one of the strongest in the world. If confirmed, I would work closely with my colleagues in USTR and other relevant agencies to promote the administration trade policy that benefits American workers and U.S. competitiveness in our economic relationship with Japan, as well as throughout the Indo-Pacific.

[Additional Response—11/8/2021]. Under my leadership, Chicago was the number one American destination for Foreign Direct Investment for seven straight years. My team accomplished this by prioritizing trade and investment, and relentlessly helping businesses close deals. If confirmed, as Ambassador, I will prioritize and support the trade and investment efforts of the Foreign Commercial Service (FCS) and Foreign Agricultural Service (FAS) in Japan.

Question. Do you believe the United States should have a robust trade agenda in the Indo-Pacific region? If so, how?

Answer. The United States should focus on working with allies and partners in the Indo-Pacific region to shape the rules for fair trade in the 21st century and facilitate a race to the top for market economies and democracies. If confirmed, I would work to ensure our trade agenda protects workers, transparency, and the environment.

Question. What do you think the United States should focus on in its trade and economic relationship with Japan going forward, following the U.S.-Japan trade agreement completed under the Trump administration?

Answer. Japan-affiliated firms employ or support more than 973,800 jobs in the United States. The United States is Japan's top source of direct investment, and Japan is the top investor in the United States, with cumulative Japanese direct investment totaling \$648 billion across all 50 states. If confirmed, I will work to expand our economic relationship as well as realize the full potential of the U.S.-Japan Trade Agreement. We also share interests in the region and globally. If confirmed, I would work to deepen our cooperation in the areas identified in the U.S.-Japan Competitiveness and Resilience (CoRe) Partnership announced by President Biden and then Prime Minister Suga in April, including strengthening competitiveness and innovation, responding to COVID-19 and increasing global health security, addressing the climate crisis.

[Additional Response—11/8/2021]. Added the word "and" as well as a period above. Both were missing in the original submission.

Question. What is your view on the United States joining the Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans Pacific Partnership (CPTPP)?

Answer. I understand the administration is looking at a range of options to forge stronger economic partnerships in the Indo-Pacific that promote shared goals of cooperation and inclusive prosperity. We must be committed to strengthening trade and investment in the region in a manner that promotes good paying American jobs, high standards, and supply chain resiliency and offer the same benefits for our Indo-Pacific partners.

[Additional Response—11/8/2021]. The administration's approach to trade is focused on supporting American working families, defending our values, and protecting the long-term prosperity and security of the United States. The United States is focused on making investments in U.S. workers and U.S. competitiveness before he signs new trade agreements, including in the Indo-Pacific. Improvements in CPTPP are needed for the United States to join. If confirmed, I will support the administration's trade policy.

Question. If the United States does not join the CPTPP, what should we do instead on trade and economic engagement?

Answer. If confirmed, I would not only continue our strong economic engagement with Japan bilaterally, but also work to deepen regional and global economic relations by promoting an international rules-based order and collaborating with re-

gional partners on issues such as infrastructure, supply chains, clean energy, and technology in the areas of AI and 6G.

Question. How can we advance U.S.-Japan infrastructure cooperation and financing in the region, particularly Southeast Asia and the Pacific Islands, going forward?

Answer. I understand that through the Build Back Better World partnership, the Blue Dot Network, and other initiatives, the administration aims to provide high-standard, climate-aligned, and transparently financed infrastructure to Indo-Pacific economies.

Question. What are some of the ways you think Japan and the United States can work on technology cooperation?

Answer. Japan is one of our closest partners on technology development and deployment. Joint initiatives have produced results in such fields as clean energy, infectious diseases, particle physics, advanced computing, fusion plasma, materials discovery, natural resources, neuroscience, space, cancer biology, and natural disaster resiliency. Our two countries have ongoing cooperation and hold regular bilateral meetings on a full range of the most challenging and relevant science and technology issues, including cyber security, AI, quantum computing, and “beyond 5G” telecommunications networks. If confirmed, I would work to deepen these ties with Japan to help ensure we are working effectively with them and all of our regional partners to advance technology and innovation, and address collaboration on critical supplies, including rare earth elements and other materials.

Question. TSMC is building a factory in Japan. Do you think there are opportunities to involve Japanese companies in efforts to get high tech manufacturing out of China and into the U.S. and allied countries?

Answer. Japan shares our views on the need to diversify technology manufacturing to likeminded nations and is implementing policies designed to encourage private industry to invest in Japan, the United States, and other partners. If confirmed, I would work with the Japanese Government and private sector to build on our countries’ longstanding ties to ensure the security of advanced technology manufacturing, which is vital to both of our economies.

Question. If confirmed, what will be your priorities for getting high tech manufacturing out of China and into allied countries?

Answer. I understand the United States and Japan have already had multiple high-level meetings on supply chain issues and U.S. agencies are now working directly with their Japanese counterparts to address shared supply chain challenges, such as the global semiconductor chip shortage, which has harmed both U.S. and Japanese companies. I understand this work has already made major strides in improving the security of our advanced manufacturing capacity and—if confirmed—I would make every effort to drive this initiative forward.

Question. Two major challenges to more cooperation with Japan regarding sensitive and emerging technologies are 1) the gaps in our two classification systems, and 2) the different approaches to military- and commercial-application research. Do you think the United States should explore opportunities to broaden the bilateral defense trade and exchanges with Japan?

Answer. President Biden and former Prime Minister Suga highlighted in their Joint Leaders’ Statement the importance of “strengthening bilateral cybersecurity and information security,” which they described as a “foundational component of closer defense cooperation, and of safeguarding our technological advantages.” I understand the United States and Japan continue the important work of securing our information security systems, including through government-wide standards and programs and enhanced counter-intelligence measures. I understand the administration has welcomed Japan’s efforts to strengthen industrial security, cybersecurity, and its overall legal framework for information security, and expects such efforts will contribute to our ability to broaden bilateral defense trade and exchanges.

[Additional Response—11/8/2021]. Yes, I believe the United States and Japan should expand bilateral cooperation and trade on commercial and military technologies wherever and whenever appropriate opportunities arise. If confirmed, I look forward to working with the you and other members of the committee to broaden our defense trade and exchanges with Japan.

Question. To the best of your understanding, does Special Presidential Envoy for Climate Kerry have authority on any issues related to the U.S. relationship with Japan other than climate change cooperation?

Answer. As Special Presidential Envoy for Climate (SPEC), my understanding is that former Secretary of State John Kerry's role is to lead U.S. diplomatic efforts to reassert U.S. climate leadership and raise global ambition to meet the daunting climate challenge. His climate diplomacy work is closely coordinated with other U.S. diplomatic efforts.

Question. If Mr. Kerry begins playing a major role in non-climate aspects of the U.S.-Japan relationship, what would be your response?

Answer. I understand that Special Presidential Envoy Kerry's role is to lead the U.S. diplomatic efforts to reassert U.S. climate leadership and raise global ambition to meet the challenge. If confirmed, I look forward to working closely with SPEC Kerry on our cooperation with Japan on those issues.

[Additional Response—11/8/2021]. SPEC Kerry has engaged governments around the world with a singular focus on increasing global ambition to act against the climate crisis. That effort is a full-time assignment, and he has not become involved in non-climate issues in his engagement with Japan or other foreign governments. If confirmed, I look forward to working closely with SPEC Kerry on our cooperation with Japan on climate issues. His climate diplomacy work is closely coordinated with other U.S. diplomatic efforts.

Question. Do you believe that the United States should encourage the growth of a stronger Japan-European Union relationship? If so, in what areas would a stronger Japan-European Union relationship benefit the United States?

Answer. While if confirmed I would work tirelessly to ensure U.S. businesses are on a footing to outcompete any challengers, I welcome Japan developing stronger ties with our allies and likeminded partners. U.S.-Japan-EU coordination has the potential to make all our people more secure and prosperous, with promising areas of cooperation ranging from climate to supply chains to cybersecurity.

Question. Please describe your understanding of how Russia economically, geopolitically, and diplomatically views Japan.

Answer. Economically, Russia hopes to use Japan to revitalize the underdeveloped Russian Far East and to maintain some semblance of diversification as Russia becomes more dependent on China. Geopolitically and diplomatically, it aims to drive a wedge between Japan and the United States to weaken our alliance. I do not believe Japan will be tempted by the latter strategy, and if confirmed I would do my best to ensure that Russia does not succeed.

Question. Do you believe that there is any prospect of a resolution to the issue of the Northern Territories/Kuril Islands?

Answer. Nothing in the Kremlin's public comments indicates to me that Russia is interested in any resolution to the issue that does not result in its permanent control of the Northern Territories. I understand that the United States recognizes Japanese sovereignty over the islands of Etorofu, Kunashiri, Shikotan, and the Habomai Islets, known in Japan as the "Northern Territories."

Question. What is Russia's policy towards the Northeast Asian region broadly and how do these actions affect Japan?

Answer. Russia's interests, particularly regarding the United States, increasingly align with the PRC's, and Russia seeks to capitalize on its proximity to more prosperous neighbors such as Japan and the ROK. It also continues engagement with the DPRK. Thus, Russia's actions have the potential to better or worsen the security situation in the Indo-Pacific, directly affecting Japan.

Question. In your opinion, does Japan have any specific concerns regarding Russia's relationship with China?

Answer. I believe the prospect of two autocratic neighbors becoming increasingly aligned and conducting joint military exercises nearby would concern any of our allies and partners.

Question. Earlier this week, Russia joined China in conducting a joint anti-submarine drill and a joint passage through the Tsugaru Strait. This is the first time they have conducted a passage through the Strait together.

- What message do you believe Russia and China were trying to send to Japan?

Answer. I am concerned that Russia and China were attempting to intimidate the Japanese people and to constrain Tokyo's actions by implying that its alliance with the United States puts it at odds with Moscow and Beijing. I do not believe these efforts will succeed because the U.S.-Japan Alliance has served as the cornerstone

of peace, security, and prosperity in the Indo-Pacific for more than six decades, and it has never been stronger.

Question. What message do you believe Russia and China were trying to send to the United States?

Answer. As with their other joint maneuvers, I believe Russia and China were trying to send a message that they aim to push the US out of the region. It will not work. Our friends in the region want a robust U.S. presence to counter both PRC and Russian malign behavior and any system built solely on their interests.

Question. After the annexation of Crimea, Japan chose to stand with the United States and Europe and implemented sanctions on Russia despite a significant blow to its economic and diplomatic engagements with Russia. This sacrifice has garnered little attention in the West.

- Please detail your understanding of Japan's concerns with the United States' sanctions policies and actions towards Russia.

Answer. I understand that Japan has often shied away from sanctions out of concern that such a course would foreclose channels of dialogue and opportunities to positively influence behavior. If confirmed, I look forward to exploring this difference of opinion with Japanese policymakers.

Question. Do you believe the United States should continue to undertake sanctions against Russia even though those actions may harm an ally like Japan?

Answer. While U.S. interests and values must always remain paramount, I believe our sanctions should be strategically developed.

Question. Earlier this year, Russian Railways opened an office in Tokyo. There are also several other burgeoning business connections between Russia and Japan. Do you believe the United States should actively lobby Japan to end, disengage from, or refrain from seeking these kinds of business deals with Russia?

Answer. Regarding non-sanctioned sectors, I believe our focus should be on demonstrating to Japanese businesses the advantage of partnering with U.S. businesses and ensuring that U.S. businesses can outcompete any challenger in a free market.

Question. Japan has burgeoning economic relationships with the five Central Asian (C5) nations, which have benefited from Japan's ability to stay outside of the political competition that often pushes and pulls the C5 between Western, Middle Eastern, Russian, and Chinese interests.

- Given recent paradigm shifts in the region due to the fall of Afghanistan and increased influence from China and Russia, how can Japan's involvement help the C5 maintain balance in their international relationships?

Answer. I welcome Japan's growing role as a leader not just in the Indo-Pacific, but globally. In my view, the engagement of a strong, likeminded democracy such as Japan in Central Asia aligns with U.S. interests.

Question. As a global leader in the technology industry, how can Japan compete with Chinese tech trade and investment in Central Asia, and help them resist developing an unhealthy dependence on the Chinese Government for the modernization of their technological infrastructure?

Answer. Japan's competitiveness in this regard lies not only in the quality of its technology, but also in the ability to demonstrate the advantages of dealing with a reliable business partner willing to treat Central Asian partners on fair and equal terms. With proper messaging, I believe Central Asian nations will see the long-term benefit of economic cooperation with a partner that believes in transparent, free competition over one that offers short-sighted deals with opaque strings attached.

Question. How can we assist Japan in increasing its economic involvement in the C5, in a way that would maintain Japan's relative neutrality in the region and be amenable to Japanese national and economic interests?

Answer. I understand the administration sees the United States' primary strategic interest in this region is to build a more stable and prosperous Central Asia that is free to pursue political, economic, and security interests with a variety of partners on its own terms; is connected to global markets and open to international investment; and has strong, democratic institutions, rule of law, and respect for human rights. If confirmed, I would consult and coordinate with like-minded partners where appropriate, to advance these objectives.

Question. According to the State Department's 2021 Trafficking in Persons Report, Japan is ranked as Tier 2 due to a lack of government will to adequately prevent

further trafficking victims, protect existing victims, and increase prosecutions and consequences for those accused of human trafficking. If confirmed, please outline your strategy for underscoring the importance of Japan's increased political will to end the scourge that is human trafficking.

Answer. Trafficking in persons is a matter of deep concern for me, and if confirmed I would actively engage the Government of Japan to address this issue, including by sharing best practices from the United States and other likeminded partners.

[Additional Response—11/8/2021]. If confirmed, I would engage the Government of Japan on this critical issue, to reinforce the need especially to vigorously investigate and prosecute sex and labor trafficking cases, and hold convicted traffickers accountable. Specifically, authorities must work to improve victim identification efforts, particularly among child sex trafficking victims and among foreign nationals subjected to forced labor within Japan's Technical Intern Training Program, and convicted traffickers should face stricter sentencing. If confirmed, I would direct my team to encourage Japan to adopt the prioritized recommendations in the Department of State's annual Trafficking in Person's Report.

Question. The State Department's 2020 Human Rights Report indicated that Japan has no incidents of human rights abuses, but there is always work to be done in civil society. How can you, if confirmed, bolster civil society alongside your officers at Mission Tokyo?

Answer. There is a need to address necessary improvements in civil society frankly with a partner like Japan, and that also means admitting our own imperfections openly. If confirmed, I would work to demonstrate the ways we are attempting to address the deficiencies in our own society and direct Mission Japan to promote those actions to benefit Japan, and to explore ways our own civil society groups can engage with Japanese civil society as we pursue common aims.

[Additional Response—11/8/2021]. Engaging civil society and fostering people to people ties with Japan will be one of my key priorities as Ambassador, if confirmed, and I see significant opportunities to deepen engagements between U.S. and Japanese civil society groups. If confirmed, I would work with my team to prioritize engagement across the spectrum of Japanese society, but especially with groups looking to address issues such as human rights. Gender equality is a key area where we could work with civil society groups to advance efforts in Japan to improve opportunities for women both economically and socially.

Question. In the State Department's 2020 International Religious Freedom report, it was reported that Uyghur Muslims continue to have difficulty applying for refugee status in government centers, as well as general feelings of animosity between Uyghurs and other members of the population. How can you, if confirmed, continue to work with the Japanese Government to protect Uyghur Muslims in Japan and around the world?

Answer. If confirmed, I would emphasize the plight of Uyghur Muslims today, and offer to share our experience of welcoming and integrating refugees into the United States.

[Additional Response—11/8/2021]. Uyghurs, who are predominantly Muslim, and members of other ethnic and religious minority groups face ongoing genocide and crimes against humanity in Xinjiang. In the U.S.-Japan Joint Leaders' Statement from April of this year, the United States and Japan noted their "serious concerns regarding the human rights situations in Hong Kong and the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region," and I've seen more recent public statements in which Japan has reiterated these concerns about the situation Uyghur Muslims face in the PRC. If confirmed, I would encourage the Government of Japan to explore ways to protect Uyghur asylum seekers and members of other vulnerable groups in Japan, as well as to identify opportunities to jointly engage on and advocate for their human rights in the PRC.

Question. Japan is not a party to the Hague Convention on Protection of Children and Co-operation in Respect of Intercountry Adoption (Hague Adoption Convention or Convention), making intercountry adoption particularly difficult for American families. How can you, if confirmed, work with Japanese officials on making this process more efficient for American families and their children?

Answer. While Japan is not a party to the Hague Convention with respect to Intercountry Adoption, I understand that Japan has processes in place (called Special Adoption) that allow for adoption. However, the requirements have more narrow guidelines than American prospective parents are accustomed to. There are limits on the age of children that may be adopted as well as requirements relating to the

age and marital status of prospective parents as well as time living with the child in Japan. The requirement to have lived with the child in Japan for six months makes it difficult for American prospective parents to meet this requirement. If confirmed, I would work with Japanese officials to make the process more feasible for prospective American families.

Question. Because Japan is not a part to the Hague Convention, there are few enforcement mechanisms to bring parentally abducted American children home to the United States. What steps can and would you take to bring hope to American parents who have not seen their children because of a parental abduction?

Answer. These cases of family separation are painful and tragic. While it has been a long time coming, my understanding is that there has been improvement in terms of Japan's record in these IPCA cases over the last four to five years. We cannot undo the pain of the past, but I believe Japan's acceding to the Hague Convention on Abductions in 2014 was an important step forward in recognizing that responsibility for making custodial determinations should lie solely with the court of competent jurisdiction in the child's place of habitual residence, and not necessarily where the child is currently residing. If confirmed as Ambassador, I look forward to working with our Consular officials in resolving these cases and advocating for the parental rights of American citizen parents.

Question. U.S. missions across the globe have been under enormous strain over the past few years due to COVID.

- What is your understanding of morale throughout Mission Japan?

Answer. I cannot yet make a judgment on morale in Mission Japan since I have not been there. An Ambassador is only as effective as the members of the Foreign Service, Civil Service employees, eligible family members (EFMs), local staff and U.S. Armed Forces who surround them. In Japan, Mission community members have advanced our nation's ideals without an appointed ambassador for more than two years. I would like to thank them for their professionalism and dedication to our Mission in Japan, and I hope to soon serve our country alongside them.

Question. How do you intend to improve morale across all of Mission Japan?

Answer. I have not yet been to the mission, so I do not know the state of morale at the mission. As in all missions, morale always needs attention and strengthening. If confirmed, morale at Mission Japan would be my priority. Throughout my career, whether as Mayor of Chicago or Chief of Staff to the President, I tried to build a mentality that everything is a team effort and a team success. As I said in remarks at the hearing, I'm eager to work alongside members of the diplomatic mission and of the armed services in Japan. If confirmed, I would be committed to creating a strong team across the embassy and all consulates and military institutions in Japan.

Question. How do you intend to create a unified mission and vision across Mission Japan?

Answer. If confirmed, I will ensure the entire mission is unified under one vision, to ensure our more than 60-year alliance remains strong and continues to be the cornerstone of peace and prosperity in a free and open Indo-Pacific. Our alliance advances our shared interests, shared values, and shared goals. If confirmed as Ambassador, my top priority would be to unite all members of the mission behind our common goal of deepening these ties while we confront our common challenges. Everyone in our Embassy and five consulates will play a role in contributing to our mission.

Question. Management is a key responsibility for chiefs of mission.

- How would you describe your management style?

Answer. I believe every success is a team effort and a collaborative process. I ensure that everyone has a chance to have their voice heard and a seat at the table. I listen and analyze all opinions and views offered, and ask for others to help weigh the equities, which makes my decisions better. Once a decision is made, we move forward in a unified fashion, together as a team.

Question. If confirmed, how do you believe your management style will translate to an embassy setting, where resources may not be readily available and your diplomatic workforce consists of career employees?

Answer. I have always found that it is important to lead by example. As mayor, in a time of tight budgets, I led by example. If I asked other departments to make changes, I would tighten my budget as well. I would not require others to make sacrifices or changes if I was not going to make them as well. As I said in the hearing,

I will only be as strong as my team in the Mission, and I would like to thank them for their professionalism and dedication over the past two years without an Ambassador.

Question. As a political appointee rather than career diplomat, do you believe it is incumbent upon new chiefs of mission to integrate themselves into embassy operations and culture? If yes, how do you intend to do so?

Answer. Yes. I believe in a culture of mutual respect. Every member of the mission has a role that is important to the future of our alliance with Japan. As stated above, I believe every success is a team effort and a collaborative process. If confirmed, I would ensure that everyone has a chance to have their voice heard. I would ensure that the Ambassador is accessible and does not stand apart from the embassy staffing. I would plan to eat in the embassy cafeteria, join embassy cycling groups and other community activities to build a stronger sense of team. It is my practice to listen and analyze diverse options and opinions, which make my decisions better. Once a decision is made, the team must move forward together in a unified fashion to achieve our goals.

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

Answer. No. Never. In my career, I have found it important to create a culture of loyalty which requires mutual respect and teamwork. I believe mutual respect and loyalty elicits the very best from people. My teams have worked hard and achieved great results. As I stated in the committee hearing, how I was profiled when I was 27 and 30 is not who I am today. For example, I am the only mayor of Chicago who never lost a single vote. When I was mayor of Chicago, I led the country in foreign direct investment (FDI) over seven years. I believe that reflects that I have more than one tool in my toolbox. Each job is different, and we change as we grow and learn from our experiences. If confirmed, I would employ all of the tools in my toolbox to strengthen our relationship with Japan.

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

Answer. I see it as a close partnership. Ray Greene has had a long and successful career as a diplomat in Japan and in the region that is invaluable. I would plan to rely on that relationship as ambassador. I would be fortunate as an Ambassador to have a DCM like Ray Greene.

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

Answer. I respect the DCM's 25 years of experience and his deep knowledge, not only of Japan but of the region, which is invaluable to me and to the United States. For example, every former Ambassador notes the sensitivity of issues in Okinawa and Ray Greene was Consul General in Okinawa. If confirmed, I would rely on every aspect of his experience and knowledge for our success.

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 everyday citizens.

- If confirmed, will you encourage Mission Japan diplomats to engage in-person with the Japanese people outside of U.S. embassies and consulates?

Answer. Yes, of course. If confirmed, I plan to lead by example and look forward to engaging directly with the Japanese people throughout the country, as conditions permit. Face-to-face contact and meetings in local settings where Japanese people engage and work are important to understanding our partners, and also key to visibly showing our commitment to Japan is rock-solid.

Question. What is the public diplomacy environment like in Japan? What public diplomacy challenges do U.S. diplomats face?

Answer. The U.S.-Japan Alliance has been the cornerstone of peace, security, and prosperity in the Indo-Pacific region and beyond for over six decades, and the American and Japanese people share an unbreakable bond and an unwavering friendship as evidenced by the grassroots efforts to support each other in times of need, including during the aftermath of both Hurricane Katrina and the Great East Japan Earthquake. Public opinion polling confirms that a strong majority of the Japanese people support the Alliance, but our challenge is to ensure that Japan's younger generations continue to view the United States as their first partner of choice on security, economic, and educational/cultural issues. Like many diplomatic posts around the world, the Embassy and Consulates in Tokyo have had to shift to all

virtual programming due to the COVID-19 pandemic. As public health conditions permit, the Public Affairs team and others will be able to restart in-person engagement on everything from encouraging youth and mid-career professionals to consider study in the United States, to fighting climate change, and identifying ways to promote our shared values across the Indo-Pacific region.

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. Our public diplomacy professionals in Washington and in the field work closely together, and we rely on that close cooperation to ensure that content and messages developed for a global audience are relevant and effectively localized for audiences at post.

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.

- If confirmed, do you commit to taking this threat seriously?

Answer. As the Department does, I consider the safety and health of our employees and their family members my top priority. If confirmed, I will energetically support the Department’s established reporting and care protocols for anomalous health incidents.

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

Answer. Communication that is clear, complete, concise, and timely is a central part of effective leadership and management. I believe that a well-informed workforce is a more effective one. If confirmed, I will use the Mission’s weekly Country Team meetings, regular meetings with top managers, established procedures for notices and policies, and town hall meetings to convey our mission and vision and to give all information needed to enable our success.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO HON. RAHM EMANUEL BY SENATOR EDWARD J. MARKEY

Question. According to a scientific public opinion poll conducted in August 2019, included in the Journal for Peace and Nuclear Disarmament, 75 percent percent of Japanese respondents favored Japan signing the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW)—a Treaty that prohibits the use of and possession of nuclear weapons. If confirmed as Ambassador, how will you reflect this overwhelming attitude towards nuclear weapons in Japan, a close ally, as the interagency completes its Nuclear Posture Review as part of the Defense led Integrated National Defense Strategy?

Answer. While I understand and share the desire to make progress toward a world without nuclear weapons, the TPNW is not the right way to achieve that goal. The TPNW risks undermining U.S. deterrence relationships that are still necessary for international peace and security and may reinforce divisions that hinder our ability to work together to address pressing proliferation and security challenges. U.S. allies covered by extended nuclear deterrence (which includes all NATO Allies, plus Australia, Japan, and South Korea) share our view that the TPNW is incompatible with our extended nuclear deterrence arrangements. The best way to achieve a world without nuclear weapons is through a process that takes into account the international security environment and seeks effective, verifiable arms control and disarmament measures.

Question. Then-Vice President, Joseph R. Biden, stated on January 11, 2017 that: “it is hard to envision a plausible scenario in which the first use of nuclear weapons by the United States would be necessary. Or make sense.” Do you personally agree with that opinion?

Answer. I understand that various declaratory policy options will be reviewed as part of the Department of Defense-led Nuclear Posture Review, based on ongoing analysis and continuing allied and partner consultations. It would be premature to adopt a position on U.S. declaratory policy prior to the completion of the NPR process. At the same time, I understand the concerns expressed among some allies and partners, members of Congress, and experts regarding U.S. adoption of a no-first-

use or sole purpose policy. Those concerns will inform the review process. In our last review, there was no country with greater participation or consultation than Japan. I anticipate the same level of engagement for the next review.

Question. The United States has several Intra-Parliamentary Working Groups that allow for active U.S. participation of Members of Congress and staff with other governments. How can an Intra-Parliamentary Working Group, such as that is included in the Innovation and Competition Act (S.1260), advance common interests and values of the Quad nations?

Answer. Quad cooperation supports the United States' goal of realizing a free and open Indo-Pacific, and our vision for this partnership is ambitious and far-reaching. As a former Congressman, I look forward to engaging with members of Congress on how best to support that goal and advance the work of the Quad, including through intra-parliamentary working groups.

Question. How can the United States work with Japan to lessen its reliance on nuclear power and coal and increase its renewable energy infrastructure?

Answer. I welcome Prime Minister Kishida's affirmation of Japan's pledge to reduce its greenhouse gas emissions by 46-50 percent by 2030 as part of its Nationally Determined Contribution (NDC) under the Paris Agreement. Implementation of Japan's NDC will require significant transformations toward a cleaner energy future. The United States is committed to be a partner with Japan in this effort. At their April 16 summit, President Biden and then-Prime Minister Suga launched the U.S.-Japan Climate Partnership on Ambition, Decarbonization, and Clean Energy to advance cooperation on climate ambition, climate and clean energy technology, and decarbonization. In order to expand renewable energy infrastructure—both in Japan and in third countries—the United States and Japan are enhancing cooperation on innovation, including in such areas as renewable energy, energy storage (such as batteries and long-duration energy storage technologies), smart grid, energy efficiency, low carbon hydrogen, and Carbon Capture, Utilization and Storage/Carbon Recycling. If confirmed, I would continue and expand opportunities for U.S.-Japan cooperation to address the climate crisis.

Question. Japan is currently completing construction on the Rokkasho spent nuclear fuel reprocessing facility which may open as early as next year. Experts estimate this plant could produce up to eight tons of separated plutonium on an annual basis, which would be an unwelcome addition to the 8.9 tons it currently hosts at homes and the 36.6 tons currently being held in France. If confirmed, will you commit to working with Japan to find ways to dispose of its plutonium surplus, both domestically and abroad?

Answer. The United States has a long history of productive cooperation with Japan on nuclear safety, security, and nonproliferation. Japan has committed that it will not maintain plutonium reserves for which utilization is unspecified, a commitment which Japan has consistently honored.

In July 2018, the Government of Japan released new policy guidelines stating that Japan intends to keep its plutonium stockpile at current levels and reduce from there. Our decades of close cooperation with Japan, as well as our ongoing dialogue across a wide range of nuclear nonproliferation, safety, and security issues give me confidence that Japan will continue to move forward in ways that are fully consistent with its international obligations and its reputation as a leader in global nuclear nonproliferation. If confirmed, I would work closely with Japan to ensure that it continues to meet its commitments.

Question. Japanese automobile companies such as Toyota have engaged in intense lobbying against U.S. efforts to transition to electric vehicles. How can you address this issue with the Japanese Government?

Answer. President Biden's Build Back Better Agenda and the Bipartisan Infrastructure Deal invest in the infrastructure, manufacturing, and incentives that we need to grow good-paying, union jobs at home, lead on electric vehicles around the world, and save American consumers money. The Japanese Government has committed to a clean energy strategy and a 46-50 percent reduction in greenhouse gas emissions by 2030. They too, are working toward cleaner vehicles and have set a target toward phasing out the sale of gas and diesel-engine cars by 2035. The United States and Japan are committed to advancing shared interests, including addressing climate change. If confirmed, I would prioritize engagement on climate change and clean energy, and good paying jobs that assist the middle class while supporting robust mutually-beneficial trade between the United States and Japan.

Question. If confirmed, what will you do to ensure Japan's concerns about the Japanese citizens abducted by North Korea as well as concerns about Japan's own security are fully represented in any engagements or negotiations between the United States and North Korea?

Answer. The United States, Japan, and the Republic of Korea continue to deepen trilateral cooperation towards the complete denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula. I understand that Prime Minister Kishida is prepared to meet with the DPRK leader Kim Jong Un without preconditions and remains committed to the immediate resolution of the abductions issue. I hope the DPRK will respond positively. As President Biden and former Prime Minister Suga reaffirmed in their April 2021 Joint Leaders' statement, the United States is committed to the immediate resolution of the abductions issues. Our treaty commitments to Japan's security are rock-solid and inform our bilateral and multilateral cooperation with Japan.

Question. If provided additional resources by Congress, in what ways would you expand the U.S.-Japan-Taiwan Global Cooperation Training Framework (GCTF)?

Answer. The GCTF is an essential tool for building support for Taiwan around the world and demonstrating the value of Taiwan's participation on the global stage. Since its inception in 2015, the GCTF has featured dozens of workshops that have provided training to over two thousand participants, either virtually or in Taipei. The State Department recently launched a major expansion of the GCTF that will allow the hosting of GFTC workshops around the world, reaching new audiences with regionally focused content.

Question. Recent media reports suggest that while Laquan McDonald's great uncle, Pastor Marvin Hunter, has offered support for your nomination, there is not agreement amongst the family on their support. Have you engaged with other members of the family about your nomination?

Answer. As Pastor Hunter describes in his letter to the Chairman, our conversation and relationship predates and is unrelated to any nomination. He reached out to me to begin a dialogue about police accountability and the tragic murder of his great nephew. I was honored to be approached by the pastor and have found great meaning and hope in our conversations since then. Out of respect for the family, I have expressed an openness to engaging with any of them who are interested but have deferred to their wishes on when or if they would like to engage in a dialogue.

Question. Why did you initially oppose a federal civil rights pattern-and-practice investigation into the systematic issues within Chicago's police department?

Answer. In December 2015, I announced the formation of an independent Police Accountability Task Force (PATF) to conduct a comprehensive review of Chicago's system of police accountability, oversight, and training. The PATF was made up of well-respected experts in police accountability and reform, including the former Assistant Attorney General for the Civil Rights Division and former Governor of Massachusetts Deval Patrick, the then-Inspector General of Chicago Joe Ferguson, and the then-President of the Chicago Police Board and now Mayor of Chicago Lori Lightfoot. Their mandate was extremely broad—to recommend reforms to improve independent oversight of police misconduct, ensure officers with repeated complaints are identified and evaluated appropriately, and to establish best practices for the release of videos of police-involved incidents—and their timeline for delivering recommendations was an aggressive four months. As former Inspector General Ferguson wrote recently in a letter to the Chair of the Committee on Foreign Relations (see full letter attached), the PATF's work was done “without constraint or filter,” it was “independent and unconstrained,” and I asked “the truth be found and reported, with the chips to fall where they may.” In addition, at this time there was still an ongoing federal investigation by the United States Attorney's Office and the FBI into the shooting of Laquan McDonald. Under those circumstances, I believed that another investigation into Chicago's police practices was unnecessary and risked duplicating or possibly interfering with the work of the PATF. However, recognizing that the problems of police oversight and accountability and the well-deserved community distrust of the police were so widespread and deep-seated, a federal civil rights pattern-and-practice investigation was not only appropriate but necessary to address the issues in the police department. The federal pattern and practice investigation built on the work done by the PATF. As former Inspector General Ferguson writes: “The work of the PATF was conducted separately but coordinately to the pattern and practice investigation of the Civil Rights Section of the United States Department of Justice, whose findings were consistent with and as it related specifically to use of force, complementary to and a further expansion of those of the PATF.”

Question. When and from whom did you learn about the shooting and when and from whom did you learn about the dashcam video? Have you ever viewed the dashcam video? What did you do in response upon learning of the dashcam video and its contents?

Answer. I do not recall who first informed me about the shooting or when that information was provided to me. As I stated during my testimony before the committee, almost immediately after the shooting the independent agency tasked with reviewing police use of force incidents, IPRA, and the Cook County State's Attorney's Office began investigations into the shooting, and soon thereafter the United States Attorney's Office launched its own investigation into the shooting. All three of these independent investigative agencies had access to all available video at the time. The longstanding practice and protocol at that time was to not release video footage of the police-involved incident while the investigations were ongoing out of concern that release of the video could interfere with the investigation, influence witness statements, and jeopardize a future prosecution, and my office followed that longstanding practice in this case. As the former Inspector General for the City of Chicago Joe Ferguson recently wrote to this committee, "[d]ecisions made about the non- or delayed-disclosure of the body-worn camera videos at that time were in fact the longstanding policy and practice of the City of Chicago and its Law Department." Further, the first time I viewed the dashcam video was when it was eventually released to the public. Ferguson, who's office conducted a "comprehensive investigation" into my administration's handling of the aftermath of the shooting, goes on to write, "there is a complete absence of factual basis to support the claim that Mayor Emanuel was involved directly or indirectly in a 'cover-up' of the McDonald shooting videos." Indeed, the former Inspector General goes on to write: "my office's comprehensive investigation did not reveal any evidence that would support the lingering surmises and accusations of a 'cover-up' orchestrated out of City Hall. None."

Question. Why did you not implement all the reforms the Task Force on Police Accountability recommended? Of the reforms you did commit to implement, which were implemented (either partially or fully) before you left office? Which were not, and why not?

Answer. The Police Accountability Task Force, which I convened and tasked with conducting a comprehensive, independent review of police oversight and accountability practices in Chicago, issued its report in April 2016. The report was a thorough assessment of the systemic problems throughout Chicago policing and police accountability system, and it included numerous recommendations across a wide array of areas for reform. As former-Inspector General (and PATF member) Ferguson wrote to the committee, "The PATF's findings and recommendations were reported out nationally and to much acclaim for their candor in pulling back the cover on the lived experience of those who have directly and indirectly, over generations, experienced the consequences of aggressive and oppressive historical policing practices and culture. The work of the Emanuel-appointed and charged Task Force was independent and unconstrained." My administration moved quickly to act on the recommendations of the PATF and implemented reforms guided by their recommendations to the Chicago Police Department's use of force policies, de-escalation training, body-worn cameras, and a groundbreaking video release policy. As Mr. Ferguson goes on to explain in his letter, the longstanding practice of not releasing video footage during ongoing investigations, "was the subject of a near unprecedented video release policy implemented in February 2016 by Mayor Emanuel, acting immediately in response to the first-issued recommendation of the PATF." As we made progress on implementing the recommendations of the PATF, that process was eventually incorporated into the police consent decree which my administration entered into with the Illinois Attorney General's office. That consent decree, which I was proud to finalize and sign before leaving office, builds on the excellent work of the PATF, and finally puts the Chicago Police Department on a sustainable path toward true reform.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO HON. RAHM EMANUEL BY SENATOR TODD YOUNG

Question. How do you believe the U.S. should react to China's application to join the Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership (CPTPP)?

Answer. We would expect that China's non-market trade practices, extensive market-distorting support of state-owned enterprises (SOEs) and use of economic coer-

cision against other countries would factor into CPTPP parties' evaluation of China as a potential candidate for accession. If confirmed, I would work to uphold our commitment to international rules and standards and work with partners in the region to maintain high standards I would defend our interests and work alongside our partners and allies to ensure fairness-in competition, practices, and trade-and to ensure that the PRC is not permitted to dictate the rules of the road and undermine a free and fair Indo-Pacific.

Question. How do you believe the U.S. can leverage its relationships with Japan to build legitimacy for issue-based coalitions to address China's unfair trade practices?

Answer. The U.S.-Japan Alliance has served as the cornerstone of peace, security, and prosperity in the Indo-Pacific for more than six decades, and it has never been stronger. The American and Japanese people share deeply rooted values of defending freedom, championing economic and social opportunity and inclusion, and respecting human rights and the rule of law. Japan has joined the United States and our allies and partners to express our joint concerns about the PRC's unfair trade practices including preferential treatment for state owned enterprises, data restrictions, inadequate enforcement of intellectual property rights, and forced technology transfer. Additionally, the United States and Japan and our other partners are concerned by the PRC's failure to respect International Labor Standards and non-compliance with applicable ILO Conventions. If confirmed, I will work with Japan to uphold freedom of association and the effective recognition of the right to collective bargaining, and the elimination of all forms of forced or compulsory labor.

Question. China is an important trading partner as well as a security threat for both the U.S. and Japan. Could you please share your view of China and whether you see the country as more of a partner or as a threat?

Answer. The PRC has adopted an increasingly provocative foreign policy. It is the only competitor potentially capable of combining its economic, diplomatic, military, and technological power to mount a sustained challenge to a stable and open international system. As Secretary Blinken has said, our relationship with the PRC will be competitive when it should be, collaborative when it can be, and adversarial when it must be. The common denominator is the need to work alongside our allies and partners to engage China. Japan will obviously be a key partner in this challenge, and if confirmed I will prioritize working with Japan on our shared security priorities.

Question. With the recent security agreement between the U.S., UK, and Australia, and in light of the existing Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (QUAD) between the U.S., India, Japan, and Australia, what is your view of the role Japan can and should play in efforts to counter Chinese influence in the Indo-Pacific region?

Answer. I would like to reiterate that the U.S.-Japan Alliance has served as the cornerstone of peace, security, and prosperity in the Indo-Pacific and across the world for more than six decades, and it has never been stronger. The American and Japanese people share deeply rooted values of defending freedom, championing economic and social opportunity and inclusion, and respecting human rights, and the rule of law. This has led us to share some of the same concerns regarding the PRC's actions. We welcome Japan's expanding position as a leader not just in the Indo-Pacific but globally. Its founding role in creating the Quad was an example of this leadership. If confirmed, I will work with Japan to support the rule of law, freedom of navigation and overflight, peaceful resolution of disputes, democratic values, and territorial integrity in the Indo-Pacific and beyond.

Question. Do you think there are opportunities for cooperation on technology issues for members of the QUAD? In the future, what kind of cooperation do you think is necessary with Japan, a partner with high technological capabilities, in order to maintain U.S. technological superiority in critical technologies such as AI, cybersecurity, beyond 5G, and quantum computing?

Answer. Members of the Quad actively cooperate on a broad range of technology issues. Moreover, Japan is one of our closest partners on technology development and deployment. Joint initiatives have produced results in such fields as infectious diseases, particle physics, advanced computing, fusion plasma, materials discovery, natural resources, neuroscience, space, cancer biology, and natural disaster resiliency. Our two countries have ongoing cooperation and hold regular bilateral meetings on a full range of the most challenging and relevant science and technology issues, including cyber security, AI, quantum computing, and "beyond 5G" telecommunications networks. If confirmed, I would work to deepen these ties with Japan to help ensure our continued technology leadership.

Question. As Ambassador, would you propose encouraging the Japanese Government to expand its security role in the Indo-Pacific region?

Answer. In an increasingly challenging security environment, the United States and Japan will continue to closely coordinate on how to effectively deter and, if necessary, respond to growing threats to the U.S.-Japan Alliance and regional security in the Indo-Pacific region. If confirmed, I would work with Japan to promote greater mutual investment in defense and improve our forces' interoperability to ensure our alliance is able to adapt quickly to a changing security landscape with the necessary capabilities and military readiness. Japan is in the position to play an even greater role on regional security issues by supporting and encouraging closer cooperation with other like-minded partners.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO JONATHAN ERIC KAPLAN BY SENATOR ROBERT MENENDEZ

ASEAN

Question. Enduring support for ASEAN is critical to the United States' posture in the Indo-Pacific and central to that engagement is our partnership with Singapore.

- If confirmed, what steps will you take to help Singapore in bolstering ASEAN's centrality in the Asia-Pacific region? What is your assessment of how ASEAN can improve its functions to more fully establish itself as an important, and problem-solving, regional player?

Answer. We value Singapore's role as one of the founding members of ASEAN, alongside Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Thailand, and its advocacy for ASEAN centrality and unity. If confirmed, I look forward to future discussions with Singapore that advance the U.S.-ASEAN strategic partnership and highlight ASEAN at the heart of our shared vision for a free and open Indo-Pacific.

Economic and Trade Opportunities

Question. Singapore is the United States' largest trading partner in Southeast Asia, and the 18th largest trading partner overall.

- How can the United States continue to improve our economic relationship with Singapore? If confirmed, what economic initiatives would you pursue in light of the U.S. withdrawal from the TPP?

Answer. Singapore is one of the United States' strongest economic partners in the region, surpassing \$93 billion in bilateral trade in 2020. If confirmed, I commit to working closely with Singapore bilaterally and through regional fora, including APEC and ASEAN, to promote trade and encourage private-sector investment in the region. I will also continue to make the case with Singapore and others in the region to uphold high standards and adhere to global rules and norms for trade.

Vice President Harris' Recent Visit

Question. As you know, Vice President Harris recently visited Singapore and announced agreements to address climate change, cybersecurity, and supply chain resilience.

- What are your primary goals in executing these agreements and what potential do you see for U.S.-Singapore collaboration on technology and innovation?

Answer. Following Vice President Harris' visit in August, Singapore's Ministry of Trade and Industry and the U.S. Department of Commerce launched on October 7 a new "Partnership for Growth and Innovation" to address immediate- and longer-term challenges that face both of our economies, including the need to enhance supply chain resilience. This partnership is designed to promote inclusive economic growth, innovation and entrepreneurship, and shared prosperity in the United States and Singapore and throughout the Indo-Pacific. If confirmed, I plan to work with U.S. businesses and the Singaporean government to strengthen our trade and investment relations.

Security Cooperation

Question. Mutual security interests are a critical element of the U.S.-Singapore bilateral relationship, which includes the important defense cooperation agreements we have concluded over the past decade.

- How can the United States bolster its security relationship with Singapore? If confirmed, how would you encourage and assist Singapore in addressing maritime tensions in the South China Sea?

Answer. Singapore is an important security partner and provides the U.S. military with access to its bases, ports, and runways. Both the United States and Singapore have a clear national interest in promoting respect for international law, including freedom of navigation and overflight and other lawful uses of the sea, unimpeded lawful commerce, and the peaceful resolution of disputes in the South China Sea (SCS). If confirmed, I intend to work with Singapore to deepen our close military cooperation on shared priority areas such as maritime security and cybersecurity, and I will continue to discuss with Singapore how we can uphold rights and freedoms that are reflected in international law in the SCS and around the world.

Question. How do you plan to respond to Singapore's increasing defense cooperation with China?

Answer. Singapore maintains robust relationships with both the United States and the People's Republic of China. Singapore is a reliable partner that welcomes cooperation with the United States and increased U.S. security and economic engagement in the region. If confirmed, I intend to work with Singapore to deepen our close military cooperation.

China

Question. Singapore, along with other countries in the region, face a time of increasing geopolitical uncertainty with China's growing assertiveness in the Pacific.

- What is your assessment of how Singapore's thinking on China has evolved in recent years? And what should the United States be doing to influence Singapore's approach towards confronting and competing with China?

Answer. As Secretary Blinken stated in his March foreign policy speech, our relationship with the PRC will be competitive when it should be, collaborative when it can be, and adversarial when it must be. We seek to cooperate with Beijing where our interests align. In other areas, we will compete vigorously. The common denominator is the need to work alongside our allies and partners to engage the PRC from a position of collective strength. If confirmed, I am committed to working with Singapore to ensure that it is a reliable partner that welcomes U.S. security and economic engagement in the region.

Burma

Question. Singapore plays an important role in diplomacy surrounding the political and humanitarian crisis in Burma.

- If confirmed, what will you do to encourage Singapore to place pressure on Burma's military leaders to cease ongoing violence against protestors and to release political prisoners?

Answer. If confirmed, I will urge Singapore and other ASEAN members to hold the Burmese regime accountable to the Five-Point Consensus and urge the military to immediately cease the violence, release all those unjustly detained, and restore Burma's path to inclusive democracy. If confirmed, I will continue to urge all countries to review their economic leverage and ties to Burma to ensure they benefit only the people of Burma and not the military regime.

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 also 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 Singapore 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 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 Singapore to discuss any reported anomalous health incidents so that I am most prepared to protect the safety of Embassy Singapore staff and ensure that all protocols regarding anomalous health incidents are being followed appropriately.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO JONATHAN ERIC KAPLAN BY SENATOR JAMES E. RISCH

Question. What are your top 2-3 priorities for the U.S.-Singapore relationship?

Answer. If confirmed, my highest priority would be ensuring the safety and security of the mission and our men and women serving abroad, along with the safety and security of U.S. citizens in Singapore. I am also committed to ensuring that our robust security, economic, and enduring people-to-people ties remain the pillars of our expansive and enduring bilateral partnership and allows us to cooperate as close partners in support of the rules-based economic and security order in the Indo-Pacific.

Question. How would you evaluate Singapore as a defense partner overall? Where are they helpful, and where do they need to do more?

Answer. Singapore is a critically important security partner that enables a strong U.S. military presence in the region by providing access to bases, ports, and runways, and allowing for the rotational deployment of U.S. littoral combat ships and Navy P-8s. Singapore maintains a training force of close to 1,000 members in the United States and is also the largest purchaser of U.S. military equipment in Southeast Asia, and has agreed to purchase the F-35B Joint Strike Fighter. If confirmed, I intend to work with Singapore to deepen our close military cooperation. I will work with my colleagues across the interagency to expand our cooperation in our shared priority areas such as maritime security and cybersecurity.

Question. Do you agree that extended deterrence is the foundation of the U.S. security apparatus in the Indo-Pacific?

Answer. Yes. Extended deterrence plays a foundational role in advancing U.S. national security objectives in the Indo-Pacific, and U.S. nuclear forces, underpin extended deterrence. The administration is committed to reinvigorating and modernizing alliances and partnerships around the world; this includes ensuring U.S. extended deterrence commitments to U.S. allies and partners remain strong and credible.

Question. Do you commit to not advocating for policies that would dilute or erode U.S. extended deterrence commitments?

Answer. I understand the administration is undertaking a review of various national security policies, including nuclear deterrence issues through the ongoing Nuclear Posture Review. If confirmed, I will contribute to those processes as they relate to Singapore and the Indo-Pacific Region. I also understand that the administration is committed to reinvigorating and modernizing alliances and partnerships around the world; this includes ensuring U.S. extended deterrence commitments in the region remain strong and credible.

Question. How do you think our Indo-Pacific allies and partners would respond to adopting a 'sole purpose doctrine' as our declaratory policy?

Answer. I understand that the administration is working to reinvigorate and modernize U.S. alliances and partnerships around the world and has highlighted the need to ensure extended deterrence commitments to U.S. allies remain strong and credible. If confirmed, I will do my part to reaffirm, invest in, and modernize our global alliances and partnerships, which are America's greatest strategic asset. It

is my understanding that various declaratory policy options are being reviewed as part of the Department of Defense-led Nuclear Posture Review.

Question. At the VP's trip to Singapore in August, the U.S. and Singapore finalized three agreements to expand cybersecurity, including military to military engagement. What should our next steps be in cybersecurity cooperation with Singapore, and what challenges do we still face?

Answer. Technological advancement continues to create a more inter-connected world that is increasingly vulnerable to cyber threats. Singapore is an important bilateral partner and regional leader on cybersecurity issues. If confirmed, I will work closely with Singapore to expand information sharing, increase cyber capacity building, and improve incident response coordination. These efforts will deepen our cybersecurity cooperation and build on the three recently signed cyber-MOUs related to the financial sector, military-to-military engagement, and regional capacity-building.

Question. Singapore has historically taken on a non-alignment policy, in which it hopes to balance its relationship with the U.S. and China. What are your views on this policy and what challenges does it present to the U.S.-Singapore relationship?

Answer. Singapore maintains robust relationships with both the United States and the People's Republic of China (PRC). The PRC is Singapore's top trade partner in goods, while the United States remains Singapore's largest investor; largest trading partner in services; and security partner of choice. If confirmed, I will work to ensure that Singapore remains one of the United States' strongest security, economic, and trade partners in the region.

Question. Do you commit to keeping Congress informed of any Singapore-Chinese military engagement?

Answer. Yes, I commit to monitoring Singapore's bilateral relationship with the People's Republic of China (PRC) and providing assessments on the relationship to enable awareness throughout the U.S. Government.

Question. What opportunities are there for more U.S.-Singapore economic engagement given efforts to diversify supply chains from China?

Answer. The COVID-19 crisis has significantly slowed down global trade and supply chains, including for both Singaporean and U.S. businesses. During Vice President Harris' visit in August, the United States and Singapore committed to holding a high-level dialogue with industry and government representatives to discuss supply chain resilience. The United States and Singapore will also work to address shortages caused by global supply chain disruptions, including identifying ways to remove choke points in the semiconductor supply chain. If confirmed, I plan to work with U.S. businesses and the Singapore government to facilitate travel and strengthen our trade and investment relations.

Question. What do you think needs to happen to build more resilient supply chains in the Indo-Pacific?

Answer. Stronger industry relationships and increased economic partnerships will ensure a more resilient, diverse, and secure supply chains. The administration's focus centers around four critical product areas: computer chips; electric vehicle batteries; pharmaceuticals; and strategic and critical materials. In coordination with our partners and allies, and if confirmed, I will work with business, the Singapore leadership, and the administration to secure supply chain competitiveness and national security.

Question. China has been increasingly exerting its economic, diplomatic, and military pressure against Taiwan in the past few years. How do you think a change in Taiwan's status quo will affect our relationship with Singapore, and regional stability more generally?

Answer. The United States remains committed to the maintenance of peace and stability across the Taiwan Strait and within the Indo-Pacific Region and we continue to support a peaceful resolution of cross-Strait issues, consistent with the wishes and best interests of the people on Taiwan. Singapore likewise sees the maintenance of peace and security across the Taiwan Strait as crucial to the entire region. If confirmed, I will work with Singapore to ensure it is a close partner in support of the rules-based economic and security order in the Indo-Pacific.

Question. China has a long history of economic and political coercion in Singapore. This includes tactics like arresting Singaporean shipping vessels that sail through contested waters, engaging in information campaigns to pressure Singapore to adopt China's nine dash line, conducting cyberattacks against Singapore's health system,

and make Singaporean business in China difficult when Singapore speaks publicly about foreign policy views not consistent with the CCP.

- What are your concerns with Chinese political influence in Singapore? Where are the greatest inroads for China in Singapore?

Answer. Singapore has extensive economic ties to the People's Republic of China (PRC), and the PRC is Singapore's top trade partner in goods. As a small nation dependent on trade, Singapore shares our concern in some instances about economic coercion by the PRC. If confirmed, I will continue to make the case with Singapore and other countries in the region to uphold high standards and adhere to global rules and norms for trade. I will continue to advocate for U.S. businesses and ensure that the United States remains competitive in trade with Singapore and in the region.

Question. How should the U.S. respond or support allies and partners when they face political and economic coercion from China?

Answer. The United States must continue to push back on corrupt or coercive political and economic practices that damage our interests and those of our partners. The PRC has a history of manipulating its economic power to advance its strategic and political objectives by intimidating other countries, territories, and companies. If confirmed, I will support efforts to build resilience in the face of such coercion and—where necessary—coordinate a collective response with partners and allies. Also, if confirmed, I will work to reestablish the United States as a regional diplomatic leader, and will strongly support U.S. efforts to rally partners around international law.

Question. What will you emphasize to Singapore when it comes to the South China Sea?

Answer. The PRC's increased assertiveness in the South China Sea presents a major challenge for all countries' security. Both the United States and Singapore have a national interest in the maintenance of peace and stability, respect for international law, and unimpeded lawful commerce in the South China Sea. If confirmed, I will encourage Singapore to continue to be a leading advocate in ASEAN for a meaningful Code of Conduct between ASEAN and China in the South China Sea that reinforces international law and does not seek to undermine the rights of claimants or third-party states.

Question. Where can the U.S. be more active in economic engagement in ASEAN member nations? Where can the U.S. cooperate with Singapore on this activity?

Answer. ASEAN's outlook on the Indo-Pacific closely aligns with our own. ASEAN is looking to increase U.S. support for trade and economic development to help its member states recover from COVID-19. During Vice President Harris's visit, she announced plans to join Singapore in expanding mutual efforts to promote smart, sustainable cities through the ASEAN Smart Cities Network and the U.S.-ASEAN Smart Cities Partnership. This partnership will promote business-to-business cooperation and is a key component of demonstrating our commitment to ASEAN and its role at the heart of the Indo-Pacific. If confirmed, I will continue to support the United States' positive involvement in economic engagement through initiatives such as USAID's IGNITE program, which focuses on inclusive growth in ASEAN through innovation, trade, and e-commerce.

Question. Do you believe the United States should have a robust trade agenda in the Indo-Pacific?

Answer. Trade policy in the Indo-Pacific is a key part of the Biden-Harris administration's effort to Build Back Better. The administration's approach to trade is focused on supporting American working families, defending our values, and protecting the long-term prosperity and security of the United States. As President Biden has said, the United States is focused on making investments in U.S. workers and U.S. competitiveness before he signs new trade agreements, including in the Indo-Pacific.

Question. The VP launched a U.S.-Singapore Partnership for Growth and Innovation during her trip to the region in August. What do you think this partnership should look like, and what concrete steps can the U.S. take to deepen trade with Singapore?

Answer. The goal of the U.S.-Singapore "Partnership for Growth and Innovation" is to strengthen U.S.-Singapore trade and investment collaboration. It establishes a vehicle for deepening economic integration through government and private sector collaboration under four pillars: digital economy, energy and environmental technologies, advanced manufacturing, and healthcare. If confirmed, I will work with

U.S. businesses and the Singaporean government to strengthen our trade and investment relations and take steps to promote inclusive economic growth, innovation and entrepreneurship, and shared prosperity in the United States and Singapore and throughout the Indo-Pacific.

Question. What are the opportunities for more technology cooperation with Singapore? Where do we still face major obstacles?

Answer. Under the “Partnership for Growth and Innovation,” the United States is committed to cooperating with Singapore in areas such as financial technology, cybersecurity, clean energy and climate change solutions, medical technologies, and artificial intelligence, and to discuss immediate and long-term challenges that face both of our economies, such as supply chain resilience. The United States and Singapore are also working together to promote smart, sustainable cities through the ASEAN Smart Cities Network (ASCN) by promoting green building standards and co-funding a professional exchange program to share expertise with ASCN officials on water, energy, transportation, cybersecurity, and new technologies.

Question. How will you encourage Singapore to address the crisis in Burma? And ASEAN more broadly?

Answer. The United States values Singapore’s role as one of the founding members of ASEAN, and its advocacy for ASEAN centrality and unity. If confirmed, I will urge Singapore and other ASEAN members to hold the Burmese regime accountable to the Five-Point Consensus and urge the military to immediately cease the violence, release all those unjustly detained, and restore Burma’s path to inclusive democracy.

Question. The State Department has been asking Singapore to assess the Burmese military’s financial and other ties to Singapore. Burmese military officials have money in Singapore. They and their families travel there for education, medical treatment, business, and recreation. Do you commit to pressing Singapore on this issue?

Answer. The United States encourages all international partners, including Singapore, to review their financial ties to the Burmese military regime and ensure they are not directly or indirectly supporting the regime’s ability to rule through fear and violence. If confirmed, I will continue to urge all countries to review their economic leverage and ties to Burma to ensure they benefit only the people of Burma and not the military regime. I look forward to working with Singapore to achieve these goals.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO JONATHAN ERIC KAPLAN BY SENATOR EDWARD J. MARKEY

Question. If confirmed as Ambassador, will you commit to working with Singapore to put pressure on ASEAN to hold the military junta in Burma accountable for the coup and the violence that has ensued.

Answer. If confirmed, I will urge Singapore and other ASEAN members to hold the Burmese regime accountable to the Five-Point Consensus and urge the military to immediately cease the violence, release all those unjustly detained, and restore Burma’s path to inclusive democracy. If confirmed, I will continue to urge all countries to review their economic leverage and ties to Burma to ensure they benefit only the people of Burma and not the military regime.

Question. How can the United States and Singapore work together to assist other Southeast Asian nations in efforts to equitably transition to clean energy?

Answer. During Vice President Harris’ visit to Singapore in August 2021, the United States and Singapore launched a U.S.-Singapore Climate Partnership, through which both countries intend to work together to develop high-quality climate standards and increase regional ambition on sustainable finance, collaborate on financial sector climate and environmental risk management, support regional clean energy infrastructure development, improve sustainability of ports and shipping, and mobilize climate capital for climate mitigation and adaptation. The United States and Singapore can work together through this and other initiatives to prioritize this transition to clean energy to other counties in Southeast Asia.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO JONATHAN ERIC KAPLAN BY SENATOR TODD YOUNG

Question. The Strait of Malacca is the second busiest naval route in the world, and Singapore sits at the most strategic point within the strait. It would be considered by any navy the gateway to the South China Sea and therefore it is important that this area be open to international shipping and freedom of navigation. What is your assessment of Singapore's commitment to freedom of navigation in the Strait of Malacca and the South China Sea?

Answer. Singapore has a steadfast commitment to freedom of navigation in the Strait of Malacca and the South China Sea. The United States and Singapore see eye-to-eye on the importance of compliance with the international law of the sea, including freedoms of navigation, overflight, and other lawful uses of the sea, and on the resolution of disputes in accordance with international law.

Question. How has Beijing tried to influence or bully Singapore to accept Chinese claims on the South China Sea?

Answer. The People's Republic of China (PRC) has tried to coerce Singapore and other countries within the region to accept its claims in the South China Sea. Singapore is a strong supporter of international law and speaks broadly in support of the rules-based order. Singapore largely focuses its diplomatic efforts on buttressing ASEAN unity while pushing for quick progress in negotiations on a Code of Conduct between ASEAN and the PRC. While Singapore is not a claimant country in South China Sea territorial disputes, it regularly emphasizes the need for freedom of the seas and insists on the resolution of disputes in accordance with international law.

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CORRESPONDENCE SUBMITTED TO THE COMMITTEE SUPPORTING
RAHM EMANUEL'S NOMINATION TO BE U.S. AMBASSADOR TO JAPAN



TOM SCHIEFFER

October 1, 2021

Senator Robert Menendez
Senator James E. Risch
United States Senate Committee on Foreign Relations

Dear Mr. Chairman and Ranking Member Risch,

Please allow me to add my name to the many who are supporting President Biden's nomination of Rahm Emanuel to be the United States Ambassador to Japan.

As a Democrat who served in a Republican Administration and was twice unanimously confirmed by the Foreign Relations Committee first as Ambassador to Australia when Democrats were in the majority and second to Japan when Republicans were in the majority, I believe Rahm Emanuel understands the importance of keeping American foreign policy above politics.

North East Asia can be a dangerous place. It is absolutely critical to the future security and economic well-being of the United States. The rise of China, the Korean peninsula and the Taiwan Strait all present challenges that must be managed with a sober, reasoned diplomacy. Rahm Emanuel has the capacity to play a central role in keeping the peace in that part of the world.

Rahm Emanuel is also uniquely qualified to become our Ambassador to Japan. He understands that the US-Japan Alliance is the keystone to America's foreign policy in the Pacific and the stability of Asia. His experience as a leader in Congress and White House Chief of Staff will be invaluable to his success. He will know how to get things done in Washington for the Alliance and our country.

It is with great confidence that I believe Rahm Emanuel's intellect, knowledge and work ethic will make him a successful advocate for America in Japan as our nation's Ambassador. My hope is that the Senate will soon confirm him so that he can begin his vital work for our country. Thank you for your consideration.

With respect,

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Tom Schieffer".

Tom Schieffer

Senator Bob Menendez
 Chair
 United States Senate Committee on Foreign Relations
 423 Dirksen Senate Office Building
 Washington, DC 20510

October 11, 2021

Dear Senator Menendez,

I am writing to provide a statement of support for the appointment of former Chicago Mayor Rahm Emanuel to be United States Ambassador to Japan. Mayor Emanuel is an outstanding choice for United States Ambassador to Japan for many reasons. I have had the opportunity to work with him in a wide variety of settings over the course of a decade: as President and CEO of the Chicago Urban League, where I served for 5 years following a five year term on the board of the National Urban League; as a member of the Chicago Board of Education; as member of the Chicago Police Board; as Deputy Mayor and Chief Neighborhood Development Officer and as CEO of World Business Chicago, the city's economic development organization.

I have worked with Mayor Emanuel on the development and implementation of policies and strategies aimed at improving the quality of life and access to opportunity for all Chicagoans and I know from first-hand experience that he is fully aligned with the Biden/Harris administration's commitment to diversity, equity, inclusion, and access. Let me provide just one example from the many I have observed. When I was CEO of the Chicago Urban League, I had the opportunity to partner with the Emanuel administration on the reconstruction of the Red Line South. At Mayor Emanuel's direction, the Chicago Transit Authority worked with the Urban League to create a model for minority inclusion. We doubled the MWBE contracting requirement on the \$425 Million infrastructure investment, set a new standard for community-based minority hiring, and neighborhoods on the South Side were first in line for modernized mass transit.

Mayor Emanuel also has had substantial prior experience that makes him particularly well suited for this appointment. Again, just one example of many I could give. During my time as President and CEO of World Business Chicago, I travelled with former Mayor Emanuel to Japan on an economic development mission where he signed an economic development agreement between Chicago and Japan, the country's first ever with a city. During that trip former Mayor Emanuel had positive interactions with government, business and civic leaders in Japan and developed relationships that will serve him well as he steps into the role of US Ambassador.

Finally, I have seen Mayor Emanuel effectively work, meet, connect and engage with people from every conceivable background and walk of life. From residents in some of Chicago's most challenged communities, to local, state, national and international government officials, to CEO's of some of our region's and country's largest companies. His ability to listen and identify areas of common ground is a tremendous asset that he will bring to the role.

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For these reasons and more, I wholeheartedly endorse Mayor Emanuel's appointment as United States Ambassador to Japan and urge you to confirm him for the role.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Andrea L. Zopp". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Andrea" being more prominent.

Andrea L. Zopp

October 8, 2021

The Honorable Bob Menendez
Chair
Foreign Relations Committee
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

The Honorable James Risch
Ranking Member
Foreign Relations Committee
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

RE: Supporting President Joseph R. Biden's Nomination of Rahm Emanuel for
United States Ambassador to Japan

Dear Chairman Menendez and Ranking Member Risch:

We write today in support of President Joseph R. Biden's nomination of former Chicago Mayor Rahm Emanuel for Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Japan.

As leaders of the Chicago City Council, having worked alongside Mayor Rahm Emanuel during his eight years of service to the City of Chicago—a city with its own spot on the international stage—we are certain that his service as Ambassador to Japan will provide America with a committed and loyal ally. We have seen firsthand his passion for all people of Chicago and his dedication to public service.

As Mayor, Rahm Emanuel was committed to every community in Chicago—especially those that lacked representation. He created the Neighborhood Opportunity Fund (NOF), which leveraged downtown growth to make direct investments in commercial corridors across the city's South, West and Southwest Side neighborhoods—a fund that lifted up entrepreneurs of color, who make up 75 percent of the recipients. He worked to bring the first Whole Foods grocery store to the South Side community of Englewood, eliminating a food desert that deprived families of fresh produce and healthy foods.

Mayor Emanuel supported numerous other projects that provided economic support and employment opportunities to Chicago's South and West Side communities. One such project, the \$9 million Carter G. Woodson Regional Library renovation, not only served as a community hub for South Side residents but is also home to one of the largest collections of African American historical documents in the country. On the West Side in Addams/Merrill Park, he led the development of the Exelon Student Recreation Center. He also spearheaded the creation of The Hatchery, a food incubator that helps Chicago entrepreneurs build and grow their businesses.

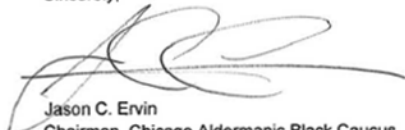
Mayor Emanuel's efforts to create a longer school day and school year added up to four more years of valuable class time for Chicago's students. He achieved record investments in Chicago

Public Schools (CPS) and fought for free universal full-day pre-kindergarten and free community college for hardworking CPS graduates.

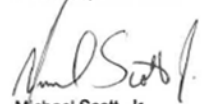
Prior to Mayor Emanuel's election, Chicago's infrastructure suffered from years of neglect. He approached the problem innovatively, saving \$75 million dollars in costs when rebuilding the south branch of the Chicago Transit Authority Red Line and investing those savings into enhancing stations along the line, turning many into places where communities could find inspiration in art and togetherness. He also invested \$35 billion dollars in construction and renovation plans for schools, parks, transit and water/sewer main replacement, creating an estimated 150,000 jobs—many of which were good-paying union jobs.

Mayor Emanuel's decades of public service, as well as his energy and tenacity for tirelessly representing the interests of his constituents, have prepared him well for this important mission on behalf of the United States. There are few nominees more qualified or committed to the President's goal of returning America to the world stage in a position of strength and moral leadership. We urge the Senate to approve his nomination and give our country a dedicated leader who will serve us all in our strategically important ally of Japan.

Sincerely,



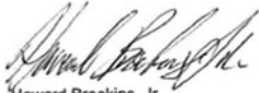
Jason C. Ervin
Chairman, Chicago Aldermanic Black Caucus
Alderman, 28th Ward



Michael Scott, Jr.
Secretary, Chicago Aldermanic Black Caucus
Alderman, 24th Ward



Greg Mitchell
Treasurer, Chicago Aldermanic Black Caucus
Alderman, 7th Ward



Howard Brookins, Jr.
Former Chairman Chicago Aldermanic Black Caucus
Alderman, 21st Ward



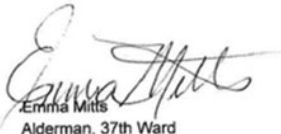
Michelle Harris
Executive Committee, Chicago Aldermanic Black Caucus
Alderman, 8th Ward



Stephanie Coleman
Executive Committee, Chicago Aldermanic Black Caucus
Alderman, 16th Ward



Walter Burnett, Jr.
Alderman, 27th Ward



Emma Mitts
Alderman, 37th Ward



Anthony Beale
Alderman, 9th Ward



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LONNIE R. STEPHENSON
International President

KENNETH W. COOPER
International
Secretary-Treasurer



October 12, 2021

VIA EMAIL

The Honorable Robert Menendez
Chairman
Senate Foreign Relations Committee
423 Dirksen Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510

The Honorable James Risch
Ranking Member
Senate Foreign Relations Committee
423 Dirksen Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Chairman Menendez and Ranking Member Risch:

On behalf of the more than 775,000 active and retired members of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW), I write to express the IBEW's support for the confirmation of Rahm Emanuel to serve as the United States Ambassador to Japan.

In a wide-ranging career spanning government service as well as private industry, Rahm Emanuel has always focused his considerable energy and skills on finding common ground. As mayor of Chicago from 2011 to 2019, his policies supported critical job growth for IBEW members and other skilled workers, resulting in more project labor agreements than any other city in the United States. His instrumental leadership succeeded in bringing new manufacturing jobs to Chicago's underserved communities.

From the helm of one of America's most storied towns to the halls of the West Wing for two presidents, Mayor Emanuel has proven his ability to accommodate unique and sometimes competing perspectives. Indeed, Mayor Emanuel's experience dealing with multiple and oftentimes conflicting parties will serve America's interest well in Japan and Northeast Asia, which are critical for American trade and national security.

On behalf of the IBEW and its members, I ask the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to confirm Mayor Emanuel as U.S. Ambassador to Japan, where he can further our nation's goal of emphasizing common interests and a commitment to freedom, democracy, and a fair economic order for this essential Pacific partnership.

Sincerely yours,

Lonnie R. Stephenson
International President

LRS:jrl

From: [Nye, Joseph S.](#)
To: [Ryan, John L.](#)
Subject: Confirmation of Rahm Emanuel
Date: Friday, October 1, 2021 7:28:15 AM

Dear Mr. Ryan,

I am writing in support of the nomination of Rahm Emanuel to be ambassador to Japan. I hope you will convey my letter to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Dear Senators,

I am writing in support of the nomination of Rahm Emanuel to be ambassador to Japan. I regard this as a very strong appointment which will be of great importance for our country.

As Senator (and later Ambassador) Mike Mansfield once said, there is no more important relationship for our country than our alliance with Japan. When I was Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs in the Clinton administration, I repeated the senator's wisdom in our *East Asia Strategy Report*. I also helped to prepare the Clinton-Hashimoto Declaration of 1996 which stated that the US-Japan alliance was the basis for stability in post Cold War Asia. What was true then is more true than ever today as we cope with the rise of Chinese power.

The most important skill of an ambassador is knowledge of the people and politics of our own country, and in this domain, Rahm is unsurpassed. This skill is more important to the relationship than regional expertise. Rahm is a quick study and has already begun his homework in that domain, but no regional expert could ever equal the knowledge he has accumulated through his extensive experience in Washington and Chicago. That is why I regard this as such a distinguished and important appointment. He will be taken very seriously in Tokyo and the United States will be strongly represented.

I have devoted a good deal of my professional career to thinking about the balance of power in Asia and to nurturing the US-Japan alliance. As a frequent visitor to Japan, I am familiar with Japanese views of the United States

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and of China. That is why I was so delighted when I learned of President Biden's nomination of Rahm Emanuel, and why I hope you will confirm him. We need him in Tokyo.

Sincerely,

Joseph S. Nye, Jr.
University Distinguished Service Professor Emeritus
Harvard Kennedy School of Government
Cambridge, MA

1727

(312) 454-1340
FAX (312) 454-1528

MEETS 1st THURSDAY NIGHT OF EACH MONTH

International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers

LOCAL NUMBER 134
2722 SOUTH DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. DRIVE
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60616



October 1, 2021

Dear Chairman Menendez,

We write with enthusiastic support of the nomination of Rahm Emanuel as Ambassador to Japan.

As Mayor of Chicago, Rahm Emanuel worked hard every day to bring jobs to Chicago's neighborhoods. His administration's commitment to growth and jobs resulted in Chicago leading the nation in direct foreign investment for seven years in a row.

This hard work and dedication led to critical jobs for our members. During his tenure, Chicago had more project labor agreements than any other city in the United States. The impact can be further felt in the number of new and expanded training facilities that our organization built during this era of growth. We are all proud to say that most of these facilities are located in neighborhoods most in need of investment and jobs.

Just as important, Mayor Emanuel was always an honest broker and trusted partner with us. Even on issues where we may have disagreed, he always gave us a chance and a seat at the table. He took the time to hear our concerns and consider our side of the discussion. He always had an open door when working with us.

We believe that Rahm Emanuel is an excellent choice for Ambassador to Japan and commend President Joe Biden on this choice.

Sincerely

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "Donald Finn".

Donald Finn
Business Manager/Financial Secretary
IBEW Local 134

<http://www.lu134.org>

1728



OFFICE OF THE ILLINOIS SECRETARY OF STATE
JESSE WHITE • Illinois Secretary of State

September 29, 2021

The Honorable Robert Menendez
Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee
528 Hart Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Chairman Menendez:

I am writing to voice my support for Rahm Emanuel's nomination as ambassador to Japan. I have worked with him and know him to be an effective leader who gets things done.

As the former mayor of Chicago and the former White House Chief of Staff to President Barack Obama, Mayor Emanuel brings a wealth of experience and leadership skills that will allow him to thrive in such a prominent diplomatic role.

In Rahm Emanuel, President Biden has nominated a tested and an adept public servant who will represent the United States with dignity and diplomacy. I wholeheartedly support his nomination.

Thank you for your time, and please accept my best wishes as you continue to serve our country.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Jesse White".

Jesse White
Illinois Secretary of State

Pastor Marvin Hunter

P. O. Box 23344
 Chicago, IL 60623
 (773) 816-4952
pastormarvinhunter133@msn.com
Walterhunter133@gmail.com

September 11, 2021

To: THE UNITED STATES SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS.

My name is Reverend Marvin Hunter, Senior Pastor of the Grace Memorial Baptist Church in Chicago Illinois. I'm also the great uncle of Laquan McDonald, a young man who at the age of 17 years old was slain by ex-Chicago Police Officer, Jason Van Dyke.

I am writing this letter in support of Rahm Emanuel, former Mayor of the City of Chicago and current Nominee of President Joe Biden as Ambassador to Japan.

From my pulpit in the North Lawndale neighborhood of Chicago I preach the teachings of the prophets. My parishioners and I hearken back to the words of Amos, who called for "justice to roll down like waters, and righteousness like a mighty stream." Justice is what I have sought for the murder of my nephew, Laquan McDonald, and a measure of justice is being served as the former Chicago police officer convicted of Laquan's murder sits in prison for his heinous crime.

In addition to justice, my faith is based on redemption and forgiveness and I have always believed in the power of turning misery into meaning. That is why, through an intermediary, I reached out to the former Mayor. I wanted to share with him the depths of the wounds of my family's pain and trauma and discuss police reform and the racial reckoning we are witnessing in America. His response was immediate, open and genuinely engaging. During our many conversations, we listened to each other, we prayed together and I believe we begin the process of healing. There is more to this individual than the caricature that is presented in the public. I felt what is in his heart and I know him to be a decent and honorable man who is willing to listen, eager to learn and show a deep level of compassion.

As Mayor, Rahm Emanuel inherited a deeply flawed system and set of policies as it relates to police misconduct investigations. That system over the decades had become twisted in a way that kept an incidence buried. For decades, this was the case in Chicago and cities all across the country and in many ways exists today, certainly his administration could have acted more quickly to address these issues and rebuild trust in our communities. He has acknowledged as much and more in public as well as in our private conversations.

I stand in solidarity with those in the reform movement who carry the torch for Laquan's memory, and the blessed memories of George Floyd, Ahmad Aubrey, Brianna Taylor, and countless other black lives that have been taken too soon by those who were sworn to serve and protect them. However, I draw the line when it is clear that certain elected officials are using the sacred memory of my nephew to settle political scores or use his name as a weapon to fight intra-party battles. Most of the "outrage" and the perpetuation of conspiracy theories comes from elected officials who have never contacted my family to offer even the simplest condolences or learn about the events surrounding this tragic incident.

I realize that my position on this nomination might come as a surprise to some. I may even be attacked for speaking up. However, I am a man of faith. I believe in what the scripture says about righteous judgment and looking into a person's heart. I have taken the time to get to know Rahm Emanuel. We have listened to each other, truly heard each other. I understand the character of the man and that is why I support this nomination. I thank you for your consideration of this letter.

Rev. M. G. Hunter.


 Great Uncle of Laquan McDonald.



October 21, 2021

The Honorable Bob Menendez
Chair
Committee on Foreign Relations
United States Senate
Washington D.C.
20510

Chairman Menendez:

The murder of teenager Laquan McDonald by a Chicago Police Officer in October 2014 continues to have raw immediacy for those who have borne the brunt of generations of the misuse of police authority in Chicago and the United States. The shooting and its aftermath prompted a long past due local and national reckoning respecting the overwhelmingly disproportionate, and in too many contexts, targeted use of officially sanctioned force against Black and brown people. That reckoning has come this time with a consciousness raising about the centrality of officially sanctioned use of force as dating to the formative stages of our country and the original sin of slavery, which was institutionalized in the Founder's Constitution, and whose legacy resides in institutionalized racism and implicit bias in our society today, with continuing tragic consequence reflected in the wrongful taking of the lives of Black and brown Americans by police officers in this nation. One aspect of the reckoning following the release of the video of Laquan McDonald's murder is that our history has fostered a profound mistrust not only of police, but of elected officials, and particularly the elected leaders of our cities under whose stewardship police departments operate.

The Senate confirmation process for the nomination of former Chicago Mayor Rahm Emanuel to be U.S. Ambassador to Japan has resurrected questions that are still actively debated in Chicago regarding his responsibility for the state of the Chicago Police Department during his tenure as Mayor, and most significantly, whether he engaged in a "cover-up" of the shooting by keeping the police body-worn camera videos from the public. As a matter of fact, and given the state of the public record, the questions are appropriate. However, as a matter of premise and accusation by those inveighing against his nomination because of a surmised role in a suspected "cover-up," they are not fair, because they are not grounded in fact, because the facts simply do not exist. I know. I was the Inspector General for the City of Chicago leading the office which investigated the City's handling of the aftermath of the McDonald murder. Inspectors General have as one of their core charges,

the responsibility of investigating and reporting out findings of misconduct, whether of a criminal or administrative nature. What they do not, in general practice, do is report out what they do not find. As a result, the context of existing public record should be understood as much for its negative space, as it is for its affirmatively declared space. I write to address, as a matter of fact, and for the record, the negative space within which factually unsubstantiated surmise, suspicion and narrative has been forged.

In the immediate aftermath of the release of the McDonald videos, then-Mayor Emanuel did three things of particular note. First, he formed and charged the Chicago Police Accountability Task Force (PATF) to independently conduct a full inquiry into and publicly report out its findings on the practices and culture of the Chicago Police Department and their implications in the communities it serves, foremost the impact on Black and brown communities. Which is precisely what the PATF did, without constraint or filter, and as led, at Emanuel's request, by one of his more trenchant critics -- who would eventually succeed him as Mayor. The PATF's findings and recommendations were reported out nationally and to much acclaim for their candor in pulling back the cover on the lived experience of those who have directly and indirectly, over generations, experienced the consequences of aggressive and oppressive historical policing practice and culture. The work of the Emanuel-appointed and charged Task Force was independent and unconstrained. Then-Mayor Emanuel, to his eventual discomfort, asked that the truth be found and reported, with the chips to fall where they may. I know this as affirmative fact, as I too -- an Inspector General with whom he was, in the ordinary course of business, at occasional, and respectful, if at times vociferous and heated odds over findings and recommendations of my office's independently conducted investigations and audits -- was a member of the PATF, along with notable others that included, in advisory capacity, former head of the United States Department of Justice Civil Rights Section and ex-Massachusetts Governor, and Chicago native Deval Patrick. The work of the PATF was conducted separately but coordinately to the pattern and practice investigation of the Civil Rights Section of the United States Department of Justice, whose findings were consistent with and as it related specifically to use of force, complementary to and a further expansion of those of the PATF.

Second, he declared, decried and demanded an end to something few if any elected leaders in the United States had previously acknowledged -- the operation of a so-called "code of silence in the Chicago Police Department (and many law enforcement agencies) in which by culture and practice, often as much through acquiescent inaction as action, sworn personnel close ranks and protect their colleagues who they know to have engaged in misconduct. While some were skeptical of Mayor Emanuel's naming of that pernicious acculturated phenomenon as wrought only of political crisis, what was little acknowledged was that in

doing so, he exposed the City to litigative complication (and, with it, potential financial consequence). Stated another way, he chose a principled over a transactional path. I know. As a former federal prosecutor and as Inspector General with investigative and program audit oversight of the Chicago Police Department, I know from experience the effect the acknowledgement of this pernicious cultural practice has on the litigation of Section 1983 and Monell civil rights claims against a city and its employees and officials.

Third, and most critical to the question of the moment, Mayor Emanuel encouraged and supported a thoroughgoing independent investigation of the conduct of CPD, its sworn personnel and, to the extent indicated, other City officials, respecting the handling of the aftermath of the McDonald shooting by the Office of Inspector General. That investigation, which I led, proceeded without interference, and yielded findings and recommendations of the firing of 11 Chicago police officers and lesser sanctions for 6 others. That investigation and outcome, in addition to the unprecedented successful prosecution and conviction of the shooter, former Officer Jason Van Dyke, constitutes one of the largest scandals in the scandal-ridden history of CPD, which is now going through the wrenching, long-term process of reform under the terms of a federal consent decree. In all of these respects, Mayor Emanuel was fully supportive of a comprehensive inquiry resulting in full accountability, again, letting the chips fall where the evidence indicated. In fact, the investigation revealed the subtle tacit ways in which a “code of silence” operates.

To my earlier point about the need to address the negative space, my office’s comprehensive investigation did not reveal any evidence that would support the lingering surmises and accusations of a “cover-up” orchestrated out of City Hall. None. Decisions made about the non- or delayed- disclosure of the body-worn camera videos at that time were in fact the longstanding policy and practice of the City of Chicago and its Law Department. That policy and practice as it existed then may fairly be questioned, and, indeed, was the subject of a near unprecedented video release policy implemented in February 2016 by Mayor Emanuel, acting immediately in response to the first-issued recommendation of the PATF. That said, there is a complete absence of factual basis to support the claim that Mayor Emanuel was involved directly or indirectly in a “cover-up” of the McDonald shooting videos.

I offer this statement strictly to assure a complete and accurate factual record for the Committee on a very important question that remains open because it resides as a matter of record to this point, in negative, i.e., undeclared, space. The conjecture drawn from that negative space is not supported by any evidence and, as such, may best be understood as a symptom of the very mistrust the public has of police, policing and government that are at

the core of so many of our present societal ills and challenges. I therefore hope my offering clarifies the factual public record and as such is of service to the Committee in these important deliberations.

Respectfully,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, consisting of a stylized 'J' followed by a horizontal line that curves upwards at the end.

Joseph M. Ferguson
Inspector General (2009-2021)
City of Chicago

NOMINATIONS

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 20, 2021 (p.m.)

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

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 2:05 p.m., via video-conference, Hon. Chris Van Hollen, presiding.

Present: Senators Van Hollen [presiding], Rounds, and Hagerty.

OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. CHRIS VAN HOLLEN, U.S. SENATOR FROM MARYLAND

Senator VAN HOLLEN. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee will come to order.

We apologize to all involved that we are a little late in starting. We have a vote going on in the floor of the United States Senate. I just voted and we may have another one during the course of this hearing and we will just have to juggle things to keep things going.

I want to thank my colleague in this hearing, my Republican colleague, Senator Rounds. We also serve together as the chairman and the ranking member of the Subcommittee on African Global Health Policy, and I want to thank him for his leadership.

I am going to welcome all seven of our nominees here. We have two panels. The first panel will include Ambassador Patricia Mahoney to be Ambassador to the Central African Republic; Ambassador Peter Vrooman, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Mozambique; Mr. Peter Haas, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Bangladesh; and Ms. Julie Chung, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Sri Lanka.

Our second panel will consist of Mr. Brian Shukan, to be our Ambassador to the Republic of Benin; and Ms. Elizabeth Fitzsimmons to be Ambassador to the Togolese Republic; and Ambassador David Gilmour, to be our Ambassador to the Republic of Equatorial Guinea.

Congratulations to all of you on your nominations. I have had the chance to meet with some of you in the past, to connect with some of you via Zoom, and to review the backgrounds of everybody here. And I just want to thank all of you for your service to the United States, as Foreign Service officers.

As some of you may know, I come from a Foreign Service family and I am really grateful to you and your families for serving our country. For those of you who have been ambassadors, you know this, and for all of you who have already served in the Foreign Service, you know that serving as an ambassador overseas as the representative of the President of the United States is a very im-

portant responsibility and it will be your task to coordinate all U.S. policy and be the go-between, between the United States Government and the governments in the countries where you will be assigned, assuming all are confirmed.

So, I just want to thank all of you. You have the responsibility of bringing together all the sort of tools of American diplomacy and influence, from the military to developmental tools, and, of course, diplomatic tools, and others, to improve, strengthen our relations with the countries in which you will represent the United States, to make clear to those countries, U.S. interests, and importantly, as President Biden has really worked to emphasize, support the principles of democracy, the rule of law, and human rights.

That is, of course, a challenge around the world, especially as many of our adversaries continue to export their models of authoritarianism, using all the tools at their disposal. So, we are at a challenging moment, but I know all of you are up to the challenge.

And so, I am pleased to see Mike. Senator Rounds, I mentioned our partnership earlier. It is great to see you. Thank you for your leadership on a range of foreign policy issues.

And with that, let me turn it over to my colleague, Senator Rounds.

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

Senator ROUNDS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and I most certainly appreciate that, and I do appreciate the working relationship that we have. I know we voted at exactly the same time; it just took me a little longer to get back to my office, because I have got further to go.

But, first of all, thank you, and good afternoon to all of you. As career diplomats, I agree with Senator Van Hollen that much of your lives and those of your families have been spent far from home. You have made great sacrifices in the service to your country.

Thank you and your families for your lifetimes of service and your work, which is critical in maintaining and advancing America's influence throughout the world.

Ambassador Mahoney, thank you for your service as a U.S. Ambassador to Benin and for your eagerness to continue to serve in the Central African Republic. CAR remains beset by violence and ongoing humanitarian crisis. Russia's malign influence on the country poses additional concerns. We need to take a hard look at our policy toward CAR and how we can be proactively engaged. So, you have your work cut out for you.

Now, the U.S. Embassy in the Central African Republic is one of the most difficult environments in which to live and work in this entire world. I appreciate your willingness to serve there.

Ambassador Vrooman, thank you for your service as an Ambassador to Rwanda and your long history of service in Africa and the Middle East. I am happy to see an experienced ambassador like you as a nominee for U.S. Ambassador to Mozambique.

The violent extremist insurgency in the northern province of Cabo Delgado has threatened and delayed the construction of a

large-scale, onshore, L & G processing complex. The threats posed by Mozambique's northern insurgency have prompted deployments of military assistance forces from other African countries and security cooperation and military training from the U.S. and European Governments.

I look forward to hearing how you plan to further the U.S.-Mozambique relationship in the face of these significant challenges.

Mr. Haas, Bangladesh like many places, is facing the rise of Islamist militancy, a relatively poor nation with 160 million people living in a land area the size of Iowa. It is one of the most densely populated countries on Earth; nevertheless, Bangladesh has opened its borders to nearly one million Rohingya, fleeing persecution in neighboring Burma, and is working with the international community to support the humanitarian response.

Additionally, ties between Bangladesh and China have recently, significantly improved. In short, if confirmed as U.S. Ambassador to Bangladesh, you will head to a post at a time when Bangladesh is of increasing bilateral and global importance.

Ms. Chung, bilateral relations between the United States and Sri Lanka are facing critical challenges. As Acting Assistant Secretary for the Western Hemisphere Affairs, you helped focus our Western Hemisphere efforts on countering maligned Chinese influence in the region. This will be useful in Colombo.

Attempts to renegotiate a Status of Forces Agreement faced unexpected opposition, while the Millennium Challenge Corporation discontinued a \$480 million compact, aimed at reducing poverty after a Sri Lankan special committee recommended its rejection. Some say that pressuring Colombo on human rights could push it closer to China, which is partnering on a number of big-ticket infrastructure projects in the country.

I am delighted to meet you all today and I look forward to your comments.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. Thank you, Senator Rounds.

And in my earlier comments, I indicated the countries to which each of you has been nominated as our ambassador, now I am going to provide a little bit more background for each of you, and I think all of our colleagues, well, should be impressed with the depth of your experience and expertise.

Beginning with Ambassador Patricia Mahoney, who is a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, who currently serves as the U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Benin, previously, she served as Acting Deputy Assistant Secretary in the State Department's Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, and as Office Director in the Office of Mainland Southeast Asia.

Her previous experience also includes posts as Deputy Chief of Mission at the U.S. Embassy in Uganda, Deputy Chief of Mission at U.S. Embassy in Nepal, and Director for South Asia at the National Security Council.

Ambassador Mahoney is the recipient of multiple State Department awards and she earned her ab cum laude from Harvard College; her MA from the University of Hawaii; and her MS from the National War College. Welcome.

Ambassador Peter Vrooman, Peter Vrooman is a career member of the Senior Foreign Service and has been Ambassador to the Republic of Rwanda since 2018. He previously served as Charge d'Affaires and Deputy Chief of Mission at the U.S. Embassy in Ethiopia. He has a former Director for Iraq on the National Security Council staff and was Deputy Political Counselor at the U.S. Mission to the United Nations in New York.

Ambassador Vrooman has also served as the spokesperson at the U.S. Embassy in New Delhi, as a senior advisor for Northern Iraq at our embassy in Baghdad, and as Deputy Political Counselor at the U.S. Embassy in Israel.

He is the recipient of 20 State Department awards and has earned his ab from Harvard College and his MS from the National Defense University's Industrial College of the Armed Forces. Welcome to you.

Mr. Peter Haas is a career member of the Senior Foreign Service and currently serves as both, Acting Assistant Secretary of State and principal Deputy Assistant Secretary for Economic and Business Affairs.

Mr. Haas has previously served as a senior advisor and Deputy to Assistant Secretary for Trade Policy and negotiations for the State Department.

Over his career, he has served in positions across five geographic bureaus at the State Department, including Consul General at the Consul General, at U.S. Consulate in Mumbai. He is the recipient of multiple State Department performance awards, including the James Clement Dunn Award for Excellence and the Cordell Hull Award for Economic Achievement by Senior Officers.

Mr. Haas received his BA from Illinois Wesleyan University and holds advanced degrees from the London School of Economics, where he studied as a Marshall Scholar. Welcome to you.

Ms. Julie Chung is a career member of the Senior Foreign Service and most recently served as the Acting Assistant Secretary of the Bureau of Western Hemisphere Affairs at the State Department. She has held positions in both, Baghdad and Bogota, and her other previous assignments include positions as the Director and Acting Deputy Assistant Secretary for Japan in the Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs; as Deputy Chief of Mission at the U.S. Embassy in Cambodia; and Economic Counselor at the U.S. Embassy in Thailand.

Ms. Chung is a Pickering Fellow and has received numerous State Department awards, including the Secretary's Distinguished Honor Award.

She earned her BA from the University of California, San Diego, and her MA from Columbia University School of International and Public Affairs.

And on a note of personal privilege, I mentioned I was a member of a Foreign Service family. The last overseas post my father held was Ambassador to Sri Lanka and the Maldives, and so I did tell Ms. Chung when I had to chance to talk to her, how much I really enjoyed getting to know the people of Sri Lanka; it is a wonderful post, as are the others.

And I am grateful to her and all of you for your service. So, with that, let me turn it over. We are going to go in the order that I introduced all of you and begin with Ambassador Mahoney.

STATEMENT OF HON. PATRICIA MAHONEY OF VIRGINIA, 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 CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Ambassador MAHONEY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member Rounds, and members of the committee.

I feel privileged and grateful to appear before you today. I thank President Biden and Secretary Blinken for the confidence they have placed in me as their nominee for Ambassador to the Central African Republic.

During my time serving in the Department of State, I have worked to advance the United States' diplomatic and policy objectives as deputy chief of mission for our embassies in Uganda and Nepal, Director of South Asia for the National Security Council, and currently as the U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Benin. Throughout the course of my career, I have felt honored to serve the American people and to represent our nation and its democratic values.

I also appreciate the tremendous responsibility that embassy leadership has to safeguard the safety and welfare of American citizens and embassy staff abroad. I recognize that, if confirmed, I will be assuming leadership of an embassy in a country in which the United States has suspended operations three times and carried out numerous evacuations. If confirmed, my focus will remain on the well-being and security of our citizens and our embassy staff in the Central African Republic.

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, the Central African Republic is a fragile country still scarred by its horrific civil war in 2013 and still battling the triple menaces of extreme poverty, armed violence, and instability. More than a quarter of the country's population has been displaced over the past decade and more than half of the country relies on humanitarian assistance for their health and basic needs.

Additionally, inter- and intra-communal violence continues over transhumance issues and control of natural resources, deepening mistrust between communities. The immediate neighborhood just outside its borders consists of six African nations all working through varying degrees of insecurity and governance challenges.

Of profound concern is the fact that we have seen the deleterious impact of Russian-supported mercenaries from the Wagner Group on the safety and security of many of the peoples in the country, which further erodes prospects for regional security and stability.

President Touadera has critical choices to make in the near term regarding with whom he chooses to partner. This choice will affect the United States' and allies' ability to stand with his government.

At this juncture, our continued engagement in concert with allies and like-minded partners is vital to ensure that President Touadera makes the right choice.

If confirmed, I will seek to continue the leadership that our current Ambassador Tamlyn has demonstrated, to show us a good-faith and reliable friend to the people of the Central African Republic that promotes reconciliation, good governance, and a reinvigorated 2019 Peace Agreement as the best path forward.

If confirmed, I will do my utmost to represent that best choice that we offer, both for the good of the people of the Central African Republic, but also for our own humanitarian and strategic interests in the region as well. I think it is important we remain engaged in the Central African Republic to provide life-saving humanitarian assistance to its at-risk population, to bolster efforts toward an inclusive and legitimate national dialogue, to encourage fidelity to the 2019 Peace Agreement, to reinforce peace-building and conflict mitigation efforts, and to continue to support, as we have since 2014, the vital role played by the United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission, known as MINUSCA, one of the largest and most challenging U.N. peacekeeping missions in the world.

If confirmed, I will work with President Touadera, the Government of the Central African Republic, and our partners to strengthen democratic institutions, advance the rule of law, improve access to justice, enable effective delivery of humanitarian assistance, and increase transparency in the mining sector.

I will strive to promote respect for human rights, develop responsible security alternatives to malign Russian-supported mercenaries, urge further progress on combatting human trafficking, and encourage accountability at all levels of the Government. My goal is to work with the Central African Republic Government and our partners to help the country begin the transition from humanitarian assistance to sustainable development.

Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member Rounds, members of the committee, I recognize that, if confirmed, I will be assuming leadership of an embassy in a country that is contending with an array of threats to its integrity, its security, and its ability to satisfy even the most basic needs of its population. The task is enormous, the challenges complex and exigent, and the need immense.

I am grateful for your advice and counsel in this undertaking. I want to reiterate my thanks for giving me the opportunity to provide this testimony and I look forward to your questions. Thank you.[The prepared statement of Ambassador Mahoney follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. PATRICIA MAHONEY

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I feel privileged and grateful to appear before you today. I thank President Biden and Secretary Blinken for the confidence they have placed in me as their nominee for Ambassador to the Central African Republic.

During my time serving in the Department of State, I have worked to advance the United States' diplomatic and policy objectives as deputy chief of mission for our embassies in Uganda and Nepal, director of South Asia for the National Security Council, and currently as the U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Benin. Throughout the course of my career, I have felt honored to serve the American people and to represent our nation and its democratic values.

I also appreciate the tremendous responsibility that Embassy leadership has to safeguard the safety and welfare of American citizens and Embassy staff abroad. I recognize that, if confirmed, I will be assuming leadership of an embassy in a country in which the United States has suspended operations three times and car-

ried out numerous evacuations. If confirmed, my focus will remain on the wellbeing and security of our citizens and our embassy staff in the Central African Republic.

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, the Central African Republic is a fragile country still scarred by its horrific civil war in 2013 and still battling the triple menaces of extreme poverty, armed violence, and instability. More than a quarter of the country's population has been displaced over the past decade and more than half of the country relies on humanitarian assistance for their health and basic needs. Additionally, inter- and intra-communal violence continues over transhumance issues and control of natural resources, deepening mistrust between communities. The immediate neighborhood just outside its borders consists of six African nations all working through varying degrees of insecurity and governance challenges.

Of profound concern is the fact that since December, we have seen the deleterious impact of Russian-supported mercenaries from the Wagner Group on the safety and security of many of the country's people, which further erodes prospects for regional stability. President Touadera has critical choices to make in the near term regarding with whom he chooses to partner. This choice will affect the United States'—and allies'—ability to stand with his government.

At this juncture, our continued engagement—in concert with allies and like-minded partners—is vital to ensure that President Touadera makes the right choice. If confirmed, I will seek to continue the leadership that our current Ambassador Lucy Tamlyn has demonstrated to show ourselves a good-faith and reliable friend to the people of the Central African Republic that promotes reconciliation, good governance, and a reinvigorated 2019 Peace Agreement as the best path forward. If confirmed, I will do my utmost to represent that best choice we offer, both for the good of the people of the Central African Republic but also for our own humanitarian and strategic interests in the region as well. I think it is important we remain engaged in the Central African Republic to provide life-saving humanitarian assistance to its at-risk population, to bolster efforts toward an inclusive and legitimate national dialogue, to encourage fidelity to the 2019 Peace Agreement, to reinforce peacebuilding and conflict mitigation efforts, and to continue to support, as we have since 2014, the vital role played by the United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission (MINUSCA), one of the largest and most challenging U.N. peacekeeping missions in the world.

If confirmed, I will work with President Touadéra, the CAR Government, and our partners to strengthen democratic institutions, advance the rule of law, improve access to justice, enable effective delivery of humanitarian assistance, and increase transparency in the mining sector. Further, I will strive to promote respect for human rights, develop responsible security alternatives to malign Russian-supported mercenaries, urge further progress on combatting human trafficking, and encourage accountability at all levels of the Government. My goal is to work with the Central African Republic Government and our partners to help the country begin the transition from lifesaving humanitarian assistance to sustainable development.

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I recognize that, if confirmed, I will be assuming leadership of an embassy in a country that is contending with an array of threats to its integrity, its security, and its ability to satisfy even the most basic needs of its population. The task is enormous; the challenges complex and exigent; and the need immense. I am grateful for your advice and counsel in this undertaking, I want to reiterate my thanks for giving me the opportunity to provide this testimony, and I look forward to answering any questions you may have.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. Thank you, Ambassador Mahoney.

Next, we will turn to Ambassador Vrooman.

Mr. Ambassador?

STATEMENT OF HON. PETER HENDRICK VROOMAN OF NEW YORK, 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 MOZAMBIQUE

Ambassador VROOMAN. Chairman Van Hollen, Ranking Member Rounds, and members of the committee, it is a great privilege and honor to appear before you today as President Biden's nominee to serve as the next Ambassador to the Republic of Mozambique.

I thank the President and Secretary Blinken for their confidence in me and I am also grateful for this distinguished committee's consideration. I want to recognize my wife, Johnette Iris, for her partnership and passion, and for the resilience and curiosity of my children, Zarah and Hendrick, who are in school in Rwanda this week, and my mother, Sally, for coming to visit, teaching English, and mentoring students wherever the Foreign Service leads me. Finally, I would like to thank my extended family and friends who always lay out their welcome mats when I and we are in the United States.

Thirty years ago, I began my Foreign Service career on the Indian Ocean side of Africa in Djibouti, and I am now the Chief of Mission in Rwanda. I have served in Somalia and Ethiopia, as well, and believe that my experience on the continent has provided me with a unique understanding of some of the challenges facing Mozambique, including those related to the pandemic, climate change, terrorism, and post-conflict stabilization.

If confirmed, I will further strengthen ties between the United States and Mozambique by seizing opportunities to combat infectious diseases, promote global health security, sustain wildlife and maritime conservation efforts, and deepen bilateral ties that foster job creation in both our countries. I also remain committed to promoting respect for human rights and advocating for the inclusion of people with disabilities throughout our policies and programs.

Mozambique remains a strategic and important partner on the African continent. The Government of Mozambique, together with regional forces and allies, are fighting ISIS-Mozambique, which has caused violence that has claimed thousands of casualties and internally displaced more than 700,000 people in the north since 2017. This region is home to massive natural gas reserves that could lead to a once-in-a-generation economic transformation for the country and the continent, provided there is responsible public financial management, community involvement in local decision-making, and transparency in the development of a sovereign wealth fund that allows revenue from natural resources to benefit all Mozambicans.

If confirmed, I will continue our holistic approach to countering violent extremism and terrorism. The United States has committed to support the Mozambican Government in four ways: providing security assistance; strategic communication; socio-economic and humanitarian assistance; and diplomatic engagement.

And together, we are rebuilding vocational schools, promoting dialogue and exchanges with emerging leaders, and marginalized communities, and providing specialized counterterrorism training.

If confirmed, I will partner diligently with the Mozambican Government and its people to address the underlying drivers of extremism and terrorism by protecting the civilian population, addressing their development requirements, and upholding the core values of human rights, good governance, and democratic participation.

Mozambique also confronts the devastating impact of the COVID-19 pandemic, which has strained its health care system and disrupted economic growth. Significantly, the U.S. health partnership combating HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis, and malaria helped Mozambique to respond quickly and effectively to COVID-19. We join

international partners not only to end the pandemic, but to build back better for global health security through the more than \$50 million in COVID assistance to Mozambique, including more than 600,000 U.S.-provided vaccines.

Finally, if confirmed, I will dedicate myself to building on the extraordinary progress that Ambassador Hearne and the U.S. Embassy have made in deepening our bilateral relations and supporting Mozambique's efforts to provide for the welfare of its citizens. It would be a tremendous honor to serve as Chief of Mission in Maputo, working at the new chancery that overlooks the same Indian Ocean where I began my Foreign Service career three decades ago.

Our embassy will be a forum for clear-eyed discussions that contribute to concrete actions that advance our shared interests in democracy, security, prosperity, and friendships.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for the opportunity to appear before you today. I would be honored to respond to any questions.

[The prepared statement of Ambassador Vrooman follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. PETER HENDRICK VROOMAN

Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member Rounds, and members of the committee, It is a great privilege and honor to appear before you today as President Biden's nominee to serve as the next Ambassador to the Republic of Mozambique. I thank the President and Secretary Blinken for their confidence in me. I am also grateful for this distinguished committee's consideration. I want to recognize my wife, Johnette Iris, for her partnership and passion, and for the resilience and curiosity of my children, Zarah and Hendrick, who are at school in Rwanda this week. And my mother, Sally, for coming to visit, teaching English, and mentoring students wherever the Foreign Service leads me. Finally, I would like to thank my extended family and friends who always lay out their welcome mats when we are in the United States.

Thirty years ago, I began my Foreign Service career on the Indian Ocean side of Africa in Djibouti, and I am now the Chief of Mission in Rwanda. I have served in Somalia and Ethiopia as well and believe that my experience on the continent has provided me with a unique understanding of some of the challenges facing Mozambique, including those related to the pandemic, climate change, terrorism, and post-conflict stabilization. If confirmed, I will further strengthen ties between the United States and Mozambique—by seizing opportunities to combat infectious diseases and promote global health security, sustain wildlife and maritime conservation efforts, and deepen bilateral business ties that foster job creation in both countries. I also remain committed to promoting respect for human rights and advocating for the inclusion of people with disabilities throughout our policies and programs.

Mozambique remains a strategic and important partner on the African continent. The Government of Mozambique together with regional forces and allies are fighting ISIS-Mozambique, which has caused violence that has claimed thousands of casualties and internally displaced more than 700,000 people in the north since 2017. This region is home to massive natural gas reserves that could lead to a once-in-a-generation economic transformation for the country, provided there is responsible public financial management, community involvement in local decision-making, and transparency in the development of a sovereign wealth fund that allows revenue from natural resources to benefit all Mozambicans.

If confirmed, I will continue our holistic approach to countering terrorism and violent extremism. The United States has committed to support the Mozambican Government in four ways: 1) security assistance, 2) strategic communications, 3) socio-economic and humanitarian assistance, and 4) diplomatic engagement. Together, we are rebuilding vocational schools, promoting dialogue and exchanges with emerging leaders and marginalized communities, and providing specialized counterterrorism training. If confirmed, I will partner diligently with the Mozambican Government and its people to address the underlying drivers of extremism and terrorism by protecting the civilian population, addressing their development requirements, and upholding the core values of human rights, good governance, and democratic participation.

Mozambique also confronts the devastating impact of the COVID-19 pandemic, which has strained its health care system and disrupted economic growth. Significantly, the U.S. health partnership combating HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis, and malaria helped Mozambique to respond quickly and effectively to COVID-19. We join international partners not only to end the pandemic, but to build back better for global health security through the more than \$55 million in COVID-19 assistance to Mozambique, including almost 640,000 U.S.-provided vaccines.

Finally, if confirmed, I will dedicate myself to building on the extraordinary progress that Ambassador Hearne and the U.S. Embassy have made in deepening our bilateral relations and supporting Mozambique's efforts to provide for the welfare of its citizens. It would be a tremendous honor to serve as Chief of Mission in Maputo, working at the new chancery that overlooks the same Indian Ocean where I began my Foreign Service career three decades ago. Our embassy will be a forum for clear-eyed discussions that contribute to concrete actions that advance our shared interests in democracy, security, prosperity, and friendship.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for the opportunity to appear before you today. I would be honored to respond to any questions.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. Thank you, Ambassador Vrooman.

Next, we will hear from Mr. Haas.

Mr. Haas?

STATEMENT OF PETER D. HAAS OF VIRGINIA, 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 PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH

Mr. HAAS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member Rounds, and Members of this Committee. It is a privilege to appear before you today.

It is a privilege to appear before you today. I want to thank President Biden and Secretary Blinken for their trust and support in nominating me to serve as Ambassador to the People's Republic of Bangladesh. I am honored by their confidence in me.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to recognize my wife Amy, my steadfast partner over these past 30 years. I would not be here today without her continual support. We have two amazing sons together: Carsten, who is doing a PhD in German, at the University of Wisconsin-Madison and Cameron, who is doing a PhD in Economics, at the University of Massachusetts-Amherst. The three of them have been my home, as we have served the American people around the world.

My recent positions have taught me that there is no corner of the globe whose partnership is more critical to U.S. strategic interests than the Indo-Pacific, and that we have not yet reached the full potential of this partnership. A democratic, stable, and prosperous Bangladesh will benefit the entire region, and if confirmed, I will advance policies that will enhance our relationship with Bangladesh and promote a free, open, interconnected, resilient, and secure region.

The United States has been a reliable friend to and partner with Bangladesh for nearly five decades. We work together on economic development, peacekeeping, tackling the climate crisis, public health, and finding durable solutions to the Rohingya refugee crisis. Our two nations also share a commitment to democratic values. Our people-to-people ties continue to grow and help to deepen our cooperation.

If confirmed, I will be a tireless advocate for America's interests and values as we seek to broaden our partnership with Bangladesh.

Our economic ties are strong and growing, demonstrated by the establishment of the U.S.-Bangladesh Business Council earlier this year. U.S. private sector investment supports Bangladesh's economic development while bringing U.S. technologies and know-how, and promoting transparency, inclusion, and market-based reforms.

Bangladesh has also long-played a leadership role in pressing for solutions to the climate crisis, and if confirmed, I will advocate for policies that promote our partnership on environmental and climate issues.

The United States is also committed to helping Bangladesh recover from the global pandemic. Through COVAX, the United States has donated 11 and a half million vaccine doses to Bangladesh, to date, and has committed to providing additional donations in the coming months.

But for the people of Bangladesh to realize their full potential, they must also be free to express themselves. The Department of State has long been committed to promoting the free operation of media, civil society organizations, workers, and members of the opposition political parties in Bangladesh, without fear of retribution or harm.

If confirmed, I intend to continue the Department's work to bolster full democratic participation in advance of the 2023 national elections and to urge the Government to protect and defend human rights.

The United States appreciates the generosity of Bangladesh for hosting nearly one million Rohingya refugees who have fled violence in Burma. The United States has supported Bangladesh and is the largest international donor in the humanitarian assistance response.

If confirmed, I will continue the U.S. Government's work to promote the voluntary, safe, dignified return of Rohingya refugees, in coordination with Bangladesh and the international community. I will also advocate for the protections of the human rights of all Rohingya, wherever they may be.

The United States cooperates closely with Bangladesh on counterterrorism. Bangladesh is one of the largest recipients globally of U.S. counterterrorism assistance.

If confirmed, I will continue to strengthen this partnership, emphasizing the respect for rule of law and human rights. The United States also recognizes Bangladesh's notable contributions to regional security and its active role in U.N. peacekeeping operations.

In 2022, the United States and Bangladesh will celebrate 50 years of diplomatic relations. It is an honor to be nominated at this pivotal point in our relationship and during Bangladesh's Golden Jubilee anniversary year.

If confirmed, I look forward to the opportunity to work with this Committee and other Members of Congress to support the United States' interests in Bangladesh and the Indo-Pacific region at large.

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I look forward to hearing your questions. Thank you.[The prepared statement of Mr. Haas follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF PETER D. HAAS

Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, it is a privilege to appear before you today. I want to thank President Biden and Secretary Blinken for their trust and support in nominating me to serve as Ambassador to the People's Republic of Bangladesh. I am honored by their confidence in me, particularly during this time of unprecedented challenges—and unrivalled opportunity—in Bangladesh and the broader Indo-Pacific.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to recognize my wife Amy, my steadfast partner over these past 30 years. I would not be here today without her continual support. We have two amazing sons: Carsten who is doing a PhD in German at the University of Wisconsin-Madison and Cameron who is doing a PhD in Economics at the University of Massachusetts-Amherst. Together, they have been my portable “home” as we have served the American people around the world.

Most recently, I had the privilege of serving as Acting Assistant Secretary and Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary in the State Department's Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs. I also served as Consul General in Mumbai, India, and as Economic Counselor in Jakarta, Indonesia. These positions taught me that there is no corner of the globe whose partnership is more critical to U.S. strategic interests than the Indo-Pacific, and that we have not yet reached the full potential of this partnership. A democratic, stable, and prosperous Bangladesh will benefit the entire region, and if confirmed, I will advance policies that will enhance our relationship with Bangladesh and promote a free, open, interconnected, resilient and secure region.

The United States has been a reliable friend to and partner with Bangladesh for nearly five decades. We work together on economic development, peacekeeping, tackling the climate crisis, public health, and finding durable solutions to the Rohingya refugee crisis. Our two nations also share a commitment to democratic values. Our people-to-people ties continue to grow and help to deepen our cooperation. If confirmed, I will be a tireless advocate for America's interests and values and broadening our partnership with Bangladesh.

Economic development, climate, and health are important cornerstones of the U.S.-Bangladesh relationship. Our economic ties are strong and growing, demonstrated by the establishment of the U.S.-Bangladesh Business Council this year. U.S. private sector investment supports Bangladesh's economic development goals by bringing U.S. technologies and know-how and promoting transparency, inclusion, and market-based reforms. Bangladesh has also long played a leadership role in advocating for solutions to the climate crisis, and if confirmed, I will advocate for policies that promote our partnership on environmental and climate issues. The United States is also committed to helping Bangladesh recover from the global COVID-19 pandemic. Through COVAX, the United States has donated 11.5 million COVID-19 vaccine doses to Bangladesh to date and has committed to providing additional vaccine donations in the coming months.

For the people of Bangladesh to realize their full potential, they must also be free to express themselves. The Department of State has long been committed to promoting the free operation of media, civil society organizations, workers, and members of opposition political parties in Bangladesh, without fear of retribution or harm. If confirmed, I intend to continue the Department's work to bolster full democratic participation in advance of the 2023 national elections and to urge the Government to protect and defend human rights.

The United States appreciates the generosity of Bangladesh for hosting nearly one million Rohingya refugees who fled violence in Burma. The United States has supported Bangladesh as the largest international donor in the humanitarian assistance response. If confirmed, I will continue the U.S. Government's work to promote the voluntary, safe, dignified return of Rohingya refugees in coordination with Bangladesh and the international community, while continuing to advocate for the protections of the human rights of all Rohingya, wherever they may be.

The United States also cooperates closely with Bangladesh on counterterrorism. Bangladesh is one of the largest recipients globally of U.S. counterterrorism assistance. If confirmed, I will continue to strengthen this partnership, while continuing to promote our emphasis on the respect for rule of law and human rights. The United States also recognizes Bangladesh's notable contributions to regional security and active role in U.N. peacekeeping operations.

In 2022, the United States and Bangladesh will celebrate 50 years of diplomatic relations. The common goals and the steadfast friendship between the American and Bangladeshi people have remained constant over these nearly 50 years. It is an honor to be nominated at this pivotal point in our relationship and during Bangladesh's Golden Jubilee anniversary year. If confirmed, I look forward to the opportunity to work with this committee and other members of Congress to support the United States' interests in Bangladesh and the Indo-Pacific region at large.

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I look forward to hearing your questions.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. Thank you, Mr. Haas.
And next, we are going to turn to Ms. Chung.
Ms. Chung?

STATEMENT OF JULIE CHUNG 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 DEMOCRATIC SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF SRI LANKA

Ms. CHUNG. Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member Rounds, members of the committee, I am honored to appear before you today as the President's nominee to be U.S. Ambassador to Sri Lanka. I am grateful for the confidence President Biden and Secretary Blinken have placed in me by nominating me for this assignment.

As a first generation immigrant from South Korea, I am proud that my parents instilled in me the values of hard work, optimism, love of country, a Christian faith, and the belief that America is a country of opportunity and force for good. I am thankful for the sacrifices they made for my sister and me, and their unconditional love. I am also thankful to my husband Jose Collazo, whose unwavering support and patience have been a strong foundation for our family, including our eight-year-old son, Mateo, who still doesn't understand exactly what Mom does at work, but is proud of me anyways.

During my 25-year career in the Foreign Service, I have served in Asia, Latin America, and the Middle East, advocating for U.S. interests, building strategic partnerships, and engaging a diverse range of stakeholders to promote democratic values and private sector-led economic growth. My experience in China, Japan, and Southeast Asia have provided me a unique insight into the importance of American leadership to ensuring a free, open, and resilient Indo-Pacific region.

As the Acting Assistant Secretary in the Bureau of Western Hemisphere Affairs, I am proud to have led policies that supported democratic partners and strengthened their ability to counter authoritarian oppression, corruption, and terrorism. And I believe that as policy leaders, we also have a responsibility to advocate for diversity, equity, and inclusion in our workforce, something I have actively promoted since joining the Foreign Service as part of the very first cohort of the Pickering Fellowship supported by Congress.

Mr. Chairman, Sri Lanka is Asia's oldest democracy and survived the tragedy of a civil war that resulted in unimaginable violence and continued ethnic and religious divisions.

If confirmed, I am committed to speaking clearly and consistently in support of democratic values, human rights, and a strong civil society that are essential to democracies and central to our foreign policy approach. We must also be strong partners in encouraging justice, accountability, and reconciliation so that all Sri Lankans can share in the benefits of peace, security, and prosperity.

Sri Lanka is positioned in a strategic location at the heart of the Indian Ocean and its critical ports with access to global maritime lanes and trading routes play a pivotal role in a free and open Indo-Pacific and beyond.

If confirmed, I will work tirelessly to advocate for quality infrastructure and investment based on transparency, respect for international law, good governance, sustainable environmental and labor standards. We must also support U.S. companies doing business in Sri Lanka and utilize the tools we have with the Development Finance Corporation and the Export-Import Bank to provide alternatives to coercive lending and opaque contracts.

I believe our most important assets are American innovation, people-to-people exchanges, and education. If confirmed, I pledge to expanding and seeking creative ways to build upon these networks and connections. We must also continue to engage the many voices of the Sri Lankan diaspora in the United States, who make valuable contributions in our bilateral relationship.

Mr. Chairman, Sri Lanka offers many challenges and opportunities for the United States to grow our relationship. I will make every effort to advance our values and shared interests so that Sri Lanka meets its full potential to be a vital partner in the Indo-Pacific.

Thank you, again, for allowing me to appear before you today, and I look forward to your questions.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Chung follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF JULIE CHUNG

Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member Rounds, members of the committee, I am honored to appear before you today as the President's nominee to be U.S. Ambassador to Sri Lanka. I am grateful for the confidence President Biden and Secretary Blinken have placed in me by nominating me for this assignment.

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Sri Lanka is positioned in a strategic location at the heart of the Indian Ocean, and its critical ports with access to global maritime lanes and trading routes play a pivotal role in a free and open Indo-Pacific architecture. This reinforces the necessity for the United States to build constructive relationships with Sri Lanka, including with civil society, the private sector, and the Sri Lankan people. If confirmed, I will work tirelessly to advocate for quality infrastructure and investment based on transparency, respect for international law, and good governance, which is mindful of sustainable environmental and labor standards. We must also support U.S. companies doing business in Sri Lanka and utilize the tools we have with the Development Finance Corporation and the Export-Import Bank to provide alternatives to coercive lending and opaque contracts.

The sinking of the MV X-Press Pearl cargo ship near the shores of Colombo a few months ago, causing its biggest marine disaster in Sri Lanka's history, points to the need for upholding such standards. U.S. humanitarian assistance, emergency response capabilities, and environmental surveillance tools helped Sri Lanka respond to this tragedy and is emblematic of how we can be a positive force and strong partner to the people of Sri Lanka.

I believe our most important assets are American innovation, people-to-people exchanges, and education. If confirmed, I pledge to expanding and seeking creative ways to build upon these networks and connections. We must also continue to engage the many voices of the Sri Lankan diaspora in the United States who make valuable contributions in our bilateral relationship. Mr. Chairman, Sri Lanka offers many challenges and opportunities for the United States to grow our relationship. I will make every effort to advance our values and shared interests so that Sri Lanka meets its full potential to be a vital partner in the Indo-Pacific.

Thank you again for allowing me to appear before you today, and I look forward to your questions.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. Well, thank you, Ms. Chung.

Thank you for that testimony and focusing on all aspects of our relationship with Sri Lanka and stressing the importance of the people-to-people relationships. I have a strong interest in all of the countries to which you have been appointed, including Sri Lanka and Bangladesh, but as I Chair the Africa Subcommittee, I am going to focus my questions on those nominations.

Ambassador Mahoney, you mentioned in your testimony the various armed groups that control different regions of the Central African Republic, contributing to a very fragmented and war-torn landscape. Among those are the Russian-supported forces, the mercenaries that continue to commit human rights abuses, that operate independently under a complicit host government.

How should the United States address the increasing presence of these Russian-sponsored and supported forces and the acute threat to stability that they represent, particularly, as the U.N. peace-keeping mission there struggles to maintain security in the capital and throughout the country.

Ambassador Mahoney: Senator, thank you for your question, and before I respond, I would just like to say that I had the privilege to serve two tours in Sri Lanka and walked by the picture of your father as Ambassador, many times a day. So thank you for his service and thank you for your service as a member of a Foreign Service family.

Senator, thank you, you put your finger on among an array of challenges, one of the most acute right now, the influence of foreign, malign actors, who are further destabilizing the situation in

the Central African Republic and not contributing to the long-term peace and stability that is so desperately needed.

And if I am confirmed as Ambassador, I would work with our partners on the ground in Bangui, and with other regional actors, like the EU and the economic community of Central African states to really highlight the risk of increased international isolation and opprobrium and further destabilization, as I said, further instability that the Government of the Central African Republic is courting, in pursuing this relationship with an actor that has been sanctioned for very good reasons by our Government and others, and that does not have the long-term interests of the Central African Republic and its people at heart. It is not operating with that as a basic principle.

If I am confirmed, I would work to highlight of our existing sanctions on these Russian-supported mercenaries and do whatever I can with other agencies to enforce those sanctions. I would also highlight and raise awareness among Central Africans about the serious human rights violations that these Russian-supported mercenaries have committed, as you very rightly pointed out, who are there at the invitation of the Central African Republic Government, who are committing these violations.

And I was encouraged to see that the Commission of Inquiry Report that the Government recently released on serious human rights violations and abuses did mention the culpability of Russian quote, unquote, instructors.

I would also work, if confirmed, to counter the addition information and propaganda campaigns that are really undermining so much of the good work that is being done in the Central African Republic to support the people there. And we have some good programs right now on the ground that are working to train journalists to independently evaluate sources of news and to have a very, very critical assessment of the stories and narratives being presented to them.

I would work to expand those efforts because I think they are very, very important and can bear a lot of fruit in the long term.

I would also work, as you said, to increase those people-to-people exchanges that are so important. I was so glad to hear you talk about that, because to me, those are pure gold. For very, very little money, we make those very real connections at a very important level with the future leaders of the country.

And I know that the pandemic has probably affected our ability to continue those, but if confirmed and pandemic conditions permit, I would really want to step them up because they really are so very, very productivity and fruitful.

I would work with our U.N. mission to also call-out the irresponsible behavior of these mercenaries in New York and they have been doing a very, very robust job of that.

And, finally, I would work with our partners on the ground, including MINUSCA and the EU, to see what responsible alternatives, security alternatives we might be able to propose. I would explore that avenue so that the Government doesn't feel that it must turn to these very responsible and non-accountable actors.

And I think the mandate of renewal for MINUSCA, which is coming up next month, offers a really prime opportunity for that. Thank you.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. Well, thank you, and thank you for your prior service including in Sri Lanka, and for mentioning my dad. It is good to see you again.

Let me turn it over now to Senator Rounds.

Senator ROUNDS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

And I most certainly appreciated the answer with regard to the influence there. I am going to turn to Ambassador Vrooman to begin with. It is good to see you again, sir, and thank you for your previous service.

Let us talk a little bit about Mozambique and, specifically, combatting the Islamic State Mozambique is among the top priorities, here for the United States, with regard to our policies in Mozambique.

What is driving the extremist insurgency in Mozambique and do you feel the U.S. is adequately engaged, given the various threats and challenges the situation in Mozambique poses to the region?

Ambassador VROOMAN. Thank you very much, Senator Rounds. It is good to see you, as well, and having seen you on the continent in recent years, it is great to see you even, virtually, at this time.

It is a very pertinent question and I think that, obviously, the situation at Cabo Delgado, we have reached, I think, an inflection point in the arrival of forces from SADC and from allies, such as Rwanda, that have enabled the Government of Mozambique to deal with military blow and to recapture some of the cities, towns, and ports that ISIS-Mozambique had taken over during that 4-year period that I mentioned in my testimony.

Now, what I think all of these combined forces are finding is a large swath of destruction. Police stations, health centers, and other government infrastructure has been destroyed. There have been reports, as well, that mines have been laid that raises some questions about returning to and getting the displaced people back to their homes, villages, so that they can resume their livelihoods.

So, really, in terms of our approach right now, it is not, it is really where we come in, in some ways as the major economic and humanitarian partner of the Government of Mozambique, to help them in that reconstruction process. It will be a challenge. The ISIS forces have, some of them have been, you know, dealt a military blow, but some of them will come back if there isn't a response that is able to hold the towns, villages, and ports that have been liberated of the ISIS-Mozambique forces.

So, it is at this stage, I think, that the U.S. engagement is very important and most of our assistance, to date, has been humanitarian in nature or to be directed in crisis response. We will now need to work on these more lasting development challenges, having to do with job creation, having to do with rebuilding, so that people have the means with which to return to their homes.

And I think that will help, moving forward, giving people a view and a stake in their future and more confidence in the security that has returned, at least for now, to Northern Mozambique.

Senator ROUNDS. Thank you, sir.

Mr. Haas, you spent most of your career as an economic officer. Bangladesh is a relatively poor nation of increasing strategic importance and it is facing critical political and demographic changes.

What are the biggest factors limiting Bangladesh's economic growth and what can the United States do to help, also, what is your assessment of Bangladesh's anticorruption efforts and what are we going to do to promote financial transparency?

Mr. HAAS. Thank you very much, Senator, for that question.

Indeed, there are a lot of economic challenges in Bangladesh. I think their ranking on the World Bank's ease of doing business study is a pretty fair characterization of the problems that exist there. And as you mentioned, one of those problems is the issue of corruption, where, also, Bangladesh has a lot to do.

If confirmed, I will continue to promote the improvement of the economic environment there, the rule of law to make it easier for U.S. companies to compete there, and I will also work very closely with American companies who are seeking to do business there, to ensure that they are treated fairly and that they are not discriminated against and to level the playing field so that they can compete and do business. Thank you.

Senator ROUNDS. Thank you.

And Ms. Chung, with opposition to a renegotiated Status of Forces Agreement and the cancellation of the Millennium Challenge Corporation compact worth nearly \$500 million, it seems that our relationship with Sri Lanka is facing some headwinds at the moment.

Do you agree, and if so, how can we turn it around?

Ms. CHUNG. Thank you for that question.

I think there are certainly challenges in the relationship, as we have seen with the MCC project and various other cooperation. I think what is needed more than ever is for us to explain why the U.S. remains a strong partner.

And in terms of issues like infrastructure and investment, to show the benefits of quality, high-quality, good governance, transparent infrastructure projects and why that benefits, directly, the people of Sri Lanka. I think we can go a long way at doing more public diplomacy and engaging with all stakeholders on the ground, beyond the Government, with civil society, with journalists, and those who feel affected by such projects in the future.

In addition, I think we can look for more opportunities with the Development Finance Corporation that already has invested more than \$200 million in small and medium enterprise lending, especially for female-owned businesses. So, I think the initiatives like these, we can reach out more directly to the Sri Lankan people, develop constructive relationships with the Government, and expand our relationship in many ways.

Senator ROUNDS. Thank you.

And once again, thank you all for your service.

Mr. Chairman, I will turn it back to you.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. Well, thank you, Senator Rounds.

And let me now turn it over to Senator Hagerty.

Senator HAGERTY. [Audio malfunction.] That it had been an honor—let us see. Can you hear me now?

Senator VAN HOLLEN. Yes. Good, now.

Senator HAGERTY. Okay. I just wanted to thank you for your leadership of this hearing, Senator Van Hollen.

And in honor of your father's service as our Ambassador to Sri Lanka, I would like to turn my attention, now, to our candidate for the Ambassador to Sri Lanka.

Julie, it is good to see you again. I want to thank you for your service on the Japan [inaudible—1:05:11] when I served as U.S. Ambassador to Japan. You and I have had opportunities to talk about this region on a number of occasions.

I would like to point my attention, though, to something I am very concerned about and that is China's use of death trap diplomacy to secure interests in two very strategic ports in Sri Lanka. Back in 2017, Sri Lanka formally handed over the strategic Port of Hambantota to China on a 99-year lease, after Sri Lanka struggled to pay its debt owed to Chinese firms.

This transfer gave China control of territory just an if you hundred miles away from India and it gave China a strategic foothold along a critical sea, commercial and military sea lane.

China also has a stake in another port in Sri Lanka, at the Colombo Port City, where Chinese submarines actually docked at the harbor when Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe was visiting there.

China now possesses the largest navy in the world and these strategic ports that they are amassing, will allow China to project power across the Indo-Pacific Region.

The United States must take the lead in pushing back against China or else, the entire Indo-Pacific Region is in danger of following into the greater influence of the Chinese Communist Party.

So, my first question for you is, if confirmed, Julie, what steps would you take to deepen U.S. relations with Sri Lanka's leadership and work with partners, such as India, to ensure that Sri Lanka's relationship with China doesn't contribute to further intensify competition in the Indian Ocean?

Ms. CHUNG. Thank you for that question.

You are exactly right about the influence and the concerns that we have about the PRC's investment; the extent and the types of infrastructure investment they are making in Sri Lanka. I think every country wants options. No country wants to be cornered into making one decision based on one country's deliverance of and their promises.

So, if confirmed, I pledge to working, again, to work with all the tools that we have in the U.S. Government. We have the U.S. Freedom Development Agency. We have the DFC to provide alternatives and that is what is essential.

Unlike other countries, some other countries that direct more than investment and tell their countries' companies where to invest, U.S. companies go where they base on risk and benefits assessments. So, in order to encourage that investment, we have to work with the Government, with their private sector, with their civil society to build the foundations of strong governance, the anticorruption, and strong transparency standards.

And I believe that what you pointed out about India is essential. You can't do this alone and you shouldn't do this alone. The United States is not the only country who cares about robust, international

standards. We have seen this recently with a number of countries and stakeholders coming together around the world to promote the Blue Dot Network, which creates international standards for quality infrastructure.

So, working with multilateral partners, working with India, working with Japan, as we have worked before, Senator, to work with those like-minded countries and co-financing projects and raising these issues of international standards and transparency together will be essential.

Senator HAGERTY. I agree with you, Ms. Chung, and I think that your highlighting the Blue Dot Network certainly brings back a point close to my heart, because I signed on behalf of the United States when we brought Australia and Japan together with their finance development networks, along with our own, so I think that holds great potential. We have a lot more work to do there and I appreciate your keeping that in mind as you move forward.

Back to Sri Lanka. While they are staving off a major financial crisis right now and it is wallowing in debt, China has refused to bail Sri Lanka out. But helping Sri Lanka also presents other actors with a moral hazard.

So, my next question is, what can and should the United States do, including with multilateral agencies, such as the IMF, and with partner countries, such as quad members, to help Sri Lanka clean up its public finances, and how do we do so without contributing to further unsustainable debt burden on Sri Lanka?

Ms. CHUNG. Thank you for that question, Senator.

Yes, the Sri Lankan's debt-to-GDP ratio is over 100 percent and of this external debt, 15 percent is owed to the PRC. Now, 44 percent of this debt is owed to commercial banks, as well, so this is a broader problem than just owing debt to China. They also owe the Asian Development Bank, India, the World Bank, Japan, and commercial banks, as well.

So, I think in order to get into that healthy financial macro-economic situation, we should work to continue to encourage and urge the Sri Lankans to go to the IMF, to consider steps for debt restructuring, to make the essential reforms needed in the country. We certainly have had past programs in the country working with our Treasury colleagues to promote that technical assistance and the capacity-building, so that they can build that strong financial ecosystem.

So, we need to just continue to stay on that and our role in the IMF, our role in international organizations and banks will certainly play a key role in encouraging that message continuously to Sri Lanka.

Senator HAGERTY. Yeah, I think Sri Lanka is a prime candidate for what you described and I appreciate your attention to that, because getting their financial house in order is going to be a key to making certain that their strategic posture remains as we all need to see it in that region.

Thank you very much, and congratulations on your nomination.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. Thank you, Senator Hagerty.

And I appreciate that line of questioning, as well, with respect to Sri Lanka, and I look forward to working with you and Ms. Chung, if confirmed, on those issues.

Senator HAGERTY. Thank you, Senator.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. And to all our nominees, we have a vote on the Senate, which is why Senator Rounds departed momentarily, and when he returns, I am going to go vote.

But let me thank our entire first panel here. Unless we have any other senators waiting in the Zoom wings here, I just want to, again, congratulate all of you on your nominations. Thank you for your service and I look forward to supporting your nominations.

And, hopefully, we will be able to get them through the Senate in a way that gets you to post as soon as possible. Thank you, all.
[Pause.]

Senator VAN HOLLEN. We are now going to begin our second panel of distinguished nominees. I indicated earlier the countries to which they have been nominated as ambassador, and now I am also going to provide a bit more about their backgrounds and experience starting with Mr. Brian Shukan, who is a career member of the Senior Foreign Service and has been the Chief of Mission at the U.S. Embassy in Khartoum since 2019, and I want to thank Mr. Shukan for his leadership there and for working with Senator Coons and I during our visit to Sudan a little earlier this year. We appreciated your insights and working to make that a successful trip.

Prior to Mr. Shukan's service in Sudan, he was the Director of the Office of Special Envoy for Sudan and South Sudan. He has also served as Deputy Chief of Mission in Port-au-Prince and Consul General in Casablanca, and Deputy Political Counselor at the U.S. Embassy in Baghdad.

Mr. Shukan is the recipient of numerous awards, including the James Forrestal Award for Excellence at Strategy and Force Planning from the U.S. Naval War College.

He received his BA from the University of Wisconsin Madison, a JD from Washington University in St. Louis, and an MA from the Naval War College. Welcome.

We also have with us, Ms. Elizabeth Fitzsimmons, who is a career member of the Senior Foreign Service and currently serves as the Acting Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary for the Bureau of African Affairs. Previously, she served as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Central Africa and Public Diplomacy and is Acting Deputy Spokesperson for the United States Department of State, and also has a senior advisor at the Foreign Service Institute.

In addition, she has held numerous posts across the State Department and around the world in her 26-year-long career, including posts in Taiwan, Hong Kong, Cambodia, India, and Bulgaria.

She is the recipient of a Senior Foreign Service Performance Award and a Superior Honor Award and she holds a BA from the University of Virginia and the certificate from the International Division of Waseda University in Tokyo. Welcome, Ms. Fitzsimmons.

Next, we have Ambassador David Gilmour, who is a career member of the Senior Foreign Service and currently serves as Chargé d'Affaires in Chad. He has also served as Ambassador to the Togolese Republic.

Previously Ambassador Gilmour held posts and Deputy Chief of Mission in Malawi, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Central Africa

in the State Department's Bureau of African Affairs, and Director of East African Affairs, and as an Director of Public Diplomacy for Africa. His other assignments overseas include positions in Australia, Costa Rica, and Panama.

He is the recipient of numerous awards, including the partnership excellence award from the Secretary of State's Office of Global Partnerships, and he received his BA from Saginaw Valley State University in Michigan and his MA from the University of Texas at Austin.

I, again, want to thank all of our nominees who are here. I don't know if Senator Rounds has had a chance to return yet. When he does, he may also want to provide a few welcoming remarks, but in the interests of time, let us now proceed in the order that I introduced everybody, beginning with Mr. Shukan.

Mr. Shukan?

STATEMENT OF BRIAN WESLEY SHUKAN OF VIRGINIA, 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 BENIN

Mr. SHUKAN. Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member Rounds, distinguished members of the committee, I am honored to appear before you as President Biden's nominee to be Ambassador to the Republic of Benin.

I appreciate the confidence that the President and Secretary Blinken have shown in me, and I thank you for the opportunity to testify.

I would also like to recognize my family watching online; my wife Clare for her love and support during the last 30 years and throughout our Foreign Service journey; my daughter Abigail, who is serving in the Department of Homeland Security; and my daughter Leah, who is a graduate student in Boston.

It has been a great privilege to serve the U.S. as a Foreign Service Officer for the past 26 years, beginning at our embassy in Benin, and for the past two years as Chief of Mission in Sudan, as we supported the Sudanese people's aspirations for a democratic and prosperous future.

And I appreciate your remarks, Senator Van Hollen, regarding your visit and all the support that you and Senator Coons, and your colleagues, have shown to us as we have worked, here in Khartoum.

Benin has been a strong example of peace, stability, and tolerance. Benin is a solid partner on shared goals of economic prosperity, peace, and security.

If confirmed, I look forward to working with Congress to promote democratic governance and human rights, support a prosperous and healthy society with closer trade and people-to-people ties with the United States, and strengthen regional security to address global threats, such as violent extremism and transnational crime.

I would like to briefly highlight a few priorities, starting with democratic and human rights. And personally, I will never forget my experience in 1996, seeing Beninese citizens standing patiently

in long lines to vote in Benin's second democratic election and witnessing a peaceful transfer of power.

For nearly three decades, Benin was a model of multi-party democracy in West Africa. It adopted a democratic constitution in 1990 and has held six consecutive presidential elections with peaceful transitions. We have recently seen undue restrictions on freedoms of expression and peaceful assembly, arrests of opposition members, and laws undermining electoral competitiveness. These developments contribute to our concern about anti-democratic trends in Benin.

If confirmed, I will support and encourage Benin to resume the positive role it once in promoting peaceful, democratic governance, rule of law, and human rights.

A second priority is developing a prosperous and healthy society with closer trade links to the United States. Benin remains one of the world's least developed countries; one-third of its population lives in poverty, and malnutrition has stunted the growth of a third of Benin's children under five.

If confirmed, I will work with the embassy team, Congress, and our Beninese partners to promote a healthier and more prosperous future with growing trade and investment. In 2020, the U.S. provided \$28.2 million in assistance to foster a healthier society in Benin by strengthening health services. The U.S. is also working to improve human rights and strengthen civil society.

A five-year, Millennium Challenge Corporation compact, valued at \$391 million, entered into force in 2017. This compact is strengthening Benin's electric sector, attracting private investment, and removing a major impediment to economic growth.

The U.S. has invested in food assistance, improving child literacy, and increasing class attendance. And USAID maintains programs to build regional and global trade and attract investment.

If confirmed, I will guide these and other programs to partner with Benin for a more prosperous and peaceful future.

I also want to highlight the importance of strengthening regional security and addressing global threats, such as violent extremism and transnational crime. Benin is a strong partner for peace and security in West Africa and the Sahel and has prioritized improving its counter-terrorism capacity and preventing violent extremism. Our assistance to Benin's security forces supports their participation in peacekeeping and regional security efforts, and advances Benin's ability to secure its borders and interdict maritime and transnational crime.

If confirmed, I will prioritize counterterrorism and countering violent extremism through security sector assistance, community building, and youth development.

Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member Rounds, and members of the committee, thank you for this opportunity.

If confirmed, I look forward to working with you to advance U.S. interests in Benin and would be pleased to take any questions. Thank you.[The prepared statement of Mr. Shukan follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF BRIAN WESLEY SHUKAN

Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member Rounds, and distinguished members of the committee, I am honored to appear before you today as President Biden's nominee to

be the next Ambassador to the Republic of Benin. I appreciate the confidence the President and Secretary Blinken have shown in me, and I wish to thank the members of the committee for the opportunity to testify.

I would also like to recognize my wife Clare for her love and support during the last 30 years and throughout our Foreign Service journey; my daughter Abigail, who is serving in the Department of Homeland Security; and my daughter Leah, a graduate student in Boston.

It has been a great privilege to serve the United States as a Foreign Service Officer for the past 26 years, beginning with my service at the U.S. Embassy in Cotonou, Benin, and for the past two years as chief of mission in Khartoum, Sudan, as we supported the Sudanese people's aspirations for a democratic and prosperous future.

Benin has been a strong example of peace, stability, and ethnic and religious tolerance in an increasingly turbulent region. Benin is a solid partner on shared goals of economic prosperity and regional peace and security. If confirmed, I look forward to working with this Committee and Congress to promote democratic, inclusive, and transparent governance and respect for human rights; support a prosperous and healthy society with closer trade linkages and stronger people to people ties with the United States; and strengthen regional security and address global threats such as violent extremism and transnational organized crime.

I would like to briefly highlight a few priorities in each of these areas, starting with promoting democratic and transparent governance and respect for human rights. I will never forget my experience in 1996 of seeing Beninese citizens patiently stand in long lines to vote in Benin's second democratic election, and witnessing a peaceful transfer of power between political parties. For nearly three decades, Benin had been a model of multi-party democracy in West Africa. It adopted a democratic constitution in 1990 and has held six consecutive presidential elections with peaceful transitions of power. We have recently seen undue restrictions on freedoms of expression and peaceful assembly, arrests of members of the political opposition, and laws undermining electoral competitiveness. These developments contribute to our concern about anti-democratic trends in Benin.

If confirmed, I will support and encourage Benin to resume the positive role it once had in promoting peaceful democratic governance, rule of law, and respect for human rights in the region.

A second priority is developing a prosperous and healthy society with closer trade linkages to the United States. Benin remains one of the world's least developed countries. Over one-third of its population lives in poverty, and malnutrition has stunted the growth of nearly a third of Benin's children under five. If confirmed, I will work with the Embassy team, Congress, U.S. agencies, and our Beninese partners to promote a healthier and more prosperous future with growing trade and investment. I will also engage Benin's fast-growing youth population so that they better understand our longstanding commitment to a prosperous future for their country based on shared values and interests.

In fiscal year 2020, the U.S. Government provided Benin \$28.2 million in bilateral assistance for programs that foster a healthier and more inclusive society by strengthening health services delivery and resources. The U.S. is also working to improve human rights and strengthen civil society. A five-year, Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC) Compact, valued at \$391 million, entered into force in 2017. This compact is strengthening Benin's electricity sector, attracting private investment to Benin, and removing a major constraint to long-term economic growth. In 2017, the USDA launched a five-year \$21.3 million investment in food assistance to Benin, improving school age children's literacy and increasing class attendance by providing healthy meals at schools. USAID's Regional Mission also maintains economic growth and trade programs focusing on policy advocacy and technical assistance to build regional and global trade linkages and attract investment. If confirmed, I will guide these and other programs to partner with Benin for a more prosperous and peaceful future.

I also want to highlight the importance of strengthening regional security and addressing global threats such as violent extremism and transnational organized crime. Benin is a strong partner for peace and security in West Africa and the Sahel and has prioritized improving its counter terrorism capacity and preventing violent extremism. Our assistance to Benin's security forces supports Benin's participation in peacekeeping and regional security efforts, and advances its ability to secure its own borders and interdict maritime and transnational organized crime. If confirmed, I will prioritize engaging with the Government of Benin on counterterrorism and countering violent extremism in the areas of security sector assistance, community building and youth development, and strategic communications.

Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member Rounds, and members of the committee, thank you again for this opportunity. If confirmed, I look forward to working with you to advance U.S. interests in Benin and would be pleased to take any questions.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. Thank you, Mr. Shukan.

I see my colleague, Senator Rounds, has returned.

Senator, I didn't know if you had any opening remarks that you wanted to provide, before I turn to the next witness.

Senator ROUNDS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I do, but if it is all right with you, why don't we have all of them offer their opening statements. I will do mine and I think you have to go vote as well, so this may be a good time for you to do your vote and when we come back, when they are finished, I will move right into my opening statements and then we can proceed from there.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. I appreciate that. I will just hand it off to you and go vote and then come back.

Thank you very much.

Senator ROUNDS. Thank you.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. Thanks.

STATEMENT OF ELIZABETH ANNE NOSEWORTHY FITZSIMMONS OF DELAWARE, 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 TOGOLESE REPUBLIC

Ms. FITZSIMMONS. Chairman Van Hollen, Ranking Member Rounds, and distinguished members of the committee, what a privilege it is for me to appear before you today as the nominee to be the next U.S. Ambassador to Togo.

I want to thank President Biden and Secretary Blinken for this opportunity. In fact, my very first chance to live outside the United States came from then-Senator Biden, who in 1989, selected me as one of two Japan-U.S. Senate scholars from Delaware and set me on the path that would lead to my diplomatic career.

If confirmed, it will be the honor of a lifetime to lead our embassy to advance the interests of the United States and the American people in Togo.

I am thankful that I get to share this moment with my family and loved ones. Diplomacy is our family business. My husband, Richard Seipert, serves as a Diplomatic Security Special Agent at the U.S. Embassy in Baghdad and my son-in-law, Grant Holyoak, is a first tour Foreign Service officer at Embassy Beijing. I am so grateful for a lifetime of support from my wonderful husband; my children, Taylor, Morgann, MaKaela, Tyson, and Adam; my daughter-in-law, Laura; and sons-in-law, Grant and Jake.

My grandchildren Molly, Harrison, and William are also watching and I'm thrilled that my mom, Barbara Noseworthy, is as well, because she has visited our family at every one of our postings abroad.

Throughout my 26 years in the Foreign Service, I have served across the globe and in a variety of roles in Washington, DC. As Deputy Executive Secretary, I supported two Secretaries of State as they travelled hundreds of thousands of miles projecting Amer-

ican values and engaging with citizens and Governments across the globe. As Acting Deputy Spokesperson, I helped explain U.S. policy to the world, and most recently, as the Acting Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary for the Bureau of African Affairs, I led a fantastic team to build stronger, deeper relationships with the countries of Africa to make the continent safer, more secure, more prosperous, and more democratic.

I am a dedicated and engaged mentor to dozens of colleagues and I am committed to making the Foreign Service a more diverse, resilient, and effective organization. I welcome the opportunity to continue this work, if confirmed, as the U.S. Ambassador to Togo.

The United States established diplomatic relations with Togo in 1960. Since then, the United States and Togo have built a strong relationship based on shared goals: advancing peace and security; promoting trade and economic growth; strengthening government and democratic institutions; and supporting opportunity for all Togolese citizens.

Togo is a key regional partner to maintenance of peace and security in West Africa. Togo plays an active role in mediating regional disputes, most recently in Guinea. The Government works alongside civil society, regional partners, and our embassy in Lome, to strengthen national resilience to violent extremism.

Togo currently has more than 1,300 troops and gendarmes in U.N. missions, making it the sixteenth largest national contributor.

If confirmed, I will continue to foster security cooperation between our two countries to enhance the capabilities of Togolese security forces.

The United States works closely with the Government of Togo to improve the investment climate in order to attract U.S. companies to take advantage of Togo's geographic advantages as a logistics hub, with the Gulf of Guinea's deepest deep-water port, and a regional air transport hub.

Before the pandemic, Togo enjoyed a period of steady economic expansion, fueled by international investment and a concerted effort to modernize the country's commercial infrastructure. The Togolese Government calls the Port of Lome the lungs of the economy and promotes Togo as the gateway to West Africa.

As the world recovers from the COVID-19 pandemic, it is important that the United States support partners like Togo to return to a path of economic success by promoting trade and investment opportunities for the U.S. private sector.

While Togo aspires to become a regional economic and security leader, these goals cannot be achieved without strengthening Togo's democratic institutions. Recent Togolese Government restrictions on the media, politically motivated arrests, limitations on political gatherings, and suspensions of press outlets raise concern.

If confirmed, my embassy team and I will work with the Government of Togo, 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 and fair elections.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman 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 to strengthen our relationship with Togo.

I welcome any questions you may have and hope you and your colleagues will visit Togo to witness the growing bilateral partnership firsthand. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Fitzsimmons follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF ELIZABETH ANNE NOSEWORTHY FITZSIMMONS

Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member Rounds, and distinguished members of the committee, what a privilege it is for me to appear before you today as the nominee to be the next U.S. Ambassador to Togo. I want to thank President Biden and Secretary Blinken for this opportunity. In fact, my very first chance to live outside the United States came from then-Senator Biden, who in 1989 selected me as one of two Japan-U.S. Senate scholars from Delaware and set me on the path that would lead to my diplomatic career. If confirmed, it will be the honor of a lifetime to lead our Embassy to advance the interests of the United States and the American people in Togo.

I am thankful that I get to share this moment with my family and loved ones. Diplomacy is our “family business”—my husband Richard Seipert serves as a Diplomatic Security Special Agent at the U.S. Embassy in Baghdad and my son-in-law Grant Holyoak is a first tour Foreign Service officer at Embassy Beijing. I am so grateful for a lifetime of support from my wonderful husband, my children Taylor, Morgann, MaKaela, Tyson, and Adam, my daughter-in-law Laura and sons-in-law Grant and Jake. My grandchildren Molly, Harrison, and William are also watching and I’m thrilled that my mom, Barbara Noseworthy, is as well since she has visited our family at every posting abroad.

Throughout my 26 years in the Foreign Service, I’ve served across the globe and in a variety of roles in Washington, DC. As Deputy Executive Secretary, I supported two Secretaries of State as they travelled hundreds of thousands of miles projecting American values and engaging with citizens and governments across the globe. As acting Deputy Spokesperson, I helped explain U.S. policy to the world. And most recently, as the Acting Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary for the Bureau of African Affairs, I led a fantastic team to build stronger, deeper relationships with the countries of Africa to make the continent safer, more secure, more prosperous, and more democratic. I am a dedicated and engaged mentor to dozens of colleagues and I am committed to making the Foreign Service a more diverse, resilient, and effective organization. I welcome the opportunity to continue this work, if confirmed, as the U.S. Ambassador to Togo.

The United States established diplomatic relations with Togo in 1960. Since then, the United States and Togo have built a strong relationship based on shared goals: advancing peace and security; promoting trade and economic growth; strengthening government and democratic institutions; and supporting opportunity for all Togolese citizens.

Togo is a key regional partner to maintain peace and security in West Africa. Togo plays an active role in mediating regional disputes, most recently in Guinea. The Government works alongside civil society, regional partners, and our Embassy in Lomé to strengthen national resilience to violent extremism. Togo currently has more than 1,300 troops and gendarmes in U.N. missions, making it the 16th largest national contributor. AFRICOM General Townsend’s recent visit to Togo highlights the importance the United States places on Togo’s partnership in promoting regional peace and stability. If confirmed, I will continue to foster security cooperation between our two countries to enhance the capabilities of Togolese security forces.

The United States works closely with the Government of Togo to improve the investment climate in order to attract U.S. companies to take advantage of Togo’s geographic advantages as a logistics hub, with the Gulf of Guinea’s deepest deep-water port, and a regional air transport hub. Before the pandemic, Togo enjoyed a period of steady economic expansion fueled by international investment and a concerted effort to modernize the country’s commercial infrastructure. The Togolese Government calls the Port of Lomé the “lungs” of the economy and promotes Togo as the gateway to West Africa. As the world recovers from the COVID-19 pandemic, it is important that the United States support partners like Togo to return to a path of economic success by promoting trade and investment opportunities for the U.S. private sector.

While Togo aspires to become a regional economic and security leader, these goals cannot be achieved without strengthening Togo’s democratic institutions. Recent To-

golese Government restrictions on the media, politically motivated arrests, limitations on political gatherings, and suspensions of press outlets raise concern. If confirmed, my Embassy team and I will work with the Government of Togo, 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 and fair elections.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman 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 strengthen our relationship by promoting peace, stability, democracy, and economic growth in Togo. I welcome any questions you may have and hope you and your colleagues will visit Togo to witness the growing bilateral partnership firsthand.

Senator ROUNDS [presiding]. Thank you, Ms. Fitzsimmons.
Ambassador Gilmour, please proceed.

STATEMENT OF HON. DAVID R. GILMOUR OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, 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 EQUATORIAL GUINEA

Ambassador GILMOUR. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member Rounds, and members of the committee, for the opportunity to testify today. It is a great honor to appear before you as the nominee to be the next United States Ambassador to the Republic of Equatorial Guinea, and I am grateful for the confidence that President Biden and Secretary Blinken have placed in me with this nomination.

And if confirmed, I will do my best to uphold this trust and advance U.S. national interests and priorities.

I would like to mention a couple of important people, without whom, I would not be here today. The first is my wife, Judith Martin, who has spent a lifetime in the Foreign Service; first, with her parents. Her father, S. Douglas Martin, was a career State Department Officer, and later, as my cherished partner, as we traveled the world together and raised our three children, doing service in 10 overseas posts and in Washington in the 35 years of my Foreign Service career.

Judith is a civil service employee at the State Department, where she works in the Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration.

I would also like to acknowledge my 93-year-old father, John Gilmour. He worked 34 years in local government, serving as the City Manager in the small town where I grew up in Michigan. Everything I know about respect, integrity, and dedication to public service, I learned from my dad.

Mr. Chairman, I believe my service as Ambassador to Togo, as Chargé d'Affaires in Chad, and in senior positions in the Bureau of African Affairs in Washington, as well as postings elsewhere in the world, have prepared me for this assignment.

And if confirmed, I will tirelessly to advance the foreign policy priorities of the United States, including to promote good governance and respect for human rights, to end COVID-19 and prevent the next pandemic, to improve the business environment for U.S. trade and investment, and to promote regional and maritime security.

Now, since its independence, there have only been two presidents in Equatorial Guinea, and one of whom has ruled for over 40 years. Presidential term limits were established in 2011, but were not applied retroactively to President Obiang, who could remain in office until 2030. Though multiparty elections are technically allowed, the non-ruling political parties faced legal restrictions, and opposition leaders have reportedly faced torture, harassment, intimidation, and politically motivated detention.

And if confirmed, I will raise our concerns with Equatorial Guinea's leadership about human rights and the rule of law, and I will urge Government leaders to enable a true multi-party democracy and to allow the growth of a civil society. I will stress that promoting transparency and ending corrupt practices are key to Equatorial Guinea's long-term growth and stability, and critical to strengthening our commercial ties.

The United States is Equatorial Guinea's largest trading partner and the U.S. Embassy plays a critical role in promoting these American companies' interests.

And if confirmed, I will continue to work to improve the investment climate for U.S. companies in Equatorial Guinea.

Maritime security is Equatorial Guinea's primary security challenge, and since 2019, there have been multiple incidents of piracy and kidnapping in and around Equatorial Guinea's waters that, if left unchecked, could impact U.S. commercial interests.

And if confirmed, I will promote bilateral security cooperation and investment to protect those interests and regional stability.

Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member Rounds, I understand that such cooperation must undergo stringent review to ensure that it does not come at the expense of promoting respect for human rights and does not inadvertently enable corruption.

And, if confirmed, no goal will be more important to me than protecting the lives, interests, and welfare of American citizens living and traveling in Equatorial Guinea. I promise to work closely with you and the Members of this Committee in this endeavor.

So, thank you for the opportunity to appear before you today, and I would be pleased to answer any questions.

[The prepared statement of Ambassador Gilmour follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. DAVID R. GILMOUR

Thank you very much Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member Rounds, and members of the committee for the opportunity to testify before you today. It is a great honor to appear before you as the nominee to be the next United States Ambassador to the Republic of Equatorial Guinea. I am grateful for the confidence that President Biden and Secretary of State Blinken have placed in me with this nomination. If confirmed by the Senate, I will do my best to uphold this trust and advance U.S. national interests and priorities.

I am joined today by my wife Judith Martin, who has spent a lifetime in the Foreign Service, first with her father S. Douglas Martin, a career State Department Officer, and later as my cherished partner as we traveled the world together and raised our family in ten overseas posts and in Washington during the 35 years of my Foreign Service career. I would also like to acknowledge my 93-year-old father, John Gilmour. He worked 34 years in local government, serving the citizens of the small town where I grew up in Michigan. Everything I know about respect, integrity and dedication to public service, I learned from my dad.

Mr. Chairman, I believe my service as Ambassador in Togo, as Chargé d'affaires in Chad, and in senior positions in the Bureau of African Affairs in Washington, as well as postings elsewhere in the world, including as Deputy Chief of Mission

in Panama, have prepared me for this assignment. If confirmed, I will draw upon these experiences to advance U.S. interests in Equatorial Guinea and the Central African region.

Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member Rounds, if confirmed, I will work tirelessly to advance the foreign policy priorities of the United States, including to promote good governance and respect for human rights, end COVID-19 and prevent the next pandemic, improve the business environment for U.S. trade and investment, and promote regional and maritime security.

Since its independence, there have only been two presidents in Equatorial Guinea, one of whom has ruled for over forty years. Presidential term limits were established in 2011 but were not applied retroactively to President Obiang, who could remain in office until at least 2030. Though multiple party elections are technically allowed, the non-ruling political parties faced legal restrictions, and opposition leaders have reportedly faced torture, harassment, intimidation, and politically motivated detention. If confirmed, I will raise our concerns with Equatorial Guinea's leadership about human rights and the rule of law, including the value of democracy and transparency. I will urge government leaders to enable true multi-party democracy and to allow the growth of a strong civil society. I will stress that promoting transparency and ending corrupt practices are key to Equatorial Guinea's long-term growth and stability, and critical to strengthening our commercial ties.

Equatorial Guinea, like most of the world, is facing the challenge of the global COVID-19 pandemic and is enduring its third wave of the pandemic. If confirmed, I will work collaboratively with the U.N. to deliver vaccines through COVAX. I will also seek other action to advance health, wellbeing, and opportunity for all Equatoguineans.

The United States is Equatorial Guinea's largest trading partner and the U.S. Embassy plays a critical role in promoting these U.S. companies' interests. If confirmed, I will continue to work to improve the investment climate for U.S. companies invested in Equatorial Guinea.

Maritime security is Equatorial Guinea's primary security challenge. Since May 2019, there have been multiple incidents of piracy and kidnap for ransom attacks in and around Equatorial Guinea's waters that if left unchecked could impact U.S. commercial interests. If confirmed, I will promote bilateral security cooperation and investment to protect these interests and regional stability. Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member, I understand that such cooperation must undergo stringent review to ensure it does not come at the expense of our priority to promote respect for human rights and does not inadvertently enable corruption.

Additionally, I believe it is important to note the central role that Equatorial Guinea's improvement on countering trafficking in persons has had on our ability to engage the Government on our top priorities. Without the Government's concerted efforts, and consistent U.S. engagement, we would not be able to advance U.S. interests in areas like maritime security, corruption, human rights, and democracy and governance. Therefore, countering trafficking in persons will remain a key line of effort for our bilateral relationship.

And, if confirmed, no goal will be more important to me than protecting the lives, interests, and welfare of American citizens living and traveling in Equatorial Guinea.

I promise to work closely with you and the members of this committee in this endeavor.

I thank you for the opportunity to appear before you today. I would be pleased to answer any questions you may have.

Senator ROUNDS. Thank you, Ambassador Gilmour.

I would expect that our Chairman will be back shortly and, as I indicated earlier, we seem to have this in the afternoons where our votes are being cast, so we try to tag team those votes.

Let me just begin. As I said for panel one, as career diplomats, much of your lives and those of your families, have been spent far from home. You have made great sacrifices in the service to your country. Thank you and your families for your lifetimes of service and let me just assure you, we understand your work is critical to maintaining and advancing America's influence in the world.

Mr. Shukan, you served ably as Chief of Mission in the U.S. Embassy in Khartoum in a very critical and transitional period in the

U.S.-Sudan relationship. If confirmed, you will serve as Ambassador in a region that is rapidly changing for the worse.

Benin remains one of the world's poorest countries. Countering violent extremism is an emergent focus of U.S. engagement and Benin's standing as a Democratic leader in Africa, has rapidly deteriorated under President Talon, whose Government has arrested opposition leaders and implemented restrictive, new electoral rules.

Ms. Fitzsimmons, much of what I just said about Benin could also be said about its neighbor, Togo. On top of it all, and contributing to Togo's woes, is that one family has dominated Togo's politics for 60 days. I believe your recent tenure as Deputy Assistant Secretary for Central Africa and Public Diplomacy, and then as Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary in the Africa Bureau, will be very useful, if confirmed.

Ambassador Gilmour, you are one of the most experienced U.S. Ambassadors currently serving in Africa. Equatorial Guinea is a small, oil- and gas-rich country of increasing strategic importance. It is notorious for its kleptocratic system of governance.

President Obiang took office in 1979, making him one of the world's longest serving heads of state. Equatorial Guinea requires a perceptive and experienced ambassador to lead the U.S. operations. I am glad that you have been nominated for this post.

I am delighted to meet all of you today and I look forward to, you know, continuing to work with you and I most certainly appreciate the comments that you have shared with us today.

And with that, I am not sure if our Chairman has returned or not yet, but if Senator Van Hollen has not returned yet, I would be happy to begin the questioning at this time. And I just looking to see if he has actually come back yet or not, and I don't see him on the list yet, so let me just turn right to the questions and I will begin with Mr. Shukan.

Your experience in Khartoum as the Charge d'Affaires will contrast in several ways to your new position. If confirmed as the new Ambassador to Benin, you are going to be busy.

Sudan has received significant attention from Washington since the Democratic transition began in 2019 and has been a sustained priority across the Trump and Biden administrations. Benin, despite many challenges, will compete for attention with major economic partners in West Africa and the violent extremist threat in the Sahel.

What lessons will you take from your time in Sudan to Benin and what are you looking forward to that will be different?

Ambassador GILMOUR. Well, thank you, Senator Rounds.

And let me first express my appreciation for the comments that you made about the Foreign Service families. I am glad that I have mine joining me online in this virtual hearing. For me, this has very much been a family affair from the very beginning.

I also share the concerns that you have expressed concerning both, the violent extremist threat and Democratic backsliding. I spent the last 2 years, here in Khartoum and the 2 years prior to that working on Sudan from Washington. And it has really been a privilege and a challenge to support Sudan's efforts to really get their democracy moving, to support this transition, and we have

appreciated all the help that we have received from Members of Congress on that.

The Benin situation is different. As I mentioned in my opening comments, I served in Benin in my first assignment. It really was a formative experience for me to witness a young democracy and seeing the value that Beninese citizens placed on exercising their right to vote on participating in a democratic process and seeing peaceful transitions of power.

And, you know, it is certainly something of a disappointment to see the backsliding that has taken place since that time. We are also concerned about media, restrictions on media freedom and the fact that there are some political prisoners in Benin at this time.

So, I think it is important that as a Chief of Mission, we speak both, privately and publicly about democracy and human rights, about our values. It is important, if confirmed, that we encourage Benin to resume the leadership role that it had in the past.

I think this is very much linked to the vulnerability to violence extremist ideology in areas like Northern Benin. People need to feel that they are being heard, that their government is accountable. So, I see a direct relationship between democracy and governance, and security, as well as economic development.

I think it is important to engage all political groups including the [Audio malfunction.] And I think that one of the lessons I have learned from here in Sudan, but also in my previous assignments is the importance of having a whole of mission approach to these things.

And I think that means working with our team to support these values. I know that public affairs and USAID are going to play a critical role, as well as the security assistance that we are providing to the Beninese military and to the police.

Supporting civil society, youth, even engaging with local radio; all of these things are important and provide good flora to talk about our values and advance our interests.

Senator ROUNDS. Thank you.

Ambassador GILMOUR. Thank you.

Senator ROUNDS. Thank you.

And I have had the opportunity to visit Benin and Togo. And, Ms. Fitzsimmons, like Benin, the U.S. mission in Togo is relatively small and Togo commands significantly less attention from Washington than many of its close neighbors.

If confirmed, how will you leverage your public diplomacy background to garner more attention to Togo; conversely, how will you use your public diplomacy background to engage with the Togolese people in new and different ways?

Ms. FITZSIMMONS. Thank you so much for the question, Senator Rounds.

I am delighted at the idea that, if confirmed, I will get to go lead the embassy team at Embassy Lome and think about creative ways that we can use public diplomacy programming, particularly, the Young African Leaders Initiative, which, as you know, is now a decade old, 750,000 strong across the subcontinent. And I think there are tremendous opportunities there to support young African leaders both, in Togo, and network them more effectively with their like-minded colleagues and counterparts, not only in Benin.

I think it is fortuitous that Mr. Shukan and I are on the panel today. I think there are tremendous opportunities to work within the Coastal West African Subregion and across the entire African continent to make sure that young leaders, whether they are in the media, whether they are entrepreneurs, whether they are young educators, have opportunities to hear from, learn from, and teach each other.

There is no question in my mind that an activist in Zimbabwe, for example, has much to teach a young Togolese activist. And I think one of the very effective ways that I would hope to work, if confirmed as Ambassador, is to use my background as someone with experience and exchanges to connect young Africans, so that they can be force multipliers in the many challenges that you have rightly pointed out.

I think, also, it is critically important that we speak clearly when we are talking to the Government, to President Faure, that he understands that things like the current Millennium Challenge Threshold Program in Togo are wonderful opportunities to leverage the Togolese Government's desire to be the gateway to West Africa. But there are very important benchmarks that will need to be met in democracy and governance for that program to move forward successfully and lead, perhaps, ultimately, to a compact for Togo.

So, I would ensure that public and private messaging at the embassy, if confirmed, reinforced the U.S. opportunities in the logistics and services sector in Togo, if Democratic governance space can be maintained and expanded. Thank you.

Senator ROUNDS. Thank you.

And my time has expired, Mr. Chairman, so I will turn it back to you. I have not had the opportunity to ask Ambassador Gilmour one question, but I will leave it up to you. If you want me to just proceed with it or if you would like me to come back?

Senator VAN HOLLEN. [Presiding.] Sure. Do you want to go, proceed. That would be fine.

Senator ROUNDS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Ambassador Gilmour, several top members of the Obiang administration and his family have been implicated in large-scale corruption and other financial crimes, especially tied to oil revenues.

If confirmed, how will you balance multiple U.S. strategic interests, including combatting this kind of corruption that could provide a gateway for a malign, foreign influence?

Ambassador GILMOUR. Well, thank you, Senator Rounds.

And it is nice to see you once again. I don't know if you recall, I hosted you when you came to Togo, along with Senator Inhofe, on a delegation a few weeks back.

Senator ROUNDS. Yes.

Ambassador GILMOUR. And, thank you, again, for your very kind comments about the Foreign Service.

Corruption in Equatorial Guinea is certainly one of the most important priorities for the United States, and as you mentioned, certain senior figures in the Government there have been implicated in corruption cases, both in the United States and in numerous countries.

In fact, just recently, there was a case settled with the vice president and some seized assets, about \$30 million had been negotiated

and a happy ending in sense that about \$20 million of those seized assets will be used to purchase COVID vaccines for the people of Equatorial Guinea.

So, I think, if confirmed, I would certainly want to continue along our lines of speaking out about corruption in the country and, certainly, these kinds of cases, I think, coordinating with our partners, the U.K., the Europeans, Brazil, South Africa, other countries that have had these kinds of cases, it is very important to continue these efforts to highlight official corruption in the country.

At the same time, there have been some signals from the Government that they want to address this problem. There is some new legislation that has been passed in the country that is still pending, as I understand, is still pending implementation, but that is a positive signal.

Also, the country has made representations to rejoin the Extracted Industries Transparency Initiative, which would bring some transparency and accountability to the oil and gas and mining sectors in the country.

So, I think we have to take the Government, you know, take a step-by-step approach with this and kind of judge the political will of this Government and see where it takes us, and see where we can collaborate with them to reduce the official corruption. But, you know, given the track record, as you mentioned, of this Government, we have to proceed cautiously.

Senator ROUNDS. Thank you, Mr. Ambassador.

And, Mr. Chairman, thank you for your indulgence.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. Thank you, Senator.

And Ms. Fitzsimmons, thanks for mentioning the YALI program. Senator Rounds and I have been working together to provide a regular authorization for that program, as has Congresswoman Karen Bass in the House.

And I am pleased to report that just yesterday, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee passed out a 5-year authorization. So, it will now be codified and we want to also expand it to other areas. So, thank you for mentioning that.

Mr. Shukan, I want to take advantage of this hearing, really, to ask you some questions about where you are now in Sudan, because as I mentioned, you know, and, again, thank you for your good work there and for helping Senator Coons and myself during our visit. And we found it a very promising visit. We recognized that we are now 2 and a half years since the fall of Bashir, and we recognize it is a fragile process.

I will say, in recent days and weeks, it is looking even more fragile. And I wondered if you see the most recent events as just more bumps on the road, along the way to a stable and Democratic Sudan, or is there something more serious going on now that is disrupting the path to progress?

Mr. SHUKAN. Senator, thank you for the question.

It is a good question and I think if you look at where we are, it is 2 years into the Sudanese transition since they signed their constitutional declaration on August 2019 and formed the transitional government. They have made some progress. They have made some pretty major progress in terms of signing a peace agreement and getting off of the state sponsors of terror list, and also

implementing economic reforms that have brought about some improvements on the macroeconomic side, like improved inflation, gotten rid of subsidies on tea commodity.

But they also, there are some key benchmarks that have not yet been met and especially on the security side in terms of progress to integrate the various armed groups that exist, including those represented by Juba Peace Agreement signatories, the formation of a transitional legislative council, for example.

And then, I think despite the economic positives, there is also a gap between improvements on the macro side and the very, very serious difficulties that the ordinary Sudanese man and woman on the street are experiencing.

So, yeah, I do share your concern about the seriousness of the situation right now. We are expecting to see some large demonstrations tomorrow. What we expect is to see a large contingent coming out in support of democracy, in support of civilian leadership. And that is what makes me optimistic, even though we are at a very fragile moment in Sudan.

They really are going to have to redouble their efforts, the various components of this transitional government to work together. There are divisions between civilians and military that got a lot of attention, but the divisions between the different civilian groups, between JPA signatories and the forces for freedom and change, those are very important.

So, the prime minister did form a committee a few days ago to address this kind of situation and it includes the military and it includes the FFC. It includes some of the JPA signatories. That is really positive, but I think we are going to have to just keep pushing. We are doing it in public. We are doing it in private.

There is really no other path forward, except working together and recommitting to implementation of those principles of freedom, peace, and justice from that August 2019 constitutional declaration.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. Well, I appreciate that, because I think we have a continuing important role to play in trying to support the Sudanese people in this move toward democracy.

We saw the failed coup recently. The good news is that it failed. But we have also seen some protests, as you know, in support of the military, probably organized by Bashir forces. So, I am hoping to see a big outpouring of support for the continue to march toward democracy in the days ahead.

And I think Prime Minister Hamdok continues to be a good leader, but I am worried, as I know you are, about the developments in the area. I just want to be clear that we are all united in trying to make sure that we support the success of this peaceful revolution.

I just have one other question for Ambassador Gilmour. As you know, Equatorial Guinea is currently ruled by a regime characterized by Freedom House as, quote, highly authoritarian, unquote, and they further state that it frequently detains the few opposition politicians in the country, cracks down on civil society groups, and censors journalists.

They also point out, quote, the Judiciary is under presidential control and security forces engage in torture and other violence with impunity. That is from Freedom House.

So, my question is this, and I say this as somebody who supports U.S. efforts to professionalize militaries around the world, as a supporter, generally speaking, of the IMEP program, but also one who has seen that in certain cases, those who were trained through the IMEP program or other U.S. efforts to professionalize militaries have participated in coups and in anti-democratic conduct.

The Biden administration requested \$500,000 to support IMEP programs in Equatorial Guinea. Can you talk a little bit about that request and how you would balance that request with our concerns over the direction of the country and the issues that I raised.

Ambassador GILMOUR. Yeah, thank you, Mr. Chairman.

And, thank you, by the way, for your comments about the YALI program. I happen to have the honor to be part of the team that created the Mandela Washington Fellowship, which is the centerpiece of the YALI program. So, thank you for your support for that and, particularly, for continuing to finance it, because it is a tremendous and valuable tool and all of our embassies make great use of it.

And thank you for the question. I think, certainly, it is not a pretty picture in terms of governance and democracy in Equatorial Guinea and it never has been. And as you mentioned, Freedom House, I think since the 1990s, has ranked Equatorial Guinea as not a free country. So, this is a challenging partner to work with.

In the last couple of years, there have been some efforts by the Government to improve, in certain areas, and notably, in trafficking in persons, and you may be aware that they were able to raise their ranking in the annual trafficking of persons survey to the Tier 2 watchlist, and that, then, opened the possibility for some collaboration with the United States in terms of foreign assistance programs, which I believe led to the IMEP request that you mentioned.

I think what is certainly driving the IMEP request and a desire on the part of the United States to increase engagement with Equatorial Guinea on security issues are the very serious security problems going on in the Gulf of Guinea. As I mentioned in my opening statement, there have been, particularly in the past couple of years, many serious incidents of piracy and kidnapping, and, of course, we have, the United States has commercial interests in Equatorial Guinea, but also all around in the surrounding countries, as well; most notably, Nigeria, which is very close to Equatorial Guinea, and Cameroon.

So, there are many Americans working in that region. Enormous investments in, particularly, oil and gas, and particularly offshore platforms, which have been the target of many of these piracy attacks.

So, we, the United States, we need Equatorial Guinea to be a responsible player in terms of security, maritime security in that region. And so, I think, certainly, our concept is we want to work with them to begin to develop their capacity or increase their capacity to be able to respond to some of these attacks. Equatorial Guinea, actually even had one pirate attack in the outskirts of the

capital. There was an attack against a gas-processing facility in 2020.

So, it is a very serious problem and something that we need to work with them on. But, at the same time, we have these very serious concerns about human rights and governance and democracy that we have had for a very long time.

So, my approach, if confirmed, would be to go very cautiously in this direction. We want to work with them, but we need to see what is their political will for reform. We need to be very cautious in terms of not enabling corruption.

There have been allegations of corruption in the military forces; of course, we have the [inaudible—1:56:44] vetting process and if we are to work with security force members there, we need to be very cautious and very thorough in that process to know who we are dealing with.

So, if confirmed, I would take a very cautious approach, a very measured approach, and I think a very step-by-step approach with any engagement we are going to do, in terms of working with their security forces. And I think we need to go slowly, and I think we need to set benchmarks and take a very cautious approach.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. Well, thank you, Mr. Ambassador.

And, right, we all will be working with you and rely on your good judgment on how to best balance all these factors.

Senator ROUNDS, do you have any other questions, comments?

Senator ROUNDS. Mr. Chairman, I do not.

I have most certainly appreciated the responses that we have received today.

And, once again, it is the fact that we have these qualified individuals before us for these really challenging posts, is appreciated. Thank you.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. Well, let me add my thanks and appreciation, as well, to all of you for your current service in the Foreign Service and for, you know, taking on the responsibilities for which you have been nominated.

And I will certainly support your confirmation. We have a group here with deep expertise and experience. So, many thanks to all of you and to your families.

And with that, this hearing is adjourned. Thank you.

Senator ROUNDS. Thank you.

[Whereupon, at 3:44 p.m., the hearing was adjourned.]

Additional Material Submitted for the Record

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO HON. PATRICIA MAHONEY BY SENATOR ROBERT MENENDEZ

Question. Various armed groups control regions of the Central Africa Republic (CAR), contributing to a fragmented and war-torn landscape. How can the U.S. work with the Government the Central Africa Republic, the United Nations, and like-minded partners to bring parties to the negotiating table, and return to dialogue on a peace process that will lead to a sustainable peace?

Answer. Understanding political grievances where they exist, including through a robust and inclusive Republican Dialogue, and strengthening implementation of the 2019 Political Agreement for Peace and Reconciliation (Khartoum Accord), which the United States has championed, are important factors in bringing signatories

back to the peace process. The United States, working with other international partners, should also support initiatives which improve relations with neighbors, reduce cross-border movement of arms and combatants, and enable CAR to secure its borders. Strengthening CAR's security institutions to consolidate control over government-controlled areas is critical, as is deployment of state services to populations and eventually supporting local elections. If confirmed, I will leverage all the tools at my disposal to support these initiatives.

Question. On October 15, President Touadéra declared a unilateral cessation of hostilities against the rebel coalition.

- How has this affected the security situation on the ground and humanitarian access, if at all?
- What prospects are there for negotiations with rebel leaders, and what might such negotiations address?
- What are the implications for the 2019 Khartoum Accord?

Answer. President Faustin-Archange Touadéra's unilateral ceasefire is something we and regional partners, including the International Conference for the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR) pressed for and welcomed, including through a statement the Embassy and its G-5 partners (African Union (AU), European Union (EU), Economic Community for Central African States (ECCAS), France, the World Bank, and the U.N. Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in CAR (MINUSCA)) issued in the wake of Touadéra's declaration. International partners are encouraging the Government to stand up a monitoring mechanism as soon as possible, and humanitarian actors are assessing the situation on the ground, which remains dynamic.

It is my understanding that through the ICGLR initiative, discussions are ongoing with armed group leaders with a view to having them return to the 2019 Political Agreement for Peace and Reconciliation (Khartoum Accord).

Touadéra's initiative is an indication he is cognizant the only way out of the current crisis is through dialogue leading to a political settlement. It is my hope that armed groups will return to the framework of the 2019 Accord which offers opportunities for political representation, decentralization, and more equitable management of natural resources.

Question. As the people of the Central Africa Republic struggle to cope with multiple crises while attempting to restore basic governance, how can the U.S. most effectively support humanitarian needs and civil society efforts to build the foundations of democracy?

Answer. CAR presents a complex relay of urgent challenges, including ongoing violence and instability, weak state institutions, and lack of government control over much of its territory; a dire humanitarian crisis; and now the influence of malign actors.

At the heart of these challenges lies the CARG's inability to exert effective control over its territory. That inability to control and provide essential services allows for the violence and instability of armed groups vying for territory and resources; which in turn leads to increased human rights abuses and constricts humanitarian access; and leaves space for malign actors like the Russia-supported private military company (PMC) Wagner Group (Wagner), and other U.S. sanctioned entities associated with Yevgeny Prigozhin. These actors have demonstrated clearly they do not have the long-term interests of CAR as an operating principle.

Engaging a Russian PMC to help gain the upper hand may seem like a short-term fix to some in the CAR Government, but it is doing long-term damage to the goals of peace, national reconciliation, and rule of law, which are linchpins to CAR's ultimate stability, without strengthening government institutions or capacity that would make the CAR Government able to hold and maintain effective control over additional territory.

The United States, working with international partners, needs to support those diplomatic, security and peace initiatives which are most likely to reduce the violence, and enable CAR to secure its borders. It is important in this context to remember that Security Council members recently agreed to significantly increase MINUSCA's troop strength.

Working with other members of the G-5, if confirmed, I would support the ceasefire recently announced by President Touadéra. In concert with international and regional partners, I would press all stakeholders to recommit to and reinvigorate the peace process under the 2019 Accord. The CARG's recent steps to initiate a national dialogue on peace and reconciliation are an encouraging step.

I would also re-emphasize the perils of working with an entity sanctioned for sound reasons not only by the United States but by other governments (EU and UK) as well. In the long term, I would continue our ongoing efforts to strengthen CAR

Government institutions—most critically in the justice sector but also in the CAR Government's stewardship of national resources.

Further, if confirmed, I would seek out ways to expand the U.S. Government's myriad of successful health initiatives in Africa to improve CAR's ability to respond to health issues including measles, malaria, and infant mortality, if security conditions in country permit increased programming.

Question. CAR's Government has pledged to investigate allegations by U.N. human rights officers that state security forces and allied security personnel—including Russian military instructors and private military contractors—are responsible for grave human rights abuses, including extrajudicial killings and torture of detainees.

- What is the status of these investigations, and how credible have they been to date?
- How might the allegations, and the CAR Government's response, affect the scope of U.S. security assistance in the future?

Answer. Minister of Justice Abazene's mid-October sharing of the summary of the CAR Government commission of inquiry report is a useful step toward accountability in these matters. Abazene mentioned that proceedings related to the human rights abuses enumerated in the report were ongoing in civilian and military courts. Embassy Bangui is gathering more information on the precise number and status of these cases, including through engagement with Abazene, and, if I am confirmed, I will continue to press him and President Touadera to ensure all are pursued to conclusion and perpetrators held accountable.

Human rights considerations factor into all aspects of our security sector cooperation with CAR and are a critical determinant of its breadth and scope. As indicated, and as we have done in the past, we will scale back work if human rights concerns arise.

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 Foreign Service career, I have worked to advance U.S. policy to support and promote democracy and respect for human rights. I regard that work as not only essential to my mission as a diplomat representing the values of the United States but also among the most personally rewarding aspects of my career. The impact of those efforts has often been incremental (as in a counterpart government's long-term efforts to institutionalize accountability mechanisms for its military) or part of a broader team effort (as when colleagues across the U.S. interagency worked to support members of civil society as they advocated against anti-LGBTQI+ legislation in Uganda). As Ambassador to the Republic of Benin, I advocated both publicly and privately for increased space for dissent; greater media freedom; and fair process and equitable treatment for detainees, including those detained on political grounds. If confirmed, I commit to continue promoting and supporting democracy and respect for human rights in the Central African Republic.

Question. What issues are the most pressing challenges to democracy or democratic development in the Central Africa Republic? 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. Following consultations with colleagues and experts, I see the most pressing challenges to democracy or democratic development in CAR being threefold and interrelated: fragile institutions, ongoing violence that stymies development and progress, and a lack of access to justice by much of the population. Stemming from these foundational challenges, we see troubling symptoms including but not limited to 1) malign influence by Russia, which further erodes the country's stability and respect for the rule of law; 2) a moribund peace process; 3) corruption in the mining sector; and 4) a worsening humanitarian situation throughout the country, which is impacting millions of Central Africans.

If confirmed, I will strive to provide honest counsel to President Touadera and his Government, while ensuring good stewardship of the Department of State's and interagency's resources in concert with the UN, EU, AU, France, regional organizations, and others to strengthen the country's democratic institutions, advance the rule of law, improve access to justice, end impunity, enable effective delivery of humanitarian assistance, and increase transparency in the mining sector. Additionally, I will seek to increase the capacity of Central Africans to identify and call out hate speech, disinformation, and propaganda through education and outreach to civil so-

ciety. One of my primary goals as ambassador, if confirmed, will be to support a viable path for the Government to begin moving from lifesaving humanitarian assistance to sustainable development.

Question. What steps will you take—if confirmed—to support democracy in the Central Africa Republic? 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 support democracy in CAR in coordination with the Bureau of Democracy, Rights, and Labor, the Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement, the Office of Global Criminal Justice, and other Department of State colleagues and the interagency to strengthen CAR's judicial and security institutions to make them more responsive to Central Africans' needs. Additionally, I commit to spotlighting reports of human rights violations and abuses and governance concerns to my CAR Government counterparts, and spotlighting these concerns through Embassy Bangui's reporting, in collaboration with NGOs and civil society.

The objectives I hope to accomplish through my engagement, if confirmed, would be increased capacity by the Government to serve more Central Africans throughout the country; security and law enforcement officials who respect the rule of law and human rights; and a more stable environment in which Central African entrepreneurs could begin to make economic progress. Although we need to see further concrete actions to hold those who commit human rights violations and abuses accountable, I think the Government's commission of inquiry into human rights abuses—which released a summary of its report on October 2 and named CAR Armed Forces and "Russian instructors"—represents a potential mechanism in the fight against impunity.

The country's fragile and undeveloped institutions, ongoing violence, and corruption impede the United States' ability to achieve these goals in collaboration with the Central African people. I think it will be important to work with the CAR Government and our international partners to develop innovative solutions to these complex and interrelated issues.

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. While the Democracy Commission Small Grants program is only for countries in Europe, if confirmed, I will strive to make sure all U.S. Government democracy and governance assistance for CAR is used effectively and efficiently. I will do my utmost, if confirmed, to ensure Department of State and USAID democracy and governance funding is prioritized in ways that are coordinated, mutually reinforcing, and will advance U.S. Government interests and strategic goals in CAR, including strengthening institutions; increasing civilian security; promoting respect for human rights, and enhancing transparency and accountability in government. In coordination with the CAR Government, civil society, and international partners, I will seek to make U.S. funding responsive to local needs and aligned with our objectives in CAR.

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 the Central Africa Republic? 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 building on and expanding Embassy Bangui's strong relationships with civil society members, human rights and other NGOs in the United States, and with NGOs and civil society organizations in CAR. As the United States' Ambassador to the Republic of Benin, I used the convening power of my position to create spaces for NGOs and members of civil society to gather and voice their concerns. If confirmed, I will strive to develop a robust dialogue with government and civil society actors to better understand their equities. Additionally, I will work closely with likeminded partners to ensure our messaging to the CAR Government is unified in our advocacy for respect for human rights, access to justice, and stressing the importance of a free and open environment for Central Africans to express their political views without fear of retribution.

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 with democratically oriented political opposition figures and parties in CAR. As we look ahead to the Republican Dialogue scheduled to begin in November, as well as the first local elections in over 30 years—scheduled for September 2022, our engagement with the CAR Government, political opposition groups, neighboring countries, and likeminded nations will be of utmost importance to ensure constructive political engagement and avoiding violence that has plagued the country for too long.

Question. Will you and your embassy team actively engage with the Central Africa Republic 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 the Central Africa Republic?

Answer. An independent Central African press is critical to the success of CAR's democracy and to countering malign influence. If confirmed, I will meet regularly with independent and local press in CAR, building on Embassy Bangui's work to maintain strong relationships with local and international journalists in CAR. I will work with Department of State and interagency colleagues to continue providing professional training and exchange opportunities for members of the press to build their resilience to disinformation and hate speech. Finally, I will continue Embassy Bangui's strong advocacy with the Central African Government to protect and facilitate the work of a free and independent press in CAR.

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. It is critical for the United States to build on efforts to counter disinformation and hate speech in CAR, which risks enflaming tensions and exacerbating existing divisions in the country. If confirmed, I will coordinate with Department of State and interagency partners—as well as likeminded nations—to expand training initiatives to empower journalists to report accurately on events and shed light on allegations of human rights violations and abuses, instances of corruption, as well as malign influence by Russian propagandists. I will also seek to support the work of community leaders who promote peace.

Question. Will you and your embassy teams actively engage with the Central Africa Republic on the right of labor groups to organize, including for independent trade unions?

Answer. If confirmed, I will commit to actively engage with the CAR Government—specifically the Ministry of Labor, Employment, and Social Protection—on the right of workers to exercise freedom of association, including to form and join independent trade unions, and call out incidents when the Government or other actors restricts that right.

Question. Will you commit to using your position, if confirmed, to defend the human rights and dignity of all people in the Central Africa Republic, no matter their sexual orientation or gender identity?

Answer. I commit to using my position, if confirmed, to defend the human rights and dignity of all people in CAR, no matter their gender identity, expression or sexual orientation. As I did during my service in Uganda as deputy chief of mission, I will work with colleagues across the U.S. interagency to promote respect for the human rights of LGBTQI+ persons in CAR, working in close partnership with local civil society. I will support civil society voices in CAR to strengthen their ability to advocate for the human rights of all persons. I will use all the tools at my disposal, including Embassy Bangui's convening power to bring together key actors from the Government, civil society, private sector, and international community to discuss issues affecting LGBTQI+ persons.

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

Answer. CAR's penal code criminalizes public expressions of same-sex affection, and LGBTQI+ individuals are stigmatized by societal attitudes and prejudice.

Question. What specifically will you commit to do to help LGBTQ people in the Central Africa Republic?

Answer. I commit to better understanding the situation of LGBTQI+ persons in CAR and how the U.S. Government can advance their cause including through our convening power, messaging, and programming.

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 the Central Africa Republic?

Answer. I commit fully to briefing Congress consistently and openly during my tenure as Ambassador to CAR, if I am confirmed.

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, I agree these incidents and any threats to the health and safety of U.S. personnel must be taken seriously.

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. Yes. As Secretary Blinken has said, his number one responsibility as Secretary of State is to protect the men and women representing our country around the world. If confirmed, I commit to ensuring Embassy Bangui treats any reported incident seriously. Should they occur, we will report these incidents through appropriate channels in a timely manner and ensure any affected individual receives 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. Yes. If confirmed, I will meet regularly with medical and Regional Security Office staff in Bangui to ensure I understand the full scope of threats against U.S. personnel and that all safety protocols are being followed carefully.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED TO HON. PATRICIA MAHONEY BY SENATOR JAMES E. RISCH

Question. Beyond public messaging and diplomacy, what tools will you have at your disposal to encourage the Touadera administration to distance itself from partnerships developed with Russia and Russia-linked actors, and encourage positive political, economic and security reforms?

Answer. The United States supports CAR's efforts to develop strong institutions and strengthen the rule of law through capacity building and technical assistance. If confirmed, I will use my position as ambassador to enhance coordination within the Department of State, across the U.S. Government, with partners such as the European Union and France, as well as regional organizations to ensure U.S. efforts are strengthening the CAR Government's ability to mitigate conflict, stop human rights abuses and violations, and hold those responsible accountable.

To counterbalance Russia's influence, I will use the U.S. Government's wide array of instruments to call out Russian behavior, including working in collaboration with the U.S. Mission to the U.N. and like-minded partners at the U.N. The CAR Government's commission of inquiry—established to investigate allegations of human rights abuses described in an August U.N. report—acknowledged abuses and violations committed by “Russian instructors” and CAR Armed Forces (FACA). If confirmed, I will press the CAR Government to hold perpetrators responsible. I will also highlight the impact of previous sanctions on Russian entities, and individuals operating in CAR, while strengthening coordination with partner governments to ensure our activities have mutually supporting and maximum impact. Within the Department of State, I will build on ongoing collaboration between the bureaus of African Affairs, European and Eurasian Affairs, International Organization Affairs, the Global Engagement Center, and others to ensure U.S. efforts remain aligned and complementary. Additionally, if confirmed, I will ensure there continues to be robust dialogue between Embassy Bangui and the U.S. Mission to the United Nations in New York.

Lastly, it is critical for the United States to build on efforts to counter disinformation in CAR, which risks enflaming tensions and exacerbating existing divisions in the country. If confirmed, I will coordinate with Department of State and

interagency partners—as well as likeminded nations—to expand training initiatives to empower journalists to report accurately on events and shed light on allegations of human rights violations and abuses, instances of corruption, as well as malign influence by Russian propagandists. I will also seek to support the work of community leaders who promote peace.

Question. In your view, how does the Central African Republic rank in terms of strategic importance for the United States?

Answer. I think it is in the United States' national security interest to continue engaging diplomatically with the CAR Government to assist the country recover from its long history of violence and fragility. The conditions that have led to serious allegations of human rights abuses and violations against civilians, the threat of famine, unlawful child soldier recruitment and use, the malign influence of Russia, and a host of other issues will not stay localized to CAR and will continue to threaten regional peace and security if left unaddressed.

Question. Do you feel the U.S. level of engagement with the Central African Republic reflects this level of strategic importance?

Answer. Based on my consultations with Department of State colleagues, I have gained a deep appreciation for the tremendous work being done by teammates throughout the U.S. Government to address CAR's humanitarian needs, strengthen the country's institutions—particularly the justice and security sectors, and counter Russia's malign influence. If confirmed, I will explore additional opportunities for the United States to engage diplomatically with the CAR Government—where appropriate, in consultation with key U.S. interlocutors.

Question. If you do not feel as if the U.S.' level of engagement with the Central Africa Republic reflects the level of strategic importance, how would you, if confirmed, work as Ambassador to address this imbalance?

Answer. The United States' humanitarian engagement in CAR has saved countless lives. If confirmed, I look forward to discussing with you and your colleagues innovative ways the Department of State and interagency can achieve our objectives in the Central African Republic: 1) supporting the 2019 Peace Agreement to end the Central African Republic's violence; 2) ensuring humanitarian assistance reaches those most in need, and 3) strengthening the country's justice and security institutions.

Question. The U.S. Embassy in the Central African Republic is a small, unaccompanied mission, in one of the most difficult environments in which to live and work in the world. As Chief of Mission, how will you work to keep staff morale high?

Answer. The wellbeing, safety, and security of the embassy community will be my primary concern. If confirmed, I will seek to support my team members in Bangui by fostering an environment where they feel valued, safe, and supported as they work to make progress on critical U.S. policy objectives in CAR. Serving in CAR is undeniably challenging and I will work in tandem with Deputy Chief of Mission James Hogan to ensure 1) we focus our time and resources on tasks that directly support the mission's primary objectives to prevent exhaustion or burnout; 2) create a culture that promotes clear, respectful, and honest communication among all team members; and 3) ensure colleagues are taking advantage of their leave periods so they can recover from the very significant demands service in Bangui imposes. If I am confirmed, I look forward to discussing with my U.S. and Central African locally employed staff colleagues to better understand their needs and concerns so we can explore ways to reinforce what is working well and strengthen areas of opportunity.

Question. How will you engage Africa Bureau leadership to support the staff in Bangui?

Answer. I will engage my colleagues in the Bureau of African Affairs leadership transparently and candidly to build an effective dialogue between Bangui and Washington. I will continue Ambassador Lucy Tamlyn's regularly scheduled calls with the Bureau of African Affairs and establish new engagement channels if necessary to ensure the Department of State understands the needs and challenges of the Embassy Bangui team. Further, if confirmed, I would seek the counsel of all colleagues at Embassy Bangui to better understand what engagement practices have worked and where there may be areas we can improve upon in collaboration with the Bureau of African Affairs.

Question. Do you believe it is the sign of a healthy democracy when a duly elected government, in consultation with its citizens, extends the term of office of the presi-

gency even if that means it would extend the term of the current President in power?

Answer. Based on my years working as a diplomat in Africa and elsewhere I think it is imperative governments respond to the needs of their people and govern from a position of trust and earned legitimacy. I think clearly defined presidential term limits are necessary to a well-functioning democracy. There are too many examples in Africa and elsewhere in the world where the extension of presidential term limits through various mechanisms has weakened institutions, diminished the public's trust in government, and driven instability. No country can thrive when much of its populace feels disaffected by its government.

Question. If confirmed, how would you respond to the Central African Republic potentially extending the term of the current President in power?

Answer. If I am confirmed, building a strong and respectful working relationship with CAR President Faustin-Archange Touadera will be among my top priorities. If the CAR Government considered extending presidential term limits, I would seek out the perspectives of civil society, the political opposition, and Touadera's allies and use those insights to consult with the U.S. interagency. Once U.S. policy was defined, I would leverage my relationship with President Touadera to ensure U.S. objectives were met.

Question. Please provide your view on supporting U.S. funded, independent international election observation missions? Would you support such a mission for the Central African Republic's next general election?

Answer. I think there is significant value in the United States supporting independent international election observations, especially in fragile democracies like CAR that faced such destabilizing violence following its December 2020 elections. As we look ahead to the planned September 2022 local elections as well as the general elections scheduled for 2025, I will—if confirmed—consult with the CAR Government, civil society, and allies to understand the conditions on the ground, and work to develop plans and options that permit the holding of genuinely free and fair elections using open and transparent electoral processes.

Question. Should the United States build on its existing defense and security cooperation with the Central African Republic?

Answer. In collaboration with partners, including the European Union and the United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in CAR (MINUSCA) and in accordance with all applicable U.S. regulations, I think the United States must continue its investment in strengthening the FACA. The United States, Central African region, and CAR all gain from a FACA that is professional, competent, and respects human rights. The United States' approach to security sector reform is unique in its focus on human rights, and if confirmed, I will work with allies in country and colleagues in Washington to communicate clearly to President Touadera and the CAR Government what is required for the United States and partners to build on past defense and security cooperation.

I will also press the Government to follow through on its promise to investigate reports of human rights abuses by FACA and Russian security forces and hold offenders accountable through a transparent judicial process.

Question. Where are the opportunities and the risks if the United States builds on its existing defense and security cooperation with the Central African Republic?

Answer. The CAR Government has consistently expressed its appreciation for U.S. security assistance, as well as a desire for additional cooperation. Further engagement between the United States and FACA—provided the CAR Government addresses U.S. concerns with violations related to transfer agreements and other issues, particularly those touching on human rights violations—may lead to a more capable security force able to project state authority throughout the country's territory for the first time in its history. Additionally, the United States' focus on promoting respect for human rights in our defense training is unique and cannot be discounted. I believe that a FACA professionalized through U.S.-provided training and other support will be a critical factor in CAR and the region's stability going forward.

I worry that as allegations of human rights violations and abuses by FACA as well as associated armed elements mount, it will become more challenging for the United States to provide defense sector training or assistance. Allegations of serious human rights abuses by Russia-supported private military company elements from the Wagner Group targeting CAR's Muslim minorities risks further marginalizing those communities and triggering spillover effects across the region. If confirmed, I will continue—and expand where appropriate—Ambassador Tamlyn's engagement

with the Government alongside the European Union, MINUSCA, and allies to reiterate the importance of respecting human rights while continuing to explore African-led security alternatives to the Wagner Group's activities in the country.

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 Bangui?

Answer. Based on my consultations with Embassy Bangui leadership and Department of State colleagues, it is my understanding my teammates in country—from Ambassador Tamlyn to the officers who serve as the mission's engine—are performing at an extraordinary level in terms of their diplomatic engagement and reporting. However, they are also dealing with a tremendous amount of stress associated with expanding mandatory reporting requirements without additional resources, insufficient staffing, and the day-to-day challenges of working in a post far removed from their families and loved ones. Despite these stressors, I understand my teammates in Bangui remain focused on their mission and wholly committed to advancing the United States' interests in the country and doing their utmost to improve the lives of the Central African people.

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

Answer. The wellbeing of my teammates in Bangui will be my paramount concern. If confirmed, I will create space for frequent one-on-one check-ins and work to restart in-person communication and community building events—COVID-19 conditions in country permitting. I have learned as deputy chief of mission for two posts and as ambassador to the Republic of Benin how important it is to consistently and verbally express my appreciation for my colleagues' hard work and efforts to accomplish the mission's objectives. Additionally, I think there is great value in ensuring our priorities are clear and investments in time are directly tied to those priorities. I humbly acknowledge this will be an ongoing process—if I am confirmed—and I am excited to build on Ambassador Tamlyn's exemplary leadership and engage with my U.S. and Central African colleagues to create a culture that allows people to be their best and feel valued.

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

Answer. If confirmed, I will lead regular discussions with all sections to establish and review goals and develop strategies to achieve common objectives. I will engage all teammates to conceive and articulate clearly what we aim to accomplish, and how we will achieve those objectives. If I am confirmed, I will endeavor to create a culture of inclusion in which all employees' contributions are valued.

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 collaborative, respectful, and built on a foundation of trust and clear communication. I think it is critical for chiefs of mission to model effective leadership and management, and I am cognizant—as I learned as deputy chief of mission in Nepal as well as Uganda and as Ambassador to the Republic of Benin—that I set the tone for my U.S. and local team members. Lastly, I think it is important for leaders to demonstrate humility at all times and if confirmed, I commit to doing my utmost to live these ideals every day I serve as the United States' ambassador to the Central African Republic.

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

Answer. No, I do not think it is ever acceptable or constructive to berate subordinates in public or private. I think establishing clear expectations and respectfully and constructively explaining why an action did not meet expectations while offering a path forward is the most effective means of helping colleagues reach their potential and improve upon areas of opportunity. We are all human and we will all make mistakes; I have found that delivering clear feedback with empathy leads to more optimal performance. If confirmed, I commit to treating my teammates of all rank with respect.

Question. What lessons have you learned from your tenure leading Embassy Cotonou?

Answer. From my tenure leading Embassy Cotonou, I have learned that I do not have all the ideas (or even the best ideas!) and it is important to create an environment in which all colleagues who make an embassy function feel comfortable in offering suggestions. I have also learned that even though I may know that I value

my colleagues' input, they will not necessarily know I appreciate them unless I make a point of telling them clearly and consistently.

Question. How will your management style and approach differ from Embassy Cotonou?

Answer. With humility, I think the principles I aspire to (inclusivity, appreciation, clear communication) are critical to effective leadership and management regardless of the assignment. That said, there are important differences between Cotonou and Bangui such as security, freedom of movement, and the size of the embassy team. Acknowledging these differences, I will strive to be even more attentive to the morale of those I am responsible to as ambassador, and I will seek to work with the deputy chief of mission and all team members—if confirmed—to make sure we are being mindful of the stress we are carrying, and when our collective and individual wellbeing needs additional care.

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

Answer. Based on my time serving as deputy chief of mission in Nepal and Uganda, and then as ambassador in Benin, I think the deputy chief of mission-ambassador partnership is one of the most important relationships to nurture in an embassy. If confirmed, I plan to develop a close and collaborative partnership with Deputy Chief of Mission James Hogan to ensure that our expectations related to priorities, operations, reporting, and engagement are aligned and mutually supportive.

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

Answer. Traditionally, the deputy chief of mission is responsible for an embassy's day-to-day operations as well as management and serving as an ombudsman for colleagues to voice their concerns. With a post such as Embassy Bangui with a smaller team, I think it will be important and useful for Deputy Chief of Mission Hogan and me to begin discussing this question in the coming weeks, if I am confirmed. Considering my current distance from Bangui, I look forward to gaining a more accurate understanding of daily conditions in country and creating a partnership that works for the team and helps us to achieve our objectives.

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 think it is critical for team members' personal and professional growth for managers to provide accurate, constructive feedback on their performance. As ambassador, if confirmed, I will do my utmost in partnership with the deputy chief of mission to ensure Embassy Bangui managers are providing specific and constructive feedback in a respectful manner to colleagues they are responsible to as leaders.

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 will support and encourage clear, accurate, and direct feedback to employees in order to help them be their best and incentivize those who demonstrate superior effort.

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 the Central African Republic.

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

Answer. The Department of State faces a challenging balancing act in terms of ensuring our diplomats can engage effectively with interlocutors throughout the country they are responsible for understanding while limiting personal risk, especially in a high-threat post like Bangui. As I have expressed previously, I think my team members are the Department of State's most important resource and I take their well-being seriously. That said, if I am confirmed, I will work with my Regional Security Office in Bangui and Diplomatic Security in Washington to ensure we are balancing these two requirements to ensure our staff stay safe while effectively advancing U.S. policy objectives.

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

Answer. Embassy Bangui's threat environment is complex and creates challenges for accessing many populations, especially outside of Bangui. If confirmed, I will use all tools at my disposal in coordination with partners, including MINUSCA, to actively support the country's 2019 Peace Agreement, the best option we have currently to reduce violence and return CAR to stability. These activities typically involve engaging local populations, something we do as often as possible and which Embassy Bangui did during September and October trips to key areas in the country's center (Bria), southwest (Bayanga), and southeast (Chinko).

Question. Public diplomacy is an important aspect of U.S. foreign policy efforts.

- What is the public diplomacy environment like in the Central African Republic?
- What public diplomacy challenges do U.S. diplomats face there?

Answer. Like most institutions in CAR, the country's press is undeveloped and highly partisan. Radio dominates CAR's public messaging space with internet penetration at approximately five percent countrywide. Disinformation by malign Russian actors is also a serious threat that at times compromises the activities of key partners like MINUSCA.

In terms of strengthening our relationship with the Central African people as well as civil servants, I think we can do more to enhance the bonds between our two countries. In coordination with the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, I would like to explore how we can expand the use of International Visitor Leadership Programs to more thoughtfully engage with Central Africans who desire the same things we do for CAR, a country at peace with itself and its neighbors. In the same vein, if confirmed, I would like to explore ways to provide training for more journalists to strengthen their ability to tell fact from disinformation and report objectively on events that impact their fellow Central Africans.

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. Like most endeavors in the Department of State, open and consistent communication between colleagues leads to more effective coordination. If confirmed, I will seek to bolster the already-productive working relationship between the Bureau of African Affairs' public diplomacy office and Embassy Bangui's Public Affairs Section. As we saw following President Touadera's October 15 ceasefire declaration, there will continue to be significant opportunities for the Department of State to amplify post's messages through various media channels, and I will ensure these lanes remain synchronized and open, if I am confirmed.

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.

- If confirmed, do you commit to taking this threat seriously?

Answer. The welfare of my teammates is the most important issue I am responsible for as ambassador, and if confirmed, I commit to taking the threat of anomalous health incidents very seriously. Working with the deputy chief of mission and regional security officer, in consultation with colleagues in Washington, I will work to better understand this threat in CAR, and develop plans and responses, as appropriate for conditions in country.

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

Answer. I think transparency—while acknowledging the sensitivity of some information we work with—is integral for a well-functioning embassy. If confirmed, I commit to speaking as openly about anomalous health incidents as possible with my U.S. and Central African colleagues. Further, I would stress that team members should notify me, Embassy Bangui's regional security officer, and the deputy chief of mission if they experience any unexplained medical symptoms. Embassy Bangui is a small team, and it is important we trust each other and can discuss these issues transparently.

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 on increased transatlantic cooperation, including in Africa, to counter Chinese malign influence more effectively.

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

Answer. China's footprint in CAR is lighter than elsewhere in the region. That said, if confirmed, I look forward to deepening work on this question in consultation with colleagues from the bureaus of African Affairs, European and Eurasian Affairs, East Asia and Pacific Affairs, and other key offices. Work in this lane will leverage the already-robust inter-Departmental collaboration on countering Russia's malign influence in CAR that I have observed during my consultations.

Question. In the 2021 Trafficking in Persons Report, the Central African Republic was identified as Tier 2 due to a lack of adequate victim services, convictions of traffickers, and overall official complicity. Yet, they did demonstrate overall improving efforts during the reporting period and throughout the COVID-19 pandemic.

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

Answer. I was pleased to learn the Department of State's Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons (J/TIP) assessed CAR demonstrated overall increasing efforts to prosecute traffickers, identify and protect victims, and prevent the crime over the course of the 2021 Trafficking in Persons Report rating period. This achievement is especially notable as the country faced such a myriad of threats and challenges over the course of 2020 and early 2021. If I am confirmed, I will work in partnership with J/TIP to support the CAR Government's anti-trafficking in persons lead, Josiane Bemaka-Soui (one of eight global 2021 TIP Heroes), with training and technical assistance where possible, while encouraging President Touadera to continue prioritizing this important issue, as he has since 2019. Considering the central government's limited presence throughout much of the country, I think it will be important for authorities to focus their efforts in the short term on identifying victims and prosecuting traffickers within Bangui first, before expanding their efforts elsewhere in the country. Lastly, owing to the Government's very limited resources, effective partnership with civil society, NGOs, and international organizations will be imperative for CAR to identify more victims and remove them from their bondage.

Further, I will continue to collaborate with Department of State and interagency teammates as well as our allies to strengthen the country's justice and security institutions to help CAR transition from lifesaving humanitarian assistance to development. Based on my years of experience serving across the world, increasing the capacity of governments to provide for their people and improving economic conditions is the most effective way to prevent the heinous phenomenon of human trafficking.

Question. In the 2020 International Religious Freedom report, the Central African Republic was identified as intolerant of religious freedom, especially for Muslims. What is your assessment of this particular issue and if confirmed, how will you work with the Ambassador At Large to bolster religious freedom in-country?

Answer. Religious freedom is a U.S. foreign policy priority, and the Department of State continues to closely monitor the religious freedom situation in CAR. I commit to working with civil society and the CAR Government to ensure all individuals enjoy freedom of religion and equality regardless of religion as stated in the constitution. If confirmed, I will work with the Ambassador at Large for International Religious Freedom and Congress to emphasize the importance of religious tolerance and to address religious freedom concerns in CAR.

Specifically, I am deeply concerned with reports of Russian mercenaries targeting individuals from the predominantly Muslim Peuhl community. If confirmed, I will work with the Government and civil society to ensure all individuals in CAR—regardless of religion—have access to justice and a voice in their government.

Question. In the 2020 Human Rights Report, the Central African Republic was identified as having serious human rights abuses committed by the Government as well as armed groups.

- If confirmed, what steps will you take to address these instances with the host government?

Answer. The 2020 Human Rights Report narrative of human rights abuses and violations in CAR is disturbing and extensive, and it is crucial the Government holds those responsible accountable. I was encouraged to see the CAR Government issue the summary of its commission of inquiry in mid-October, which included an acknowledgement of the involvement of the country's armed forces and "Russian instructors" in some of these incidents. To demonstrate its commitment to justice and

accountability, it will be critical for the Government to provide more transparency on the inquiry's findings and hold offenders accountable.

Additionally, I commit to spotlighting reports of human rights violations and abuses and governance concerns to my Central African counterparts, and spotlighting these concerns through Embassy Bangui's reporting, in collaboration with NGOs and civil society. If confirmed, I would consult with Department of State colleagues from the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, as well as the Office of Global Criminal Justice, and other agencies on exploring additional actions, where appropriate.

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

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to building on and expanding Embassy Bangui's strong relationships with civil society members, human rights and other NGOs in the United States, and with NGOs and civil society organizations in CAR. As the United States' Ambassador to the Republic of Benin, I used the convening power of my position to create spaces for NGOs and members of civil society to gather and voice their concerns. If confirmed, I will strive to develop a robust dialogue with government and civil society actors to better understand their equities. Additionally, I will work closely with likeminded partners to ensure our messaging to the CAR Government is unified in our advocacy for respect for human rights, access to justice, and stressing the importance of a free and open environment for Central Africans to express their political views without fear of retribution.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO HON. PETER HENDRICK VROOMAN BY SENATOR ROBERT MENENDEZ

Question. Ending the insurgency in Mozambique will require more than just victory on the battlefield. What are the driving forces behind the insurgency, and how is the United States working with the Government of Mozambique and other actors to address those root causes?

Answer. There are many factors that fueled the rise of terrorism in Cabo Delgado. Longstanding socio-economic grievances, unmet economic expectations, political, cultural, and geographic isolation from Maputo, negative experiences with security forces, a lack of government services, tribal rivalries, criminal activity, and an influx of intra-Muslim ideological divisions made northern Mozambique susceptible to violent extremist ideologies.

The United States aims to counter ISIS-M and to support the Mozambican Government and people. We share a holistic strategy in four areas: security assistance, strategic communications, socio-economic assistance, and diplomatic engagement. If confirmed, I will work with the Government of Mozambique to address the underlying drivers of violent extremism and terrorism by: protecting the civilian population, addressing social and economic inequality and marginalization, and strengthening the transparent provision of public services, while upholding the core values of respect for human rights, good governance, and democratic participation.

Question. Rwandan troops were deployed to Mozambique as part of a bilateral agreement. What are Rwanda's goals and motivations for this deployment, and what implications does the deployment have for the SADC mission?

Answer. President Nyusi requested security assistance from Rwanda, and its Government responded; their combined efforts, together with SADC forces have resulted in the capturing of key towns, bases, leaders, and strongholds—providing space for the Government to assess and develop a reconstruction plan for Cabo Delgado. President Kagame has publicly expressed his desire to promote regional security through Rwanda's presence in Mozambique.

Question. Apart from the insurgency in Cabo Delgado, Mozambique faces challenges in the areas of governance, the economy, health, and widespread poverty. What is the United States strategy for helping Mozambique address issues in the areas of anti-corruption and good governance in particular? What actions will you take if confirmed to push for greater transparency in the area of debt held by the Government of Mozambique?

Answer. The U.S. Government has in the past year launched several anti-corruption activities in Mozambique which support sub-national systems of accountability; reduce teacher absenteeism and medical supply leakage; promote policy reform through support to civil society anti-corruption initiatives, including advocacy for the development of a transparent and accountable sovereign wealth fund; and

strengthen investigative journalism to promote improved economic governance and natural resource management. Corruption is the top governance concern of Mozambicans. If confirmed, I would continue to support credible initiatives that enhance the transparency and accountability of the Government of Mozambique.

Democracy and 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 attended the trials of opposition leaders unjustly accused of crimes and advocated for due process and the rule of law in many of the countries where I have served. Bearing witness in such trials may not change verdicts, but it demonstrates that eyes are watching judicial proceedings. Defense attorneys around the globe often bear the brunt of government efforts to repress their voices, and I have advocated for their ability to represent those accused of crimes.

Whenever counter-accusations about the U.S. surface, I seize the opportunity to make the point that such instances are flagged by a free press and are fair game for debate in the political arena in the United States. I always encourage counterparts to consider allowing and listening to such debate in order to spur greater respect for human rights. To foster more transparent electoral processes and more democratic systems of governance, I am a firm believer in independent election observation efforts, including those of embassies, as well as a role for domestic political party observers.

Question. What issues are the most pressing challenges to democracy or democratic development in Mozambique? 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. Mozambique is still a young, developing democracy with institutions that have difficulty enforcing the law, particularly regarding respect for human rights. Civil society has an influential role, but requires greater capacity and, with the independent media, occasionally faces threats for investigative reporting on sensitive topics. Mozambique has been ruled by a single political party since its independence, and the strongest competing party lost ground in the most recent national elections. Corruption is widespread and impunity for officials remains a serious problem. If confirmed, I plan to support credible initiatives that enhance the Government's transparency and accountability to ensure Mozambique is an anchor of stability, security, and democracy in the region.

Question. What steps will you take—if confirmed—to support democracy in Mozambique? 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 pursue an integrated approach to northern Mozambique, in coordination with Mozambican institutions and international partners. This approach to creating conditions for sustainable peace will build the capacity of Mozambican security forces, address socioeconomic drivers of violence, such as marginalization, promote respect for human rights, and support improved governance to underserved communities. I look to partner diligently with the Mozambican Government to respond to the needs of its citizens transparently and accountably. If confirmed, I would also serve as the co-Chair of the Contact Group that oversees the demobilization, disarmament, and reintegration process that started in 2019 and seeks to establish a durable peace after the devastating civil war. Currently USAID's democracy and governance funding for Mozambique has been prioritized to address governance challenges in the North.

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 work to identify and support reputable Mozambican and international partners who share our commitment to helping Mozambique build an inclusive, responsive, and resilient democracy. I will continue to advocate for the inclusion of people with disabilities in our programs and policies.

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 Mozambique? What steps will

you take to pro-actively address efforts to restrict or penalize NGOs and civil society via legal or regulatory measures?

Answer. A key function of an embassy is to engage with governments and civil society. Often an embassy can be an effective forum for the exchange of ideas, as I indicated in my testimony, and a forum for debate on global challenges. If confirmed, I will encourage officers in the U.S. Embassy in Maputo to be receptive to listening to the concerns raised by civil society organizations and, if appropriate, helping to seek redress of specific problems on cases with the appropriate interlocutors in the host government. I would also look for synergistic opportunities to cooperate with these groups to advocate for reform, accountability, and respect for human rights. I will continue to advocate for the involvement of disabled persons and organizations in inclusive, civil society-government discussions related to the rights of people with disabilities.

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 continue to strengthen the relationships the U.S. Mission has built with democratically-oriented, political opposition figures and parties. I will strive to support the efforts of these figures and parties to develop a more inclusive, political environment throughout Mozambique. If confirmed, I will advocate for the freedoms of association and peaceful assembly for all political actors, including those who do not agree with the Government. If confirmed, I will advocate through public statements, targeted small grants and other programming, and direct engagement with a diverse spectrum of leaders and community members for a political environment that is inclusive of women, youth, people with disabilities, and Mozambicans who might otherwise be marginalized.

Question. Will you and your embassy team actively engage with Mozambique 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 Mozambique?

Answer. If confirmed, I will engage with media practitioners, like-minded diplomatic missions, civil society, government, and international partners to underscore the importance of an independent, professional, and open media in a free and democratic society. If confirmed, I will seek resources to continue support to both Mozambique's private and state-run media, including professional exchanges, targeted training programs, and seminars to educate journalists and media stakeholders about the importance of the right to free expression.

Mozambican journalists have consistently participated in U.S. Government-sponsored professional exchange programs on investigative reporting, safeguarding freedom of expression, and combating disinformation, and the media's role in strengthening democratic institutions. If confirmed, I will continue to engage in the independent press, as well as prioritize these exchanges and training opportunities.

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 engage with civil society and government counterparts on countering disinformation and propaganda by foreign state and non-state actors. If confirmed, I will also commit to working with like-minded partners in Mozambique to do the same.

Question. Will you and your embassy teams actively engage with Mozambique on the right of labor groups to organize, including for independent trade unions?

Answer. The United States has a long and strong tradition of supporting the rights of workers to exercise freedom of association, including to form and join independent trade unions. If confirmed, I will ensure that I and others in the embassy engage with unions, relevant government offices, and the private sector to support labor rights. If confirmed, I will also mobilize U.S. Government policies, programs, and trade agreements to empower workers in all sectors to organize, successfully bargain with their employers, and improve working conditions.

Question. Will you commit to using your position, if confirmed, to defend the human rights and dignity of all people in Mozambique, no matter their sexual orientation or gender identity?

Answer. Promoting respect for human rights and democracy is a priority for the U.S. Mission in Mozambique. If confirmed, I will strive to defend respect for the

human rights and dignity of all persons in Mozambique, no matter their sexual orientation or gender identity.

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

Answer. There have been no reports of bias-motivated attacks on LGBTQI+ people in Mozambique in recent years, but discrimination exists. The Government of Mozambique has not acted on the request for registration by the Association for the Defense of Sexual Minorities (LAMBDA), Mozambique's main LGBTQI+ organization, which has been pending since 2008. Despite its lack of registration, LAMBDA has partnered with diplomatic missions, including the U.S. Embassy, and government agencies, such as the Ministry of Health, to combat stigma and raise awareness about LGBTQI+ rights.

Question. What specifically will you commit to do to help LGBTQ people in Mozambique?

Answer. Promoting respect for human rights and democracy is a priority for the mission in Mozambique. The U.S. Mission has worked with the Association for the Defense of Sexual Minorities (LAMBDA), Mozambique's main LGBTQI+ organization, as well as potential partners from government, civil society, and the diplomatic community, to raise awareness of LGBTQI+ issues and combat HIV/AIDS stigma. If confirmed, I would support the LGBTQI+ community, including by raising the Pride flag on International Day Against Homophobia, Transphobia, and Biphobia and encouraging key grants to local organizations.

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 Mozambique.

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I commit, in coordination with the State Department's Bureau of Legislative Affairs, to respond promptly to all appropriate requests for briefings and for information by this committee.

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.

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

Answer. If confirmed as Chief of Mission, there would be no higher priority for me than the health, safety, and security of our personnel and family members serving overseas. This commitment extends to the handling of anomalous health incidents. These incidents and any threats to health and safety must be taken seriously. If confirmed, I will 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.

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 would underscore that U.S. Government personnel and family members should immediately alert the Mission's health and security professionals at Post if they note any onset of unexplained medical symptoms to receive prompt access to health care. At the same time, I would reiterate that there is no stigma associated with reporting, and that every report will be taken seriously by our health and security professionals and the leadership of the Department.

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. Yes. If confirmed, I will regularly meet with medical and RSO staff to ensure I understand the full scope of threats against U.S. personnel and their family members and that all safety protocols are being carefully followed.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO HON. PETER HENDRICK VROOMAN BY SENATOR JAMES E. RISCH

Question. What is your assessment of current U.S. policy toward Mozambique?

Answer. The United States is Mozambique's largest bilateral donor, with nearly \$523 million allocated last year, and much of it focused on health. I anticipate that the United States will want to increase support of reform and transparency mechanisms, particularly in the lead-up to elections in 2023 and 2024. Education and health are key priorities for Mozambicans, who believe these sectors where the United States engages are drivers of economic growth and prosperity. The recent consolidation of Mozambican efforts in 2021 to combat ISIS-Mozambique, offers opportunities to spur continued investment in both resources and institutions. If confirmed, I plan to enhance our engagement to ensure Mozambique is an anchor of stability, security, prosperity, and democracy in the region.

Question. Do you feel the U.S. is adequately engaged given the various threats and challenges the situation in Mozambique poses to the region?

Answer. I believe that the United States correctly assessed the seriousness of the threats posed by ISIS-M to Mozambique, as well as to the region. We have also seen the Mozambican Government acknowledge the root causes of violence and fragility, in the form of its new Strategy for Resilience and Integrated Development in the North. This strategy prioritizes peacebuilding, social cohesion, community-government dialogue, fighting corruption, ensuring access to inclusive government services, and fostering economic recovery in the North. If confirmed, I would work with government and civil society to restore ties, rebuild damaged infrastructure, and invest in the human capital in affected regions.

Question. What adjustments, if any, do you feel are necessary for U.S. engagement with the region?

Answer. If confirmed, I would endeavor to remain in close contact with my counterparts, particularly those in capitals where regional organizations, such as the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the East African Community (EAC), are situated. Beyond the combined military operations that many of Mozambique's regional partners and allies have conducted over recent months, there will be a need for an acceleration of discussions about reconstruction and governance in areas affected by terrorism and violent extremism. SADC could also play a larger role in taking on regional challenges such as illicit trafficking networks, conservation of southern African biodiversity, and the promotion and respect for human rights.

Question. What is your perspective on the deployment of Rwandan and Southern African Development Community (SADC) forces to Mozambique to assist in the containment of the insurgency in Northern Mozambique?

Answer. We support SADC's goals of promoting regional cooperation and integration, economic growth, socio-economic development, and durable peace and security among its member states. SADC's support through the organization's deployment of a four-country, Standby Force, whose mission was recently extended through January 2022, could help stabilize northern Mozambique and the region. Rwandan forces, with Mozambican forces, have played an important role in reversing ISIS-M's gains. I believe that these positive strides have created a window of opportunity to consolidate gains with the necessary steps needed to regain the trust of local communities in their security forces and in their government institutions.

Question. As U.S. Ambassador to Mozambique, if confirmed, how will you engage the Government of Mozambique on key democratic reforms in order to support sustainable peace?

Answer. If confirmed, I will pursue an integrated approach to northern Mozambique, in coordination with Mozambican institutions and international partners. This approach to creating conditions for sustainable peace will build the capacity of Mozambican security forces, address socioeconomic drivers of violence, promote respect for human rights, and support improved governance to underserved communities. I would also serve as the co-Chair of the Contact Group that oversees the demobilization, disarmament, and reintegration process that seeks to establish a durable peace after the devastating civil war. Currently USAID's democracy and governance funding for Mozambique has been prioritized to address governance challenges in the North.

Question. What challenges do you foresee as Mozambique moves toward 2024 elections with President Nyusi term limited?

Answer. Polling confirms the strong preference of Mozambicans for democracy with regular, open, and honest electoral processes resulting in free and fair elections. The Constitutional Court of Mozambique acknowledged there were irregularities in the 2019 elections but concluded that they did not substantially alter the outcome. Those irregularities included violence and intimidation in the pre-election period and systemic issues during the election. If confirmed, I will work with key stakeholders, including the Mozambican Government, civil society, and the National Election Commission so they can ensure peaceful pre-election periods and lay the groundwork for free and fair district elections in 2023 and presidential and provincial elections in 2024.

Question. Do you believe it is the sign of a healthy democracy when a duly elected government, in consultation with its citizens, extends the term of office of the presidency even if that means it would extend the term of the current President in power?

Answer. Actions by a president in power to change the laws to allow him or her to remain in office extralegally pose an inherent threat to any democracy's health. A healthy democracy abides both by the will of its people and the underlying legal foundations upon which it rests. This requires the active participation of all citizens to safeguard democracy.

Question. If confirmed, how would you respond to Mozambique doing something like extending the term of office of the presidency even if that means it would extend the term of the current President in power?

Answer. Mozambique's strong democratic tradition includes term limits that are respected by presidents, the political parties, and a strong majority of the electorate. I expect this respect for constitutional limits will continue. If confirmed, I will promote democratic values and seek to strengthen democratic institutions.

Question. Can you provide your view on supporting U.S. funded, independent international election observation missions?

Answer. I have advocated for and supported independent international election observations missions in many locations where I have served overseas. Mozambique's elections are regularly observed by external teams from the Southern African Development Community, the African Union, the European Union, and the Commonwealth. In 2019, Embassy officers supplemented the international election observation teams. Mozambique welcomes and supports these missions and would likely be amenable to additional electoral observation if the conditions warrant such a mission.

Question. Would you support such U.S. funded, independent international election observation methods for Mozambique's next general election?

Answer. Yes, if confirmed, I would support independent international election observation missions and encourage the relevant institutions and parties in Mozambique to welcome them as well.

Question. How can the United States best use the tools it has to hold Mozambique officials accountable for corrupt behavior?

Answer. The U.S. Government has in the past year launched several anti-corruption activities in Mozambique which support sub-national systems of accountability; reduce teacher absenteeism and medical supply leakage; promote policy reform through support to civil society anti-corruption initiatives, including advocacy for the development of a transparent and accountable sovereign wealth fund; and strengthen investigative journalism to promote improved economic governance and natural resource management. Corruption is the top governance concern of Mozambicans. If confirmed, I would support credible initiatives that enhance the transparency and accountability of the Government of Mozambique.

Question. If confirmed, how would you go about using the tools the U.S. has to hold Mozambican officials accountable for corrupt behavior?

Answer. The U.S. Government has in the past year launched several anti-corruption activities in Mozambique which support sub-national systems of accountability; reduce teacher absenteeism and medical supply leakage; promote policy reform through support to civil society anti-corruption initiatives, including advocacy for the development of a transparent and accountable sovereign wealth fund; and strengthen investigative journalism to promote improved economic governance and natural resource management. Corruption is the top governance concern of Mozambicans. If confirmed, I would support credible initiatives that enhance the transparency and accountability of the Government of Mozambique.

Question. How can the United States best support Mozambique in curbing the corrupt behavior of those companies and government officials of malign foreign actors like China that feed on corrupt governments and business environments?

Answer. The United States is the biggest investor in the human capital of the people of Mozambique through our health and education programs and we are increasing investments in Mozambican infrastructure through various interagency programs and USAID projects. For those parts of the Mozambican society that want to support good governance, the United States' Foreign Corrupt Practices Act stands out as a gold standard for private sector conduct and a selling point for American business. If confirmed, I will help demonstrate that our Government and business policies and practices are respectful of human rights and the environment, transparent, and responsive to Mozambique's needs.

Question. Should the United States build on its existing defense and security cooperation with Mozambique?

Answer. If confirmed, I will take stock of our developing defense and security cooperation with a view to assessing its effectiveness and the latest requirements of our partners.

Question. Where are the opportunities and the risks if the United States does build on its existing defense and security cooperation with Mozambique?

Answer. ISIS-affiliated violence and brutality are a grave threat to Mozambique and the region. U.S. security assistance incorporates programming to promote respect for human rights, protection of civilians, and engagement with civil society and local communities. Consistent with the Leahy laws, the U.S. Government provides assistance only to Mozambican security force units that are fully vetted and where there is not credible information that the unit has committed a gross violation of human rights.

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 in Embassy Maputo?

Answer. My understanding is that the move of the Embassy team to a new chancery building only several weeks ago represents a big boost for morale. The new embassy compound brings together the entire U.S. Mission in Mozambique (with the exception of Peace Corps) under one roof, including USAID, CDC, and the American Cultural Center to facilitate a more cohesive, secure, and productive work environment.

Question. How do you intend to improve morale?

Answer. If confirmed, I intend to ask members of the Embassy team and their families for their specific suggestions on how we can improve morale. I firmly believe in listening to concerns and addressing them as promptly and concretely as possible.

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

Answer. All U.S. Embassies are now embarking on a process of reviewing Integrated Country Strategies. If confirmed, I look forward to reviewing their work and contributing to it by providing Chief of Mission priorities that can knit together our goals. Thereafter, my practice is to regularly review where we are as a mission and to reiterate our mission regularly at town halls and other fora.

Question. Management is a key responsibility for chiefs of mission.

- How would you describe your management style?

Answer. I strive to be a servant leader, offering what I can to my team to help us achieve our mission goals. I am a fair and democratic leader interested in eliciting the contributions of each member of my team. What I can offer my team is a commitment to make timely and well-considered decisions that advance our goals while safeguarding our team. I firmly believe that I—and all members of my team—must respect the dignity of each person on the team. That fundamental requirement allows teams to stay cohesive even in the face of challenges.

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

Answer. No, I cannot think of an occasion when berating subordinates is either appropriate or effective. That said, constructive, honest, and timely feedback on performance is an imperative of good supervision that I strive to uphold.

Question. What lessons have you learned from your tenure as Chief of Mission in Rwanda?

Answer. Regular communication is essential during times of crisis, especially during pandemics such as COVID-19 or Ebola. To ensure that communication is bi-directional, I regularly surveyed our staff and their families on their morale. During virtual town halls, we always provide a mechanism for eliciting anonymous feedback and questions. Humility in the position of ambassador is critical to gaining the trust and respect of a team, and I believe this lesson also applies to diplomatic engagement. My efforts to learn and communicate in Rwanda's one national language has proven to be an incredibly valuable tool that demonstrates my respect for Rwandans.

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

Answer. This is the most critical relationship within an Embassy. Not only must the DCM be trusted by the Chief of Mission but empowered to represent him/her and assume his/her responsibilities on many occasions. Frequent communication, both formal and informal, is necessary. If confirmed, I would strive to be open to constructive feedback from my DCM and to look for opportunities for the DCM to lead and learn.

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

Answer. The DCM has multiple responsibilities within an embassy. Among the most important role that she has is the chairperson of the Emergency Action Committee, the interagency body that is essential in formulating recommendations to me as the Chief of Mission. As the "Chief Operating Officer," she also has a responsibility for seeing that management controls are in place across our operations and programs. As morale-booster and the direct supervisor of many section heads, she has another critical role to play in recruiting a diverse team and sustaining staff on the job—and in addressing any problematic relationships that could impact teamwork.

Question. How should the chief of mission lead a post with multiple U.S. Government agencies present?

Answer. A successful COM must step outside his/her Department of State persona and strive to understand the priorities and personalities of other agencies represented at post (or in the region). Listening and participating in the activities, such as staff meetings, can be a good way to learn directly from the employees of those agencies. If confirmed, I will demonstrate curiosity and interest in other agencies: going on USAID and USDA project site visits; participating in PEPFAR programmatic reviews, joining promotion ceremonies with the Marine Security guards or other DOD personnel, meeting Peace Corps volunteers in rural areas, and soliciting CDC briefings on infectious disease.

Question. In your experience, how important are interagency relationships within a post?

Answer. Interagency relationships are critical to accomplishing mission goals. In my experience, forming interagency working groups focused on Integrated Country Strategy goals can feed into more effective Country Team discussions and decisions. Often, the Front Office (COM and DCM) leaders are those who have the broadest interagency perspective at post, so I believe that it is essential to create opportunities for interaction, both formally and informally. Interagency, in-country travel with the COM can be one effective way to do this.

Question. If confirmed, how would you handle interagency disagreement within Embassy Maputo?

Answer. Hearing out all sides in an interagency disagreement is critical to establishing a sense of fairness from the Front Office. If a leader has fostered occasions for celebrating interagency accomplishments, then that experience can be tapped to find a way forward in the case of disagreements. For example, the PEPFAR program, which is quintessentially interagency in make-up, often generates disagreements over budgeting priorities or geographies (or functions) where different agencies have the lead. Collectively coming together to celebrate team victories—such as reaching epidemic control of HIV/AIDS—can help each agency and its staff feel like they are playing an important part in achieving goals.

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 subordinates with accurate, constructive feedback on their performance in order to encourage improvement and reward those who most succeeded in their roles?

Answer. Yes, timely and constructive feedback on performance is imperative. An ambassador must be intentional in providing encouragement of excellent performance immediately after it is observed to be most impactful.

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 will undertake and encourage active supervision of performance. Counseling sessions over the course of an evaluation period are critical to this end and must be structured. I use these sessions both with my direct reports and with those whose performance I review each year, so they hear directly from me on how I see their performance, as well as their areas for development. In turn, I seek feedback from them on whether my own supervision is effective and how I can improve as a leader.

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 everyday citizens.

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

Answer. U.S. Ambassadors must lead by example in order to encourage other colleagues to get outside the embassy walls. One way to do so is by traveling to sites where we or our partners work. Another is to request other officers to accompany me to events where they might meet useful contacts or share a unique experience in the host country. If officers sense that their absence from their embassy office occasions even a hint of disapproval from a senior leader, then they and others will not venture far from the embassy walls. If confirmed, I would avoid sending this sort of signal and encourage the development of broad and diverse embassy contacts.

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

Answer. Learning local language(s) is critical to developing access to local populations. If confirmed, I would aim to lead by example—demonstrating both my willingness to speak the national and local languages and allocating time to continue my study. Doing so with the Kinyarwanda language in Rwanda provided critical opportunities for me to get to know Rwandans better and to make me and our diplomatic mission more accessible to those who do not speak English well.

Question. Public diplomacy is an important aspect of U.S. foreign policy efforts.

- What is the public diplomacy environment like in Mozambique?

Answer. The strong U.S.-Mozambique bilateral relationship facilitates a positive public diplomacy environment. Young Mozambicans largely hold positive views of the United States and are eager to apply to study in the United States. The Mozambican Government and people are increasingly receptive to our policy issues and initiatives. Independent press continues to publish in Mozambique despite incidents of intimidation and threats against some journalists. If confirmed, I would urge the Mozambican Government to preserve press freedom and investigate harassment against journalists. My impression is that Mozambicans are accessible and interested in exchanging ideas with Americans, including diplomats at the U.S. Embassy.

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

Answer. The challenges include capacity issues such as an organization's ability to qualify for and implement grants on behalf of the U.S. Government; few established civil society organizations, which restricts our ability to offer diverse programming; and a nascent, independent press corps. However, journalists and emerging leaders are eager to gain additional training and experiences through USG exchange programs. COVID-19 has severely impacted the Mission's ability to conduct in person exchanges, training, and other outreach, and poor internet connectivity throughout the country make virtual programming challenging.

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. The Embassy's Public Diplomacy Section balances these occasionally differing objectives; generally, there is little appetite overseas for any messaging content that appears "canned" or copied or even retweeted or reposted in the case of social media. Local language content is more readily read and considered by foreign audiences. If confirmed, I would encourage our Public Diplomacy teams to translate our messages considering cultural norms and local context in order to reach broader audiences.

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.

- If confirmed, do you commit to taking this threat seriously?

Answer. If confirmed as Chief of Mission, there would be no higher priority for me than the health, safety, and security of our personnel and family members serving overseas. This commitment extends to the handling of anomalous health incidents. If confirmed, I will 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.

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

Answer. If confirmed, I would underscore that U.S. Government personnel and family members should immediately alert the Mission's health and security professionals at Post if they note any onset of unexplained medical symptoms. At the same time, I would reiterate that there is no stigma associated with reporting, and that every report will be taken seriously by our health and security professionals and the leadership of the Department.

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 on increased transatlantic cooperation, including in Africa, to counter Chinese malign influence more effectively.

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

Answer. The U.S. Mission in Maputo works closely with like-minded European partners to support Mozambique's democracy by strengthening democratic institutions and coordinating engagement with the Government, civil society, private sector and other stakeholders. Our unified message with our partners must be that further efforts to combat corruption will improve the investment climate, advance shared goals of fiscal transparency, and counter money laundering and illicit financing. If confirmed, I will work through the U.S. interagency, multilateral financial institutions, and like-minded partners to support private sector growth in Mozambique, encourage good local governance practices, and promote U.S. business opportunities.

Question. In the 2021 Trafficking in Persons Report, Mozambique remained on Tier 2 due to overall increasing efforts, but prosecuted fewer trafficking cases, convicted fewer traffickers, and did not proactively identify trafficking victims aside from criminal referrals.

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

Answer. If confirmed, I will prioritize our work to combat human trafficking, and I will consistently communicate the importance of combatting human trafficking through private exchanges and public diplomacy. If confirmed, I will encourage the Government of Mozambique to finalize its draft, national referral mechanism for trafficking victims. This will help community-level officials' efforts to identify victims of trafficking. Similarly, I will urge the government to finalize the implementing regulations for trafficking victims and witness protection. Both of these recommendations would enable a more victim-centered law enforcement approach to trafficking.

Question. In the 2020 International Religious Freedom report, religious intolerance and subsequent violence in Mozambique is a growing concern for the Embassy as well as Congress.

- What is your assessment of this particular issue and if confirmed, how will you work with the Ambassador At Large to bolster religious freedom in-country and work to end religiously motivated violence?

Answer. Religious freedom is a U.S. foreign policy priority, and the Department continues to closely monitor religious freedom in Mozambique. Northern Mozambique became susceptible to violence undergirded by extremist ideologies spread by disaffected youth. If confirmed, I would undertake an assessment of these factors to see which drivers of violent extremism can be addressed with policy solutions. I will also commit to working with the Ambassador at Large for International Religious Freedom and Congress to emphasize the importance of religious freedom, addressing any religious freedom concerns, and further strengthening tolerance and respect among and for members of religious communities in Mozambique.

Question. In the 2020 Human Rights Report, Mozambique was identified as having committed and baring witness to severe human rights abuses. Impunity remains a large problem.

- If confirmed, what steps will you take to address these instances with the host government?

Answer. If confirmed, I will continue to lead the Embassy's advocacy efforts as I engage the Government of Mozambique to address concerns detailed in the 2020 Human Rights Report.

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

Answer. A key function of an embassy is to engage with governments and civil society. Often an embassy can be an effective forum for the exchange of ideas, as I indicated in my testimony, and a forum for debate on global challenges. If confirmed, I will encourage officers in the U.S. Embassy in Maputo to be receptive to listening to the concerns raised by civil society organizations and, if appropriate, helping to seek redress of specific problems on cases with the appropriate interlocutors in the host government. I would also look for synergistic opportunities to cooperate with these groups to advocate for reform, accountability, and respect for human rights.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO PETER D. HAAS BY SENATOR ROBERT MENENDEZ

Human Rights

Question. Attacks against religious minorities in Bangladesh are increasing. In recent days, at the end of the Hindu holiday of Durga Puja, press reports indicate more than two dozen homes of Hindu families were burned and at least two people were killed following a posting on social media perceived as insulting to Islam. What can the U.S. do to ensure the Government, which sometimes fans the flames of communal tensions, does to both quiet the violence and ensure accountability?

Answer. I am deeply troubled by the recent violent attacks on Hindu temples and businesses in Bangladesh during the Durga Puja celebrations. There is no justification for attacks on religious minorities or violently disrupting sacred celebrations. Freedom of religion or belief is a human right. If confirmed, I intend to work with colleagues at Embassy Dhaka, in the Office of International Religious Freedom, and within the Department to advocate for the protection of all vulnerable communities, including religious minority groups in Bangladesh, through engagement with government officials and members of civil society. If confirmed, I will remain in contact with members of all religious faiths and ensure that the annual State Department International Religious Freedom Report accurately documents restrictions on religious freedom in Bangladesh.

Question. Extrajudicial killings by the Rapid Action Battalion (RAB) have spiked since the Government of Bangladesh began its "war on drugs" in the months ahead of the December 2018 elections. Last year, Sen. Young and I sent a bipartisan letter with eight of our other colleagues urging the Trump administration to impose sanctions on senior RAB commanders. Do you support imposing sanctions on senior commanders of Bangladesh's Rapid Action Battalion (RAB), which has reportedly killed more than 400 people extrajudicially since 2015? Do I have your commitment to advocate within the department for a process to consider sanctions against Benazir Ahmed, the chief of police and former head of RAB?

Answer. The extrajudicial killings, enforced disappearances, and torture committed by the Rapid Action Battalion (RAB) are of deep concern. I understand the United States does not provide security assistance to the RAB and that all Bangladeshi security forces units receiving assistance, including training, are vetted according to applicable laws including the Leahy law. If confirmed, I commit to consulting with Congress on the use of applicable authorities, including sanctions and visa ineligibilities, in order to advance our human rights interests and promote accountability for those responsible for human rights abuses and violations within the RAB. Conducting a thorough investigation of Benazir Ahmed's involvement in human rights abuses and violations aligns with the United States' commitment to human rights and accountability. If confirmed, I commit to supporting a thorough investigation of allegations against Benazir Ahmed's involvement with human rights abuses. I further commit to leveraging all applicable accountability tools to hold accountable those who abuse and violate human rights.

Labor

Question. Last year, this committee released a report that found workers in Bangladeshi garment factories faced increased intimidation, threats, and violence if they were involved in labor activism. Meanwhile, other workers in Bangladesh still face unsafe work conditions. Do I have your commitment to make support for labor rights a priority at the Embassy in Dhaka? Do you commit to engage with me and my staff on these issues throughout your tenure? Do you support the deployment of a dedicated labor attaché at the Embassy?

Answer. I am concerned about the status of labor rights, especially as it relates to freedom of association and workplace safety in Bangladesh. All workers should feel safe in their place of work and have available mechanisms to report and push back against labor abuses, including retaliation against workers for forming and joining unions of their choosing. If confirmed, I commit to making support for labor rights a priority at Embassy Dhaka and commit to working closely with you, your staff, and Congress on these issues during my tenure. I will ensure my team works to improve the environment for unions, supports worker empowerment, urges accountability for abuses against workers, and promotes freedom of association among workers across and between sectors, as well as continues to raise concerns about labor rights and abuses against employees at the highest levels of the Government of Bangladesh. The Department of Labor is already in the process of adding a labor attaché at Embassy Dhaka, and if confirmed, I commit to ensuring that this process proceeds quickly.

Question. How is State measuring Bangladesh's progress on labor rights in the aftermath of the 2013 Rana Plaza disaster and the July 2021 fire? Is the administration considering restoration of Dhaka's access to the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP)? Under what circumstances or conditions would it do so?

Answer. Since the horrific building collapse at Rana Plaza in 2013, the United States Government has worked with partners across the international community, major industries, and Bangladeshi authorities to advocate for and enable improvements in factory safety, which included the establishment of new agreements by major international brands to enforce safety standards across factories. While these changes are encouraging, much more needs to be done to institutionalize safety standards across Bangladesh's major industries, as evidenced by the tragic Hashem Foods fire in July 2021. The Department of State works closely with the U.S. Trade Representative (USTR) and the Department of Labor to monitor Bangladesh's progress meeting internationally recognized labor rights, especially workplace safety, freedom of association, and collective bargaining. I commit, if confirmed, to upholding the position that restoring Bangladesh's GSP benefits must be contingent upon strengthening labor rights and workplace safety, as well as improving the overall business and civil society operational environment.

Attack on Ambassador Bernicat

Question. In August 2018, armed persons attacked a vehicle carrying U.S. Ambassador Marcia Bernicat after she met with civil society activists in November 2018. Congress still does not have a clear understanding of exactly what happened. Your safety as ambassador is of paramount concern to me. What is being done to bring the culprits—who have already been publicly identified—to justice? Will you bring this issue up with the Government, if confirmed?

Answer. The Department is closely following proceedings against nine individuals accused of attacking Ambassador Marcia Bernicat's motorcade with bricks. Charges were officially filed and accepted by a court in March 2021. If confirmed, I will work with my team in Dhaka and the Government of Bangladesh to ensure full account-

ability for this act. Moreover, if confirmed, the health and safety of those supporting the mission and their families will be my highest priority.

Question. How do you think the U.S. can use its leverage on trade, development and security assistance to advance the protection of human rights, including of Rohingya? Further, how can the U.S. utilize economic cooperation to ensure that Bangladesh will improve or develop clear social and environmental policies and practices which are inclusive and nondiscriminatory of all communities, including Rohingya?

Answer. If confirmed, I will support President Biden's commitment to place human rights at the center of our foreign policy. That includes looking at all the tools the United States has to incentivize Bangladesh to take actions that advance the human rights of its people, particularly related to reversing democratic backsliding and holding perpetrators accountable for human rights abuses. Our humanitarian and development assistance also plays an essential role in easing tensions between Rohingya refugees and host communities. The United States is the largest single-country destination for Bangladeshi exports, and our economic partnership with Bangladesh can support our broader foreign policy goals in the areas of human rights and sustainable development. If confirmed, I will utilize the tools that the United States has available—including infrastructure credentialing programs like the Blue Dot Network—to ensure that U.S. economic cooperation with Bangladesh has a central focus on inclusive growth, environmental sustainability, and transparent financing.

Humanitarian

Question. The protection environment in the Rohingya refugee camps continues to deteriorate. This has been heightened even more following Mohib Ullah's assassination.

- How do you plan to work with UNHCR and the Government of Bangladesh to ensure the root causes of insecurity, such as impunity for criminal and militant actors, are recognized and that protection needs are adequately and expeditiously addressed?
- How will you press the Bangladeshi Government to prioritize security and protection of Rohingya activists and all Rohingya refugees in Cox's Bazar while avoiding over securitization of the camps?
- What should the United States do to urge the Bangladeshi Government to guarantee the protection and rights of Rohingya in Bhasan Char?

Answer. Like you, I was deeply saddened and disturbed by the murder of Mohib Ullah. If confirmed, I commit to pressing the Government of Bangladesh to improve the safety of Rohingya refugees by addressing the root causes of insecurity in the camps in Cox's Bazar and ensuring those who commit crimes or abuses are held accountable. I will also continue to advocate for unhindered humanitarian access for protection activities in the camps, especially for the most vulnerable Rohingya refugees, and expanded freedom of movement for Rohingya in the camps. Regarding Bhasan Char, I plan to work with my team to continue to encourage dialogue between the Government of Bangladesh and the U.N. on safe living conditions, freedom of movement, and adequate protection for Rohingya on the island. I will work closely with colleagues across the Department and interagency to ensure that U.S.-funded programming takes these security, human rights, and protection considerations for Rohingya into account and work with donor nations and U.N. agencies to advocate for government actions when necessary.

Question. How can the United States promote and support rights-respecting, sustainable solutions for Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh, particularly in light of the February coup in Burma?

Answer. The February 1 military coup d'état and horrific violence perpetrated by the military regime in Burma have closed the door for the voluntary, safe, dignified, and sustainable return of Rohingya refugees to Burma in the near future. The military leaders who launched the coup are many of the same people responsible for atrocities against Rohingya. If confirmed, I commit to continue working closely with the U.S. Mission to the U.N., the U.N.'s Independent Investigative Mechanism for Myanmar, and the Missions of other likeminded countries to promote justice and accountability for the Rohingya crisis, including at the U.N. Security Council. A durable solution to the Rohingya crisis will require the voluntary, safe, dignified, and sustainable return of Rohingya refugees to Burma, when conditions allow. A return to Burma for Rohingya would require addressing the root causes of their displacement and violence against them.

Question. How can the U.S., as by far the largest donor to the humanitarian response, engage constructively with Government of Bangladesh counterparts to ensure Rohingya fundamental rights are protected, including basic security and access to education, and that Rohingya are consulted in the process?

Answer. The United States is the largest contributor of humanitarian assistance in response to the Rohingya refugee crisis, having provided more than \$1.5 billion to affected communities in Bangladesh, Burma, and elsewhere in the region since August 2017. USG assistance supports U.N. and NGO programming for education, livelihood opportunities, prevention of sexual exploitation and abuse, prevention and response to gender-based violence, and other activities that are critical to ensuring Rohingya rights and security. Accountability to affected populations, which ensures that refugee participation and feedback are a part of every step of the process, is an essential part of all USG humanitarian assistance for the Rohingya refugee response. If confirmed, I commit to ensuring that the United States Government continues to support the Rohingya crisis response, including in consultation with Rohingya to determine their security and protection needs.

Question. COVID restrictions have largely been lifted in the camps but limitations in programming and bureaucratic restrictions for implementers remain, especially for education and livelihood activities. If confirmed, how will you work with the Government of Bangladesh and U.N. Agencies to push for consistent, unhindered access to the camps for humanitarian actors, access to protection services for refugees, and expanded education and livelihood opportunities?

Answer. As the largest contributor of humanitarian assistance in response to the Rohingya refugee crisis, the United States has a major role to play in advocating for unhindered access to the camps for humanitarian actors to improve access to services, including education, vocational and skills trainings, and other livelihood opportunities for Rohingya refugees. If confirmed, I will continue to engage with the Government of Bangladesh to reduce bureaucratic barriers to U.N. and NGO operations and ensure that security measures such as fencing do not impede life-saving activities, including protection and disaster prevention and response.

Question. The MoU recently signed between the Government of Bangladesh and UNHCR allows for livelihoods and formal education on Bhasan Char, activities that Bangladesh has been very resistant to allow in the camps in Cox's Bazar. How will you work with Bangladesh and U.N. agencies to ensure there isn't a further increase in restrictions in Cox's Bazar as a means to compel Rohingya to relocate to Bhasan Char and to encourage a parity of services between the two?

Answer. The Department has made it clear to the Government of Bangladesh that the United States will not accept any double standards in conditions, protections, and services for Rohingya refugees between Cox's Bazar and Bhasan Char. If confirmed, I will work with the international community, other donors, and UNHCR to press the Government of Bangladesh not to curtail livelihoods and education programs for Rohingya in the camps in Cox's Bazar or further restrict refugee rights in order to pressure refugees to relocate to Bhasan Char. As for the feasibility of services on the island, I look forward to reviewing UNHCR's assessment and operations plan.

Question. Following the MoU recently signed between the Government of Bangladesh and UNHCR, there are still questions on measures that will be taken to ensure voluntariness of relocation to Bhasan Char. There is substantial evidence that prior relocations involved coercion and false promises. How do you think the U.S. can work to ensure informed consent of Rohingya prior to further relocations?

Answer. The Department has made it clear to the Government of Bangladesh that any relocations of Rohingya refugees to Bhasan Char must be safe, informed, and voluntary. Refugees should also be permitted to move freely between the island and Cox's Bazar. If confirmed, I will work closely with colleagues across the Department and interagency to urge the Government of Bangladesh to uphold humanitarian principles. The Department welcomes the Government of Bangladesh signing an MoU with the U.N. establishing a framework of cooperation on U.N. engagement on Bhasan Char. The Department also supports UNHCR's request that the Government of Bangladesh allow the U.N. to conduct an assessment of the island prior to resuming relocations. If confirmed, I will work with my team to continue to encourage dialogue between the Government of Bangladesh and the U.N. on safe living conditions and adequate protection for Rohingya on Bhasan Char. Any U.S. Government funding for operations on Bhasan Char would have to be conditioned on a demonstrated commitment to a principled humanitarian response, including voluntary relocations and freedom of movement between the island and Cox's Bazar.

I am committed to working with Congress as we continue to assess whether these conditions can be met.

Question. While the MoU guarantees freedom of movement on Bhasan Char, there is no mechanism for enabling Rohingya to return to Cox's Bazar. Hundreds of Rohingya have attempted to flee the island, with some dying in boat accidents and others detained and returned to the island against their will, underscoring Bangladesh's narrow view of "voluntariness." If confirmed, how will you work to address these issues?

Answer. The Department is following closely the relocation of Rohingya refugees to Bhasan Char and has made it clear that such relocations must be safe, informed, and voluntary. Refugees should also be permitted to move freely on Bhasan Char as well as to and from Cox's Bazar. The Department welcomes the Government of Bangladesh's agreement to sign an MoU with the U.N. establishing a framework of cooperation on U.N. engagement on Bhasan Char. The MoU ensures the stay of refugees on Bhasan Char is voluntary and permits refugees' freedom of movement including to and from the island on a needs basis. If confirmed, I will work with UNHCR and the international community to ensure that the Government of Bangladesh upholds these principles in practice, which includes allowing Rohingya refugees to return to Cox's Bazar in a timely manner should they find their stay on Bhasan Char untenable.

Question. Rohingya are seeking accountability and justice for the crimes committed against them, including genocide and crimes against humanity; Bangladesh has largely been supportive of these efforts. The United States is yet to make a genocide determination though we know from Secretary Blinken's comments that a determination process is ongoing. What accountability measures do you believe would be appropriate for the United States to take in response to the atrocities against the Rohingya? If confirmed, how would you support such measures?

Answer. The violence against Rohingya is truly horrifying. As Secretary Blinken has said, the State Department is committed to reviewing this issue and taking steps necessary to address these atrocities and make sure they never happen again. One aspect of that review is considering the question of genocide determination. If confirmed, I commit to supporting this process and exploring other methods to seek accountability and justice for these crimes.

Regional Diplomacy

Question. The Rohingya crisis and military coup in Burma have cross-border dimensions and far-reaching regional implications. If confirmed, how will you work with regional governments to promote constructive engagement with issues of concern to both Bangladesh and the U.S.? How will you work with your counterparts in Dhaka to improve collective engagement on shared interests, including on the Rohingya?

Answer. The impacts of the Rohingya crisis are felt throughout the region. If confirmed, I will coordinate with U.S. embassies in neighboring countries to highlight the importance of sharing their responsibilities by rescuing and allowing safe disembarkation and reception of Rohingya refugees in their waters and on the high seas, including by providing shelter, healthcare services, protection against abuses, and access to UNHCR to assess their protection claims. I also plan to regularly meet with other donor nations, U.N. agencies, NGOs, and the Government of Bangladesh to coordinate on Rohingya issues.

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.

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

Answer. I am also deeply troubled by potential anomalous health incidents that have affected U.S. Government personnel and 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.

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, the health, safety, and security of Mission Dhaka staff, their family members, and all those supporting the Mission will be my highest priority. 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. 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 meeting with medical staff and the RSO at Embassy Dhaka to discuss past reported anomalous health incidents so that I am most prepared to protect the safety of Mission Dhaka staff and ensure that all protocols regarding anomalous health incidents are followed appropriately.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO PETER D. HAAS BY SENATOR JAMES E. RISCH

Question. In the 2021 Trafficking in Persons Report, Bangladesh remained on Tier 2 for ongoing improving effort, including increasing prosecutions, but declining convictions as well as forced labor and sex trafficking of Rohingya, among other pressing issues. How will you work with the Bangladeshi Government to address these issues if you are confirmed as Ambassador?

Answer. The exploitation of human beings through trafficking and sexual exploitation is a horrific crime. The Government of Bangladesh remained on Tier 2 because it does not fully meet the minimum standards for the elimination of human trafficking; however, it is making efforts to do so. Nevertheless, trafficking in persons remains a persistent challenge in the country, including in Rohingya refugee camps, and refugee communities are vulnerable to forced labor, sex trafficking, and other serious abuses. If confirmed, I commit to pressing the Government of Bangladesh to continue its efforts to prevent, protect, and prosecute human trafficking. I will also work with the Government of Bangladesh to urge that trafficking survivors receive shelter, psychosocial care, and justice through the appropriate governmental mechanisms.

Question. Please describe your planned engagement with the office of the Ambassador at Large to combat and monitor trafficking in persons, given the high rates of forced labor and sex trafficking of Rohingya refugees.

Answer. If confirmed, my team at Embassy Dhaka and I will work collaboratively with the Office of the Ambassador-at-Large to Combat and Monitor Trafficking-In-Persons (J/TIP) to accurately depict the situation in Bangladesh in the annual Trafficking-In-Persons Report. I will also coordinate with J/TIP, USAID, and other inter-agency partners to implement programs that support victims of trafficking and work to expand livelihood opportunities to prevent trafficking in the first place.

Question. In the 2020 International Religious Freedom report, the U.S. Embassy is described as having robust, routine engagement to foster a climate of religious tolerance and consistently encouraging the Bangladesh Government to respect the rights of religious minorities. Obviously, this is an ongoing issue that will require your consistent engagement, if confirmed. What is your assessment of this particular issue and, how will you work with the Ambassador At Large to bolster religious freedom in-country?

Answer. Bangladesh is the third-largest Muslim majority country in the world. It is also home to members of Christian, Buddhist, Hindu, and other faiths. Its constitution commits the Government to maintaining secularism, a commitment the Prime Minister reiterated after the horrible violence against Hindus during this year's Durga Puja celebration. These tragic events show that there is still much to be done to maintain a secular, tolerant society. If confirmed, Embassy Dhaka and I will work with colleagues in the Office of International Religious Freedom led by the Ambassador-at-Large, and elsewhere within the Department to advocate for the protection of all vulnerable communities, including religious minority groups in Bangladesh, through engagement with government officials and members of civil society.

If confirmed, Embassy Dhaka and I will remain in contact with members of various religious faiths to publicly demonstrate the U.S. Government's support for religious freedom and ensure that the annual State Department International Religious Freedom Report accurately documents restrictions or progress on religious freedom in Bangladesh. If confirmed, my team and I will coordinate with USAID and the Office of International Religious Freedom to find ways to use foreign assistance to bolster religious freedom and promote harmonious inter-communal relations.

Question. There have been increased security incidents inside of the refugee camps in Cox's Bazaar, including a recent targeted killing of a Rohingya leader. How do you plan on engaging with the Bangladeshi Government to address security concerns and ensure that justice is served?

Answer. I recognize the challenges and responsibilities that Bangladesh is facing in hosting approximately 900,000 Rohingya refugees. If confirmed, I am committed to working with the Government of Bangladesh, the international community, and other donors to find a durable solution to the crisis.

As the international community works towards a durable solution, we should urge that Rohingya refugees in Cox's Bazar be protected and have safe and humane living conditions. If confirmed, I commit to pressing the Government of Bangladesh to improve the safety of refugees residing in the camps in Cox's Bazar. I will note the importance of addressing the root causes of insecurity in the camps and ensuring that those who commit crimes (to include individuals from the security forces) and abuses are held accountable in accordance with the law. I will also encourage the Government of Bangladesh to provide freedom of movement for Rohingya and permit increased access to livelihood and educational opportunities to reduce refugees' vulnerability to labor and sexual exploitation.

Question. The Digital Security Act (DSA) in Bangladesh is another repressive step to stifle freedom of expression, particularly online.

- Do you believe that "internet shutdowns" are a threat to human rights?

Answer. The internet is a lifeline to information as well as a platform for people to exercise their human right to freedom of expression. Governments that use "internet shutdowns" to stifle freedom of expression and the media, including criticisms of the Government and alternative political viewpoints, are contravening the universal right to freedom of expression. Freedom of expression is vital for a healthy democracy. Members of the media, civil society organizations, and opposing political parties should be able peacefully to express their views and advocate for policy change without fearing retribution. An accessible internet is an important conduit for free expression.

Question. Do you believe that people should be able to freely express themselves online without fear of authoritarian creep into their privacy?

Answer. Yes, I believe that people should be able to freely express themselves online without fear of persecution or retribution from their Government.

Question. How will you engage with the host government on this important issue?

Answer. bring the law into compliance with Bangladesh's international obligations on human rights. Amending or repealing the Digital Security Act will allow the people of Bangladesh to exercise their right to freedom of expression; that right includes peacefully criticizing their Government and presenting alternative political viewpoints and restoring a healthy and functioning civil society space in Bangladesh. Additionally, I will continue to urge government authorities to provide a fair trial and safe detainment guarantees to those already charged, arrested, or detained under the law. If confirmed, I commit to addressing the anti-democratic, speech-suppressing effects of the Digital Security Act, when they arise.

Question. How can you work with functional and regional bureaus in the Department on internet freedom, especially as more programs are formed to bolster freedom of expression within civil society in country?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work closely with the Department of State's Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor as well as the Bureau of South and Central Asian Affairs to ensure that U.S. Government programming highlights the importance of internet freedom, freedom of expression, and the centrality of both to a healthy, vibrant civil society.

Question. This law is being used to harass and detain journalists in an already hostile environment to their profession. How will you work to improve conditions for the press in Bangladesh?

Answer. I share your concerns about the growing application of various laws to intimidate journalists, such as in the case of investigative journalist Rozina Islam who was arrested and charged under the Official Secrets Act. A free press is vital to a government that is accountable to its people and to a healthy, public debate about the future of a country. If confirmed, I will work with like-minded nations to sound an alarm about potential abuses of power that could stifle the work of journalists. I will also coordinate within the Department and with USAID to execute programs to train journalists and offer exchange opportunities to build the capacity of investigative journalists in Bangladesh.

Question. As conditions in Burma continue to deteriorate, Bangladesh has graciously hosted close to 1 million Rohingya refugees. Yet, the Government shut off their internet for almost a year, denied children formal access to education, and built barbed wire fences around the camps. It has been reported that refugees in the camps are also extremely vulnerable to trafficking, forced labor, and other horrific crimes. Please describe your engagement to encourage additional protection for Rohingya refugees.

Answer. I recognize the challenges and responsibilities that the Rohingya refugee crisis has placed on the Government and people, especially the host community, of Bangladesh. The United States is the largest contributor of humanitarian assistance in response to the Rohingya refugee crisis, having provided more than \$1.5 billion to affected communities in Bangladesh, Burma, and elsewhere in the region since August 2017. USG assistance supports U.N. and NGO programming for case management, education, livelihood opportunities, prevention of sexual exploitation and abuse, prevention and response to gender-based violence, and other activities that are critical to protecting Rohingya rights and ensuring their security. If confirmed, I will continue to press the Government of Bangladesh to permit Rohingya increased access to livelihood and educational opportunities and expanded freedom of movement inside Bangladesh. I will request that security measures such as fencing do not impede life-saving activities, including protection and disaster prevention and response. I will also work closely with colleagues across the Department and inter-agency, so that protection continues to be at the core of U.S.-funded programming for Rohingya refugees.

Question. Over the last two years, the Government of Bangladesh placed gradual numbers of Rohingya on a silt island in the Bay of Bengal, Bhasan Char, under the premise it was "temporary." The Government denied access to NGOs and the U.N. for protected visits, and refugees reported abuse by government authorities. Now that Bangladesh and UNHCR have cemented a Memorandum of Understanding about protection of the populations on the island, it is imperative that the United States, as well as other donors, have visibility into the operations both on the island and in the mainland camps.

- Do you commit, if confirmed, to briefing congress about the ongoing Bhasan Char agreement and any changes to U.S. policy towards resettlement on Bhasan Char?

Answer. If confirmed, I will commit to communicating with Congress about ongoing developments related to the Rohingya humanitarian crisis in Bangladesh. I will ensure that Embassy Dhaka's reporting on Bhasan Char agreement and the Memorandum of Understanding with the U.N. are accurate, timely, and communicated to Washington quickly.

Question. Do you commit, if confirmed, to encourage the Government of Bangladesh to reconsider sending Rohingya refugees to Bhasan Char?

Answer. The Department has made it clear to the Government of Bangladesh that any relocations of Rohingya refugees to Bhasan Char must be safe, informed, and voluntary. Refugees should also be permitted to move freely between the island and Cox's Bazar. If confirmed, I will work closely with colleagues across the Department and interagency to urge the Government of Bangladesh to uphold these humanitarian principles. The Department welcomes the Government of Bangladesh signing an MOU with the U.N. establishing a framework of cooperation on U.N. engagement on Bhasan Char. The Department also supports UNHCR's request that the Government of Bangladesh allow the U.N. to conduct an assessment of the island prior to resuming relocations. If confirmed, I will work with my team at Embassy Dhaka to continue to encourage dialogue between the Government of Bangladesh and the U.N. on safe living conditions and adequate protection for Rohingya on Bhasan Char. Any U.S. Government funding for operations on Bhasan Char would have to be conditioned on a demonstrated commitment to a principled humanitarian re-

sponse, including voluntary relocations and freedom of movement between the island and Cox's Bazar.

Question. Please explain your plan of engagement with the Bangladesh Government about the plight of the Rohingya people and the necessity of protection and adequate resources for them.

Answer. If confirmed, I will coordinate within the U.S. Government to provide protection and assistance and develop durable solutions for Rohingya refugees and Bangladeshi host communities. I understand that since August 2017, the U.S. Government has provided more than \$1.5 billion to affected communities in Bangladesh, which supports life-saving humanitarian assistance to Rohingya refugees across all sectors of the response, including education, emergency telecommunications, food security, health, logistics, protection, shelter, and water, sanitation, and hygiene. The assistance also supports programs to improve disaster preparedness and bolster access to education and livelihoods for Rohingya and host communities. This helps safeguard Rohingya refugees until their voluntary, safe, dignified, and sustainable return to Burma when conditions allow. I will also continue to press the Government of Bangladesh to allow unhindered access to the camps for humanitarian actors to improve protection and access to services, including educational, vocational and skills training, and other livelihood opportunities for Rohingya refugees.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO PETER D. HAAS BY SENATOR EDWARD J. MARKEY

Question. Rohingya are seeking accountability and justice for the crimes committed against them, including genocide and crimes against humanity; Bangladesh has largely been supportive of these efforts. The United States is yet to make a genocide determination though we know from Secretary Blinken's comments that a determination process is ongoing. What accountability measures do you believe would be appropriate for the United States to take in response to the atrocities against the Rohingya? If confirmed, how would you support such measures?

Answer. The violence committed against Rohingya is truly horrifying. As Secretary Blinken has said, the State Department is committed to reviewing this issue and taking steps necessary to address these atrocities and make sure they never happen again. One aspect of that review is considering the question of genocide determination. If confirmed, I commit to supporting this process and exploring other methods to seek accountability and justice for these crimes.

Question. While I recognize and appreciate the Government of Bangladesh's generosity for taking in nearly one million Rohingya refugees, prospects for repatriation in the near-term appear slim and conditions continue to deteriorate in Cox's Bazar. Recognizing the difficult position Bangladesh is in, how will you nonetheless encourage your counterparts in the Bangladesh Government to take a more constructive approach to the growing humanitarian and security challenges in Cox's Bazar if you are confirmed? What, in your view, are the key elements that must be addressed?

Answer. I recognize the challenges and responsibilities that Bangladesh is facing in hosting approximately 900,000 Rohingya refugees. If confirmed, I am committed to working with the Government of Bangladesh, the international community, and other donors to find a durable solution to the crisis. We thank and recognize the Government of Bangladesh for hosting Rohingya refugees and urge Bangladesh to attend to Rohingyas' protection as much as possible.

As the international community works towards a durable solution, we should ensure that Rohingya refugees in Cox's Bazar are protected and have safe and humane living conditions. If confirmed, I commit to pressing the Government of Bangladesh to improve the safety of refugees residing in the camps in Cox's Bazar by addressing the root causes of insecurity in the camps and ensuring those who commit crimes and abuses are held accountable. I will also press Bangladesh to permit Rohingya increased access to livelihood and educational opportunities to reduce refugees' vulnerability to labor and sexual exploitation. Improving the relations between Rohingya refugees and host communities through humanitarian and development programming and protecting civil society in Cox's Bazar are also key items I will look to address.

Question. COVID restrictions have largely been lifted in the camps but limitations in programming and bureaucratic restrictions for implementers remain, especially for education and livelihood activities. If confirmed, how will you work with the Government of Bangladesh and U.N. Agencies to push for consistent, unhindered access

to the camps for humanitarian actors, access to protection services for refugees, and expanded education and livelihood opportunities?

Answer. As the largest contributor of humanitarian assistance in response to the Rohingya refugee crisis, the United States has a major role to play in advocating for unhindered access to the camps for humanitarian actors to improve access to services, including educational, vocational and skills training, and other livelihood opportunities for Rohingya refugees. If confirmed, I will continue to engage with the Government of Bangladesh to reduce bureaucratic barriers to U.N. and NGO operations and ensure that security measures such as fencing do not impede life-saving activities, including protection and disaster prevention and response.

Question. The MoU recently signed between the Government of Bangladesh and the U.N. Refugee Agency (UNHCR) allows for livelihoods and formal education on Bhasan Char, activities that Bangladesh has been very resistant to allow in the camps in Cox's Bazar. How will you work with Bangladesh and U.N. agencies to ensure there isn't a further increase in restrictions in Cox's Bazar as a means to compel Rohingya to relocate to Bhasan Char and to encourage a parity of services between the two?

Answer. The Department has made it clear to the Government of Bangladesh that the United States will not accept any double standards in conditions, protections, and services for Rohingya refugees between Cox's Bazar and Bhasan Char. If confirmed, I will work with the international community, other donors, and UNHCR to press the Government of Bangladesh not to curtail livelihoods and educational programs for Rohingya in the camps in Cox's Bazar or further restrict refugee rights in order to pressure refugees to relocate to Bhasan Char. As for the feasibility of services on the island, I look forward to reviewing UNHCR's assessment and operations plan.

Question. Following the MoU recently signed between the Government of Bangladesh and UNHCR, there are still questions on measures that will be taken to ensure that relocation to Bhasan Char is voluntary and ensure freedom of movement for those who choose to relocate there. There is substantial evidence that prior relocations involved coercion and false promises. How do you think the U.S. can work to ensure informed consent of Rohingya prior to further relocations? Further, while the MoU guarantees freedom of movement on Bhasan Char, there is no mechanism for enabling Rohingya to return to Cox's Bazar. Hundreds of Rohingya have attempted to flee the island, with some dying in boat accidents and others detained and returned to the island against their will, underscoring Bangladesh's narrow view of "voluntariness." If confirmed, how will you work to address these issues?

Answer. The Department has made it clear to the Government of Bangladesh that any relocations of Rohingya refugees to Bhasan Char must be safe, informed, and voluntary. Refugees should also be permitted to move freely between the island and Cox's Bazar. If confirmed, I will work closely with colleagues across the Department and interagency to urge the Government of Bangladesh to uphold these humanitarian principles. The Department welcomes the Government of Bangladesh signing an MOU with the U.N. establishing a framework of cooperation on U.N. engagement on Bhasan Char. The Department also supports UNHCR's request that the Government of Bangladesh allow the U.N. to conduct an assessment of the island prior to resuming relocations. If confirmed, I will work with my team at Embassy Dhaka to continue to encourage dialogue between the Government of Bangladesh and the U.N. on safe living conditions and adequate protection for Rohingya on Bhasan Char. Any U.S. Government funding for operations on Bhasan Char would have to be conditioned on a demonstrated commitment to a principled humanitarian response, including voluntary relocations and freedom of movement between the island and Cox's Bazar. I am committed to working with Congress as we continue to assess whether these conditions can be met.

Question. How will you work with the U.S. Mission to the U.N. to ensure the Rohingya crisis is on the agenda of the U.N. Security Council (UNSC), including issues related to accountability, and increase the political price for China to block any meaningful UNSC action?

Answer. The United States is stronger when it works with partners. If confirmed, I commit to continue working closely with the U.S. Mission to the U.N., the U.N.'s Independent Investigative Mechanism for Myanmar, and the Missions of other likeminded countries to promote justice and accountability for the Rohingya crisis, including at the U.N. Security Council. A durable solution to the Rohingya crisis will require the voluntary, safe, dignified, and sustainable return of Rohingya refugees to Burma, when conditions allow. A return to Burma for the Rohingya would

require addressing the root causes of their displacement and violence against them. Many of those who led the February military coup in Burma are also the same individuals largely responsible for the atrocities against Rohingya. Working together with partners in the U.N. will ensure that this issue does not go unaddressed due to China's role on the UNSC and will underline to the PRC that the international community's norms include treating refugees humanely and that the international community has a duty to protect refugees.

Question. The Rohingya crisis and military coup in Burma have cross-border dimensions and far-reaching regional implications. If confirmed, how will you work with regional governments to promote constructive engagement with issues of concern to both Bangladesh and the U.S.?

Answer. The impacts of the Rohingya crisis are felt throughout the region. If confirmed, I will coordinate with the U.S. embassies in Bangladesh's neighboring countries to highlight the importance of Bangladesh's neighbors sharing their responsibilities to protect the most vulnerable of human beings, by rescuing and allowing safe disembarkation and reception of Rohingya refugees in their waters and on the high seas, including by providing shelter, healthcare services, and access to UNHCR to assess their protection claims.

Question. Bangladesh has vocally called for developed countries to meet their \$100 billion annual pledge for climate finance. How important is it that the United States lead by example through its climate finance investments to help move Bangladesh towards a carbon free future?

Answer. Bangladesh is vulnerable to the impacts of climate change, and it is vitally important that the United States leads by example to help Bangladesh's move towards a carbon-free future. President Biden has announced his intent to work with Congress to increase the United States' international climate financing, including an increase in adaptation support to fully six-fold from its peak under President Obama—to \$3 billion. If confirmed, I commit to working diligently to support Embassy Dhaka's continuing work to ensure that U.S. climate finance and assistance supports Bangladesh's climate change mitigation, adaptation, and resilience, as well as its efforts to deploy renewable energy technology.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO PETER D. HAAS BY SENATOR TODD YOUNG

Question. As the U.S. and Bangladesh both look to increase opportunities to expand their trade and commercial relationship bilaterally, how do you intend to balance economic policy and human rights concerns?

Answer. As the eighth most populous country in the world coupled with dynamic economic growth, Bangladesh presents tremendous opportunity for U.S. investment and economic collaboration. However, there are also worrying trends in Bangladesh's human rights record, especially related to crackdowns on freedom of expression and the press. If confirmed, I will continue to press Bangladesh to uphold democratic principles and respect human rights, while seeking a stronger economic partnership with Bangladesh. For example, one way our economic partnership can support human rights is to work with the Government of Bangladesh on improving worker rights, which would improve the country's business environment and attract more U.S. investment.

Question. How do you think the U.S. can use its leverage on trade, development and security assistance to advance the protection of human rights, including of Rohingya? Further, how can the U.S. utilize economic cooperation to ensure that Bangladesh will improve or develop clear social and environmental policies and practices which are inclusive and nondiscriminatory of all communities, including Rohingya?

Answer. If confirmed, I will support President Biden's commitment to place human rights at the center of our foreign policy. That includes looking at all the tools the United States has to incentivize Bangladesh to take actions that advance the human rights of its people, particularly related to reversing democratic backsliding and holding perpetrators accountable for human rights abuses. Our humanitarian and development assistance also plays an essential role in easing tensions between Rohingya refugees and host communities. The United States is the largest single-country destination for Bangladeshi exports, and our economic partnership with Bangladesh can support our broader foreign policy goals in the areas of human rights and sustainable development. If confirmed, I will utilize the tools that the

United States has available—including infrastructure credentialing programs like the Blue Dot Network—to ensure that U.S. economic cooperation with Bangladesh has a central focus on inclusive growth, environmental sustainability, and transparent financing.

Question. How can the US, as by far the largest donor to the humanitarian response, engage constructively with Government of Bangladesh counterparts to ensure Rohingya fundamental rights are protected, including basic security and access to education, and that Rohingya are consulted in the process?

Answer. The United States is the largest contributor of humanitarian assistance in response to the Rohingya refugee crisis, having provided more than \$1.5 billion to affected communities in Bangladesh, Burma, and elsewhere in the region since August 2017. USG assistance supports U.N. and NGO programming for education, livelihood opportunities, prevention of sexual exploitation and abuse, prevention and response to gender-based violence, and other activities that are critical to ensuring Rohingya rights and security. Accountability to affected populations, which ensures that refugee participation and feedback are a part of every step of the process, is an essential part of all USG humanitarian assistance for the Rohingya refugee response. If confirmed, I commit to ensuring that the United States Government continues to support the Rohingya crisis response, including in consultation with Rohingya to determine their security and protection needs.

Question. While we recognize and appreciate the Government of Bangladesh's generosity for taking in nearly 1 million Rohingya refugees, prospects for repatriation in the near-term appear slim and conditions continue to deteriorate in Cox's Bazar. Recognizing the difficult position Bangladesh is in, how will you nonetheless encourage your counterparts in the Bangladesh Government to take a more constructive approach to the crisis if you are confirmed? What, in your view, are the elements of such an approach?

Answer. I recognize the challenges and responsibilities that Bangladesh is facing in hosting approximately 900,000 Rohingya refugees. If confirmed, I am committed to working with the Government of Bangladesh, the international community, and other donors to find a durable solution to the crisis. We thank and recognize the Government of Bangladesh for hosting Rohingya refugees and urge Bangladesh to attend to Rohingyas' protection as much as possible.

But while the international community works towards a durable solution, ensuring that Rohingya refugees in Cox's Bazar are protected and have safe and humane living conditions is paramount. If confirmed, I commit to pressing the Government of Bangladesh to improve the safety of refugees residing in the camps in Cox's Bazar by addressing the root causes of insecurity in the camps and ensuring those who commit crimes and abuses are held accountable. I will also press Bangladesh to permit Rohingya increased access to livelihood and educational opportunities in order to reduce refugees' vulnerability to labor and sexual exploitation. Improving the relations between Rohingya refugees and host communities through humanitarian and development programming and protecting civil society in Cox's Bazar are also key items I will address.

Question. The protection environment in the camps continues to deteriorate. This has been heightened even more following Mohibullah's assassination. How do you plan to work with UNHCR and the Government of Bangladesh to ensure the root causes of insecurity, such as impunity for criminal and militant actors, are recognized and that protection needs are adequately and expeditiously addressed?

Answer. The Department was deeply saddened and disturbed by the murder of Mohib Ullah. If confirmed, I commit to pressing the Government of Bangladesh to improve the safety of Rohingya refugees by addressing the root causes of insecurity in the camps in Cox's Bazar and ensuring those who commit crimes or abuses are held accountable. I will also continue to advocate for expanded humanitarian access for protection activities in the camps, especially for the most vulnerable Rohingya refugees. I will work closely with colleagues across the Department and interagency to ensure that U.S.-funded programming takes these considerations into account and work with donor nations and U.N. agencies to advocate for government actions when necessary.

Question. COVID restrictions have largely been lifted in the camps but limitations in programming and bureaucratic restrictions for implementers remain, especially for education and livelihood activities. If confirmed, how will you work with the Government of Bangladesh and U.N. Agencies to push for consistent, unhindered access to the camps for humanitarian actors, access to protection services for refugees, and expanded education and livelihood opportunities?

Answer. As the largest contributor of humanitarian assistance in response to the Rohingya refugee crisis, the United States has a major role to play in advocating for unhindered access to the camps for humanitarian actors to improve access to services, including education, vocational and skills trainings, and other livelihood opportunities for Rohingya refugees. If confirmed, I will continue to engage with the Government of Bangladesh to reduce bureaucratic barriers to U.N. and NGO operations and ensure that security measures such as fencing do not impede life-saving activities, including protection and disaster prevention and response.

Question. The MoU recently signed between the Government of Bangladesh and UNHCR allows for livelihoods and formal education on Bhasan Char, activities that Bangladesh has been very resistant to allow in the camps in Cox's Bazar. How will you work with Bangladesh and U.N. agencies to ensure there isn't a further increase in restrictions in Cox's Bazar as a means to compel Rohingya to relocate to Bhasan Char and to encourage a parity of services between the two?

Answer. The Department has made it clear to the Government of Bangladesh that the United States will not accept any double standards in conditions, protections, and services for Rohingya refugees between Cox's Bazar and Bhasan Char. If confirmed, I will work with the international community, other donors, and UNHCR to press the Government of Bangladesh not to curtail livelihoods and education programs for Rohingya in the camps in Cox's Bazar or further restrict refugee rights in order to pressure refugees to relocate to Bhasan Char. As for the feasibility of services on the island, I look forward to reviewing UNHCR's assessment and operations plan.

Question. Following the MoU recently signed between the Government of Bangladesh and UNHCR, there are still questions on measures that will be taken to ensure voluntariness of relocation to Bhasan Char. There is substantial evidence that prior relocations involved coercion and false promises. How do you think the U.S. can work to ensure informed consent of Rohingya prior to further relocations? Further, while the MoU guarantees freedom of movement on Bhasan Char, there is no mechanism for enabling Rohingya to return to Cox's Bazar. Hundreds of Rohingya have attempted to flee the island, with some dying in boat accidents and others detained and returned to the island against their will, underscoring Bangladesh's narrow view of "voluntariness." If confirmed, how will you work to address these issues?

Answer. The Department has made it clear to the Government of Bangladesh that any relocations of Rohingya refugees to Bhasan Char must be safe, informed, and voluntary. Refugees should also be permitted to move freely between the island and Cox's Bazar. If confirmed, I will work closely with colleagues across the Department and interagency to urge the Government of Bangladesh to uphold these humanitarian principles. The Department welcomes the Government of Bangladesh signing an MOU with the U.N. establishing a framework of cooperation on U.N. engagement on Bhasan Char. The Department also supports UNHCR's request that the Government of Bangladesh allow the U.N. to conduct an assessment of the island prior to resuming relocations. If confirmed, I will work with my team to continue to encourage dialogue between the Government of Bangladesh and the U.N. on safe living conditions and adequate protection for Rohingya on Bhasan Char. Any U.S. Government funding for operations on Bhasan Char would have to be conditioned on a demonstrated commitment to a principled humanitarian response, including voluntary relocations and freedom of movement between the island and Cox's Bazar. I am committed to working with Congress as we continue to assess whether these conditions can be met.

Question. How will you work with your counterparts in Dhaka to improve collective engagement on shared interests, including on the Rohingya?

Answer. One of our nation's greatest strengths is our network of allies and partners. If confirmed, I will work closely with both our traditional and emerging partners in the Indo-Pacific. For instance, I look forward to coordinating with G7 nations on infrastructure through the Build Back Better World Partnership, and to working with Quad nations and Bangladesh itself on public health and climate adaptation. I also plan to regularly meet with other donor nations, U.N. agencies, NGOs, and the Government of Bangladesh to coordinate on Rohingya issues.

Question. How will you work with the U.S. Mission to the U.N. to ensure the Rohingya crisis is on the agenda of the U.N. Security Council (UNSC), including issues related to accountability, and increase the political price for China to block any meaningful UNSC action?

Answer. The United States is stronger when it works with partners. If confirmed, I commit to continue working closely with the U.S. Mission to the U.N., the U.N.'s Independent Investigative Mechanism for Myanmar, and the Missions of other likeminded countries to promote justice and accountability for the Rohingya crisis, including at the U.N. Security Council. A durable solution to the Rohingya crisis will require the voluntary, safe, dignified, and sustainable return of Rohingya refugees to Burma, when conditions allow. A return to Burma for the Rohingya would require addressing the root causes of their displacement and violence against them. Many of those who led the February military coup in Burma are also the same individuals largely responsible for the atrocities against Rohingya. Working together with partners in the U.N. will ensure that this issue does not go unaddressed due to China's role on the UNSC and will underline to the PRC that the international community's norms include treating refugees humanely and that the international community has a duty to protect refugees.

Question. The Rohingya crisis and military coup in Burma have cross-border dimensions and far-reaching regional implications. If confirmed, how will you work with regional governments to promote constructive engagement with issues of concern to both Bangladesh and the U.S.?

Answer. The impacts of the Rohingya crisis are felt throughout the region. If confirmed, I will coordinate with the U.S. embassies in Bangladesh's neighboring countries to highlight the importance of Bangladesh's neighbors sharing their responsibilities to protect the most vulnerable of human beings by rescuing and allowing safe disembarkation and reception of Rohingya refugees in their waters and on the high seas, including by providing shelter, healthcare services, and access to UNHCR to assess their protection claims.

Question. Rohingya are seeking accountability and justice for the crimes committed against them, including genocide and crimes against humanity; Bangladesh has largely been supportive of these efforts. The United States is yet to make a genocide determination though we know from Secretary Blinken's comments that a determination process is ongoing. What accountability measures do you believe would be appropriate for the United States to take in response to the atrocities against the Rohingya? If confirmed, how would you support such measures?

Answer. The violence against Rohingya is truly horrifying. As Secretary Blinken has said, the State Department is committed to reviewing this issue and taking steps necessary to address these atrocities and make sure they never happen again. One aspect of that review is considering the question of genocide determination. If confirmed, I commit to supporting this process and exploring other methods to seek accountability and justice for these crimes.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO JULIE CHUNG BY SENATOR ROBERT MENENDEZ

Question. What do you think the role of the United States is in emphasizing accountability for past and ongoing human rights violations by the Sri Lankan military? What do you think the U.S. role is in assuring that security forces are not primarily deployed in regions primarily inhabited by Tamil and Muslim populations? Do you commit to engaging closely with this committee on any new developments with respect to security assistance in Sri Lanka?

Answer. The Biden administration has centered human rights in our foreign policy. Human rights abusers have enjoyed impunity in Sri Lanka, and in some cases have received support from the Sri Lankan Government. If confirmed, I will continue to seek a commitment from the Sri Lankan Government to credibly address longstanding human rights abuses, including by holding abusers to account, ending the over-deployment of security forces in regions primarily inhabited by minority groups, and finding a long-term resolution of ethnic and religious tensions in Sri Lanka. Additionally, I will use available U.S. tools to promote accountability, including, as applicable and appropriate, Section 7031(c) visa restrictions and/or Global Magnitsky sanctions to advance our human rights goals. The State Department and I commit to engaging closely with the committee on new developments with respect to security assistance to Sri Lanka.

Question. In 2015, the United States led a resolution in the U.N. Human Rights Council co-sponsored by Sri Lanka to provide transitional justice following the armed conflict, which ended in 2009. After minimal progress, Sri Lanka withdrew from this resolution and the commitments made. The U.S. supported a March 2021

U.N. Human Rights Resolution on Sri Lanka, mandating the U.N. Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights collect and preserve evidence of serious violations of international law that occurred in Sri Lanka and report on opportunities for accountability for these crimes. How can the United States best support the UNHRC process in Geneva and more broadly promote international accountability for reconciliation, accountability, and human rights in Sri Lanka?

Answer. The Department remains committed to using the U.N. Human Rights Council (UNHRC) and other multilateral fora to press the Government of Sri Lanka to credibly address its longstanding human rights abuses. Our co-sponsoring of Resolution 46/1 is a testament to our commitment to promoting democratic values, human rights, justice, and accountability measures in Sri Lanka. The United States will rejoin the Sri Lanka core group in the UNHRC at the earliest opportunity to continue our work with international partners to promote human rights and accountability in Sri Lanka. The long-term social stability, peace, and prosperity for all Sri Lankans can best be ensured by credibly pursuing justice, accountability, and reconciliation as outlined in the UNHRC resolutions on Sri Lanka. If confirmed, I will continue to press Sri Lanka to engage meaningfully with the UNHRC and to make good on its own commitments to its people as well as to the Council to redress human rights abuses and pursue reconciliation.

Question. In March 2021, Sri Lanka expanded the Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA) with a new regulation, which was highly criticized by human rights organizations, U.N. Special Rapporteurs and a European Parliament resolution. Since its enactment in 1978, the PTA has been used disproportionately against Tamil populations and, more recently, the island's Muslim population. Do you commit to engaging with the Sri Lankan Government on the PTA and other institutional reforms necessary for the protection of civil society?

Answer. The Department has repeatedly made clear to the Sri Lankan Government that the continued use of the Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA) is inconsistent with respect for human rights and contrary to the Sri Lankan Government's pledges to amend the act. The PTA offers detainees no right to due process, and many of those arrested under the PTA remain in detention without charge. Those in detention include more than 300 Muslims arrested after the 2019 Easter Sunday bombings, 70 Tamils held for many years for alleged links to the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) during the civil war, and more than 100 Tamils more recently arrested mainly for their posts on social media. The Government's appointment of a Cabinet Sub-Committee charged with reviewing the PTA is a welcome step, but it must lead to aligning Sri Lanka's counterterrorism law with international standards and to the immediate release of many who have been arbitrarily detained. If confirmed, I commit to engaging with the Sri Lankan Government on the PTA and other institutional reforms necessary for the protection of civil society and the promotion of human rights and religious freedom.

Question. Sri Lanka has the second-largest number of unresolved enforced disappearance cases in the world. Despite repeated promises from the Government and the establishment of an Office of Missing Persons, a 2020 United Nations Special Rapporteur's report states, "no observable progress has been made on pending cases." For over four years, Tamil families of the disappeared have been conducting continuing protests, in the face of intimidation from the Sri Lankan state, demanding answers regarding their loved ones. How will U.S. engagement show support for these civil society actors and emphasize accountability and justice regarding enforced disappearances?

Answer. The Department remains concerned about the persistent lack of progress by the Sri Lankan Government in addressing missing persons and enforced disappearances in Sri Lanka. Families of the disappeared and other civil society activists who are pressing the Government on this issue have faced violence and intimidation when seeking answers on what happened to their family members and loved ones. The Department continues to seek a commitment from the Sri Lankan Government to credibly address longstanding human rights cases including those of missing and disappeared persons, and to end intimidation against civil society and human rights defenders. If confirmed, I will continue to support Sri Lanka's civil society, including demonstrating our support for the resolution of missing and disappeared persons cases, and advocate for the protection of religious and ethnic minority groups and the strengthening of the country's democratic institutions.

Question. Sri Lanka currently faces a severe financial crisis resulting from high levels of debt incurred during and after the armed conflict and exacerbated by corruption and the COVID-19 global pandemic. When considering economic support for Sri Lanka—whether it be through aid, the IMF and/or other multilateral funders,

or connections with private investors and bankers—how will U.S. engagement emphasize the necessary political, economic, and military restructuring requisite for lasting economic stability and sustained peace on the island?

Answer. Sri Lanka is in an unsustainable financial situation and facing imminent debt restructuring and/or default. The Department has urged the Sri Lankan Government to work with the IMF to develop a reform and relief package to place the Government's fiscal stance and debt obligations on a sustainable path. If confirmed, I will seek to further build the capacity of the Sri Lankan Government to meaningfully address corruption, manage financial obligations, and enact policies that support healthy trade and sustainable and inclusive development. I will also seek to use the tools that the United States has available—including the Development Finance Corporation and infrastructure credentialing programs like the Blue Dot Network—to ensure that U.S. economic cooperation with Sri Lanka focuses on inclusive growth, environmental sustainability, and transparent financing. Furthermore, the People's Republic of China (PRC) aggressively seeks political, economic, and strategic advantage in Sri Lanka and in many cases enjoys wide public support for its engagement. If confirmed, I will appropriately highlight the detrimental impact of the PRC's activities on Sri Lanka's sovereignty and sustainable development.

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 also 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.

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, the health, safety, and security of Embassy Colombo staff, their family members, and all those supporting the Mission will be my highest priority. 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 Colombo to discuss past reported anomalous health incidents so that I am most prepared to protect the safety of Embassy Colombo staff and ensure that all protocols regarding anomalous health incidents are being followed appropriately.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED TO JULIE CHUNG BY SENATOR JAMES E. RISCH

Question. In the 2021 Trafficking in Persons Report, Sri Lanka remained on Tier 2 Watch List after receiving a waiver preventing an automatic downgrade to Tier 3. Given the serious issues the Government is facing in combating human trafficking, how will you work with the Government to boost their prevention, prosecution, and protection efforts so they do not stay on the watch list?

Answer. Trafficking in Persons remains a significant challenge in Sri Lanka and one the Department takes seriously. While we welcomed the Sri Lankan Government issuing and funding a National Action Plan to address trafficking in persons last year, additional progress will be needed to merit an upgrade to Tier 2 and to avoid an automatic downgrade to Tier 3 in 2022. If confirmed, I will stress to the Government the need for tangible progress to address trafficking in persons, as recommended in the 2021 Trafficking in Persons Report. These recommendations in-

clude investigating and prosecuting suspected traffickers, increasing efforts to identify victims of trafficking, increasing the availability of victim services, and countering child sex tourism.

Question. In the 2020 International Religious Freedom report, Sri Lanka's societal respect for religious freedom and the protection of religious minorities is thin. What is your assessment of this particular issue and if confirmed, how will you work with the Ambassador At Large to bolster religious freedom in-country?

Answer. Religious freedom is guaranteed under Sri Lanka's constitution, and citizens are often free to practice their beliefs. I am concerned about discrimination, intimidation, and harassment of religious minorities practicing their faith traditions. For example, in March the Government finally reversed a month's long policy of compulsory cremation for COVID-19 victims in contravention of Islamic tenants. If confirmed, I will work closely with the Ambassador-at-Large for International Religious Freedom to highlight how such practices are inconsistent with Sri Lanka's constitution and promote respect for freedom of religion or belief, including as it relates to the protection of houses of worship and other religious sites, especially for members of minority communities.

Question. In the 2020 Human Rights Report, Sri Lanka was identified as having committed serious human rights issues, including impunity for police who harassed citizens, corruption, arbitrary detention, restrictive NGO laws, and more.

- If confirmed, what steps will you take to address these instances with the host government?

Answer. Promoting human rights and fundamental freedoms are key aspects of the administration's foreign policy, including with regard to Sri Lanka. The United States seeks a peaceful, democratic, and inclusive Sri Lanka that respects the human rights and fundamental freedoms of all persons in Sri Lanka and is a reliable partner in addressing global challenges. If confirmed, I will continue to urge the Government of Sri Lanka to take meaningful steps to advance democratic governance, human rights, equal access to justice, and reconciliation, and to address the concerns of minority communities and civil society. Additionally, I will use available tools to promote accountability for abusers who enjoy impunity in Sri Lanka, including, as applicable and appropriate, Section 7031(c) visa restrictions and/or Global Magnitsky sanctions, to advance our human rights goals.

Question. In the 2020 Human Rights Report, Sri Lanka was identified as having committed serious human rights issues, including impunity for police who harassed citizens, corruption, arbitrary detention, restrictive NGO laws, and more.

- How will you direct your embassy to work with civil society organizations to improve the human rights situation on the ground?

Answer. Civil society has a critical role to play in advancing human rights and democratic governance in Sri Lanka. In order for progress and reforms in Sri Lanka to be resilient in the face of internal and external pressures, civil society groups must be allowed to operate free from monitoring, surveillance, intimidation, harassment, and fear. The Department has continued to urge the Sri Lankan Government to credibly address longstanding human rights cases and respect civil society, members of ethnic and religious minority groups, and human rights defenders. If confirmed, Embassy Colombo and I will continue to support Sri Lanka's civil society, advocating for peaceful organizations to operate without undue governmental restraint, protection for religious and ethnic minority groups, and the strengthening of the country's democratic institutions.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO BRIAN WESLEY SHUKAN BY SENATOR ROBERT MENENDEZ

Question. Benin has long been considered a democratic leader in West Africa. Under President Talon however, Benin has experienced significant democratic backsliding. During this year's election, for example, the Government detained several figures within the opposition, including its leader. What steps can the United States take to help Benin reverse this alarming trajectory?

Answer. The United States can encourage Benin to resume its traditional role as a positive influence and example in West Africa for democratic governance, the rule of law, and respect for human rights by directly engaging the Beninese Government on these issues, partnering with Benin on regional initiatives for peace and security, and health, and by creating strong economic opportunities for Benin's large and

growing youth population. If confirmed, my focus in Benin will be to promote democratic, inclusive, and transparent governance, respect for human rights, a prosperous and healthy society with closer trade links to the United States, and a partnership with Benin to strengthen regional security and address global threats such as violent extremism and transnational organized crime.

Question. Like many states in littoral West Africa, Benin faces the threat of encroaching violent extremism from the Sahel and Nigeria. How is the United States helping Benin address threats from beyond its borders and counter the spread of extremist ideology to populations within the country?

Answer. The United States supports Benin's efforts to train rural border police officers and military personnel to prevent criminality and the development of violent extremist ideologies through integration with, and support to, previously marginalized communities in border areas. If confirmed, I will continue Embassy Cotonou's engagement with the Beninese Government on security sector assistance, youth development, and strategic communications. USAID's Littorals Regional Initiative supports local counterparts to withstand the increasing pressures of violent extremist organizations by addressing weak governance, conflict, and weak social cohesion.

Question. One could argue there is a tension between providing a government with valuable security assistance while that same government seeks to dismantle democracy. If confirmed, how will you balance the United States' security interests against our goal of spreading and strengthening democracy?

Answer. If confirmed, I would balance the United States' security interests against our goal of spreading and strengthening democracy by supporting and encouraging Benin to resume the positive influence it once had, and could continue to have, in promoting peaceful democratic governance, rule of law, and respect for human rights while strengthening regional security and addressing global threats such as violent extremism and transnational organized crime.

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 promoted democracy and respect for human rights throughout my 26-year foreign service career. In Sudan, I have worked to support the civilian-led democratic transition, including ensuring that U.S. programs and advocacy advance this objective. In Haiti, I coordinated Mission efforts and worked with international partners to support the completion of long-delayed elections. In Iraq, I led a team that lobbied Iraq's parliament to pass a provincial election law and monitored elections in northern Iraq. And in Ghana, I engaged political activists, government officials, candidates, civil society and religious leaders to promote the democratic process in advance of Ghana's 2008 election and led embassy efforts to combat human trafficking.

Question. What issues are the most pressing challenges to democracy or democratic development in Republic of Benin? 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. The most pressing challenges to democracy in Benin are increasing restrictions on freedom of expression and peaceful assembly, arrests of political prisoners, and laws that undermine electoral competitiveness. Of significant concern is the Government's jailing of political opponents and critics, often on questionable charges, for extended periods of time, and without a public, transparent judicial process. Although President Talon has had significant success combatting low-level corruption and improving infrastructure, rule of law issues and democratic backsliding run counter to U.S. democracy and human rights priorities and discourage the private investments and international commerce that would bring long-lasting prosperity.

Question. What steps will you take—if confirmed—to support democracy in Republic of Benin? 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 support and encourage Benin to resume its traditional role as a positive influence in promoting peaceful democratic governance, rule of law, and respect for human rights in the region. I would also advance these priorities by promoting regional initiatives for peace and security, supporting the development of a healthier society, and creating economic opportunities for Benin's large

and growing youth population. Potential impediments include corruption and slow bureaucratic processes.

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 U.S. Government assistance resources to encourage Benin to resume its traditional role as a positive influence and example in West Africa for democratic governance. In administering such assistance, such as USAID's programs to counter democratic backsliding, promote respect for human rights, and support peacebuilding efforts by local civil society organizations that began implementation in the past year, I would prioritize democratic, inclusive, and transparent governance.

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 Republic of Benin? 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 with civil society members, human rights and other non-government organizations in the U.S., and with local human rights NGOs, and other members of the civil society in Benin. If confirmed, I would also seek to strengthen relationships with civil society leaders and human rights advocates in Benin, the U.S., and internationally. Where possible, I will work in partnership with diplomatic counterparts to proactively counter efforts to close the space for NGOs and civil society to operate.

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 with democratically oriented political opposition figures. To encourage genuine political competition, I will take steps to strengthen existing relationships and build new ones across the political spectrum. I also commit to advocating for access and inclusivity for women, minorities, and youth within political parties, if confirmed.

Question. Will you and your embassy team actively engage with Republic of Benin 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 Republic of Benin?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to meeting regularly with independent, local press in Benin and actively engaging, with the Embassy team, with the Beninese Government on freedom of expression, including for members of the press. I also commit to addressing government efforts to control or undermine press freedom through legal, regulatory, and other measures.

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 continue the Embassy's engagements with civil society and government counterparts to counter disinformation and propaganda disseminated by foreign state or non-state actors in the country.

Question. Will you and your embassy teams actively engage with Republic of Benin on the right of labor groups to organize, including for independent trade unions?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to actively engage with the government of Benin on the right of workers to exercise freedom of association, including to form and join independent trade unions, and call out incidents when this right is restricted.

Question. Will you commit to using your position, if confirmed, to defend the human rights and dignity of all people in Republic of Benin, no matter their sexual orientation or gender identity?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to using my position to promote respect for human rights and the dignity of all people in Benin, no matter their sexual orientation or gender identity.

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

Answer. According to the 2020 Department of State Human Rights Report, members of the LGBTQI+ community reported that police tolerated violence against LGBTQI+ persons. Benin's laws do not criminalize consensual same-sex sexual conduct between adults. A provision related to public indecency in the penal code, however, may be applied to prosecute same-sex sexual conduct by charging individuals with public indecency or acts against nature.

Question. What specifically will you commit to do to help LGBTQ people in Republic of Benin?

Answer. If confirmed, I will encourage the Beninese Government to resume its traditional role as a positive influence and example in West Africa for respect for human rights, including for LGBTQI+ persons, women and girls, persons with disabilities, and persons of every ethnic background, faith, and heritage. I will also work with diplomatic counterparts and allies in civil society to promote respect for the human rights of all in Benin.

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 Benin?

Answer. If confirmed, I will commit to ensuring that I fully brief Members of Congress and/or their staff each time I am in Washington for visits or consultations throughout my tenure as Ambassador to Benin.

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. If confirmed, I commit to ensuring any reported incident is treated seriously and reported through appropriate channels in a timely manner and that any affected individual promptly receives medical care. Secretary Blinken's number one responsibility as Secretary of State is to protect the men and women representing our country around the world.

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, working through the appropriate channels within the Department, and that any individual who experiences an anomalous health incident, or any other matter that would have an impact on their health and safety, will receive prompt medical attention and 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 with medical staff and the RSO to discuss any past incidents, and to ensuring that all health, safety, and security protocols are followed and implemented. I will also work together with our medical team and the RSO to ensure that Embassy personnel are aware of what to do in the event of a potential anomalous health incident.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED TO BRIAN WESLEY SHUKAN BY SENATOR JAMES E. RISCH

Question. Benin has experienced significant democratic decline under President Talon. As ambassador, if confirmed, how will you engage the Talon administration, civil society and the opposition on democratic and electoral reforms in an effort to help restore Benin's democratic credentials?

Answer. If confirmed, I would encourage Benin to resume its traditional role as a positive influence and example in West Africa for democracy, rule of law, and human rights by directly engaging the Beninese Government, civil society, and

other political actors. If confirmed, my focus would be promoting democratic, inclusive, and transparent governance, respect for human rights, a prosperous and healthy society with closer trade linkages to the United States, and a partnership to strengthen regional security and address global threats such as violent extremism and transnational organized crime.

Question. Like the rest of Littoral West Africa, Benin faces a growing threat of violent extremism moving south from the Sahel. As ambassador, if confirmed, what is your perspective on the types of investments the U.S. needs to make and/or maintain to reduce Benin's vulnerability?

Answer. Engagement on counterterrorism is a bilateral priority and Benin is a strong U.S. partner. If confirmed, I would strengthen our partnership with Benin on counterterrorism operations in the region by supporting continuing counterterrorism and countering-violent extremism assistance. This includes training for border police and military personnel to prevent criminality, and efforts to prevent development of violent extremist ideologies through support for marginalized communities in border areas. I would also continue counterterrorism engagement with the Beninese Government in the areas of security sector assistance, youth development, and strategic communications.

Question. Do you believe it is the sign of a healthy democracy when a duly elected government, in consultation with its citizens, extends the term of office of the presidency even if that means it would extend the term of the current President in power?

Answer. Every country has the ability to make constitutional changes, which the U.S. supports as long as such changes are made through a consultative and broad process that includes all stakeholders, including civil society and opposition parties. However, constitutional changes designed to favor incumbents or extend terms erode democratic principles.

Question. If confirmed, how would you respond if Benin were to extend the term of the office of the presidency even if that means it would extend the term of the current President in power?

Answer. If confirmed, I would advocate for regular, democratic transitions of power, which yield more accountability, stronger institutions, and less corruption.

Question. Can you provide your view on supporting U.S. funded, independent international election observation missions?

Answer. Promoting democracy and respect for human rights has long served as the basis of American foreign policy. Election observation can promote public participation, encourage transparency and public confidence in the electoral process, and mitigate the potential for electoral violence. Both U.S. Mission observers and independent observation missions help deter fraud at polling stations and facilitate the collection of critical information on conditions. To ensure real democratic gains, it is important that our elections work not focus solely on Election Day, but also address institutional or conduct problems in the lead up to elections.

Question. Would you support a U.S. funded, independent international election observation mission for Benin's next general election?

Answer. If confirmed, I would carefully consider how U.S. support to observation efforts can contribute to free and fair elections, and transparent electoral processes in Benin.

Question. How can the United States best use the tools it has to hold Benin officials accountable for corrupt behavior?

Answer. Corruption is a significant challenge in Benin. President Talon has described endemic corruption as one of the country's biggest problems. The United States can best use the tools it has to hold Beninese officials accountable for corrupt behavior by directly engaging the Beninese Government, promoting internationally recognized standards, and reinforcing the important role played by civil society, the media, and the business community.

Question. If confirmed, what would be your approach in using the tools it has to hold Benin officials accountable for corrupt behavior?

Answer. If confirmed, I would enlist the full resources of the Department of State's anticorruption teams and other U.S. Government resources to support these efforts, including continuing USAID's support to the National Anti-Corruption Authority to implement an anti-corruption action plan designed to elevate awareness of the perils and price of corruption.

Question. How can the United States best support Benin in curbing the corrupt behavior of those companies and government officials of malign foreign actors like China that feed on corrupt governments and business environments?

Answer. If confirmed, the Embassy could best support Benin in curbing corrupt behavior of those companies and government officials of malign foreign actors like the PRC that feed on corrupt governments and business environments by prioritizing anti-corruption; promoting democratic values, including inclusive electoral processes and media freedom; promoting high-quality alternatives to PRC trade and investment such as the African Growth and Opportunities Act and the West African Trade Hub; and providing assistance to Benin in the energy sector through the Millennium Challenge Corporation, health sector through USAID, and the security sector through Department of Defense and Department of State funding.

Question. Should the United States build on its existing defense and security cooperation with Benin? Where are the opportunities and the risks?

Answer. Benin is a strong partner to the United States for peace and security in West Africa and the Sahel. Our assistance to Benin's armed forces and police supports Benin's participation in peacekeeping and regional security efforts and advances its ability to interdict maritime and transnational organized crime. Our security and military engagement creates opportunities for U.S. law enforcement and service members to integrate respect for human rights and international humanitarian law as core training components and allows Beninese military personnel to attend professionalization training in the United States. If confirmed, I would support building on our existing defense and security cooperation with Benin.

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 Benin?

Answer. My understanding is that morale throughout Mission Benin is strong, motivated by staff's commitment to promoting democratic, inclusive, and transparent governance, promoting respect for human rights, supporting a prosperous and healthy society with closer trade linkages to the United States, and working in partnership with Benin to strengthen regional security and address global threats such as violent extremism and transnational organized crime.

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

Answer. If confirmed, I would prioritize building a strong team and community. I would support frequent and robust communication with local and U.S. staff, ensuring opportunities to share information and hear concerns. I would ensure that we communicate and put into practice Mission priorities and values, emphasizing the importance of diversity, inclusion, and respect. And as the father of two daughters who attended international schools overseas, I would prioritize ensuring that the educational needs of U.S. Mission families are served as well as possible.

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

Answer. If confirmed, I would focus on establishing strong communication among all agencies and personnel to ensure a common understanding of Mission priorities and values, and to promote a unified approach to achieving our objectives. Since some Mission offices are represented by non-resident personnel based in neighboring countries, I would also prioritize incorporating those personnel into key discussions.

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

Answer. As a manager and leader, I want to create an empowered, collaborative, and creative team that is motivated to achieve Mission objectives. I am committed to ensuring a respectful and inclusive workplace, in which everyone's contribution is valued. I prioritize frequent and open communication to ensure that the team understands our vision and values, while maintaining an environment in which personnel at all levels are empowered and able to share information, expertise and suggestions.

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, either in public or private.

Question. What lessons have you learned from your tenure as the Chief of Mission in Sudan?

Answer. This has been an extremely dynamic period in the U.S.-Sudan relationship. I have worked with a new government that took office following the overthrow of Sudan's longtime dictator, dealt with a transformed bilateral relationship following the rescission of Sudan's designation as a State Sponsor of Terrorism, and managed the Embassy team during the COVID pandemic. Engaging with a new and relatively inexperienced government has underscored the importance of clear and coordinated communication, transparency, adaptability, and managing expectations.

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

Answer. I have had the opportunity to serve as deputy chief of mission at Embassy Port-au-Prince under two ambassadors, and as consul general in Casablanca. For me, a strong and mutually supportive relationship between the DCM and the chief of mission is critical. I envision a close and collaborative relationship, with the DCM involved in all decisions. This requires a constant open line of communication and trust between the two.

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

Answer. While the chief of mission has overall leadership and management responsibility at the Embassy, I view the DCM as a key embassy leader and the chief of mission's principal partner and advisor. If confirmed, I would look to the DCM to help ensure strong communication within the embassy community, coordinate an active mentoring program, assist in coordinating interagency activities and programs, promote a culture of respect, inclusion and diversity, and ensure robust and effective management controls.

Question. How should the chief of mission lead a post with multiple U.S. Government agencies present?

Answer. The Chief of Mission should lead a post with multiple U.S. Government agencies present by establishing strong communication among all agencies and personnel to ensure a common understanding of Mission priorities and values, and to promote a unified approach to achieving post's objectives.

Question. In your experience, how important are interagency relationships within a post?

Answer. In my experience, interagency relationships within a post are critical to the success of the overall mission. If confirmed, I would promote strong coordination between all offices and agencies at Mission Benin.

Question. If confirmed, how would you handle interagency disagreement within Embassy Cotonou?

Answer. If confirmed, I would handle interagency disagreement within Embassy Cotonou by prioritizing frequent and open communication and ensuring that the Embassy is a respectful and inclusive workplace, in which everyone's contribution is valued. As a manager and leader, I want to create an empowered, collaborative, and creative team that is motivated to achieve Mission objectives.

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 it is important to provide employees with timely, accurate, constructive feedback on their performances 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. 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 Benin. In your experience, do U.S. diplomats get outside of our embassy walls enough to accomplish fully their missions?

Answer. I agree that it is essential that U.S. diplomats get outside of posts abroad to meet with local actors, including host government officials, civil society activists, non-government organizations, and fellow foreign diplomats, in addition to ensuring

oversight of projects and programs. In my experience, U.S. diplomats get outside of the embassy walls enough to fully accomplish their mission, although this has been made more challenging by the COVID-19 pandemic.

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

Answer. If confirmed, I would encourage U.S. diplomats in Benin to better access local populations by utilizing all available public diplomacy tools for in-person, virtual, and media engagement. I would also encourage in-country travel and representation outside of the capital.

Question. Public diplomacy is an important aspect of U.S. foreign policy efforts. What is the public diplomacy environment like in Benin? What public diplomacy challenges do U.S. diplomats face there?

Answer. U.S. public diplomacy in Benin is focused on bolstering support for democratic values among the country's rapidly growing youth population and municipalities beyond the capital, strengthening media institutions and the culture of investigative journalism, and promoting American-style entrepreneurial values among women and other underrepresented groups. The Embassy engages thousands of Beninese youth through its growing network of English Clubs, four American Spaces, and five active exchange program alumni organizations, and reaches hundreds of thousands more Beninese citizens through community radio and social media highlighting the scale and scope of the U.S. commitment to Benin and Africa.

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. Post has latitude to tailor our public messaging to local issues and concerns. If confirmed, I would ensure that our public diplomacy posture continues to play a key role in promoting our shared values and America's generous financial assistance and support across the range of issues.

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. If confirmed, do you commit to taking this threat seriously?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to taking the threat of anomalous health incidents seriously.

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

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to talking as openly as I can to Mission Benin personnel.

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

Answer. The United States should partner with European countries to build on likeminded interests in Benin and counter the malign influence of the PRC by promoting shared democratic values, good governance, transparency, anti-corruption efforts, and calling out nondemocratic behavior. If confirmed, I would engage with like-minded partner embassies to encourage a common understanding and approach to these challenges.

Question. In the 2021 Trafficking in Persons Report, Benin remained on Tier 2 due to overall increasing efforts to eliminate trafficking but can improve on convictions of traffickers and assigning proportional sentences. How will you work with the host government to address these issues if you are confirmed as Ambassador?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work with the Beninese Government to increase knowledge of its anti-human trafficking laws within the judiciary and assign proportional sentences to traffickers by encouraging implementation of Benin's anti-human trafficking laws and 2020-2024 National Action Plan. I will also continue the Embassy's efforts to engage the Beninese Government at all levels to increase awareness of human trafficking and to spur action to counter exploitation by imple-

menting the prioritized recommendations in the U.S. Department of State's annual Trafficking in Persons report.

Question. In the 2020 International Religious Freedom report, Benin was identified as having great societal respect for religious freedom. Despite this, there is still work the U.S. Embassy can do to bolster international religious freedom. How will you work with the Ambassador At Large on this issue?

Answer. Religious freedom is a U.S. foreign policy priority, and the Department closely monitors the religious freedom situation in Benin. Benin has long been a strong example for ethnic and religious tolerance in an often-turbulent region. If confirmed, I commit to work with the Ambassador at Large for International Religious Freedom and Congress to emphasize the importance of religious freedom, addressing religious freedom concerns, and further strengthening tolerance and respect among and for members of religious communities in Benin.

Question. In the 2020 Human Rights Report, Benin was identified as having committed or baring witness to (severe) human rights abuses. If confirmed, what steps will you take to address these instances with the host?

Answer. If confirmed, I will encourage the Beninese Government to address impunity and hold accountable those responsible for human rights violations and abuses. I will also support and encourage Benin to resume the positive role it once had, and could continue to have, in promoting respect for human rights in the region.

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

Answer. If confirmed, I will direct the Embassy team to work with our like-minded partners and allies in civil society to improve respect for human rights on the ground by prioritizing programs that work closely with local civil society organizations, including USAID programs to counter democratic backsliding, promote respect for human rights, and support peacebuilding.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED TO
ELIZABETH ANNE NOSEWORTHY FITZSIMMONS BY SENATOR ROBERT MENENDEZ

Question. President Gnassingbé or his father have ruled Togo since 1967. Political opposition often face harassment, detention, and even high-tech surveillance by the Togolese Government. What is the state of democracy in Togo, and what can the United States do to help Togo establish a competitive political system with real protections for opposition voices?

Answer. The United States continues to urge the Government of Togo to make greater advancements towards increasing respect for democracy and human rights. In 2019, the Government reformed the constitution to institute a two-round election system and a two-year term limit for presidents, though the presidential term-limit is not retroactive. Togo held local elections last year for the first time in 30 years and engaged in a government-initiated national dialogue with opposition parties to modify the electoral code and constitution and improve the electoral process for upcoming regional elections. The regional elections are the next step in decentralizing the Government and implementing the constitutionally-mandated Senate and Constitutional Court. If confirmed, I will continue to push the Government to increase political space so that the people of Togo can make their voices heard and peacefully express dissent, through the ballot box and through greater respect for human rights and a competitive political system.

Question. The Togolese Government has alleged used digital surveillance tools, including from Israeli and Indian firms to monitor opposition and civil society. What role can the United States play in countering digital authoritarianism and what steps would you take if confirmed to confront digital authoritarianism in Togo?

Answer. In August 2021, international media cited Togo as the only West African country and one of four sub-Saharan African countries using Pegasus software to monitor internet communications, journalists, opposition parties, Catholic clergy, and political dissidents. The right not to be subject to arbitrary or unlawful interference with one's privacy is a human right, guaranteed in Article 28 of the Togolese Constitution and in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights which Togo acceded to in 1984. If confirmed, I will collaborate with the Government of Togo, political parties, civil society organizations, and other diplomatic missions to promote transparency and privacy rights, increase access to justice, and strengthen democratic institutions. We will continue to urge the Government of Togo to adhere

to international commitments they made and to make greater advancements towards increasing respect for democracy, and human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Question. U.S. relations with Togo have mainly focused on the fight against HIV/AIDS and more recently on security assistance. What areas do you see as opportunities for increased engagement by the United States?

Answer. Supporting good governance and democracy in Togo is a key goal of our bilateral relationship in Togo. If confirmed, I will continue to urge the Government of Togo to make greater advancements towards increasing respect for democracy, and human rights and fundamental freedoms. Recent restrictions on the press following politically motivated arrests, limitations on applications for political gatherings, and suspensions of press outlets have greatly impeded Togolese ability to participate in their democracy. If confirmed, I will collaborate with the Government of Togo, 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 and fair elections. I will also support the freedoms of peaceful assembly and association.

Question. What is the COVID-19 situation in Togo right now? Is the United States doing enough to help Togo vaccinate its population?

Answer. As of October 18, the Government of Togo has recorded 25,899 confirmed cases of COVID-19 and 239 deaths. The Embassy managed over \$1,484,000 in COVID-related programming from AFRICOM, USAID, the State Department, and Embassy Small Grants. Through COVAX, the United States made available 607,230 Pfizer-BioNTech doses to Togo and 4,000 test kits and other equipment through the International Atomic Energy Association.

The PEPFAR program in Togo received \$590,000 in American Rescue Plan Act (APRA) funds to mitigate the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic on PEPFAR implementation in FY 21-22, including infection prevention control measures and training, procurement of PPE for healthcare workers, and laboratory strengthening. If confirmed, I will continue the work of Embassy Lomé to work with the Togolese Government to end the COVID-19 pandemic and ensure that the U.S. Government is working with the Togolese Ministry of Health to meet the health needs of the country to end COVID-19.

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 dedicated to publicly championing democracy and respect for human rights. Many of my overseas tours were in Public Affairs Sections, where I worked directly with media and the public to promote the ideals of democracy and respect for human rights. Direct engagement with youth leaders on issues of democracy, governance, and human rights throughout my career has offered the greatest impact, as those youth leaders emerge as influential figures in government, business, and the media.

Question. What issues are the most pressing challenges to democracy or democratic development in Togo? 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. Recent restrictions on the press following politically motivated arrests, limitations on applications for political gatherings, and suspensions of press outlets raise concern and certainly present challenges to Togo's democracy. The Government amended the "Bodjona" Law in late 2019 to restrict the time, place, frequency, and application process for demonstrations citing rising terrorist threats. A 2019 modification to the press and communication code increased fines and granted the High Authority for Audiovisuals and Communication (HAAC) more stringent control over the press. The HAAC exercised this additional control more rigorously over the past year. On April 8, 2020, the Government of Togo banned protests and political rallies under the COVID-19 State of Emergency, which now is scheduled to last until September 2022.

Following the 2020 Presidential elections, the Government initiated a six-month national dialogue with opposition parties, the National Consultation between Political Parties (CNAP), to modify the electoral code and constitution and improve the electoral process for upcoming regional elections. Despite boycotts from a few polit-

ical parties, CNAP produced over 50 suggestions for consideration. The Government's willingness to adopt these suggestions is still unclear. Togo's regional elections, the next step in its decentralization process, are necessary for the appointment of the Senate, as regional representatives select two-thirds of Senators.

Question. What steps will you take—if confirmed—to support democracy in Togo? 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 collaborate with the Government of Togo, 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 and fair 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 Togo. The Embassy has leveraged these kinds of resources in the past to support the decentralization process in Togo, support the efforts of Togo's Committee for the Prevention and Fight Against Violent Extremism, and increase women's participation in the political process.

USAID/West Africa's Reacting to Early Warning and Response II program helps address democratic backsliding through a combination of approaches that prevents the spread of COVID-19 infections, fights COVID-19-related misinformation, builds the capacity of women and youth to lead conflict prevention efforts, and promotes social cohesion and community resilience against COVID-19.

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 seek to leverage the Government of Togo's strong desire for an MCC Compact to encourage further reforms that improve transparency and reduce corruption. In 2019, MCC signed a Threshold Program with Togo to increase competition and private sector participation in the Information and Communications Technology (ICT) services market and to improve agricultural land tenure and management. Both of these areas will be critical to driving economic growth and reducing poverty in the country. If confirmed, I will explore all USAID, small grants, and other available U.S. funding to support and prioritize democracy and governance activities to focus on efforts to increase political pluralism and end limitations of freedom of assembly and expression.

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 Togo? 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 with and listen to all civil society and political actors in Togo who support strengthening Togo's democracy. I would build on Embassy efforts to urge the Government to lift undue restrictions on the press and journalists and allow for freedom of peaceful assembly. I would also continue to encourage the Government to take seriously issues of impunity to build trust between the Government and its people, and a concrete way the Government can build that trust is to allow NGOs and civil society true freedom of peaceful assembly and association.

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 continue and strengthen the relationships our mission has built with democratically oriented political opposition figures and parties. I will strive to support the efforts of these figures and parties to develop a more inclusive political environment in Togo, including their government-initiated dialogue with opposition parties to support regional elections. I will urge the Government to respect the freedoms of association and peaceful assembly for all political actors, even those who do not agree with the Government. Through public statements, small grants and other programming, and direct engagements, I will advocate for a political environment that is inclusive of women, youth, minorities, and Togolese who might otherwise be marginalized.

Question. Will you and your embassy team actively engage with Togo 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 Togo?

Answer. Recent restrictions on the press following politically motivated arrests, limitations on applications for political gatherings, and suspensions of press outlets raise concern. If confirmed, I would, along with the rest of my Embassy team, prioritize work with the Government of Togo to end restrictions on media outlets and reporters and to remind them that freedom of expression, including for members of the press, is key to maintaining a healthy democracy. If confirmed, I will commit to meeting regularly with independent and local press outlets in Togo as visible sign of support for press freedom.

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 great 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, which is why the Embassy provides programs to educate journalists about the dangers of disinformation and publicly refutes dangerous disinformation, a recent example being the disinformation circulated on the efficacy and safety of COVID-19 vaccines.

Question. Will you and your embassy teams actively engage with Togo on the right of labor groups to organize, including for independent trade unions?

Answer. The Togolese constitution provides that workers may form and join unions and bargain collectively. Togolese labor law also prohibits forced labor, child labor, and discrimination in the workplace; and outlines a minimum wage, occupational safety and health, and hours of work protections. The Government has demonstrated on several occasions its willingness to negotiate with labor groups. At the same time, concerns regarding government enforcement of worker rights protections, including on child labor and forced labor, remain. If confirmed, my team and I will encourage the Government of Togo to support the rights of organized labor groups which are protected in by law.

Question. Will you commit to using your position, if confirmed, to defend the human rights and dignity of all people in Togo, no matter their sexual orientation or gender identity?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I commit to using the position of the U.S. Ambassador to defend the human rights and dignity of all people in Togo, no matter their sexual orientation or gender identity. Through collaboration with various Togolese NGOs, the Embassy supports programming that promotes the rights and representation of women and LGBTQI+ persons in the Togolese economy and politics and increases public-private partnerships to encourage citizen participation and local governance. We will not compromise on these important American, and frankly global, ideals.

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

Answer. Togolese law prohibits "acts against nature committed with an individual of one's sex," widely understood as a reference to same-sex sexual activity. The law provides that a person convicted of engaging in consensual same-sex sexual activity may be sentenced to one to three years' imprisonment and a substantial fine, but it is rarely enforced. The law forbids promotion of immorality, which is understood to include promotion of same-sex activities. Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, and intersex (LGBTQI+) persons face societal discrimination in employment, housing, and access to education and health care. Existing antidiscrimination law does not apply to LGBTQI+ persons. No law allows transgender persons to change gender markers on government-issued identity documents.

Question. What specifically will you commit to do to help LGBTQ people in Togo?

Answer. If confirmed, I will commit to engaging with LGBTQI+ people in Togo on the best ways the U.S. Government work to end the discrimination LGBTQI+ persons face in Togo. I will listen whole-heartedly to their concerns, take their lead, and develop a collaborative approach to ending discrimination against members of the LGBTQI+ community. If confirmed, I will work with like-minded diplomatic partners and strengthen civil society advocacy to fully support and advance the human rights of LGBTQI+ persons. Members of Togo's LGBTQI+ community can be

assured that promoting respect for human rights for all individuals, with no exception or caveat, 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 Togo?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit, in coordination with the State Department's Bureau of Legislative Affairs, to respond promptly to all appropriate requests for briefings and for information by this committee. Congress has an important role to play not only in foreign policy legislation but also during the implementation process. Our foreign policy is stronger when the two branches of government coordinate, and I would look forward to strengthening the coordination between our two branches.

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, absolutely. As Secretary Blinken has said, his number one responsibility as Secretary of State 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 in a timely manner and that any affected individual promptly receives 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 will commit to treating each case seriously and working through the appropriate channels within the Department. Any individual who experiences an anomalous health incident or any other matter that would have an impact on their health and safety will receive prompt medical attention and 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 hold regular meetings with medical staff and the RSO on any past incidents to ensure that all health, safety, and security protocols are followed and implemented at Embassy Lomé. If confirmed, I will work together 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 ELIZABETH ANNE NOSEWORTHY FITZSIMMONS BY SENATOR JAMES E. RISCH

Question. Given your background in public diplomacy, how will you balance public diplomacy and quiet diplomacy in working with the Togolese Government?

Answer. Understanding how to balance public messaging and quiet diplomacy is vital to achieving U.S. goals. If confirmed, I would build on Embassy Lomé's use of quiet diplomacy to urge the Government to make democratic reforms. I would also continue to encourage the Government to take seriously issues of impunity to build trust between the Government and its people. I would also support, if confirmed, increasing engagement through our Public Diplomacy programs that give youth, journalists, and opposition leaders a voice to allow us to promote the ideals of democracy and respect for human rights for the Togolese people.

Question. How do you view the U.S. role in supporting positive democratic and institutional reforms in Togo?

Answer. Supporting positive democratic and institutional reforms in Togo is a top policy priority for the United States. If confirmed, I will collaborate with the Government of Togo, 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 and fair 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 Togo. The Embassy has leveraged these kinds of resources in the past to support the decentralization process in Togo, support the efforts of Togo's Committee for the Prevention and Fight Against Violent Extremism, and increase women's participation in the political process.

Question. As U.S. Ambassador, if confirmed, how will you engage the Gnassingbé administration and opposition figures in supporting positive democratic and institutional reforms?

Answer. Following the 2020 Presidential elections, the Government of Togo initiated a six-month national dialogue with opposition parties, the National Consultation between Political Parties (CNAP), to modify the electoral code and constitution and improve the electoral process for upcoming regional elections. Despite boycotts from a few political parties, CNAP produced over 50 suggestions for consideration. The Government's willingness to adopt these suggestions is still unclear. If confirmed as U.S. Ambassador, I will encourage both the Gnassingbé Government and opposition figures to continue to build upon the CNAP and enact the necessary reforms to strengthen democracy and political pluralism in Togo.

Question. The U.S. mission in Togo is a relatively small, and Togo commands significantly less attention from Washington than many of its close neighbors, including Nigeria, Ghana, Niger and Burkina Faso.

- As Chief of Mission, if confirmed, how will you operate in such a post to manage the staff and lead U.S. policy on the ground?

Answer. My experience as both Deputy Assistant Secretary and Acting Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary in the Bureau of African Affairs provided me ample opportunity to understand how to work with my interagency colleagues in Washington to best support our missions overseas. If confirmed, I will partner with the team at Embassy Lomé to ensure their ideas about how to achieve policy successes in a resource-constrained environment are heard and leverage my knowledge of Washington to acquire the appropriate resources and attention from Washington to achieve the U.S.G. mission goals in Togo.

Question. What is your view on political dynasties and long-serving rulers who, like in the case of Togo, manipulate constitutional and electoral processes to give the façade of democratic legitimacy?

Answer. We continue to urge the Government of Togo to make greater advancements towards increasing respect for democracy, and human rights and fundamental freedoms. One such needed change is greater political pluralism. In 2019, the Government reformed the constitution to institute a two-round election system and a two-year term limit for presidents, though the presidential term-limit is not retroactive. Togo held local elections last year for the first time in 30 years and engaged in a government-initiated national dialogue with opposition parties to modify the electoral code and constitution and improve the electoral process for upcoming regional elections. The regional elections are the next step in decentralizing the Government and increasing political pluralism. If confirmed, I will continue to push the Government to increase political space so that the people of Togo can make their voices heard and peacefully express dissent through the ballot box and through greater respect for human rights and political pluralism.

Question. If confirmed, how will you address the issue of political dynasties and long-serving rulers as U.S. Ambassador, particularly in light of broader regional trends?

Answer. If confirmed, I would continue our work with all stakeholders in ensuring that Togo's political system remains fair and transparent and that the Togolese people are heard and given an opportunity to choose their political leaders. I will promote democratic values and seek to strengthen democratic institutions, including through electoral processes that have credibility and integrity in representing the will of the people of Togo.

I understand our Embassy in Lomé and the MCC have continually reminded the Togolese Government that MCC compact assistance is predicated on a clear, demonstrated commitment to MCC's eligibility criteria, as well as successful implementation of its Threshold Program. If confirmed, I will continue to use this and other programs as an incentive toward making political reforms in Togo.

Question. Can you provide your view on supporting U.S. funded, independent international election observation missions?

Answer. Election observation can promote public participation, encourage transparency and public confidence in the electoral process, and mitigate the potential for electoral violence. Both U.S. Mission observers and independent observation missions help deter fraud at polling stations and facilitate the flow of information during elections. To promote real democratic gains, it is important that our election work looks beyond election day and addresses problems in the lead up to elections.

Question. Would you support a U.S. funded independent international election observation mission for Togo's next general election?

Answer. If confirmed, I would identify ways the U.S. could support international observation efforts to contribute to free and fair elections and transparent electoral processes in Togo. International observers from ECOWAS and the African Union judged the Presidential elections held in 2020 to be generally free and fair and international consensus is that President Gnassingbé won the election. Nevertheless, the level of distrust between Togo's major political factions remains exceptionally high. An overly centralized executive with political power concentrated in the ruling party inhibits broad-based participatory democracy. In addition, the Government expelled National Democratic Institute staff and pulled the credentials of their local partner days before the 2020 presidential election, limiting efforts to increase electoral transparency and build confidence in the electoral process.

Question. How can the United States best use existing tools to hold Togolese officials accountable for corrupt behavior?

Answer. The United States supports efforts to counter corruption throughout the world. Some of the best tools that the U.S. Government has at its disposal are those that include benchmarks on corruption reduction, such as MCC Threshold and Compact programs. If confirmed, I would utilize all available U.S. assistance tools and programs to combat government corruption in Togo and prioritize programs that help the U.S. and Togo achieve those goals.

Question. If confirmed, what would be your approach in using the tools at the U.S.'s disposal to hold Togolese officials accountable for corrupt behavior?

Answer. Combatting corruption in Togo is essential to promote economic opportunities and inclusive development for all Togolese and to increase government trust and accountability. If confirmed, I would seek to leverage the Government of Togo's strong desire for a MCC Compact to encourage further reforms that improve transparency and reduce corruption. In 2019, MCC signed a Threshold Program with Togo to increase competition and private sector participation in the Information and Communications Technology (ICT) services market and to improve agricultural land tenure and management. Both of these areas will be critical to driving economic growth and reducing poverty in the country, but that will only happen if corruption is reduced.

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 in Embassy Lomé?

Answer. Embassy Lomé is a small mission in a region facing growing challenges. I understand that Mission Togo's morale is good, particularly for a post of its size in a difficult environment, and that many officers choose to extend their tour in Togo for a third year. To me, that speaks volumes about the team and the environment that Embassy leadership has fostered in the country and, if confirmed, I will endeavor to build upon that foundation and ensure that morale remains good.

Question. How do you intend to improve morale?

Answer. If confirmed, maintaining morale of the team at Embassy Lomé will be of utmost importance to me. I intend to work closely with my staff, understand their concerns, make improvements where those can be undertaken at post, and communicate those concerns which cannot be addressed at post back to Department leadership for action. I will seek to support all employees and their families to create an inclusive and welcoming culture where individuals are safe and can achieve professional and personal goals. 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 seeking to work with the Office of Overseas schools in an effort to improve schooling options in Togo so that more families can consider service at Embassy Lomé. I will work to ensure that eligible family members who wish to work in the mission find meaningful employment in Embassy Lomé.

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

Answer. If confirmed, I will lead regular discussions with all agencies to establish and review goals and develop strategies and tactics to achieve common objectives. If confirmed, I intend to ensure that all employees working in Embassy Lomé, whether they are locally employed staff, eligible family members, or U.S. direct hires, feel supported and heard in their work. I would maintain an open office policy and welcome the contributions and ideas of those working in our mission. Throughout my career, I valued and encouraged a diverse and inclusive work environment, and if confirmed, I intend to bring that same spirit to Embassy Lomé.

Question. How would you describe your management style?

Answer. I am an inclusive leader and manager and if confirmed will encourage every member of the team to contribute - this is particularly important in an environment like Togo in which the Embassy team is small and relatively less experienced and the policy challenges are complex, varied, and growing. I am constantly seeking to innovate and learn in my own professional life, and I strive to create a culture of creativity, diversity, and inclusion so that all members of the team are valued, and their voices are heard. I think these are particularly important leadership traits in a small Embassy like Lomé, where innovative ideas and diverse perspectives will help the team leverage our relatively modest resources to achieve significant results.

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

Answer. Absolutely not. It is neither acceptable nor productive to berate anyone in a professional setting. If confirmed, I will not tolerate abusive behavior at Embassy Lomé and I will seek to lead by example, praising in public, constructively correcting in private when necessary, and being open to dissent and constructive feedback from the team.

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

Answer. The Department of State provides a list of suitable Deputy Chief of Mission candidates for a Chief of Mission to select when those positions become open. If confirmed, I will select a DCM who compliments my skills, experience, and knowledge and we will work as a true team to ensure the U.S. Mission in Togo 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 intend to entrust my Deputy Chief of Mission with the responsibilities akin to those of a Chief Operating Officer, modeling the function of the Embassy Front Office on the effective organization of the Bureau of African Affairs in which the Assistant Secretary functions as Chief Executive Officer and the Principal Deputy as COO. 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. How should the chief of mission lead a post with multiple U.S. Government agencies present?

Answer. Incorporating voices from all government agencies is the best way to capitalize on the knowledge, experience, and perspective they bring to Embassy Lomé. If confirmed, I will lead regular discussions with all agencies to establish and review goals and develop strategies and tactics to achieve common objectives. I will hold regular meetings with all U.S. Government agencies represented at the mission and with our regional colleagues based at other Embassies in West Africa.

Question. In your experience, how important are interagency relationships within a post?

Answer. In my experience, creating strong interagency relationships is extremely important for achieving U.S. priorities and goals at out missions overseas. In my previous Foreign Service assignments, I have relied on and fostered a close, productive relationship with my interagency colleagues, and I intend to do the same, if confirmed, as the next U.S. Ambassador to Togo.

Question. If confirmed, how would you handle interagency disagreement within Embassy Lomé?

Answer. If confirmed, I will regularly hold meetings with the interagency and incorporate interagency colleagues into the mission country team. I will encourage my staff to work closely as a team to resolve any disagreements, and I will make sure that each member on the team feels like their input and perspective is valid and important - we all work for the same U.S. Government.

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 subordinates with accurate, constructive feedback on their performance in order to encourage improvement and reward those who most succeeded in their roles?

Answer. Yes. Our duty as leaders is to provide accurate and constructive feedback to our subordinates and to reward them for a job well done.

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. I view that as a duty for any manager of people, and if confirmed I commit to provide clear, accurate, timely, and direct feedback to my team.

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 everyday citizens.

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

Answer. In my experience, it is imperative that U.S. diplomats leave their office space on a regular basis and meet not only with government leaders but also with businesspeople, members of civil society, influencers, and change-makers in the country in which they work to fully understand the local context and in order to be able to provide the most effective advice to decision makers in the inter-agency. If confirmed, I will encourage my staff to work outside Embassy walls to achieve our foreign policy goals and will mentor those members of the team who need more experience in this area, while also modeling regular constructive outreach to all elements of Togolese society. I am a public diplomacy officer, and throughout my career I have valued, both personally and professionally, the relationships I have fostered outside the office to achieve U.S. goals.

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

Answer. If confirmed, and as health and safety conditions permit, I will encourage U.S. diplomats to engage actively, broadly and in-person with local populations. Until then, we will maintain active engagement through virtual media. If confirmed, I intend to regularly visit people throughout Togo and use those visits to facilitate contacts for other U.S. diplomats.

COVID-19 has physical interactions and poor telecommunications infrastructure makes virtual interactions difficult. However, nearly all Mission personnel have been vaccinated and the number of vaccinated Togolese is also increasing. This should slowly improve our ability to access more people locally.

Once the COVID-19 situation is sufficiently improved we intend to fully re-engage with all our stakeholders throughout the country in-person. Once we achieve a healthy threshold of vaccinated people, we plan to return to hosting more representational events as they have historically been well received, especially our Fourth of July celebrations. A resumption in issuing tourist and business visas will also increase our interaction as it will raise interest in the United States.

Question. Public diplomacy is an important aspect of U.S. foreign policy efforts.

- What is the public diplomacy environment like in Togo?

Answer. Although the constitution provides for freedom of expression and freedom of the press, the Government restricted these rights. The law imposes penalties on journalists deemed to have committed "serious errors" as defined in the media code.

Independent media are active and express a wide variety of views, many highly critical of the Government. Authorities sometimes attempt to influence the press through illicit means, for example, by giving "year-end gifts" to encourage positive media coverage or by applying libel and slander laws to restrict public discussion and retaliate against journalists.

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

Answer. Recent restrictions on the press following politically motivated arrests, limitations on applications for political gatherings, and suspensions of press outlets raise concern and also makes our public diplomacy work in Togo challenging. If confirmed, I would, along with the rest of my Embassy team, engage the Government of Togo to end restrictions on media outlets and reporters and to remind them that freedom of the press is key to maintaining a healthy democracy. If confirmed, I will commit to meeting regularly with independent and local press outlets in Togo as visible sign of support for freedom of the press and of expression. COVID-19 restrictions have made it more difficult to reach out to the Togolese public. If confirmed, I fully intend to in-person engagement with the Togolese public as health and safety indicators allow.

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. The Embassy's Public Affairs Office does a good job balancing these occasionally differing objectives. The Mission's strategic planning working group meets monthly to discuss important policy objectives and to decide how to best deliver messaging to the public. As a Mission, we focus most of our messaging on our priority policy goals and objectives including on democracy and governance, peace and security, trade and economic growth, and development. However, we also deliver messaging on Washington's policy priorities. Most public messaging is delivered via our social media platforms, but also via traditional media including radio, television, and newspaper interviews, which is dominated by state media. If confirmed, I will also use my past experience at the Bureau of African Affairs Deputy Assistant Secretary of Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs to achieve the correct balance in our public diplomacy messaging.

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.

- If confirmed, do you commit to taking this threat seriously?

Answer. Yes.

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

Answer. Yes, I commit to transparent communication with Mission Togo personnel as it relates to AHI and any other matters that would have an impact on the health and safety of Mission Togo personnel and their families.

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 on increased transatlantic cooperation, including in Africa, to counter Chinese malign influence more effectively.

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

Answer. The United States and our European partners share an interest in supporting Togo's efforts for financial transparency, respect for human rights, respect for freedom of expression, and efforts to counter corruption. We are concerned about the PRC's influence on these areas in Togo. Working with like-minded partners, like the EU, is critical to advancing U.S. foreign policy goals in Togo. If confirmed, I will work closely with the EU mission in Lome as well as with diplomats from our European and other like-minded partners to ensure that Togo's democratic institutions can counter malign influence in the country.

Question. In the 2021 Trafficking in Persons Report, Togo remained at Tier 2 due to lack of a lack of convictions of traffickers and identifying fewer victims. How will you work with host government to address these issues if you are confirmed as Ambassador?

Answer. The Government of Togo, with support of the U.S. Embassy, has taken steps to increase its anti-trafficking efforts. Past State Department-funded workshops trained magistrates, police officers, and customs officials on the trafficking provisions of the 2015 penal code. In addition, U.S. funding supported a local NGO to train social workers and journalists and conduct an awareness raising campaign. Following this, the Government of Togo established a formal partnership with Plan

International in support of a regional program targeting TIP and illegal immigration.

If confirmed, I will continue to urge the Government of Togo to increase its efforts to combat TIP, including finalizing and adopting the pending decree to create a Trafficking in Persons Inter-ministerial Committee, increasing accessibility to shelters for victims, and drafting and resourcing a national action plan that incorporates adult victims and increases coordination with NGOs, neighboring countries, and regional organizations.

Question. In the 2020 International Religious Freedom report, Togo was identified as tolerant of religious freedom. What is your assessment of this particular issue and if confirmed, how will you work with the Ambassador At Large to continue to bolster religious freedom in-country?

Answer. The Togolese constitution specifies the state is secular and enshrines the right of all individuals to exercise their religious beliefs, consistent with the nation's laws. Relations among members of religions in Togo are generally amicable. Occasional disputes among members of religious groups were related to noise caused by religious celebrations, or competition for parishioners among churches. Members of different faiths regularly invite one another to their respective ceremonies. Inter-marriage between persons of different religions is common.

If confirmed, I commit to work with the Ambassador at Large for International Religious Freedom and Congress to strengthen Togo's efforts to foster an environment that respects religious freedom and plurality. I would continue the U.S. Embassy's programs to reach out to all religious groups in Togo in conjunction with the office of the Ambassador-at-Large for International Religious Freedom. If confirmed, I would also support peace and tolerance courses and programming that counters violent extremism alongside key Muslim leaders.

Question. In the 2020 Human Rights Report, Togo was identified as having significant human rights issues, including unlawful or arbitrary killings by security forces, political prisoners, restrictions on free speech and on the internet, violence against women, 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, violence against civilians, arbitrary arrests and killing by security forces, political prisoners, and undue restrictions on freedoms of expression and peaceful assembly in Togo. We have called on the Government of Togo to respect the human rights of individuals in Togo, notably freedoms of expression and peaceful assembly, both publicly and privately, and to ensure that all those arrested are afforded fair trial guarantees. If confirmed, I will continue to speak out for democratic pluralism and respect for human rights.

If confirmed, I would build on Embassy efforts to urge the Government to increase the transparency of the electoral process, lift undue restrictions on the press and journalists, and allow for freedom of peaceful assembly. I would also continue to encourage the Government to take seriously issues of impunity to build trust between the Government and its people.

Question. How will you direct your embassy 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 Togo who support strengthening Togo's democracy. I would build on Embassy efforts to urge the Government to lift punitive restrictions on civil society organizations and allow for freedom of peaceful assembly and speech by Togolese who hold views in opposition to the ruling party. I would also continue to encourage the Government to take seriously issues of impunity to build trust between the Government and its people and 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 allows, my team and I will meet in-person with civil society leaders throughout Togo to hear and support their voices.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO HON. DAVID R. GILMOUR BY SENATOR ROBERT MENENDEZ

Question. What are the main challenges faced by U.S. firms operating in Equatorial Guinea and how would you seek to promote opportunities for U.S. firms if confirmed?

Answer. If confirmed, I will represent the interests of U.S. companies with the Government, including with the Ministry of Mines and Hydrocarbons, the Ministry of Commerce, and the Ministry of Finance, the Economy and Planning. I will also ensure that Embassy Malabo continues to maintain strong relationships with local offices of U.S. companies and prioritize the protection of U.S. investments and interests. Natural resource-driven economies like that of Equatorial Guinea face liquidity problems when the price of the export commodity falls dramatically; such developments also directly affect the efficiency and profitability of U.S. firms in the hydrocarbon sector. Non-oil and gas companies in Equatorial Guinea have also faced a variety of obstacles in conducting business, which is reflected in Equatorial Guinea's low ranking on the World Bank's Ease of Doing Business Index. If confirmed, I will emphasize to Equatoguinean officials how damaging these obstacles, including non-payment of debts to U.S. investors, as well as apparent political influence or favoritism in commercial dealings, are to Equatorial Guinea's ability to attract and maintain foreign investment.

Question. What impact has corruption had on economic development, and what steps will you take if confirmed to address the issue of corruption?

Answer. It is telling that the World Bank classifies Equatorial Guinea as an upper middle-income country, yet 75 percent of the population lives in poverty. The oil and gas boom that began in the early 1990s did allow the Government to undertake some important infrastructure projects such as a high-quality road network, yet the country has not built a new public school throughout President Obiang's 42 years in office. If confirmed, I will utilize a measured and strategic approach by urging the Government of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea to adopt good governance practices, including increased transparency and accountability, more effectively implement its international anticorruption obligations and commitments, and invest more in its people, particularly in education and health. Equatorial Guinea recently passed a new anti-corruption law, and if confirmed, I will work to build on that and obtain real commitments from the Government to counter the corruption that threatens the Equatoguinean people's security, economic opportunity, and development. I will also continue to work with interagency partners to consider all available tools that promote accountability and combat corruption.

Question. China is a player in Equatorial Guinea and involved in construction, business, and maritime activities. How would you assess the level of Chinese influence and how should the U.S. work to counter it?

Answer. I understand that Equatorial Guinea's political and economic situation has created opportunities for exploitation by the PRC and other countries. If confirmed, I will build on ongoing collaboration among all relevant U.S. Government entities to ensure our efforts remain aligned and complementary. Moreover, while U.S. oil and gas companies have been the cornerstone of Equatorial Guinea's economic development for the past three decades, hydrocarbons are a limited resource and Equatorial Guinea needs to diversify its economy to promote further growth. Unfortunately, potential foreign investors from other sectors are rightly wary about the current investment climate, including contract sanctity and a politicized judicial system. The Government of Equatorial Guinea will need to address such issues if it wants to encourage increased foreign investment from reliable, transparent partners.

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. As Ambassador in Togo, I used a combination of personal diplomacy and a forceful critical statement from Washington to persuade the Government to cease the use of vigilantes who harassed and beat opposition demonstrators during a period of high political tension in 2017. I persuaded the Government to restore internet service that was shut down following mass demonstrations. I urged senior officials to compromise with the opposition on setting ground rules for demonstrations that restored freedom of assembly. In Chad, I joined with other likeminded chiefs of mission to convince the transitional government to allow peaceful public demonstrations, something which had not been permitted for many years. Throughout my career, I have worked with and supported journalists in countries with limited

freedom of expression. As a public diplomacy officer, I administered training and exchange programs for human rights defenders and civil society activists.

Question. What issues are the most pressing challenges to democracy or democratic development in the Equatorial Guinea? 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. The State Department's 2020 Human Rights Report on Equatorial Guinea notes many significant issues of concern, including reports of excessive use of force by security forces; disregard for the rule of law; undue restrictions on freedom of expression including for members of the press; restrictions on peaceful assembly; and widespread official corruption—all of which negatively affect democracy and democratic development. While Equatorial Guinea is officially a multiparty democracy with a constitution that guarantees certain rights to its citizens, opposition parties have significantly fewer resources and less capacity than the president's political party, and the same person has been in power for 42 years. Opposition parties have not achieved political goals, and therefore have no track record with the public. There is no independent electoral commission and thus no accountability process before, during or after elections. Press freedom is slowly emerging, but journalists are censored or self-censor, and journalistic capacity is low. If confirmed, I will raise these important concerns with the Government of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea, in addition to fostering and expanding the Embassy's own engagement with civil society, the political opposition, and media representatives.

Question. What steps will you take—if confirmed—to support democracy in the Equatorial Guinea? What do you hope to accomplish through these actions? What are the potential impediments to addressing the specific obstacles you have identified?

Answer. Human rights and democratic governance are central priorities for our engagements with Equatorial Guinea. If confirmed, I will raise human rights concerns with the Government of Equatorial Guinea, especially emphasizing how those concerns intersect our other areas of cooperation, such as fiscal transparency, economic diversification, anticorruption, trafficking in persons, and maritime security. I will also continue to use cultural exchanges, journalist trainings, democracy and good governance grants, and capacity building resources to expand and strengthen the Embassy's network of local partners and voices, who are critical in advocating for and implementing meaningful change in a society. We need to recognize, however, that the changes we and so many Equatoguineans seek will not happen overnight. While I would hope that the timeline for such changes will not be truly "generational," it may be wise to adopt an incrementalistic approach that embodies the philosophy of "First, Do No Harm," lest we endanger the very people we seek to assist. If confirmed, I would welcome the opportunity to discuss our approach with you and your colleagues in greater depth.

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. From FY2018 to FY2020, the United States has provided multiple grants totaling \$725,000 through Africa Regional Democracy Fund to strengthen civil society capacity and advocate for democracy and transparency in governance. The United States has also been able to increase cultural and educational cooperation due to Equatorial Guinea's upgrade from Tier 3 in the TIP Report, including exchange programs such as the Fulbright Program. USAID has minimal programming in Equatorial Guinea and provided \$150,000 in humanitarian assistance in response to the March 2021 Bata explosions. USAID will also disburse a COVID-19 rapid deployment award with WHO and UNICEF as implementing partners. If confirmed, I will continue to support all this important work.

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 the Equatorial Guinea? 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 members of civil society, human rights, and other non-governmental organizations in the United States and local human rights NGOs, and civil society in the Equatorial Guinea. I will be clear in messaging that if the Government of Equatorial Guinea demonstrates interest and

takes concrete steps to improve democratic governance and respect for human rights—including transparent and inclusive regulations to allow civil society organizations to register and operate—we could potentially discuss other ways to improve the bilateral relationship.

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. Yes. If confirmed, I commit to meeting with democratically oriented political opposition figures and parties. I will also advocate for access and inclusivity for women, minorities, and youth within political parties. Political parties are only one part of the equation, however. The Government of Equatorial Guinea must continue to address important issues like corruption, transparency, the lack of a robust civil society, the lack of access to justice for all, and the lack of respect for human rights. Without concerted attention to improving these systemic challenges, democratic development will still fall short. Continued engagement on democracy and human rights issues will help strengthen democratic institutions and encourage inclusion of all elements of society in decision-making.

Question. Will you and your Embassy team actively engage with the Equatorial Guinea 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 the Equatorial Guinea?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I commit to building on and expanding Embassy Malabo's strong relationships with journalists and members of civil society to increase their professional capacity in order to build public trust, dispel myths and disinformation, and work to hold the Government accountable.

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. Yes. If confirmed, I am committed to engaging with civil society members and government counterparts on countering disinformation and propaganda disseminated by foreign state or non-state actors in the country. If confirmed, I will continue Embassy Malabo's efforts to build journalists' capabilities, professionalism, and public trust as an important part of countering disinformation.

Question. Will you and your Embassy teams actively engage with the Equatorial Guinea on the right of labor groups to organize, including for independent trade unions?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I will commit to actively engage with the Equatoguinean Government—specifically the Ministry of Labor, Employment, and Social Protection—on the right of labor groups to organize and call out incidents when the Government or other actors restricts that right.

Question. Will you commit to using your position, if confirmed, to defend the human rights and dignity of all people in the Equatorial Guinea, no matter their sexual orientation or gender identity?

Answer. Yes. I commit to using my position, if confirmed, to defend the human rights and dignity of all people in Equatorial Guinea, no matter their gender identity, expression or sexual orientation. As I did during my service in Togo as Ambassador, I will work with colleagues across the U.S. interagency to promote and protect the human rights of LGBTQI+ persons in Equatorial Guinea, working in close partnership with local civil society. Understanding that, as in all operating environments, the U.S. Embassy should do no harm. I will support civil society voices in Equatorial Guinea to strengthen their ability to advocate for the human rights of all persons. I will use all the tools at my disposal, including Embassy Malabo's convening power to bring together key actors from the Government, civil society, private sector and international community to discuss issues affecting LGBTQI+ persons.

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

Answer. No laws exist in Equatorial Guinea expressly criminalizing same-sex sexual conduct, but neither do they prohibit discrimination, and members of the Equatoguinean LGBTQI+ community are challenged by societal stigmatization and discrimination. Some LGBTQI+ individuals were removed from government jobs or

academic positions because of their actual or perceived sexual orientation. The Equatoguinean Government has made no effort to combat this or investigate abuses. The Government has stated such sexual orientations and gender identities are inconsistent with cultural beliefs.

Question. What specifically will you commit to do to help LGBTQ people in the Equatorial Guinea?

Answer. Promoting respect for human rights and democracy is a priority for our mission in Equatorial Guinea. As part of that effort, Embassy Malabo has developed a positive and productive relationship with local LGBTQI+ organization Somos Parte del Mundo, and has funded this group and others to help foster a more inclusive environment for LGBTQI+ citizens of Equatorial Guinea. If confirmed, I will ensure our Embassy continues promoting and protecting the human rights of LGBTQI+ persons in partnership with civil society working against discrimination and stigmatization.

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 the Equatorial Guinea?

Answer. Yes. I commit fully to briefing Congress consistently and openly during my tenure as Ambassador to Equatorial Guinea, if I am confirmed.

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 and any threats to the health and safety of U.S. personnel must be taken seriously.

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. Yes. As Secretary Blinken has said, his number one responsibility as Secretary of State 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 in a timely manner and that any affected individual promptly receives 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. Yes. If confirmed I will regularly meet with medical and RSO staff to ensure I understand the full scope of threats against U.S. personnel and that all safety protocols are being carefully followed.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED TO HON. DAVID R. GILMOUR BY SENATOR JAMES E. RISCH

Question. Despite the many challenges faced in U.S. relations with Equatorial Guinea, it is also an important destination for U.S. investment, particularly in the oil and gas sector. How will you support American investors as U.S. Ambassador to Equatorial Guinea, if confirmed?

Answer. If confirmed, I will represent the interests of U.S. companies with the Government, including with the Ministry of Mines and Hydrocarbons, the Ministry of Commerce, and the Ministry of Finance, the Economy and Planning. I will also ensure that Embassy Malabo continues to maintain strong relationships with local offices of U.S. companies and prioritize the improvement of the investment climate for U.S. companies invested in Equatorial Guinea.

Question. Equatorial Guinea has harbored former Gambian President Yahya Jammeh since his ouster at the ballot box in 2016. How will you engage with Equatorial Guinea on issues of accountability for President Jammeh?

Answer. Yahya Jammeh and his wife live in Equatorial Guinea at the invitation of the Equatoguinean Government. The Gambian Government has not requested Jammeh's extradition to date. Equatorial Guinea and The Gambia should resolve this issue bilaterally. If confirmed, I will encourage the Equatoguinean Government to continue to discuss this issue with their Gambian counterparts.

Question. What is your view on political dynasties and long-serving rulers who, like in the case of Equatorial Guinea, manipulate constitutional and electoral processes to give the façade of democratic legitimacy? If confirmed, how will you address this issue as U.S. Ambassador, particularly in light of broader regional trends?

Answer. The promotion of human rights, democracy, and good governance is a key U.S. objective in Equatorial Guinea and, if confirmed, I will ensure that my team and I remain focused on these issues. As Ambassador to Togo and more recently as Chargé d'Affaires in Chad, I am familiar with countries in which sons succeeded their fathers as either the actual or de facto head of state, and while we do not currently face that situation in Equatorial Guinea, it is true that the president's son is serving as vice president and that he is widely rumored to be his father's most likely successor. It is more important, I believe, to focus not on the "who" becomes Equatorial Guinea's next leader but on the "how." Equatorial Guinea is scheduled to hold legislative elections in 2022 and presidential elections in 2023. If confirmed, I will lead Embassy Malabo's engagement with like-minded diplomatic missions and the full range of Equatoguinean officials and citizens to promote free, fair, and transparent electoral processes.

Question. How can the United States best use the tools it has to hold Equatorial Guinea officials accountable for corrupt behavior? If confirmed, what would be your approach in using those tools?

Answer. If confirmed, I will utilize a measured and strategic approach by urging the Government of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea to adopt democratic governance practices, including increased transparency and accountability, more effectively implement its international anticorruption obligations and commitments, and invest more in its people, particularly in education and health. Equatorial Guinea recently passed a new anti-corruption law, and if confirmed, I will work to build on that and obtain real commitments from the Government to counter the corruption that threatens the Equatoguinean people's security, economic opportunity, and development. If confirmed, I will continue to work with interagency partners to consider all available tools to promote accountability and combat impunity in Equatorial Guinea.

Question. How can the United States best engage Equatorial Guinea to curb the corrupt behavior of those companies and government officials of malign foreign actors like China that feed on corrupt governments and business environments?

Answer. I understand that Equatorial Guinea's political and economic situation has created opportunities for Beijing and other competitors to exploit. If confirmed, I will build on ongoing collaboration among all relevant U.S. Government entities to ensure our efforts remain aligned and complementary. Moreover, while U.S. oil and gas companies have been the cornerstone of Equatorial Guinea's economic development for the past three decades, hydrocarbons are a limited resource and Equatorial Guinea needs to diversify its economy to promote further growth. Unfortunately, potential foreign investors from other sectors are rightly wary about the current investment climate, including contract sanctity and a politicized judicial system, and thus the Government of Equatorial Guinea will need to address such issues if it wants to encourage increased foreign investment from reliable, transparent partners.

Question. Should the United States build on its existing defense and security cooperation with Equatorial Guinea? Where are the opportunities and the risks?

Answer. The United States is committed to support Equatorial Guinea in facing security challenges in the maritime domain. After nearly a decade of inactivity, the United States has taken a deliberate, cautious approach to our military reengagement, focusing on confidence building activities to assess host nation buy-in and absorptive capacity. Our long-term partnerships within the region are vital for addressing immediate threats from piracy and building capacity to ensure long-term security and stability in the region. Maritime security in the Gulf of Guinea region is an important U.S. interest. We recognize the threat posed by piracy to maritime security in the region and to the significant U.S. oil sector investments there. The United States works actively with Gulf of Guinea countries to increase their capacity to address a range of maritime security threats and to improve maritime security cooperation among the states of the region.

Question. What is your understanding of morale throughout Mission Equatorial Guinea?

Answer. According to what I have been told, morale overall is quite good despite some real challenges. The mission is small and tightly-knit, an attribute that is fostered by the fact that most U.S. personnel including the Chief of Mission and DCM reside on the same compound. Local staff have also showed great resilience and dedication to duty despite COVID-19's heavy toll on Embassy Malabo, with many members of our community having lost loved ones. Infrastructural challenges like telecommunications, healthcare, and food availability are very real, for both U.S. and local personnel. The Embassy has adapted to this new environment, with staff building stronger ties with each other as they rely on one another more than they did prior to the pandemic. Isolation and travel times to/from the United States also have the potential to affect our staff's well-being. Our mission in Malabo continues to prioritize Embassy morale through tools such as regular town halls, which provide a platform for staff to connect with leadership and for speakers to discuss resilience and coping mechanisms. As the COVID-19 situation evolves, we would also hope to return to the past practice of sponsoring well-attended athletic, cultural, and social events for community members and their families.

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

Answer. If confirmed, the safety and security of the Embassy community will be of primary importance. I will seek to support American employees and their families to create an inclusive and welcoming culture where individuals are safe and can achieve professional and personal goals. The welfare of our local Equatoguinean and third-country staff members is also of great importance to me, and I commit to meeting regularly with the local staff committee in a spirit of open and constructive dialogue.

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

Answer. Having led small missions in the past, I am cognizant of the particular challenges such missions face regarding resources and workload. If confirmed, I will lead regular discussions with all agencies, including those whose representatives covering Equatorial Guinea are resident in neighboring countries, to establish and review goals and develop strategies and tactics to achieve common objectives. If confirmed, I will engage all employees and stakeholders to conceive and articulate clearly what we will do, and how we will do it despite our size and resource limitations. As appropriate and necessary, I will work with the Department to identify resource gaps and seek ways to address those when possible. If confirmed, I will also create a culture of inclusion in which all employees' contributions are valued.

Question. How would you describe your management style?

Answer. I aspire to create a leadership culture in which all are encouraged to contribute, create, and grow. If confirmed, I would like to create the ideal workplace in which people achieve shared objectives while respecting and valuing everyone's contributions. This requires from leadership and employees a recognition of individuals' strengths and areas of development, and a respect for shared values, inclusion, and our institutions.

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

Answer. I do not believe there is an acceptable place for 'berating' subordinates, either in public or in private.

Question. What lessons have you learned from your tenure leading Embassy N'Djamena?

Answer. My tenure in N'Djamena as Chargé d'Affaires, a.i., reinforced lessons I had learned serving in other isolated hardship posts, notably that the Chief of Mission must pay close and continuing attention to the morale and welfare of the Embassy staff. N'Djamena is a challenging and historically difficult post to staff. Staff members face security threats, physical and mental health hazards, isolation, and loneliness. The chief of mission must ensure that employees and families have safe and acceptable housing, and that Embassy services for employees are efficiently delivered to maintain quality of life. In a high-threat environment such as N'Djamena, the chief of mission must devote extra attention to assuring the physical safety of employees and family members. Equally important for the chief of mission is to clearly communicate the nature of the Embassy's mission and strategic direction so that employees and family members understand how their work and presence in

such an isolated and difficult place serves the national security interests of the United States.

Question. How will your management style and approach differ from Embassy Malabo?

Answer. If confirmed, I anticipate applying the same management and leadership practices I used as Chief of Mission in Togo and Chad, to ensure a happy, healthy and highly productive Embassy staff.

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

Answer. If confirmed, I expect to collaborate closely with the deputy chief of mission to conceive goals, then implement and oversee tactics and activities to achieve those goals. If confirmed, I will work with the deputy chief of mission to articulate and maintain high ethical standards and create a culture of inclusion and respect. I believe deputy chiefs of mission are most effective, productive, and valued when they are permitted to work with independence, while understanding that the chief of mission is ultimately responsible in all ways for the work of the Mission.

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

Answer. If confirmed, I will ask the deputy chief of mission to lead our mission-wide efforts to train, develop, and empower our small but dedicated staff to serve effectively in a challenging environment while promoting U.S. interests. I will also ask the deputy chief of mission to lead recruitment efforts for our Foreign Service positions and work with other agencies to ensure that their personnel covering Equatorial Guinea are fully integrated into Embassy Malabo's policy formulation and implementation. If confirmed, I will collaborate closely with the deputy chief of mission on policy implementation, engagement with the Government of Equatorial Guinea, and outreach to key groups-particularly youth-through traditional and social media. The deputy chief of mission at any mission must be able to stand in for the Ambassador as needed and potentially on short notice; if confirmed, I will ensure that my deputy chief of mission has the knowledge, skills, and awareness to stand in for me with confidence.

Question. 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 do.

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

Answer. The most effective U.S. diplomats are those who actively engage broadly with people throughout all parts of society in the country to which they are assigned. During normal times (i.e., outside the context of COVID-19), our U.S. Mission community was actively involved in external engagement with our Government, civil society, and media partners and members of the international community throughout the country. This has continued even during the pandemic although on a more limited basis to ensure everyone's health, safety, and security, which are paramount responsibilities of all posts' leadership. If confirmed, I will ensure Embassy Malabo continues to engage externally in a manner commensurate with the local context at any given time, including by traveling to the continental portion of Equatorial Guinea and the distant island of Annobón to ensure we are getting the most complete understanding we can of what is going on in the country beyond the capital.

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

Answer. If confirmed, and as health and safety conditions permit, I will encourage U.S. diplomats to engage actively, broadly and in-person with local populations. Until then, we will maintain active engagement through virtual media. If confirmed, I intend to regularly visit people throughout Equatorial Guinea and use those visits to facilitate contacts for the rest of my team.

Question. What is the public diplomacy environment like in Equatorial Guinea? What public diplomacy challenges do U.S. diplomats face there?

Answer. The Equatoguinean public is generally receptive to U.S. Government programs and messaging on our policy priorities, and access to less expensive data plans has steadily increased the number of social media users following Embassy accounts. However, the combination of an underfunded education system, the low capacity of civil society and media professionals, and the GREG's conflation of all civil society actors as connected to the political opposition poses real challenges to engagement. Our civil society and journalist interlocutors are hungry for training and skill-building and have participated without incident in bi-monthly trainings provided by the public affairs section, with additional trainings on the horizon that have been tailored to participants' demands and needs. COVID-19 limited the Mission's ability to conduct in-person exchanges and outreach for much of the pandemic, but since June 2021 we have been able to safely conduct in-person trainings at the Embassy with virtual speakers to mitigate participants' connectivity issues and create an esprit-de-corps for those involved.

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 understand the Embassy's strategic planning working group meets regularly to discuss important policy objectives and to decide how to best deliver messaging to the public. If confirmed, I will focus most of our messaging on our priority policy goals and objectives including democracy and governance, anticorruption, antitrafficking in persons, regional security, and strengthening the economy. Most public messaging is delivered via our influential social media platforms including Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter, but also via traditional media including radio, television, and newspaper interviews, which is dominated by state media. Two emerging independent digital platforms have entered the media space with the goal of providing news that Equatoguinean citizens can trust; Embassy Malabo is working closely with both of these outlets via training and support ahead of the legislative elections in 2022 and presidential elections in 2023.

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.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to taking this threat seriously?

Answer. Yes.

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

Answer. Yes, I commit to transparent communication with Mission Malabo personnel as it relates to AHI and any other matters that would have an impact on the health and safety of Mission Malabo personnel and their families.

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

Answer. The United States and our European partners share an interest in promoting financial transparency, respect for human rights, respect for freedom of expression, and efforts to counter corruption in Equatorial Guinea. We are concerned about the PRC's influence in Equatorial Guinea, including in the areas listed in your question. If confirmed, I would continue to work with European and other likeminded nations and the Government of Equatorial Guinea to strengthen Equatorial Guinea's resilience to external influence that exacerbates domestic problems. If confirmed, I will work with our partners that have influence with the Government to highlight the advantages to Equatorial Guinea of cooperation with U.S., European, and likeminded countries on areas of common strategic interest including in the economic and security realms. This may at times include speaking up against the PRC's malign actions and attempts to undermine the international rules-based system and/or advocating for Equatoguinean support of U.S. positions in the U.N. system.

Question. In the 2021 Trafficking in Persons Report, Equatorial Guinea remained on Tier 2 Watch List due to an overall lack of increasing efforts to eliminate trafficking, like never convicting a trafficker under its 2004 law, government complicity, and a lack of identifying victims. How will you work with host government to address these issues if you are confirmed as Ambassador?

Answer. The Embassy regularly engages the Equatoguinean Government on this issue, including by focusing on the 2021 Trafficking in Persons Report's prioritized recommendations to adopt a whole of government approach, as well as measures to proactively identify and provide assistance to trafficking victims. If confirmed, I will continue to press for additional progress in the year ahead.

Question. Because Equatorial Guinea remained on the Trafficking in Persons Report Tier 2 Watch List for a second year, they are at risk of being automatically downgraded if they remain on the Watch List in 2022. Please explain what steps you believe the Government can take to significantly improve efforts to combat human trafficking in country during the remainder of this reporting period.

Answer. If confirmed, I will work with the Equatoguinean Government to address the recommendations included in the 2021 Trafficking in Persons report. I will work to foster good relationships with the Government to encourage progress in key areas, including drafting and implementing an updated National Action Plan. I will also work with the Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons to address how else the United States can best help Equatorial Guinea to continue to improve its anti-TIP efforts.

Question. In the 2020 International Religious Freedom report, Equatorial Guinea was identified as having societal respect for religious freedom. What is your assessment of this particular issue and if confirmed, how will you work with the Ambassador At Large to continue to bolster religious freedom in-country?

Answer. Religious freedom is a U.S. foreign policy priority, and the Department continues to closely monitor religious freedom in Equatorial Guinea. If confirmed, I commit to working with civil society and the Equatorial Guinea Government to ensure all citizens enjoy freedom of religion and worship as stated in the Constitution. If confirmed, I commit to also work with the Ambassador at Large for International Religious Freedom and Congress to emphasize the importance of religious freedom, addressing any religious freedom concerns, and further strengthening tolerance and respect among and for members of religious communities in Equatorial Guinea.

Question. In the 2020 Human Rights Report, Equatorial Guinea was identified as having committed and bearing witness to severe human rights issues.

Question. If confirmed, what steps will you take to address these instances with the host government?

Answer. Human rights are a central priority for the U.S. Government's engagements with Equatorial Guinea. If confirmed, I will raise human rights concerns with the Government of Equatorial Guinea, especially emphasizing how those concerns intersect our other areas of cooperation, such as fiscal transparency, economic diversification, anticorruption, trafficking in persons, and maritime security. I will also continue to work with Embassy and Department programs such as cultural exchanges, journalist trainings, democracy and good governance grants, and capacity building resources to expand and strengthen the Embassy's network of local partners and voices, who are critical in advocating for and implementing meaningful change in a society.

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

Answer. The promotion of human rights is of the highest priority in our relations with Equatorial Guinea. If confirmed, I will continue to strengthen and expand the relationships we have built in this space. I will continue to advance opportunities to strengthen the capacity of civil society organizations and amplify their voices, encourage the Government to collaborate productively with these organizations for the betterment of Equatorial Guinea, while respecting the local operating context and adhering to the fundamental principle of "First, Do No Harm." In this vein, I will work to ensure that we coordinate our efforts with other diplomatic missions.

NOMINATIONS

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 26, 2021

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

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:00 a.m., by video-conference, Hon. Jeff Merkley presiding.

Present: Senators Merkley [presiding], Cardin, Shaheen, Murphy, Kaine, Booker, Van Hollen, Johnson, Young, and Hagerty.

Also Present: Senator Duckworth.

OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. JEFF MERKLEY, U.S. SENATOR FROM OREGON

Senator MERKLEY. Welcome, everyone. This is Senator Jeff Merkley. I am checking to see if we have Senator Hagerty with us, who I think is—yes, Senator.

Senator HAGERTY. Jeff, I am here. Good morning.

Senator MERKLEY. Tremendous. And I think we are beginning now so I will gavel this meeting to order.

Welcome, everyone. Warm welcome to my colleagues and our five nominees. Thanks on behalf of the committee to our nominees for taking the time to meet with us today.

Today, we will consider the nominations of five highly qualified individuals for a diverse array of positions that impact U.S. national interests and global economic growth and development and the advancement of human rights, democracy, and religious freedom.

First, we will consider Mr. Marc Stanley, the nominee to be Ambassador to Argentine Republic. Mr. Stanley is an established leader in the legal field and has served in leadership positions in numerous local and national charitable and civic organizations throughout his career.

Our second nominee is Mr. Rashad Hussain to be Ambassador-at-Large for International Religious Freedom. Mr. Hussain previously served as U.S. Special Envoy to the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, which included meeting regularly with heads of state and numerous other roles in government, and endorsed by dozens of Christian, Jewish, and Muslim leaders for this position advancing religious freedom around the world.

I would like to enter into the record two letters, one from Christian and Jewish leaders and one from the International Religious Freedom Roundtable in support of Mr. Hussain's nomination.

Is there any objection?

[No response.]

Senator MERKLEY. Hearing none, those are entered into the record.

[The information referred to above is located at the end of this hearing transcript.]

Senator MERKLEY. We will also consider Ms. Chantale Wong to be the U.S. Director of the Asian Development Bank, a position that comes with the rank of Ambassador.

Ms. Wong has deep experience in government and development finance and previously served as the acting U.S. executive director of the Asian Development Bank.

In her ample free time, Ms. Wong—which I am sure is very scarce—chronicled the annual congressional civil rights pilgrimages in Alabama with the late Congressman John Lewis during which I had the opportunity to meet her. Welcome. Welcome to see you in a whole different role today.

For the position of U.S. Executive Director of the International Bank for Reconstruction Development, we will consider Dr. Adriana Debora Kugler. Dr. Kugler is a tenured professor of public policy and economics at Georgetown University. She has a distinguished list of honors and publications and deep experience in economics, including having [inaudible] economist at the U.S. Department of Labor.

And, finally, for the position of Assistant Secretary of State for Economic and Business Affairs, we have Mr. Ramin Toloui as nominee. Mr. Toloui is professor of the practice for international finance at Stanford University. He has decades of experience in finance and investment. He has served as the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for international finance.

I will just remind everyone if you are not speaking please mute your mic so we do not get the opportunity to hear your side conversations. Thank you all.

Just over a month ago, the chairman of this committee, Senator Bob Menendez, took to the Senate floor to highlight the obstruction that has prevented the swift confirmation of nearly 100 nominations for the State Department and for USAID, including numerous career Foreign Service officers.

These nominees constituted individuals who would be responsible for critical national security roles. Thanks to the work of members of this committee, we have made progress and just last week referred out 33 nominees to the full Senate.

We are very appreciative of the momentum and movement that the committee has taken in advancing nominees for all of our critical national security positions.

But we still have 54 nominees pending on the Senate floor and 22 nominees pending before Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and future nominees to come.

I am sure many of my colleagues share my hope that this spirit of comity in the committee will continue with future slates of nominees.

With that, I will turn to Senator Hagerty for some opening remarks.

**STATEMENT OF HON. BILL HAGERTY,
U.S. SENATOR FROM TENNESSEE**

Senator HAGERTY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and I want to thank all the nominees for appearing before our committee today. I want to congratulate you and thank you for your willingness to serve our great nation. I am looking forward to hearing from each of you.

Today, we consider five nominees for important positions. I would like to start with the nominee to be Assistant Secretary of State for Economic and Business Affairs.

This position links America's diplomatic power and America's economic might. It helps to advance American economic opportunities for U.S. businesses overseas, helps to attract foreign investment in the United States, and to employ economic pressure against our adversaries.

In my prior role as ambassador to Japan, I worked very closely with the previous incumbent on a variety of strategic initiatives like our Blue Dot Network. At a time when economic security and national security have become more intertwined than ever, we need an assistant secretary who will lead engagement in economic sectors of strategic significance to the United States: shoring up critical supply chains, cooperating with partners on advanced technologies, countering investments by malign actors in strategic infrastructure, and pursuing an all-of-the-above energy strategy.

I would like to turn to the nominee to be U.S. Executive Director of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. As the world's largest development bank, the IBRD provides financial products and policy advice to help countries reduce poverty and extend the benefits of growth throughout the world.

At a time when our strategic adversaries are attempting to rewrite international rules and norms, it will be critical for the U.S. Executive Director of the IBRD to advance policies and values that represent the free world.

I would like to turn now to the nominee to be the United States director of the Asian Development Bank. This is a critical moment for the ADB to play a leading role in ensuring that economic, financial, and infrastructure needs of the Indo-Pacific reflect the values and policies of the United States as well as those of our allies and our partners in the region.

We must leverage the full scope of U.S. economic tools to promote concrete foreign policy goals and expand collaboration with key allies and partners.

Specifically, we must use these tools to counter the growth of state-directed economic engagement by China, which simultaneously distorts markets, pushes out American and allied companies, and undermines U.S. national security.

Next, I would like to turn to the nomination to be Ambassador-at-Large for International Religious Freedom. This is a critical position, perhaps today more than ever, because religious freedom is under attack across the globe, from Christians in Iran and in the Middle East to Uighur Muslims in China.

Today, the United States needs a strong ambassador who will work tirelessly to sustain America's leadership in international religious freedom.

And last, but certainly not least, I would like to focus on the nomination to be U.S. Ambassador to Argentina.

Argentina is an important partner in terms of diplomacy, trade and economics, counter narcotics, counterterrorism, space, science, and technology.

I look forward to hearing from the nominee about how we can strengthen the U.S. partnership with Argentina while also countering China's malign influence in the country and throughout Latin America.

With that, I would like to turn it back to Chairman Merkley. Thank you.

Senator MERKLEY. Thank you very much, Senator.

And so now we are going to proceed with the testimony and we are going to do something a little unusual in that when Senator Kaine arrives he is going to give an introduction after the testimony has been presented by Mr. Marc Stanley and also after testimony has been done by Mr. Rashad Hussain.

When we have completed those two testimonies we will go to Ms. Chantale, and Senator Tammy Duckworth is here to introduce her, and then Chris Van Hollen—Senator Chris Van Hollen of Maryland will introduce Dr. Adriana Kugler.

Mr. Marc Stanley, I am not going to give an extended introduction now. Senator Kaine will make remarks later to add to the few points that I made earlier, and we are going to turn directly to your testimony.

You have the floor.

STATEMENT OF MARC R. STANLEY OF TEXAS, NOMINATED TO BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE ARGENTINE REPUBLIC

Mr. STANLEY. Thank you.

Chairman Merkley and Ranking Member Hagerty, thank you for the opportunity to appear before you as President Biden's nominee to serve as Ambassador to the Argentine Republic.

I am deeply grateful that President Biden and Secretary Blinken have asked me to serve, and I do want to thank Senator Kaine in advance for his leadership, his friendship, and what I hope will be a kind introduction. I look forward to working with him as chairman of the Western Hemisphere Subcommittee.

Serving in this role will truly be the honor of a lifetime and another humbling chapter in a family story that is unique to the American promise, a story that finds its roots in small villages in Belarus, Ukraine, and Poland.

My father's family first made their way to Brooklyn, New York, with little to their name. My mother's father fled pogroms in the early 1900s and landed in London before my mother eventually crossed the Atlantic at age 19 to reach America's shores as well.

My parents met at a Jewish singles dance on Long Island, and after marrying and having two sons they moved to Dallas, built a business and planted the seeds of a fruitful life.

My younger brother and I were born in Dallas, first-generation Texans. Although my father and two brothers have passed, and I

miss them dearly, I am grateful that my 92-year-old mother, Renee, and my brother, David, are still with us in Dallas.

And Texas is where I met my extraordinary wife of 38 years, the love of my life, Wendy Hillebrand, and together we have been blessed every day by three incredible kids, Daryl, Paul, and Mikey, and their partners, Marshal, Nicky, and Jesse, and now one perfect granddaughter, Jed August Sosland. I want to thank my family and my friends for their love and for their support.

Throughout my life, public service, the pursuit of justice, the desire to give back and repair the world, what in Judaism we call *tikkun olam*, have always been a central part of my identity as a young intern and staffer on Capitol Hill, as a lawyer, as a volunteer, as an activist in everything from the fight to rescue Soviet Jewry to the cause of a safer state of Israel, to leadership roles in national and local nonprofits, and serving in state and federal government.

Now, if confirmed, I have the chance to continue forging that path on behalf of our nation. And I do not see this process simply one of ceremony. Argentina, Latin America's second largest country, is a critical partner in our hemisphere, and as the United States Ambassador, I intend to do my part to advance matters of mutual interest rooted in our mutual values.

And I know I will do so in a truly beautiful country, a place where I would love meeting the people and exploring, walking the streets of Buenos Aires, hiking in Bariloche and getting drenched at Iguazu.

I know I will be strengthened by the outstanding staff at our embassy, the distinguished members of the Foreign Service, and local Argentine staff who perform the quiet but vital work of diplomacy every day.

And I will come to this position with clear priorities in mind. These priorities are described in my formal statement, which was submitted to the committee, but limited to five minutes I will highlight just a few goals and be happy to go into more details in response to your questions.

First, COVID-19. Argentina has started to turn the corner on COVID-19 infections and the United States has played a great role. Ending the pandemic globally will benefit the United States, Argentina, and the entire world, and, if confirmed, I will continue to explore all avenues to assist Argentina in this global fight.

The economy. Sadly, Argentina is experiencing significant economic challenges, including its huge IMF debt and a prolonged recession. If confirmed, I will work to support Argentina's efforts to address those challenges.

Trade. Two-way trade has been shrinking, and some U.S. companies are leaving the field due to regulatory barriers. If confirmed, I will keep engaging the Argentine Government to address these challenges as we explore opportunities to expand U.S. trade and investment.

Human rights. Argentina has not yet joined the United States and others in pressing hard enough for the protection of human rights and meaningful reforms in countries like Venezuela, Cuba, and Nicaragua.

And if confirmed, I plan to engage with Argentine leadership at all levels to seek ways to achieve our mutual goal of a hemisphere that honors our highest ideals.

Finally, as Ambassador, I will make it clear that America is truly back, that our presence is a positive one, that we are interested in deepening our people-to-people ties.

I am committed to traveling to all 23 provinces, to promote our businesses and promote our culture, and to remind our Argentine friends of everything that we have in common.

Thank you for your time.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Stanley follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF MARC R. STANLEY

Chairman, Ranking Member, and members of the committee, thank you for the opportunity to appear before you as President Biden's nominee to serve as the Ambassador to the Argentine Republic. I am deeply grateful that President Biden and Secretary Blinken asked me to serve.

Serving in this role would truly be the honor of a lifetime—and another humbling chapter in a family story that is truly unique to the American promise.

That story finds its roots in small villages in Belarus and Ukraine. My father's family first made their way to Brooklyn, New York, with little to their name. My mother's father fled pogroms in the early 1900s and landed in London, before his daughter eventually crossed the Atlantic at the age of 19 to reach America's shores as well.

My parents met at a Jewish singles dance on Long Island, and after marrying and having two sons, moved to Dallas, built a business, and planted the seeds of a fruitful life.

My younger brother and I were born in Dallas—first generation Texans. Though we have lost our father and two brothers, whom I miss deeply, I am grateful that my 92 year old mother, Renee, and my brother David, are still with us in Dallas.

And Texas is where I met my extraordinary wife, the love of my life, Wendy Hillebrand, and together, we have been blessed every day by three incredible children—Daryl, Paul, and Mikey—and now, one grandchild.

I want to thank my family and friends for their love and support.

Throughout my life, public service, the pursuit of justice, the desire to give back and repair the world—what in Judaism we call “*tikkun olam*”—have always been a central part of my identity: as a young intern and staffer on Capitol Hill, as a lawyer, as a volunteer, as an activist in everything from the fight to rescue Soviet Jewry to the cause of a safer state of Israel to leadership roles in local and national non-profits and in state and federal government.

Now, if confirmed, I have the chance to continue forging that path on behalf of our nation. There is no possibility I find more thrilling or more humbling.

Argentina, Latin America's second largest country, is a critical partner in our hemisphere, and as the United States Ambassador, I intend to do my part to advance matters of mutual interest, rooted in our mutual values.

I know I will do so strengthened by the outstanding staff at our embassy—the distinguished members of the foreign service and local Argentine staff who perform the quiet but vital work of diplomacy every day.

And I will come to this position with clear priorities in mind:

1. *COVID-19*

Argentina has started to turn the corner on efforts to defeat a powerful second wave of COVID-19 infections, and the United States has already donated 3.5 million vaccine doses to Argentina and connected the Argentines with our vaccine manufacturers for the purchase and delivery of more life-saving shots.

Ending the pandemic globally will benefit the United States, Argentina, and the entire world. If confirmed, I will continue to explore all avenues to assist this global fight.

2. *Economy*

Argentina is Latin America's third-largest economy, but a long history of economic instability has taken a toll on its productivity and competitiveness. Argentina has been in recession since 2018, and its government must construct a macroeconomic policy framework that will put it on the road to financial sustainability.

If confirmed, I will work to support Argentina's efforts to address its economic challenges.

3. *Trade*

Trade with Argentina is an essential pillar of our bilateral relationship. We remain Argentina's largest foreign investor, but two-way trade has been shrinking and some U.S. companies are leaving due to regulatory barriers.

If confirmed, I will keep engaging the Argentine Government to address these challenges as we explore opportunities to expand U.S. trade and investment in industries like mining, cybersecurity, pharma, and technology. I will continue the Embassy's work to advocate vigorously for U.S. businesses.

4. *Human Rights*

Argentina and the United States enjoy a longstanding relationship founded on our fidelity to democracy, prosperity, security, and the protection of human rights across the Americas. But

Argentina has not yet joined the United States and others in pressing for meaningful reforms in countries like Venezuela and Cuba.

If confirmed, I plan to engage with Argentine leadership at all levels to seek ways to achieve our mutual goal of a hemisphere that honors our highest ideals.

5. *PRC*

As the United States sees greater competition with the People's Republic of China in Argentina and elsewhere, I will make it a priority to hold everyone's feet to the fire, especially when products like below-market 5G technology are entering the marketplace and enabling China to access all data and information among Argentina's people.

If confirmed, I will work with Argentine partners to uphold the rule of law and live up to the highest environmental, social, privacy, and labor standards worldwide.

6. *Public Diplomacy / Closing*

Finally, as Ambassador, I will make it clear that America is truly back. That our presence is a positive one. That we are interested in deepening our people-to-people ties. I am committed to traveling to all 23 provinces to promote our businesses and culture, and to remind our Argentine friends of everything we have in common.

If you support my confirmation and offer me this chance to serve, I promise to cooperate with you to demonstrate the power of American values and to advance our nation's interests. It would be a true blessing and privilege and source of pride to craft this next chapter.

Thank you.

Senator MERKLEY. Thank you very much, Mr. Stanley. And we are going to adjust plans on the fly here as a courtesy to our fellow senators' schedules and so we are going to have Senator Tammy Duckworth introduce Ms. Chantale Wong and then have Senator Chris Van Hollen introduce Dr. Adriana Kugler.

And then, I think, if Senator Kaine has arrived we will have him do his two introductions before we continue with the testimony.

Let me turn it over to you, Senator Duckworth.

STATEMENT OF HON. TAMMY DUCKWORTH, U.S. SENATOR FROM ILLINOIS

Senator DUCKWORTH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. It is such an honor to get to be here today, and thank you to Ms. Wong for giving me the honor of introducing you.

As a small child, she was only six years old when she separated from her parents in the Great Leap Forward. Chantale Wong knows what it is like to be hungry and homeless, and she has, tragically, experienced realities of grinding poverty.

As I think you will see for yourselves today, on a very human level Ms. Wong possesses a unique compassion for and insight into the plights of hundreds of millions of people who need the kind of

help that only large institutions with our partnership and support can provide.

You have here today a deeply good and warm-hearted person who lived in China, Hong Kong, Okinawa, and Guam until she was 21. She is also one of the best qualified nominees ever to sit before this committee as a presidential nominee to be our country's Executive Director of the Asian Development Bank.

It is my deep pleasure to introduce her to you. I can honestly say that I have known about Chantale before she knew about me. She is truly an icon in the Asian-American community and I have always been grateful for her groundbreaking leadership and vision.

It is because of pioneers like Chantale that many of us had such spectacular opportunities in public service. We first met in person at an alumni event at the University of Hawaii where we both earned our undergraduate degrees.

Chantale worked in various agencies over her 28-year public sector career, a career that I could only aspire to when I was a student at the University of Hawaii. Her positions have included being at NASA, EPA, Interior, and the Office of Management and Budget.

During the financial crisis of 2008 to 2009, she, at Treasury, helped to develop the framework for the financial instruments for the Troubled Asset Relief Program. She personally led the successful transformation of the federal budgeting process and even created a software tool that was used at over a dozen agencies. For that work, Chantale received the 2008 Presidential Award for Management Excellence during the George W. Bush administration.

Chantale is the Founding Chair of the Conference on Asian and Pacific American Leadership, now in its 32nd year. CAPAL is dedicated to attracting young professionals to careers in public service and has provided opportunities for over 600 young AANHPIs.

She is also a member of the Advisory Board of Veterans for Global Leadership, which creates leadership opportunities for veterans going into careers of diplomacy, security, and development.

Chantale joined the staff of the Asian Development Bank in Manila in 1999 as an environmental specialist to ensure that the bank's assessments complied with their environmental and social policies.

She also led development and publication of ADB's first Asian Environmental Outlook in 2001. She was subsequently appointed by President Bill Clinton to the board of directors at the ADB where she represented the United States as the ultimate executive director and provided oversight of the bank's entire operations.

Consequently, she has intimate familiarity with the bank's mission, culture, and impact. Chantale speaks fluent Mandarin, Shanghainese, and Cantonese and some Japanese, so maybe she can speak with you, the ranking member, Senator Hagerty.

Her ethnic heritage, decades of public service, technological leadership, and executive level program management experience are exquisite preparation for this challenge of a lifetime.

Her years of experience and expertise in international development finance, the environment, and technology makes her incalculably qualified for this role.

She is a parent, a Catholic, a fellow Asian American and artist. She was John Lewis'—as has already been mentioned, she was John Lewis' personal photographer during his annual civil rights pilgrimages to Alabama—as you said, Mr. Chairman, that is where he first met her—and a member of the LGBTQ community. She is also a public servant, and I fully support Chantale Wong's nomination.

Thank you.

Senator MERKLEY. Thank you so much, Senator Duckworth, for that introduction.

We are hoping, Ms. Chantale Wong, that when you testify you will testify in English.

[Laughter.]

Senator MERKLEY. Quite a range of languages that you have mastered.

And now Senator Chris Van Hollen will introduce Dr. Adriana Kugler.

**STATEMENT OF HON. CHRIS VAN HOLLEN,
U.S. SENATOR FROM MARYLAND**

Senator VAN HOLLEN. Thank you, Chairman Merkley and Ranking Member Hagerty, and to my colleagues on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

I am very honored to introduce to you President Biden's nominee to be the next United States Executive Director of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Dr. Adriana Debora Kugler.

Over the course of her distinguished career, Dr. Kugler has dedicated herself to making the American dream more real for more people, a mission inspired by her own story as the daughter of two Colombian immigrants.

She brings the experience, the integrity, and judgment and character required in the United States chief representative on the board of the World Bank Group.

After earning her BA in economics and political science from McGill University and her Ph.D. from the University of California at Berkeley, Dr. Kugler quickly ascended to the heights of economics research and scholarship, earning posts at top-tier institutions and the World Bank, among other affiliations.

Her vast body of research has confronted challenges of labor market inequities, unemployment issues, trade, immigration, health care, and more, and she has held the title of full professor at the McCourt School of Public Policy at Georgetown University since 2010.

But beyond her many titles, Dr. Kugler has paired her academic credentials with hands-on experience in public policy arena to help change people's lives.

From 2011 to 2013, she made history as the first Latina to hold the post of chief economist of the United States Department of Labor, and in that role she worked across 15 departments and agencies to tackle issues of unemployment, workforce investment, Social Security, and more.

I have had the privilege of working with Dr. Kugler when she was serving at the Department of Labor and I was serving in the

House of Representatives, and I can testify both to her public policy expertise as well and, importantly, as their willingness to consult with and work with Congress as a full government partner.

On a personal note, I am very glad that Dr. Kugler is not only a resident of my great state of Maryland, where she now lives with her husband and two children, but is also a graduate of Maryland public schools and was a Capitol Hill intern to Senator Mikulski.

Her longstanding dedication to fighting for working people, supporting business growth, and breaking cycles of poverty makes our state proud to call her one of our own, and she is an exceptional candidate to represent the United States at the World Bank, where she will work with our international and other partners to unlock economic opportunity in developing countries so we can drive growth not only abroad but here at home for workers and businesses.

To my fellow members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, for these reasons and many more I urge you to support the President's nomination as the next United States Executive Director of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Dr. Adriana Kugler.

I urge everybody to support her for this position. Thank you.

Senator MERKLEY. Thank you very much, Senator Van Hollen. Senator Kaine is still not with us, according to his staff.

We will still hold the other introductions and now we will be turning to the testimony of Mr. Rashad Hussain of Virginia to be Ambassador-at-Large for International Religious Freedom.

**STATEMENT OF RASHAD HUSSAIN OF VIRGINIA, NOMINATED
TO BE AMBASSADOR-AT-LARGE FOR INTERNATIONAL RELIGIOUS FREEDOM**

Mr. HUSSAIN. Thank you so much, and good morning, Chairman Merkley, Ranking Member Hagerty, and members of the committee, and I want to thank Senator Kaine for his introduction.

It is an honor to appear before you as the President's nominee for Ambassador-at-Large for International Religious Freedom. I am grateful to the President and to Secretary Blinken for placing the trust in me to pursue this work on behalf of the American people.

I would also like to thank my family, my parents, my sister, Lubna, my brother, Saad, my wife, Isra, and our children—Sulaiman, Safiyyah, Sumayyah, and our youngest, Safurah, who turns 26 days old today. I am blessed to have your endless advice, support, and patience.

Religious freedom is enshrined in our First Amendment and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a core American value and a human right, and I am humbled to be charged with the sacred calling to protect the freedom of religion for people all over the world.

My family came to the United States from India, where my father was raised in a village with no electricity. I was born in Wyoming where my father worked in the mining industry, and I grew up in Texas.

My mother was a physician, always encouraged me to use my life to serve others. I have spent nearly 15 years as a public servant, working in all three branches of government under Democratic and

Republican administrations, upholding our Constitution, including as an attorney and as a diplomat.

Collaborating with civil society from across the political spectrum to protect international religious freedom and alleviate human suffering has been some of the most meaningful and rewarding work of my life.

During my time at the State Department, I worked in close partnership with civil society leaders on the Marrakesh Declaration, a landmark initiative on the protection of Christians and other religious minorities in Muslim-majority countries.

As a part of our opposition to blasphemy laws and the criminalization of free speech, I led a process to end the annual passage of the U.N. resolution that harmed religious minorities around the world, and along with our Special Envoy to monitor and combat anti-Semitism I traveled twice to the Holocaust sites with imams from the United States and many other countries to address anti-Semitism and Holocaust denial.

My work protecting human rights has taken me around the globe where I have met with civil society leaders, heads of state, and other senior government officials in countries such as Central African Republic, Egypt, Pakistan, India, Turkey, Indonesia, Malaysia, Saudi Arabia, Afghanistan, Nigeria, and China, which continues its oppression of religious communities, including the ongoing genocide of the Uighurs.

And I saw firsthand the trauma of the Rohingya living in refugee camps in Cox's Bazar and heard stories of the horrendous acts of violence and mass atrocities they endured.

Respected members of this committee, I was on Capitol Hill on September 11th, 2001, as a staff member of the House Judiciary Committee. Since that day, I have been determined to do everything I can to protect our country and our national security interests.

While at the Justice Department and Department of State, I worked on the prosecution of terrorism, national security cases, and other counterterrorism efforts, including countering terrorist propaganda often used to target religious minorities.

As a Muslim American, I have seen the impact of bigotry and guilt by association tactics used against minority communities, including the message it sends and the danger it poses to young people.

Congress has stood at the forefront of the work of protecting religious freedom since the International Religious Freedom Act of 1998 was passed on an overwhelming bipartisan basis. I am honored by the support of civil society and faith organizations from all across the political and religious spectrum and I look forward to our continued partnership.

In an era of vigorous partisan debates, Americans continue to be, largely, of one mind regarding the importance of defending international religious freedom.

If confirmed, I will work closely with the members of this committee and your staffs to extend this right to all. I will also leverage my existing relationships with Muslim-majority countries to protect the rights of religious minorities there.

I will redouble efforts to broaden the coalition to hold China accountable for its horrific crimes against the Uighurs and its repression of other ethnic and religious minorities.

I will look to build on the impressive work of Ambassador Sam Brownback, who expanded partnerships through the International Religious Freedom Ministerial and the International Religious Freedom Alliance, and the groundbreaking efforts of Ambassador David Saperstein, who institutionalized relationships with USCIRF and civil society organizations.

Tomorrow the United States commemorates International Religious Freedom Day. Our country was founded on the conviction that everyone should be free to believe what they choose.

Our own experience, our own example, is what compels us to advocate for the rights of the marginalized, the vulnerable, the oppressed, and the underrepresented peoples of the world.

If confirmed, with the support of the American people, I intend to carry out the United States' abiding commitment to championing international religious freedom for everyone everywhere.

Thank you for your consideration.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Hussain follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF RASHAD HUSSAIN

Good morning Chairman Merkley, Ranking Member Risch, and members of the committee. It is an honor to appear before you as the President's nominee for Ambassador-at-Large for International Religious Freedom. I am grateful to the President and Secretary Blinken for placing their trust in me to pursue this work on behalf of the American people. I would also like to thank my family—my parents, my sister Lubna and my brother Saad, my wife Isra, and our children, Sulaiman, Safiyyah, Sumayyah, and our youngest, Safurah, who turns 26 days old today. I am blessed to have your endless advice, support, and patience.

Religious freedom is enshrined in our First Amendment and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; it is a core American value and human right. And I am humbled to be charged with the sacred calling to protect the freedom of religion of people all over the world.

My family came to the United States from India, where my father was raised in a village with no electricity. I was born in Wyoming, where my father worked in the mining industry, and I grew up in Texas. My mother, who is a physician, always encouraged me to use my life to serve others. I have spent nearly 15 years as a public servant working in all three branches of government under Democratic and Republican administrations upholding our constitution, including as an attorney and a diplomat. Collaborating with civil society from across the political spectrum to protect international religious freedom and alleviate human suffering has been some of the most meaningful and rewarding work of my life.

During my time at the State Department, I worked in close partnership with civil society leaders on the Marrakesh Declaration, a landmark initiative on the protection of Christians and other religious minorities in Muslim-majority countries. As part of our opposition to blasphemy laws and the criminalization of free speech, I led a process to end the annual passage of a U.N. resolution that harmed religious minorities around the world. And along with the Special Envoy to Monitor and Combat Antisemitism, I traveled twice to the Holocaust sites with Imams from the United States and many other countries to address anti-Semitism and Holocaust denial. My work protecting human rights has taken me around the globe, where I have met with civil society leaders, heads of state, and other senior government officials in countries such as the Central African Republic, Egypt, Pakistan, India, Turkey, Indonesia, Malaysia, Saudi Arabia, Afghanistan, Nigeria, and China, which continues its oppression of religious communities, including the ongoing genocide of the Uyghurs. And I saw firsthand the trauma of Rohingya living in the refugee camps in Cox's Bazaar and heard stories of the horrendous acts of violence and mass atrocities they endured.

Respected members of the committee, I was on Capitol Hill on September 11, 2001 as staff member of the House Judiciary Committee. Since that day, I have been determined to do everything I can to protect our country and our national secu-

ity interests. While at the Justice Department and State, I worked on the prosecution of terrorism and national security cases and other counterterrorism efforts, including countering terrorist propaganda often used to target religious minorities. And as a Muslim American, I have seen the impact of bigotry and guilt by association tactics used against minority communities, including the message it sends and dangers it poses to young people.

Far too many people around the world continue to face arrest, torture, discrimination, and even death on account of their beliefs.

Antisemitism, Christian persecution, anti-Muslim hatred, and other forms of intolerance are on the rise. A staggering eighty percent of people worldwide live in environments with high or severe restrictions on religious freedom. These are not just statistics and bad laws—these are individuals taken from their families: the plight of the patriarch of the Eritrean Orthodox Church unable to leave his home to tend to his flock; the Saudi Government whipping and jailing blogger Raif Badawi for encouraging debate online; the Nigerian Government letting atheist Mubarak Bala sit in prison without charge for months; the Panchen Lama disappeared by the PRC and stolen from the global Tibetan Buddhist community; and the stories of Christians in Vietnam, the Ahmaddiya in Pakistan, and the Baha'i in Yemen. Their faiths may be different, but they share a common experience of persecution. I am committed to fighting, day in and day out, for their rights.

Congress has stood at the forefront of this work since the International Religious Freedom Act of 1998 was passed on an overwhelming, bipartisan basis. I am honored by the support of civil society and faith organizations from all across the political and religious spectrum, and I look forward to our continued partnership. In an era of vigorous partisan debates, Americans continue to be largely of one mind regarding the importance of defending international religious freedom. If confirmed, I will work closely with the members of this committee and your staffs to extend this right to all.

I will also leverage my existing relationships within Muslim-majority countries to protect the rights of religious minorities there. I will redouble efforts to broaden the coalition to hold China accountable for its horrific crimes against the Uyghurs and its repression of other ethnic and religious minorities.

I look to build on the impressive work of Ambassador Sam Brownback—who expanded partnerships through the IRF Ministerial and the International Religious Freedom Alliance—and the groundbreaking efforts of Ambassador David Saperstein, who institutionalized relationships with USCIRF and civil society organizations.

Tomorrow, the United States commemorates International Religious Freedom Day. Our country was founded on the conviction that everyone should be free to believe what they choose. Our own experience, our own example, is what compels us to advocate for the rights of the marginalized, vulnerable, and underrepresented peoples the world over. If confirmed, with the support of the American people, I intend to carry out the United States' abiding commitment to championing international religious freedom for everyone everywhere.

Thank you for your consideration.

Senator MERKLEY. Mr. Hussain, thank you very much for your testimony.

And now we are going to turn to Ms. Chantale Wong. Welcome.

And I believe you may still be muted.

STATEMENT OF CHANTALE YOKMIN WONG OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, NOMINATED TO BE UNITED STATES DIRECTOR OF THE ASIAN DEVELOPMENT BANK, WITH THE RANK OF AMBASSADOR

Ms. WONG. Good morning, Chairman, Ranking Member, and distinguished members of the committee.

I am deeply honored to have been nominated by President Biden to be the United States Executive Director to the Asian Development Bank. I am humbled by this privilege.

I would like to start by thanking some important people in my life for their support: my mother, who is watching these proceedings with great pride from her San Francisco apartment, my daughter, Sara, my sister, Connie, as well as my dearest friend, Peter, and his wife, Klaudia Levin. I would also like to recognize

my mentor for 30-plus years, the iconic Alice Rivlin, who we lost two years ago.

My history has shaped me and instilled in me the values and passions that make me who I am. As mentioned, I was born in communist China. When I was six years old, in the middle of the tragedy of the Great Leap Forward and at tremendous personal risk, my parents arranged to have me smuggled, along with my grandmother, into Hong Kong in the bottom of a boat.

I can still smell the food in the galley that I was not allowed to eat on that journey. That powerful and poignant memory is still with me today.

During the Cultural Revolution, my father was sentenced to hard labor and my mother was a barefoot doctor in the countryside. That they even survived is a miracle and an experience too painful for them to recount.

After I fled communist China, I did not see and hardly communicated with my parents for 21 years and until I could get them out. I was raised mostly by Catholic nuns who imprinted their faith and compassion on me.

I can never repay my parents' sacrifice or the church's grace, but I have tried to pay it forward, living my life with the values that matter to me.

I came to Washington in 1989 after receiving a Master's from Harvard Kennedy School of Government, and before that, a Master's degree in environmental engineering from the University of California Berkeley with a focus on wastewater management, and a Bachelor's in civil and structural engineering from the University of Hawaii.

Ever since then, the consistent theme of my career has been dedicated to public service, environmental protection, and sustainable development.

I know the Asian Development Bank well, having previously worked there first as a subject matter expert in Manila in 1999, focused on ensuring that the bank's environmental assessments comply with their environmental and social safeguard policies.

I led, as mentioned, the development and publication of the bank's first Asian Environment Outlook in 2001, and then was appointed by President Bill Clinton as the Ultimate Executive Director.

I have had the extraordinary privilege of being appointed by President Obama to serve as Vice President for Administration and Finance and the Chief Financial Officer at the Millennium Challenge Corporation from 2011 to 2014.

I believe that, if confirmed, this foundation will prepare me well to be the executive director to the largest regional multilateral development bank serving Asia and the Pacific.

For more than five decades of its operations the bank has contributed to a dramatic reduction in poverty, from 1.5 billion people in 1990 to 263 million in 2015 in its developing member countries.

The COVID-19 pandemic has presented challenges, but the bank has moved swiftly to expand pandemic support and boost financial commitments.

While I applaud the bank's launch of the Strategy 2030, if confirmed, I will work to focus the bank's resources on sectors, espe-

cially quality infrastructure, in countries where it can be most impactful, assure financial sustainability, and maintain world-class systems of governance, human resources, accountability, and oversight.

Increased competition in the region from financiers with less transparency and weaker standards underscores one of the challenges the bank must address. In many ways, the United States have been an irreplaceable partner in helping Asia lift so many people out of poverty and disease.

The American values of democracy, respect for human rights, and private enterprise remain the only viable path for sustainable inclusive development and poverty reduction.

Now we have an opportunity to reengage with Asia and the Pacific, to promote the President's infrastructure, public health, and environmental policies. Working with members of this committee, we can have a permanent and constructive impact on billions of lives through presence, participation, and patience.

Again, I am so grateful to you all for your consideration of this appointment. I would be delighted to answer your questions. Thank you very much.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Wong follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF CHANTALE YOKMIN WONG

Good morning, Chairman, Ranking Member, and distinguished members of the committee, I am deeply honored to have been nominated by President Biden to be the next United States Executive Director to the Asian Development Bank. I am humbled by this privilege.

I would like to start by thanking some important people in my life for their support—my mother, who is watching these proceedings with great pride from her San Francisco apartment, my daughter Sara, my sister Connie, as well as my dearest friend Peter and his wife Klaudia Levin. I would also like to recognize my mentor, the iconic Alice Rivlin, who we lost two years ago.

My history has shaped me and instilled in me the values and passions that make me who I am. I was born in Communist China. When I was six years old, in the middle of the tragedy of the "Great Leap Forward," and at tremendous personal risk, my parents arranged to have me smuggled along with my grandmother to Hong Kong in the bottom of a boat. I can still smell the food in the galley that I wasn't allowed to eat on that journey. That powerful and poignant memory is still with me today.

During the Cultural Revolution my father was sentenced to hard labor and my mother was a barefoot doctor in the countryside. That they even survived is a miracle and an experience too painful for them to recount. After I fled Communist China, I didn't see and hardly communicated with my parents for 21 years and until I could get them out. I was raised mostly by Catholic nuns, who imprinted their faith and compassion on me. I can never repay my parents' sacrifice or the Church's grace. But I have tried to "pay forward," living my life with the values that matter to me.

I came to Washington in 1989 after receiving a master's from Harvard Kennedy School of Government and before that a master's degree in environmental engineering from the University of California, Berkeley with a focus on wastewater management, and a bachelor's in civil and structural engineering from the University of Hawaii. Ever since then, the consistent theme of my career has been dedicated to Public Service, environmental protection, and sustainable development.

I know Asian Development Bank well, having previously worked there first as a subject matter expert in Manila in 1999 focused on ensuring that the bank's environmental assessments complied with their environmental and social safeguard policies. I led the development and publication of the Bank's first Asian Environment Outlook in 2001, and then was appointed by President Bill Clinton as an Alternate Executive Director. I had the extraordinary privilege of being appointed by President Obama to serve as Vice President for Administration and Finance, and Chief Financial Officer, at the Millennium Challenge Corporation from 2011 to 2014.

I believe that, if confirmed, this foundation will have prepared me to be the Executive Director to largest regional multilateral development bank serving Asia and the Pacific. Over five decades of its operations, the Bank has contributed to a dramatic reduction in poverty from 1.5 billion people in 1990 to 263 million in 2015 in its developing member countries. The COVID-19 pandemic has presented challenges, but the Bank has moved swiftly to expand pandemic support and boost financial commitments.

While I applaud Bank launch of Strategy 2030, if confirmed I will work to focus the Bank's resources on sectors, especially quality infrastructure, and countries where it can be most impactful; assure financial sustainability; and maintain world-class systems for governance, human resources, accountability, and oversight. Increased competition in the region from financiers with less transparency and weaker standards underscores one of the challenges the Bank must address.

In many ways the United States has been the irreplaceable partner in helping Asia lift so many people out of poverty and disease. American values of democracy, respect for human rights, and private enterprise remain the only viable path for sustainable, inclusive development and poverty reduction. Now we have the opportunity to re-engage with Asia and the Pacific to promote the President's infrastructure, public health, and environmental policies. Working with the members of this committee, we can have a permanent and constructive impact on billions of lives through presence, participation, and patience.

Again, I am so grateful to you all for your consideration of this appointment. I would be delighted to answer your questions.

Thank you

Senator MERKLEY. Thank you. We so much appreciate your diverse experience and your expertise that you bring to bear and testimony today. Thank you.

And now we will turn to Dr. Adriana Debora Kugler of Maryland.

STATEMENT OF DR. ADRIANA DEBORA KUGLER OF MARYLAND, NOMINATED TO BE THE UNITED STATES EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE INTERNATIONAL BANK FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT FOR A TERM OF TWO YEARS

Dr. KUGLER. Good morning, Chairman Merkley, Ranking Member Hagerty, and distinguished members of the committee, and thank you, Senator Van Hollen, for your very generous introduction.

It is truly a privilege to have been nominated by President Biden to represent the United States as Executive Director of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. I am honored for the opportunity to appear before you today.

I would like to begin by thanking my husband of 27 years, Ignacio Donoso, and our two outstanding children, Danny, who is a second-year student at the University of Pennsylvania, and Miri, a sophomore at Walt Whitman High School in Maryland.

I am also tremendously grateful to my parents, Bernardo and Nelly Kugler, who have dedicated their lives to working on international development. I want to thank my family for their unwavering encouragement, support, and devotion throughout the years.

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, as you know, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development was created in 1944 and was charged with channeling long-term development finance to help Europe and other countries to restore stability in the world.

As the granddaughter of a family who fled Europe in 1939 to escape the Holocaust, sadly, leaving behind relatives who died in con-

centration camps, I am grateful that the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development was created to rebuild the world after the atrocities and destruction caused by World War Two.

Since its formation, the role of the World Bank has expanded from being a lending bank investing in fiscal and human capital to also becoming a knowledge bank that shares and promotes best practices and development policies around the world.

At present, the role of the World Bank and its leadership in multilateral institutions is as important as ever. Some of the most critical issues we face today, including the recovery from the COVID-19 pandemic, climate change, terrorism, and a drastic rise in poverty, are truly global issues that require engagement with our allies around the world.

If confirmed, I look forward to using my unique experience and skills in economic development, university administration, and government to help advance the goals of the U.S. in growing economic prosperity and creating greater stability around the world.

For over two decades I have been doing research and analysis of economic development as a Professor of Public Policy and Economics, now at Georgetown University and previously in universities in Texas and Europe.

In my work, I have studied how labor markets and social policies across the world can improve the lives of working people, help businesses create jobs, and help the least fortunate obtain education and training to get out of poverty and become self-sufficient.

In addition, an important part of my work focuses on cost-benefit analyses, which inform how to best spend taxpayers' money in programs with the highest return.

Over the years, I have worked on evaluating projects on the ground and, thus, I also understand the real problems of implementing that need to be overcome when policy is put into practice.

I firmly believe we are able to best advance U.S. goals if development assistance is guided by high standards of accountability.

My work in university administration as Vice Provost of Georgetown University overseeing and developing policies for all faculty gave me practical experience in cementing good management practices.

This experience will be useful for the U.S. Executive Director of the World Bank, particularly in advocating for accountability and transparency at this institution at the highest levels.

My experience in government as Chief Economist at the U.S. Department of Labor helped me to understand the importance of breaking silos and working across agencies, building coalitions, and reaching out to different constituencies.

This experience will be valuable for the work of the U.S. Executive Director, which requires close collaboration across the U.S. Government and the highest level of integrity, transparency, and accountability to U.S. taxpayers.

I will also use these experiences to work with other shareholders in advancing our common objective to see well-designed development projects that respond to the most pressing needs in countries.

As a first-generation American and daughter of Colombian immigrants, I am so fortunate to have lived the American dream after having seen poverty and political instability up close.

I have the deepest appreciation for the importance of upholding and sustaining democratic institutions, respecting the rule of law and human rights, and a strong commitment to help those less fortunate than me.

If confirmed, I would commit to work tirelessly to achieve President Biden's goal of advancing U.S. values and interests by strengthening institutional capacity, investing in inclusive growth, encouraging fair and rules-based trade, and reducing poverty around the world.

Mr. Chairman, thank you again for the opportunity to come before you today. I would be happy to answer any questions from the committee.

[The prepared statement of Dr. Kugler follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF ADRIANA D. KUGLER

Good morning, Chairman, Ranking Member, and distinguished members of the committee. It is truly a privilege to have been nominated by President Biden to represent the United States as Executive Director of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. I am honored for the opportunity to appear before you today.

I would like to begin by thanking my husband of 27 years, Ignacio Donoso, and our two outstanding children, Danny, who is a second-year student at the University of Pennsylvania, and Miri, a Sophomore at Walt Whitman High School in Maryland. I am also tremendously grateful to my parents, Bernardo and Nelly Kugler, who have dedicated their lives to working on international development. I want to thank my family for their unwavering encouragement, support, and devotion throughout the years.

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, as you know, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development was created in 1944 and was charged with channeling long-term development finance to help Europe and other countries to restore stability in the world. As the granddaughter of a family who fled Europe in 1939 to escape the Holocaust, sadly leaving behind relatives who died in concentration camps, I am grateful that the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development was created to rebuild the world after the atrocities and destruction caused by World War II. Since its formation, the role of the World Bank has expanded from being a lending bank, investing in physical and human capital, to also becoming a knowledge bank that shares and promotes best practices on development policies and economic growth around the world.

At present, the role of the World Bank and U.S. leadership in multilateral institutions is as important as ever. Some of the most critical issues we face today, including recovery from the COVID-19 pandemic, climate change, terrorism, and a drastic rise in poverty, are truly global issues that require engagement with our allies around the world.

If confirmed, I look forward to using my unique experience and skills in economic development, university administration, and government to help advance the goals of the U.S. in growing economic prosperity and creating greater stability around the globe.

For over two decades, I have been doing research and analyses on economic development as a Professor of Economics and Public Policy now at Georgetown University and previously in universities in Texas and Europe. In my work, I have studied how labor market and social policies across the world can improve the lives of working people, help businesses create jobs, and help the least fortunate obtain education and training to get out of poverty and become self-sufficient. I have seen how various public policies have yielded positive results while other policy reforms were not properly designed to achieve progress. In addition, an important part of my work focuses on cost-benefit analyses, which inform how to best spend taxpayers' money in programs with the highest return. Over the years, I have worked on evaluating projects on the ground and, thus, I also understand the real problems of implementation that need to be overcome when policy is put into practice. I firmly believe we are able to best advance U.S. goals if development assistance is guided by high standards of accountability.

My work in university administration as Vice-Provost of Georgetown University, overseeing and developing policies for all faculty, gave me practical experience im-

plementing good management practices, including the importance of aligning goals with incentives; putting in place accountability practices; and providing clear guidance and resources to implement human resource policies. This experience will be useful for the U.S. Executive Director at the World Bank, particularly in advocating for accountability and transparency at this institution at the highest levels.

My experience in government as Chief Economist at the U.S. Department of Labor helped me to understand the importance of breaking silos and working across agencies, building coalitions, and reaching out to different constituencies. This experience will be valuable for the work of the U.S. Executive Director, which requires close collaboration across the U.S. Government, and the highest level of integrity, transparency, and accountability to U.S. taxpayers. I will also use these experiences to work with other shareholders in advancing our common objective to see well-designed development projects that respond to the most pressing needs in countries.

As a first generation American and daughter of Colombian immigrants, I am fortunate to have lived the American Dream after having seen poverty and political instability up close. I have the deepest appreciation for the importance of upholding and sustaining democratic institutions, respecting the rule of law and human rights, and a strong commitment to help those less fortunate than me. If confirmed, I would commit to work tirelessly to achieve President Biden's goal of advancing U.S. values and interests by strengthening institutional capacity; investing in inclusive growth; encouraging fair and rules-based trade; and reducing poverty around the world.

Mr. Chairman, thank you again for the opportunity to come before you today. I would be happy to answer questions from the committee.

Senator MERKLEY. Thank you very much, Dr. Kugler.

And we have now been joined by Senator Kaine. We are going to invite Senator Kaine to do introductions for Mr. Marc Stanley and Mr. Rashad Hussain.

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

Senator KAINE. Thank you, Senator Merkley, Senator Hagerty, and all of my colleagues. It is a treat to sign on after a fairly contentious health meeting. I hope my friends, Marc Stanley and Rashad Hussain, have already acquitted themselves well. I have no doubt that they have. Let me tell you about both of them.

Marc Stanley is a long-time friend, and Rashad Hussain is not somebody that I know personally that well but he is a very esteemed and qualified Virginian. They are both super qualified for the positions for which they are nominated.

Let me start with Marc. I have known Marc for probably about 15 years. As you heard, he is a very experienced attorney in Texas with a great track record of success in the court.

But he has also been a real rock star when it comes to public service and philanthropy. He is a founding member of his law firm and has done great work there. But his career actually began on Capitol Hill while he was a student at George Washington University and had the opportunity to work on the House Committee on Administration as an aide to Chairman Frank Thompson at that time.

He has committed himself to serving his community in a number of ways, as a council member of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum and also as chairman of the Texas Public Finance Committee.

He is extremely well known for his devotion to his faith, Judaism, and public affairs done with others in the Jewish community in Texas, around the country, and around the world.

I first met Marc when I was chairman of the Democratic National Committee during the early years of the Obama administra-

tion, and we bonded because we are both trial lawyers but also he has got a Richmond connection because his dad went to the University of Richmond.

At every level of professional, philanthropic, and public service Marc has demonstrated excellence, character, and integrity, and he would do a wonderful job representing our country as Ambassador to Argentina.

Rashad Hussain—Rashad hails from Falls Church, Virginia, right here in the area, and his nomination to be Ambassador-at-Large for International Religious Freedom is very important.

I will start by just noting if you think he looks tired, he has got a one-month baby at home—I am sure that that might explain some sleep deprivation recently—in addition to three other children.

Rashad has got a deep background in foreign affairs and also, in particular, law and religious freedom. He is currently Director of Partnerships and Global Engagement on the National Security Council, our advocacy for religious freedom around the globe. It involves heavy interaction and consensus building with stakeholder and civil society groups. His NSC role now is an important one.

And prior to that, Rashad was senior counsel in the National Security Division of the Department of Justice and then before that he worked at the Justice Department serving as U.S. Special Envoy to the Organization of Islamic Cooperation.

If confirmed, Rashad would be the first Muslim Ambassador-at-Large for International Religious Freedom. I know two of the previous ambassadors very well. We have had up a diverse representation of Americans from different religious traditions.

But as the first Muslim ambassador it would be a good thing to show our commitment to religious freedom ourselves but also much of the persecution of religious minorities occurs in Muslim-majority countries and that gives Rashad, who has already demonstrated a sensitivity to this, an ability to promote and build partnerships to embrace respect for all faiths.

He has been nominated or recommended by many organizations including the American Jewish Committee, the Inter Jewish Muslim Alliance, and the International Christian Concern.

And the last thing I will say about Rashad is we would be very proud to have a Virginian in this position. The position was created by a lot of work done by former Virginia Congressman Frank Wolf, and it was Virginia in the 1780s that passed the statute of religious freedom that served as the basis for the First Amendment's protection of all, that in this country you will not be preferred or punished based on how you worship or not worship.

It is a Virginia value that is an American value. I am proud to be here and represent a qualified Virginian for the position.

Mr. Chair, thank you for letting me do my nominations out of order and I am looking forward to participating in the questions and answers with all these nominees.

Senator MERKLEY. Thank you very much, Senator Kaine.

And it is now my privilege to provide the introduction for the Honorable Ramin Toloui, and he is a professor of the practice for international finance at Stanford University.

He is a fellow at Stanford Institute for Economic Policy Research. His teaching and research focus on international economic policy, financial crises, and economic impact of artificial intelligence.

Prior to joining Stanford, he had a two-decade career spanning public service and investment management. He served in the Obama-Biden administration as Assistant Secretary for International Finance at the Department of Treasury.

He previously was global co-head of the Emerging Markets Portfolio Management at the Pacific Investment Management Company, overseeing more than \$100 billion in investments.

He began his career as a civil servant at the Department of the Treasury. He earned his AB degree in economics from Harvard University and a Master of philosophy degree in international relations from Oxford University, where he was a Rhodes Scholar.

Welcome, and we look forward to your testimony.

STATEMENT OF HON. RAMIN TOLOUI OF IOWA, NOMINATED TO BE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE [ECONOMIC AND BUSINESS AFFAIRS]

Mr. TOLOUI. Mr. Chairman, thank you for that introduction.

Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member Hagerty, and distinguished members of the committee, I am honored to appear before you today as nominee to be Assistant Secretary for Economic and Business Affairs at the State Department.

Thank you for considering my nomination, and I would also like to thank the committee staff for meeting with me before this hearing to discuss critical economic and foreign policy issues facing the United States.

Thank you to President Biden for nominating me for this position and to Secretary Blinken for his support for my candidacy.

I am thrilled that my mother, Alyce, is sharing the stage virtually with me from Iowa City where I was born and raised. My father, Ahmad, who passed away last year, is with us today in spirit. I am profoundly grateful for all that their love has made possible in my life.

Mr. Chairman and Ranking Member, I welcome the opportunity, if confirmed, to return once again to public service. I started my career as a civil servant in the Treasury Department from 1999 to 2006, serving in the International Affairs Division under Democratic and Republican presidents, President Clinton and President Bush.

I worked on issues ranging from stabilizing economies in crisis from southeastern Europe to Latin America, to building an international coalition to combat terrorist financing in the wake of 9/11.

Seven years ago, I was honored to be confirmed by the Senate as Assistant Secretary for International Finance at the Treasury Department. In that position, I was proud to play an important role in facilitating U.S. and International Monetary Fund assistance to Ukraine to resist Russian aggression, supporting economic stabilization in key countries in the Middle East and working to ensure that financial volatility in Europe and Asia did not disrupt the global and American economies.

Outside of government, I have had the opportunity to expand my skills in ways that can contribute to more effective policymaking.

During the past few years, I have been a professor of the practice of international finance at Stanford University, teaching the next generation of citizens and prospective policymakers about how to prevent and respond to financial crises, drawing on my experiences both in government and in the private sector.

At Stanford, I also designed and taught one of the first university courses in the world on the economic impact of artificial intelligence, preparing graduates to grapple with the profound ways in which technology is poised to affect jobs, wages, industrial organization, and global competition.

I hope to bring these insights on what it takes for Americans to thrive in this new technological era to the work of the State Department and the U.S. Government.

If confirmed, I look forward to applying these skills and experiences across the broad range of issues in which the Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs at the State Department has an important role to play with a particular focus on three key challenges.

First, we must secure a strong recovery from the COVID-19 pandemic. This means working with the interagency and others countries to restore safe and sustainable international travel and commerce.

It means addressing short-term supply disruptions and taking concrete actions to build more resilient supply chains for the future, especially in key areas like semiconductors and other critical sectors.

And it means using commercial diplomacy in new ways to unlock novel opportunities in the post-pandemic world for U.S. businesses, particularly small and medium-sized enterprises.

Second, the United States must lead in shaping the norms and rules governing trade, commerce, and technology that will underpin the future global economy. This means working with like-minded nations to confront abusive policies by China that create unfair competition, disadvantage American workers, and conflict with American values.

It means shaping global technology adoption and governance in ways that promote openness, security, and reliability, and reflect democratic rather than authoritarian principles in areas ranging from 5G to artificial intelligence to the digital economy, and it means cooperating with allies in areas like national security investment reviews and export controls to achieve shared objectives.

Third, the United States must leverage economic tools to advance foreign policy objectives and respond to crises. Among other things, this means utilizing sanctions effectively in pursuit of U.S. economic—pardon me, diplomatic and national security goals.

It also means deploying U.S. foreign assistance, including the expanded capacities of U.S. Development Finance Corporation to support sustainable economic development, achieve key climate goals, and advance strategic U.S. interests, and it means deploying these tools in collaboration with allies, partners, and multilateral institutions to bolster their effectiveness.

Thank you again for this opportunity to appear before you today and for considering this nomination. I look forward to answering your questions.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Toloui follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT BY RAMIN TOLOUI

Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member, and distinguished Members of the Committee, I am honored to appear before you today as nominee to be Assistant Secretary for Economic and Business Affairs at the State Department. Thank you for considering my nomination. I also thank the committee staff for meeting with me to discuss critical economic and foreign policy issues facing the United States.

Thank you to President Biden for nominating me for this position, and to Secretary Blinken for his support of my candidacy.

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Outside of government, I have had the opportunity to expand my skills in ways that can contribute to more effective policymaking. During the past few years, I have been a Professor of the Practice of International Finance at Stanford University, teaching the next generation of citizens and prospective policymakers about how to prevent and respond to financial crises, drawing on my experiences both in government and the private sector. At Stanford, I also designed and taught one of the first university courses in the world on the economic impact of artificial intelligence (AI), preparing graduates to grapple with the profound ways in which technology is poised to affect jobs, wages, industrial organization, and global competition. I hope to bring these insights on what it takes for Americans to thrive in this new technological era to the work of the State Department and U.S. Government.

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Second, the United States must lead in shaping the norms and rules governing trade, commerce, and technology that will underpin the future global economy. This means working with like-minded nations to confront abusive policies by China that create unfair competition, disadvantage American workers, and conflict with American values. It means shaping global technology adoption and governance in ways that promote openness, security, and reliability—and reflect democratic rather than authoritarian principles—in areas ranging from 5G to artificial intelligence to the digital economy. And it means cooperating with allies in areas like national security investment reviews and export controls to achieve shared objectives.

Third, the United States must leverage economic tools to advance foreign policy objectives and respond to crises. Among other things, this means utilizing sanctions effectively in pursuit of U.S. diplomatic and national security goals. It also means deploying U.S. foreign assistance—including the expanded capacities of the U.S. Development Finance Corporation—to support sustainable economic development, achieve key climate goals, and advance strategic U.S. interests. And it means deploying these tools in collaboration with allies, partners, and multilateral institutions to bolster their effectiveness.

Thank you again for this opportunity to appear before you today and for considering this nomination. I look forward to answering your questions.

Senator MERKLEY. Thank you very much. I appreciate the testimony. We have now had testimony from all five of our nominees, and before I turn to the period for questions, we have a set of questions that are standard for this committee to ask.

I will ask you to all respond together. If your answer is yes, you can answer yes, and then I will pause if anyone wants to answer no. Then we will be able to hear you.

And so do you agree to appear before this committee and make officials from your office available to the committee and designated staff when invited?

[All witnesses answer in the affirmative.]

Senator MERKLEY. Did anyone wish to answer no to that question?

[No response.]

Senator MERKLEY. All right.

Hearing none, second, do you commit to keep this committee fully and currently informed about the activities under your purview?

[All witnesses answer in the affirmative.]

Senator MERKLEY. Okay. Hearing no noes, do you commit to engaging in meaningful consultation while policies are being developed, not just providing notification after the fact?

[All witnesses answer in the affirmative.]

Senator MERKLEY. Thank you. And do you commit to promptly responding to requests for briefings and information requested by the committee and its designated staff?

[All witnesses answer in the affirmative.]

Senator MERKLEY. Thank you all very much.

As you undoubtedly understand, it is very important to the checks and balances of our government to be able to get information and insight from our key representatives in the executive branch and the various roles that you will be in.

I will now turn to the period of questions. I encourage you to keep your responses as brief as you can so that you can have the joy of responding to more inquiries and not proceed to upset various senators by filibustering their questions. That is a privilege reserved only for the Senate floor.

Mr. Stanley, let us begin with Argentina.

As you assess the drivers of Argentina's persistent economic challenges that include inflation and substantial public debt that exceeds their gross domestic product, certainly, high poverty exacerbated by COVID-19, to what extent is the United States working multilaterally with IMF leadership as Argentina strives to negotiate a new debt restructuring plan?

Mr. STANLEY. Thank you for the question, and you are right. Argentina is a beautiful country. It is a beautiful tour bus that does not have the wheels on working right. The IMF debt of \$45 billion is huge.

The issue, though, is it is the Argentines' leadership responsibility to come up with a macro plan to pay this back and they have yet to do so. They say one is coming soon.

The United States—the Biden administration has met with them even last week. The embassy in Buenos Aires and the State Department are engaged to try to find constructive ways to help. But in the end, it comes up to them to figure out a macro economic plan to put them back on track.

And I just want to say COVID has, certainly, not helped the situation at all. The good news is they are back on their feet. But there is no more important issue than getting back on their feet because they are a great bilateral partner for us for trade and economics, and we need a partner that is economically healthy.

Senator MERKLEY. Thank you very much.

Mr. Hussain, the United States has utilized a variety of tools in response to human rights violations against ethnic and religious minorities in Xinjiang, China, including targeted sanctions, export controls, import restrictions.

However, we continue to see enormous oppression of the Muslim Uighur community with very high-tech strategies to control and such that the impact has been that it is conducting genocide as established and determined under both the Trump administration and the Biden administration.

What more should the United States be doing in this regard? What more can we do? Has what we have been doing been effective? Do we stay the course? Are there new strategies to implement?

Mr. HUSSAIN. Thank you for the question, Senator, and thanks for your leadership on this important issue.

I share your deep concerns about China. China is one of the worst abusers of religious freedom in the world. I have visited Xinjiang province and have seen firsthand China's blatant disregard for the Uighur community, their oppression, the genocide that is occurring there, and for their disregard of human rights toward a number of religious communities, including the Tibetan Buddhists, Protestants, Catholics, and the Falun Gong.

We will do everything in our power to make sure that we articulate those concerns in our report—the International Religious Freedom Report—that we speak directly to the Chinese about their policies and individual cases that we are concerned about as well, that we work closely with civil society around the world and that we use some of the tools that you have mentioned—sanctions, visa restrictions, export-import controls.

And then one of the things that I want to make sure that we do is we work closely with some of the Islamic countries around the world that could be more vocal in speaking out about what is going on with the Uighur population specifically, as you mentioned.

Some of those countries have expressed some concern, but I think if they are able to come together and apply more pressure to address this issue then we have a more significant chance of making an impact and helping the lives of people in China.

Senator MERKLEY. Thank you.

My last question for this round is to Ms. Wong, and given that the Asian Development Bank is in the process of reviewing its environmental and social safeguards policies, what would you plan to do as executive director of the Asian Development Bank to encourage the institution and other shareholders to set ambitious climate

targets and to encourage the Asian Development Bank to prioritize clean energy solutions?

[No response.]

Senator MERKLEY. I believe you are still muted, but I am sure you are giving a great answer.

[Laughter.]

Ms. WONG. Thank you, Senator, for that question.

As you rightly point out, the Asian Development Bank is going through its safeguards policy review. It has not done it in 10 years so it is a really great opportunity for us to look at safeguards to not—make sure that we do not walk back from any of the social and environmental safeguards but that we move forward, particularly around climate change.

I believe that we need to be using the Asian Development Bank as a tool to help countries move to a clean growth path, going forward, and so my effort will be to ensure that both environmental safeguards in the climate change area to look at sources of fuel to ensure that we are going forward with a clean energy path.

Senator MERKLEY. Great. Thank you very much, and my time is up.

I am going to turn to Senator Hagerty, and Senator Hagerty, I am handing over the gavel, which I cannot hand it to you physically. It is a cup. You can use whatever you would like on your desk.

And since your questions are up next, I will try to be back by the end of your questions. If not, we will proceed to Senator Menendez upon the completion of the answers to your questions. Thank you.

Senator HAGERTY [presiding]. Honored to take over, Mr. Chairman. Thank you.

And, first, I would like to just turn to Mr. Toloui to congratulate you on your nomination, to highlight the fact that in my previous job I worked very closely with your predecessor.

It is an extremely strategic role that you will play, if you are confirmed, and I just want you to know that my staff and I look forward to working with you if you are confirmed to make certain that you are successful because we perceive, and I am sure all the members of this committee share the same view, that you are in a position to make an extraordinary difference.

Next, I would like to turn to Mr. Hussain. First, I want to applaud you and your family and congratulate you for the addition of your newest family member. I know what that is like, but to your wife and your three older children, congratulations on the new addition. I do hope you get a little more sleep between now and the time you are confirmed, should you be.

I also want to applaud Secretary of State Mike Pompeo for doing the right thing in making the determination that the Chinese Communist Party is, indeed, engaged in genocide and crimes against humanity with respects to Uighurs and the Turkic Muslim population in China.

I also want to applaud Secretary of State Blinken for seeing that travesty and upholding that determination. The Chinese Communist Party persecute Uighurs and other Turkic Muslims because

the teachings of Islam may undermine the ideology of the Chinese Communist Party.

The United States should always remain a beacon of hope for those that espouse the freedom of religion.

Mr. Hussain, I am concerned that the Biden administration may overlook the ongoing genocide in China in order to strike some sort of naive grand bargain on climate.

If confirmed as Ambassador-at-Large for International Religious Freedom, one of your responsibilities will be to help the Uighurs and the Turkic Muslims in China.

Mr. Hussain, if you are confirmed, do you agree that the United States should never use the religious freedom and human rights of religious minorities in China as a bargaining chip in climate negotiations with the Chinese Communist Party?

Mr. HUSSAIN. Thank you so much, Senator.

Yes, I do agree. We have made it very clear from the first days in office. Secretary Blinken, as you noted, maintained the designation of the treatments and the oppression of the Uighurs as a genocide, and as I described, the number of tools that we intend to use in dealing with this issue.

We will not relent in our efforts to help those that are suffering in China, including Uighurs and including other communities there, as I mentioned, the Tibetan Buddhists, the Protestants, the Catholics, and the Falun Gong and others.

Senator HAGERTY. I am pleased to hear that.

Dr. Kugler, I will turn my next question to you. As I told Deputy Secretary of Treasury Adeyemo last week, I remain concerned about China's activities and their growing influence at the World Bank.

Since its inception in 2003, the "Doing Business" report has ranked 190 countries according to indicators to see how easy it is to establish and grow private companies.

Despite the ongoing crackdown on private businesses by the Chinese Communist Party, China's ranking somehow rose seven places in the last rankings. China ranked 31st in the 2020 report, which was ahead of Switzerland by five places.

As a lifelong businessman with significant experience in private investment, this makes no sense to me. However, it makes perfect sense when we see that Chinese malign behavior has been involved in setting these rankings.

According to the *Wall Street Journal*, an independent investigation by an outside law firm concluded that former World Bank CEO Kristalina Georgieva and other leaders pressured staff to improve China's Doing Business 2018 rankings.

The United States must do everything it can to protect the integrity of international institutions. My question for you is that, if confirmed, how will you ensure that China is not able to compromise the World Bank's values and actions?

Dr. KUGLER. Senator Hagerty, first, let me say that I deeply share your concerns about China's abusive behaviors, which not only undermine our U.S. values but they also try to undermine our rules-based global leadership system.

As someone who has used data for more than two decades, I deeply believe that any data, any reports that come out of the

World Bank need to be held to the highest standards of rigor, integrity, and transparency, and I would commit to doing that.

I would work, certainly, with our allies, with like-minded shareholders at the bank, and with the management at the bank to make sure that these sort of manipulation of data does not occur into the future.

Senator HAGERTY. I appreciate that. I appreciate that very much and I take very seriously your commitment to push back against this type of malign behavior to influence these types of rankings.

Now it is my honor to turn over the questions to Chairman Menendez.

[No response.]

Senator HAGERTY. Chairman?

[No response.]

Senator HAGERTY. If Chairman Menendez is not available, I would like to then turn it over to Senator Cardin, please.

Senator CARDIN. Thank you, Senator Hagerty, and I appreciate very much this opportunity.

First, let me express my thanks to all of our nominees and their families for their willingness to serve our country during these extremely challenging times. It is difficult, and we appreciate the sacrifices that you are making.

I want to talk about President Biden's commitment that our foreign policy is going to be based in our values, our concerns about the growth of corruption, the autocratic regimes around the world, and that all of our tools of foreign diplomacy need to be focused at advancing our values, which is anti-corruption, democracy, et cetera.

If I may start with Ms. Wong in regards to the Asian Development Bank and its activities in Myanmar. Myanmar has made a sharp turn in the wrong direction with the military, again, having total control over the country.

Explain to me how we can leverage our involvement through the bank in Myanmar to advance our goals of a more democratic society for the people of Burma.

Ms. WONG. Thank you very much, Senator.

I totally agree with you that the situation in Burma is dire. I actually was there in 2019. I spent quite a bit of time going around to villages and meeting local people. It is one of the poorest countries in that region, and what has happened to it is very difficult to imagine currently.

I am actually not confirmed at the moment and it is not appropriate for me to take any particular position in terms of how to designate what happened in Burma, and so I am looking forward to getting briefed on that, if confirmed.

Having said all that, I will definitely commit to you we will be evaluating each project. I will be relying on the Treasury team as well to going forward on looking at that and ensuring—totally agree that ensuring that democracy and human rights are forefront in those values that we will uphold in that particular country.

Thank you.

Senator CARDIN. Thank you for that reply. As you know, at one time we had some of the toughest sanctions against Burma of any country in the world. We have relaxed that as they were moving

forward on a democratic path within the country. Then we only—including the president of the United States making a visit. That did not seem to change the direction of the military.

I think it is very important that we have a very strong position—a carrot-stick approach—that we are not going to give them benefits if they are not going to advance the goals that are important. I look forward to working with you in that regard.

Ms. WONG. Thank you, Senator.

Senator CARDIN. Mr. Stanley, thank you for your willingness to take on Argentina. I know your abilities and your skills, and I thank you for being willing to take on this challenge. I know you will do a great job.

I want to talk about one of the issues you raised, that is, the human rights record in Argentina. When you look at its border areas, there is a lot of money laundering that takes place between Argentina and Paraguay and other countries in that region.

We need to strengthen our capacity to fight corruption in our countries that have significant challenges. Tell me just a little bit about your strategy on making sure that anti-corruption is a priority in our mission in Argentina.

Mr. STANLEY. Thank you, Senator Cardin. I am glad you are focusing on this.

Secretary Blinken—I do not know if you saw last week—gave a tremendous speech in Ecuador talking about how we are going to grow democracies in the Western Hemisphere, and the first issue he wanted to talk about was corruption, which he said is estimated to cost up to 5 percent of global GDP, how it stifles investment, deepens inequities, et cetera.

It is clear that corruption takes place in this tri-border area that you are talking about between Paraguay, Brazil, and Argentina, and the United States is fully engaged in trying to fight that there.

There is tremendous cooperation with our defense agencies, with our intelligence agencies. We are doing a lot of exchanges. We are doing a lot of training. We are delivering a lot of anti-crime fighting equipment even. And so I am really proud of what is going on, but I think you are highlighting a very, very important issue.

Senator CARDIN. Thank you. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator HAGERTY. Thank you. Now it is my honor to turn this over to Senator Shaheen.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you, Senator Hagerty, and congratulations to all of the nominees today. Thank you for your willingness to continue to serve this country.

I would like to start with you, Mr. Stanley, with a more parochial issue and that has to do with an insurance company in New Hampshire, which was doing work in Argentina. They were shorted significant funding. They have been to court and have had the court rule in their favor, and I am hopeful that, as Ambassador, you will push the Argentine Government to pay off on the debt that they owe to this insurance company. I have asked this question of previous Secretaries of State and previous Ambassadors to Argentina.

So far, no one has been successful, but I am counting on you and your good legal negotiating skills. Will you commit to working to do this?

Mr. STANLEY. Yes, Senator Shaheen. Thank you so much. There is nothing more important in our job than to represent Americans and American corporations that are trying to do business and, absolutely, I will investigate and see what I can do.

I am surprised Judge Prado did not have success in that because he is a terrific lawyer and judge, who was the last ambassador.

But I will, if confirmed, when I first get on the ground I will look at this immediately, and I will report back to you.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you. We stand ready in our office to provide any information that you need.

My next question is for both Ms. Wong and Dr. Kugler. As I am sure you are aware, in 2019 the Congress passed the Women's Entrepreneurship and Economic Empowerment Act, which makes it part of our international development policy to try and address the factors that hinder women's economic empowerment.

Can each of you talk about how you will work on that issue, if confirmed, at your appointments?

Dr. Kugler, do you want to begin first?

Dr. KUGLER. Absolutely. Thank you, Senator Shaheen, for this very important question.

I do so much agree with you that gender disparities remain a big challenge around the world, and they have only become worse during the pandemic and the recent global crisis.

It is very important that we continue to tackle issues of gender disparities, whether it is with regards to access to health, with regards to access to education, with regards to access to employment, and importantly, with regards to lack of access to finance, which hinders the progress of women entrepreneurs.

I thank you for your support of that bill. I know the World Bank recently has introduced a new initiative called the We-Fi Initiative, which stands for Women Entrepreneurs Financial Initiative, introduced in 2017. They have disbursed some \$300 million in about 60 countries.

But I do believe there is a lot of progress that still needs to be done. I, myself, have, for over two decades, devoted a good amount of my research efforts to looking to gender disparities in education and in employment.

I am deeply committed to this issue. I would certainly be committed to working forward in terms of reducing gender disparities, working at the Board to push for projects that support women entrepreneurs and to make sure that we do not forget that this pandemic has hit women the worst around the world.

Thank you very much.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you very much.

Ms. Wong?

Ms. WONG. Thank you, Senator Shaheen, for your leadership on this issue.

When I was at the Millennium Challenge Corporation, we actually did a huge effort—in any project, any assistance that we do, we focus on women in the economy. And I would like to understand a little bit better, if confirmed, going into the Asian Development Bank if we could do something similar because, as Dr. Kugler has mentioned, it affects development, poverty. All of that affects

women significantly more so because they are the backbones of the economy.

And so understanding—in any of the projects that we go into understanding women and the economy and, particularly, in specific projects would be definitely my focus, going forward. Thank you very much.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you both very much. I hope you will commit to working with the State Department's Office of Global Women's Issues.

And I have a final question for you, Mr. Toloui. As we talk about the challenges of American business and think about the intersection of that with what happens overseas, one of the things that has been absolutely critical to New Hampshire's economy and, I think, also to many other states throughout the U.S. has been the visa workers who come, both the students—the J-1 visa students who come in and work in the summertime—also the H-2Bs, which New Hampshire is a state with—agriculture and hospitality industry has relied on them, and the fact that we have had a limit on the number of people who can come into the U.S., not just this year but over the past four years of the previous administration, has really had a huge impact.

And as we are looking at the workforce challenges that we have in this country right now, we need to figure out how we can get in those workers who have histories in the U.S. with our business employers and make sure that we can continue to provide that source of help for our businesses.

Those folks do not want to stay here. They want to go back to their home countries. Those jobs are not jobs that union workers generally want. They do not have the kind of benefits and long-term support that most union workers need.

Why cannot we get more of those workers into the United States? And what can you do, if you are confirmed, to make sure that we increase those numbers in a way that is important to American businesses?

Mr. TOLOUI. Senator Shaheen, thank you very much for raising this issue. I can commit to you that, if confirmed, I would like to work with you and your staff as well as others on this committee on this issue to find ways forward to address all of the issues that you enumerated.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you very much. I will hold you to that.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator MERKLEY [presiding]. Thank you very much, Senator Shaheen.

Thank you, Senator Hagerty. I am back. I will take the gavel back. And I believe, Senator, we do not have another Republican Senator with us is my understanding. That would mean Senator Kaine is up next.

Senator KAINE. Thank you, Mr. Chair, and to these witnesses, very, very great.

Let me ask a question of Mr. Stanley.

Mr. Stanley, congratulations, first, and then an issue that has been a long-standing bipartisan issue in Congress is trying to do everything we can as the United States to work with Argentina so

that it can hold accountable those who bombed the Jewish Community Center in Buenos Aires in 1994, I believe.

We have kept pressure on in a bipartisan way, but the Governments of Argentina have kind of been vacillating as to how vigorously they will pursue accountability for this terrorist attack.

Should you be confirmed, I know this is an issue you know well and are deeply concerned about. What would be your intent as ambassador to Argentina to keep pressure on for appropriate accountability for those who—Lebanese and Iranians—who participated in this terrorist attack?

Mr. STANLEY. Thank you, Senator Kaine, and also thank you again for your introduction. That was really kind of you.

This is a huge issue and this is not a Jewish issue. This is an affront on Argentina. In 1994, a terrorist organization came onto Argentine soil and blew up the Jewish Center. They had previously attacked the Israeli Embassy. Eighty-five people died, and they were not all Jews. Many were wounded.

They have never gotten to the bottom line. No one has been called, like you said, to account for it.

This is the rule of law and this is justice, and we do call on the Argentines to continue to focus on this. I am pleased that the Argentine Government in 2019 did declare Hezbollah a terrorist organization finally.

I am pleased that President Fernandez recently was outraged by the appointment of one of the co-conspirators, allegedly, to leadership in the Iranian regime. But this was allegedly the Iranians funding Hezbollah and causing this kind of terror in South America, and I think all Argentines should be upset about it, and I think there should be a demand that this government and judiciary prosecute and find out who is responsible and get justice.

Thank you so much.

Senator KAINE. You bet. Mr. Stanley, I have great confidence that you will push as much as we can on this issue, and I appreciate so much your passion about it.

Mr. Hussain, one of the things that really interests me about your background that strikes me as such good preparation for the position for which you are nominated was your work during the Obama administration on the Marrakesh Declaration, which I believe was in 2015 and 2016.

This was an effort by politicians and scholars from countries in the Muslim world and elsewhere to join together in a declaration pushing Muslim-majority countries to treat fairly and equally religious minorities within their countries.

Please tell the committee a bit about your role in the Marrakesh Declaration on the American side, your work on it, and I would like, Mr. Chair, to introduce that declaration into the record of this hearing.

[The document referred to above is located at the end of this hearing transcript.]

Mr. HUSSAIN. Thank you so much, Senator, and thank you for introducing me.

When I began traveling around the Muslim world to work on a range of foreign policy issues and to build partnerships in the areas

of education, entrepreneurship, health, science, and technologies, one of the things that became clear to me is that not all of these countries were protecting religious minorities, and I found it very disappointing and, to me, it was a moral obligation to do as an American, as a Muslim, everything that I could to make sure that Islam was not being used to justify the mistreatment of minorities.

We worked in a number of countries. We worked in Egypt with the Coptic community. We took an interfaith delegation with a Coptic leader from the United States, a prominent imam.

We worked in Tunisia and Morocco and Mauritania, Nigeria, the UAE, a number of countries and brought scholars together using our convening role to work on a set of protocols for the protection of religious minorities in Muslim-majority countries and worked very closely with civil society, worked with some of the leading Christian, Jewish, and Muslim leaders in the United States, prominent leaders and international religious field giants like Tom Farr, Chris Seiple, Bob Roberts, Ambassador Saperstein, leaders in the Muslim community, and it ended in the culmination of a declaration on the protection of religious minorities to denounce the treatment of the Christians and Yazidis by ISIS, in addition to a number of other examples, set forward a set of protocols and standards from within the Islamic tradition in addition to what we push as United States representatives—our values, our constitutional values, the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights.

We also thought it would be effective and, in fact, one of the countries, Tunisia, there was a member of the parliament that adopted some of that language into the constitution that was being drafted at the time.

We are starting to see some tangible impact from it but we really want to move forward on it and come together for a full implementation plan to continue this work.

Senator Kaine. I think that work will be such good preparation for the position for which you have been nominated. I am proud to support you.

And, Mr. Chair, I am going to hand it back and race to the floor to vote.

Senator MERKLEY. Thank you very much, Senator Kaine.

Senator Van Hollen?

Senator VAN HOLLEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and congratulations again to all the nominees.

Dr. Kugler, Senator Hagerty sort of raised one of the questions I had regarding transparency at the World Bank, especially in light of the recent report on doing business where there was evidence that there were efforts to sort of cook the books with respect to China.

Another question for you, which is that we have seen during this COVID-19 pandemic the gap between the world's haves and have-nots grow even wider in terms of the great divergence between developed countries and undeveloped countries.

And, obviously, it is not only the right thing to do, but it also serves the interests of the rest of the world if, currently, the underdeveloped world is doing better, both in terms of our own exports and jobs.

Can you talk a little bit about—Dr. Kugler, about what you and the World Bank can do to address that growing divergence?

Dr. KUGLER. Thank you very much, Senator Van Hollen, for raising this important issue. As you know, the World Bank has committed some \$100 billion dollars over the course of the pandemic and has disbursed about 60 percent of that amount.

It has devoted most of these resources to low income and low middle income countries. That is good news in the sense that the World Bank is disbursing funds to those who are the neediest.

Much of this money has gone to strengthen health structures and health systems, to support small businesses, but also to provide basic income support and food security to many who have fallen into poverty. About 150 million people have fallen into extreme poverty since the beginning of the pandemic.

Having said that, there is some good progress. Some of these monies have been disbursed, but some of it has been disbursed slowly.

One issue is to make sure that the rest of these funds and future funds, are disbursed more effectively and, again, continue to go to low-income and low middle-income countries, which are the ones that need it the most.

There are a few tools that can be used to do that. But as was pointed out before, this has to be done with the right safeguards as well and with the right measures towards accountability because we know that corruption has also risen within this period of the pandemic and global crisis.

Just like here in the U.S., one of the things that is holding countries back is not being able to address the pandemic. A key comparative advantage at the World Bank is in terms of its expertise on health.

The World Bank could be doing more and engaging more in terms of helping the World Health Organization through its COVAX facility and others to facilitate the distribution of vaccines. That is key.

I think once we address the issue of the pandemic, we can move on also to address the issue of the economic recovery, which is important, obviously, for these countries. It is important to reverse the rapid increase in poverty, but it is important for the U.S. because 95 percent of consumers live outside of U.S. borders. If we hope for our economy to also fully recover, we need the rest of the world to come back again in the same way.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. Thank you and I appreciate your answer, including underscoring that last point.

Mr. Hussain, as you know, the Ambassador-at-Large for International Religious Freedom is an ex-officio member of the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom. They have consistently recommended that more countries be designated as, quote, “countries of particular concern” when it comes to the lack of full religious liberty.

And yet, those countries have not been so designated by the executive branch. Can you just talk a little bit about that discrepancy?

And, obviously, the United States and Secretary of State and others look at a range of issues, but your job will be to underscore the

importance of religious liberty. How should that factor in to the U.S. State Department's overall designations?

Mr. HUSSAIN. Thank you so much, Senator.

If confirmed, I look forward to working closely with the Commission. They provide excellent research—excellent resources to advise the International Religious Freedom Office and Secretary of State and the administration.

We will look at all of the data they provide and combine it with our research and our assessments and will advocate vigorously within the Department of State to use every tool at our disposal including, when appropriate, designations of countries of particular concern in making those recommendations as part of the policy process within the State Department.

And there may be times when we—that there is a process by which different components within the State Department are able to make recommendations on those. But our job in the Office of International Religious Freedom is to make sure that all of the data is put forward on the religious freedom—the state of religious freedom in a particular country and to make the most vigorous case possible for using the most appropriate tools, including that designation.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. Thank you. I appreciate that. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator MERKLEY. Thank you very much, Senator Van Hollen.

And I do not believe that Senator Menendez is with us. But let me just pause for a moment if he is.

Are there any other senators standing by in the electronic space? We do not see anyone. And, Senator Hagerty, did you have any closing comments or closing question you wanted to ask?

Senator HAGERTY. No. I would just like to thank you for conducting a great hearing today, Mr. Chairman. It has been my honor to serve alongside you as ranking member.

Senator MERKLEY. Thank you very much for taking the gavel and for being here to pursue this important process of the Senate or in the confirmation of the nominees.

I will close with one last question for Dr. Kugler. We have had the International Panel for Climate lay out a code red report saying we are in deep, deep trouble in terms of planetary warming.

And yet, we have also had reports within the last week of extensive plans to massively expand the use of coal and of natural gas over this coming decade. Is it time for us to take a firm stand at the international banks and all sorts, not just the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, to end the financing of fossil fuel projects or at least to use our weight towards that objective?

Dr. KUGLER. Thank you very much, Senator, for that important question.

As President Biden has indicated, this is a key issue for this administration. It is the biggest existential threat of our time and I do believe that we need domestic action to go hand-in-hand with global leadership on climate change.

There have been two good developments at the World Bank. The first one is that commitments for climate change and climate financing have increased substantially over the past few years—in

fact, new commitments of 35 percent by 2025. I think that is a very important step that has been taken in that direction.

The second thing is that there has been an increased effort to pay attention to how projects are funded and whether to support projects that produce fossil fuels.

As I understand at this point, there has been an effort to make sure that we help countries transition from fossil fuels to cleaner forms of energy and I do think that it is important to consider each of these projects on their own merits. It is important to look at it in the context of country strategies.

But we do need to make sure that the rest of the world, just like the U.S., makes progress in this direction because we cannot do it alone. We know China contributes 30 percent of greenhouse emissions and many other countries make big contributions as well.

Domestic action alone is not going to do it. We need to, certainly, move countries through the projects that are funded by the World Bank to transition to sustainable development and to a green recovery as well.

Senator MERKLEY. Thank you, Doctor, and I will just note that the administration put out guidance in August, I believe it was, that said in our international financial institutions they would oppose new coal projects, new oil projects or the financing of those, but listed a series of exceptions for natural gas.

I just want to make sure people understand that natural gas is methane, that methane is far more damaging to the climate ounce for ounce, pound for pound, than is coal and it traps more heat, and that sustaining natural gas systems that leak enormous amounts of methane into the air is not compatible with an effort to globally attack a code red situation.

I am just giving you my personal view. I am sure other members of the Senate would have a different view. I think it is a really important conversation because the impacts we are seeing in my home state in terms of fire, ocean acidification, warming streams, diminishing snow packs are all having calamitous impacts and other states are experiencing this in different ways.

But it is an issue of which the planet cannot succeed without U.S. leadership, and so I am hoping that every time decisions come up one will remember we are in a code red situation and need to pivot quickly.

I put solar panels on the roof of my house here in D.C., which is a small roof, and I was very surprised when I got the first monthly report for September that the average amount of energy trapped was 30 kilowatt hours per day, which means I could drive 120 miles in an electric car on just the sunlight on my roof every single day for the month of September.

We have phenomenal—we have phenomenal technology at our disposal on wind and solar and many other possibilities, but we have to implement these technologies quickly.

On that note, I will end, and now that I put that forward, Senator Hagerty, would you like to have any final comment?

Senator HAGERTY. Again, as you say, there will be differing opinions here. Having spent a good part of my life focused on the developing part of the world and having just left Asia to come to do this job, I want to see these nations make thorough progress. But I

want to note the fact that China obliterates all the progress that developing nations make with their addition of coal-fired plants every year.

We need to take a global perspective on this, not punish our own economy and take a unilateral disarmament approach. But let us look at this in a more holistic manner that takes into account America's interests first and work with our allies to make progress in a way that makes sense.

I do not want us to see the utilization of our financial system, our regulations, and that sort of thing as an end run to address other issues.

Thank you very much.

Senator MERKLEY. Thank you, Senator, and thank you to our nominees, Mr. Stanley and Mr. Hussain and Ms. Wong and Dr. Kugler, and the Hon. Ramin Toloui. We are delighted to have you bringing your expertise to a new chapter of service.

And I will note that the record for this hearing will remain open until the close of business on Wednesday, October 27th. Questions for the record should be submitted no later than Wednesday. That is just tomorrow. Not much time. I want to keep moving—push to move forward.

Thank you all very much and this hearing is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 11:37 a.m., the hearing was adjourned.]

Additional Material Submitted for the Record

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO MARC R. STANLEY BY SENATOR ROBERT MENENDEZ

Cooperation

Question. Argentina was our first Major Non-NATO in Latin America, and we have long-standing cooperation on security, non-proliferation, and climate issues, however, the U.S. and Argentina often hold divergent views over how best to promote democracy and stability in the hemisphere, as well as the roles of certain geopolitical actors.

- If confirmed, what priorities will you have for advancing our bilateral cooperation with Argentina? Where do you expect the greatest amount of progress in the bilateral relationship? Where do you think cooperation will be more challenging?

Answer. I understand the United States maintains a strong bilateral relationship with Argentina across a range of shared interests, including trade and investment, human rights, democracy, climate change, protection of the environment, cooperation on global health, defense, and security, and much more. If confirmed, I will ensure we make progress on some of the most pressing issues that include mitigating the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic, ensuring strong commitments to combat climate change, and promoting democracy and human rights in the hemisphere and world.

Defending Democracy

Question. Despite assaults on democracy in numerous countries across the Americas and the risks they pose for our hemisphere, the U.S. currently does not enjoy close coordination with Argentina on addressing democratic decay in countries such as Cuba, Venezuela, and Nicaragua. For example, Argentina last week abstained from voting on an OAS resolution condemning events in Nicaragua and calling for the release of political prisoners.

- How do you explain Argentina's decision to abstain from a vote on Nicaragua at the OAS, especially given the country's own history of atrocities under dictatorship?

Answer. I was disappointed that Argentina, along with Mexico, abstained, on two separate occasions, from condemning at the OAS the egregious human rights violations by the Nicaraguan regime, though they did withdraw their ambassadors. Argentina historically sought to promote democracy and human rights without interfering in another state's internal affairs, a position that comes under strain when a regime such as Nicaragua's distorts its political process to dismantle democratic institutions. I understand Argentina is proud of its human rights record and is a member of the U.N. Human Rights Council. I found its vote in favor of a U.N. Human Rights Council resolution supporting the promotion and protection of human rights in Nicaragua encouraging. If confirmed, I will encourage Argentina to uphold its commitment to democracy and human rights on all opportunities and in all organizations.

Question. If confirmed, what steps will you take to restore a shared, values-based approach to U.S. and Argentine efforts to address democratic backsliding in the hemisphere?

Answer. Our peoples share a love of democracy, an understanding of the importance of a strong middle class, an emphasis on education, and a respect for diversity that make our cultures so rich. If confirmed, I will develop open and effective channels of communication with the Argentine public and Argentine officials to emphasize the importance of defending democratic values in our own countries and across the hemisphere.

IMF Flexibility

Question. Argentina is currently struggling to deal with a debt payment crisis that is years in the making and seeks to recover from a deep economic contraction that saw GDP shrink 10 percent in 2020.

- What role would you advocate that the U.S. play with regard to Argentina's growing debt crisis?

Answer. The United States continues to support Argentina's engagement with the International Monetary Fund and encourage its Government to put forward an economic plan that shows how Argentina can return to growth, dismantle temporary market access restrictions, and maximize debt sustainability. If confirmed, I will advocate for a strong economic policy framework that provides a vision for private sector job growth, which would have the support of the United States and the international community.

Question. While Argentina seeks flexibility from the IMF and was able restructure its private debt after a default in May 2020, how should the U.S. interpret the fact that the Argentine Government continues to service its debt payments to China?

Answer. As members of the Paris Club, the United States expects Argentina to treat all creditors equally as it works to meet its international debt payment obligations. In June, Paris Club members (including the United States) provided flexibility and accepted Argentina's offer to make partial payments on the debt it owes to Club members, on the condition that Argentina demonstrates credible progress toward a new IMF program and abide by Club principles, which include a clause on the comparability of treatment of debt from all external creditors.

China's Influence

Question. In the last decade, China built a space monitoring station in Patagonia—a facility which Argentine officials have admitted that they little oversight of and scant information about its operations.

- What is your assessment of the operations at China's space monitoring station in Argentina? How should the U.S. view China's role and influence in Argentina?

Answer. I understand the PRC maintains the Neuquén station's purpose is peaceful space observation, but Argentina has no physical oversight of the station's operations. If confirmed, I will work with likeminded countries to encourage Argentina to require its space cooperation partners, including the PRC, to follow the fundamental principles of transparency, openness, and reciprocity.

AMIA Bombing

Question. July marked 27 years since the 1994 bombing of the Argentine Jewish Mutual Association (AMIA) center in Buenos Aires that killed 85 people and wounded hundreds more. It is absolutely critical that the United States stand with the families of the deceased in demanding truth and justice and rejecting impunity in this case.

- If confirmed, what steps will you take to ensure that this issue is among your top priorities for the bilateral relationship?

Answer. If confirmed, I look forward to working with the administration to continue the discussions on this issue with Argentine counterparts.

Question. Will you advocate that the Argentine Government pursue concrete enforcement action to hold Hezbollah and Iran accountable for their roles in the AMIA bombing?

Answer. The United States stands with the people of Argentina in the search for justice, and we share the sorrow of the families of the victims of the AMIA and Israeli Embassy bombings. The Fernandez administration emphatically condemned the Iranian Government's decision to designate suspected AMIA plotters Ahmad Vahidi and Mohsen Rezai as Minister of Interior and Vice President of Economic Affairs. If confirmed, I will join my voice to theirs, and stress that the Iranian Government must cooperate fully with Argentine authorities to bring the perpetrators to justice.

Question. Will you advocate that the Argentine Government, maintain and enforce terrorism designations on all those associated with the AMIA bombing that are on Argentina's terrorism list and those who have INTERPOL red notices in connection with the bombing?

Answer. Yes. It is essential that Argentina maintain and aggressively enforce the terrorism designations that it has made, including that of Hizballah, and that it continues its longstanding effort to bring those responsible for the AMIA bombing to justice, especially those who have INTERPOL red notices.

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. If confirmed, and as Secretary Blinken stated in September, I along with the Department will commit ourselves to the health, safety, and security of our personnel and family members serving domestically and overseas. This commitment extends to the handling of anomalous health incidents (AHI), also referred to as "Unexplained Health Incidents." I would take these incidents seriously and would respond to them and report them consistent with Department guidelines.

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. I understand that the Department encourages employees who suspect they may have been affected by an anomalous health incident to report the details of their situation to their Post Health Unit and RSO as soon as possible. No stigma attaches to such reporting, and I understand that the Department reminds Post RSOs and MED personnel to treat every report seriously, objectively, and with sensitivity. If confirmed, I will convene an Emergency Action Committee if the reported incident is a health-related incident in which the underlying causes, infectivity, and prognosis are not known.

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. I understand the Department implemented a Baseline Testing Program: On June 1, 2021, the Department launched a pilot study for employees and adult family members who are relocating overseas or returning to the United States. This program includes a baseline medical examination in Washington DC to establish assessments for comparison in the event the employee and/or their EFM report a potential an anomalous health incident.

If confirmed, I will meet with my medical and RSO teams and ensure that they brief me on all past incidents and ensure they adhere to established protocols.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO MARC R. STANLEY BY SENATOR JAMES E. RISCH

Western Hemisphere

International Terrorism

Question. In July 2019, President Mauricio Macri signed Decree 489, which created a framework for Argentina to designate terrorist organizations take law enforcement actions, such as asset freezes and travel bans entities associated with such designated foreign terrorist organizations.

- What is your assessment of the current Argentine Government's commitment to enforcing Decree 489, including the designation of Hezbollah as an FTO, the designations of Hezbollah financiers in the Tri-Border Area (TBA), and the designations of former and current Iranian officials who are on Argentina's terrorism list?

Answer. I understand the Fernández administration decided to maintain the terrorist designation system created through Decree 489 and with it the domestic designation of Hezbollah and Iranians charged in the AMIA case. The United States stands with the people of Argentina in the search for justice and we share the sorrow of the families of the victims of the AMIA and Israeli Embassy bombings.

Question. Please explain in what concrete ways you will work with the Government of Argentina, if confirmed, to ensure robust enforcement of Decree 489.

Answer. If confirmed, I will continue to stress the importance of the Argentine Government aggressively enforcing the domestic designation system created through Decree 489, as well as the Iranian Government's responsibility to cooperate fully with Argentine authorities to bring the designated terrorists to justice.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to prioritizing U.S. support for the Interpol red notices issued on current and former Iranian officials involved in the bombing of the AMIA Jewish community center?

Answer. Yes. These individuals need to answer to the Argentine justice system, and the families of the victims deserve to see justice served.

International Monetary Fund (IMF)

Question. The Fernandez-Kirchner Government is seeking to renegotiate the terms of a \$57 Billion IMF loan launched in 2018 as the largest program in the Fund's history. The IMF has underscored the importance integrity and the rule of law as part of its loan requirements. Meanwhile, Vice President de Kirchner is under indictment related to allegations of her involvement in a corruption network set up by former President Nestor Kirchner.

- Will the administration insist that any IMF rescue package for Argentina includes enforceable checks on Argentina's systemic corruption?

Answer. I understand the United States continues to support Argentina's engagement with the International Monetary Fund and encourages the Argentine Government to put forward an economic plan that shows how Argentina can return to growth, dismantle temporary market access restrictions, and maximize debt sustainability. The United States and the international community support a strong economic policy framework that provides a vision for private sector job growth and for combatting corruption. If confirmed, I would engage with the Argentine Government to encourage measures that promote stability, predictability, and transparency in the business and investment climate and fight corruption.

Anti-Corruption

Question. I am concerned about reports that the Fernandez-Kirchner Government has neutralized the Anti-Corruption Office and the Financial Integrity Units, such as ceasing to alert the Argentine financial system of the risks associated with doing business with OFAC-designated Venezuelan individuals.

Answer. I found Argentina's decision to pause the alerts issued by Argentina's Anti-Corruption Office and the Financial Integrity Units concerning, one of several regrettable decisions regarding Venezuela. If confirmed, I would engage with the Argentine Government to encourage measures that promote accountability and transparency and fight corruption, including full implementation of existing laws, each essential to strengthen Argentine democracy and to protect human rights.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to communicate clearly and often with the Argentine public and Government about U.S. concerns with this situation? Do you

commit to work with the Argentine financial sector to address these concerns effectively?

Answer. Yes.

East Asia and the Pacific

China

Question. During the presidency of Cristina Kirchner, China and Argentina signed over 20 bilateral agreements. This strategic alliance spanned several industries, including military manufacturing, energy, and transport. If confirmed, do you commit to engage the Argentine public and Government on the threat posed by China's debt trap financing to their country's sovereignty and stability?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I will work with Argentine partners to highlight the importance of competitive and transparent international trade, investment, and assistance rules that meet the highest environmental, social, and labor standards.

Human Rights and International Organizations

Question. In the 2021 Trafficking in Persons Report, Argentina remained on Tier 1 due to its ongoing efforts to combat trafficking in persons in country.

- Given its sustained success, how will you work with the Argentinian Government to continue their effective strategies if you are confirmed as Ambassador?

Answer. If confirmed, I will continue to ensure regular engagement with the Argentine Government and with civil society.

Question. How can you work with other regional ambassadors to emulate Argentina's success to combat TIP?

Answer. As a Tier 1 country since 2018, I understand Argentina made significant progress in combatting trafficking in persons and fully meets the TVPA's minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking. If confirmed, I will work with the Argentine Government and my counterparts in the region to help Argentina share its best practices and serve as a leader in the hemisphere.

Question. In the 2020 International Religious Freedom report, Argentina was identified having general societal respect for religious freedom but with reported anti-Semitic incidents and other hate crimes. What is your assessment of this particular issue and if confirmed, how will you work with the Ambassador At Large to find new ways to promote respect for religious minorities and counteract religious discrimination?

Answer. Argentina has one of the world's largest Jewish communities and plays an important role in the global fight against anti-Semitism. The Argentine Government and the people of Argentina generally welcome and respect religious minorities, and that includes the Jewish community. If confirmed, I commit to engaging with the Ambassador-at-Large to deepen our collaboration with the Government and to build upon Argentina's solid foundation of tolerance. Anti-Semitism has no place in Argentine society, just as it has no place in our own.

Question. In the 2020 Human Rights Report, Argentina was identified as having serious human rights issues, including corruption, issues with the independence of the judiciary, forced labor, and more.

- If confirmed, what steps will you take to address these instances with the host government?

Answer. If confirmed, on arriving in Argentina, I would make it an early priority to meet with members of the Government to address and advance human rights, and I will advocate for a particular focus on anti-corruption measures and judicial independence.

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

Answer. I understand that the U.S. Embassy in Argentina has robust engagement with civil society, especially with human rights NGOs and raises concerns with the Argentine Government when appropriate. If confirmed, I would join with the officers already working on this issue to deepen this engagement with both civil society and the Argentine Government.

State Department Management and Oversight

Question. Many U.S. missions have been under enormous stress over the last few years, in large part due to COVID-19.

- What is your understanding of morale in Embassy Buenos Aires?

Answer. I understand that while the pandemic has proven difficult for Argentina and for our embassy in Buenos Aires, embassy leadership has done an excellent job in maintaining morale through active communication with the community. Morale continues to improve as the pandemic subsides in Argentina.

Question. How do you intend to improve morale?

Answer. Building morale depends on open communication. If confirmed, I will continue holding town hall meetings with the embassy community and get to know the team personally.

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

Answer. I understand on November 1, the Department of State will kick off a formal process for all missions to develop a new four-year integrated country strategy (ICS) that aligns with the administration's priorities. These include issues highlighted in the Interim National Security Strategic Guidance, National Security Memoranda, the State-USAID Joint Strategic Plan, and various Executive Orders including those on Climate Change, Diversity, Equity, Inclusion, and Accessibility, and Racial Equity in the federal government. If confirmed, I will ensure that each agency at Embassy Buenos Aires participates and fully invests in the ICS process.

Management: A Key Responsibility for Chiefs of Mission

Question. How would you describe your management style?

Answer. I have a hands-on management style of management while also empowering team leaders. I also deeply care about building relationships.

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 relationship with your deputy chief of mission?

Answer. If confirmed, I envision a positive, collaborative, and productive relationship with the deputy chief of mission.

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

Answer. If confirmed, my deputy chief of mission would serve as the embassy's chief operating officer, ensuring the effectiveness of all operations. I would also make the deputy chief of mission responsible for developing and mentoring staff.

Question. How should the chief of mission lead a post with multiple U.S. Government agencies present?

Answer. The chief of mission represents the U.S. President. The chief of mission must ensure consideration of the equities of each agency at post. If confirmed, I will have regular country team meetings which include the heads of all agencies at post. I will work to integrate the work of various agencies to achieve Mission goals.

Question. In your experience, how important are interagency relationships within a post?

Answer. To meet U.S. Government objectives in Argentina the mission would need to maintain positive and productive interagency relationships.

Question. If confirmed, how would you handle interagency disagreement within Embassy Buenos Aires?

Answer. If confirmed, I will evaluate interagency disagreements within the context of the administration's priorities and objectives outlined in our Integrated Country Strategy.

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 subordinates with accurate, constructive feedback on their performance in order to encourage improvement and reward those who most succeeded in their roles?

Answer. Yes, and if I am confirmed I will do so.

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 everyday citizens.

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

Answer. Diplomats can always engage more people more often on more issues, to the benefit of both countries. If confirmed, I plan to visit each province in Argentina and encourage embassy staff to continue to frequently get out of the embassy and out of Buenos Aires to meet Argentines where they live and where they work.

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

Answer. We need to promote access to local populations to meet our objectives. The COVID-19 pandemic significantly impeded U.S. diplomats' ability to do so. If confirmed, I will work with all elements of the mission, including the embassy's health unit and regional security office, to ensure our diplomatic staff can safely travel throughout Argentina and engage with all local populations, and I will work with the Bureau of Western Hemisphere Affairs to ensure sufficient funding to do so.

Public Diplomacy: An Important Aspect of U.S. Foreign Policy Efforts

Question. What is the public diplomacy environment like in Argentina?

Answer. I understand that Embassy Buenos Aires faces a challenging public diplomacy environment, but one with potential for growth. Many Argentines have traditionally held critical views of the United States. In fact, roughly half of the Argentine population views the United States unfavorably, according to recent polls. Despite this, many relate with the United States culturally because of the U.S. values of freedom of expression, respect for individual rights, and democracy. Since 2014, the number of Argentines studying in the United States rose by 20 percent, and U.S. students made Argentina a top-25 destination for study abroad. Argentina has an omnipresent and highly politicized media environment. Well-established, privately owned media organizations located in and focused on Buenos Aires dominate the market. Most of these organizations report favorably on the United States, but many smaller, less well-funded outlets consistently report on us negatively. Argentines avidly use social media; many get their news from social media and use those networks as platforms for political debates.

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

Answer. I understand Argentina's highly polarized society and politicized media, widely dispersed population over a huge geographic area, and historical skepticism of the United States present public diplomacy challenges for U.S. diplomats.

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 understand that our public diplomacy messaging strategy in Argentina aligns with priorities established by the Department of State and within the mission's own Integrated Country Strategy. As anywhere in the world, the embassy in Buenos Aires must tailor messaging to communicate U.S. policy effectively to Argentine audiences.

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.

- If confirmed, do you commit to taking this threat seriously?

Answer. Yes.

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

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I will engage Mission personnel in an open and transparent manner.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO MARC R. STANLEY BY SENATOR MARCO RUBIO

Question. For years, I have expressed the need to hold accountable the perpetrators of the Argentine-Israelite Mutual Association (AMIA) bombing in 1994. As you know, the AMIA bombing killed 85 people, and is one of the most tragic acts of anti-Semitism committed in our hemisphere in recent times.

- How can the United States and Argentina bring the AMIA bombers to justice, and what would you do to bring about that justice?

Answer. The United States remains united with the people of Argentina in the search for justice and we share the sorrow of the families of the victims of the AMIA and Israeli Embassy bombings.

If confirmed, I will continue to stress that the Iranian Government has a responsibility to cooperate fully with Argentine authorities to bring the perpetrators to justice.

Under the Fernández administration, Argentina has greatly strengthened ties with the People's Republic of China, allowing increased Chinese investments in natural resources, the defense industry and even space cooperation. Many of these projects, under the banner of the Belt and Road Initiative threaten to ensnare Argentina in excessive debt and predatory loans.

Question. What is your current assessment of Argentine-Chinese relations?

Answer. The Government of Argentina seeks to advance an independent foreign policy, maintaining positive relations with great powers. The United States maintains a strong bilateral relationship with Argentina across a range of shared interests, from human rights and democracy to development. Many countries in the region seek to diversify trade and foreign investment to grow their economies, including with China. Argentina trades more with China than with any country other than Brazil, with \$14 billion in total two-way goods trade in 2020.

The United States remains among the largest foreign investors in Argentina, with 250 U.S. companies doing business locally.

If confirmed, I will focus on expanding this robust trade and investment relationship with Argentina, including by working closely with all relevant U.S. interagency partners.

I will also work with Argentine partners to highlight the importance of competitive and transparent international trade, investments, and assistance that meet the highest environmental, social, and labor standards.

Question. If confirmed, what steps would you recommend this administration take to provide a viable alternative to Chinese Communist Party influence?

Answer. If confirmed, I will seek to advance our positive economic agenda in Argentina, including through supporting high-standard investment in infrastructure and economic development that creates jobs essential for regional pandemic recovery, be the impetus behind the "Build Back Better for the World" or B3W initiative launched by the G7.

With allies and partners, the United States helps build space for transparent private-sector infrastructure investment that upholds labor, environmental, and social safeguards and fosters inclusive growth in line with international best practices. You see these priorities and values reflected in the trade agreements into which we enter across the globe.

Question. Specifically on space cooperation, the Kirchner administration signed an agreement in 2014 with China to operate a deep space station in the province of Neuquén. That agreement gives China wide freedom and restricts Argentina's sovereignty over its own commentary. If confirmed, will you advise Argentina to revisit the unfavorable terms of the agreement?

Answer. The United States Government publicly discussed its concerns regarding the People's Liberation Army's efforts to develop bases around the world. Those concerns apply to the deep space station in Argentina that supports the PRC's space operations. If confirmed, I commit to raising these concerns with the Argentine Government.

The Kirchner administration signed the agreement in 2014 and the Argentine Congress ratified it in September 2020. This makes it more important than ever to

persuade Argentina to exercise oversight over the deep space station. If confirmed, I will urge Argentina to require its space cooperation partners, including the PRC, to follow fundamental principles of transparency, openness, and reciprocity. I will also encourage increased oversight over the station by helping Argentina use the ten percent of station's time to which the agreement entitles it. Finally, if confirmed, I will work with likeminded countries to push for a visit to the station in order get direct insight into this secretive facility.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO MARC R. STANLEY BY SENATOR TED CRUZ

Question. In recent years the Government of Argentina, under President Alberto Fernández, has pivoted away from regional institutions that the United States has engaged in order to advance regional development and stability, as well as American national security interests. It has pivoted away from the Lima Group and toward regional regimes hostile to the United States.

- Please describe the degree to which this regional pivot by Argentina undermines American national security interests.

Answer. If confirmed, I would aim to address the underlying economic conditions that restrict Argentines and Americans from investing in Argentina's future. I would ensure that Argentina looks to the United States as its partner of choice, whether that partnership relates to trade and investment, security cooperation, or protecting democratic values, and I would press U.S. agencies and business not to overlook opportunities to expand work with Argentine partners. The United States supports and promotes the rules-based international order founded on respect for sovereignty, the rule of law, open markets, private sector-led economic growth, the free flow of commerce and information, and freedom of the seas. Due to Argentina's economic and diplomatic heft in Latin America, sustaining our bilateral relationship is crucial to U.S. interests, especially as the Western Hemisphere confronts the COVID-19 pandemic and its aftershocks.

Question. Please assess what leverage the United States has for encouraging Argentina to reengage productively with regional institutions and pivot away from regional regimes hostile to the United States?

Answer. In its foreign policy, Argentina historically prefers to strike a "third way" that seeks positive relations with great powers without prioritizing any single country. We share an interest in democratic states that have strong institutions, provide for their people, and are productive regional partners. I understand our diplomatic engagement aims to maintain a productive dialogue on regional and international issues and minimize the frequency and severity of points of friction between our policy goals. If confirmed, I would leverage Argentina's proud heritage of leadership on human rights and democracy and membership at the U.N. Human Rights Council to encourage strong public stands in support of democratic institutions and against human rights violations wherever they occur.

Question. What leverage do you believe the United States should use to encourage Argentina to reengage productively with regional institutions and pivot away from regional regimes hostile to the United States?

Answer. The United States and Argentina enjoy shared history and values, especially regarding protecting democracy and human rights. If confirmed, I will persistently call Argentina's attention to human rights violations and faltering democratic institutions and encourage Argentina to take strong public stands in international and regional institutions to protect and promote democracy and human rights.

Question. Argentina remains a Major Non-NATO Ally (MNNA), and U.S. defenses are entangled with Argentina's. However, the Fernández Government has also deepened Argentina's relationship with the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). The Chinese have aggressively pursued trade and development deals with Argentina, which have recently acquired security dimensions: Argentina uses Huawei technology, purchases Chinese weapons, and allows Chinese military assets to be housed in the country.

- Please describe the degree to which you believe these security dimensions, introduced by cooperation between Argentina and China, undermine their ability to play a productive role as an MNNA.

Answer. Argentina helps make the Western Hemisphere safer and more prosperous when it engages as a constructive partner. Years of neglect and under-

funding have limited Argentina's military capabilities relative to its G20 peers and curtailed its ability to support peacekeeping and provide humanitarian assistance and disaster relief. If confirmed, I would encourage deeper defense cooperation and expanded military training, building on our shared democratic values and vibrant human rights traditions, while ensuring U.S. businesses and agencies take advantage of opportunities to compete fairly for Argentine procurements. The United States has long been the Argentine military's partner of choice for equipment and training.

Question. In light of these dynamics, do you believe that the U.S. should consider narrowing the scope of cooperation with Argentina, including in the context of Argentina's status as an MNNA?

Answer. The United States should take every opportunity to expand cooperation. Our active engagement with the Argentine military through trainings and procurements will maintain our long-standing position as the Argentine military's partner of choice. Narrowing the scope of cooperation would have the opposite effect.

Question. Last month, Argentina's Defense Ministry announced that the country will purchase fighter jets at a cost of up to \$664 million, and according to public reports they are considering purchasing these assets from Russia or China.

- Please describe the degree to which you believe that Argentina's purchase of such jets from Russia would undermine their ability to play a productive role as an MNNA.

Answer. The United States should take every opportunity to offer alternatives to Russian military systems. If confirmed, I will urge the Government of Argentina not to move forward with any potential military deals with Russia that risk the imposition of mandatory sanctions under CAATSA 231.

Question. If Argentina purchases these jets from Russia, do you believe that the U.S. should consider narrowing the scope of cooperation with Argentina, including in the context of the country's status as an MNNA?

Answer. If Argentina purchases jets from Russia, the United States should fully and aggressively implement the mandatory sanctions under CAATSA 231.

Question. Please describe the degree to which you believe that Argentina's purchase of such jets from China would undermine their ability to play a productive role as an MNNA.

Answer. The United States should take every opportunity to offer alternatives to PRC military systems, including fighter jets. Argentina choosing a PRC system would initiate a potential generational military industrial relationship that the United States should avoid at all costs.

Question. If Argentina purchases these jets from China, do you believe that the U.S. should consider narrowing the scope of cooperation with Argentina, including in the context of the country's status as an MNNA?

Answer. If Argentina purchases these jets from China, the United States should reevaluate the scope of cooperation with Argentina, while moving aggressively to offer alternatives for other Argentine military systems.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO RASHAD HUSSAIN BY SENATOR JAMES E. RISCH

Question. What is your understanding of morale in the office for the Ambassador-at-Large for International Religious Freedom?

Answer. It is my understanding that morale in the Office of International Religious Freedom has been consistently high across the last two administrations, owing to the strong leadership of my predecessors Sam Brownback and David Saperstein and the open and collaborative workplace Senior Official Dan Nadel has fostered over that period and the team has upheld.

Question. How do you intend to improve morale?

Answer. If confirmed, I intend to personally meet with each member of the team over my first few weeks on the job to solicit their opinions on what's working and where there might be room for improvement. I will also, from day one, enact an open-door policy where any team member can bring concerns or recommendations to me directly. Open and frequent communication is key to fostering an inclusive and maximally effective workplace.

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

Answer. If confirmed, I will review where our mission currently stands, listen to those who have been laboring in this space, and cast clear vision and communicate clearly our strategy to advance religious freedom and religious engagement. I will clearly explain my reasons for any desired changes or new areas of emphasis and then solicit the views of the career leadership team and key team members to devise how our lines of effort could be tweaked most efficiently and beneficially in pursuit of these new priorities, always in alignment with our legal mandate. I will also champion an office-wide system of continuous feedback, assessment, and recalibration to ensure buy-in and sustained good counsel.

Question. How would you describe your management style?

Answer. I endeavor to empower, to listen and learn from the diverse experts on my team, and to lead by example and through clear communication. I seek to ensure my teams are diverse and inclusive and that there is equity in the work and in our hiring and evaluation processes. I also seek to give my team members wide latitude and autonomy to take ownership of initiatives and make key decisions while also being a resource to them in case a new situation or any doubts arise. The obvious corollary to empowerment is training and development, which, if confirmed, I intend to liberally support across every function in the office. I hope to lead by example and hit the ground running, building on my previous experiences at the State Department.

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

Answer. I do not believe it is ever acceptable or constructive to berate anyone under any circumstance. If confirmed, I will pledge to only provide respectful, clear, and constructive feedback to team members and will expect my managers to do the same and hold accountable anyone who does not.

Question. How do you envision your relationship with your deputy?

Answer. If confirmed, I expect to continue to enjoy a close and collegial relationship with any deputy. The incumbent, IRF Director Dan Nadel, is a career Civil Servant who has been in this role for more than six years, and who has served since January as the Department's Senior Official for International Religious Freedom. I had the good fortune to collaborate with him on several important initiatives during my earlier tenure at the State Department, and I respect and trust Dan immensely. I look forward to working day in and day out with him on advancing religious freedom, if given the opportunity.

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

Answer. If confirmed, I intend to delegate much of the day-to-day management of the office to the Office Director, consistent with the approach of my two immediate predecessors. I will also call on the Director to serve as my surrogate when I'm unavailable for official duties.

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

Answer. I strongly believe in providing respectful, clear, and constructive feedback on performance to every member of my team. Not only does this engender better performance, but it also engenders trust and mutual respect. Offering regular performance feedback signals that one values their team member and their professional development and wishes their success. In the same spirit, I look forward to receiving constructive feedback from my team on my own performance as well.

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 each employee in my chain of command to improve performance and I will ensure high achievers are routinely rewarded for their contributions. I will expect my managers to do the same.

Question. As religious freedom continues to decline around the world, how do you plan to elevate the issue of religious freedom as part of the U.S. foreign policy agenda?

Answer. Promoting universal respect for human rights is a cornerstone of U.S. foreign policy. If confirmed, I will work to ensure that the Department's reporting and assessments of the state of religious freedom continue to inform U.S. foreign policy decisions, including regarding countries that are U.S. allies. I will work diligently to promote international religious freedom for all at every opportunity and carry our American values into every engagement. It is very important that American diplomats around the world consistently advocate, both in public and private, for religious freedom for all. I will build on my prior experience and relationships at the State Department to hit the ground running, including by meeting early on with the heads of regional bureaus.

Question. How do you plan on engaging with the Assistant-Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor to ensure that religious freedom is included in our human rights agenda?

Answer. If confirmed, I intend to work seamlessly with the Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor to advance international religious freedom, as well as with other stakeholders such as the Ambassadors at Large for Global Criminal Justice, Women's Issues, and Trafficking in Persons. Secretary Blinken has clearly stated that our commitment to defending religious freedom goes back centuries and that we will continue to maintain America's longstanding global leadership on this topic. If confirmed, I will work with other bureaus, our missions around the world, and with partners across the interagency to realize this promise.

Question. If confirmed, will you ensure that the U.S. sends high-level participation in the next International Religious Freedom Ministerial?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I will attend, and I will work to do everything in my power to ensure high-level U.S. participation at the next International Religious Freedom Ministerial.

Question. How do you assess the current use of Country of Particular Concerns designations? Are there areas of improvement?

Answer. The religious freedom designations are an important part of the toolkit Congress has given the State Department to ensure consequences for governments, entities, and individuals responsible for religious freedom abuses and violations. If confirmed, I will support deploying the full range of these tools, including vigorously advocating for CPC designations when the criteria for such designations are satisfied. If confirmed, I pledge to carefully review the religious freedom designations process to determine any potential areas for strengthening. It is worth carefully reviewing the use of the IRF Act authority to provide waivers for certain countries and to "dual hat" sanctions for others, and I would aim to do so early in my tenure.

Question. How do you assess the use of sanctions for religious freedom violations?

Answer. If confirmed, I will support deploying the full range of tools Congress has given the State Department to deter religious freedom violations and abuses and to ensure consequences and promote accountability for governments, entities, and individuals responsible for such abuses and violations, including, where appropriate, financial sanctions and visa restrictions. Based on the particular circumstances, such sanctions can be effective, and I will support their use, as appropriate.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO RASHAD HUSSAIN BY SENATOR EDWARD J. MARKEY

Question. The treatment of Uyghurs in China is just one brutal example of the Chinese Government's long-standing disregard for basic human rights. The U.S. has consistently pushed the Chinese Government to end its repression of the Uyghurs in Xinjiang, with no positive outcome. If confirmed, how will you strengthen existing U.S. policy to pressure China to respect the human rights of the Uyghurs? What more can the United States do to bring about accountability for crimes committed in Xinjiang and to encourage unfettered access by the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights to the province? Additionally, would you support a diplomatic boycott of the 2022 Olympics in Beijing to bring global attention the Chinese Government's ongoing human rights abuses including the genocide against the Uyghurs?

Answer. If confirmed, I will seek to promote accountability for those responsible for PRC human rights atrocities and abuses and support efforts to protect human rights in the PRC, including for religious and ethnic minorities.

If confirmed, I will consider all appropriate tools to promote accountability for those engaged in abuses, to include but not limited to, actions already implemented by the U.S. Government: visa restrictions, import restrictions, export restrictions, and financial sanctions.

If confirmed, I will consult closely with key stakeholders in developing our approach, ideally a shared approach with allies and partners, in advance of and during the 2022 Beijing Games and Paralympic Games.

Question. Since the Taliban's takeover of Afghanistan, there has been a growing threat against vulnerable populations, including but not limited to, women, LGBTQI persons, ethnic minorities such as the Hazaras, and religious minorities such as the Shi'ites. If confirmed, what steps will you take to help protect minority religious groups in Afghanistan?

Answer. During my trips to Afghanistan as Special Envoy to the OIC, I met with minority communities in Afghanistan, and I am deeply concerned about their safety. The images coming out of Afghanistan are heartbreaking and it is clear many people, including members of marginalized groups, are under grave threat. If confirmed, I will pursue all options to support individuals who have been, or are at risk of, discrimination and abuses including members of religious and ethnic minority groups, women, LGBTQI+ persons, and persons with disabilities.

As President Biden and Secretary Blinken have said, our commitment to at-risk Afghans has no end date. Secretary Blinken said, "We will use...every diplomatic, economic, political, and assistance tool at [our] disposal, working closely with allies and partners who feel very much the same way, to do everything possible to uphold" their human rights and fundamental freedoms. "And that's going to be a relentless focus of our actions going forward." If confirmed, I will be an active part of that effort, including working with Muslim-majority countries, civil society, and credible religious leaders who have spoken and written about the importance of protecting vulnerable populations in Afghanistan.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO RASHAD HUSSAIN BY SENATOR MARCO RUBIO

Question. You have written and spoken before in opposition to blasphemy and apostasy laws and particularly how they affect religious minorities. The Senate itself recently passed a resolution calling for the global repeal of blasphemy, apostasy, and heresy laws.

- If confirmed, how would you specifically advocate for the global repeal of blasphemy, apostasy, and heresy laws, particularly in those countries that regularly enforce them?

Answer. Governments that claim for themselves broad powers to ban certain forms of expression all too often misuse that power to repress peaceful dissent and silence the voices of independent media, civil society activists, human rights defenders, political rivals, and members of religious, ethnic, and other minority groups. I understand this is why the United States uniformly opposes blasphemy, apostasy, and anti-conversion laws, which are frequently used to oppress members of minority religious communities, those whose religious beliefs differ from the majority, or those with otherwise minority views. Individuals also use these laws as a pretext to justify violence against those whose religion or ethnicity differs from their own or to settle personal grievances. When governments actively or passively support such individuals, instead of protecting members of minority groups, those in society who want to take the law into their own hands are empowered to use violence against these victims.

If confirmed, I will build on my experience speaking directly to Muslim-majority countries that criminalize blasphemy, increasing pressure on governments to address abusive practices. I previously worked with Organization of Islamic Cooperation countries to eliminate the "Defamation of Religions" resolution at the U.N., which gave sanction to blasphemy laws. I will publicly oppose the enforcement and abuse of these laws, especially with criminal penalties, and will urge governments to repeal these laws. I would directly engage the U.N., likeminded partners, government officials and impacted communities locally, create a space for local advocates, defend the accused, and work to resolve individual cases, if confirmed.

Question. In July, I and several Senators sent a letter to Secretary Blinken expressing how blasphemy laws in Algeria, in particular, have been used to discrimi-

nate against Ahmadi Muslims. As a Muslim yourself, in your opinion, should Ahmadi be considered Muslims?

Answer. Yes, as stated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion. This includes the capacity of every person to declare his or her religious affiliation and to gather with others who share his or her beliefs. Like any religious group, the Ahmadiyya Muslim community and individual Ahmadi Muslims can choose to define themselves as they see fit. Governments should not harass, abuse, or discriminate against individuals on account of their beliefs or affiliation.

Question. Do Ahmadi's have the right to profess to be Muslims without fear of persecution?

Answer. Yes. I believe that everyone should be free to profess and to practice their beliefs and able to exercise this right without fear of abuse, harassment, or persecution.

Question. As you know, both this and the previous administration determined that the Chinese Communist Party's treatment of the Uyghurs constitutes genocide. My and Senator Merkley's Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act would go a long way to end the financial incentives for the CCP's oppression of the Uyghurs. However, there are concerns that the Biden administration is open to sacrificing its commitment to human rights in order to gain Chinese cooperation in meeting emissions targets.

- In your opinion, is the genocide of the Uyghur Muslims a more urgent concern than global climate change?

Answer. If confirmed, I am committed to promoting respect for human rights, including religious freedom, in the face of the People's Republic of China's (PRC) genocide and crimes against humanity against predominantly Muslim Uyghurs and members of other ethnic and religious minority groups in Xinjiang. If confirmed, I will not advise that the United States sacrifice vital U.S. interests for PRC promises on climate change. As Special Presidential Envoy Kerry has noted, climate is a critical standalone issue, and other aspects of the U.S.-PRC relationship will not be traded for separate U.S. interests.

The United States is also committed to working with other countries, including the PRC, to tackle the climate crisis. We can both speak the truth about the PRC's human rights abuses, promote accountability for its atrocities, and work to reverse the effects of climate change. As Secretary Blinken has said, our relationship with China will be competitive when it should be, collaborative when it can be, and adversarial when it must be.

Question. Do you support the Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act?

Answer. I am deeply concerned by the PRC's use of forced labor in Xinjiang and elsewhere in China. Despite growing international condemnation and extensive evidence of its human rights abuses and violations, the PRC continues to subject predominantly Muslim Uyghurs and members of other ethnic and religious minority groups in Xinjiang to forced labor, detention in internment camps, forced sterilization, forced abortion, torture, and sexual violence.

If confirmed, I will work diligently with you and members of this committee to address forced labor practices in China, including through legislative measures such as the Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO RASHAD HUSSAIN BY SENATOR TED CRUZ

China/Genocide

Question. The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) is committing a genocide against the Uyghurs and other minorities in the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region (XUAR) that is ongoing. The Biden administration had sent differing signals about the degree to which administration officials assessed that genocide is indeed ongoing, but on March 22 Secretary Blinken correctly emphasized "the P.R.C. continues to commit genocide and crimes against humanity."

- Do you agree with the assessment that the Chinese Government is engaged in a genocide against the Uyghurs and other minorities in the XUAR that is ongoing?

Answer. Yes. I agree with the Biden-Harris administration's position that the People's Republic of China (PRC) is committing genocide and crimes against humanity against Uyghurs, who are predominantly Muslim, and members of other ethnic and religious minority groups in Xinjiang. The crimes against humanity include imprisonment, torture, enforced sterilization, sexual violence including rape, and other forms of persecution. The PRC continues a government policy of widespread forced labor, including through the continued mass arbitrary detention of more than one million Uyghurs, and members of other Muslim minority groups in Xinjiang.

Question. What role do you see for the State Department in countering that ongoing genocide, and more broadly the human rights atrocities being committed by the Chinese Communist Party?

Answer. I understand the State Department is working to employ all available tools to address the PRC's genocide, crimes against humanity, and human rights violations and abuses in Xinjiang, including the imposition of sanctions and visa restrictions, enforcement of import controls, and targeted tightening of export controls.

If confirmed, I will work to promote respect for human rights, including freedom of religion or belief, in the PRC and accountability for the persons and entities responsible for violations and abuses.

If confirmed, I will also step up work with other countries, civil society, and others, both in the United States and around the world, on joint efforts to promote accountability for PRC perpetrators and to bring further global attention to the issue.

China/Dissidents

Question. The PRC and CCP engage in sustained, systematic, and granular intimidation of dissidents in China and abroad. That harassment includes the abuse and imprisonment of dissidents' family members. Nury Turkel is a Uyghur-American lawyer and leading critic of the PRC's atrocities against and genocide of the Uyghurs. In addition to testimony, op-eds, speeches, and other activities he currently serves as the Vice Chair of the United States Commission on International Religious Freedom. The PRC is engaged in a campaign of intimidation to silence Turkel by targeting his family members. They refuse to let his ailing parents leave China and be reunited with him.

This campaign directly harms US citizens: his parents have two sons who are U.S. citizens and five U.S.-born grandchildren, who they've never met. Additionally, the campaign is an effort to interfere in American internal affairs and exercise leverage over US policy on religious freedom.

U.S. officials have reportedly raised Turkel's case with the Chinese, but there has been no sustained follow-up and the Chinese are apparently under the impression the inquiries were pro-forma.

- What leverage does the US have to mitigate the harassment and intimidation of family members of Chinese dissidents, especially American citizens?

Answer. As I understand, the United States has several tools to promote accountability for those responsible for abuses, to include but not limited to, actions already implemented by the U.S. Government: visa restrictions, import restrictions, export restrictions, and financial sanctions. The United States also coordinates implementation of these actions with like-minded governments.

If confirmed, I will consider all appropriate tools to promote accountability and I intend to raise individual cases with the PRC Government and insist that U.S. citizens wrongfully or arbitrarily detained be released, that coercive exit bans be lifted, and that the PRC refrain from using such measures in the future.

As I understand, the administration is coordinating a whole-of-government effort to combat transnational repression, which is the practice of authoritarian governments targeting dissidents and activists outside of their national borders. The U.S. Government is working to build international opposition to transnational repression, deter and hold accountable perpetrating governments, including the PRC, is working to protect human rights activists, journalists, political dissidents, defectors and other targets of transnational repressions. If confirmed, I will support these efforts.

The United States opposes PRC efforts to repress its citizens or their family members, whether inside or outside of China. If confirmed, I will continue administration efforts to provide support for Uyghurs and members of other ethnic and religious minority groups, as well as other human rights defenders. I will coordinate with allies and partners to speak out against such actions and to provide protection to targeted individuals. If confirmed, I also commit to raising individual cases with my PRC Government counterparts.

Question. Please commit to conveying to the Chinese that the United States expects and demands they allow Turkel's parents to be reunited with their American citizen children and grandchildren?

Answer. I am very concerned by the People's Republic of China (PRC)'s mistreatment of Mr. Turkel's parents, to include blocking them from leaving China. If confirmed, I will advocate strongly on their behalf with the PRC Government, as well as on behalf of other families similarly targeted. I will convey to the Chinese that they should allow Turkel's parents to be reunited with their American citizen children and grandchildren. Based on my past record on China, Mr. Turkel has supported my nomination publicly, and I look forward to working with him, USCIRF, this committee, civil society, and governments to address the genocide of the Uyghurs.

Question. Please commit that, if confirmed, you will use your office to highlight the plight of Turkel and other dissidents like him who are subject to intimidation and harassment by the PRC and CCP.

Answer. The United States opposes PRC efforts to repress its citizens or their family members, whether inside or outside of China. If confirmed, I will continue administration-wide efforts to provide support for Uyghurs and members of other ethnic and religious minority groups, as well as other human rights defenders. I will coordinate with allies and partners to speak out against such actions and to provide protection to targeted individuals. If confirmed, I also commit to raising individual cases with my PRC Government counterparts alongside other senior USG officials.

CPC List

Question. In December 2020, the Department of State designated Nigeria as a country of particular concern (CPC) in response to pervasive and egregious violations of religious freedom.

- Do you believe Nigeria should remain or be removed from the State Department's Country of Particular Concern list?

Answer. I believe Nigeria should remain on the list. I am deeply concerned about the religious freedom situation in Nigeria, and I commit to advancing protection of this right in every country if confirmed. During previous travel to Nigeria, I met with Christian and Muslim leaders who are working together to counter terrorism and address attacks against religious communities. I believe the Nigerian Government must do more to address terrorism and violent crime and to increase accountability for those responsible. I will also continue my work of protecting Christian and other religious communities in OIC countries, including in Nigeria.

Religious freedom is a key U.S. foreign policy priority and plays a prominent role in our engagement with the Nigerian Government. I support continuing this work.

Question. Please describe the degree to which you consider anti-blasphemy laws to be acute threats to global or regional human rights?

Answer. I consider anti-blasphemy laws a very serious threat to human rights, and I have consistently opposed them as well as apostasy and anti-conversion laws, which are frequently used to oppress members of minority religious communities, those whose religious beliefs differ from the majority, or those with otherwise minority views. Governments that claim for themselves broad powers to ban certain forms of expression all too often misuse that power to repress peaceful dissent and silence the voices of civil society. Individuals often use these laws as a pretext to justify violence against those whose religion or ethnicity differs from their own or to settle personal grievances. When governments actively or passively support such individuals, instead of protecting members of minority groups, those in society who want to take the law into their own hands are empowered to use violence against these victims.

Question. If confirmed, how would you orient the office to mitigate the effects or erode the scope of blasphemy laws?

Answer. Blasphemy laws jeopardize human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the freedoms of religion or belief and expression. If confirmed, I will press for the repeal of blasphemy laws and urge countries with these laws to provide their citizens with the rights enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

If confirmed, I will publicly oppose the enforcement and abuse of these laws, especially with criminal penalties, directly engage the UN, likeminded partners, government officials to urge repeal of these laws and impacted communities locally, create a space for local advocates, defend the accused, and work to resolve individual cases, if confirmed.

Question. Is the administration withholding \$130 million in aid from Egypt on the basis of the conditions described in the *Washington Post* report? If the report is inaccurate, what parts are inaccurate?

Answer. I have not been involved in any administration action on these issues. As I understand it, these issues are beyond the scope of the mandate of the Ambassador-at-Large for International Religious Freedom. If confirmed and should I ever become involved in this work as the Ambassador-at-Large, I will consult with you and your staff for further discussion. More broadly, my understanding is the administration is putting human rights at the center of foreign policy and seeking concrete human rights improvements in Egypt—a goal I strongly support.

Question. Please provide a list of any individuals, including if relevant, the 16 referred to in the *Washington Post* story, who are the subject of conditions imposed on aid to Egypt. For each individual on the list, please list the following:

- Their names;
- Their organizational affiliations;
- The specific charges that the Egyptian Government has brought against them, which the U.S. is asking the Egyptians to dismiss; and
- Whether the individual is a U.S. citizen, or if not, whether the individual holds a Legal Permanent Resident Card, or if not, if the individual has applied for immigration or visa status and what that status is.

Answer. I have not been involved in the administration's actions on these issues. As I understand it, these issues are beyond the scope of the mandate of the Ambassador-at-Large for International Religious Freedom. If confirmed and should I ever become involved in this work as the Ambassador-at-Large, I will consult with you and your staff for further discussion. More broadly, my understanding is that the administration is putting human rights at the center of foreign policy and seeking concrete human rights improvements in Egypt—a goal I strongly support.

Question. Additionally, for any individual on the list described above who is not a U.S. citizen, please also describe:

- The process through which the State Department or as relevant the broader interagency reviewed the cases and came to the determination that their cases should be used as conditions for aid.
- Whether they are affiliated with groups that promote Islamist ideologies, distribute anti-Semitic materials, or distribute political disinformation.
- Whether the Biden administration intends to grant U.S. visas to them should the Egyptian Government release them.

Answer. I have not been involved in any administration action on these issues. As I understand it, these issues are beyond the scope of the mandate of the Ambassador-at-Large for International Religious Freedom. If confirmed and should I ever become involved in this work as the Ambassador-at-Large, I will contact your staff for further discussion. More broadly, my understanding is the administration is putting human rights at the center of foreign policy and seeking concrete human rights improvements in Egypt—a goal I strongly support.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO CHANTALE YOKMIN WONG BY SENATOR EDWARD J. MARKEY

Question. Asia has the highest rates of malnutrition in the world, with 79 million children suffering from chronic malnutrition, and more than 32 million children suffering from acute malnutrition. This crisis affects not only the health and survival of these children, but the future economic productivity of the entire region. If confirmed, how will you ensure that the Asian Development Bank does all it can to help countries address this crisis of malnutrition?

Answer. I share your concern with the high rates of chronic malnutrition in Asia and the Pacific, especially among children. If confirmed, I look forward to working with the Asian Development Bank to explore how it can help address this crisis, working in close coordination with other development partners and focusing on those areas where it has more capacity and expertise.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO CHANTALE YOKMIN WONG BY SENATOR MARCO RUBIO

Question. China is one of the largest borrowers of funds from the AsDB, although by all definitions, it is no longer a developing country by the World Bank's and AsDB's definitions. As you know, in May, the Senate passed as part of a larger China bill a directive to the U.S. Director of the AsDB to vote to prohibit future lending to China.

- In your opinion, should China be allowed to continue to borrow from the AsDB given China's growing role as a source of investment capital for other developing countries, as well as its ability to finance projects, even in lesser-developed regions, through domestic sources?

Answer. I believe the Government of China meets the Asian Development Bank (AsDB)'s criteria for graduation, given its high per capita income, institutional capacity, and ample access to other sources of development finance. If confirmed, I will encourage the PRC's graduation as soon as possible, and will seek to advance this position by working with Treasury, Congress, and other U.S. colleagues as well as likeminded partners on the AsDB Board.

Question. Do you believe that the AsDB's lending to China crowds out other nations in need of financing?

Answer. Yes, the AsDB should focus its resources on countries with lower incomes and less access to other sources of development finance. If confirmed, I will work with likeminded AsDB shareholders to press AsDB to graduate PRC from borrowing.

Question. If the U.S. Innovation and Competition Act is not passed and you are confirmed as the U.S. Director of the ADB, will you still vote to stop lending to China?

Answer. If confirmed, I will use the voice and vote of the United States in a manner consistent with relevant laws and directives as well as administration policies toward AsDB lending. I will also work with AsDB to focus its efforts on the poorest and most vulnerable countries and will press PRC to assume appropriate roles and responsibilities at the AsDB, including its graduation from AsDB lending.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO CHANTALE YOKMIN WONG BY SENATOR JOHN BARRASSO

Question. What level of influence does the United States have over the Asian Development Bank's (ADB) operations and ADB loan policy?

Answer. As the co-largest shareholder of the AsDB and one of the largest donors to the Asian Development Fund, the United States is a leading voice on strategic, policy, and operational issues. The U.S. Executive Director's Office uses both formal engagement through the Board seat as well as informal discussions to advance U.S. policy priorities, often working with likeminded shareholders. The strong environmental, social, and fiduciary standards that the AsDB applies, robust accountability mechanism, and important role for independent evaluation all reflect U.S. influence over the AsDB.

Question. Please discuss the current status of the ADB's portfolio in Afghanistan. What efforts is the Biden administration taking to curtail the Taliban's access to ADB resources?

Answer. I understand that all AsDB activities, including design and approval of new projects and disbursements for existing projects, in Afghanistan are currently paused, and the United States supports that stance.

Question. Does the ADB partner with China on its Belt and Road Initiative? If so, what is your view on that effort and how would you address it?

Answer. I am not aware of any formal partnership between the AsDB and PRC's Belt and Road Initiative. If confirmed, I will work with U.S. Government colleagues and likeminded partners to emphasize that the AsDB should not seek to advance the bilateral initiative of a single shareholder, particularly if it is associated with social, environmental, and fiduciary standards that are weaker than the Bank's own high standards.

Question. China is the world's second largest economy. It has access to capital and sizeable reserves in order to meet its own domestic development needs. China is also

the world's largest official creditor. Yet, China continues to borrow billions of dollars from multilateral development banks.

In 2016, China met the criteria for graduation from the World Bank, which the ADB uses as their threshold. Since then, China received \$7.6 billion and \$1.8 billion in non-sovereign loans to China from the ADB.

- If confirmed, would you object to and vote against additional financing and investments to China from the ADB?

Answer. If confirmed, I will use the voice and vote of the United States in a manner consistent with relevant laws and directives as well as administration policies toward AsDB lending. I will also encourage AsDB to focus its efforts on the poorest and most vulnerable countries and will press PRC to assume appropriate roles and responsibilities at the AsDB, including its graduation from AsDB lending.

Question. What would be your strategy to end lending to China at the ADB?

Answer. If confirmed, I will use the voice and vote of the United States in a manner consistent with relevant laws and directives as well as administration policies toward AsDB lending. Working with U.S. Government colleagues, Congress, and likeminded partners on the AsDB Board, I will also encourage AsDB to focus its efforts on the poorest and most vulnerable countries and will press PRC to assume appropriate roles and responsibilities at the AsDB, including its graduation from AsDB lending.

Question. There are currently 840 million people across the globe who do not have electricity. People who live in poor and developing nations want and need a stable energy supply to grow their economy and improve their lives.

Energy is a critical tool to help countries alleviate poverty. Yet, multilateral development banks have been imposing restrictions on financing of traditional energy projects. These restrictions only exacerbate the global inequities of energy.

To achieve its mission, the ADB must embrace, not exclude, affordable energy resources. Ultimately, the solution to energy poverty does not lie in limiting options but in using all available options.

- Are poverty alleviation and economic development the top priorities at the ADB?

Answer. Yes. The Bank's charter states that "[t]he purpose of the Bank shall be to foster economic growth and co-operation in the region of Asia and the Far East and to contribute to the acceleration of the process of economic development of the developing member countries in the region, collectively and individually."

Question. When reviewing projects at the ADB, what criterion will you use in determining whether the United States will support energy development projects?

Answer. If confirmed, I will use the voice and vote of the United States in a manner consistent with relevant laws and directives as well as administration policies toward AsDB lending. I believe the AsDB should carefully consider the total costs of energy resources, factoring in the social cost of carbon and the long-term impact on the climate by burning unabated fossil fuels. It is important that the AsDB is part of the climate solutions by helping countries in the region transition toward a low-emission growth path, helping countries to decarbonize their energy generation, and reach Paris alignment while continuing to promote growth and poverty reduction.

Question. If confirmed, will you commit to ensuring the ADB is promoting all types of energy projects across the globe, including oil, gas, and coal?

Answer. I believe the AsDB should carefully consider the total costs of energy resources, factoring in the social cost of carbon and the long-term impact on the climate by burning unabated fossil fuels. It is important that the AsDB is part of the solution to climate change by helping countries in the region transition toward a low-emission growth path, decarbonizing their energy generation, reaching Paris Alignment while continuing to promote growth and poverty reduction.

Question. Would you recommend the United States support financing of fossil fuel projects for developing countries at the ADB?

Answer. I believe the AsDB should carefully consider the total costs of energy resources, factoring in the social cost of carbon, all externalities, and the long-term impact on the climate by burning unabated fossil fuels. It is important that the AsDB is part of the solution to climate change by helping countries in the region transition toward a low-emission growth path, decarbonizing their energy generation, reaching Paris Alignment while continuing to promote growth and poverty reduction.

Question. Along with the ADB, other development banks, including the World Bank, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and national development banks, are funding projects in ADB member countries.

- How will you ensure ADB is not duplicating efforts, creating redundancies, and working at cross-purposes?

Answer. There are a number of donor coordination mechanisms that ensure the MDBs work effectively together.

First, Treasury's Office of Development Results and Accountability (ODRA) plays a key role in ensuring the coordination is robust, alerting the U.S. Executive Directors of any concerns. ODRA is the lead office in charge of reviewing all MDB operations, which provides good oversight over which MDB is involved in specific projects. This allows the U.S. Chair to draw attention to donor coordination issues across the MDBs, which has been helpful in reducing duplication.

Next, the AsDB's resident missions coordinate with all donors in each country to help ensure division of labor and to reduce duplication, including with USAID and other bilateral agencies.

MDBs, including the AsDB, prepare a Country Partnership Strategy (CPS) for each country of operations, describing the sectors in which they plan to engage, guided by both the country's own development strategy and the MDB's own corporate priorities. The AsDB Board meets to discuss each CPS, which tend to also be public documents.

Finally, the AsDB also provides Regional Cooperation Strategies for AsDB-defined regions or subregions, which also provide us an opportunity to examine strategic priorities at a higher level.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO CHANTALE YOKMIN WONG BY SENATOR TED CRUZ

Constraints On Projects/Electrification

Question. On January 27, 2021, President Biden issued an Executive Order (EO) 14008, on "Tackling the Climate Crisis at Home and Abroad," which mandated that the U.S. will "immediately begin to develop a climate finance plan, making strategic use of multilateral and bilateral channels and institutions, to assist developing countries in implementing ambitious emissions reduction measures, protecting critical ecosystems, building resilience against the impacts of climate change, and promoting the flow of capital toward climate-aligned investments and away from high-carbon investments."

According to a 2019 study by the International Energy Agency, "Since 2000, overall energy demand [in Southeast Asia] has grown by more than 80 percent and the lion's share of this growth has been met by a doubling in fossil fuel use. Oil is the largest element in the regional energy mix and coal—largely for power generation—has been the fastest growing."

The Agreement Establishing the Asian Development Bank states that "The purpose of the Bank shall be to foster economic growth and co-operation in the region of Asia and the Far East. and to contribute to the acceleration of the process of economic development of the developing member countries in the region, collectively and individually."

- If confirmed, do you intend to limit U.S. support inside the Asian Development Bank for projects related to the use of fossil fuels?

Answer. If confirmed, I will vote according to applicable laws and policies. The AsDB can play a vital role in expanding energy access in Asia and the Pacific while at the same time supporting ambitious emissions reduction, protecting critical ecosystems, building resilience against climate change, and promoting the flow of capital toward climate-aligned investments. AsDB should select energy projects that account for the full range of costs and externalities over the lifecycle of the project and avoid financing projects that the private sector is capable of financing. AsDB should finance projects that utilize technologies providing energy access, while promoting energy efficiency that do not lock developing member nations into technologies that may soon be obsolete.

Question. Please assess the degree to which you believe that further limits on the Asian Development Bank's support for investments related to the use of coal, oil, and gas, would affect the Bank's ability to fund active projects aimed at meeting energy demand in Southeast Asia, including your assessment about the demand for such projects.

Answer. The AsDB can play a vital role in expanding energy access in Asia and the Pacific while at the same time supporting ambitious emissions reduction, protecting critical ecosystems, building resilience against climate change, and promoting the flow of capital toward climate-aligned investments. AsDB should select energy projects taking into account the full range of costs and externalities over the lifecycle of the project and avoid financing projects that the private sector is capable of financing. AsDB should prioritize investments that include options for clean energy, innovation and energy efficiency to meet demand in Asia and the Pacific.

Constraints On Projects/China

Question. The People's Republic of China (PRC) and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) take a whole-of-government and in many cases whole-of-nation approach to advancing their national security priorities. One prominent tool—which has been explicitly and extensively criticized by the Biden administration—is the use by the PRC and CCP of predatory debt diplomacy, in which they finance overseas projects and then leverage debt related to those projects for geopolitical concessions. China has extensively and specifically financed energy overseas projects, with a focus on fossil fuels. The two major Chinese policy banks—the Chinese Development Bank (CDB) and Chinese Export-Import Bank (EXIM)—funneled \$196.7 billion into overseas energy projects between 2007 and 2016, and roughly 75 percent of their expenditures are related to fossil fuel projects.

- Please assess the degree to which limits on the Asian Development Bank's support for projects related to the use of coal, oil, and gas affect the ability of the Bank to serve as an alternative to Chinese investments funneled through the CDB, EXIM and other Chinese state institutions.

Answer. The AsDB's transparency and adherence to safeguards are a critical part of its comparative advantage, and it should not lower standards in response to competition from PRC investment. The AsDB can play a vital role in expanding energy access and offering a high-quality alternative to PRC finance in Asia and the Pacific while at the same time supporting ambitious emissions reduction, protecting critical ecosystems, building resilience against climate change, and promoting the flow of capital toward climate-aligned investments. To some extent, even the PRC has recognized this and announced it will cease government financing for international coal projects. AsDB should select energy projects taking into account the full range of costs and externalities over the lifecycle of the project and avoid financing projects that the private sector is capable of financing.

Solar Panels/XUAR

Question. In May the Coalition to End Forced Labour in the Uyghur Region released an academic report based on research conducted at the Sheffield Hallam University's Helena Kennedy Centre for International Justice, which concluded that functionally the entire global solar panel industry utilized supply lines that run through Xinjiang, where the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) are conducting an ongoing genocide against the Uyghurs that includes the use of slave labor. The report documented, inter alia, that 95 percent of solar panels rely on solar-grade polysilicon supply lines which run through Xinjiang account for approximately 45 percent of the world's solar-grade polysilicon supply, and that there are 90 Chinese and international companies whose supply chains are affected by Uyghur forced labour.

According to the *Washington Post*, officials from the office of the United States special presidential envoy for climate have briefed Congressional staffers that it will take up to a decade to move the global supply chain for solar panels away from Xinjiang.

The Asian Development Bank (ADB) is implicated in Chinese green technologies, including solar panels, in a number of ways. In addition to supporting projects that utilize such parts, the Bank states that it supports and “will continue to support the Government of the PRC's agenda to achieve high-quality, green development under the country's 14th Five-Year Plan.”

- Can you commit that, if confirmed, you will use the voice and vote of the United States inside the ADB to block support for projects that would utilize or provide financing for solar panels made in Xinjiang, with parts made in Xinjiang, or with materials sourced to Xinjiang?

Forced labor practices run counter to our American values as a nation, and they could expose consumers to unethical practices.

As the administration has said, the United States and the world's leading democracies stand united against forced labor, and the United States is committed to take every measure to rid global supply chains from the use of forced labor.

I understand that the U.S. Government has tasked agencies to put this into action, and if confirmed, I commit to work with all parts of the U.S. Government and my fellow Board members to do our part to seek to keep forced labor out of MDB-funded projects. If confirmed I will work with staff and board members to apply rigorous safeguards and standards to prevent human trafficking and forced labor.

China Investment

Question. The Asian Development Bank (ADB) provides extensive support for projects in China. It states that “In 2020, ADB committed around \$2 billion for 12 sovereign loans and \$406 million for seven non-sovereign loans (excluding B loans) for the PRC. This was supplemented by \$12.7 million (inclusive of co-financing) for 27 technical assistance projects.” Cooperation with China by the ADB has been criticized on a number of fronts, including because supporting projects in China may ‘crowd out’ other regional projects.

- Please describe the extent to which you support the continued investment by the ADB into China?

Answer. I believe PRC meets the AsDB’s criteria for graduation, given its high per capita income, institutional capacity, and ample access to other sources of development finance. If confirmed, I will work with allies and partners in the region to seek PRC’s graduation as soon as possible, and will seek to advance this position by working with Treasury, Congress, and other U.S. colleagues as well as likeminded partners on the AsDB Board.

Question. Please assess the extent to which support by the ADB for projects in China “crowds out” investments from other potential recipients.

Answer. The AsDB should focus its resources on countries with lower incomes and less access to other sources of development finance. If confirmed, I will work with likeminded AsDB shareholders to press AsDB to graduate China from borrowing.

Afghanistan

Question. As of December 2020, the Asian Development Bank (ADB) had around \$500 million in loans and grants extended to Afghanistan. As the Taliban seized control of Afghanistan in August, the Bank issued a statement saying it remains “committed to supporting Afghanistan’s economic and social development.”

- Please describe how you believe the ADB should approach financing projects in Afghanistan, including measures that it should take to avoid funneling money to the Taliban.

Answer. I understand that the AsDB has paused its activity in Afghanistan. The international community, including the AsDB, should continue examining options to responsibly provide support to the Afghan people, while engaging in strong due diligence and application of appropriate safeguards to prevent the flow of funds to any entity supporting terrorism or other acts of violence against the United States.

Question. Please describe what sorts of projects you believe are appropriate to either initiate or continue in Afghanistan, which are or would be funded by ADB.

Answer. It is too early to say at this time. If confirmed, I look forward to working with others in the U.S. Government, Congress, AsDB Management, and other AsDB Board members to examine options to provide support to the Afghan people while preventing the flow of funds to any person or entity seeking to harm the United States.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED TO DR. ADRIANA DEBORA KUGLER BY SENATOR EDWARD J. MARKEY

Question. The International Development Association (IDA) financing for food security has nearly tripled since 2008, and the world is still facing an era of rising global hunger due to conflict, climate change, economic downturns, and now the COVID-19 pandemic. If confirmed, how will you ensure that the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development will continue to prioritize combatting the global hunger crisis?

Answer. I share your concern with the high rates of hunger and chronic malnutrition around the world, which have only deepened during the pandemic.

If confirmed, I look forward to working with the World Bank to explore how it can do even more to help address this crisis, working in close coordination with other development partners and focusing on those areas where it has more capacity

and expertise. In particular, I understand that this remains an important area of focus of IDA, with increasing attention to early engagement and crisis preparedness. If confirmed, I will work to ensure that the World Bank supports efforts to address access to adequate food by creating employment opportunities and providing income support; providing food access to the poorest; and freeing up bottlenecks in agricultural supply chains.

I also look forward to engaging with the Bank and other partners on issues that are closely related to food security, including addressing fragility, conflict, and violence; mitigating and adapting to climate change; and boosting quality infrastructure investment.

Question. Lower-income countries are experiencing high debt burdens, effectively reducing their ability to finance their own development. If confirmed, how will you encourage active participation in debt relief initiatives and the development of new initiatives for new debt challenges?

Answer. I fully share your concern about the increasing debt vulnerabilities many of the poorest countries face. The World Bank can play an important role in assisting countries with building debt management capacity, promoting debt transparency through debt data collection and reporting, and supporting countries participating in debt relief initiatives, such as the G-20 Common Framework.

Question. The global COVID-19 pandemic has led to massive inequality in the economic and development trajectory of countries. What, in your view, needs to change at the World Bank to address the problem of inequality within and between countries? If confirmed, how will you encourage the World Bank to take the proper steps to combat global inequality?

Answer. The World Bank can play an important role in addressing global inequality, given its twin goals of eliminating extreme poverty and promoting shared prosperity. If confirmed, I will advocate for a strong focus on inclusion in all World Bank projects. As control of the COVID-19 pandemic and access to vaccines will be critical to preventing the poorest countries from falling further behind during the recovery, I will encourage strong focus on vaccine finance and vaccine access for the poorest, working in close coordination with other international partners. If confirmed, I will continue to be a strong advocate for the World Bank to focus its resources on poorer countries, rigorously applying social and environmental safeguards, and maintaining robust accountability mechanisms. Within developing countries, the World Bank should focus on building debt management capacity and transparency; seek to address the drivers of fragility, conflict, and violence; promote gender equality and social inclusion, including through social safety nets and investments in the care economy; invest in human capital development; and support ambitious programs to mitigate and adapt to climate change.

Question. In March 2021, the United Kingdom announced its intention to shift away from supporting fossil fuel projects overseas. The European Investment Bank—the world's largest multilateral lender—announced it too will end virtually all support for oil, gas, and coal by the end of 2021. If confirmed will you advise the Secretary of the Treasury to support any fossil fuel projects?

Answer. If confirmed, I will vote according to applicable laws and policies, including the guidance that Treasury recently released concerning MDB financing of fossil fuel projects. The World Bank can play a vital role in expanding energy access in developing countries while at the same time supporting ambitious emissions reduction, protecting critical ecosystems, building resilience against climate change, and promoting the flow of capital toward climate-aligned investments. The World Bank should select energy projects that account for the full range of costs and externalities over the lifecycle of the project and avoid financing projects that the private sector is capable of financing. The World Bank should finance projects that utilize technologies providing energy access, while promoting energy efficiency, that do not lock developing countries into high-emissions trajectories or technologies that may soon be obsolete.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO DR. ADRIANA DEBORA KUGLER BY SENATOR JOHN BARRASSO

Question. China is the world's second largest economy. It has access to capital and sizeable reserves in order to meet its own domestic development needs. China is also the world's largest official creditor. Yet, China continues to borrow billions of dollars from multilateral development banks.

The World Bank classified China as being an upper-middle income economy. In 2016, China met the criteria for graduation from the World Bank. Since then, China received \$9 billion from the World Bank.

- Do you support the World Bank continuing to lend to China?

Answer. I believe the PRC meets the IBRD's criteria for graduation, given its high per capita income, institutional capacity, and ample access to other sources of development finance. If confirmed, I will press for the PRC's graduation as soon as possible, and will seek to advance this position by working with Treasury, Congress, and other U.S. colleagues as well as likeminded partners on the IBRD Board.

Question. If confirmed, what would be your strategy to end lending to China at the World Bank?

Answer. If confirmed, I will encourage the PRC's graduation as soon as possible, and will seek to advance this position by working with Treasury, Congress, and other U.S. colleagues as well as likeminded partners on the IBRD Board. I understand that as part of the 2018 World Bank capital increase, World Bank Management committed to substantially reducing the share of lending to countries with incomes above the graduation threshold, increasingly targeting lending in countries with incomes above the graduation threshold on addressing remaining constraints to graduation, and more fulsomely identifying those constraints. I will encourage Management to continue implementing those reforms. I will also press China to assume appropriate roles and responsibilities at the World Bank, including its graduation from IBRD lending.

Question. There are currently 840 million people across the globe who do not have electricity. People who live in poor and developing nations want and need a stable energy supply to grow their economy and improve their lives.

Energy is a critical tool to help countries alleviate poverty. Yet, the World Bank has been imposing restrictions on financing of traditional energy projects. These restrictions only exacerbate the global inequities of energy.

To achieve its mission, the World Bank must embrace, not exclude, affordable energy resources. Ultimately, the solution to energy poverty does not lie in limiting options but in using all available options.

- If confirmed, will you commit to ensuring the World Bank is promoting all types of energy projects across the globe, including oil, gas, and coal?

Answer. I believe the World Bank should carefully consider the total costs of energy resources, factoring in the social cost of carbon and the long-term impact on the climate by burning unabated fossil fuels. It is important that the World Bank is part of the solution to climate change by helping countries transition toward a low-emission growth path, decarbonizing their energy generation, reaching Paris Alignment while continuing to promote growth and poverty reduction.

Question. Would you recommend the United States support financing of fossil fuel projects for developing countries at the World Bank?

Answer. I believe the World Bank should carefully consider the total costs of energy resources, factoring in the social cost of carbon, all externalities, and the long-term impact on the climate by burning unabated fossil fuels. It is important that the World Bank is part of the solution to climate change by helping countries transition toward a low-emission growth path, decarbonizing their energy generation, reaching Paris Alignment while continuing to promote growth and poverty reduction.

Question. Chinese firms are the largest recipients of World Bank contracts. Chinese firms won nearly a quarter of investment projects (by value) between 2016 and 2020. At the same time, numerous state-owned Chinese firms have been debarred by the World Bank and other multilateral development banks for violating procurement policies.

- What are the risks and challenges posed by the World Bank's reliance on Chinese firms for implementation of its development projects? What is your plan to address this issue?

Answer. The risks and challenges are similar to those facing the entire global economy from reliance on PRC firms and workers in global supply chains, including those related to governance, human rights, forced labor, cyber security, and disruptions to the PRC economy. If confirmed, I will advocate for strong focus in procurement policy implementation on value-for-money over the full project lifecycle, rather than awards to the lowest bidder, enhanced scrutiny on abnormally low bids, and added attention to building contracting capacity and transparency in public financial management in World Bank recipient countries.

Question. In August, the World Bank halted funding for projects in Afghanistan after the Taliban took control of the country.

- Under what circumstances, if any, would you recommend the United States support World Bank projects in Afghanistan under the Taliban rule?

Answer. I understand that the World Bank has paused its activity in Afghanistan. The international community, including the World Bank, should continue examining options to responsibly provide support to the Afghan people, while engaging in strong due diligence and application of appropriate safeguards to prevent the flow of funds to any entity supporting terrorism or other acts of violence against the United States.

The Chinese Communist Party has been using its influence at multilateral institutions to bolster its own interests. A recent example is the scandal involving the World Bank's annual "Doing Business" report. Kristalina Georgieva, the current managing director of the International Monetary Fund, has been accused of directing staff to manipulate data to increase China's business ranking while at the World Bank. This was reportedly happening while the World Bank was actively courting China to raise funds for its General Capital Increase. This type of corruption is deeply concerning and undercuts the integrity of the World Bank. It damages the mission of the organization and undermines American interests and values.

Question. What reforms need to be made at the World Bank in light of these serious allegations?

Answer. I am also deeply troubled by these serious allegations. As someone who has worked for over two decades with data, I believe that any data and any reports produced by the World Bank need to be held to the highest standards of rigor, integrity and transparency.

The WilmerHale report makes clear that there is a need to explore how to boost transparency, strengthen controls over data, and create a more respectful workplace, with strong protections for whistleblowers at the World Bank. If confirmed, I look forward to working with partners at the World Bank and in the administration and Congress to advance such reforms.

I also look forward to working with a wide variety of partners to examine how the World Bank can measure and report on countries' business climates while avoiding some of the shortcomings of the Doing Business Report, including those that may have contributed to this incident.

Question. What steps will you take to ensure full accountability for this incident?

Answer. I understand that there are ongoing investigations and internal processes related to the incident. If confirmed, I look forward to understanding further details regarding the incident and will promote steps to bolster accountability, boost transparency, strengthen controls over data, and create a more respectful workplace, with strong protections for whistleblowers at the World Bank.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO DR. ADRIANA DEBORA KUGLER BY SENATOR TED CRUZ

Constraints On Projects/Electrification

Question. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) is part of the World Bank Group. On January 27, 2021, President Biden issued an Executive Order (EO) 14008, on "Tackling the Climate Crisis at Home and Abroad." Part 1, Section (g)(ii) of EO 14008 is a mandate on the Secretary of the Treasury to use the "voice and vote" of the United States to *inter alia* "[d]evelop a strategy for how the voice and vote of the United States can be used in international financial institutions, including the World Bank Group and the International Monetary Fund, to promote" the goals of the EO phasing out fossil fuels and promoting renewable energy.

The World Bank has already been taking actions to limit its support for projects supporting the supply of energy through coal, oil, and gas, as well as nuclear power. The World Bank-related mandates in EO 14008 seek to deepen and lock in those moves.

Much of the developing world relies on fossil fuels for energy, and access to energy has lifted hundreds of millions of people out of poverty. By 2019 the number of people without electricity access had dropped to 770 million due in large part to increased access to fossil fuels.

- If confirmed, do you intend to limit U.S. support inside IBRD for projects related to the use of fossil fuels?

Answer. If confirmed, I will vote according to applicable laws and policies, including the guidance that Treasury recently released concerning MDB financing of fossil fuel projects. The World Bank can play a vital role in expanding energy access in developing countries while at the same time supporting ambitious emissions reduction, protecting critical ecosystems, building resilience against climate change, and promoting the flow of capital toward climate-aligned investments. The World Bank should select energy projects that account for the full range of costs and externalities over the lifecycle of the project and avoid financing projects that the private sector is capable of financing. The World Bank should finance projects that utilize technologies providing energy access, while promoting energy efficiency, that do not lock developing countries into high-emissions trajectories or technologies that may soon be obsolete.

Question. Please assess the degree to which you existing limits on IBRD's support for investments related to the use of coal, oil, gas, and nuclear power have affected efforts to support electrification in the developing world.

Answer. The World Bank Group has continued to provide strong support for power generation and the provision of electricity to households throughout the developing world. According to the World Bank's corporate scorecard, during its FY 2019–2021 fiscal years, World Bank Group projects contributed to 316,738 gigawatt-hours of new electricity generation, of which 247,735 GWh were from renewable sources, and provided new or improved electricity service to 362.6 million people.

Question. Please assess the degree to which you believe that further limits on IBRD's support for investments related to the use of coal, oil, gas, and nuclear power would affect efforts to support electrification in the developing world.

Answer. The World Bank can play a vital role in expanding energy access in developing countries while at the same time supporting ambitious emissions reduction, protecting critical ecosystems, building resilience against climate change, and promoting the flow of capital toward climate-aligned investments. The World Bank should select energy projects taking into account the full range of costs and externalities over the lifecycle of the project and avoid financing projects that the private sector is capable of financing. The World Bank should prioritize investments that include options for clean energy, innovation and energy efficiency to meet demand in developing countries.

Constraints on Projects/China

Question. The People's Republic of China (PRC) takes a whole-of-government and in many cases whole-of-nation approach to advancing their national security priorities. One prominent tool—which has been explicitly and extensively criticized by the Biden administration—is the use by the PRC and CCP of predatory debt diplomacy, in which they finance overseas projects and then leverage debt related to those projects for geopolitical concessions. China has extensively and specifically financed energy overseas projects, with a focus on fossil fuels. The two major Chinese policy banks—the Chinese Development Bank (CDB) and Chinese Export-Import Bank (EXIM)—funneled \$196.7 billion into overseas energy projects between 2007 and 2016, and roughly 75 percent of their expenditures are related to fossil fuel projects.

- Please assess the degree to which limits on the IBRD's support for investments related to the use of coal, oil, and gas affect the ability of the World Bank to serve as an alternative to Chinese investments funneled through the CDB, EXIM and other Chinese state institutions.

Answer. The World Bank's transparency and adherence to safeguards are critical parts of its comparative advantage, and it should not lower standards in response to competition from PRC investment. The World Bank can play a vital role in expanding energy access and offering a high-quality alternative to PRC finance in developing countries while at the same time supporting ambitious emissions reduction, protecting critical ecosystems, building resilience against climate change, and promoting the flow of capital toward climate-aligned investments. To some extent, even the PRC has recognized this and announced it will cease government financing for international coal projects. The World Bank should select energy projects taking into account the full range of costs and externalities over the lifecycle of the project and avoid financing projects that the private sector is capable of financing.

Solar Panels/XUAR

Question. In May the Coalition to End Forced Labour in the Uyghur Region released an academic report based on research conducted at the Sheffield Hallam University's Helena Kennedy Centre for International Justice, which concluded that functionally the entire global solar panel industry utilized supply lines that run through Xinjiang, where the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) are conducting an ongoing genocide against the Uyghurs that includes the use of slave labor. The report documented, inter alia, that 95 percent of solar panels rely on solar-grade polysilicon, that supply lines which run through Xinjiang account for approximately 45 percent of the world's solar-grade polysilicon supply, and that there are 90 Chinese and international companies whose supply chains are affected by Uyghur forced labour.

According to the *Washington Post*, officials from the office of the United States special presidential envoy for climate have briefed Congressional staffers that it will take up to a decade to move the global supply chain for solar panels away from Xinjiang.

- Can you commit that, if confirmed, you will use the voice and vote of the United States inside the IBRD to block any projects that would utilize solar panels made in Xinjiang, with parts made in Xinjiang, or with materials sourced to Xinjiang?

Answer. Forced labor practices run counter to our American values as a nation, and they could expose consumers to unethical practices.

As the White House has said, the United States and the world's leading democracies stand united against forced labor, and the United States is committed to ridding global supply chains—including, but not limited to, solar panels—from the use of forced labor.

If confirmed, I commit to work with all parts of the U.S. Government and my fellow Board members to do our part to seek to keep forced labor out of MDB-funded projects. If confirmed I will work with staff and board members to apply rigorous safeguards and standards to prevent human trafficking and forced labor.

Afghanistan

Question. As of August 2021, the World Bank was contributing more than \$2 billion to fund 27 active projects in Afghanistan. As the Taliban seized control of Afghanistan, the World Bank evacuated its Kabul-based staff, but in an internal memo described by Reuters president David Malpass expressed hope the World Bank “will be able to have a positive impact once the situation stabilizes.”

- Please describe how you believe the IRBD should approach financing projects in Afghanistan, including measures that it should take to avoid funneling money to the Taliban.

Answer. I understand that the World Bank has paused its activity in Afghanistan. The international community, including the World Bank, should continue examining options to responsibly provide support to the Afghan people, while engaging in strong due diligence and application of appropriate safeguards to prevent the flow of funds to any entity supporting terrorism or other acts of violence against the United States.

Question. Please describe what sorts of projects you believe are appropriate to either initiate or continue in Afghanistan, which are or would be funded by IRBD.

Answer. It is too early to say at this time. If confirmed, I look forward to working with others in the U.S. Government, Congress, World Bank Management, and other World Bank board members to examine options to provide support to the Afghan people while preventing the flow of funds to any person or entity seeking to harm the United States.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO HON. RAMIN TOLOUI BY SENATOR ROBERT MENENDEZ

Question. How do you view your role, if you are confirmed as Assistant Secretary, in leading our international economic efforts abroad?

Answer. If confirmed, I think of the role of Assistant Secretary for Economic and Business Affairs as comprising three main components: (1) contributing to the crafting of U.S. Government policies at the intersection of economics and foreign policy by working closely with others in the State Department, the interagency, and

Congress; (2) providing internal leadership—guidance, direction, and a sense of purpose—to the capable and dedicated professionals at the Department working on economic and business issues around the world; and (3) providing external leadership by advancing U.S. objectives in the diplomatic sphere and engaging with American businesses, workers, and other stakeholders. These roles extend across the range of functional areas in which the bureau is involved, including commercial and business affairs, trade policy, transportation, finance and investment, economic development, communications and information policy, and threat finance and sanctions.

Question. What are your goals for this position? Where do you see the biggest challenges? Biggest opportunities?

Answer. If confirmed, my goals as Assistant Secretary for Economic and Business Affairs would center on applying diplomatic tools to advance U.S. economic and business interests, and leveraging economic and business tools to advance U.S. foreign policy and national security interests.

I would have a particular focus on three key objectives: (1) securing a strong recovery from the COVID-19 pandemic; (2) shaping the international norms and rules governing trade, commerce, and technology that will underpin the future global economy; and (3) leveraging economic levers such as sanctions and foreign assistance to pursue U.S. diplomatic and national security goals.

A key challenge will be to identify concrete ways to work with like-minded nations to confront abusive policies by China that create unfair competition, disadvantage American workers, and conflict with American values. This is also an opportunity to expand collaboration with allies, partners, and multilateral institutions that share our values, so that the future arc of commercial and technological evolution reflects democratic rather than authoritarian principles.

I believe another key opportunity involves using U.S. commercial diplomacy in novel ways to expand opportunities for American workers and American businesses, particularly small- and medium-sized enterprises. The Championing American Business Through Diplomacy Act of 2019 (CABDA) envisages a leading role for the State Department in this area. I look forward to working to make that vision a reality, if confirmed.

Question. What additional tools would help enable you to achieve these goals?

Answer. If confirmed, I will look to make sure that the hundreds of Civil Service professionals and Foreign Service Officers who work at the Department all over the world have the resources they need to advance the full range of U.S. foreign economic policy priorities. I will also look to strengthen the bureau's work to train and retain a diverse cadre of officers in the Department working on economic issues through expanding professional development opportunities and advocating for greater recognition and promotion of economic work. If confirmed, I look forward to continuing a dialogue with Congress on these issues and working together to achieve these goals.

Question. What should be our goals, together with our allies, when it comes to the global economy and its recovery after COVID?

Answer. If confirmed, I see three key goals for the Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs to contribute to the specific issue of global economic recovery from the COVID-19 pandemic. First, the bureau must work with the interagency and with international partners to restore safe and sustainable international travel and commerce. Second, we must work with others in the U.S. Government, the private sector, and foreign partners to address short-term supply chain disruptions, as well as to take concrete actions to build more resilient supply chains for the future, especially in key areas like semiconductors and other critical sectors. Third, we must engage in commercial diplomacy in new ways to unlock novel opportunities in the post-pandemic world for U.S. businesses, particularly small and medium-sized enterprises.

As we look to the post-COVID world, the bureau also has an important role to play in shaping the international norms and rules governing trade, commerce, and technology that will underpin the future global economy, as well as realizing the vision of Build Back Better World (B3W) to mobilize investments in climate, health and health security, digital technology, and gender equity and equality.

Question. How do you plan to pursue these goals, if you are confirmed?

Answer. If confirmed, I look forward to drawing upon the full range of tools and processes of economic statecraft to pursue these goals: tapping the expertise of the dedicated professionals in the Department and elsewhere in the U.S. Government, working closely with interagency colleagues and Congress to shape U.S. Govern-

ment policies, engaging in productive partnerships with the private sector, and advancing these goals through diplomacy on the international stage.

Question. How do we best compete with China, especially in critical new and emergent technologies like AI, genomics, robotics, and quantum computing?

Answer. Preparing the United States to thrive in this technological era requires a multi-dimensional strategy. This includes making critical investments in our educational technological base at home to support domestic manufacturing in key sectors, as well as world-leading research and development (R&D) to support the creation, adoption, diffusion, and production of innovation in the United States. It includes working with allies and partners to take on abusive Chinese practices in the technology area, including theft of intellectual property and forced technology transfer, as well as to protect sensitive technologies by coordinating on tools such as investment reviews and export controls. It includes working with allies, partners, and multilateral institutions to shape the rules, norms, and standards governing the adoption and use of technology, so that future systems are open, secure, and reliable, reflecting democratic not authoritarian principles. If confirmed, I look forward to working with Congress on the issues in these critical areas.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO HON. RAMIN TOLOUI BY SENATOR JAMES E. RISCH

Question. Many U.S. missions have been under enormous stress over the last few years, in large part due to COVID-19.

- What is your understanding of morale in the Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs?

Answer. During the consultation process in connection to my nomination, I have been extremely impressed by the energy, knowledge, and commitment of the people in the bureau with whom I have met—from the career officials who have provided essential leadership in acting capacities during this transitional period, to the Foreign Service Officers and Civil Service professionals working on the front lines of critical economic issues. They have struck me as diligent in the technical aspects of their jobs, dedicated to the mission of the bureau, and highly motivated by making a difference for the United States.

Question. How do you intend to improve morale?

Answer. If confirmed, I intend to strengthen morale in the bureau by providing clear guidance on priorities and their connection to broader U.S. economic and national security goals, working to ensure our team has the resources they need to be successful, and doing everything I can to make sure that individuals in the bureau feel that their contributions are valued. If confirmed, I look forward to continued consultations with Congress on the priorities of the bureau and resources needed to make it as effective as possible.

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

Answer. I would have three top priorities if confirmed—(1) secure a strong recovery from the COVID-19 pandemic by restoring safe and sustainable commerce, building more resilient supply chains, and reenergizing U.S. commercial diplomacy; (2) shape the international norms and rules governing trade, commerce and technology that will underpin the future global economy, which includes working with allies and partners to challenge abusive practices by China that undermine U.S. interests and values; and (3) leverage economic tools to advance foreign policy objectives and effectively respond to crises, including sanctions, foreign assistance, and multilateral coordination. I believe these issues are the right ones to create a unified mission and vision, and I will endeavor to organize our team around these issues.

Management: A Key Responsibility for Chiefs of Mission

Question. How would you describe your management style?

Answer. In my experience, the best way to tap the full energy, creativity, and dedication of team members is to create an environment in which they each feel that their individual efforts are valued and contribute meaningfully to a larger goal. To cultivate such an environment, my approach is to articulate clear goals and organizational mission, give team members sufficient latitude and autonomy to pursue that mission in novel ways and feel a sense of ownership, encourage dissent and challenges to conventional thinking, provide respectful feedback that maintains high

standards and encourages professional growth, and demonstrate the importance of all managers in the organization acting on such values.

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

Answer. No, it is never acceptable or constructive to berate subordinates. My goal will be to create a collegial, respectful, and collaborative work environment in the bureau, if confirmed.

Question. How do you envision your relationship with your deputy?

Answer. The Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary (PDAS) for the Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs plays a key role managing bureau processes and ensuring strong interagency coordination. If confirmed, I look forward to finding creative ways to work in partnership with the PDAS to advance the bureau's mission, including addressing specific challenges as they arise.

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

Answer. If confirmed, I will aim to establish an effective collaboration and partnership with the Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary (PDAS) for the Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs that will best leverage our respective strengths to support the bureau's mission. I expect that this will include a substantial role for the PDAS in strengthening coordination and communication within the bureau, as well as with our partners across the Department, our interagency partners, the business community, and our economic officers in the field.

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

Answer. Yes, it is vital to provide team members with accurate and constructive feedback on their performance to encourage improvement, cultivate professional growth, recognize progress, and reward success. If confirmed, I am committed to doing so.

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 achieve these goals.

Question. What would you do, if confirmed, to strengthen the U.S. Foreign Service's Economic Corps as well as civil servants to ensure we are better postured to compete economically with China?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work to get the Foreign Service's Economic Corps and civil servants the resources and support they need to advance a foreign policy for the middle class, assist American businesses to compete and win on the global stage, and confront the PRC's economic abuses. If confirmed, I will work with the Under Secretary for Economic Growth, Energy, and the Environment to attract highly qualified economic foreign service officers and expert civil service officers from throughout the State Department, and to strengthen training and professional development in economic skills, infrastructure, and commercial diplomacy.

Question. Will you commit to providing SFRC staff with opportunities to observe State Department technical assistance on economic issues, such as workshops or other programming on issues like countering predatory finance, proper tendering, bidding, and procurement, management of key economic sectors, and other relevant areas?

Answer. Based on my consultations with State Department professionals, my understanding is that the Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs provides technical assistance in a few select areas and assists other Department bureaus, agencies, and partners that provide assistance in others. I understand the value of Congressional oversight. If confirmed, I am committed to working closely with Congress to provide visibility into the work the bureau supports that is important to our economic diplomacy efforts.

Question. In your view, what role does the Development Finance Corporation play in countering China's state-directed economic investments?

Answer. I applaud the work of Congress in passing the BUILD Act and believe that the establishment of the U.S. International Development Finance Corporation (DFC) was an important step in enhancing our economic tools. DFC investments can

help advance important U.S. development and foreign policy objectives. I understand DFC reviews projects for criteria such as positive development impact, potential to fill the gap where traditional financing is unavailable, financial risk, and more. DFC can provide an alternative to PRC state-directed economic investments, help American companies compete and win overseas against Chinese companies, and offer potential partners and projects the option of values-driven investments informed by strong standards.

Question. If confirmed, will you commit to strengthening the deal team model?

Answer. Because U.S. Government tools to assist U.S. companies effectively compete abroad reside in a number of different agencies, interagency collaboration is paramount to the effectiveness of U.S. assistance efforts. Based on my consultations with State Department professionals, I understand that the Deal Team Initiative launched in 2020 has improved interagency coordination and therefore U.S. Government support for U.S. companies. If confirmed, I will work to build on this progress and further strengthen collaboration between the State Department and our trade and development agencies in Washington and overseas as envisaged in the Deal Team Initiative.

Question. Do you commit to further advancing the objectives of the State Department's Infrastructure Transaction and Assistance Network?

Answer. Public financing alone cannot close the global infrastructure gap over the next twenty years—we need to mobilize private financing for quality infrastructure, including in the Indo-Pacific. Based on my consultations with State Department professionals, I understand that the participants in ITAN representing 14 U.S. agencies have collaborated to identify—and where possible provide support for—a large number of projects involving substantial investments. If confirmed, I will work to build upon the work of ITAN to date and continue helping foreign partners build better enabling environments to mobilize greater private sector financing in quality infrastructure investment through ITAN.

Question. For projects that are intended to open up opportunities for further private sector investment, do you commit that the Department of State will actually engage with the private sector before determining whether to fund a project?

Answer. Mobilizing private sector investment in infrastructure requires an understanding of the private sector's perspectives and incentives. Based on my consultations with State Department professionals, I understand that many ITAN projects have a substantial focus on capacity building and technical assistance, including to shape an enabling environment for high-quality investment. If confirmed, I look forward to rigorous and regular consultations with the private sector on best practices and their views in pursuing infrastructure investments, so that U.S. Government assistance can be deployed as effectively as possible.

Question. Do you commit that the Department of State's strategic infrastructure pilot will not be solely or primarily used to fund climate-related initiatives? There are other relevant national security and foreign policy interests that should also be addressed.

Answer. Based on my consultations with State Department professionals, I understand that the Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs implements the Strategic Infrastructure Fund (SIF) pilot. My understanding is that the SIF is designed to advance U.S. efforts to cultivate a free and open Indo-Pacific by defending markets against coercion by strategic competitors and supporting projects that are also of strategic value to the United States. If confirmed, I will work with colleagues across the Department so that the State Department is considering the full range of U.S. interests in infrastructure.

Question. Do you believe the United States needs to advance a more robust trade agenda in the Indo-Pacific region? If so, what would you emphasize and what should our main goals be?

Question. In my view, key goals for our trade policy should be supporting American working families, defending our values, and protecting the long-term prosperity and security of the United States. Based on my consultations with State Department professionals, my understanding is that trade policy in the Indo-Pacific is a key part of the administration's effort to Build Back Better. As President Biden has said, the United States is focused on making investments in U.S. workers and U.S. competitiveness before he signs new trade agreements, including in the Indo-Pacific. If confirmed, I intend to work with allies and partners in the Indo-Pacific region to identify ways to advance cooperation in areas such as infrastructure, the digital

economy, and energy to help lay the groundwork for a region that is open, connected, prosperous, resilient, and secure.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO HON. RAMIN TOLOUI BY SENATOR MARCO RUBIO

Question. China has long been one of the biggest violators of U.S. sanctions. I am particularly concerned with the lack of action against China and the purchase of Iranian oil in violation of U.S. law. Last month, Reuters reported the “U.S. has reached out to China about cutting oil imports from Iran, officials say.” The article quoted a senior U.S. official stating, “[w]e are aware of the purchases that Chinese companies are making of Iranian oil.” Yet, we have not seen sanctions by the administration on these purchases.

- If confirmed, what will you do to seek better cooperation from China on sanction matters?

Answer. I understand that the United States has been engaged with JCPOA participants, including China, in an effort to achieve a mutual return to compliance with JCPOA commitments with Iran. If confirmed, I will work with others in the administration to raise this issue with the Chinese as part of a dialogue on Iran policy. If confirmed, I will also work with others in the administration to counter Iranian sanctions evasion efforts by all who are involved, including Chinese entities.

Question. Do you agree that any significant transaction involving Iran’s energy sector, including the import of oil or petroleum products, violates U.S. sanctions?

Answer. I understand that the current Iran-related sanction authorities remain in effect, including sanctions that address Iran’s energy sector and certain transactions related to oil and petroleum products. To this end, if confirmed, I will work with others in the administration to constrain the Iranian regime’s efforts to evade U.S. sanctions on its energy sector.

Question. It has recently been revealed the Commerce Department has issued numerous licenses to allow billions of dollars in exports to Huawei despite the company’s significant violation of sanctions on Iran.

- What are your thoughts on balancing the need to hold companies accountable when they violate our laws, and the natural reluctance to disrupt significant commercial activity?

Answer. Ensuring American companies are competitive in the global economy is critical for our future prosperity. If confirmed, I will work with U.S. companies and others in the U.S. Government to strengthen the competitiveness of American businesses. At the same time, companies and individuals must comply with applicable U.S. law, including sanctions and export controls, when conducting business. Engaging in significant commercial activity does not exempt any of these actors from the need to fully comply with applicable U.S. law.

If confirmed, I will work with our interagency colleagues, including those at the Departments of Treasury, Commerce, Homeland Security, and Justice, to ensure U.S. law is properly enforced. I will also press other states and international bodies to use all appropriate diplomatic, enforcement, and regulatory tools to curtail business activities that are contrary to U.S. foreign policy and national security objectives.

Question. If confirmed, are you fully committed to carrying out the sanctions laws passed by Congress, even if you may disagree with the views of Congress?

Answer. Sanctions are a vital tool to advance U.S. interests and values. I appreciate Congress’s deep and continued interest in sanctions issues, and look forward to closely consulting on these issues, if confirmed. If confirmed, I am committed to following the laws passed by Congress, as well as using all of our diplomatic tools to address threats to our national security.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO HON. RAMIN TOLOUI BY SENATOR TED CRUZ

Question. Please assess the degree to which supply lines for EVs run through Xinjiang.

Answer. Based on my consultations with State Department professionals, I understand that China currently has a dominant position in the global lithium-ion battery supply chain. My understanding is that China is the largest market for lithium batteries and has a growing domestic demand for electric vehicles (EVs). If confirmed, I will work with the administration to assess the degree to which forced labor permeates supply chains for EVs, as well as other key sectors, and to address forced labor practices in Xinjiang and elsewhere in the PRC.

Question. Please assess the degree to which supply lines for EVs run through Xinjiang and involve the use of slave labor.

Answer. Based on my consultations with State Department professionals, I understand that the use of forced labor in Xinjiang is a significant problem that could impact a number of industries that are potential inputs to the EV industry. If confirmed, I will work with the administration to assess the degree to which forced labor permeates supply chains for EVs; support and advocate for the end of forced labor and elimination of human rights abuses in our global supply chains; and work to hold those accountable who knowingly contribute to these human rights abuses in our global supply chains.

Question. Please assess the degree to which supply lines for solar panels run through Xinjiang.

Answer. Based on my consultations with State Department professionals, I understand that China currently has a dominant position in the global solar panel supply chain. My understanding is that China controls a large proportion of the global supply chain for solar-grade polysilicon, much of which is manufactured in Xinjiang. If confirmed, I will work with the administration to assess the degree to which forced labor permeates supply chains for solar panels, as well as other key sectors, and to address forced labor practices in Xinjiang and elsewhere in the PRC.

Question. Please assess the degree to which supply lines for solar panels run through Xinjiang and involve the use of slave labor.

Answer. Based on my consultations with State Department professionals, I understand that the use of forced labor in Xinjiang is a significant problem that could impact a number of industries, including those involved in the production of solar panels. If confirmed, I will work with the administration to assess the degree to which forced labor permeates supply chains for solar panels; support and advocate for the end of forced labor and elimination of human rights abuses in our global supply chains; and work to hold those accountable who knowingly contribute to these human rights abuses in our global supply chains.

Question. Please describe steps you would take, if confirmed, to untangle any advocacy or activities by EB related to ESG that might promote the use of products made in Xinjiang with slave labor.

Answer. I believe forced labor in Xinjiang is a serious and important issue. If confirmed, I will make it a priority to work with the U.S. Government interagency, as well as allies and partners, to advocate for the removal of forced labor from key supply chains; cultivate diverse, secure, and reliable sources of supply for solar panels and advanced batteries, among other sectors; and develop more robust safeguards, enhanced auditing procedures, and greater transparency in the supply chain. If confirmed, I also commit to continuing to shine a light on forced labor practices, including through tools that underscore the risks for businesses and individuals of engaging with entities in Xinjiang and elsewhere. If confirmed, I commit to consult with you and other members of Congress on how we can work together to make concrete progress in this area.

Question. Please assess the degree to which EB's mission and equities would be undermined by activation of NS2.

Answer. I agree with the administration and significant bipartisan consensus in Congress that Nord Stream 2 is a Russian geopolitical project. In this context, the United States must be vigilant against Russia's potential use of energy to undermine Ukraine's economy and security, as well as broader European energy security. If confirmed, I commit to working with others in the administration, Congress, and our European allies and partners to support a more secure and sustainable energy future for Ukraine and to advance European energy security more broadly.

Question. Please assess the threat posed to EB's mission and equities by Russia using energy as a weapon.

Answer. Nord Stream 2 is a Russian geopolitical project. It is essential that the United States work with Germany and other allies and partners to reduce the risks

posed by the pipeline to Ukraine and frontline NATO and EU countries and to push back against harmful Russian activities, including in the energy sphere. If confirmed, I will work with my administration colleagues to advance a more secure and sustainable energy future for Ukraine and other frontline NATO and EU Allies and partners, as well as work with others in the U.S. Government and Europe to confront any Russian attempt to weaponize energy flows against our allies and partners.

Question. What do you assess is going wrong with sanctions enforcement

Answer. Based on my consultations with State Department professionals, I understand that the United States has used sanctions to respond to Iranian sanctions evasion, including a designation in August of an Omani national for facilitating the sale and shipment of illicit Iranian oil. I expect the administration to continue to oppose Iranian sanctions evasion efforts, including those involving Chinese entities. If confirmed, I will work with others in the administration to raise this issue with the Chinese as part of a dialogue on Iran policy.

Question. Please assess the benefits that China gets from such sanctions-busting.

Answer. Based on my consultations with State Department professionals, my understanding is that the administration is aware of reports that PRC-based companies are buying Iranian oil. If confirmed, I will work with others in the administration to raise this issue with the Chinese as part of a dialogue on Iran policy. If confirmed, I will also work with interagency colleagues to oppose Iranian sanctions evasion efforts, including those involving Chinese entities.

Question. If confirmed, how will you act to prevent such sanctions-busting.

Answer. If confirmed, I will work with other countries to ensure they are aware of our current Iran-related sanctions as part of an effort to constrain the Iranian regime's efforts to evade U.S. sanctions and help our partners address sanctionable activity in their respective jurisdictions. Specifically, if confirmed, I will work with others in the administration to raise this issue with the Chinese as part of a dialogue on Iran policy. If confirmed, I will also work with interagency colleagues to oppose Iranian sanctions evasion efforts, including those involving Chinese entities.

Question. Please describe any new significant sanctions that have been imposed on Iran since the inauguration of President Biden.

Answer. Based on my consultations with State Department professionals, I understand that since President Biden's inauguration, the administration has imposed sanctions on individuals and entities linked to Iranian intelligence and financial supporters of terrorist organizations including Lebanese Hizballah. I understand that in August the administration designated an Omani national for facilitating the sale and shipment of tens of millions of dollars' worth of illicit Iranian oil to obscure Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps-Quds Force (IRGC-QF) involvement. Further, I understand that the administration has targeted leaders of a kidnapping network closely linked to the Iranian Ministry of Intelligence and Security, as well as illicit actors who moved vast sums in order to support Hizballah and the IRGC-QF. Most recently, in late October, I understand that the administration designated members of a network of companies and individuals linked to the IRGC's Unmanned Aerial Vehicle (UAV) program which has historically proliferated attacks against U.S. forces, our partners, and international shipping.

Question. Please describe the details of any arrangements, deals, or agreements that are being contemplated by the Biden administration to reduce pressure on Iran other than reentry into the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA).

Answer. I have not been made aware of any arrangements, deals, or agreements contemplated to reduce pressure on Iran, based on my consultations with State Department professionals.

Question. Please commit to enforcing IFCA sanctions related to the transport by Iran of fuel to Lebanon.

Answer. I understand that the humanitarian situation in Lebanon is dire. I understand that U.S. Senior Advisor for Global Energy Security Amos Hochstein travelled to Lebanon in October to discuss sustainable solutions to Lebanon's energy crisis. If confirmed, I commit to following the law and pursuing the full range of efforts to constrain the Iranian regime's attempts to evade U.S. sanctions on its energy sector.

Question. Please commit to enforcing Caesar Act sanctions related to the transport of fuel from Iran over Syria to Lebanon.

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to following the law and promoting accountability for the Assad regime and the atrocities it has committed in Syria, as envisaged in the Caesar Act.

Question. Please describe to what extent you believe that it would be in America's national security interest for resources to go to the Government of Lebanon even if that government was controlled or unduly influenced by Hizballah.

Answer. Hizballah is a terrorist organization. Based on my consultations with State Department professionals, I understand that the United States undertakes rigorous measures to safeguard U.S. assistance from conferring benefits to Hizballah or any other terrorist group, including thorough oversight, vetting, and robust risk mitigation practices. I understand that U.S. economic aid is not provided directly to the Lebanese Government but implemented through trusted NGOs and international organizations. As part of its security assistance, my understanding is that the U.S. Government conducts End-Use Monitoring (EUM) to mitigate the risk of unauthorized transfer or use of U.S. technology and equipment.

Question. Please describe the role played by Iran and the Houthis in deepening the humanitarian catastrophe in Yemen.

Answer. Based on my consultations with State Department professionals, I understand that the Houthis' military offensive, with continued Iranian support, is exacerbating an already-dire humanitarian crisis, placing at risk a million internally displaced persons who found refuge in Marib after escaping fighting in other parts of the country.

Question. Please assess the degree to which the Biden administration's decision to lift terrorism sanctions against the Houthis and their leaders has enhanced the ability to provide humanitarian relief to Yemeni civilians in general.

Answer. Based on my consultations with State Department professionals, my understanding is that the administration revoked the designations after taking into account warnings regarding the potential impact the designations could have had on commercial food shipments into Yemen and the provision of humanitarian aid. I understand that the administration listened to concerns voiced by the UN, humanitarian groups, and bipartisan members of Congress, among others, that the designations could have had a severe impact on Yemenis' access to basic commodities like food and fuel, which could increase the risk of famine. Based on my consultations, I understand that the short time that passed between the designations and the revocations limited the impact the designations had on humanitarian assistance and commercial imports, including food and other essential supplies.

Question. Please assess the degree to which the Biden administration's decision to lift terrorism sanctions against the Houthis and their leaders has enhanced the ability to provide humanitarian relief to Yemeni civilians in Marib.

Answer. Based on my consultations with State Department professionals, I understand that resolving the conflict in Yemen and bringing relief to the Yemeni people is a critical U.S. foreign policy priority. The Houthis' ongoing offensive on Marib runs directly counter to that goal, posing a dire threat to the humanitarian situation in Yemen and potentially triggering increased fighting throughout Yemen. Based on my consultations, my understanding is that the lifting of sanctions helps enable the delivery of life-saving food, emergency shelter, water, and sanitation and hygiene supplies, as well as essential non-food items, such as blankets and water containers.

Question. Please describe how, if confirmed, you would position EB to enforce and/or deepen America's embargo on Cuba.

Answer. I understand that since July, the administration has imposed four rounds of targeted sanctions against Cuban officials in connection with violence, repression, and human rights violations against peaceful protestors in Cuba, including numerous senior military officers and divisions of the armed forces responsible for violence against protestors. If confirmed, I will work with my State Department colleagues, others in the administration, and Congress to promote accountability for those who abuse human rights and repress the Cuban people.

Question. Mexico has taken several actions that discriminate against American energy producers and favor state owned enterprises (SOEs), including through modifications of the country's Hydrocarbons Law, proposed constitutional reforms to the electricity industry, and predatory behavior that potentially violate key tenets of the USMCA. Please assess the degree to which this discrimination has undermined sustainable trade between the United States and Mexico.

Answer. I understand that Mexico has adopted a series of administrative, regulatory, and legislative changes in its energy policies that undermine existing investments in the sector and the overall business climate. These measures are concerning and, if confirmed, I look forward to working with my USTR and State Department colleagues and others in the U.S. Government to understand the full scope and consequences of Mexico's actions.

Question. If confirmed, what specific steps will you be able to take to halt and reverse these counterproductive steps?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work with my USTR and State Department colleagues and others in the interagency to express concern to Mexico about the direction of its energy policy, closely monitor these and other problematic policy changes, and identify steps that the U.S. Government and State Department can take to promote fair energy market access for the private sector.

Question. Please assess the degree to which Mexico's recent actions in the electricity and energy production sectors are in violation of the USMCA.

Answer. I understand that USTR has confirmed that the energy sector is covered under USMCA. While USTR would be in the best position to comment on their ongoing review of these measures and their implications for Mexico's commitment to a fair and open investment regime, as well as their consistency with Mexico's USMCA obligations, I would welcome the opportunity to look into this and consult with you, if confirmed.

Question. Do you support the efforts and objectives of the EMGF?

Answer. Based on my consultations with State Department professionals, my understanding is that the Eastern Mediterranean Gas Forum presents new opportunities for collaboration with allies and key partners to promote greater cooperation, energy security, and economic prosperity throughout the region. I also understand that the EMGF announced earlier this year that it plans to work with specialists to discuss and promote gas decarbonization. If confirmed, I would consult with my colleagues in the Bureaus of Near Eastern Affairs, Energy Resources, and European Affairs on how to coordinate our engagement and advance U.S. national interests in the initiative.

Question. Do you support the United States continued involvement within the EMFG?

Answer. If confirmed, I hope to work with others at the State Department and within the U.S. Government on continued U.S. involvement with the Eastern Mediterranean Gas Forum.

Question. Do you support efforts by Israel and other regional partners to develop a sustainable natural gas infrastructure including through bilateral negotiations?

Answer. Based on my consultations with State Department professionals, I understand that natural gas discoveries have helped redefine relationships and increase energy security in the Eastern Mediterranean, and that our partners building up capacity in renewable energy sources will further transform the energy landscape in this region. I support the development of sustainable, secure, energy sources by Israel and other regional partners, including through bilateral negotiations.

Question. Can you evaluate the impacts of the EMFG on advancing peace and cooperation between Israel and regional partners?

Answer. I understand that the Eastern Mediterranean Gas Forum presents new opportunities for collaboration with allies and key partners, including greater cooperation, energy security, and economic prosperity that supports Israel's greater integration in the region.

Question. Can you evaluate the impact that completing the EastMed pipeline would have on providing Europe with an alternative to Russian supplied gas?

Answer. Based on my consultations with State Department professionals, I understand that existing natural gas pipelines and pipelines already under construction provide energy diversification away from Russian gas in the region. My understanding is also that greater electricity interconnections between our partners to ensure our partners can generate reliable and sustainable electricity using renewable energy sources. If confirmed, I would work with other bureaus at the State Department and others in the U.S. Government to assess the numerous regional energy projects in the Eastern Mediterranean under consideration to advance these goals, including the EastMed Pipeline.

Question. Do you support the continued development of the EastMed Pipeline?

Answer. I understand that regional energy and electrical interconnections have the ability to increase our partners' and allies' energy security, diversify energy supplies, and aid in facilitating a stable and sustainable energy transition to adopt renewable energy sources. If confirmed, I would work with other bureaus at the State Department and others in the U.S. Government to assess the numerous regional energy projects in the Eastern Mediterranean under consideration to advance these goals, including the EastMed Pipeline.

Question. What impact do you think this energy forum has on regional dynamics, including those related to diplomatic, economic, and security?

Answer. I understand that the Eastern Mediterranean Gas Forum presents new opportunities for collaboration with allies and key partners and promotes greater cooperation, energy security, and economic prosperity in the region, which ultimately helps advances stability in the Eastern Mediterranean.

1910

The Marrakesh Accords



In the Name of God, the All-Merciful, the All-Compassionate

Executive Summary of the Marrakesh Declaration on the Rights of Religious Minorities in
Predominantly Muslim Majority Communities

25th-27th January 2016

WHEREAS, conditions in various parts of the Muslim World have deteriorated dangerously due to the use of violence and armed struggle as a tool for settling conflicts and imposing one's point of view;

WHEREAS, this situation has also weakened the authority of legitimate governments and enabled criminal groups to issue edicts attributed to Islam, but which, in fact, alarmingly distort its fundamental principles and goals in ways that have seriously harmed the population as a whole;

WHEREAS, this year marks the 1,400th anniversary of the Charter of Medina, a constitutional contract between the Prophet Muhammad, God's peace and blessings be upon him, and the people of Medina, which guaranteed the religious liberty of all, regardless of faith;

WHEREAS, hundreds of Muslim scholars and intellectuals from over 120 countries, along with representatives of Islamic and international organizations, as well as leaders from diverse religious groups and nationalities, gathered in Marrakesh on this date to reaffirm the principles of the Charter of Medina at a major conference;

WHEREAS, this conference was held under the auspices of His Majesty, King Mohammed VI of Morocco, and organized jointly by the Ministry of Endowment and Islamic Affairs in the Kingdom of Morocco and the Forum for Promoting Peace in Muslim Societies based in the United Arab Emirates;

AND NOTING the gravity of this situation afflicting Muslims as well as peoples of other faiths throughout the world, and after thorough deliberation and discussion, the convened Muslim scholars and intellectuals:

DECLARE HEREBY our firm commitment to the principles articulated in the Charter of Medina, whose provisions contained a number of the principles of constitutional contractual citizenship, such as freedom of movement, property ownership, mutual solidarity and defense, as well as principles of justice and equality before the law; and that,

The objectives of the Charter of Medina provide a suitable framework for national constitutions in countries with Muslim majorities, and the United Nations Charter and related documents, such as

the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, are in harmony with the Charter of Medina, including consideration for public order.

NOTING FURTHER that deep reflection upon the various crises afflicting humanity underscores the inevitable and urgent need for cooperation among all religious groups, we

AFFIRM HEREBY that such cooperation must be based on a "Common Word," requiring that such cooperation must go beyond mutual tolerance and respect, to providing full protection for the rights and liberties to all religious groups in a civilized manner that eschews coercion, bias, and arrogance.

BASED ON ALL OF THE ABOVE, we hereby:

Call upon Muslim scholars and intellectuals around the world to develop a jurisprudence of the concept of "citizenship" which is inclusive of diverse groups. Such jurisprudence shall be rooted in Islamic tradition and principles and mindful of global changes.

Urge Muslim educational institutions and authorities to conduct a courageous review of educational curricula that addresses honestly and effectively any material that instigates aggression and extremism, leads to war and chaos, and results in the destruction of our shared societies;

Call upon politicians and decision makers to take the political and legal steps necessary to establish a constitutional contractual relationship among its citizens, and to support all formulations and initiatives that aim to fortify relations and understanding among the various religious groups in the Muslim World;

Call upon the educated, artistic, and creative members of our societies, as well as organizations of civil society, to establish a broad movement for the just treatment of religious minorities in Muslim countries and to raise awareness as to their rights, and to work together to ensure the success of these efforts.

Call upon the various religious groups bound by the same national fabric to address their mutual state of selective amnesia that blocks memories of centuries of joint and shared living on the same land; we call upon them to rebuild the past by reviving this tradition of conviviality, and restoring our shared trust that has been eroded by extremists using acts of terror and aggression;

Call upon representatives of the various religions, sects and denominations to confront all forms of religious bigotry, vilification, and denigration of what people hold sacred, as well as all speech that promote hatred and bigotry; AND FINALLY,

AFFIRM that it is unconscionable to employ religion for the purpose of aggressing upon the rights of religious minorities in Muslim countries.

Marrakesh
January 2016 ,27th

Christian and Jewish Organization and Leader Statements Supporting Nomination of Rashad Hussain for Ambassador-at-Large for International Religious Freedom

CHRISTIAN PERSECUTION WATCHDOG ENCOURAGES CONGRESS TO CONFIRM RASHAD HUSSAIN

<https://premierchristian.news/en/news/article/christian-persecution-watchdog-encourages-congress-to-confirm-biden-s-religious-freedom-nominee>

—Tuesday, August 3, 2021 by Premier Journalist

Open Doors USA, an organization that advocates for persecuted Christians worldwide, has expressed support for Joe Biden's recent appointment to Ambassador-at-Large for International Religious Freedom.

The Biden administration announced four new appointees related to specific religious offices on Friday, with a distinct focus on Rashad Hussain, the nominee for Ambassador-at-Large for International Religious Freedom.

Open Doors USA CEO David Curry said in a statement: "Open Doors has repeatedly called on the Biden Administration to fill these critical roles to international religious freedom, and we are heartened by today's nominations. Rashad Hussain is a well-qualified nominee with a deep understanding of the factors at play in China, India, and elsewhere. We look forward to building together the diverse coalition of leadership necessary to counter the rising tide of religious persecution worldwide."

Curry notes that "Mr. Hussain's experience could play a major role in addressing some of the most challenging issues facing Christians, especially in the Middle East and West Africa," and urges Congress to confirm this nominee quickly for the sake of religious freedom.

Hussain has served in several administrations, including the Obama administration in 2009. He has also worked at the National Security Council. The Ambassador at Large will play a crucial part in coordinating foreign policy direction concerning the persecution of religious communities across the world. Open Doors believes that the United States should focus these priorities on the extreme violence against Christians in Nigeria, the genocide against Uyghurs in China, and the deteriorating state of religious freedom in India.

Open Doors also expressed support for the other three appointees. They urged Senator McConnell and other Senators to fill these vacancies expediently.

BIDEN NAMES FIRST MUSLIM RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMBASSADOR

<https://www.christianitytoday.com/news/2021/july/rashad-hussain-irf-ambassador-religious-freedom-uscirf-khan.html?utm=medium=widgetemail>

(UPDATED) 12 Christian IRF advocates praise Rashad Hussain, Obama's OIC envoy, for his credentials and credibility. Two USCIRF commissioners and anti-semitism envoy also named.—Jeremy Weber and Religion News Service; July 30, 2021

The White House announced Friday a slate of nominations and appointments for top religious affairs roles, including the first Muslim American nominated to be the US ambassador-at-large for international religious freedom (IRF).

President Joe Biden will select Rashad Hussain as his nominee for that post, filling a State Department slot vacant since former Kansas governor and US Senator Sam Brownback—who co-chaired a bipartisan IRF summit for 1,200 attendees this month—left at the close of the Trump administration.

Hussain, who would need to be confirmed by the Senate, currently works as director for Partnerships and Global Engagement at the National Security Council. He previously served as White House counsel under President Barack Obama, as well as US special envoy to the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) and US special envoy for the Center for Strategic Counterterrorism Communications, among other roles.

Knox Thames, who served as the State Department's special advisor for religious minorities during both the Obama and Trump administrations, told CT that Hussain was "a strong pick."

"He knows human rights and cares about religious freedom," said Thames. "I saw firsthand how he raised these issues when he served as [OIC envoy]. I know he'll be able to hit the ground running from day one to combat religious persecution."

Judd Birdsall, a senior research fellow at the Berkley Center for Religion, Peace, and World Affairs at Georgetown University who served with Hussain at the State Department from 2009–2011, told CT that the nomination is a "fantastic choice" because Hussain has "impeccable credentials, extensive diplomatic and legal experience, and unique credibility as a Muslim American."

"I greatly respected his thoughtful, humble, and capacious approach to all things religion and diplomacy, including the promotion of religious freedom," said Birdsall. "He understands the religious minority experience and is a passionate advocate for all those who suffer on account of their beliefs."

Also noteworthy is the speed of the nomination, coming at a similar pace to President Donald Trump's selection of Brownback as IRF ambassador after just six months.

"The most tangible measure of an administration's commitment to international religious freedom is the quality of its IRF ambassador nominee and the speed with which it makes that nomination," Birdsall told CT. "Whereas President Bush took 14 months to announce his nominee for the job and Obama took 17, Biden is strongly signaling his commitment to the issue by taking only seven months to announce an outstanding nominee."

"By nominating a Muslim to serve as IRF ambassador, the Biden administration is decisively turning the page on an era in which a perception of anti-Muslim sentiment undermined the nation's reputation on religious freedom," he said. "Rashad Hussain will help to restore America's credibility as a champion of tolerance and inclusion."

"The task of advancing religious freedom is best done when all faiths work together," James Chen, vice president of global operations at the Institute for Global Engagement, told CT. "So the Biden administration's appointment of Mr. Hussain is encouraging to see."

Bob Roberts, global senior pastor of Northwood Church and founder of Multi-Faith Neighbors Network, told CT he was "so excited" for Hussain's nomination.

"He will be incredible. He's a wise man of character," said Roberts. "Him being a Muslim is a very positive thing, in that he will be able to walk into sensitive places in the world and be unparalleled in his ability to understand, speak to issues, and challenge right actions."

"We've had Christians in that role and a rabbi in David Saperstein," he said. "A Muslim is a good choice."

"President Biden's appointment of a Muslim [IRF ambassador] is a reminder that the US position on religious freedom has always been for people of all faiths and even for those who express no particular faith," Randel Everett, founder and president of 21Wilberforce, told CT.

Elijah Brown, general secretary and CEO of the Baptist World Alliance, told CT that the nomination is a "strategic development" because Hussain "brings a depth of experience across all three branches of the US government and a wide array of faith-based initiatives including Baptist-Muslim conversations."

"I join with many others in urging Congress to quickly confirm [him] to this ambassadorship," he said, "as many—especially in light of the ongoing global pandemic—face unprecedented restrictions as they seek to live out their faith convictions."

Jeremy Barker, the Erbil-based Middle East program director at the Religious Freedom Institute, told CT that Hussain is "a great choice" who has "done serious security and diplomatic policy work which will be vital in advancing religious freedom within an administration that had said it wants to prioritize human rights within its foreign policy."

"He is also a person of faith who takes his own religion seriously and understands that religious persecution strikes at something fundamental to an individual or community," said Barker.

"International religious freedom has been and should remain an issue with overwhelming bipartisan support. The Senate should move quickly to get Mr. Hussain confirmed and in the job," he said. "The work is too important to be left undone and the Biden administration is to be commended for putting a qualified nominee forward early in the process."

"Rashad's appointment demonstrates not only the importance the Biden administration places on religious freedom," said Saeed Khan, an expert on American Muslim communities at Wayne State University, "it also shows the importance of the Muslim world to the administration both in terms of combatting Islamophobia and also promoting religious freedom in Muslim majority countries. Rashad's back-

ground will allow him to have a frank discussion with Muslim majority countries about the importance of religious freedom.”

Biden is also expected to nominate Deborah Lipstadt as the next US special envoy to monitor and combat antisemitism. Lipstadt is a professor at Emory University in Atlanta and a prominent Holocaust historian. She is the author of *Antisemitism: Here and Now* and is known for successfully defeating a libel suit brought against her by Holocaust denier David Irving.

“We are greatly heartened by the anticipated announcement of Prof. Lipstadt to continue our nation’s fight against antisemitism both here and abroad,” said Mark (Moishe) Bane, president of the Orthodox Union. “She is a leader with great moral courage; her dedicated work, clear voice in fighting Holocaust denial and preserving the memory of the attempted destruction of the Jewish people make her an exemplary choice for this role.”

Lipstadt, who would have the rank of ambassador, also requires Senate confirmation. The anticipated announcement follows a May 24 letter from several leading Jewish organizations calling on President Biden to address the recent rise in antisemitic attacks.

“The presence and efforts of an Ambassador to Monitor and Combat Antisemitism send a powerful signal to governments around the world that the U.S. takes combating antisemitism seriously and calls on them to do the same,” the letter said.

“President Biden is to be congratulated for having moved relatively quickly in nominating people for religious freedom related posts,” Paul Marshall, a veteran IRF scholar and author and the religious freedom chair at the Institute for Studies of Religion at Baylor University, told CT. He noted that Lipstadt is “a skilled veteran” and that Hussein’s envoy roles had “shown both his abilities and his commitment to religious freedom.”

“Having a Muslim in the religious freedom ambassadorship may allay the canard that this is simply a sop to the religious right,” said Marshall, currently a senior fellow at the DC-based Religious Freedom Institute and the Jakarta-based Leimena Institute.

Nadine Maenza, chair of the US Commission on International Religious Freedom (USCIRF), applauded the two nominations.

“We look forward to working closely with [them] to develop new ways for the United States to promote the freedom of religion or belief around the world,” she stated in a press release. “Global religious freedom violations continue to be a pervasive threat to our national security and global stability. [They] play an essential role in US efforts to counter that threat.”

In addition, Biden plans to appoint two new commissioners to USCIRF: Khizr Khan and Rabbi Sharon Kleinbaum. Khan became famous in 2016 when he and his wife, Ghazala, spoke during the Democratic National Convention as “Gold Star” parents, discussing their son, Humayun, a US Army captain who died in Iraq in 2004.

Khan, a Harvard-educated Muslim immigrant, directly challenged then-candidate Trump’s proposal to ban residents of Muslim-majority countries from entering the United States, accusing the business mogul of having sacrificed “nothing—and no one.”

“Let me ask you, have you even read the United States Constitution? I will gladly lend you my copy,” Khan said as he held aloft a worn booklet containing the text of the document.

Khan, the founder of the Constitution Literacy and National Unity Project, runs his own law practice and has authored three books, including *Founding Documents of the United States of America*.

Kleinbaum, for her part, already served as a USCIRF commissioner in 2020 and leads the Congregation Beit Simchat Torah in New York City, a community that centers LGBT people. A human rights advocate, she also sits on Mayor de Blasio’s Faith Based Advisory Council and serves on New York City’s Commission on Human Rights. In addition, she is a board member of the New York Jewish Agenda and the New Israel Fund.

“Today’s announcement underscores the President’s commitment to build an Administration that looks like America and reflects people of all faiths,” stated the White House.

David Curry, CEO of Open Doors USA, told CT he was “heartened” by the Biden administration filling the critical IRF roles.

“Rashad Hussain is a well-qualified nomination with a deep understanding of the factors at play in China, India, and elsewhere,” he said. “We look forward to building together the diverse coalition of leadership necessary to counter the rising tide of religious persecution worldwide.”

In a later press release, Open Doors welcome all four selections, stated Hussain’s “expertise could play a major role in addressing some of the most challenging issues

facing Christians, especially in the Middle East and West Africa,” and called on Senator Mitch McConnell to “fill the last remaining vacancy [at USCIRF] in a timely manner.” Former USCIRF commissioner and spokesman for President Trump’s evangelical advisers Johnnie Moore congratulated Hussain and the other appointees and told CT he’ll “look forward to collaborating with each of them in order to advance the freedom of religion and belief around the world.

“There will, as always, be divergent points of view on certain ideas, policies, and strategies, but international religious freedom continues to be—and must remain—almost entirely bipartisan,” he said. “In fact, it must be nonpartisan. I intend on doing my part to keep it so.”

Kori Porter, CEO of CSW USA, told CT she “warmly welcomes” Hussein and his “excellent track record speaking out in support of religious minorities and against laws that violate freedom of religion or belief, including blasphemy laws.

“His nomination is an encouraging sign of the importance that the Biden administration places on religious freedom, which is particularly welcome as the world tackles the pandemic and worsening inequalities and rights violations,” she said. “We hope that Mr. Hussein will build on the excellent work of former ambassadors, particularly Ambassadors Saperstein and Brownback, in raising the profile of this fundamental human right.”

Thomas Schirrmacher, secretary general of the World Evangelical Alliance (WEA), told CT the alliance has had “great experience with Muslim friends filling strategic religious freedom positions,” such as Ahmed Shaheed, the current UN Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Religion or Belief (interviewed by CT here). The WEA is currently “building a strong global alliance with major Muslim actors who fight for religious freedom,” he said, evidenced by a joint statement and book release with Indonesia’s Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) at a DC event adjacent to Brownback’s IRF summit.

“With Rashad, we get one of the most experienced diplomats in dealing with concerned governments, so there is no need for him to warm up,” said Schirrmacher. “He can start to change things tomorrow.” Jack Jenkins, Kathryn Post, and Joseph Hammond reported for RNS. Additional reporting by Jeremy Weber for CT.

U.S. SENATE SHOULD QUICKLY AFFIRM TEXAN RASHAD HUSSAIN AS RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMBASSADOR

<https://www.dallasnews.com/opinion/commentary/2021/10/21/the-us-senate-should-quickly-affirm-texan-rashad-hussain-as-religious-freedom-ambassador/>

By Bob Roberts and Chris Seiple
The Dallas Morning News, October 21, 2021

Since Roger Williams founded America’s first Baptist church in Rhode Island in 1638, Americans have understood religious freedom to not only be the right thing to

When the state forces people to believe something they don’t want to, the state violates the most precious gift of God—liberty of conscience—and it creates resentment against the state. Williams’ solution was simple: Let people believe whatever they want, and gain greater loyalty to the state. In other words, religious freedom is good for society, and for security.

In 1998, Congress voted unanimously to create the position of the U.S. ambassador-at-large for international religious freedom. Religious freedom is not so much a bipartisan issue as it is a nonpartisan issue: it is in the marrow of our bones to defend someone’s right to disagree with us. It is what most makes us American.

We should know: we are a 6th generation Texan whose ancestor fought at the Alamo (Bob Roberts), and the fourth of eight Marines in two generations of Seiples, whose father served as the first U.S. ambassador for international religious freedom (Chris Seiple). Together, we have worked with our government across administrations and politics, working with every religious freedom ambassador and around the world for a religious freedom that protects the conscience and ensures the security of all citizens.

Soon the U.S. Senate will consider President Joe Biden’s nomination for ambassador-at-large for international religious freedom, Rashad Hussain, a Texan who grew up in Plano. We have known and worked with him for many years. He is a trusted and experienced diplomat and national security expert, having worked to protect our national security at the White House, Department of State, and Depart-

ment of Justice in the past three presidential administrations, for Democrats and a Republican.

For example, Rashad led America's successful effort to eliminate the "Defamation of Religions" U.N. resolution, a sort of global blasphemy law. He has led many multifaith delegations and diplomatic missions to places such as the Central African Republic, Egypt, Pakistan, Nigeria and Afghanistan to help protect vulnerable religious communities; and he actively supported visits by religious leaders to Holocaust sites to combat antisemitism. He has also worked as a national security law enforcement officer on counter-terrorism matters.

That Hussain happens to be a Muslim is a bonus. His service in this role, and his honorable record of public service, exemplify the deep and widespread contributions that Muslim Americans make to our country on a daily basis, in all walks of life.

As the first Muslim to serve in this role, Hussain would send a strong signal rejecting despicable anti-Muslim discrimination, stereotyping and hatred that we have seen in America and abroad. And, we should note, he is the perfect person to visibly and vocally defend the rights of religious minorities, especially Christians, in some Muslim-majority contexts that have struggled to promote religious freedom—as we have witnessed him do throughout his career.

Because of these combined attributes, Hussain has the trust and support of interfaith groups and civil society across religious and political spectrums, including the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom, and Jewish and Christian leaders. We urge the rapid and unanimous confirmation of him.

If confirmed to this role, Hussain will be the focal point for the American fight against global restrictions on religious freedom, which is at an all-time high. The Pew Research Center's global study of restrictions on religion found in 2019 that governments in 180 countries harassed religious groups in some way, and that 57 countries have "high" or "very high" levels of government restrictions on religion. Christians face restrictions in 153 countries globally, the most of any religious group. Some religious communities are being subjected to horrific acts of genocide and crimes against humanity, including in places like China and Myanmar.

The United States was not founded for a particular creed or race or tribe; it was founded on the truth that all men are created equal and are endowed by their creator with unalienable rights. Roger Williams believed that liberty of conscience was the cornerstone of civilization. As we continue to strive to meet his vision, one thing is certain: The diversity and dynamism of our multifaith and multireligious society are a source of strength and an example for the world. Hussain will help keep it so.

Bob Roberts is the founder of GlocalNet, co-founder of Multi-Faith Neighbors Network, senior global pastor at Northwood Church in Keller, and host of the Bold Love podcast.

Chris Seiple is president emeritus of the Institute for Global Engagement, a senior fellow at the University of Washington's Jackson School of International Studies, and global policy adviser to the executive leadership of the World Evangelical Alliance.

They wrote this column for *The Dallas Morning News*.

CHRISTIAN SOLIDARITY WORLDWIDE WELCOMES NOMINATION OF US AMBASSADOR FOR INTERNATIONAL RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

<https://www.csw.org.uk/2021/08/03/press/5362/article.htm>

CSW warmly welcomes US President Joe Biden's nomination of Mr Rashad Hussain as the new US ambassador-at-large for International Religious Freedom.

Mr Hussain is the first Muslim to be nominated for the role, and has a proven track record of standing up for the right to freedom of religion or belief, particularly in combatting anti-semitism and hostility towards Christians and other religious minorities in Muslim-majority countries.

His previous roles include White House Counsel under President Barack Obama, US Special Envoy to the Organization of Islamic Cooperation and US Special Envoy for the Center for Strategic Counterterrorism Communications. His appointment as US Ambassador-at-Large for International Religious Freedom still needs to be confirmed by the US Senate. Previous post-holders include US Senator Sam Brownback and Rabbi David Saperstein.

President Biden has also nominated prominent Holocaust historian Deborah Lipstadt as the next US Special Envoy to Monitor and Combat Antisemitism, and two new commissioners to the United States Commission on International Religious Freedom (USCIRF). The nominees are Rabbi Sharon Kleinbaum, who served as a USCIRF commissioner in 2020, and Khizr Khan, a lawyer and Gold Star parent who spoke movingly at the Democratic National Convention in 2016 about his son's death.

CSW-USA's Chief Executive Kori Porter said: "CSW congratulates Rashad Hussain on his nomination as the next US ambassador-at-large for International Religious Freedom. The announcement is an encouraging indicator of the importance the Biden administration places on the fundamental right to freedom of religion or belief. We hope that Mr Hussain will build on the excellent work of his predecessors, and look forward to working closely with him in pursuit of the promotion and protection of freedom of religion or belief around the world."

CSW's Chief Executive Scot Bower said: "CSW welcomes the nomination of Rashad Hussain and urges the US Senate to confirm his appointment. Once in post we encourage Mr Hussain to pay close attention to the situation of freedom of religion or belief in China and Nigeria in particular, ensuring that egregious violations of this fundamental human right by the Chinese Communist Party, and by state and armed non-state actors in Nigeria, are kept high on the Biden administration's agenda."

WHY THE SENATE MUST FAST-TRACK BIDEN'S NOMINEE ON RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

WHILE RASHAD HUSSAIN'S CONFIRMATION WAITS,
MILLIONS ARE PERSECUTED FOR THEIR FAITH.

<https://religionnews.com/2021/10/13/why-the-senate-must-fast-track-bidens-nominee-on-religious-freedom/>

By David Curry¹

(Open Doors)—Since President Joe Biden's inauguration, religious freedom advocates urged the administration to prioritize the appointment of a new ambassador-at-large for international religious freedom. The president listened to our pleas, and on July 30, Biden nominated Rashad Hussain, who currently serves as director for partnerships and global engagement at the National Security Council.

Hussain is unable to step into his new role until he is officially confirmed by the United States Senate. But the legislative body is facing a ludicrous backlog of nominees also awaiting a hearing, and it could take months—if not years—for Hussain's name to be called.

This post is not a run-of-the-mill government desk job. The IRF ambassador plays a critical role in human rights advancement worldwide at a time when state-sanctioned religious persecution has reached alarming levels. The Senate must fast-track Hussain's confirmation.

According to Pew Forum's latest research, government restrictions on religion have steadily increased for over a decade. Social hostility toward people of faith remains high. Among the world's approximately 2.3 billion Christians, more than 340 million are at high risk of discrimination because of their beliefs.

Many high-profile religious freedom crises are well known. There's the ongoing genocide of Uyghur Muslims in northwest China, the targeted killing of thousands of Christians in Nigeria by Islamist militants, the use of blasphemy laws to imprison religious minorities in Pakistan and, most recently, the takeover of Afghanistan by the notoriously intolerant Taliban. Yet these instances represent only a fractional part of the overall problem.

This ambassadorship is no small-time appointment. The role serves as the locus for a myriad of efforts aimed at advancing a core human right that has declined in recent years. The U.S. State Department, and specifically the Office of Inter-

¹(David Curry is president and CEO of Open Doors USA, which advocates on behalf of those who are persecuted for their Christian faith. Follow on Twitter @OpenDoors. For more than 60 years, Open Doors USA has worked in the world's most oppressive and restrictive countries for Christians. Open Doors works to equip and encourage Christians living in dangerous circumstances with the threat of persecution and equips the Western church to advocate for the persecuted. Christians are one of the most persecuted religious groups in the world and are oppressed in at least 60 countries. For more information, visit OpenDoorsUSA.org.)

national Religious Freedom, compiles an annual report documenting concerns in nearly every country on earth. Most of the issues documented will never receive significant media attention and, if not for the State Department's report, would never be compiled into a single, easy to find repository.

For outside observers, it may not be clear what the IRF ambassador does, beyond making public appearances and giving remarks calling for greater protections for religious freedom. This public role is an important task in its own right, but it's only a small part of the job. Much of the substantive work takes place in the relationships built by the IRF ambassador, both foreign and domestic. When reports emerge of Rohingya Muslims being driven from their homes in Myanmar, or of a Hindu family attacked for their faith in Pakistan, it is the IRF ambassador and the ambassador's team who often lead the way in focusing U.S. attention and bringing relief for the victims. In areas where government action may be limited, the IRF ambassador and the ambassador's office help connect faith leaders and nongovernmental organizations with the resources they need to make a difference.

Hussain is undeniably qualified to step into these important shoes. He's an Ivy League-educated attorney, a professor at Georgetown Law School and the former U.S. special envoy to the Organization of Islamic Cooperation under President Barack Obama. His nomination was roundly welcomed by advocates from across the religious and political spectrum, and no political leader on either side of the aisle has articulated a compelling reason not to confirm him to the post.

To Beltway insiders in Washington, D.C., it may seem motivated by special interest to call for the prioritization of the IRF ambassador confirmation. After all, hundreds of positions remain unfilled across the U.S. government. Yet it is exactly positions like this one, which address critical human rights concerns and enjoy broad bipartisan support, that should be prioritized.

The situation for many people of faith around the world is bleak. Delaying urgent efforts to aid them is unconscionable, no matter which party you're from.

ERLC (ETHICS & RELIGIOUS LIBERTY COMMISSION) COMMENDS FILLING OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM POST

<https://www.baptistpress.com/resource-library/news/erlc-commends-filling-of-religious-freedom-post/>

BY TOM STRODE, POSTED AUGUST 3, 2021 IN ERLC

WASHINGTON (BP)—The Southern Baptist Ethics & Religious Liberty Commission commended President Biden's proposed filling of a vital executive branch post in the effort to protect people of faith around the world.

Biden announced July 30 the nomination of Rashad Hussain as ambassador-at-large for international religious freedom. If confirmed by the U.S. Senate, Hussain—director for partnerships and global engagement at the National Security Council—will be the first Muslim to serve in the position since it was created in 1998 as part of the International Religious Freedom Act.

The action came as the ERLC and other religious freedom advocates are urging the U.S. House of Representatives to approve legislation to combat China's genocidal campaign against Uyghur Muslims in the western part of the country. The U.S. Senate passed July 14 the Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act, which would prohibit products made with forced labor in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region from being introduced into the American market. The House passed a similar bill nearly unanimously last September before the measure died in the Senate.

Messengers to the Southern Baptist Convention's annual meeting adopted a resolution June 15 that condemned the Chinese Community Party's treatment of the Uyghurs and called for the U.S. government to take "concrete actions" to end the genocide. The SBC reportedly became the first Christian denomination to denounce China's campaign against the Uyghurs as genocide.

"One need only take a brief survey of the globe to see how religious freedom is under assault in multiple countries," the ERLC's Brent Leatherwood said in written comments. "We have long called for America to be a bold voice for liberty against these oppressive regimes. Taking steps such as passing the Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act helps us project that voice.

"Similarly, naming a U.S. ambassador-at-large for international religious freedom helps us to consistently use that voice," said Leatherwood, the ERLC's vice president of external affairs and chief of staff. "We appreciate the Biden administration prioritizing this appointment, and we stand ready to work with Mr. Hussain upon

his confirmation to advance the fundamental human right of religious freedom internationally.”

The ambassador-at-large serves as the primary adviser to the secretary of state regarding global religious liberty and also advises the president. He supervises the State Department’s office of international religious freedom. If confirmed, Hussain will become the sixth person to fill the post since it was established 23 years ago. Sam Brownback, the previous ambassador-at-large, served during the last three years of the Trump administration.

Biden also nominated Deborah Lipstadt as the special envoy to monitor and combat anti-Semitism. The Senate must confirm Lipstadt, professor of modern Jewish history and Holocaust studies at Emory University in Atlanta. She also was the founding director of the Institute for Jewish Studies at Emory. She would become the fifth special envoy since Congress established the anti-Semitism position in 2004. A law elevating the post to the level of an ambassador was enacted in January of this year.

In addition, the president appointed two members to the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom (USCIRF): Khizr Khan, founder of the Constitution Literacy and National Unity Project, and Sharon Kleinbaum, rabbi of Congregation Beit Simchat Torah in New York City.

USCIRF, a bipartisan, nine-member commission, and the Religious Freedom Institute (RFI) applauded the nominations of Hussain and Lipstadt.

USCIRF’s commissioners “look forward to working closely with Rashad Hussain and Dr. Deborah Lipstadt, once confirmed, to develop new ways for the United States to promote the freedom of religion or belief around the world,” said Nadine Maenza, the commission’s chair, in a news release. “Global religious freedom violations continue to be a pervasive threat to our national security and global stability.”

The ambassador-at-large and special envoy “play an essential role in U.S. efforts to counter that threat,” she said.

Thomas Farr, RFI’s president, said his organization offered to the Biden administration in January its policy recommendations for global religious liberty, including the qualifications for a productive ambassador-at-large.

Hussain “admirably meets these standards,” Farr said in a written statement. “If America fails to defend the precious right of religious freedom—historically understood in our nation as the ‘first freedom’—who else will defend it?”

During the Obama administration, Hussain served as special envoy to the Organization of Islamic Cooperation and special envoy for strategic counterterrorism communications.

Khan, a Muslim, is a lawyer and author whose son, U.S. Army Captain Humayun Khan, was killed in 2004 while serving in Iraq and received the Bronze Star with valor.

Kleinbaum—who was appointed by Senate Majority Leader Charles Schumer to a previous USCIRF term—has led her congregation to “become a powerful voice in the movement for equality and justice for people of all sexual orientations, gender identities, and expressions,” according to the congregation’s website. In addition to her advocacy for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer (LGBTQ) rights, she is in a same-sex marriage to Randi Weingarten, president of the American Federation of Teachers.

R. Albert Mohler Jr. president of Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, questioned on his podcast Tuesday (Aug. 3) whether Kleinbaum would protect religious freedom in a clash with LGBTQ rights.

“Given her well-documented activism and her position on these issues, it’s very unlikely that this rabbi would support religious liberty when it comes to something like the threat of the Equality Act inside the United States, much less around the world, where the United States under the State Department of the Biden administration is putting pressure on nations all over the world to adopt the basic understanding of the LGBTQ revolution,” Mohler said, according to a transcript of “The Briefing.”

The House of Representatives passed the Equality Act in February, but the Senate has yet to act on it. The bill is a far-reaching gay and transgender rights proposal that opponents warn would have calamitous effects on freedom of religion and conscience, as well as protections for women, girls and unborn children.

Khan and Kleinbaum replaced Trump appointees Gary Bauer and Johnnie Moore on USCIRF.

USCIRF, which is made up of nine commissioners selected by the president and congressional leaders, tracks the status of religious liberty worldwide and issues reports to Congress, the president and the State Department.

INTERNATIONAL CHRISTIAN CONCERN (ICC)
URGES CONFIRMATION OF RASHAD HUSSAIN

PRESIDENT BIDEN ANNOUNCES NOMINEES TO KEY INTERNATIONAL
RELIGIOUS FREEDOM ROLES

<https://www.persecution.org/2021/07/30/president-biden-announces-nominees-to-key-international-religious-freedom-roles/>

07/30/2021 Washington, D.C. (*International Christian Concern*)—International Christian Concern (ICC) has learned that President Joe Biden has announced his intent to nominate four individuals to key international religious freedom roles in his administration. The roles to be filled include the Ambassador-at-Large for International Religious Freedom (IRF), the Special Envoy to Monitor and Combat Anti-Semitism, and two Commissioners of the United States Commission on International Religious Freedom (USCIRF).

Rashad Hussain, Biden's nominee for IRF Ambassador, currently serves as Director for Partnerships and Global Engagement at the National Security Council. Hussain also served in the Obama administration, where he spearheaded efforts on countering antisemitism and protecting religious minorities in Muslim-majority countries. If confirmed, Hussain would follow in the footsteps of Samuel Brownback, who served in the role under the Trump administration and was widely celebrated in advancing the cause of international religious freedom.

The two nominees for USCIRF Commissioners, Khizr Khan and Rabbi Sharon Kleinbaum, both have a background in human rights advocacy. Khan immigrated to the United States in 1980 and founded the Constitution Literacy and National Unity Project. He is also a Harvard Law School graduate and is licensed to practice law before the Supreme Court.

Rabbi Kleinbaum serves as spiritual leader of Congregation Beit Simchat Torah in New York. She also serves as a Commissioner on New York City's Commission on Human Rights and NYC Mayor Bill de Blasio's Faith-Based Advisory Council.

Deborah Lipstadt, Biden's nominee for Special Envoy to Monitor and Combat Anti-Semitism, also has a strong background in advocacy against persecution and founded the Institute for Jewish Studies at Emory University.

In response to the new nominations, Matias Perttula, Director of Advocacy at ICC, said, "We here at ICC are excited to see a nomination for the position of Ambassador-at-Large for International Religious Freedom from the Biden administration. We hope to see a smooth confirmation process and look forward to working with Rashad Hussain to advance religious freedom globally."

AJC (AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE) APPLAUDS NOMINATION OF
RASHAD HUSSAIN TO HEAD OFFICE OF INTERNATIONAL RELIGIOUS
FREEDOM

<https://www.ajc.org/news/ajc-applauds-nomination-of-rashad-hussain-to-head-office-of-international-religious-freedom>

July 30, 2021—*New York*

American Jewish Committee (AJC) praised the Biden Administration for nominating today Rashad Hussain as United States Ambassador at-Large for International Religious Freedom. He will be the first Muslim to serve in this position.

"Rashad Hussain is an impressive advocate of freedom of religion or belief in challenging diplomatic contexts," said AJC CEO David Harris. "He is an ally in the global fight against antisemitism, including in is extensive engagement with the Muslim world, and an experienced advocate for building stronger Muslim-Jewish relations."

Hussain served as U.S. Special Envoy to the Organization of Islamic Cooperation under President Obama. He has been an active supporter of the Muslim-Jewish Advisory Council, co-convened by American Jewish Committee.

The Office of International Religious Freedom in the U.S. Department of State was created by the International Religious Freedom Act of 1998.

INTER JEWISH MUSLIM ALLIANCE LETTER SUPPORTING
CONFIRMATION OF RASHAD HUSSAIN

<https://www.ijma-alliance.org/post/ijma-rashad-letter>

IJMA—INTER JEWISH MUSLIM ALLIANCE
September 28, 2021

U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations
423 Dirksen Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510-6225

DEAR CHAIRMAN MENENDEZ AND RANKING MEMBER RISCH, We are writing as a bipartisan coalition of American Jewish and Muslim leaders, and others, to express our full and enthusiastic support for the nomination of Rashad Hussain to be the next U.S. Ambassador-at-Large for International Religious Freedom.

Ambassador Hussain was a founding member in 2019 of a national coalition of American Jews and Muslims, the Inter Jewish Muslim Alliance or IJMA. We at IJMA know Rashad well. He has worked for years both in government and in civil society on issues of international religious freedom. He has advocated for specific measures and programs to address antisemitism in Muslim-majority countries, to protect Christian and Muslim minorities throughout the world, and to combat religious bigotry regardless of its source. He works effectively with a very diverse range of persons and organizations, across lines of party and religion, as he demonstrated in IJMA and beyond.

The Inter Jewish Muslim Alliance or IJMA was founded in January 2019 by individuals and communal organizations of the two communities, to work together on projects that serve the interests of the entire nation. We promote understanding, civility and comity between our two communities as a model of American pluralism. One of our priority projects is addressing bigotry in each community directed towards the other community, through outreach and educational efforts. We address the most difficult issues in the Muslim-Jewish relationship. For instance, during the latest conflict between Israel and Hamas in May of this year, IJMA members unanimously agreed to a public statement against antisemitism and expressing sympathy for the victims of the conflict, the only Muslim-Jewish statement of its kind.

US leadership on international religious freedom is urgently needed today, following deadly threats to minorities in Afghanistan, ongoing antisemitism in Europe and the Middle East, anti-Muslim oppression in China and Myanmar, and renewed violence against Christians in Africa and beyond. Rashad provided personal and policy leadership to our civil society group. We look forward to his ability to serve in this new role, once confirmed by the Senate, representing our nation as the Ambassador-at-Large for International Religious Freedom.

SINCERELY,
The Inter Jewish Muslim Alliance (IJMA)

Mohamed Abubakr, President of the
African Middle Eastern Leadership
Project
Atiya Aftab, co-founder of the Sisterhood
of Salaam-Shalom
Majid Alsayegh, Chairman of the
Dialogue Institute
Wa'el Alzayat, CEO of Emgage
Foundation
Adnan Ansari, Executive Director of
Muflehun
Imam Abdullah Antepli, Duke
University professor and co-director of
Muslim Leadership Initiative of the
Shalom Hartman Institute
Marshall Breger, Professor of Law at
Catholic University
Dr. Georgette Bennett, Founder &
President, Tanenbaum Center for
Interreligious Understanding and
Founder, Multifaith Alliance for
Syrian Refugees
Rabia Chaudry, attorney and author

Richard S. Cohen, President of President
of The Walden Group and Marcia's
Light Foundation
Richard Foltin, religious freedom writer
and consultant
Megan Hallahan, Executive Director of
the African Middle Eastern Leadership
Project
S.A. Ibrahim, former CEO of Radian
Group Inc. and interfaith leader
Rizwan Jaka, Chair of Interfaith &
Government Relations, All Dulles Area
Muslim Society
Humera Khan, President of Muflehun
Suhail Khan, External Affairs Director,
Microsoft Corp. and Vice President,
IJMA
Moses Libitzky, President of Libitzky
Property Companies of San Francisco
Maital Friedman, co-director of Muslim
Leadership Initiative of the Shalom
Hartman Institute

Imam Mohamed Magid, All Dulles Area Muslim Society and Chairman of Interfaith Peace Corps	Ann Schroeder, CEO of Global Source Partners, and board member of Dialogue Institute
Rabbi Jack Moline	Imam Talib Shareef, Masjid Muhammad, the Nation's Mosque and Vice Commander of the Muslim Americans Veterans Association
Sharon Nazarian, Senior Vice President for International Affairs, Anti-Defamation League (ADL)	Robert Silverman, Lecturer at Shalem College and President, IJMA
Melanie Nezer, immigration and refugee policy expert	Halie Soifer, Executive Director of the Jewish Democratic Council of America
Sheryl Olitzky, co-founder of the Sisterhood of Salaam-Shalom	
Rabbi David Saperstein, former Ambassador-at-Large for International Religious Freedom	

ADL—JONATHAN GREENBLATT
@JGreenblattADL

Congratulations to Rashad Hussain for his historic nomination for @IRF—Ambassador at Large, and to Rabbi @Skleinbaum and @KMKhan—Law on being appointed as @USCIRF commissioners. @ADL's Task Force on Middle East Minorities looks forward to working with you

ADL—SHARON NAZARIAN, SENIOR VP, INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS
@sharon—nazarian

I proudly joined this coalition letter of American Muslim and Jewish leaders writing to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to express our enthusiastic support for the nomination of Rashad Hussain to be the next US @IRF—Ambassador

THE RELIGIOUS FREEDOM INSTITUTE (RFI) APPLAUDS PRESIDENT JOE BIDEN'S NOMINATION OF RASHAD HUSSAIN AS AMBASSADOR AT LARGE FOR INTERNATIONAL RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

NORTH AMERICA ACTION TEAM, PRESS RELEASE

<https://www.religiousfreedominstitute.org/news/biden-administration-announces-key-international-religious-freedom-appointments>

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM INSTITUTE / TOM FARR
August 2, 2021

The Religious Freedom Institute (RFI) applauds President Joe Biden's nomination of Rashad Hussain as Ambassador at Large for International Religious Freedom, and calls upon the Senate to confirm his appointment as soon as possible.

"This is a critically important position in American foreign policy," said RFI President Tom Farr. "We want President Biden and his administration to succeed at advancing religious freedom abroad. An increase in religious freedom will aid the victims of religious persecution, increase human and social flourishing, enhance global stability, and benefit American national security. RFI will continue to work with Biden administration officials to achieve these goals."

Farr went on to say, "We are in the midst of a global crisis of religious freedom, which makes U.S. leadership critical. RFI provided its recommendations for international religious freedom policy to the Biden administration in January 2021, including the qualifications needed for an effective ambassador at large. Rashad Hussain admirably meets these standards. If America fails to defend the precious right of religious freedom—historically understood in our nation as the 'first freedom'—who else will defend it?"

"Rashad Hussain is a wise choice for International Religious Freedom Ambassador, and I commend the Biden administration for the speed with which it made the nomination. Hussain is eminently qualified for the position, and as a man of

faith, he understands that religious freedom is important because religion is important,” said Ismail Royer, Director of RFI’s Religious Freedom Action Team.

**ELIJAH BROWN, GENERAL SECRETARY AND CEO OF
THE BAPTIST WORLD ALLIANCE**

<https://www.christianitytoday.com/news/2021/july/rashad-hussain-irf-ambassador-religious-freedom-uscirf-khan.html>

Elijah Brown, general secretary and CEO of the Baptist World Alliance, told CT that the nomination is a “strategic development” because Hussain “brings a depth of experience across all three branches of the US government and a wide array of faith-based initiatives including Baptist-Muslim conversations.

**THOMAS SCHIRRMACHER, SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE
WORLD EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE (WEA)**

<https://www.christianitytoday.com/news/2021/july/rashad-hussain-irf-ambassador-religious-freedom-uscirf-khan.html>

“With Rashad, we get one of the most experienced diplomats in dealing with concerned governments, so there is no need for him to warm up,” said Schirrmacher. “He can start to change things tomorrow.”

[Schirrmacher] has had “great experience with Muslim friends filling strategic religious freedom positions,” such as Ahmed Shaheed, the current UN Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Religion or Belief (interviewed by CT here). The WEA is currently “building a strong global alliance with major Muslim actors who fight for religious freedom,” he said, evidenced by a joint statement and book release with Indonesia’s Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) at a DC event adjacent to Brownback’s IRF summit.

**KORI PORTER AND SCOTT BOWER, CEOs OF CHRISTIAN
SOLIDARITY WORLDWIDE**

<https://www.csw.org.uk/2021/08/03/press/5362/article.htm>

Kori Porter: “[I] warmly welcome” Hussain and his “excellent track record speaking out in support of religious minorities and against laws that violate freedom of religion or belief, including blasphemy laws.

“His nomination is an encouraging sign of the importance that the Biden administration places on religious freedom, which is particularly welcome as the world tackles the pandemic and worsening inequalities and rights violations,” she said. “We hope that Mr. Hussein will build on the excellent work of former ambassadors, particularly Ambassadors Saperstein and Brownback, in raising the profile of this fundamental human right.”

Scot Bower: “CSW welcomes the nomination of Rashad Hussain and urges the US Senate to confirm his appointment. Once in post we encourage Mr Hussain to pay close attention to the situation of freedom of religion or belief in China and Nigeria in particular, ensuring that egregious violations of this fundamental human right by the Chinese Communist Party, and by state and armed non-state actors in Nigeria, are kept high on the Biden administration’s agenda.”

**AJC APPLAUDS APPOINTMENT OF RASHAD HUSSAIN TO HEAD
OFFICE OF INTERNATIONAL RELIGIOUS FREEDOM**

<https://www.ajc.org/news/ajc-applauds-appointment-of-rashad-hussain-to-head-office-of-international-religious-freedom>

“Rashad Hussain is an impressive advocate of freedom of religion or belief in challenging diplomatic contexts,” said AJC CEO David Harris. “He is an ally in the glob-

al fight against antisemitism, including in is extensive engagement with the Muslim world, and an experienced advocate for building stronger Muslim-Jewish relations.”

INTERNATIONAL CHRISTIAN CONCERN/PERSECUTION.ORG—FORMER DIPLOMAT AND DOJ ATTORNEY RASHAD HUSSAIN NOMINATED FOR IRF AMBASSADOR

<https://www.persecution.org/2021/08/02/former-diplomat-doj-attorney-rashad-hussain-nominated-irf-ambassador/>

08/02/2021 United States (International Christian Concern)—The Biden administration has nominated a new Ambassador at Large for International Religious Freedom. Rashad Hussain is entering the confirmation process and is expected to be confirmed after which he will join the Department of State's Office of International Religious Freedom. Hussain brings a wealth of experience and knowledge to the position of IRF Ambassador. He is an attorney who served as an associate White House Counsel and as the United States Special Envoy to the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation under then President Barack Obama. Hussain also served in the Department of Justice as a trial attorney as well as a criminal and national security prosecutor. He has developed key partnerships and relationships abroad throughout his career and is well postured to press US interests in international religious freedom.

Hussain was born in Wyoming to Indian American parents and would be the first Muslim to hold the post of IRF Ambassador. His educational background includes the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Harvard, and Yale.

“At International Christian Concern we are excited to see the Biden administration nominate Rashad Hussain for the post of Ambassador at Large for International Religious Freedom and are praying for a successful confirmation process as well as a strong continuation of Ambassador Brownback's legacy in international religious freedom. Christians in India, Pakistan, China, North Korea, Nigeria and across the Middle East need strong advocates in the United States to lead on advancing their fundamental human right to follow Jesus,” said Matias Perttula, Director of Advocacy at International Christian Concern.

OPEN DOORS USA URGES SWIFT CONFIRMATION OF PRESIDENT BIDEN'S PICK FOR AMBASSADOR-AT-LARGE FOR INTERNATIONAL RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

<https://www.opendoorsusa.org/religious-freedom-newsroom/press-kits/>

August 2, 2021

SANTA ANA, Calif.—David Curry, CEO of Christian persecution watchdog organization Open Doors USA urges a swift appointment of Rashad Hussain, President Biden's nomination for the role of Ambassador-at-Large for International Religious Freedom, announced today.

“Open Doors has repeatedly called on the Biden Administration to fill these critical roles to international religious freedom, and we are heartened by today's nominations. Rashad Hussain is a well-qualified nominee with a deep understanding of the factors at play in China, India and elsewhere. We look forward to building together the diverse coalition of leadership necessary to counter the rising tide of religious persecution worldwide,” said Curry.

Curry said, “Mr. Hussain's expertise could play a major role in addressing some of the most challenging issues facing Christians, especially in the Middle East and West Africa. We urge the Senate to take action on religious freedom by confirming his nomination quickly.”

The Ambassador-at-Large for International Religious Freedom is the key coordinator for U.S. government policy on the persecution of religious communities around the world. Without multinational leadership committed to advocating for religious freedom, Curry says the condition of persecuted groups is not likely to improve anytime soon.

Open Doors asserts top priorities for any new International Religious Freedom Ambassador must include the extreme violence against Christians in Nigeria, the genocide against Uyghur Muslims in China, and the deterioration of religious freedoms in India, among others. The core of religious freedom is a call for equality,

tolerance and acceptance for all people of faith, no matter how or whether they choose to believe.

Isaac Six, Director of Advocacy for Open Doors USA, said, “We’re glad to see the White House answer the call of Open Doors USA and many other groups who have been advocating for a qualified appointment to this position since the start of the Biden administration.”

“We also welcome the nomination of the Special Envoy to Monitor and Combat Anti-Semitism and the appointment of two new USCIRF Commissioners. We urge Senator McConnell to fill the last remaining vacancy on the Commission in a timely manner,” said Six.

SOUTHERN BAPTIST ETHICS & RELIGIOUS LIBERTY COMMISSION COMMENDS FILLING OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM POST

<https://www.baptistpress.com/resource-library/news/erlc-commends-filling-of-religious-freedom-post/>

August 3, 2021

The Southern Baptist Ethics & Religious Liberty Commission commended President Biden’s proposed filling of a vital executive branch post in the effort to protect people of faith around the world.

Biden announced July 30 the nomination of Rashad Hussain as ambassador-at-large for international religious freedom. If confirmed by the U.S. Senate, Hussain—director for partnerships and global engagement at the National Security Council—will be the first Muslim to serve in the position since it was created in 1998 as part of the International Religious Freedom Act.

The action came as the ERLC and other religious freedom advocates are urging the U.S. House of Representatives to approve legislation to combat China’s genocidal campaign against Uyghur Muslims in the western part of the country. The U.S. Senate passed July 14 the Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act, which would prohibit products made with forced labor in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region from being introduced into the American market. The House passed a similar bill nearly unanimously last September before the measure died in the Senate.

Messengers to the Southern Baptist Convention’s annual meeting adopted a resolution June 15 that condemned the Chinese Communist Party’s treatment of the Uyghurs and called for the U.S. government to take “concrete actions” to end the genocide. The SBC reportedly became the first Christian denomination to denounce China’s campaign against the Uyghurs as genocide.

“One need only take a brief survey of the globe to see how religious freedom is under assault in multiple countries,” the ERLC’s Brent Leatherwood said in written comments. “We have long called for America to be a bold voice for liberty against these oppressive regimes. Taking steps such as passing the Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act . helps us project that voice.

“Similarly, naming a U.S. ambassador-at-large for international religious freedom helps us to consistently use that voice,” said Leatherwood, the ERLC’s vice president of external affairs and chief of staff. “We appreciate the Biden administration prioritizing this appointment, and we stand ready to work with Mr. Hussain upon his confirmation to advance the fundamental human right of religious freedom internationally.”

JOHNNIE MOORE, FORMER USCIRF COMMISSIONER AND SPOKESMAN FOR PRESIDENT TRUMP’S EVANGELICAL ADVISERS

<https://www.christianitytoday.com/news/2021/july/rashad-hussain-irf-ambassador-religious-freedom-uscirf-khan.html>

Former USCIRF commissioner and spokesman for President Trump’s evangelical advisers Johnnie Moore congratulated Hussain and the other appointees and told CT he’ll “look forward to collaborating with each of them in order to advance the freedom of religion and belief around the world.

“There will, as always, be divergent points of view on certain ideas, policies, and strategies, but international religious freedom continues to be-and must remain-al-

most entirely bipartisan,” he said. “In fact, it must be nonpartisan. I intend on doing my part to keep it so.”

JIM WALLIS
@jimwallis

Aug 4

I fully support the nomination of Rashad Hussain by @POTUS to be @IRF—Ambassador. He has significant experience, depth of perspective, and broad concerns for people of all faiths. I’ve seen first hand his ability to relate to a broad cross section of very diverse people.

KNOX THAMES

<https://www.christianitytoday.com/news/2021/july/rashad-hussain-irf-ambassador-religious-freedom-uscirf-khan.html>

Knox Thames, who served as the State Department’s special advisor for religious minorities during both the Obama and Trump administrations, told CT that Hussain was “a strong pick.”

“He knows human rights and cares about religious freedom,” said Thames. “I saw firsthand how he raised these issues when he served as [OIC envoy]. I know he’ll be able to hit the ground running from day one to combat religious persecution.”

INSTITUTE FOR GLOBAL ENGAGEMENT

<https://www.christianitytoday.com/news/2021/july/rashad-hussain-irf-ambassador-religious-freedom-uscirf-khan.html>

“The task of advancing religious freedom is best done when all faiths work together,” James Chen, vice president of global operations at the Institute for Global Engagement, told CT. “So the Biden administration’s appointment of Mr. Hussain is encouraging to see.”

CHRIS SEIPLE, PRESIDENT EMERITUS, INSTITUTE FOR GLOBAL ENGAGEMENT & GLOBAL POLICY ADVISER TO THE WORLD EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE

<https://twitter.com/CSeiple/status/1451148806876286978>

“@SenateDems should unanimously confirm Rashad Hussein as next US Ambassador-at-Large for International Religious Freedom. Rashad embodies and firmly believes in liberty of conscience for everyone, everywhere. With @bobrobertsjr @dallasnews”

BOB ROBERTS, SENIOR PASTOR OF NORTHWOOD CHURCH AND
FOUNDER OF MULTI-FAITH NEIGHBORS NETWORK

<https://www.christianitytoday.com/news/2021/july/rashad-hussain-irf-ambassador-religious-freedom-uscirf-khan.html>

Bob Roberts, global senior pastor of Northwood Church and founder of Multi-Faith Neighbors Network, told CT he was “so excited” for Hussain’s nomination.

“He will be incredible. He’s a wise man of character,” said Roberts. “Him being a Muslim is a very positive thing, in that he will be able to walk into sensitive places in the world and be unparalleled in his ability to understand, speak to issues, and challenge right actions.”

“We’ve had Christians in that role and a rabbi in David Saperstein,” he said. “A Muslim is a good choice.”

RANDEL EVERETT, FOUNDER AND PASTOR OF 21WILBERFORCE

<https://www.christianitytoday.com/news/2021/july/rashad-hussain-irf-ambassador-religious-freedom-uscirf-khan.html>

“President Biden’s appointment of a Muslim [IRF ambassador] is a reminder that the US position on religious freedom has always been for people of all faiths and even for those who express no particular faith,” Randel Everett, founder and president of 21Wilberforce, told CT.

“I join with many others in urging Congress to quickly confirm [him] to this ambassadorship,” he said, “as many—especially in light of the ongoing global pandemic—face unprecedented restrictions as they seek to live out their faith convictions.”

**JEREMY BARKER, MIDDLE EAST PROGRAM DIRECTOR,
RELIGIOUS FREEDOM INSTITUTE**

<https://www.christianitytoday.com/news/2021/july/rashad-hussain-irf-ambassador-religious-freedom-uscirf-khan.html>

Jeremy Barker, the Erbil-based Middle East program director at the Religious Freedom Institute, told CT that Hussain is “a great choice” who has “done serious security and diplomatic policy work which will be vital in advancing religious freedom within an administration that had said it wants to prioritize human rights within its foreign policy.

“He is also a person of faith who takes his own religion seriously and understands that religious persecution strikes at something fundamental to an individual or community,” said Barker.

“International religious freedom has been and should remain an issue with overwhelming bipartisan support. The Senate should move quickly to get Mr. Hussain confirmed and in the job,” he said. “The work is too important to be left undone and the Biden administration is to be commended for putting a qualified nominee forward early in the process.”

**PAUL MARSHALL, RELIGIOUS FREEDOM CHAIR, INSTITUTE
FOR STUDIES OF RELIGION, BAYLOR UNIVERSITY**

<https://www.christianitytoday.com/news/2021/july/rashad-hussain-irf-ambassador-religious-freedom-uscirf-khan.html>

“President Biden is to be congratulated for having moved relatively quickly in nominating people for religious freedom related posts,” Paul Marshall, a veteran IRF scholar and author and the religious freedom chair at the Institute for Studies of Religion at Baylor University, told CT. He noted that Lipstadt is “a skilled veteran” and that Hussein’s envoy roles had “shown both his abilities and his commitment to religious freedom.”

“Having a Muslim in the religious freedom ambassadorship may allay the canard that this is simply a sop to the religious right,” said Marshall, currently a senior fellow at the DC-based Religious Freedom Institute and the Jakarta-based Leimena Institute.

NADINE MAENZA, CHAIR OF THE US COMMISSION ON
INTERNATIONAL RELIGIOUS FREEDOM (USCIRF)

<https://www.christianitytoday.com/news/2021/july/rashad-hussain-irf-ambassador-religious-freedom-uscirf-khan.html>

“We look forward to working closely with [them] to develop new ways for the United States to promote the freedom of religion or belief around the world,” she stated in a press release. “Global religious freedom violations continue to be a pervasive threat to our national security and global stability. [They] play an essential role in US efforts to counter that threat.”

JUDD BIRDSALL

<https://www.christianitytoday.com/news/2021/july/rashad-hussain-irf-ambassador-religious-freedom-uscirf-khan.html>

Judd Birdsall, a senior research fellow at the Berkley Center for Religion, Peace, and World Affairs at Georgetown University who served with Hussain at the State Department from 2009-2011, told CT that the nomination is a “fantastic choice” because Hussain has “impeccable credentials, extensive diplomatic and legal experience, and unique credibility as a Muslim American.”

“I greatly respected his thoughtful, humble, and capacious approach to all things religion and diplomacy, including the promotion of religious freedom,” said Birdsall. “He understands the religious minority experience and is a passionate advocate for all those who suffer on account of their beliefs.”

Also noteworthy is the speed of the nomination, coming at a similar pace to President Donald Trump’s selection of Brownback as IRF ambassador after just six months.

“The most tangible measure of an administration’s commitment to international religious freedom is the quality of its IRF ambassador nominee and the speed with which it makes that nomination,” Birdsall told CT. “Whereas President Bush took 14 months to announce his nominee for the job and Obama took 17, Biden is strongly signaling his commitment to the issue by taking only seven months to announce an outstanding nominee.

“By nominating a Muslim to serve as IRF ambassador, the Biden administration is decisively turning the page on an era in which a perception of anti-Muslim sentiment undermined the nation’s reputation on religious freedom,” he said. “Rashad Hussain will help to restore America’s credibility as a champion of tolerance and inclusion.”

**Material Submitted Supporting the Confirmation of Rashad Hussain to be
Ambassador-at-Large for International Religious Freedom**

Submitted by The International Religious Freedom Roundtable



The Honorable Bob Menendez
Chairman of the Committee
United States Senate
528 Hart Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, DC 20510

The Honorable James E. Risch
Ranking Member of the Committee
United States Senate
528 Hart Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Chairman Menendez and Ranking Member Risch:

We write as an informal group of organizations and individuals who are scholars, religious and secular leaders, human rights advocates and practitioners to urge your full support for the immediate confirmation of Rashad Hussain as the new Ambassador-at-Large for International Religious Freedom.

While we hold a broad diversity of theological views and political positions, we all agree on the importance of international religious freedom. According to the Pew Research Center's most recent report on government restrictions on religion, the median level of restrictions globally now is at its highest since Pew began tracking these trends in 2007.¹ For example, Uyghur Muslims in China face intrusive surveillance, imprisonment, and forced labor, Christian and Yazidi communities in the Middle East are threatened with destruction, and the Rohingya in Burma continue to be targets of government and societal violence. With these rising threats and numerous other pressing dangers to fundamental and universal human rights, it is vital that an Ambassador-at-Large for International Religious Freedom is swiftly confirmed.

Religious freedom strengthens cultures and provides the foundation for stable democracies and their components, including civil society, economic growth, and social harmony. As such, it is also an effective counter-terrorism weapon as it pre-emptively undermines religious extremism. History and modern scholarship make it clear that where people are allowed to practice their faith freely, they are less likely to be alienated from the government, and more likely to be good citizens.

It is vitally important that this position be filled as soon as possible. For even as we speak, the cause of religious freedom finds itself in an increasingly precarious position, as we see restrictions on religion rising around the world. In addition to the rising level of government

¹ *Government restrictions on religion rise globally*. Pew Research Center's Religion & Public Life Project. (2020, November 12). <https://www.pewforum.org/2020/11/10/in-2018-government-restrictions-on-religion-reach-highest-level-globally-in-more-than-a-decade/>

restrictions, the severity of these has been increasing as well; 28% of countries now have what PEW defines as “high” or “very high” levels of restrictions on religion.

Mr. Rashad Hussain is impeccably qualified for the position of Ambassador-at-Large for International Religious Freedom. He has worked to promote religious freedom for people of all faiths for more than a decade, having served as U.S. Special Envoy to the Organization of Islamic Cooperation from 2010-2015 and U.S. Special Envoy for strategic counterterrorism communications from 2015-2017. He currently serves as the Director for Partnerships and Global Engagement at the U.S. National Security Council. Throughout his career, Mr. Hussain has shown a deep commitment to not only the global cause of religious freedom, but to performing his work with excellence. This is clearly demonstrated by his long-standing track record of protecting the Freedom of Religion and Belief:

- He received the Distinguished Honor Award in 2013 for his exceptional service to US government agencies.
- He collaborated with civil society and religious leaders on the [Marrakech Declaration](#), a resolution endorsed by over 300 major Muslim scholars calling for action to protect the rights of Christians and other minorities in Muslim-majority countries.
- He led negotiations to eliminate the OIC’s “[Defamation of Religions](#)” resolution at the United Nations that had supported blasphemy laws and criminalization of speech.
- He led interfaith delegations [to Egypt](#) to address mistreatment and discrimination against the country’s Coptic Christians; [to the Central African Republic](#) to address religious-based violence; and to Pakistan to address discriminatory policies and the mistreatment of the Ahmadi community.
- He has spearheaded efforts on countering antisemitism and protecting religious minorities in Muslim-majority countries, including traveling with two [delegations](#) of US and international imams to the [Holocaust sites](#).
- He has highlighted persecution of minority religious communities through visits to China, India, the Cox’s Bazaar Rohingya refugee camps, Bahrain, and a number of European nations.

We urge you now to swiftly move this nomination to the Senate floor and confirm Mr. Rashad Hussain as the new Ambassador- at-Large for International Religious Freedom. The appointment of the new IRF Ambassador will reaffirm the importance of this fundamental human right and assure persecuted communities that America continues to stand for their freedoms. In order to reach the solutions that our global challenges demand, it is vital that this position be filled.

Respectfully,

Greg Mitchell
Chair, International Religious Freedom Roundtable
Chair, IRF Secretariat

ORGANIZATIONS

AFRICA FAITH AND JUSTICE NETWORK

ALEVI PHILOSOPHY CENTER ASSOCIATION

ASSOCIATION FOR ADVANCEMENT OF FREEDOM OF RELIGION OR

BAPTIST WORLD ALLIANCE

BEKTASHI COMMUNITY OF NORTHERN MACEDONIA

BELIEG-VIETNAM

BELLWETHER INTERNATIONAL

BOAT PEOPLE SOS

CAMPAIGN FOR UYGHURS

CENTER FOR PLURALISM

CHINA AID ASSOCIATION

CHURCHES FOR MIDDLE EAST PEACE

CHURCH OF SCIENTOLOGY NATIONAL AFFAIRS OFFICE

COORDINATION DES ASSOCIATIONS ET DES PARTICULIERS POUR LA LIBERTE DE

CON DAU PARISHIONERS ASSOCIATION

CONSCIENCE

CSW USA

FAITH & LIBERTY

GREAT TRUTH

GWCCCE

HUMAN RIGHTS WITHOUT FRONTIERS

HINDUS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

INDIAN AMERICAN MUSLIM COUNCIL
INSTITUTE FOR GLOBAL ENGAGEMENT
INTERFAITH COMMUNITY TREASURE COAST
INTERNATIONAL CHRISTIAN CONCERN
INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE ON NIGERIA
INTERNATIONAL INTERFAITH PEACE CORPS
INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION TO PRESERVE HUMAN RIGHTS
JUNIOR SACERDOTAL COUNCIL OF CAO DAI
JUSTICE FOR ALL
LACUNA GROUP INTERNATIONAL
MINARET FOUNDATION
MUSLIM WOMEN SPEAKERS
OPEN DOORS USA
PARITY
RED EAGLE FREEDOM INSTITUTE
RELIGIOUS FREEDOM COALITION
RELIGIOUS FREEDOM INSTITUTE
RUMI FORUM
STAND LEAGUE
THE UNION OF COUNCILS FOR JEWS IN THE FORMER SOVIET UNION
UNITED MACEDONIAN DIASPORA
21WILBERFORCE

Individuals

With titles and organizations for identification purposes only

Colonel James E. Schaefer
Chaplain, U.S. Army (retd.)

Dogan Bermek
Alevi Philosophy Center

Dr. Ger FirsGerald
George Mason University

Dr. James C Wallace
Lacuna Group International

Dr. Judd Birdsall
Senior Research Fellow
Georgetown University

Dr. Katrina Lantos Swett
Lantos Foundation

Gary Van Kernen
Executive Committee New York State Council of Churches

Ghaidaa Heto
I-Strategic LLC

Hamid Gharagozloo
International Organization to Preserve Human Rights

Hanh Thai-Tang
Junior Sacerdotal Council of Caodai

İbrahim Anli
Rumi Forum

Isaac Six
Senior Director
Open Doors USA

Jeremy P. Barker
Director of the Middle East Action Team
Religious Freedom Institute

Kori Porter
CEO
CSW USA

1934

Kyle Abts
Executive Director
International Committee on Nigeria

Larry Lerner
President
The Union of Councils for Jews in the former Soviet Union (UCSJ)

Mike Ghouse
Center for Pluralism

Mohamed Elsanousi
The Network for Religious and Traditional Peacemakers

Osman Oztoprak
Alliance for Shared Values

Rasheed Ahmed
Indian American Muslim Council

Reverend Elijah M. Brown, PhD
General Secretary and CEO
Baptist World Alliance

Reverend Lydia Gonzalez
GWCCCE

Reverend Marian Edmonds-Allen
Parity

Reverend Sue Taylor
Church of Scientology National Affairs Office

Scott Morgan
Red Eagle Enterprises

Sydney Kochan
Special Projects Coordinator
Jubilee Campaign

Thang Nguyen
CEO and President
Boat People SOS

Thierry Valle
President
Coordination des Associations et des Particuliers pour la Liberté de Conscience

Tony Tran
Con Dau Parishioners Association

William Jay Murray
President
Religious Freedom Coalition

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Submitted by Multifaith International Religious Freedom Advocates

The Honorable Charles E. Schumer
Majority Leader
United States Senate
Washington, DC 20510

The Honorable Mitch McConnell
Minority Leader
United States Senate
Washington, DC 20510

The Honorable Bob Menendez
Chairman, Committee on Foreign Relations
United States Senate
Washington, DC 20510

The Honorable James E. Risch
Ranking Member, Committee on Foreign
Relations
United States Senate
Washington, DC 20510

October 25, 2021

Dear Senators Schumer, McConnell, Menendez and Risch:

We, the undersigned leaders and international religious freedom advocates in American Christian, Jewish, and Muslim communities, are writing to strongly support the confirmation of Rashad Hussain for the position of Ambassador-at-Large for International Religious Freedom. We have worked alongside and followed Special Envoy Hussain's pioneering work on advancing religious freedom since he was Special Envoy to the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) in 2010. Special Envoy Hussain's experience working with religious leaders will be uniquely valuable in advancing religious freedom of persecuted Christian, Jewish, and other minorities.

As part of his experience working with governments, civil society, and multilateral organizations around the world, Hussain has been a champion for human rights, countering extremist violence, and promoting peace through partnerships. He has worked in all three branches of government and presently serves in the National Security Council, returning to the White House following five years at the Justice Department's National Security Division. We are confident that Hussain will be a fierce advocate for religious freedom, as he was when he was the OIC Envoy.

Special Envoy Hussain has played a leading role in working with government and civil society in efforts to protect the rights of Christian, Jewish, Muslim, and other religious minorities around the world. This work has taken him – often with interfaith delegations he has led – on religious freedom missions to address difficult circumstances in a number of countries, including Afghanistan, the Central African Republic, Egypt, China, and Bangladesh. Consistent with these efforts, in 2011, he led an effort at the UN Human Rights Council to remove and replace the "Defamation of Religions" resolution that for years supported criminalization of speech and the use of blasphemy laws.

Perhaps even more significantly, Hussain facilitated an effort that was endorsed by the OIC to protect Christian and other minority communities in Muslim-majority countries. This initiative culminated in the Marrakesh Declaration, a ground-breaking document signed by over 300 leading Muslim religious leaders and scholars around the world. Hussain has also worked to counter

anti-Semitism, and he has traveled with US and international imams to Holocaust sites in Germany and Poland.

Special Envoy Hussain is a respected figure in the American Muslim and interfaith communities who possesses a remarkable combination of experience, knowledge, diplomatic ability, and important relationships that will advance our national interests in unique ways at this important time in history. We enthusiastically urge you to confirm him in this role.

Sincerely,¹

1. Dr. Judd Birdsall, Director, Transatlantic Policy Network on Religion and Diplomacy (TPNRD); senior research fellow at the Berkley Center for Religion, Peace, and World Affairs
2. Rev. Dr. Elijah M. Brown, General Secretary, Baptist World Alliance
3. Rev. Susan Hayward, United Church of Christ and Professor at the Harvard Divinity School
4. Suhail Khan, Senior Fellow, Institute for Global Engagement, VP of Inter Jewish Muslim Alliance, and Member, Muslim Jewish Advisory Council
5. Rabbi M. Bruce Lustig, Senior Rabbi, Washington Hebrew Congregation, Member of Higher Committee of the Human Fraternity
6. Imam Mohammed Magid, President, International Interfaith Peace Corps
7. Rabbi Noam Marans, Director, Interreligious and Intergroup Relations, American Jewish Committee
8. Dr. A. Roy Medley, General Secretary Emeritus, American Baptist Churches, USA
9. Rabbi Jack Moline, President of Interfaith Alliance
10. Pastor Bob Roberts, Global Senior Evangelical Pastor Northwood Church, Founder of Glocalnet & Multifaith Neighbors Network
11. Ambassador Rabbi David Saperstein, former Ambassador-at-Large for International Religious Freedom, Director Emeritus of the Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism
12. Dr. Chris Seiple, President Emeritus of the Institute for Global Engagement (IGE) and global policy advisor to the executive leadership of the World Evangelical Alliance
13. Imam Talib Shareef, the Nation's Mosque, Masjid Muhammad
14. Robert Silverman, Co-Founder, Inter Jewish Muslim Alliance

¹ Signatories are signing in their personal capacities; affiliations are listed for identification purposes only.

15. Katrina Lantos Swett, Past Chair and Vice-Chair of USCIRF, Co-Chair of the IRF Summit 2021 and President of the Lantos Foundation for Human Rights and Justice
16. Rev. Adam Russell Taylor, President, Sojourners
17. Knox Thames, Senior Fellow, Institute of Global Engagement (IGE); Visiting Expert, U.S. Institute of Peace; former Special Advisor for Religious Minorities in the Near East and South / Central Asia, U.S. Department of State
18. Dr. Bill Vendley, Religions for Peace, Secretary General Emeritus
19. Rev. Jim Wallis, Chair in Faith and Justice, McCourt School of Public Policy, and Director, Georgetown University Center on Faith and Justice; Founder and Ambassador, Sojourners
20. Dr. Barbara Williams-Skinner, Co-Convener, National African American Clergy Network
21. Rev. Jim Winkler, President and General Secretary of the National Council of Churches
22. Dr. C. Jeff Woods, Interim General Secretary, American Baptist Churches USA

Submitted by Muslim American Civil Society Organizations

The Honorable Charles E. Schumer
Majority Leader
United States Senate
Washington, DC 20510

The Honorable Mitch McConnell
Minority Leader
United States Senate
Washington, DC 20510

The Honorable Bob Menendez
Chairman, Committee on Foreign Relations
United States Senate
Washington, DC 20510

The Honorable James E. Risch
Ranking Member, Committee on Foreign
Relations
United States Senate
Washington, DC 20510

October 25, 2021

Dear Senators Schumer, McConnell, Menendez and Risch:

We, the undersigned Muslim American civil society organizations, write to provide our strongest support for the confirmation of Rashad Hussain as Ambassador at Large for International Religious Freedom. We can think of no one more qualified for this role.

Mr. Hussain is an award-winning diplomat, attorney, and highly respected community leader who has worked in all branches of the federal government, including executive branch service at the White House, the Justice Department's National Security Division, and the State Department. He has dedicated his public service career to advancing U.S. national security and promoting and protecting human rights, particularly religious freedom.

As Special Envoy to the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, Mr. Hussain prioritized religious freedom and led several ground-breaking initiatives that served to advance religious freedom for all, and particularly for minority religious communities. For example, Mr. Hussain:

- facilitated a major global initiative promulgating the Marrakesh Declaration, a document signed by over 300 credible Muslim scholars from around the world articulating from within the Islamic textual tradition the rights of minorities living in Muslim-majority countries.
- led the successful effort to end the pernicious "Defamation of Religions" resolution in the UN, and to replace it with a consensus plan of action to combat religious discrimination that fully complied with U.S. First Amendment principles. This year, the international community celebrated the 10-year anniversary of that accomplishment, which has created a robust platform for the international exchange of best practices on protecting religious freedom.
- helped organize Muslim leaders on two trips to visit Holocaust sites to address Holocaust denial and strengthen the interfaith commitment to combating atrocity crimes.

- led an interfaith delegation to the Central African Republic to promote inter-religious peace, which resulted in a sustained civil society capacity building program to support the national dialogue.
- led an interfaith delegation to Egypt to help protect the Coptic Christian community.

Mr. Hussain also executed some of the most sensitive and difficult diplomatic and civil society engagements on the topic of religion. He traveled to Afghanistan twice to promote peace and to calm tensions arising from the alleged desecration of the Quran by U.S. personnel. He pressed Pakistani officials on the need to protect the Ahmadiyya Muslim population in Pakistan from ongoing repression. And he worked to promote intra-faith harmony in Bahrain, including by meeting for the first time ever by a U.S. diplomat Ayatollah Isa Qassim, the leader of the Bahraini Shia community at the time.

All of these experiences demonstrate that Mr. Hussain is the right person for this role at this time. There are two ongoing genocides in the world, both of which target Muslims: the Uighur genocide in Xinjiang and the Rohingya genocide in Myanmar. Muslims are also targeted for state-sanctioned violence in many parts of the world, including in India. With his depth of experience on human rights and multilateral diplomacy, Mr. Hussain would be able to use the Ambassador at Large position to galvanize international support to address these situations.

Moreover, Mr. Hussain's credibility with Muslim counterparts and interlocutors gives him an advantage in pressing Muslim-majority countries to fully protect the rights of religious minorities, including Christians, Jews, and non-Sunni minority Muslim groups. He has successfully done this in the past, and as the Ambassador at Large, would be able to devote his full attention to this important foreign policy priority.

Since the adoption of the International Religious Freedom Act of 1998, we have had five Ambassadors serve in this role. If confirmed, Mr. Hussain would be the first Muslim American in the role, which would send a clear and unmistakable message that Muslims are an integral part of the American interfaith mosaic.

Mr. Hussain's record of service is exemplary, and his dedication to promoting U.S. national security is unassailable. We are certain that he is the best candidate for the role of Ambassador at Large for International Religious Freedom, and we urge you to confirm him expeditiously to advance our national interest in protecting human rights around the globe.

Sincerely,

1. All Dulles Area Muslim Society (ADAMS)
2. America Indivisible
3. American Islam
4. American Muslim Bar Association (AMBA)
5. American Muslim Health Professionals (AMHP)
6. Arakan Rohingya Union
7. Association of Muslim Scientists, Engineers, and Technology Professionals (AMSET)
8. Burmese Rohingya Association of North America
9. Burmese Rohingya Community of Georgia

10. Council of Islamic Organizations of Greater Chicago (CIOGC)
11. EMGAGE
12. Global Deaf Muslim (GDM)
13. Illinois Muslim Civic Coalition
14. International Interfaith Peace Corps (IIPC)
15. Islamic Medical Association of North America (IMANA)
16. Islamic Networks Group (ING)
17. Islamic Society of Central Florida
18. Islamic Society of Greater Houston (ISGH)
19. IslamInSpanish
20. Justice for All
21. KARAMAH: Muslim Women Laywers for Human Rights
22. Masjid Muhammad, The Nation's Mosque
23. Michigan Muslim Community Council (MMCC)
24. Muslim Alliance in North America (MANA)
25. Muslim Bar Association of New York (MUBANY)
26. Muslim Democrats
27. Muslim Public Affairs Council (MPAC)
28. Muslim Public Service Network (MPSN)
29. National Association of Muslim Lawyers (NAML)
30. Poligon Education Fund
31. Shaykh Hamza Yusuf, Zaytuna College
32. Shaykh Waleed Basyouni, AlMaghrib Institute
33. Universal Muslim Association of America (UMAA)
34. Women in Islam Inc.
35. Women's Islamic Initiative in Spirituality & Equality (WISE)

NOMINATIONS

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 2021

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

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:00 a.m., by video-conference, Hon. Tim Kaine presiding.

Present: Senators Kaine [presiding], Shaheen, Markey, Van Hollen, Romney, and Young.

Also Present: Senators Baldwin, Graham, and Hickenlooper.

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

Senator KAINE. Good morning to everyone. I see my ranking member for this nominations hearing, Senator Romney, on the line. I think we will go ahead and get started.

This meeting of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee is here to consider four important nominees to be ambassadors to countries that are good allies of the United States: Thomas Barrett to be Ambassador to Luxembourg, Jamie Harpootlian to be Ambassador to Slovenia, Scott Miller to be Ambassador to Switzerland and Lichtenstein, and Erik Ramanathan of Massachusetts to be Ambassador to Sweden.

I want to congratulate each of you on your nominations to these important posts. I know a couple of you pretty well.

Mayor Barrett, it is really good to see you, in particular, and I want to thank you for your willingness to serve and also the willingness of your families to have you serve. This is a family challenge and a family sacrifice and also a family opportunity.

I have four distinguished Senate colleagues who will each introduce one of the nominees: Senators Baldwin, Graham, Hickenlooper, and Markey. We are going to turn to my colleagues first for these introductions before proceeding to open remarks, my opening remarks and Senator Romney's, and then to opening statements from the nominees.

If I could ask Senator Baldwin to begin and introduce Thomas Barrett.

STATEMENT OF HON. TAMMY BALDWIN, U.S. SENATOR FROM WISCONSIN

Senator BALDWIN. Thank you, Chairman Kaine. I am really honored to join you today to introduce Tom Barrett as you consider his nomination as United States Ambassador to the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg.

Tom Barrett learned our strong Wisconsin work ethic as a young man, working his way through college as a parts worker, dock man, and as a factory worker at Harley-Davidson in Milwaukee.

He received a BA Phi Beta Kappa from the University of Wisconsin Madison and a JD with honors from the University of Wisconsin Law School in Madison. After law school, he clerked for the Honorable Robert W. Warren, who was nominated by President Nixon to the Federal District Court for the Eastern District of Wisconsin, based in Milwaukee.

With a deep commitment to public service, Tom has committed his life to working as a public servant, serving in the Wisconsin State Assembly, the Wisconsin State Senate, and working for five terms as a member of the U.S. House of Representatives, where I had the pleasure of calling him a colleague.

He served on the Committee on Energy and Commerce, where he was a tireless advocate for job creation and worker training. He also served on the Banking and Financial Services, Government Reform and Oversight, and Judiciary Committees.

Serving as mayor of Milwaukee since 2004, he has worked hard on economic development efforts, bringing billions of dollars in private investment across the city and working to create jobs and grow our economy.

In addition to spearheading multiple clean green initiatives in the city to clean up rivers, parks, and brownfields, he has led the Great Lakes mayors in both Canada and the United States as chair of the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence Cities Initiative.

Tom Barrett's long career of public service at the state and federal level, combined with years of hands-on business and management experience as mayor, demonstrate that he is well qualified to represent the United States of America as Ambassador to the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg.

I really thank you for giving me the opportunity to join you here today. I have known Mayor Barrett for many years, both as a colleague and a friend, and I strongly support his nomination and respectfully ask the committee to support his nomination as well.

Thank you.

Senator Kaine. Thank you so much, Senator Baldwin.

Next, Senator Graham will introduce Ms. Harpootlian.

**STATEMENT OF HON. LINDSEY GRAHAM,
U.S. SENATOR FROM SOUTH CAROLINA**

Senator GRAHAM. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman and Ranking Member. It is my pleasure to introduce to you Jamie Harpootlian from South Carolina.

Slovenia is a very important NATO ally. I was there not long ago. It is a beautiful place and a very dicey region. You want to send your best and I think Jamie was a great choice by President Biden. She is a graduate of Mary Baldwin College, which should go a long way with the chairman here.

[Laughter.]

Senator GRAHAM. She did really well there and went to Tulane Law School and graduated with distinction. She volunteered to be a hearing officer for the Department of Justice for the 9/11 Victims Compensation Fund. She is well known in South Carolina legal cir-

cles and practiced in federal court and has a really great reputation in our state as a problem solver.

I just think President Biden did the country a great service by nominating Jamie to this important posting. She has the skill set, I think, to represent our country in a very honorable and effective way in a region where America's voice is important.

Russia is up to no good all over that part of the world, and with Jamie there, she will keep an eye on the Russians and be a good ally to our friends in Slovenia. I completely wholeheartedly support her and I know that she has the support of people all over my state. She will do a great job for us.

Jamie, congratulations, and hope you get through this thing quickly and I will come see you.

Ms. HARPOOTLIAN. Thank you.

Senator KAINE. Thank you so much, Senator Graham.

Next, if Senator Hickenlooper is on, he will introduce Mr. Miller. Do I see Senator Hickenlooper?

[No response.]

Senator KAINE. I do not, so what I will do is I will go to Senator Markey. Senator Markey is going to introduce Mr. Ramanathan.

Ed, please unmute.

Senator MARKEY. Can you hear me now?

Okay. Beautiful. Thank you, Tim.

**STATEMENT OF HON. EDWARD J. MARKEY,
U.S. SENATOR FROM MASSACHUSETTS**

Senator MARKEY. It is my pleasure to introduce Erik Ramanathan to be our next ambassador to the Kingdom of Sweden.

Erik grew up in western New York, the son of public school teachers, and while New York is Erik's native home, Massachusetts is where he studied and spent much of his professional life and is his adopted home.

Erik, his husband, Ranesh, and their son, Christopher, live on Heard Pond, one of our state's treasured national wildlife refuges outside of Boston. He is also a graduate of Harvard Law School.

Some years after graduating he returned to Cambridge to run Harvard Center for the Legal Profession, whose mission is to help lawyers and instructors realize their full potential in their respective professions.

After building a career as a life sciences attorney, Erik transitioned to the nonprofit sector, where for more than a decade he has served as the chair of the national public health services nonprofit, Heluna Health, and under Erik's leadership Heluna has grown to help our nation's frontline hospital workers in the battle against the dual opioid and COVID-19 pandemics.

His commitment to helping those in need will serve him well as he embarks upon this important role representing the United States. Our friendship with Sweden dates back to the first Swedish immigrants who arrived in Delaware in the middle part of the 17th century.

Sweden was one of the first countries to recognize U.S. independence in 1783 and it has been a steady partner in advancing our common interests and values. Ingrained in Sweden's foreign policy is a commitment to equality, sustainable development, and human

rights, all issues that Erik has championed in his professional career and public service.

Sweden was one of the first countries in the world to commit to marriage equality, and the Kingdom is second to none in its commitment to gender equality.

As Ambassador, Erik will bring to Stockholm his own lifetime of commitment to fighting for equality, and as the leader of the Board of Immigration Equality, Erik worked to champion the rights of LGBTI asylees.

Erik is on the board of several education and professional development nonprofits in Massachusetts and spends his free time cleaning up the Sudbury and Concord River watersheds, whose beauty have inspired poets and authors alike.

His accomplished career in law, the private sector, public health, and his service to his community make him a great choice to be our next Ambassador to Sweden.

I urge swift confirmation for Erik, an adopted son of the Commonwealth, for this important post.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for allowing me to testify.

Senator KAINE. Senator Markey, thank you so much.

Senator Hickenlooper has now joined us and he will introduce our fourth nominee, Mr. Miller.

**STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN W. HICKENLOOPER,
U.S. SENATOR FROM COLORADO**

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Great. Good morning, Mr. Chairman, and good morning to all of you. Good morning, Mr. Ranking Member, members of the committee.

It is my privilege and my great honor to introduce Scott Miller, who is President Biden's nominee for U.S. Ambassador to the Swiss Confederation and the Principality of Liechtenstein.

I have known Scott for almost 20 years and I cannot imagine a better person to be representing our country and negotiating on our behalf than Scott. If approved by this chamber, Scott will be headed to Europe and I think you could argue this will not be a moment too soon.

There is a lot on the agenda in the months and the years ahead: navigating a global pandemic, facilitating an inclusive economic reality, recovery from that pandemic, shoring up the transatlantic relationship to counter an increasingly assertive China, an increasingly assertive Russia, defending democracy amidst the creeping spread of authoritarianism around the world, and addressing the existential threat of climate change at every level.

Fortunately, Switzerland and Liechtenstein are enduring trusted partners on all of these issues as well as many others. They share our commitment to democratic values, the rule of law, free markets. They have similarly vibrant open economies like our own and they have strong bilateral collaboration based on stable political systems.

Together, we have worked on controlling terrorism and cracking down on money laundering, worked to strengthen intellectual property rights, and much more. We have developed a robust economic and trade relationship and created opportunities for our mutual defense.

As the home of several U.N. agencies, not to mention the World Trade Organization, Switzerland, in particular, is synonymous with this type of international collaboration that is so essential to addressing these and other transnational challenges.

These types of forums are important sources for dialogue and many of the shared priorities highlighted today. I trust Scott's ability to be the appropriate voice of the U.S. in all of these rooms. He is the right leader for this moment.

He has dedicated his life to expanding access to the American Dream. He is a national leader for LGBTQ equality. He has worked to boost STEM in K-12 public schools. He has helped provide over 5½ million meals to Coloradans during the pandemic.

He has experience in business but, more importantly, he has experience in life. He is fiercely committed to creating more seats at the table, investing in the success of the next generation. These kinds of efforts are critical to the innovation and dynamism of our country and its influence abroad. Scott again and again has risen to the occasion.

I am confident that Scott will embody these American values of opportunity and equality in Bern. As I said before, I have known him for almost two decades and in terms of dealing with bringing people together, who are, let us say, disagreeing, in violent disagreement, I do not know anybody better than Scott.

He is the kind of person you want navigating complex issues when people have serious disagreements. He has that knack for putting people at ease, focusing on the facts that really matter, and working to a conclusion—a successful conclusion.

I support Scott's nomination to represent the United States in what some people call the Colorado of Europe—that would be Switzerland. I hope this committee will recognize how important his nomination will be and will support it wholeheartedly, and I will reach out to many of you and just have conversations on the side if we can find time.

Thank you very much for your time. I yield back to the chair.

Senator KAINE. Thank you, Senator Hickenlooper. Great introductions. The four of you are lucky to have these Senators presenting you to the committee.

I will now offer opening remarks and then that will be followed by Senator Romney's opening remarks. We will then hear from each of the nominees and then we will alternate questions beginning first me, then Senator Romney and then we will alternate by party.

There are a set of votes scheduled at 11:00 a.m., and so just for the nominees, you might see some of us coming and going to make sure we do not miss votes. But let me just, again, congratulate each of the four of you on your nominations.

Representing the U.S. as an Ambassador is a tremendous honor and it is a privilege, and based on your impressive professional backgrounds I know you can do these jobs and do them well.

I also want to congratulate you for an experience that you will have, since none of you are career Foreign Service you are going to have probably for the first time in your lives, which is working in a very in-depth way with America's talented Foreign Service officers.

As a member of this committee, I travel around the world and I am always just struck by the tremendous talent and patriotism of those that we have serving us abroad. And so should you be confirmed, that might be the most memorable and impactful part of your job is interacting with these great professionals.

The countries that you represent, several of them, are small but they are mighty. They punch above their weight on the global stage because of strong economies and also entrenched democratic traditions.

Luxembourg was a founder—a founding member of the United Nations and NATO and the EU. Due to the strength of its economy and financial sector, it is a critical partner in economic efforts including efforts to counter money laundering, tax evasion, and terrorism.

Luxembourg has positioned itself to be a leader in many global industries and particularly the commercial space industry, which has significant ties to American companies.

Switzerland provides an invaluable service to global peace and security as a host nation to many U.N. agencies and other international, governmental, and NGO organizations.

We are in the midst of a combined \$7.6 billion deal for Switzerland to purchase F-35 fighter jets and Patriot missiles. Switzerland has a long nonaligned tradition, but it also is a partner in global security efforts, which we appreciate.

The cooperation of neighboring Liechtenstein is also very crucial to this issue of addressing international tax evasion. The combined mission of Switzerland and Liechtenstein is very important.

Slovenia—Slovenia is approaching 20 years as a member of both NATO and the EU. Its economic and democratic gains during that time are a strong demonstration of the value of transatlantic integration and cooperation.

Today, Slovenia is among the major proponents, the greatest proponents, of EU membership for Western Balkans nations, which is a foreign policy objective that the United States shares.

Finally, moving further north to Sweden, Sweden is a leader in holding Russia accountable for aggression in Ukraine and throughout Europe and also a leader in countering Russian disinformation.

Despite not being a NATO member, Sweden has been a very valuable security partner for the United States, an indispensable partner in Afghanistan and Iraq.

The committee looks forward to hearing from each of you today and to asking you questions about the missions that you will undertake, should you be confirmed.

I now turn to the ranking member, Senator Romney, for his opening comments.

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

Senator ROMNEY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I appreciate the introductions made by our colleagues. I particularly appreciate the willingness of the nominees to serve our country in foreign posts, particularly, at such a critical time.

We face a number of challenges, some among friends, deciding how we can collaborate together to be stronger and provide for our respective populations, but some relate to other nations.

Russia, in particular, poses an ongoing threat to Europe and to places around the world. China has set its tentacles into Europe and is intending to become the leader of the world in military and economic terms, and so the work that we anticipate doing together with our friends and allies around the world is of critical importance.

I have more extensive comments I will ask the chairman to include in the record. But with that introduction, we will be happy to turn to your statements and our respective questions.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator KAINE. Thank you. Thank you, Senator Romney. We will now move to opening statements and I would like to do the opening statements in this order—first, Mayor Barrett, then Ms. Harpootlian, then Mr. Miller, finally, Mr. Ramanathan, and then we will begin with questions.

Mayor Barrett, we will begin with you.

STATEMENT OF HON. THOMAS BARRETT OF WISCONSIN, NOMINATED TO BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE GRAND DUCHY OF LUXEMBOURG

Mr. BARRETT. Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member, distinguished members of the committee, it is an honor to appear before you today as President Biden's nominee as U.S. Ambassador to the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg.

I also want to give a big shout out to my friend, Senator Baldwin, for her generous introduction and all the work she does for the people of the state of Wisconsin.

I am truly humbled and honored by the trust and confidence the President and Secretary of State have placed in me. If confirmed, I pledge to work closely with this committee and the Congress to advance U.S. interests and priorities in Luxembourg.

I am here today as a direct result of the love and support of my family. My wife, Kris, who just retired from teaching grade school, has been my best friend and partner for over 30 years. Together, we are blessed with four children, Tom, Annie, Erin, and Kate. All of them are in their 20s. Each of them is a remarkable young adult.

Growing up in Milwaukee, I was also blessed to have parents who set the example of how to be caring and responsible. My dad was a navigator in World War Two and taught my brother, sisters, and me the importance of being responsible.

My mother lost her first husband during the Battle of the Bulge, and then met our father. She taught us resilience and caring.

I have committed my life to public service. I have had the good fortune and honor to serve as an elected official for over 36 years, first as a state legislator, next as a member of Congress for 10 years, and currently as mayor of the city of Milwaukee for the past 17 years.

I am especially proud that my home state of Wisconsin is also the home of many people of Luxembourg descent. In fact, it is the

home of the Luxembourg American Cultural Center, just a short drive from Milwaukee.

The United States-Luxembourg relationship is strong, based on our shared history, our values and mutual interest, our strategic alliance and our economic ties.

Luxembourg, as you mentioned, Mr. Chair, is a charter member of NATO and one of the founding members of the EU. It has also hosted numerous monuments to the American liberators after both world wars and is the final resting place for over 5,000 American service members, including General George Patton.

As a premier financial capital in Europe, Luxembourg is one of the U.S. economy's largest sources and destinations for investment. If confirmed, my number-one priority will be the safety and security of U.S. citizens abroad. There are approximately 3,100 U.S. citizens who reside in Luxembourg and 30,000 U.S. citizens who visit annually.

I also pledge to maintain the safety and security of our mission in Luxembourg. Luxembourg is a small country that is home to one of the largest financial centers in the Euro zone and, remarkably, the second largest investment fund center in the world, behind only the United States.

Luxembourg is a world leader in green and sustainable finance. It is home to the world's first and largest green exchange for debt instruments. It is also home to the EU Investment Bank, which is the lending arm of the European Union.

As mayor of Milwaukee, I have chaired the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence Cities Initiative and have worked to create green solutions to clean up rivers, parks, and brownfields. That is important because it is imperative that we work at all levels of government, domestically and internationally, to support President Biden's efforts to combat global climate change.

If confirmed, I look forward to working with Luxembourg on this important issue. I will work with Luxembourg to address this challenge in areas where it has a competitive advantage, such as sustainable finance. Luxembourg is also a pioneer and an important player in space and one of the original signatories of NASA's Artemis Accords in October 2020.

In 2019, the United States and Luxembourg signed a groundbreaking agreement on space. If confirmed, I will continue to expand our civil, commercial, and defense cooperation in space.

Luxembourg is in the heart of Europe, both psychologically and geographically, and I should note the size of its population is very close to that of Milwaukee. It is home to 10 EU institutions and offices, including the European Court of Justice. It has produced three EU Commission presidents and it is a strong voice for institution building and rulemaking in the European Union.

President Biden has emphasized the importance of our transatlantic relations and working with those who share our values. If confirmed, I will be honored to work with Luxembourg to advance our shared priorities and U.S. interests in Luxembourg.

Thank you very much for the opportunity to appear before you today. I would be happy to answer your questions.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Barrett follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. THOMAS BARRETT

Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member, and distinguished members of the committee, it is an honor to appear before you today as President Biden's nominee as U.S. Ambassador to the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg. I am truly humbled and honored by the trust and confidence the President and Secretary of State have placed in me. If confirmed, I pledge to work closely with this committee and the Congress to advance U.S. interests and priorities in Luxembourg.

I am here today as a direct result of the love and support of my family. My wife Kris, who just retired from teaching grade school, has been my best friend and partner for over 30 years. Together, we are blessed with four children: Tom, Annie, Erin, and Kate. All of them are in their twenties. Each of them is a remarkable young adult.

Growing up in Milwaukee, I was also blessed to have parents who set the example of how to be caring and responsible. My dad was a navigator in World War II and taught my brother, sisters, and me the importance of being responsible. My mother lost her first husband during the Battle of the Bulge and then met our father. She taught us resilience and caring.

I have committed my life to public service. I have had the good fortune and honor to serve as an elected official for over thirty-six years; first as a state legislator, next as a member of Congress for ten years, and currently as Mayor of Milwaukee, for the past seventeen years.

I am especially proud that my home state of Wisconsin is also the home of many people of Luxembourg descent. In fact, it is the home of the Luxembourg American Cultural Center, just a short drive from Milwaukee.

The United States-Luxembourg relationship is strong, based on our shared history and values, mutual interests, strategic alliance, and economic ties. Luxembourg is a charter member of NATO and one of the founding members of the EU. It is also host to numerous monuments to the American liberators after both World Wars, and it is the final resting place for over 5,000 American service members, including General George Patton. As a premier financial capital in Europe, Luxembourg is one of the U.S. economy's largest sources and destinations for investment.

If confirmed, my number one priority will be the safety and security of U.S. citizens abroad. There are approximately 3,100 U.S. citizens who reside in Luxembourg and 30,000 who visit annually. I also pledge to maintain the safety and security of members of our mission in Luxembourg.

Luxembourg is a small country that is home to one of the largest financial centers in the Eurozone and, remarkably, the second largest investment fund center in the world, behind only the United States. Luxembourg is a world leader in green and sustainable finance. It is home to the world's first and largest "green exchange" for debt instruments. It is also home to the EU Investment Bank, which is the lending arm of the European Union.

As Mayor of Milwaukee, I have chaired the Great Lakes and Saint Lawrence Cities Initiative and have worked to create green solutions to clean up rivers, parks, and brownfields. That is important because it is imperative that we work at all levels of government, domestically and internationally, to support President Biden's efforts to combat global climate change. If confirmed, I look forward to working with Luxembourg on this important issue. I will work with Luxembourg to address this challenge in areas where it has a competitive advantage, such as sustainable finance.

Luxembourg is also a pioneer and an important player in space, and one of the original signatories of NASA's Artemis Accords in October 2020. In 2019, the United States and Luxembourg signed a groundbreaking agreement on Space. If confirmed, I will continue to expand our civil, commercial and defense cooperation in space.

Luxembourg is in the heart of Europe both psychologically and geographically—and, I should note, the size of its population is very close to that of Milwaukee. It is home to ten EU institutions and offices, including the European Court of Justice; it has produced three EU Commission presidents; and it is a strong voice for institution building and rulemaking in the European Union.

President Biden has emphasized the importance of our Transatlantic relations and working with those who share our values. If confirmed, I will be honored to work with Luxembourg to advance our shared priorities and U.S. interests in Luxembourg.

Thank you very much for the opportunity to appear before you today. I would be happy to answer your questions.

Senator KAINE. Thank you, Mr. Mayor.
Ms. Harpootlian?

STATEMENT OF JAMIE L. HARPOOTLIAN OF SOUTH CAROLINA, NOMINATED TO BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE REPUBLIC OF SLOVENIA

Ms. HARPOOTLIAN. Chairman Kaine and Ranking Member Romney and distinguished members, thank you for inviting me to appear before you today. I am deeply grateful to President Biden for the confidence he has placed in me and I would also like to thank Senator Graham for his very generous remarks today.

I would also like to take a moment to thank my husband, Richard Harpootlian, who has given me his constant support in this endeavor, and I would like to remember my parents, Charles and Margaret Lindler, who taught me by example to value public service.

My father was a United States naval aviator who served in World War Two, Korea, and Vietnam, while my mother served in naval communications during World War Two. Later at home, she raised two daughters in Dad's absence—well, extended absences overseas.

This past Friday, we laid Dad to rest at Arlington Cemetery. I would like to express my gratitude to the United States Government for providing a tremendously meaningful ceremony and resting place to honor its veterans.

Our country has provided me rewarding opportunities for public service in my own career as an attorney, working in the federal judicial system, serving as a court-appointed special master in complex litigation, and serving the Department of Justice pro bono as a hearing officer for the 9/11 Victims Compensation Fund.

In each role, I made pivotal decisions and managed conflicting positions and personalities. I learned that respect for the opinions of others and treating all people with dignity are essential for reaching consensus.

Bringing people with divergent views together is necessary for progress, and overarching all, building and upholding trust is vital for success. If confirmed, I hope to use these skills to successfully advance U.S. interests and values in Slovenia.

Slovenia and the United States have strong military, economic, educational, and cultural ties. Slovenia embraces transatlantic cooperation and shares our commitment to safeguarding democracy, the rule of law, human rights, and free and fair elections.

Slovenia has made impressive contributions to a broad range of regional and global efforts to bolster stability, security, and peace. It has proven itself to be a strong and cooperative partner with the United States, a stalwart NATO ally, a leader in the EU, and a reliable partner in the U.N. and multilateral organizations.

Slovenia contributes troops to almost every NATO mission across the globe. It participates in numerous EU and U.N. missions. This year, Slovenia committed to increase defense spending by 780 million euros through 2026, a significant step toward meeting its NATO Wales pledge commitment.

It holds the EU Council presidency until the end of this year, where its focus is EU-NATO coordination, economic resilience and recovery, and stability in the Western Balkans for EU accession.

To confront the security challenges of Russia and the People's Republic of China, strategic investments in Central Europe's energy transport and digital infrastructure, Slovenia shares our goals for strategic nuclear energy cooperation, protecting 5G communications networks, developing alternative infrastructure and renewable energy sources, and adopting a foreign direct investment screening mechanism.

Slovenia welcomed the United States returned to the Paris Agreement and the Biden-Harris administration's reengagement on global climate change, and Slovenia has one of Europe's fastest growing economies with projected GDP growth of approximately 4½ percent in 2021 and 2022.

If confirmed, my top priority will be the safety and well being of U.S. citizens in Slovenia. I will work to strengthen our bilateral relationship with Slovenia using all the diplomatic tools available to me to build relationships, deepen understanding of the United States, and to counter disinformation.

If confirmed, I will work to ensure Slovenia's strong commitment to stability and security around the world remains steadfast, including its efforts toward Euro-Atlantic integration of the Western Balkans and to meeting its NATO defense spending commitments and capability targets, and I will look forward to working with our Special Presidential Envoy for Climate, John Kerry, to support Slovenia's actions on climate. We are stronger in confronting challenges when we work cooperatively with our allies.

Thank you for your time and consideration.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Harpootlian follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF JAMIE L. HARPOOTLIAN

Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member, and members of this distinguished committee, thank you for the privilege of appearing before you today. I am deeply grateful to President Biden for the confidence he has placed in me to be the United States Ambassador to the Republic of Slovenia.

I would like to acknowledge that I am joined today by my husband, Richard Harpootlian, who has given me his unwavering love and support in this endeavor. Dick has been a fearless public servant and passionate advocate for fairness and justice throughout his life. I am proud of his lifelong efforts to right wrongs and be a force for good in the world.

I also would like to remember my parents who taught me by example to value public service. My father was a United States Naval Aviator who served in World War II, Korea, and Vietnam, while my mother served in naval communications during World War II and later at home raising two daughters in her husband's extended absences overseas.

Our country has provided me rewarding opportunities for public service in my own career as an attorney—working in the federal judicial system, serving as a court-appointed special master in complex litigation, and serving the Department of Justice pro bono as a hearing officer for the 9/11 Victim Compensation Fund. In each role, I made pivotal decisions and managed conflicting positions and personalities. I learned that respect for the opinions of others and treating all people with dignity are essential for reaching consensus. Bringing people with divergent views together is necessary for progress. And overarching all, building and upholding trust is vital for success. If confirmed, I hope to use these skills to successfully advance U.S. interests and values in Slovenia.

Slovenia and the United States have strong military, economic, educational, and cultural ties. Slovenia embraces transatlantic cooperation and shares our commitment to safeguarding democracy, the rule of law, human rights, and free and fair elections.

Slovenia is a Central European country with a population of two million that has made impressive contributions to a broad range of regional and global efforts to bolster stability, security, and peace. It has proven itself to be a strong and cooperative

partner with the United States, a stalwart NATO Ally, a leader in the EU, and a reliable partner in the U.N. and multilateral organizations.

Slovenia contributes troops to almost every NATO mission across the globe. It participates in numerous EU and U.N. missions. This year, Slovenia committed to increasing defense spending by 780 million euros through 2026; a significant step toward meeting its NATO Wales Pledge commitment to spend at least 2 percent of its GDP on defense by 2026. It holds the EU Council presidency until the end of this year, through which it is emphasizing EU-NATO coordination, supporting economic resilience and recovery, and working to bolster stability in the Western Balkans for EU accession. And it participates in several successful bilateral programs with the United States to support strong military relationships.

To confront the security challenges of Russian and People's Republic of China (PRC) strategic investments in Central Europe's energy, transport, and digital infrastructure, Slovenia shares our goals for strategic nuclear energy cooperation, protecting 5G communications networks, developing alternative infrastructure and renewable energy sources, and adopting a foreign direct investment screening mechanism.

If confirmed, I will work to ensure Slovenia's strong commitment to stability and security around the world remains steadfast, including its efforts toward Euro-Atlantic integration of the Western Balkans, and to meeting its NATO defense spending commitments and fulfilling NATO Capability Targets.

Slovenia welcomed the United States' return to the Paris Agreement and the Biden-Harris administration's reengagement on global climate change. One of the top priorities of the Slovenian EU Council presidency is advocating for reduction of greenhouse gases by at least 55 percent by 2030 and reaching carbon neutrality in 2050. If confirmed, I will work with our Special Presidential Envoy for Climate John Kerry to support Slovenia's actions on climate.

Slovenia has one of Europe's fastest growing economies with projected GDP growth of approximately 4.5 percent in 2021 and 2022. Positive economic factors include a well-educated, multilingual workforce, and technical expertise.

If confirmed, my top priority will be the safety and well-being of U.S. citizens in Slovenia. I will work to strengthen our bilateral relationship using all the diplomatic tools available to me to build relationships, deepen understanding of the United States, and to counter disinformation. And I will foster our shared vision of democracy. We are stronger in confronting challenges when we work cooperatively with our allies.

It would be the greatest honor of my life to serve in this capacity. Thank you for your time and consideration. I look forward to your questions.

Senator KAINE. Thank you, Ms. Harpootlian, and we will next hear from Mr. Miller.

You need to unmute, Mr. Miller.

STATEMENT OF SCOTT MILLER OF COLORADO, NOMINATED TO BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE SWISS CONFEDERATION, AND TO SERVE CONCURRENTLY AND WITHOUT ADDITIONAL COMPENSATION AS AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE PRINCIPALITY OF LIECHTENSTEIN

Mr. MILLER. That is about right.

[Laughter.]

Senator KAINE. You will not be the last either.

Mr. MILLER. Apologies. Thank you, Chairman Kaine, and thank you, Ranking Member Romney. I would also like to thank my dear friend, Senator Hickenlooper, for his introduction. You are not only an exceptional friend, but you were a terrific mayor and governor, and I am so proud to call you my Senator.

To each member of the committee, please accept my gratitude for the privilege of speaking with you today as the President's nominee

to be the next United States Ambassador to both the Swiss Confederation and the Principality of Liechtenstein.

I am grateful to President Biden and Secretary Blinken for their confidence in my ability to serve in this role, and will work on behalf of our great country and to represent the interests of the American people.

If I am privileged enough to do so with the confidence of this committee, it would be the greatest honor of my life. I would like to thank my entire family, and while he will not enjoy me singling him out, I am so proud to be joined today by my husband, Tim Gill, albeit virtually.

He is no doubt wincing right now as he is watching as he enjoys attention and praise about as much as a root canal. But without Tim's love and support and without his tireless work on behalf of LGBTQ people everywhere, I would not be sitting in front of this committee today.

A lifetime of experience has prepared me for this moment. I worked as a banker at UBS and a management consultant at Accenture. I also joined my husband, Tim, as co-chair of the Gill Foundation, where together and with so many others we have advocated for the full equality of all Americans.

In our home state, we have devoted considerable resources and effort to enhance the lives of our fellow Coloradans through STEM education, public broadcasting, and programs to fight food insecurity.

Over the course of my career in finance, philanthropy, and civil rights advocacy, I have learned the importance of nurturing friendships and building coalitions, and to view those with whom I may disagree with today as future friends and partners tomorrow.

If confirmed, I vigorously look forward to applying this principle to America's relationships with Switzerland and Liechtenstein to the benefit of all three.

To that end, I would like to outline four policy priorities that will guide my work as U.S. Ambassador to Switzerland and Liechtenstein, if confirmed.

My top priority will be ensuring the safety and well being of Americans in Switzerland and Liechtenstein as well as the broader mission community.

Two, to deepen ties and cooperation through the lens and application of our core values, including support for democracy, respect for universal human rights, and the promotion of peace and security.

Three, to increase support for the United States and our policies through active engagement with both host governments and civil society, as well as through educational, cultural, and people-to-people ties and exchanges.

Four, to grow our already strong economic and commercial relationship to advance America's competitive advantage in both countries. I believe we have untapped potential to gain greater access for American products to the Swiss and Liechtenstein markets. If confirmed, I would work hard to realize that potential.

I would like to take a moment to say that growing up as a shy kid on the Western Slope of the great state of Colorado, being in this remarkable place today would have been impossible to imag-

ine. Indeed, that young boy too often felt, as many LGBTQ kids often do, that there was no place for him.

I am here today thanks to countless heroic Americans who dedicated their lives to ensuring that someone like me could grow up to enjoy all the promises and responsibilities of this wonderful country, and I want to pledge to this committee and to the American people that, if confirmed, the security and vital national interests of the United States and its citizens would be my priority.

I would work tirelessly to further deepen and enhance our bilateral relationships with Switzerland and Liechtenstein, and I will look for every opportunity to increase trade, foster development, and promote cultural exchanges and understanding between our nations.

I would pursue all this work shoulder to shoulder with the remarkable and very talented U.S. Foreign Service officers and local Embassy staff in Bern, who have already done so much to advocate on behalf of the United States and who could not be praised enough for their dedication and public service, and, if confirmed, I would proudly serve the United States with integrity, humility and compassion.

Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member, and all the members of the committee, I thank you so much for the opportunity to testify today. I am happy to answer any questions.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Miller follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF SCOTT MILLER

Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member, distinguished members of the committee, I am grateful for the privilege of speaking with you today as the President's nominee to be the next United States Ambassador to both the Swiss Confederation and the Principality of Liechtenstein.

I am grateful to President Biden and Secretary Blinken for their confidence in my ability to serve in this role and to work on behalf of our great country and to represent the interests of the American people. If confirmed by this committee, serving as Ambassador would be the greatest honor of my life.

He won't enjoy me singling him out, but I am so proud to be joined today by my husband, Tim Gill. I would not be here without his support.

A lifetime of experience has prepared me for this moment. I worked as a banker and as a management consultant. I also joined my husband Tim as co-chair of the Gill Foundation where, together and with so many others, we have advocated for the full equality of all Americans. In our home state, we have devoted considerable effort to enhance the lives of our fellow Coloradans through STEM education, public broadcasting, and programs to fight food insecurity.

I'd like to take a moment to say that growing up as a shy kid on the Western Slope of the great state of Colorado, being in this remarkable place today would have been impossible to imagine. Indeed, that young boy too often felt, as many LGBTQ kids too often do, that there was no place for him.

Over the course of my career, I've learned the importance of nurturing friendships and building coalitions—and to view those with whom I may disagree today as future friends and partners tomorrow. If confirmed, I look forward to vigorously applying this principle to America's relationships with Switzerland and Liechtenstein, to the benefit of all three.

To that end, I'd like to outline four policy priorities that will guide my work as U.S. Ambassador to Switzerland and Liechtenstein, if confirmed:

- My top priority will be ensuring the safety and well-being of Americans in Switzerland and Liechtenstein, as well as of our broader mission community.
- Two, to deepen ties and cooperation through the lens and application of our core values, including: support for democracy, respect for universal human rights, and the promotion of peace and security.

- Three, to increase support for the United States and our policies through active engagement with both host governments and civil society, as well as through educational, cultural, and people-to-people ties and exchanges.
- Four, to grow our already strong economic and commercial relationship to advance America's competitive advantage in both countries. I believe we have untapped potential to gain greater access for American products to the Swiss and Liechtenstein markets. If confirmed, I will work hard to realize that potential.

I am here today thanks to countless heroic Americans who dedicated their lives to ensuring that someone like me could grow up to enjoy all the promises and responsibilities of this wonderful country.

I want to pledge to this committee and to the American people that, if confirmed, the security and vital national interests of the United States and its citizens would be my highest priority. I would work tirelessly to further deepen and enhance our bilateral relationships with Switzerland and Liechtenstein. And I would look for every opportunity to increase trade, foster development, and promote cultural exchanges and understanding between our nations.

I would pursue all this work shoulder to shoulder with the remarkable and talented U.S. Foreign Service officers and local Embassy staff in Bern, who have already done so much to advocate on behalf of the United States, and who cannot be praised enough for their dedication and public service.

If confirmed, I look forward to proudly serving the United States with integrity, humility, and compassion.

Mr. Chairman, ranking member and all the members of the Committee—I thank you so much for the opportunity to testify today.

I am happy to answer any questions you have.

Senator KAINE. Thank you so much, Mr. Miller.

And Mr. Ramanathan, please, your opening comments.

**STATEMENT OF ERIK D. RAMANATHAN OF MASSACHUSETTS,
NOMINATED TO BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND
PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO
THE KINGDOM OF SWEDEN**

Mr. RAMANATHAN. Thank you.

Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member, and distinguished members of the committee, it is a privilege to appear before you, and thank you to Senator Markey for that kind introduction and for his service.

I am honored to be the nominee for U.S. Ambassador to Sweden, and I thank President Biden and Secretary Blinken for their confidence in me. Endless gratitude goes to my husband of more than 30 years, Ranesh Ramanathan, the love of my life and constant companion on life's journey, whose kindness, humor, and devotion in the face of the countless challenges we have navigated are unparalleled, and to my 16-year-old Chris, who inspires me every day with fresh perspective and boundless potential, and who drives me to want to make our country and the world we share a better place for future generations.

With Chris' future in mind, I made the decision 15 years ago to pivot from a successful private sector career in law and life sciences to a portfolio of service roles where I felt I could have a larger-scale impact.

Combining my fire-tested corporate and legal experience with lessons learned fighting for the civil rights and well being of the LGBTQ and HIV-positive communities, I reckoned that I could be an effective leader bringing stakeholders from disparate backgrounds together in pursuit of bigger missions.

Collaborative service became my compass as I built an academic platform at Harvard Law and took on a constellation of nonprofit

leadership roles, culminating in a decade leading the board of Heluna Health.

With perseverance, Heluna grew tenfold larger and transformed into a true catalyst to meet the public health and community resilience challenges facing tens of millions of Americans, including the direct and indirect effects of the COVID-19 pandemic.

I am deeply proud of the diverse and talented team of professionals who join together every day to make this life-changing work possible.

If confirmed, I plan to apply and foster a similarly vigorous service ethic, creative and collaborative mindset, and seriousness of purpose to expanding and deepening our historic close friendship and like-minded partnership with Sweden.

The relationship in diplomacy between our people both bilaterally and on the global stage can have a tremendously positive impact on our shared prosperity over the course of decades to come.

I look forward to continuing to listen and learn from many stakeholders and, if confirmed, I see three core priorities at the outset.

First, enhancing bilateral and regional security efforts. If confirmed, my foremost priority will always be the safety and security of Americans in Sweden, including personnel and family members of Embassy Stockholm.

But our shared security interests extend further. As a NATO-enhanced opportunities partner, Sweden has made robust contributions on the international stage.

If confirmed, I look forward to building on this history and on our bilateral statement of intent to support interoperability and coordination as Sweden increases investments in its defense and security infrastructure and capabilities.

Second, growing and deepening bilateral economic ties. The U.S. and Sweden are two of the world's leading innovators, with robust business and technology ecosystems deeply intertwined with academic, civil society, and government collaboration.

As both nations recover from the COVID-19 pandemic, we should focus not only on reopening for business but also on unlocking new sources of job opportunity and mutual prosperity, such as joint pursuit of green technologies.

Increasing bilateral exports and job-creating foreign direct investment in the U.S. can contribute to economic prosperity in both nations while providing a stronger and more secure counterbalance to trade and investment with partners who may seek to compromise intellectual property or sensitive infrastructure.

Third, collaborating to address key existential challenges of our time on the global stage. Not only is Sweden a strong partner in foreign policy, but it is also an ideal collaborator in many unprecedented challenges facing the world, most notably fighting climate change, combating COVID-19 and preventing future pandemics, promoting democracy, protecting human rights, and safeguarding the rules-based international order.

If confirmed, I eagerly await working with the talented team at Embassy Stockholm to build on their successes and advance these shared goals together. I look forward to partnering with Congress to further U.S. priorities in Sweden, and I enthusiastically await

hearing from people across Sweden, sharing our ideas and deepening people-to-people ties as we strive toward a better tomorrow.

Thank you for the opportunity to testify today. I look forward to your questions.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Ramanathan follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF ERIK D. RAMANATHAN

Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member, and distinguished members of the committee, it is a privilege to appear before you. I am honored to be the nominee for U.S. Ambassador to Sweden, and I thank President Biden and Secretary Blinken for their confidence in me.

Endless gratitude goes to my husband of more than 30 years, Ranesh Ramanathan, the love of my life and constant companion on life's journey, whose kindness, humor, and devotion in the face of the countless challenges we've navigated are unparalleled. And to my 16-year-old, Chris, who inspires me every day with fresh perspective and boundless potential, and who drives me to want to make our country and the world we share a better place for future generations.

With Chris' future in mind, I made the decision 15 years ago to pivot from a successful private sector career in law and life sciences to a portfolio of service roles where I felt I could have a larger-scale impact. Combining my fire-tested corporate and legal experience with lessons learned fighting for the civil rights and well-being of the LGBTQ and HIV+ communities, I reckoned that I could be an effective leader bringing stakeholders from disparate backgrounds together in pursuit of bigger missions.

Collaborative service became my compass as I built an academic platform at Harvard Law and took on a constellation of nonprofit leadership roles, culminating in a decade leading the board of Heluna Health. With perseverance, Heluna grew tenfold larger and transformed into a true catalyst to meet the public health and community resilience challenges facing tens of millions of Americans, including the direct and indirect effects of the COVID-19 pandemic. I am deeply proud of the diverse and talented team of professionals who join together every day to make this life-changing work possible.

If confirmed, I plan to apply and foster a similarly vigorous service ethic, creative and collaborative mindset, and seriousness of purpose to expanding and deepening our historic close friendship and like-minded partnership with Sweden.

The relationship and diplomacy between our people—both bilaterally and on the global stage—can have a tremendously positive impact on our shared prosperity over the course of decades to come. I look forward to continuing to listen and learn from many stakeholders and if confirmed, I see three core priorities at the outset:

- First, enhancing bilateral and regional security efforts. If confirmed, my foremost priority will always be the safety and security of Americans in Sweden, including personnel and family members of Embassy Stockholm. But our shared security interests extend further. As a NATO Enhanced Opportunities Partner, Sweden has made robust contributions on the international stage. If confirmed, I look forward to building on this history and on our bilateral Statement of Intent to support interoperability and coordination as Sweden increases its investments in its defense and security infrastructure and capabilities.
- Second, growing and deepening bilateral economic ties. The U.S. and Sweden are two of the world's leading innovators, with robust business and technology ecosystems deeply intertwined with academic, civil society, and government collaboration. As both nations recover from the COVID-19 pandemic, we should focus not only on reopening for business but also unlocking new sources of job opportunity and mutual prosperity such as joint pursuit of green technologies. Increasing bilateral exports and job-creating foreign direct investment in the U.S. can contribute to economic prosperity in both nations, while providing a stronger and more secure counterbalance to trade and investment with partners who may seek to compromise intellectual property or sensitive infrastructure.
- Third, collaborating to address key existential challenges of our time on the global stage. Not only is Sweden a strong partner in foreign policy, but it is also an ideal collaborator in many unprecedented challenges facing the world, most notably fighting climate change, combating COVID-19 and preventing future pandemics, promoting democracy, protecting human rights, and safeguarding the rules-based international order. Among other efforts, Sweden has pledged over \$500 million for global vaccine equity. Sweden is a respected leader in combating climate change and pledged to double its climate aid to over \$1.8 billion

by 2025. If confirmed, I look forward to strengthening our partnership with Sweden to address these global challenges.

If confirmed, I eagerly await working with the talented team at Embassy Stockholm to build on their successes and advance these shared goals, together. I look forward to partnering with Congress to further U.S. priorities in Sweden. And I enthusiastically await hearing from people across Sweden, sharing our ideas, and deepening people-to-people ties as we strive toward a better tomorrow.

Thank you for the opportunity to testify today. I look forward to your questions.

Senator Kaine. Thank you very much for all of your opening testimonies. Before we begin precise questions about the countries and your missions, should you be confirmed, I do have a set of standard questions that I want to ask to all the nominees, so if the four of you could all unmute yourself.

These are questions that enable the committee to stress the importance that we place on responsiveness by all officials in the executive branch to this oversight committee, and we ask these because they give you an idea of what we will expect from you. I would ask each of you on the following questions to provide just a yes or no answer.

First, do you agree to appear before this committee and make officials from your office available to the committee and designated staff when invited?

[All witnesses answer in the affirmative.]

Senator Kaine. Second, do you commit to keep this committee fully and currently informed about the activities under your purview?

[All witnesses answer in the affirmative.]

Senator Kaine. Third, do you commit to engaging in meaningful consultation while policies are being developed, not just providing notification after the fact?

[All witnesses answer in the affirmative.]

Senator Kaine. And finally, do you commit to promptly responding to requests for briefings and information requested by the committee and our designated staff?

[All witnesses answer in the affirmative.]

Senator Kaine. Thank you for those answers. Let me begin now with Mayor Barrett.

Mr. Mayor, you talked briefly about the fact that Luxembourg is positioning itself well to be a center of the commercial space industry. This is a particular interest in Virginia because more rockets are shot out of Wallops Island than out of either Florida or California, and both NASA and commercial space is a growing industry sector here.

Talk to us a little bit about the U.S.-Luxembourg cooperative agreement of 2019, and should you be confirmed what you might do to try to enhance our cooperation on commercial space activities.

Mr. Barrett. Thank you very much for that question, Mr. Chairman, and if confirmed, I will continue the strong relationship that we have developed with Luxembourg. Luxembourg and the United States have been working closely together and you mentioned the accord that we reached with them.

There is the Artemis Accord, which, obviously, creates a mechanism for us to return to the moon. There is the efforts to do what we can with them or independently on space exploration.

And I think both of those, as well as some of the work that we have been doing with them on satellites, for example—the investment they are making in satellites, which goes towards their defense spending goal—I think all of those position us in a very, very good way to continue to work together.

I think that there is a strong foundation there and, again, if I am fortunate enough to be confirmed, I want to continue that relationship and make it even stronger.

Senator KAINE. Thank you, Mr. Mayor.

Mr. Miller, Switzerland has this long-standing commitment to neutrality but it does contribute to NATO missions in Kosovo and other U.N. and EU security operations.

How do you evaluate Swiss contributions to international security and what might you do to encourage them consistent with their own domestic traditions to take an even more forward leaning role?

Mr. MILLER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I think we know that Switzerland is clear-eyed when it comes to their approach in dealing with other nations and what they are doing around the world, and that they have a keen interest in making sure to address any threat to the international order.

Both Switzerland and Liechtenstein are committed allies. I am very lucky, if confirmed, to step into this role of having not only a partner in these missions but to be able to have the high-level discussions that we are able to have with both Switzerland and Liechtenstein and in our work, broadly, in Europe.

Senator KAINE. Thank you.

Ms. Harpootlian, you talked in your opening testimony about Slovenia's commitment to greater defense investment. They have one of the lowest levels of investment in terms of GDP percentage of NATO allies.

They have indicated a desire to ramp up that investment. Does that defense modernization plan present opportunities for the United States and U.S. companies?

Ms. HARPOOTLIAN. Thank you for the question, Senator, and I appreciate the opportunity to address it.

Slovenia—this past year they have increased their defense spending by €780 million and that is a significant increase from any of the prior years. I feel as if we are making progress in the right direction.

If I am confirmed, I will continue to push Slovenia to meeting those goals. Right now, they are scheduled for 2026 to meet the 2 percent guidelines and that includes NATO capability targets and force modernization.

Senator KAINE. I would encourage you. I am glad to see them make those commitments. There may well be opportunities for U.S. companies and others to be involved in helping Slovenia reach those goals and I know you will focus on those.

Finally, to Mr. Ramanathan, Sweden has been a very strong partner in countering Russian aggression and one area that they particularly focused on is trying to counter disinformation. This is an area where we have had challenges here. We are a robust First Amendment society and that sometimes means that a lot of disinformation crowds up all of our inboxes.

What is Sweden doing that we might emulate or how could we and Sweden partner together on anti-disinformation efforts?

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

Sweden takes a very clear-eyed view on disinformation—particularly from Russia. There has been increased malign activity relating to disinformation and misinformation campaigns. They have a whole of government approach to combating disinformation, and we coordinate with Sweden on monitoring and pushing back on those kind of campaigns.

If confirmed, I look forward continuing to collaborate on monitoring and pushing back on disinformation campaigns, and also on using public diplomacy and interacting with media, both traditional and social media, and in-person conversations, of course, with the people of Sweden to ensure that our messages and priorities are clear and that that too can be a way of pushing back on disinformation.

Senator KAINE. Thank you for that answer.

Senator Romney?

Senator ROMNEY. Mayor Barrett, a number of us were concerned as we saw that Luxembourg signed on to the Belt and Road Initiative that China has been promoting throughout the world, and I am interested in your perspective, if you have that at this stage, about what the status of that is in Luxembourg and what you think our objectives might be with regards to communicating with Luxembourg on that topic and perhaps encouraging them to take a course which is less favorable to China.

Mr. BARRETT. Senator Romney, thank you for that question, and I hope I got the gist of it. My terminology is a little sketchy right now.

But it sounded like you were asking about the Belt and Road Initiative and the fact that Luxembourg has signed on to it, which it has, in fact, one of the few Western European countries that has done so.

Luxembourg prides itself on having good relations—investment relations—with many countries throughout the world and that, I think, is one of the factors that led it to signing this.

At the same time, obviously, as a key member of the European Union it recognizes that it is working with its neighbors. I think we are also fortunate that because of our strong historic ties, our economic ties, our community of interests in terms of democracy, that that provides a checkpoint, if you will, and we will make sure that we will continue to work but—with Luxembourg.

And if I am confirmed, I, certainly, plan to work with Luxembourg to make sure that they understand, which I am very confident that they do, the challenges that come from that Chinese initiative.

Again, I think that because of our historic ties, I think that that puts us in a good place. But it is something that, if confirmed, I am very, very sensitive to and mindful of the challenges that it presents.

Senator ROMNEY. Thank you, Mayor. I apologize if you could not hear me but your response was spot on to the question I asked. I appreciate that.

Mr. BARRETT. Thank you.

Senator ROMNEY. Ms. Harpootlian, I am interested in your perspective on how the people of Slovenia and the leadership of Slovenia looks at Russia when they think Russia's objectives might be in the Balkans. What type of commitment do you think we can make to supporting the independence of the Balkans from Russia influence?

But I guess the beginning of that question is do you have a sense of how the leadership in Slovenia and the people of Slovenia consider Russia objectives, what they consider them to be with regards to the Balkans?

You are muted. I am sorry.

Ms. HARPOOTLIAN. Thank you for the question, Senator, and I am happy to address it. I, first, want to point out that Slovenia is a very strong NATO ally and it shares our democratic values and interests.

Slovenia's heart is in the West and that is something to—it is important to remember that when we are talking about Russia and China engagement.

The fact is that Russia and Slovenia do have an active economic relationship and they have cultural ties and diplomatic ties, and they have engaged in high-level visits.

But Slovenia is very aware of issues regarding destabilization and, in particular, the fact that by virtue of geology and existing infrastructure Russia provides virtually all of Slovenia's natural gas.

In response to that, Slovenia and the United States have been working together. They have signed a Memorandum of Understanding on civil nuclear cooperation for clean and safe nuclear energy.

Slovenia is very interested in developing a second nuclear reactor and the U.S. is interested in competing for providing the technology on that. The U.S. also supports Slovenia in an initiative called the Three Seas Initiative and that is designed to develop infrastructure on north-south access, which would compete with the old Soviet east-west infrastructure lines. All of these are steps that Slovenia is taking to create independence from Russia influence in the country.

I hope that answered your question.

Senator ROMNEY. Thank you.

Mr. Chairman, I think my time is up. I will turn back to you and I will get a chance to continue with the others in the next round.

Senator KAINE. Thank you, Senator Romney.

Senator Shaheen is next.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you, Chairman, and congratulations to each of the nominees, and thank you for your willingness to serve the country at this critical time.

My first question is, really, for each of you, and I have been following very closely for a number of years now the impact of what is known as Havana syndrome or anomalous health incidents on American personnel around the world and, sadly, we have now seen attacks against personnel on all continents except Antarctica.

Obviously, the State Department personnel are one of the main targets of these attacks. I want to ask each of you—because I understand that the State Department includes a briefing on AHIs as

part of the ambassadorial seminar program that you are required to attend.

I want to ask each of you if, if confirmed, you will commit to attending the ambassadorial seminar on AHIs and seek a classified briefing with the State Department once you are confirmed.

If I could just have everyone respond either positively or negatively to that.

[All witnesses answer in the affirmative.]

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you. That was a good leading question. You all passed with flying colors.

Ms. Harpootlian, I want to start with you on another issue because I think Slovenia—I chair the European Affairs Subcommittee of Foreign Relations, and I think Slovenia is a beautiful country and of all of the countries in the Balkans that made up the former Yugoslavia, Slovenia has done probably the best job, at least it has been the most successful in integrating with the West and the EU.

But I fear now that we are beginning to see some backsliding in Slovenia, and there are recent developments that may curtail the full and free operation of an independent media and civil society there.

Can you talk about how you will approach this issue with Bratislava and how you will connect what might happen there with that backsliding to the potential for Russia and China to make inroads in Slovenia?

I am sorry. I think you are still on mute.

Ms. HARPOOTLIAN. I am so sorry. My apologies. Thank you for the question.

Senator SHAHEEN. That is—we have all been going through a whole year and a half of being on mute, so we understand.

Ms. HARPOOTLIAN. There are a lot of issues that you have presented in your question that are very important. I think that, first and foremost, Slovenia embraces transatlantic cooperation. Democratic values are the foundation of our transatlantic alliance with Slovenia.

In Slovenia, there are multiple parties. It is a multi-party system with a well entrenched system of checks and balances. It is unlikely that in Slovenia you would ever have one party taking control. Right now, there are nine parties sitting in Parliament.

You mentioned Bratislava. But in Ljubljana, I think that the focus is wanting to be a good member of NATO, a good member of the EU where, as you are well aware, Slovenia currently holds the EU Council presidency, and it is working toward accession of the Western Balkan states into the EU, which, if that happens, they have certain thresholds for the Copenhagen criteria in order to demonstrate that they are a stable democracy, that they have freedom of the press, they respect human rights, and Slovenia is working very hard on those issues and pushing for the EU accession.

It will not happen anytime soon. But by striving to create stable democracies in those countries, I think that we are going to combat the issues that you have raised.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you, and thank you for correcting my misspeaking on Bratislava rather than Ljubljana.

[Laughter.]

Ms. HARPOOTLIAN. But, if confirmed, I will support Slovenia in its efforts to support democracy throughout the region and I look forward to having the opportunity to do that.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you.

Mr. Chairman, I know I am almost out of time. But I would really like to ask Mr. Ramanathan a question about Sweden because, as we know, competition in the Arctic is becoming even more critical today and we are seeing increasing incursions by Russia into the Arctic.

And so what I would like to know is, if confirmed, Mr. Ramanathan, how you will engage not just in Sweden but within the State Department and with ambassadors for the other Arctic nations about the role of the United States and how we can cooperate with our allies in the Arctic.

Mr. RAMANATHAN. Of course, Sweden, like the United States, is an Arctic nation and we are represented together on the Arctic Council, which is the premier forum for governance around Arctic—issues ranging from environment, sustainable development of the Arctic, scientific research, and so forth.

You also referred to military buildups by Russia. Obviously, the Arctic Council does not include security matters and those are left to sovereigns.

But we do have a strong relationship with Sweden on the defense and security front and, if confirmed, I look forward to collaborating with Sweden on our continued efforts towards interoperability and coordination, defense activities under both our bilateral agreements as well as their NATO-enhanced opportunities partner status, and addressing these issues, going forward.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator KAINE. Absolutely. Unless—I think Senator Young was next in the queue, but I am not sure he is currently signed on. Senator Young, are you with us?

[No response.]

Senator KAINE. If not, Senator Van Hollen, you are up next.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and congratulations to all of you on your nominations.

Mr. Miller, a couple of questions about Swiss practices when it comes to banking and bank secrecy and other issues.

As you know, Switzerland is the world's largest offshore financial center, managing about a quarter of global cross-border assets, which is, of course, an astounding number.

Over the years, issues regarding bank secrecy and taxation have become irritants in U.S.-Swiss relations. How would you assess Switzerland's current compliance with the U.S. Foreign Account Tax Compliance Act and the OECD automatic exchange of information agreement?

Mr. MILLER. Thank you, Senator, and it is good to see you again.

My background in finance and, in particular, working at UBS has given me a front row seat to this particular topic. I was lucky enough to work for UBS for a decade many years ago, but many of the—this particular topic popped up while there.

And what I would like to say is, unfortunately, there were incidents of the past of us not being able to get the information that

we wanted as it related to U.S. citizens and their banking in Switzerland.

I do believe, through a series of actions by the Department of Justice and continued negotiations by Treasury, that we do have greater confidence and insight into the foreign—into FATCA. I am trying to not use acronyms, but this is the Government.

But I do believe we are—we feel very confident in our dealings with Switzerland as it relates to the banks and I know banks there are anxious to switch from a Tier—they are currently a Tier Two model where banks report directly to the United States to switching to a model, a Tier One, that would allow the Swiss Government to do the reporting and, in turn, would allow reciprocal information to go from the U.S. to Switzerland as well.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. Got it. I appreciate that.

As you know, one of top priorities of this administration has been to prevent a race to the bottom when it comes to corporate taxation in developed countries, and one of the great success stories, of course, has been the President and Secretary Yellen's ability to get the G-20 to adopt the idea of a 15 percent minimum global corporate tax rate.

I saw Switzerland did sign on in July. But as you well know, the local cantons there have lots of power within Switzerland. How do you assess—how are you going to, if confirmed, use your influence to make sure that Switzerland moves to comply with the goal?

Mr. MILLER. Again, thank you, Senator.

Again, thanks to the efforts not just of this administration but also the previous administrations, the conversations that we have had with Switzerland of reducing their dependence and reliance on using reduced corporate taxes has started to diminish and Switzerland, as you did point out, did sign on the guidelines of the international taxation OECD of committing to the 15 percent global tax rate.

And, if confirmed, I think the most important part of this job is for me to communicate with my interlocutors the importance of a level playing field and that would be, as you pointed out, with each canton because of their decentralized government.

But I think that is a skill that I have and I look forward to those conversations.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. I appreciate that. I think we need to work quickly in this area.

Mayor Barrett, congratulations. Good to see you, and I have a question—a similar question with a little different twist, but related to Luxembourg.

How responsive has Luxembourg been, in your opinion, to U.S. and international concerns about money laundering and tax evasion? Luxembourg is often named as one of those tax havens. Can you just comment on that, briefly?

Mr. BARRETT. Thank you for the question, Senator. It is great to see you.

I, certainly, think it has made progress in the last eight years and I am pleased to see the progress that it has made. Also, as you noted in your previous conversation about the G-20 and the minimum tax rate has agreed to that as well, which I think is an important step.

But I think it is important to note that the Financial Action Task Force, which is the international watch dog that periodically goes to the countries to make sure there is no money laundering or illegal money, will be in Luxembourg this month, actually, and I intend, if I am confirmed, to look very carefully at what the Financial Action Task Force recommendations are and then work with the Luxembourg Government to make sure those become a reality.

But I think it has made progress and I think that that is something we should recognize and applaud and give positive reinforcement to.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. Thank you. Appreciate it. And thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator KAINE. Absolutely. I do not believe there are additional Senators on.

Senator Romney, you indicated you had other questions. I will go back to you. I will have some additional questions after you unless we have other senators who join.

Senator ROMNEY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Just a couple of comments. As we talk about international tax rates we do not know exactly what is going to happen here, of course, but I do think there is a difference between leaders coming together over a social event and drinks and meetings and saying, hey, let us all agree to a 15 percent international tax rate and that actually becoming the law, having passed by their—being passed by their respective parliaments and congresses and so forth. I think there is a big gap between that.

I would not want to see a circumstance where we, in our nation, took action, which would then not be matched by other nations and put our enterprises at a competitive disadvantage. Depending on what we do here, it will be important to make sure that other nations follow through as well.

Let me turn to Mr. Miller with regards to our relationships in Switzerland, obviously, a nation which is given to high standards of human rights historically, a nation which considers itself to be a leader on various social issues, and I wonder how they square that with a relatively friendly relationship with China, China carrying out genocide.

I mean, in this day and age for a nation to be carrying out genocide is really inexplicable and I wonder whether the Swiss are going to be able to continue to look away from the reality of what is happening in China and whether you might be able to help them understand that their interests really lie in becoming closer and closer with those nations which honor the same types of values they have long said they espouse.

Mr. MILLER. Thank you, Senator Romney.

As you aptly point out, how we approach China, our greatest competitor, is a focus that all of us, if we are lucky enough to be confirmed, will have to address.

The good news for me in a potential, if confirmed, relationship with Switzerland is that Switzerland does already have in a long-standing meeting and dialogue that they have had with People's Republic of China, starting since 1991.

Unfortunately, due to COVID, many of these conversations have been postponed. But also I would like to point out that Switzerland

did come out and join the criticism of the situation in Xinjiang and also the Uighurs—the situation that is, obviously, happening with the Uighurs.

I do hope that Switzerland will be proactive in reestablishing that conversation, that annual conversation, to make sure that they understand that China is doing these practices, and I think that it is also incumbent upon the Swiss Government to be proactive in having a dialogue with the companies based in Switzerland to make sure that they understand also the risks of doing business in China.

I am fully aware of, and I think we all are, on this, as we testified today, the threat that China poses is significant and we must work with all of our interlocutors on making sure in our meetings that they understand that, despite needing the economic relations, perhaps, with the People's Republic that it is also still okay to criticize them and hold them accountable and to make sure that we are pushing them to do better every day.

Senator ROMNEY. Thank you, Mr. Miller.

Mr. Ramanathan, Sweden has shown a lot of backbone relative to, perhaps, other countries in the world as it relates to Russia and to China, for that matter, and China has retaliated against a number of Swedish businesses, Ericsson among others.

Do you have a sense of whether there is backsliding on the part of the leadership or the business community in Sweden? Meaning, are the backbones still strong and how can we encourage them to continue to have the kind of strength they have had in the past? Because we may need to step in and show them that if they are punished by one side they could be more rewarded by the other.

Mr. RAMANATHAN. Thank you for the question.

And my sense is that the backbone of Sweden is strong, indeed. While they are a trading nation reliant on trade for half of their GDP, they understand and are clear-eyed about what that means with respect to China, the need to protect sensitive infrastructure, intellectual property, and the like.

You mentioned 5G and Ericsson. Obviously, they—as you may be aware, the administrative courts in Sweden have upheld Swedish regulations banning Huawei and ZTE from Sweden's own 5G build out, which I think sends an important signal about the continued focus on protecting sensitive infrastructure.

Obviously, Ericsson has also invested, opening a new \$134 million plant in Texas working on 5G equipment and other investments in the United States on that front, and we have been a good partner of Ericsson's.

I think these are indications that things are very, very strong. But, if confirmed, I look forward to continuing that close dialogue and continuing to ensure that we are creative and collaborative in ways that we find to ensure our mutual security and prosperity.

Senator ROMNEY. Thank you, Mr. Ramanathan.

Mr. Chairman, I turn back to you. I have asked the questions I came with.

[Laughter.]

Senator Kaine. Excellent. Thank you, Senator Romney.

And there is no other members on the call who have not asked questions in the first round. I will ask a couple more questions, and

then if no one else joins we will adjourn. There are votes now on the floor. But I have a question, first, for Mr. Miller.

I was intrigued when Switzerland made the decision to buy a \$5.5 billion contract to buy F-35s from the United States because there were less expensive offers on the table, both from Boeing and a French manufacturer, and then also a Spanish—a Spain-Italy-U.K.-Germany conglomerate. But the Swiss made the decision to go with the more expensive U.S. technology.

And I just was wondering, as somebody who is not an expert on Swiss politics, I was wondering if you might explain that to me. I think that is a heartening sign but I am curious how I should interpret that.

Mr. MILLER. I am not fully familiar to the sensitive negotiations as it relates to the sale of United States defense equipment. But what I can attest to is to American greatness and our exceptional military aircraft and ground to base—ground to air base missile defense.

And I think Switzerland, again, wanting to strengthen our very, very strong bilateral relationship with the United States as a replacement to the F-18 aircraft that they have used for many years, see this as a familiar relationship and a known quantity as they look to replace their strategic air defense capabilities.

I would love nothing more once I am fully briefed on the sensitive background of this to follow up with you. But I, again, am really heartened by this and I think, obviously, that the Swiss Government made a fantastic decision and I look forward to helping complete that deal, if confirmed.

Senator KAINE. I think it is interesting. It probably has something to do, I would imagine, just intuiting also with the interoperability of the F-35 as a platform that many nations that are allied with the United States are now embracing, and a desire not only to have a capacity but to have a capacity that is interoperable is probably one of the reasons. But I would love to know more about that.

And finally, Mr. Ramanathan, one more question for you that is also just something I want to understand, not being an expert on Swedish politics. Sweden has been an absolute global leader in acceptance and permanent resettlement of refugees from Syria, from Iraq, from Afghanistan.

There are proposals on the table in Sweden that would significantly curtail this. How do you assess kind of the current Swedish dynamic regarding this long-standing tradition of being welcoming to refugees from places of danger and violence in the world?

Mr. RAMANATHAN. Thank you, Senator, for that question. The Swedes have been a very welcoming country to asylees over the years and current UNHCR quota refugees. They take about 5,000 refugees per year and recently announced that because they were unable to take 5,000 refugees in 2020 because of COVID pandemic issues that they will actually add the deficit to what they are doing this year and will take about 6,400 refugees and asylees.

And Sweden has, of course, been a close partner in Afghanistan and otherwise, and they have taken over 650 asylees from Afghanistan as one part of that commitment.

I expect—if confirmed, I will look forward to continuing a close dialogue about asylee and refugee issues and about human rights in general.

Senator KAINE. Thank you, Mr. Ramanathan.

If there are no more questions for the witnesses, and I believe there is no additional senators who have joined, the record for the hearing is going to remain open until the close of business tomorrow, Wednesday, November 3rd.

Please ensure that questions for the record are submitted no later than the close of business tomorrow if you are a member of this committee, and I would encourage the nominees, if there are questions submitted, please try to answer fully and expeditiously so that the committee can consider your nominations as soon as possible.

Thanks again to all the nominees for your willingness to serve. Congratulations on being nominated.

And with that, this hearing is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 11:17 a.m., the hearing was adjourned.]

Additional Material Submitted for the Record

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO HON. THOMAS BARRETT BY SENATOR ROBERT MENENDEZ

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. If confirmed, I would take every report of an anomalous health incident very seriously, and do all in my power to investigate, protect those affected, and respond. I believe these incidents pose a threat to the health of U.S. personnel. I would share information on the latest updates and how our Mission would respond should such a case arise.

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 take every report of an anomalous health incident very seriously, and do all in my power to investigate, protect those affected, and respond quickly. I would make sure affected individuals are treated promptly.

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 absolutely commit to meeting with medical staff and the RSO at post to discuss past reported incidents and ensure all protocols are being followed. The health and security of Mission personnel would be my top priority.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO HON. THOMAS BARRETT BY SENATOR JAMES E. RISCH

Question. In the 2021 State Department Trafficking in Persons report, Luxembourg remained on Tier 1 due to its sustained efforts to combat human trafficking, but during the last reporting period, courts issued more lenient sentences which undermined trafficking efforts.

- If confirmed, how will you engage with the Government of Luxembourg on this issue?

Answer. Luxembourg continues to take trafficking in persons issues seriously and has been a steadfast partner in coordinating on the issue with the United States. If confirmed, I will engage with U.S. and Luxembourg authorities to encourage cooperation and regularly raise trafficking in persons at the highest levels of the Luxembourg Government. I will urge the Government of Luxembourg to take further concrete actions to address the recommendations from this year's Trafficking in Persons Report, including the issue of lenient sentences for convicted human traffickers.

Question. In the 2020 reporting period, the 2020 State Department Report on International Religious Freedom indicated that Anti-Semitism incidents increased from 2019 from 47 to 64.

- If confirmed, what steps can you take to address this issue?

Answer. Luxembourg takes religious freedom seriously and is committed to countering anti-Semitism. If confirmed, I will work closely with the Special Envoy to Monitor and Combat Anti-Semitism and other U.S. officials to engage with government authorities, civil society, and religious actors to encourage cooperation and take further steps to combat and condemn all manifestations of anti-Semitism, particularly in light of the global rise in anti-Semitism.

Question. How will you engage with civil society and the Government to promote better societal respect for all religious minorities?

Answer. to promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, including for members of religious minority groups. As I understand, the U.S. Embassy in Luxembourg enjoys strong and longstanding relationships with religious leaders and civil society organizations supporting the rights of members of minority groups and advocating for access to justice for vulnerable communities. I would also work closely with the Ambassador-at-Large for International Religious Freedom and other U.S. officials to promote the freedom of religion or belief for all.

Question. According to the 2020 State Department Human Rights Report, there were no significant human rights abuses reported in Luxembourg. However, there is always work to be done.

- If confirmed, how will you work with the Government and civil society to bolster human rights in the country?

Answer. Luxembourg is a key partner in promoting human rights, including efforts to promote them globally. If confirmed, I will continue to foster and encourage Luxembourg's positive track record in the area of human rights promotion, including Luxembourg's efforts to responsibly apportion development assistance in a manner that encourages respect for human rights and dignity.

Question. What do you consider to be the top human rights priority?

Answer. If confirmed, I will look to prioritize human rights in all their forms and encourage the Government of Luxembourg to continue to be a key partner for the United States in this regard. I believe that the top human rights priority is respect for others. With respect as our core value, we can work to include that in all our actions as a nation and as individuals.

Question. Mission Luxembourg has been under enormous stress over the past few years due to COVID.

- What is your understanding of morale throughout Mission Luxembourg?

Answer. Luxembourg and all of Europe was hit hard by COVID. Travel and other restrictions, heightened uncertainty, health concerns, and family obligations have been stressful for Mission Luxembourg officers and their families. If confirmed, I pledge to work with my team to address concerns and strengthen morale in the Mission.

Question. Mission Luxembourg has been under enormous stress over the past few years due to COVID.

- How do you intend to improve morale across all of Mission Luxembourg?

Answer. If confirmed, I will make clear that the safety and morale of the Mission is of paramount importance to me. I appreciate the wealth of talent and experience of the current team and will ensure that they know that I will do everything I can to take care of them and their families. If confirmed, when I arrive, I will hold a Town Hall to seek input from all members of the Mission. I will also work with my management team to see how we can work together to address ongoing concerns

from employees in the Mission and create an environment where people feel safe and can thrive. I will meet regularly with all sections of the Mission to share my appreciation for the invaluable work and contributions they make and listen to their concerns.

Management: A Key Responsibility for Chiefs of Mission

Question. How do you intend to create a unified mission and vision across Mission Luxembourg?

Answer. As Mayor of Milwaukee since 2004, I have worked hard to create a unified administration where communication, cooperation and coordination are paramount. I understand that motivating people and providing resources to accomplish our goals are key to success. If confirmed, I will work with my country team to establish clear goals and empower my staff to reach them.

Question. How would you describe your management style?

Answer. I work hard to create a team approach. I appreciate and seek input from all members of my team. I also understand that, as team leader, I am ultimately responsible for my team's actions and decisions.

Question. How do you believe your management style will translate to an Embassy setting, where resources may not be readily available and your diplomatic workforce are career employees?

Answer. As a long time public servant, I understand how to work with limited resources and other career public servants. If confirmed, I believe as a team we will be able to use what resources we have to accomplish targeted goals.

Question. As a political appointee rather than career diplomat, do you believe it is incumbent on new Chiefs of Mission to integrate themselves into Embassy operations and culture? If yes, how do you intend to do so?

Answer. Yes, I do believe that it is important to integrate myself into the Embassy operations and culture. If confirmed, I intend to proactively support and participate in activities set up by the Mission for Mission employees and families. I will maintain the smooth operation of the Embassy by following the established regulations and protocols. I am looking forward to becoming a part of the Mission family.

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 constructive to berate subordinates in public or private. If there are issues, I will address them professionally and constructively.

Question. How do you envision your relationship with your Deputy Chief of Mission?

Answer. If confirmed, I intend to have an excellent, professional relationship with my Deputy Chief of Mission.

Question. If confirmed, what leadership responsibilities do you intend to entrust to your Deputy Chief of Mission?

Answer. If confirmed, I intend to support the Deputy Chief of Mission's role in the day-to-day management of the Mission and as my key advisor.

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 everyday citizens. Public diplomacy is an important aspect of U.S. foreign policy efforts.

- How do you intend to increase the ability of U.S. diplomats to access all local populations?

Answer. If confirmed, I intend to encourage officers to meet with contacts as the COVID situation allows, and to travel around the country to meet a diverse range of Luxembourgers. As mayor, I understand and embrace the value of people-to-people exchanges, and I intend to promote U.S. policies by supporting the Mission's public diplomacy programming.

Question. What is the public diplomacy environment like in Luxembourg? What public diplomacy challenges do U.S. diplomats face?

Answer. The media environment in Luxembourg is professional, modern, respectful, multi-lingual, and mildly partisan. If confirmed, I will work with the public diplomacy section to raise the profile of U.S. priorities, such as in space cooperation, economic ties, and climate challenges. As the population ages, traditional support from those who recall the U.S. liberation of Europe have less salience. I will work

with my public diplomacy section to build closer ties with the youth in Luxembourg, so they too understand the important role the United States played in the history of Luxembourg.

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. If confirmed, I will work with my public diplomacy section to tailor messages on policy priorities with the realities on the ground. I will work with my team to communicate with Main State and make sure that our messaging resonates with Luxembourgers. I will also encourage creative ways of sharing our message to appeal to targeted audiences.

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. I have received an unclassified briefing on the anomalous health incidents, and have followed the issue in the news. If confirmed, I commit to receiving additional, classified briefings on the incidents.

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 will maintain detailed records of the incident and share it with the State Department and others to contribute to the investigation.

Question. 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. 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 will take every measure to keep our staff safe and secure and would take any report of an anomalous health incident very seriously. I will do my best to ensure those affected receive the attention they deserve, that incidents are investigated fully, and that we work with the appropriate offices and agencies to ensure required reporting, investigation, potential countermeasures, and provision of medical care. I would share what information I can with my team and the mission community-remaining cognizant of people's medical privacy.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO JAMIE L. HARPOOTLIAN BY SENATOR ROBERT MENENDEZ

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. This is a sensitive ongoing investigation and is a top priority for Secretary of State Antony Blinken. I understand there is a major interagency effort to investigate what is causing the incidents and how the Embassy community can be protected. If confirmed, I will do my utmost to ensure anyone who reports anomalous health incidents receives immediate and appropriate attention and care, and I consider it my primary responsibility to ensure the safety and security of the Embassy community.

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 will ensure that any employees or their family members who report a possible health incident will receive immediate and appropriate attention and care. If confirmed, I will communicate with our workforce to provide care for affected employees and their family members and work together with partners in Washington and the interagency to do what we can to protect against these incidents and, of course, to find the cause of what has been afflicting these members of our Embassy teams. I also consider it my primary responsibility to ensure the safety and security of the Embassy community.

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. Yes. If confirmed, I will consider it my primary responsibility to ensure the safety and security of the Embassy community.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO JAMIE L. HARPOOTLIAN BY SENATOR JAMES E. RISCH

Question. In the 2021 State Department Trafficking in Persons report, Slovenia remained on Tier 1 for fully meeting the minimum standards to eliminate trafficking. The Government also convicted more traffickers and adopted a national anti-trafficking plan.

- If confirmed, how will you continue to engage with the Government on this issue to capitalize on the success of their trafficking efforts?

Answer. Slovenia continues to take trafficking in persons issues seriously and is a steadfast partner in coordinating on the issue with the United States. If confirmed, I will engage with U.S. and Slovenian authorities to encourage cooperation and regularly raise trafficking in persons at the highest levels of the Slovenian Government. I will urge the Slovenian Government to take further concrete actions to address the recommendations from this year's Trafficking in Persons Report. Specifically, I will encourage the Government of Slovenia to increase efforts to identify victims among vulnerable groups, ensure all victims have access to services, and increase efforts to identify victims of labor trafficking.

Question. How can you work with regional Ambassadors to use Slovenia as a model for other surrounding countries not on Tier 1 but aspiring to be?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work with regional Ambassadors to highlight best practices in Slovenia to other surrounding countries not on Tier 1. For example, NGOs in Slovenia noted continued strong cooperation with police on the identification of sex trafficking victims, as police continued to invite NGO care-providers to police interactions with commercial sex establishments to assist in victim identification. The United States encourages all governments to pursue strong cooperation between civil society and law enforcement to identify trafficking victims and to provide assistance.

Question. According to the 2020 State Department Report on International Religious Freedom, Slovenia lacks general respect for religious freedom with noted Anti-Semitic and anti-Muslim incidents in the reporting period.

- Please describe your plan of engagement, if confirmed, with the host government and civil society to increase societal respect for religious freedom.

Answer. Slovenia's constitution provides for freedom of religion or belief; other laws and policies contribute to the generally free practice of religion in Slovenia. There were, however, occasional reports of societal abuses or discrimination, including incidents of anti-Muslim hatred in 2020. If confirmed, I look forward to working together with the Ambassador at Large for International Religious Freedom, as well as the Department's Special Envoy to Monitor and Combat Anti-Semitism, to bolster societal respect for the freedom of religion or belief and the rights of members of religious minority groups.

Question. In the 2020 State Department Human Rights Report, Slovenia was identified as having significant human rights abuses, including threats of violence against journalists. Ending this threat and impunity for violence against journalists remains a challenge globally.

- If confirmed, how will you work with the Government and civil society to bolster human rights in country?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work closely with civil society organizations to help us assess human rights issues, develop programs, and advocate for stronger policies

and reforms. The U.S. Embassy in Ljubljana enjoys strong and longstanding relationships with civil society on human rights and democracy issues. Civil society has played an important role in promoting accountability of elected leaders, driving meaningful reform, supporting the rights of members of minority groups and access to justice for vulnerable communities, and strengthening independent media.

Question. What do you consider to be the top human rights priority?

Answer. Media freedom is essential to a free and democratic society. Slovenia has an open media environment, yet some government actors have called into question the integrity of media outlets and launched verbal attacks on journalists. The Government also has withheld financial support required by law to the national press agency. Friends should be able to discuss difficult topics with each other, and this is an area where we have to engage with the Slovenian Government. If confirmed, I will have these conversations to emphasize the importance of media freedom.

Question. How can you work with the Government to improve their efforts to protect journalists?

Answer. Media freedom is fundamental to a free and democratic society. If confirmed, I will emphasize the importance of media freedom and urge the Government of Slovenia to strongly condemn and, if appropriate, thoroughly investigate such threats and any violence against journalists. If confirmed, I will ensure that the Embassy continues to track this issue closely and will also prioritize continued outreach to members of the Slovenian press to continue to develop their ability to safely carry out their profession and to promote good governance and anti-corruption objectives through investigative journalism.

Embassy Management

Question. Mission Slovenia has been under enormous stress over the past few years due to COVID.

- What is your understanding of morale throughout Mission Slovenia?

Answer. Slovenia has enforced strict national lockdowns. The American and local employees at Embassy Ljubljana have dealt with significant challenges posed by COVID-19. I am grateful for their service, despite the difficulties. If confirmed, I will prioritize listening to, and supporting, Embassy employees, including the Deputy Chief of Mission, to better understand the impact of the pandemic on the mission.

Question. How do you intend to improve morale across all of Mission Slovenia?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work with my Deputy Chief of Mission to ensure that we create an atmosphere in which our staff knows that they can bring serious issues to us and know that they are being heard at the highest level. I will do personal outreach to the staff when I arrive at Post and will ensure that everyone in the Mission understands that my highest priority is the safety and security of the team. If confirmed, I will promote training and professional development, and ensure that all staff members are aware of the employee and family support resources that the Department offers to assist employees.

Question. How do you intend to create a unified mission and vision across Mission Slovenia?

Answer. If confirmed, I plan to establish a strong team with a clear understanding of our goals and objectives, maintain open and transparent communications throughout the Mission by sharing information, and seek ways to support and ensure the safety and community of the Mission—both American and local staff. I will treat the team with respect and professionalism and give them the tools they need to do their jobs. I believe that all members of U.S. Embassy Ljubljana are one team working for the good of the U.S.-Slovenia relationship and the interests of the United States and the American people, and, if confirmed, my goal will be to have everyone inspired to work in that direction.

Management: A Key Responsibility for Chiefs of Mission

Question. How would you describe your management style?

Answer. I have a collaborative management style. I believe in sharing information and empowering my team, being open to ideas and suggestions from throughout the mission, and providing clear guidance and decisions as needed to lead. If confirmed, I will regularly engage with members of my team and always seek to create a space for open dialogue, creativity, and diversity of thought.

Question. How do you believe your management style will translate to an Embassy setting, where resources may not be readily available and your diplomatic workforce are career employees?

Answer. As I understand it, the State Department continuously reviews its priorities, organization, and staffing relevant to the needs of each mission. If confirmed, my commitment will be to ensure we use our available resources as effectively as possible to advance our top policy priorities. If necessary, I would advocate for additional resources to carry out our mission.

Question. As a political appointee rather than career diplomat, do you believe it is incumbent on new chiefs of mission to integrate themselves into Embassy operations and culture? If yes, how do you intend to do so?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, one of my first actions as ambassador will be to meet the entire team at our Embassy in Ljubljana and to schedule opportunities for regular coordination and planning of Embassy operations. I also will create opportunities for more informal meetings and events with members from across the Embassy community, so that I have a strong awareness of community concerns and the state of Embassy morale.

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

Answer. I do not believe it is ever acceptable or constructive to berate subordinates, either in public or private.

Question. How do you envision your relationship with your Deputy Chief of Mission?

Answer. If confirmed, I hope to establish a high constructive relationship with my Deputy Chief of Mission, who will be my trusted partner, confidante, and alter ego in managing and leading the Mission.

Question. If confirmed, what leadership responsibilities do you intend to entrust to your Deputy Chief of Mission?

Answer. If confirmed, I look forward to having a close working relationship with my Deputy Chief of Mission (DCM). The DCM must be fully engaged and informed about all aspects of policy and Mission management should the Deputy need to step in to lead. If confirmed, I look forward to working with my DCM once I arrive in Ljubljana to collaboratively work through the best division of labor in managing the Mission.

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 everyday citizens.

- How do you intend to increase the ability of U.S. diplomats to access all local populations?

Answer. If confirmed, I would lead by example to demonstrate the importance of getting outside of our Embassy. Access to and engagement with local contacts and populations is an important part of our work overseas. If confirmed, I look forward to participating in public outreach with all parts of society, including students, non-governmental organizations, academics, scientists, and the media, and will encourage the diplomats of Embassy Ljubljana to do the same.

Public Diplomacy: An Important Aspect of U.S. Foreign Policy Efforts

Question. What is the public diplomacy environment like in Slovenia? What public diplomacy challenges do U.S. diplomats face?

Answer. In Slovenia, as throughout the world, COVID-19 has affected in-person public diplomacy programming. Recently announced new travel rules, once implemented, should alleviate the perceived imbalance in measures that make travel to the United States restrictive for Slovenes. U.S. public diplomacy programming supports Mission goals through student and scholarly exchanges, media engagement, educational outreach, speaker series, support for culture and the arts, and entrepreneurship, bilateral trade and investment ties. If confirmed, I look forward to engaging with the Slovenian public to increase dialogue about a range of issues and build support for our policies.

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. If confirmed, I will work with the Public Diplomacy Section to closely coordinate the efforts of Washington and Ljubljana-based public diplomacy professionals to ensure that there is a unified approach to highlighting the key U.S. mes-

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sages and policies in Slovenia and around the world. The Public Diplomacy Section engages on a variety of different social media platforms to deliver tailored messages on U.S. foreign policy priorities, promote Embassy activities and events, provide information on security, voting, and other topics to U.S. citizens, and communicate with the Slovenian public.

Anomalous Health Incidents

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. I have already received an overview at the unclassified level on potential anomalous health incidents reported by U.S. Government personnel in regions around the world. If confirmed, I look forward to receiving an in-depth briefing on the incidents before I depart for my post. Protecting the health and safety of members of my team is my very highest priority.

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. As the Department does, I consider the safety and health of our employees and their family members as my top priority. If confirmed, I will vigorously and diligently support the Department's established reporting and care protocols for possible anomalous health incidents.

Question. 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. 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. 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 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 Ljubljana staff, their family members, and all those supporting the Mission will be my highest priority. If confirmed, I commit to meeting with the Embassy community to discuss these issues. If confirmed, I also commit to meeting with the RSO and medical staff to ensure that I am most prepared to protect the safety of Embassy Ljubljana staff in case any potential anomalous health incidents are reported.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO SCOTT MILLER BY SENATOR ROBERT MENENDEZ

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. This is a sensitive ongoing investigation and is a top priority for Secretary of State Antony Blinken. I understand a major interagency effort is investigating what is causing the incidents and how the Embassy community can be protected. If confirmed, I will do my utmost to ensure anyone who reports anomalous health incidents receives immediate and appropriate attention and care, and I will consider it my primary responsibility to ensure the safety and security of the Embassy community.

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 will ensure that any employees or their family members who report a possible health incident will receive immediate and appropriate attention and care. If confirmed, I will communicate with our workforce to provide care for affected employees and their family members and work together with partners in Washington and the interagency to do what we can to protect against these incidents and, of course, to find the cause of what has been afflicting these members of our Embassy teams. I will also consider it my primary responsibility to ensure the safety and security of the Embassy community.

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. Yes. If confirmed, I will consider it my primary responsibility to ensure the safety and security of the Embassy community.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO SCOTT MILLER BY SENATOR JAMES E. RISCH

Question. In the 2021 State Department Trafficking in Persons report, Switzerland remained on Tier 2 due to ongoing lacking efforts by the Government to hold traffickers accountable, fund victim services, and without legal safeguards to protect victims.

- Please explain, in detail, how you plan to engage with the Swiss Government, if confirmed.

Answer. If confirmed, I would work with the Deputy Chief of Mission and Country Team to develop and implement both a short and long-term strategy of engagement with government officials, business leaders, and civil society in Switzerland and Liechtenstein. If confirmed, I would work with my Country Team to prioritize engagement with Swiss and Liechtenstein Government officials and entities based on policy needs and priorities. If confirmed, I would also more closely consider engagement with Swiss and Liechtenstein Government entities and officials who may seek greater U.S. Government interaction.

Question. Please explain why you believe the Swiss Government has not made serious and sustained efforts to combat trafficking in persons.

Answer. If confirmed, I will ensure Swiss and Liechtenstein interlocutors understand the United States is committed to combating trafficking in persons in Switzerland, Liechtenstein, and beyond. While the Swiss Government is making significant efforts to address this issue, lenient sentencing, resulting in 60 percent of traffickers receiving fully suspended sentences or fines, undercut efforts to hold traffickers accountable. The Government did not report the number of trafficking investigations for the third year in a row, reported fewer convictions, and continued to lack sufficiently disaggregated data on trafficking. For the third consecutive year, the Government decreased victim identification and remained without a national standardized identification and referral mechanism.

Question. According to the 2020 State Department Report on International Religious Freedom, Anti-Semitic incidents in Switzerland were in the hundreds but on the decline from previous reporting periods.

- How can you use regional ambassadors and the Special Envoy to Monitor and Combat Anti-Semitism to emulate other successful regional programs in Switzerland?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work with the Office of International Religious Freedom to promote universal respect for freedom of religion or belief in Switzerland and Liechtenstein. I will also work with both the Office of International Religious Freedom and the Office of the Special Envoy to Monitor and Combat Anti-Semitism to ensure the Embassy recommends, develops, and implements policies and programs to combat discrimination and promote tolerance. I will also engage with various religious communities across Switzerland and Liechtenstein to better understand where challenges remain and raise these challenges with the Governments of both countries. Finally, if confirmed, I will seek to promote inter-religious dialogue among religious groups in Switzerland and Liechtenstein.

Question. Please describe your plan of engagement, if confirmed, with civil society to increase societal respect for religious freedom.

Answer. If confirmed, I will work closely with civil society organizations, religious minorities, and government entities to assess and increase societal respect for religious freedom, develop programs, and advocate for appropriate policies and reforms.

Question. In the 2020 State Department Human Rights Report, Switzerland was identified as having no significant human rights abuses. However, there is always work to be done.

- If confirmed, how can you promote religious freedom and tolerance with federal and cantonal government officials?

Answer. Switzerland's constitution guarantees freedom of faith and conscience, and the penal code prohibits discrimination against any religion or its members. Switzerland also has an independent judicial system capable of holding accountable those who commit hate-based crimes. If confirmed, I will work closely with federal and cantonal government officials—as well as civil society and religious minorities—to promote religious freedom and advocate for appropriate policies and reforms. If confirmed, I will also work with my team to ensure we leverage a whole-of-government approach in engagement with federal and sub-national officials, such as initiatives focused on promotion of interfaith tolerance by cantonal officials and local procedures.

Question. If confirmed, how will you work with the Government and civil society to bolster human rights in country?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work closely with civil society organizations and government entities to assess and bolster human rights and advocate for appropriate policies and reforms. If confirmed, I will work with my team to ensure we leverage the whole-of-government and U.S. subject matter experts to develop engagement and reporting strategies that effectively bolster human rights in Switzerland and Liechtenstein.

Question. What do you consider to be the top human rights priority?

Answer. The protection of fundamental human rights was a foundation stone in the establishment of the United States over 200 years ago. Since then, a central goal of U.S. foreign policy has been the promotion of respect for human rights, as embodied in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Partnering with Switzerland and Liechtenstein on supporting democracy around the world not only promotes such fundamental American values as religious freedom and worker rights, but also helps create a more secure, stable, and prosperous global arena in which the United States can advance its national interests. If confirmed, I would commit to deepening cooperation with my host governments on promoting respect for human rights wherever they are under threat.

Embassy Management

Question. Mission Switzerland and Mission Liechtenstein have been under enormous stress over the past few years due to COVID.

- What is your understanding of morale throughout Mission Switzerland and Mission Liechtenstein?

Answer. Like most overseas Posts, Embassy Bern has endured strict host nation mitigation measures and varying conditions in response to the COVID-19 pandemic. Consequently, American and local employees at Embassy Bern have dealt with significant challenges posed by COVID-19. Beyond the pandemic, Embassy Bern has a lean staffing pattern across multiple sections. I am grateful for their service, despite these difficulties. If confirmed, I will prioritize meeting with and supporting Embassy employees, including the Deputy Chief of Mission, to understand the impact of the pandemic and lean-staffing patterns on the mission. If confirmed, I will advocate for more resources for Embassy Bern as appropriate to ensure our staffing aligns with mission priorities and needs.

Question. How do you intend to improve morale across all of Mission Switzerland and Mission Liechtenstein?

Answer. If confirmed, I will prioritize meeting with and supporting Embassy employees, including the Deputy Chief of Mission, to understand the impact of the pandemic and lean-staffing patterns on the mission. If confirmed, I will advocate for more resources for Embassy Bern as appropriate to ensure our staffing aligns with mission priorities and needs. I will work with my Deputy Chief of Mission to ensure we create an atmosphere in which our staff knows that they can bring serious issues to us and know that they are being heard at the highest level. I will do personal

outreach to the staff when I arrive at Post and will ensure that everyone in the Mission understands that my highest priority is the safety, security, and resiliency of the team. If confirmed, I will promote work/life balance, training, and professional development, and ensure that all staff members are aware of the employee and family support resources that the Department offers to assist employees.

Management: A Key Responsibility for Chiefs of Mission

Question. How do you intend to create a unified mission and vision across Mission Switzerland and Mission Liechtenstein?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work with my Deputy Chief of Mission and Country Team to ensure our mission priorities and plans incorporate input and suggestions from diverse stakeholders, are well-known, and are communicated effectively through venues like Town Halls and Country Team meetings. I would consider it a priority to ensure the mission and vision is unified and clear to all under my authority.

Question. How would you describe your management style?

Answer. Management is a critical responsibility for any chief of mission. If confirmed, I want Americans and local staff under my leadership to feel heard, respected, and engaged; and I plan to set the tone by my example, which includes being considerate, communicative, consistent, and calm. I would also seek to develop and grow new leaders through mentorship and appropriately challenging tasks and roles. If confirmed, I would work closely with the Council on Inclusion and Diversity to adopt and model best practices. I would be available and present for my entire team. If confirmed, I would seek to ensure my team maintains a healthy work-life balance while ensuring the mission is complete.

Question. How do you believe your management style will translate to an Embassy setting, where resources may not be readily available and your diplomatic workforce are career employees?

Answer. If confirmed, I would seek to advance mission policies and priorities shoulder-to-shoulder with the remarkable and talented U.S. Foreign Service officers and local Embassy staff in Bern, who have already done so much to advocate on behalf of the United States, and who cannot be praised enough for their dedication and public service. I understand the State Department continuously reviews its priorities, organization, and staffing relevant to the needs of each mission. If confirmed, my commitment will be to ensure we use our available resources as effectively as possible to advance our top policy priorities. If necessary, I would work with my Deputy Chief of Mission and Country Team to advocate for additional resources to carry out our mission.

Question. As a political appointee rather than career diplomat, do you believe it is incumbent on new Chiefs of Mission to integrate themselves into Embassy operations and culture? If yes, how do you intend to do so?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, one of my first actions as ambassador will be to meet the entire team at our Embassy in Bern and to schedule opportunities for regular coordination and planning of Embassy operations. I will also create opportunities for more informal meetings and events with members from across the Embassy community, so that I have a strong awareness of community concerns and the state of Embassy morale.

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

Answer. I do not believe it is ever acceptable or constructive to berate subordinates, either in public or private.

Question. How do you envision your relationship with your Deputy Chief of Mission?

Answer. If confirmed, I hope to establish a positive relationship where my Deputy Chief of Mission will be my trusted partner, confidante, and alter ego in managing and leading the Mission.

Question. If confirmed, what leadership responsibilities do you intend to entrust to your Deputy Chief of Mission?

Answer. If confirmed, I look forward to having a close working relationship with my Deputy Chief of Mission (DCM). The DCM must be fully engaged on and informed about all aspects of policy and Mission management should the Deputy need to step in to lead. If confirmed, I look forward to working with my DCM to collaboratively work through the best division of labor in managing the Mission.

Public Diplomacy: An Important Aspect of U.S. Foreign Policy Efforts

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 everyday citizens.

- How do you intend to increase the ability of U.S. diplomats to access all local populations?

Answer. Public diplomacy is an important aspect of U.S. foreign policy efforts. If confirmed, I will encourage all parts of the mission to engage regularly with the widest possible range of the local population, across the entire country, while always working to ensure the safety and security of everyone on our team.

Question. What is the public diplomacy environment like in Switzerland? What public diplomacy challenges do U.S. diplomats face?

Answer. COVID-19 has affected in-person public diplomacy programming in Switzerland, as it has everywhere. Recently announced new travel rules, once implemented, should help alleviate increased skepticism about the perceived imbalance between measures that make travel to the United States restrictive for the Swiss. U.S. public diplomacy programming supports Mission goals through student and scholarly exchanges; media engagement; educational outreach; speaker series; support for culture and the arts; and entrepreneurship, bilateral trade and investment ties. If confirmed, I look forward to engaging with the Swiss public to increase dialogue about a range of issues and build support for our policies.

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. If confirmed, I will work with the Public Diplomacy Section to closely coordinate the efforts of Washington and Bern-based public diplomacy professionals to ensure that there is a unified approach to highlighting the key U.S. messages and policies in Switzerland and around the world. The Public Diplomacy Section engages on a variety of different social media platforms to deliver tailored messages on U.S. foreign policy priorities; promote Embassy activities and events; provide information on security, voting, and other topics of interest to U.S. citizens; and communicate with the Swiss public.

Anomalous Health Incidents

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. I have received an overview at the unclassified level on potential anomalous health incidents reported by U.S. Government personnel in regions around the world. If confirmed, I look forward to receiving an in-depth briefing on the incidents before I depart for my post.

Answer. 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. As the Department does, I consider the safety and health of our employees and their family members as my top priority. If confirmed, I will energetically support the Department's established reporting and care protocols for possible anomalous health incidents.

Question. 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. 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. 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 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 Bern staff, their family members, and all those supporting the Mission will be my highest priority. If confirmed, I commit to meeting with the Embassy community to discuss

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these issues. If confirmed, I also commit to meeting with the Regional Security Officer and medical staff to ensure that I am most prepared to protect the safety of Embassy Bern staff in case any potential anomalous health incidents are reported.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO SCOTT MILLER BY SENATOR TIM KAINE

F-35 Sale

Question. Earlier this year, Swiss voters approved in a referendum a \$5.5 billion deal for Switzerland to purchase Lockheed Martin F-35s as its next-generation fighter jet, along with a \$2.1 billion agreement to buy Patriot surface-to-air missiles from Raytheon. The Swiss Government chose the F-35s over competing bids from Boeing, Dassault (France), and a Germany-Spain-Italy-UK conglomerate. The decision followed an analysis from the Swiss Federal Council assessing that the F-35 offered the highest overall benefit at the lowest overall cost—costing around \$2 billion less than the next lowest bidder.

- The Swiss Government and Swiss voters clearly recognized the value of the F-35. And the F-35 offers capabilities over and above the economic considerations. How do you assess Switzerland's decision to buy F-35s from the United States, over options from European competitors? As Ambassador, how will you build on this success?

Answer. Switzerland's decision to acquire \$6.5 billion in F-35 fighters will contribute to a lasting, mutually beneficial security and technological partnership for decades to come. The Swiss government conducted a systematic, unbiased, and transparent competition. Not only would Switzerland derive the benefit of the F-35's interoperability capabilities with the United States and allied European nations, but the acquisition would bolster diplomatic and political partnerships with the United States and its European allies. If confirmed, I will continue to advocate energetically for U.S. defense systems, which I believe deepen our bilateral cooperation, provide our partners with the best strategic and fiscal value, and strengthen economic benefits for both of our countries.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO ERIK D. RAMANATHAN BY SENATOR ROBERT MENENDEZ

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 agree these incidents must be taken seriously and pose a threat to the health of U.S. personnel. I understand a major interagency effort is underway to investigate what is causing the incidents and how the Embassy community can be protected, and this issue remains a top priority for Secretary of State Antony Blinken. If confirmed, I will do my utmost to ensure anyone who reports anomalous health incidents receives immediate and appropriate attention and care, and I will consider it my primary responsibility to ensure the safety and security of the Embassy community.

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 will ensure that any employees or their family members who report a potential anomalous health incident will receive immediate and appropriate attention and care. If confirmed, I will communicate with our workforce to provide care for affected employees and their family members and work together with partners in Washington and the interagency to do what we can to protect against these incidents and to find the cause of what has been afflicting these members of our Embassy teams. I consider it my primary responsibility to ensure the safety and security of the Embassy community.

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. Yes. If confirmed, I will consider it my primary responsibility to ensure the safety and security of the Embassy community. If confirmed, I commit to meeting with medical staff and the RSO at post to discuss any past reported incidents and to ensure that all protocols are being followed.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO ERIK D. RAMANATHAN BY SENATOR JAMES E. RISCH

Sweden

Question. In the 2021 State Department Trafficking in Persons report, Sweden remained on Tier 1 for continued efforts to eliminate trafficking in persons. However, authorities in Sweden investigated fewer trafficking cases and investigated fewer victims. They also delayed the National Support Program (NSP) for victim assistance.

- If confirmed, how will you engage with the Government of Sweden on this issue?

Answer. The Government of Sweden fully meets the minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking. The Swedish Government continued to demonstrate serious and sustained efforts, considering the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on its anti-trafficking capacity. As part of a four-year project, the Government allocated 18 million krona (\$2.2 million) to strengthen labor market regulation compliance efforts and review compliance developments, including efforts to prevent forced labor. If confirmed, I will engage with U.S. and Swedish authorities to advance bilateral cooperation on this issue. I will work to encourage the Swedish Government to increase proactive identification and assistance for victims, particularly among vulnerable groups, and encourage consistent and sufficient funding for victim services.

Question. In the 2020 State Department Report on International Religious Freedom, the country report on Sweden indicated several anti-Semitic incidents and one against an 11 year-old Christian boy.

- Please describe your plan of engagement, if confirmed, with the host government and civil society to increase societal respect for religious freedom.

Answer. Sweden's constitution protects "the freedom to practice one's religion alone or in the company of others" and prohibits discrimination based on religion. However, anti-Semitism is rising around the world at an alarming rate. Although levels of anti-Semitism are lower in Sweden than in some other parts of Europe, I view any increase in anti-Semitism with serious concern. In October 2021, the Swedish Government hosted foreign leaders, Holocaust survivors, and internationally renowned activists in Malmö for a forum aimed at promoting Holocaust remembrance and combating anti-Semitism. If confirmed, I look forward to building on the important pledges made at the Malmö forum and commit to coordinating with the State Department's Special Envoy for Holocaust Issues, the Special Envoy to Monitor and Combat Anti-Semitism, and the Ambassador-at-Large for International Religious Freedom to combat anti-Semitism and religious intolerance in all its forms and to promote freedom of religion or belief for all.

Question. In the 2020 State Department Human Rights Report, Sweden was identified as having no significant human rights abuses. However, there is always work to be done.

- If confirmed, how will you work with the Government and civil society to bolster human rights in country?

Answer. The Swedish Government has undertaken a "Drive for Democracy," which centers democracy and human rights in its foreign policy, including via security cooperation and international development efforts. Since launching its Drive in 2016, Sweden has hosted over 600 "Democracy Talks" at Embassies across the globe, engaging more than 1.7 million people. The Swedish Government also pursues a "feminist foreign policy" approach, which emphasizes the impact of global events on women and children and seeks to include women in conflict resolution, negotiation, and diplomacy. If confirmed, I look forward to building on these efforts and working with the Swedish Government and civil society to promote democracy, human rights, and global norms. The U.S. Embassy in Stockholm has strong relationships with civil society organizations in Sweden, and I commit to working closely with them to advance human rights and promote our shared values.

Question. What do you consider to be the top human rights priority?

Answer. Sweden's commitment to promoting human rights and gender equality makes it a respected moral leader in international affairs. If confirmed, I particularly look forward to working with the Government of Sweden to combat human rights issues connected to large-scale displacement of refugees, including related issues of persecution, discrimination, human trafficking, and religious intolerance.

Embassy Management

Question. Mission Sweden has been under enormous stress over the past few years due to COVID.

- What is your understanding of morale throughout Mission Sweden?

Answer. Mission Sweden has faced challenges posed by COVID-19, and I am thankful for their continued service. If confirmed, the health and safety of the personnel and family members of Mission Sweden will be my first priority, and I look forward to working with the talented team of locally employed staff, U.S. Direct Hires, and their families, and ensuring that everyone on my team understands they are valued and has my support.

Question. How do you intend to improve morale across all of Mission Sweden?

Answer. If confirmed, I will ensure everyone on my team is treated professionally, their rights are respected, they are safe and secure, and they have the resources necessary to perform their jobs. We are all one team working for the good of the U.S.-Swedish relationship and the interests of the United States and the American people.

Question. How do you intend to create a unified mission and vision across Mission Sweden?

Answer. If confirmed, I look forward to ensuring open and continuous communication throughout the Mission. We are all one team working together to advance the U.S.-Swedish relationship and in the interests of the American people, so I will ensure this collaborative service focus is central to our work. Furthermore, U.S. Embassy Stockholm is committed to a diverse and inclusive workforce that fully represents and supports many different cultures, backgrounds, and perspectives to provide a productive workplace for all people from all walks of life. I was pleased to learn the Embassy is staffed with a very diverse workforce with over 25 nationalities represented among our local staff. Diversity makes our Mission strong by bringing different perspectives and enhancing creativity and if confirmed, I look forward to working with the team to maximize innovation and effectiveness.

Management: A Key Responsibility for Chiefs of Mission

Question. How would you describe your management style?

Answer. The foundation of my management style is focused on service, collaboration, and creativity. We are all public servants and one team working on a common goal—to advance the bilateral relationship between the United States and Sweden and to effectively advocate for the American people. I look forward to meeting people face-to-face, understanding their goals, and ensuring we are all working collaboratively as one team. If confirmed, I will work to ensure the Embassy fully represents and supports many different cultures, backgrounds, and perspectives to provide a productive and innovative workplace that lifts up the voices of each member of the team.

Question. How do you believe your management style will translate to an embassy setting, where resources may not be readily available and your diplomatic workforce are career employees?

Answer. If confirmed, my commitment will be to ensure we use our available resources as effectively as possible to advance top policy priorities for the U.S.-Swedish relationship and the American public. I have long admired the dedication and service to country of career Foreign Service officers, and if confirmed, look forward to working with them and drawing upon their experience and expertise. I value respect, professionalism, and creative thinking and welcome divergent points of view.

Question. As a political appointee rather than career diplomat, do you believe it is incumbent on new chiefs of mission to integrate themselves into embassy operations and culture? If yes, how do you intend to do so?

Answer. Yes, I believe it is incumbent on new chiefs of mission to integrate themselves into embassy operations and culture. If confirmed, I intend to meet with the personnel at Embassy Stockholm, including U.S. Direct Hires and locally engaged staff, to fully understand their roles and responsibilities and how I can best support,

guide, and advocate for them. I look forward to working closely with the Deputy Chief of Mission and will rely on the experience and expertise of the talented staff to help determine how I can best integrate into and enhance embassy operations.

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

Answer. No, it is never acceptable or constructive to berate subordinates, either in public or private.

Question. How do you envision your relationship with your Deputy Chief of Mission?

Answer. If confirmed, I look forward to a close and productive relationship with the Deputy Chief of Mission (DCM) centered on trust and collaborative service. I envision the relationship as a partnership: a career official that brings experience and institutional knowledge on whom I can depend on and work closely with to ensure the success of the overall Mission, while still retaining ultimate responsibility and accountability for steering our course.

Question. If confirmed, what leadership responsibilities do you intend to entrust to your Deputy Chief of Mission?

Answer. If confirmed, I look forward to building a foundation of trust and a highly collaborative working relationship with the DCM. If confirmed, I will entrust the DCM with responsibility for the day-to-day operations of the Mission and the DCM should keep abreast of policy issues to be able to serve as Chargé d'Affaires in my absence. If confirmed, I plan to consult with the DCM on a range of issues.

Public Diplomacy: An Important Aspect of U.S. Foreign Policy Efforts

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

Answer. I firmly believe it is imperative that U.S. diplomats get outside of the Embassy to meet with local actors, including host government officials, non-governmental organizations, and citizens. If confirmed, I plan to exchange ideas with people from all parts of the country to hear their views and promote our shared goals. I will use both social and traditional media to reach people across Sweden, to directly and indirectly engage with the Swedish public. If confirmed, I will work with the Embassy team to continue leveraging engagements with the media, cultural and educational exchange organizations, and individual interactions to expand the people-to-people bonds that are the foundation of our strong bilateral relationship.

Question. What is the public diplomacy environment like in Sweden? What public diplomacy challenges do U.S. diplomats face?

Answer. The United States has strong academic, cultural, and professional exchanges with the people of Sweden. The COVID-19 pandemic has been a challenge for U.S. diplomats to travel and fully engage face-to-face with host country nationals. As conditions improve, U.S. diplomats have started in-person engagements and programs again. If confirmed, I look forward to utilizing both traditional and social media to engage with the Swedish public, in addition to in-person programs.

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. We are all one team working to advance the bilateral relationship and the interests of the United States and the American people. If confirmed, I will leverage public diplomacy tools to enhance security cooperation, expand economic and trade relations, strengthen Arctic collaboration, and deepen people-to-people ties. I will work to counter adverse influence and mis- and disinformation through engagements with traditional media, communication via social media, institutional outreach and personal interactions, and through a variety of public diplomacy programming. Working with the public diplomacy team, we will tailor our messaging in a way that the Swedish public is most receptive to.

Anomalous Health Incidents

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. I have received a briefing at the unclassified level on the anomalous health incidents that have affected U.S. Government personnel around the world. If confirmed, I commit to seeking full briefings at the appropriate classification lev-

els before my departure to post and learning how I can best protect all Embassy personnel and respond to any future incidents.

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, the safety and security of the personnel and family members of Embassy Stockholm, and American citizens in Sweden, will always be my first priority. In the event of an anomalous health incident, I commit to maintain detailed records of the incident, share the information with the State Department and other embassies, and ensure open communication to contribute to the investigation.

Question. 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. 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, the safety and security of Embassy personnel, their families, and American citizens in Sweden will always be my first priority. This is an issue I take very seriously and is a top priority for Secretary of State Antony Blinken. I will ensure that anyone affected receives immediate medical attention and that personnel and family member concerns are heard. If confirmed, I will communicate with our workforce to share information as appropriate and provide care for affected employees and their family members. I understand there is an ongoing interagency investigation to identify the cause, and I am committed to supporting this investigation.

NOMINATIONS

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 1, 2021

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

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:00 a.m., in Room SD-G50, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Robert Menendez presiding.

Present: Senators Menendez [presiding], Cardin, Shaheen, Coons, Murphy, Kaine, Markey, Booker, Schatz, Van Hollen, Risch, Johnson, Young, Barrasso, Cruz, Rounds, and Hagerty.

Also Present: Senator Warner.

OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. ROBERT MENENDEZ, U.S. SENATOR FROM NEW JERSEY

The CHAIRMAN. Good morning. We are here today to consider the nominations for four important positions: Ambassador John Bass to be the Under Secretary for Management, Mr. Scott Nathan to be the chief executive officer for the U.S. International Development Finance Corporation, Ambassador Mark Brzezinski to be the Ambassador to Poland, and Mr. Michael Adler to be the Ambassador to Belgium.

Congratulations to all of you on your nominations. I appreciate your willingness and that of your families because we understand families are part of the sacrifice to serve our country in this capacity.

Before I start any comments, I understand that our colleague from Virginia, from the great Commonwealth of Virginia, the former Governor of Virginia, Senator Warner, is here to introduce Mr. Nathan.

Senator Warner?

STATEMENT OF HON. MARK R. WARNER, U.S. SENATOR FROM VIRGINIA

Senator WARNER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I appreciate that recognition, and to you and Ranking Member Risch and members of the committee, thank you for giving me the opportunity to make an introduction.

I know Ambassador Bass a bit, but I know Mark Brzezinski—Ambassador Brzezinski and Michael Adler very well. You have got an extraordinary panel in front of you today.

But we all get called upon sometimes to do these introductions but today is something that is very special to me because I get the chance to introduce and present to the committee somebody who is

a close friend, trusted confidante, and somebody I know who is going to be an excellent choice to lead the U.S. International Development Finance Corporation, my friend, Scott Nathan.

I have known Scott for more than 15 years. I first got to know him in my waning days, as you mentioned, when I was—still had a real job, governor, and Scott was introduced to me initially as a like-minded adviser on security issues, having come up in the business world and then transitioned to the public sector.

Scott, I think—and I say this particularly to my friends on the Republican side—brings a very pragmatic outside perspective to the issues of economic diplomacy, trade policy, emerging markets, and international development.

Over the years, I have come to appreciate Scott's wisdom and expertise, and I can tell you he is practical, collaborative, and very independent minded. But I have also gotten to know him as a friend.

I do not want to steal his thunder, but he has got his wife, Laura, and his two kids, Asher and Lia, check behind him. I have got to know them, frankly, since they have been born. But I have seen him and his family on the personal side and this is a—these are good people.

My message to you today is I think the DFC is a incredible valuable tool. Senator Risch and I serve on the Intelligence Committee together and we know the challenges our nation faces as we compete with China and other adversaries in terms of economic development.

I think in Scott you are going to find somebody who is uniquely suited for this job. He comes here with both law and business degrees in hand. He had an extraordinarily impressive career in the private sector for almost two decades.

He worked in the investment business, becoming a very prominent partner on a major fund where he also served as the role of risk management, something I think, again, that is terribly important in this new role with the DFC. He then transitioned to government service, working at both OMB doing policy work and the State Department where he worked in promotion of American economic interests abroad, again, something that I think will serve him well at the DFC.

I know you have got a lot in front of you. I will skip through all these wonderful other descriptions of the important role of the DFC. But I can think of no one that I am prouder to introduce, prouder to present and give more full-fledged endorsement to than my friend, Scott Nathan.

And with that, I thank the chairman and the ranking member for the courtesy of allowing me to go first.

Thank you, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator Warner, for that glowing introduction of Mr. Nathan. I know that being governor is an exalted status but some of us believe that being a U.S. Senator is a real job as well.

On that note, I will let you go to some other important meeting that I am sure that you have at the Intelligence Committee.

Senator RISCH. Senator Shaheen and I also have ideas on the governorship. At some point in time—

[Laughter.]

Senator SHAHEEN. Yes, thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. I just realized I am surrounded by former governors. All right.

Ambassador Bass, it is good to see you again before the committee. You have a long and distinguished public service trajectory that I believe will serve you well upon your confirmation to be the Under Secretary of State for Management.

As you well know, Secretary Blinken inherited a damaged and depleted department, as I documented in a committee report last year, "Diplomacy in Crisis." The last administration's repeated assault on State Department personnel, management, and resources were unconscionable and dangerous for long-term U.S. foreign policy interests. Confidence in leadership decayed and key bureaus were gutted.

In fairness, as I have acknowledged before, many institutional, budgetary, and morale problems are also the result of multiple administrations and congressional action and inaction as well. That is why I believe there is now broad bipartisan consensus that critical efforts needed to be taken to address core structural and resource issues that have too long plagued the department.

While I was encouraged to hear Secretary Blinken's speech on State Department modernization in October, I hope you will provide us some more specifics today on how you intend to execute each of the five pillars he outlined, particularly on how you plan to build capacity on critical issues like cyber and technology, climate and global health, and to improve diversity at the department.

Separately, I would like to take a moment to speak about your recent work in Afghanistan, as this committee would also be interested in hearing your views on the evacuation efforts that you helped oversee this past August.

While the State Department performed heroically in that effort, the fact of the matter is that the department and the United States never should have been in the position where that sort of desperate heroism was necessary.

To my mind, and this is directly relevant to the job that you have been nominated for, it speaks to serious shortcomings in the department's planning and contingency response capacity.

I recognize that today's hearing is not a post-mortem on Afghanistan. But I am interested in what lessons you learned from this experience and how you will apply those lessons as the Deputy for Management, if confirmed.

Mr. Nathan, congratulations on your nomination. I appreciate your visit with me yesterday. If confirmed, you will be leading an agency that is without question an important new asset for advancing U.S. economic competitiveness in the global economy, alleviating poverty and improving opportunity, growth, and stability in countries, all of which are incredibly important U.S. foreign policy objectives.

However, during the DFC's brief history there have been many questions raised, from the decision to grant authorities to the DFC to pursue domestic deals under the Defense Production Act to the series of projects in upper middle income countries to over prom-

ising on prospective investments. There is a need for a cultural reset at the DFC.

Yet, the agency has demonstrated its potential, coming into existence at a critical moment for enhancing U.S. development finance policies and programs with a significant potential to be a vehicle to provide support to our friends and allies who are under increasing economic and diplomatic pressure from Beijing.

I look forward to hearing your vision for ensuring the DFC is fulfilling the BUILD Act's mandate to pursue projects that advance clear development outcomes while also taking strategic approaches for advancing U.S. foreign policy objectives.

This includes the importance of addressing the climate crisis, the need to convert the global economy to clean energy, as highlighted during last month's COP26.

Ambassador Brzezinski, welcome back to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Your nomination comes at a critical time for Poland, and I must note the United States' steadfast commitment to Poland's security. As you know, Poland is a longtime friend and NATO ally, and nothing will undermine our commitment to supporting Poland and defending NATO's Eastern flank.

The illegitimate Lukashenko regime's use of migrants and hybrid tactics at borders—Poland's border is unacceptable and inhumane. Poland is on the front lines and the United States will always support Poland in defending its territorial integrity and security.

However, while Poland's security is of utmost importance, we must also underscore that NATO is strengthened by our commitment to democratic values and human rights.

To that end, I am deeply concerned by continued attacks on the independence of Poland's judiciary. In Warsaw, it will be your job to urge the Polish government to live up to its commitments as a NATO ally that supports a vibrant judiciary, free press, and rights for all of its citizens, and I am confident you are the right choice to represent the United States in Warsaw.

Finally, Mr. Adler, congratulations on your nomination. I trust that, if confirmed, you will draw from your experience in the private sector to advocate for U.S. interests in Belgium.

As you know, hundreds of U.S. firms are represented in Belgium. In 2020, it was the thirteenth largest recipient of U.S. exports and we appreciate Belgium's support for the U.S.-EU Trade and Technology Council to further strengthen transatlantic ties.

In addition, we are grateful for Belgium's partnership in the global coalition to defeat ISIS. Belgium is a NATO partner, a leader on human rights and democracy, and I look forward to getting you to Brussels as soon as possible to continue to strengthen our relationship with that important ally.

We look forward to each of your testimonies. Let me turn to the distinguished ranking member, Senator Risch, for his comments.

**STATEMENT OF HON. JAMES E. RISCH,
U.S. SENATOR FROM IDAHO**

Senator RISCH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

First of all, on the nomination of Under Secretary of State for Management, this position is not only responsible for keeping our diplomats safe and embassies functioning properly but also sup-

porting and improving the State Department workforce. It plays a crucial role in helping coordinate State Department operations with this committee.

There are enormous pressures on State Department personnel that need immediate attention. Embassy personnel are being attacked in what State is awkwardly calling anomalous health incidents. All of us, on a bipartisan basis, are very concerned about this situation. We have struggled to get straight answers out of the department on what is going on.

Moreover, in many posts, our diplomats are having trouble getting outside of the embassy walls to meet with the local population, putting a serious strain on their ability to advance vital U.S. national interests. We know Russian, Chinese, and Iranian diplomats do not have these restrictions.

Determining the future of this workforce and how it operates is one of the most important responsibilities of this position and one that could have ramifications for years, if not decades. I look forward to hearing your thoughts on these important issues.

On the nomination of CEO of the U.S. International Development Finance Corporation, the DFC has the potential, the potential, to serve as one of the most influential tools to unleash the power of the private sector, lift countries out of power and counter the predatory state-sponsored development models pursued by strategic competitors.

To that end, the DFC should focus on two core missions. It should promote economic freedom through support for private sector-led growth in developing countries and it should protect economic freedom through investments in sectors of strategic significance to the United States.

Investments in the digital economy, advanced technologies, energy infrastructure, supply chains, and public health are critical in an era of strategic competition with China and to provide alternatives to state-directed investments. Senator Warner's reference to the Intelligence Committee and our work in overseeing these types of matters is important and, certainly, this agency plays a crucial role there.

Last month, I sent a letter to the DFC expressing serious concerns that 18 of the 21 current solar project sourced panels are from China, even after revelations of forced labor in China's solar industry. That situation is unacceptable and unsustainable. If confirmed, I expect you to fix it and make sure DFC's supply chains do not touch forced labor.

Additionally, the agency's keen interest in pursuing deals in wealthy countries is inexplicable. The DFC must shrug off its old OPIC mindset and fully embrace the new agency's dual missions. It must strike a healthier balance between pursuing projects with a greater development focus and those guided by strategic interests.

On the nomination of our Ambassador to Poland, I will associate myself with the remarks of the chairman regarding our commitment to Poland and its security. Poland is under a growing threat from Russia and its proxy, Belarus. I am glad to see a growing U.S. troop presence there. But being an ally requires more than just military cooperation. Values matter.

The Polish Government seems set on consolidating its control over previously free media and to terminating the largest U.S. investment in Poland, Discovery Media's ownership of TVN.

Both decisions are counter to the commitments to human rights and freedom of speech we expect that our allies will maintain. I expect to hear your thoughts on all of these critical issues.

Finally, on the nomination of Ambassador to Belgium, Brussels is home to many European NGOs and international organizations as well as headquarters of the EU and NATO. It is an important post, especially within the context of Brussels' influential position in European politics.

Like in many European countries, China has sought to expand its influence in Belgium by purchasing stakes in important Belgian companies, particularly ports. I would like to hear how you plan to address this growing issue, should you be confirmed.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator Risch.

All right. We will start the testimonies. We will start with Mr. Nathan and just work our way down the dais. We would ask you to summarize your comments in about five minutes or so. Your full statements will be included for the record, without objection, and feel free to introduce any members of your family that are here.

Mr. Nathan?

STATEMENT OF SCOTT NATHAN OF MASSACHUSETTS, NOMINATED TO BE CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER OF THE UNITED STATES INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT FINANCE CORPORATION

Mr. NATHAN. Chairman Menendez, Ranking Member Risch, and members of the committee, thank you for having me here today and for the time you and your staff have spent with me prior to this hearing.

Senator Warner, thank you for your kind introduction and for your friendship over many years.

With me here today are my wife, Laura, and our two children, Asher and Lia. I am grateful for their love today and every day. My parents and my brother are also watching this hearing and I want to acknowledge their role in getting me to this moment.

I am honored to be nominated by President Biden to be the chief executive officer of the U.S. International Development Finance Corporation. Throughout this confirmation process, I have relied on the input, guidance, and support of the current acting as well as the former leadership of both DFC and its predecessor, OPIC.

I am deeply grateful to Adam Boehler, Ray Washburne, Elizabeth Littlefield, Rob Mosbacher, Jr., David Bohigian, Edward Burrier, and Dev Jagadesan. The value and spirit of these conversations reflect the broad support for this agency.

I also want to thank the fantastic group of hardworking professionals at DFC as well as throughout the interagency, whom I have so far met in preparation for this confirmation process.

This is an exciting and important time for DFC. The agency is less than two years old but the expectations for it are high. DFC was created with bipartisan support and a consensus that it could be an effective tool of U.S. foreign policy.

The needs of the developing world are too great to meet with government resources alone, and DFC can be a catalyst for bringing private capital to worthy projects. By bringing together OPIC and DCA through the BUILD Act, setting a new dual mandate both developmental and strategic, and providing expanded tools and investment targets, Congress has challenged DFC to make a greater impact.

My consultations with members of this committee and staff have been very valuable. If confirmed, I look forward to working with Congress to shape and to continue to grow DFC's capabilities and capacity so that it can properly fulfill the responsibilities it has been given.

DFC mobilizes capital for private sector-led growth in the developing world and provides a clear alternative to state-directed investments by authoritarian governments. DFC's product offering gives developing countries a positive choice reflecting our democratic values for meeting their infrastructure and economic needs.

While investing in private sector companies and projects, DFC can insist on transparency, rule of law, financial sustainability, and high environmental and labor standards. Unlike some of our strategic competitors, we do this with no strings attached.

I believe in the power of the private sector, free markets, and inclusive economic growth to improve lives and bring countries out of poverty.

I entered adulthood right as the Cold War was coming to a close. Just months after I graduated college, the Berlin Wall fell and the world changed dramatically. For the first time, millions in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union tasted freedom and could pursue their own economic liberty.

This sea change profoundly impacted me. I lived in the region during this time of wrenching change and great optimism, and after completing law school and business school, I focused my early career primarily on emerging markets, especially in these economies in transition.

After nearly 20 years in the investment business, I was fortunate to have the opportunity to devote the second chapter of my career to public service in roles at the Department of State and OMB.

At State, I focused on commercial advocacy for U.S. companies, economic diplomacy, and the promotion of entrepreneurship. The challenges facing the developing world can seem overwhelming but the opportunity for DFC to be part of the solution is enormous.

If confirmed, I will draw on my investment, managerial, and government experience to help DFC pursue this mission. I will work hard to make sure the agency has the right strategy, resources, structure, processes, to efficiently and effectively source and analyze investment opportunities and to properly measure and monitor those that make it into the portfolio.

I am so grateful to have been born in this country. I would be proud to, again, have the opportunity to work on behalf of the American people and represent the interests of the United States.

Thank you for considering my nomination. I look forward to your questions.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Nathan follows:]

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PREPARED STATEMENT OF SCOTT NATHAN

Chairman Menendez, Ranking Member Risch, and members of the committee, thank you for having me here today and for the time you and your staff have spent with me prior to this hearing.

Senator Warner—thank you for that kind introduction and for your friendship over many years. With me here today is my wife Laura and our two children, Asher and Lia. I am grateful for their love and support today and every day. My parents and my brother are also watching this hearing and I want to acknowledge their role in getting me to this moment.

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This is an exciting and important time for DFC. The agency is less than two years old, but the expectations for it are high. DFC was created with bipartisan support and a consensus that it could be an effective tool of U.S. foreign policy. The needs of the developing world are too great to meet with government resources alone and DFC can be a catalyst for bringing private capital to worthy projects. By bringing together OPIC and DCA through the BUILD Act, setting a new dual mandate (both developmental and strategic), and providing expanded tools and investment targets, Congress has challenged DFC to make a greater impact.

My consultations with members of this committee and staff have been very valuable. If confirmed, I look forward to working with Congress to shape and to continue to grow DFC's capabilities and capacity so that it can properly fulfill the responsibilities it has been given. Collaboration with the DFC's interagency partners will also be crucial.

DFC mobilizes capital for private sector-led growth in the developing world and provides a clear alternative to state-directed investments by authoritarian governments. DFC's product offering gives developing countries a positive choice, reflecting our democratic values, for meeting their infrastructure and economic needs. While investing in private sector companies and projects, DFC can insist on transparency, rule of law, financial sustainability, and high environmental and labor standards. Unlike some of our strategic competitors, we do this with no strings attached.

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After nearly twenty years in the investment business, I was fortunate to have the opportunity to devote the second chapter of my career to public service in roles at the Department of State and OMB. At State, I focused on commercial advocacy for U.S. companies, economic diplomacy, and the promotion of entrepreneurship.

The challenges facing the developing world can seem overwhelming. But the opportunity for DFC to be part of the solution is enormous. If confirmed, I will draw on my investment, managerial, and government experience to help DFC pursue this mission. I will work hard to make sure the agency has the right strategy, resources, structure, and processes to efficiently and effectively source and analyze investment opportunities and to properly measure and monitor those that make it into the portfolio.

I am so grateful to have been born in this country. I would be proud to again have the opportunity to work on behalf of the American people and represent the interests of the United States. Thank you for considering my nomination. I look forward to your questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.
Ambassador Bass?

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STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN R. BASS OF NEW YORK, A CAREER MEMBER OF THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE, CLASS OF CAREER MINISTER, NOMINATED TO BE AN UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (MANAGEMENT)

Mr. BASS. Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member Risch, distinguished members of the committee, thank you for this opportunity to appear before you as the President's nominee to be Under Secretary of State for Management.

I want to thank President Biden and Secretary Blinken for the opportunity to, again, serve the nation if I am confirmed.

I am joined today by my wife, Holly, a fellow diplomat who has represented our nation in Afghanistan and five other countries, and I am enduringly grateful for her love and support.

My sister, Kristin, is also with us today, and we are joined in spirit by an extended family that includes the one we are blessed with by birth and marriage and the family we have made through shared service and sacrifice overseas.

I would like to begin this morning by honoring, first, the memory of the Marines, Navy corpsman, and soldier who died while protecting the rest of us, working to evacuate fellow Americans and at-risk Afghans from Kabul in late August. Their loved ones have been and remain in our thoughts and prayers every day.

It has been an honor to serve three previous times as a presidential appointee and I welcome this new opportunity, subject to the advice and consent of the Senate, to give back to an institution that I love but one that I and many colleagues have not always liked.

I swore my first oath to support and defend the Constitution in 1988, and since then, the world and the issues and challenges at the center of American diplomacy have changed a great deal.

But how we work at State as representatives of our government and as diplomatic practitioners has not kept pace with the times. The reasons for this are complex. They reflect the choices of multiple administrations on both sides of the aisle.

But the result is an institution that relies too heavily on its dedicated professionals to bridge the gap between what State's infrastructure, technology, and practices enable and what our responsibilities to the nation actually require. And as the President, Secretary Blinken, members of this committee, and many outside observers have underscored, it is past time to remedy that.

If confirmed, I will do everything I can to prepare the State Department to tackle the challenges we will face in the coming years, and concurrently with your support and partnership I will do my best to ensure the women and men of the State Department have the guidance and receive the resources they need today to help our fellow citizens protect the country's interests, promote our prosperity, and uphold our values in 195 countries and nearly 200 international organizations worldwide.

Much of the public attention focuses on our headquarters here in the Capitol and the remarkable work of thousands of talented Civil and Foreign Service professionals serving here.

I believe the department's greatest impact, though, occurs well beyond the Beltway. Patriotic Americans and dedicated local staff in our embassies and consulates, colleagues working in 98 offices

in 31 states across our country, they all serve our nation where it matters most, as demonstrated by their unstinting effort during the pandemic to bring home over 100,000 Americans and other residents, even while we were enduring staffing shortages and draw downs ourselves.

If confirmed, I will work to reinforce our focus on the field and that includes doing everything possible to support and care for colleagues and family suffering from anomalous health incidents even as we work to uncover the cause of those incidents, and it also means managing sensibly threats and risks so our people can engage, persuade, and represent the nation in every environment overseas.

Diplomacy is a contact sport and who we dispatch can matter as much as what they do or what they say, and as Secretary Blinken recently underscored, our diversity as a nation in backgrounds, gender, race, religion, and ethnicity is among our greatest competitive advantages.

We sell ourselves short and undercut our service to all Americans if we fail, if we continue to fail, to capitalize on that strength, and I am committed to expanding efforts to attract talented Americans from all walks of life to join the department's team, to enable them to thrive as representatives of the United States, and to support them throughout a career so that our department truly reflects the richness and diversity of America.

We face significant challenges as a nation and as the oldest Cabinet department, and it will take sustained focus and resources for the department to most effectively advance our interests and help middle and working class Americans prosper in the years ahead.

In my prior appointments, I benefited from close coordination with members of this committee and the wider Congress, and, if confirmed, I intend to work closely with you on these compelling priorities.

Thank you again for this opportunity to appear today and I welcome your questions.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Bass follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN R. BASS

Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member Risch, distinguished members of the committee: thank you for this opportunity to appear before you as the President's nominee to be Under Secretary for Management. I want to thank President Biden and Secretary Blinken for the opportunity to again serve the nation, if confirmed.

I'm joined today by my wife Holly, a fellow diplomat who has represented our Nation in Afghanistan and five other countries. I am grateful for her love and support. My sister Kristin is with us today. We are joined in spirit by an extended family that includes the one we are blessed with by birth and marriage, and the family we have made, through shared service and sacrifice overseas.

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I swore my first oath to support and defend the Constitution in 1988. Since then, the world, and the issues and challenges at the center of American diplomacy, have changed a great deal. But how we work at State, as representatives of our government and as diplomatic practitioners, has not kept pace with the times.

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If confirmed, I will do everything I can to prepare the State Department to tackle the challenges we will face in the coming years. Concurrently, with your support and partnership, I will do my best to ensure the women and men of the Department have the guidance, and receive the resources they need today—to help our fellow citizens, protect the country's interests, promote our prosperity and uphold our values in 195 countries and nearly 200 international organizations worldwide.

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If confirmed, I will work to reinforce our focus on the field. That includes doing everything possible to support and care for colleagues and families suffering from anomalous health incidents, as we work to uncover the cause of these incidents. It also means managing sensibly threats and risk so our people can engage, persuade and represent the nation in every environment overseas.

Diplomacy is a contact sport. Who we dispatch—to help Americans in harm's way, to negotiate with governments and companies, to advance our interests—can matter as much as what they do or say. As Secretary Blinken recently underscored, our diversity as a nation—in backgrounds, gender, race, religion and ethnicity—is among our greatest competitive advantages. We sell ourselves short, and undercut our service to all Americans, if we fail to capitalize on it. I am committed to expanding efforts to attract talented Americans from all walks of life to join the Department's team, enable them to thrive as representatives of the United States and support them throughout their careers, so that we truly reflect America.

We face significant challenges as a nation—and as the oldest cabinet Department. It will take sustained focus and resources for the State Department to most effectively advance our interests and help middle and working-class Americans prosper in the years ahead. In my prior appointments, I benefitted from close coordination with members of this committee and the wider Congress. If confirmed, I intend to work closely with you on these compelling priorities.

Thank you again for this opportunity to appear before you. I welcome your questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.
Ambassador Brzezinski?

STATEMENT OF HON. MARK BRZEZINSKI OF VIRGINIA, NOMINATED TO BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE REPUBLIC OF POLAND

Mr. BRZEZINSKI. Chairman Menendez, Ranking Member Risch, members of the committee, thank you for the opportunity to appear before you today. It is an extraordinary honor to be President Biden's nominee to become the next U.S. Ambassador to Poland.

I am accompanied today by my brother, Ian Brzezinski, no stranger to this committee, who served on the Republican staff of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee for a number of years.

Before I begin, I would like to take a moment to thank the staff of U.S. Embassy Warsaw, U.S. Consulate Krakow, and Consular Agency Poznan for generations of hard work. It is with genuine admiration and respect that I have witnessed their dedication since my first visit to Poland in 1990.

I last appeared before this committee in 2011. I am proud of what I accomplished as U.S. Ambassador to Stockholm. The embassy team advanced Sweden's partnership with NATO, including key counterterrorism goals.

We cemented important partnerships on energy diversification and brokered Volvo's first ever investment in the United States that brought thousands of high-paying manufacturing jobs to South Carolina.

With the Swedes, we embraced the memory of Raoul Wallenberg and the importance of not being indifferent to the Jewish community.

I know Poland well. I am a child of parents cast on America's shores by World War II. My late father, Zbigniew Brzezinski, was born in Warsaw. He lived his first 10 years of life in Przemysl, now located on the border of Poland and Ukraine.

By luck, my grandfather was assigned to be Consul General in Montreal just before Nazi Germany invaded Poland in 1939. Had his family been caught in Warsaw, they likely would have suffered a similar fate of other Polish diplomats under the Nazis—death.

My father did not speak fluent English until he was 15 years old. In our family, the words *Niech żyje Polska*—"Long Live Poland"—and *Jeszcze Polska nie zginęła*—"Still Poland is not defeated" meant something. Shared values and the willingness to defend them.

My mother, the sculptor, Emilie Benes, who is watching today, is a refugee from Czechoslovakia. The child of Czech diplomats, she made it to Berkeley, California, in the middle of World War II, her ship attacked by German U-boats on the way from London to the United States. I am here before you today thanks, truly, to the grace of God.

As a Fulbright Scholar, I was assigned between 1991 and 1993 to research and write about Poland's new Constitutional Tribunal. My book, "The Struggle for Constitutionalism in Poland," tells the successful story of Poland's developing constitutional and rule of law institutions after the collapse of communism.

Respect for enduring constitutional arrangements became a central test of the effective operation and growth of free market democracy. It still is, and, if confirmed, I will continue to promote our shared commitments to uphold fundamental freedoms and the rule of law as essential to democracy and central to the U.S.-Polish relationship.

In particular, I will continue to underscore to Polish authorities the importance of an impartial judiciary, independent media, and respect for the human rights of all, including LGBTQI+ persons and members of other minorities.

The U.S. and Poland have a historic friendship. But we must also agree to share responsibilities for humanity's future and the democratic principles of the West.

If confirmed, first and foremost, I will commit myself to the safety and security of everyone working for Mission Poland and to the safety and security of U.S. citizens living, working, and traveling in Poland.

I will also commit to continue and strengthen our security co-operation with our stalwart ally, Poland, where the enduring rota-

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tional presence of some 4,500 U.S. troops defends NATO's Eastern flank. I will deepen and broaden the partnership between Poland and the United States to spearhead economic growth in the region, including through the Three Seas Initiative.

If confirmed, I will work with Poland to support the government and people of a peaceful and whole Ukraine as well as the aspirations of the Belarusian people for a democratic Belarus.

I will partner with Poland to promote investment in clean energy, including renewable energy, hydrogen-based energy, and help to bring zero-emission nuclear energy to Poland.

If confirmed, I will commit myself to deepening the U.S. bilateral cooperation and advancing U.S. policy priorities in Poland.

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

[The prepared statement of Mr. Brzezinski follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. MARK BRZEZINSKI

Chairman Menendez, Ranking Member Risch, members of the committee, thank you for the opportunity to appear before you today.

It is an extraordinary honor to be President Biden's nominee to become the next U.S. Ambassador to Poland.

Before I begin, I would like to take a moment to thank the staff of U.S. Embassy Warsaw, U.S. Consulate Krakow, and Consular Agency Poznan for generations of hard work. It is with genuine admiration and respect that I have witnessed their dedication since my first visit to Poland in 1990.

I last appeared before this committee in 2011. I am proud of what I accomplished as U.S. Ambassador in Stockholm. The Embassy team advanced Sweden's partnership with NATO, including key counterterrorism goals. We cemented important partnerships on energy diversification and brokered Volvo's first-ever investment in the United States that brought thousands of high-paying manufacturing jobs to South Carolina. With the Swedes, we embraced the memory of Raoul Wallenberg and "the importance of not being indifferent" to the Jewish community.

I know Poland well. I am a child of parents cast on America's shores by World War II. My late father, Zbigniew Brzezinski, was born in Warsaw. He lived his first ten years in Przemysl, now located on the border of Poland and Ukraine. By luck, my grandfather was assigned to be Consul General in Montreal just before Nazi Germany invaded Poland in 1939. Had his family been caught in Warsaw, they likely would have suffered a similar fate of other Polish diplomats under the Nazis—death.

My father did not speak fluent English until he was 15 years old. In our family, the words "Niech żyje Polska" ["Long Live Poland"] and "Jeszcze Polska nie zginela" ["still Poland is not defeated"] meant something: Shared values and willingness to defend them.

My mother, the sculptor Emilie Benes, who is watching today, is a refugee from Czechoslovakia. The child of Czech diplomats, she made it to Berkeley, California, in the middle of World War II, her ship attacked by German U-boats on the way from London to the United States.

I am here before you today thanks truly to the grace of God.

As a Fulbright Scholar, I was assigned between 1991 and 1993 to research and write about Poland's new Constitutional Tribunal. My book "The Struggle for Constitutionalism in Poland," tells the successful story of Poland developing constitutional and rule of law institutions after the collapse of Communism. Respect for enduring constitutional arrangements became a central test of the effective operation and growth of free market democracy. It still is, and if confirmed, I will continue to promote our shared commitments to uphold fundamental freedoms and the rule of law as essential to democracy and central to the U.S.-Polish relationship. In particular, I will continue to underscore to Polish authorities the importance of an impartial judiciary, independent media, and respect for the human rights of all, including LGBTQI+ persons and members of other minorities.

The U.S. and Poland have an historic friendship, but we must also agree to share responsibilities for humanity's future and the democratic principles of the West.

If confirmed, first and foremost, I will commit myself to the safety and security of everyone working for Mission Poland and to the safety and security of U.S. citizens living, working, and traveling in Poland.

I will also commit to continue and strengthen our security cooperation with our stalwart Ally Poland, where the enduring rotational presence of some 4,500 U.S. troops defends NATO's Eastern Flank. I will deepen and broaden the partnership between Poland and the United States to spearhead economic growth in the region, including through the Three Seas Initiative. If confirmed, I will work with Poland to support the Government and people of a peaceful and whole Ukraine, as well as the aspirations of the Belarusian people for a democratic Belarus. I will partner with Poland to promote investment in clean energy, including renewable energy, hydrogen-based energy, and help to bring zero-emission nuclear energy to Poland.

If confirmed, I will commit myself to deepening U.S. bilateral cooperation and advancing U.S. policy priorities in Poland.

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

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Mr. Adler?

STATEMENT OF MICHAEL M. ADLER OF FLORIDA, NOMINATED TO BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE KINGDOM OF BELGIUM

Mr. ADLER. Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member, and members of this distinguished committee, thank you for the privilege of appearing before you today. I am deeply grateful to President Biden for the confidence he has placed in me to become the United States Ambassador to the Kingdom of Belgium.

I would like to acknowledge my three children, their spouses, my seven grandchildren. They have all given me unwavering love and support in this endeavor to serve my country.

My commitment to public service is driven by my love of family, who motivate me to make our country and the world a better place for them and for the future. Endless gratitude goes to the love of my life, my wife, Judy, for almost 50 years.

Judy has been my partner and has always been devoted and supportive of the numerous initiatives and causes that I have been involved in and led. Judy made it possible for me to pursue all my business and civic endeavors.

I would also like to recognize Judy's parents, Ellen and Fred Selling, who were both Jewish immigrants and fled Germany from Nazi persecution. After moving to the United States, Fred joined the U.S. Army during World War II and served as a translator. He helped to liberate concentration camps in Germany.

I would also like to remember my parents, who taught me by example the importance of public service, social justice, and community service. Bunny and Sam were proud Americans.

My father, Sam, served as a pilot in the United States Army Air Corps during World War II. He was stationed in the South Pacific. My parents set the groundwork for my community involvement.

With the values they instilled in me, I worked hard to become a leader in important institutions in my community, such as Mount Sinai Medical Center and Florida International University, among other organizations.

This opportunity to serve my country in Europe is a testament to America's democracy and it is a result of the values my family has instilled in me and my efforts to make them proud. My and

Judy's parents serve as my inspiration and they would be so proud to see my family embrace this incredible opportunity.

In this role, I hope to inspire my children and my grandchildren to dedicate their lives and make their community and the world a better place.

First and foremost, if confirmed, I will work with Belgium officials at all levels of government to advance American interests, protect the safety and security of American citizens, and promote American and democratic values. Freedom of speech, freedom of press, and freedom of religion are values that both our countries hold dear.

If confirmed, I will also look forward to working with dedicated FSOs of the department, ensuring their safety and security. If confirmed, I will work closely with the Belgium Government to address collective security concerns.

Working together, we can advance our shared law enforcement and counterterrorism priorities at home and abroad, strengthening the transatlantic bond with NATO and the EU and pursue U.S. interests in NATO.

To that end, I will encourage Belgium to fulfill its Wales Defense Pledge commitments to spend 2 percent of GDP on defense by 2024.

If confirmed, I will work to advance our economic interests in Belgium, where more than 900 American companies support 120,000 jobs. In 2020, our combined bilateral trade was approximately \$72.6 billion.

Belgium is the thirteenth largest U.S. exports and we are Belgium's largest trading partner outside the EU. Belgium is home to the Interuniversity Microelectronics Center, or IMEC, which is other digital technologies.

Belgium is also a key global logistics hub. It plays a leading role in vaccine warehousing and distribution to Europe and the world. If confirmed, I will work with our Commerce Department and our embassy economic experts to strengthen an already robust and successful partnership.

Finally, if confirmed, I will work diligently to lead our mission team and to work closely with all agencies to deepen our historic alliance with the Belgian government and Belgian people.

Let me conclude, again, noting how great an honor it would be to serve in this capacity. Thank you for your time and consideration. I look forward to your questions.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Adler follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF MICHAEL M. ADLER

Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member, and members of this distinguished committee, thank you for the privilege of appearing before you today. I am deeply grateful to President Biden for the confidence he has placed in me to become the United States Ambassador to the Kingdom of Belgium.

I would like to acknowledge my three children, their spouses and my seven grandchildren. They have all given me unwavering love and support in this endeavor to serve my country. My commitment to public service is driven by my love of family, who motivate me to make our country and the world a better place for them and for future generations.

Endless gratitude goes to the love of my life, my wife, Judy Adler. For almost 50 years, Judy has been my partner and has always been devoted and supportive of

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the numerous initiatives and causes that I have been involved in and led. Judy made it possible for me to pursue all my business and civic aspirations.

I would also like to recognize Judy's parents, Ellen and Fred Selling, who were both Jewish immigrants and fled Germany from Nazi persecution. After moving to the United States, Fred joined the U.S. Army during World War II and served as a translator. He helped to liberate concentration camps in Germany.

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This opportunity to serve my county in Europe is a testament to America's democracy, and it is a result of the values my family has instilled in me and my efforts to make them proud. My and Judy's parents serve as my inspiration, and they would be so proud to see my family embrace this incredible opportunity. In this role, I hope to inspire my children and my grandchildren to dedicate their lives to making their community and the world a better place.

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If confirmed, I will work closely with the Belgian Government to address collective security concerns. Working together, we can advance our shared law enforcement and counterterrorism priorities at home and abroad, strengthen the Transatlantic bond with NATO and the EU, and pursue U.S. interests in NATO. To that end, I will encourage Belgium to fulfill its Wales Defense Investment Pledge commitments to spend two percent of GDP on defense by 2024.

If confirmed, I will work to advance our economic interests in Belgium, where more than 900 American companies support 120,000 jobs. In 2020, our combined bilateral trade was approximately \$72.6 billion. Belgium is the 13th largest market for U.S. exports, and we are Belgium's largest trading partner outside the EU. Belgium is home to the Interuniversity Microelectronics Center, or IMEC, which is a leading research and development center for cutting-edge semiconductor and other digital technologies. Belgium is also a key global logistics hub; it plays a leading role in vaccine warehousing and distribution to Europe and the world. If confirmed, I will work with our Commerce Department and our Embassy economic experts to strengthen an already robust and successful partnership.

Finally, if confirmed, I will work diligently to lead our mission team and to work closely with all agencies to deepen our historic alliance with the Belgian Government and the Belgian people.

Let me conclude by again noting how great an honor it would be to serve in this capacity. Thank you for your time and consideration. I look forward to your questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much. Thank you all for your testimony. We will start a round of five questions.

Before I recognize myself, let me ask questions on behalf of the committee as a whole. These are questions that we have asked every nominee for every position and I would, simply, ask each of you verbally to respond yes or no to the question.

These questions speak to the importance the committee places on responsiveness by all officials in the executive branch and that we will be expecting and seeking from you.

First, do you agree to appear before this committee and make officials from your office available to the committee and designated staff when invited? We will just go down the line.

[All witnesses respond in the affirmative.]

The CHAIRMAN. Do you commit to keep this committee fully and currently informed about the activities under your purview?

[All witnesses respond in the affirmative.]

The CHAIRMAN. Ambassador Brzezinski, did I hear you say yes?

Mr. BRZEZINSKI. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Okay. Thank you.

Do you commit to engaging in meaningful consultation while policies are being developed, not just providing notification after the fact?

[All witnesses respond in the affirmative.]

The CHAIRMAN. And, finally, do you commit to promptly responding to requests for briefings and information requested by the committee and its designated staff?

[All witnesses respond in the affirmative.]

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Thank you. All of the nominees have answered yes to all those questions. Let me start by recognizing myself.

Ambassador Bass, you made a comment during your opening statement that there is a gulf or an opening between that which you—you all who work for the State Department are expected to achieve and that what you are given the tools to achieve. Talk to me a little bit about what that gulf is and how you intend to bridge it.

Mr. BASS. Thank you, Senator.

It has several dimensions. First is staffing shortages where we have not even hired to attrition in recent years so we have got a deficit. We are asking, therefore, people, particularly overseas, to do more than one job or do more than one can reasonably do in a period of time.

Secondly, our technology is way behind. We, essentially, have an analog organization, in many respects, for a digital age. We have not leveraged data expertise in the ways we should.

Thirdly, I do not think we are developing people professionally across their career to be prepared to take on new challenges, particularly interdisciplinary challenges that involve a greater awareness of technology, whether it is cyber and emerging technologies, global health, climate change, you name it.

And thirdly, I think we continue to have too many processes and regulations in place that impede innovation, creativity, and collaboration, and end up with stovepipes and silos of excellence that hinder our ability to mobilize resources to deal with the most pressing challenges we face.

The CHAIRMAN. I appreciate that explanation of what you believe is the gulf and, especially on the third one I totally agree with you. I have been doing this for 30 years. I believe there is too much of an impediment to the type of flow of information, experience, and ability that does not happen. I hope you will make that one of your priorities.

I mentioned in my opening remarks this is not a post-mortem on Afghanistan, but more so what does that say about the department's ability to be prepared in advance? Not that one can fully see everything that would happen in a circumstance like that, but the ability to have that contingency ability, which, from my own perspective, is not quite one of the attributes of the department. What do you see is necessary to do?

Mr. BASS. Senator, I think we really need to focus on a couple of things intently. First and foremost, we need to rethink how we approach crisis management in the digital age when information is more rapidly available, when many people who might care about folks in harm's way, whether they are our own citizens or local nationals, are getting regular updates personally from them in ways that was not the case, for example, 15 years ago when we were taking people out of Lebanon—southern Lebanon in 2006.

We have to create and utilize a wider range of ways and tools to communicate with Americans in harm's way with other people we are trying to support and use that information to more effectively communicate with those who are concerned about those people, including members of this committee and your colleagues in Congress and your staffs.

The second thing I would say is I think we need to relook our organizational model for crisis management, which is pretty effective for short-duration crises that are limited in scope or geography but which wear pretty quickly when we get into week-long endeavors where we are potentially looking for folks to sustain that effort strictly on a volunteer basis.

I think we have got to improve training and resources available so we have got that cohort ready to go when we need it.

The CHAIRMAN. And on specific, as it relates to Afghanistan, I hope we will create a referral process for other government agencies, U.S. citizens, and residents to alert the State Department of Afghans in need of evacuation. Still, my staff has flagged a number of cases over the last several months, many of which remain unresolved. That lack of response or resolution is disturbing.

Can I get a commitment from you that you will take action on these cases working with others—I understand this will not solely be you—in a timely way?

Mr. BASS. If I am confirmed, absolutely, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Mr. Nathan, let me go to you. We talked a little bit about the bit of the inherent tension that was created in the DFC between the development needs that are, clearly, the focal point of the agency and then the strategic needs that we have.

Can you talk to me a little bit about how you see managing that inherent tension?

Mr. NATHAN. Thank you for the question and thank you very much for the conversation about this subject yesterday.

The BUILD Act laid out a dual mandate for the corporation, both developmental and strategic, but also directed the corporation to focus on the poorest countries in the world.

While focusing on the poorest countries of the world, mobilizing private capital to worthy projects that can help their development, it is also important to think about the strategic foreign policy concerns of the United States.

I believe that good development is good for our national security and can help meet the challenges posed by our strategic competitors.

The CHAIRMAN. As we face the challenge of China we have countries that have stepped to the forefront of challenging China, including countries like Lithuania, and I will hope that we will find

ways when we can to focus on helping countries like that that are meeting the challenge. It is a test for the West, at the end of the day, and the DFC, I think, can play a role in that.

Finally, Ambassador Brzezinski, you, obviously, have a great deal of history here. But I do hope that I can get a commitment from you that if you are confirmed that the questions of democracy and human rights that I feel in Poland, particularly in the judiciary and the question of free press, are issues that you will press with the Polish government, even as we are steadfast in support of their territorial security and their relationship with us as a strong NATO ally.

Mr. BRZEZINSKI. If confirmed, Senator, absolutely, and the two things you state are true at the same time. Poland's borders must be secure and democratic growth and renewal should occur in Poland.

And with regard to your point about media freedom, media freedom is a core democratic element and we have been watching closely what has been happening with TVN24 and its license renewal. The law that threatened it in the Polish parliament, the Sejm, has been put on ice, colloquially speaking as they put it, in Warsaw.

But there is another bite at the apple that the regulators could have in February with TVN7, which is the entertainment channel of the TVN Group, and we are encouraged by Polish President Duda's words that he will veto any law that threatens media freedom because media freedom is a core element of a robust democracy.

Thank you, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Senator Risch?

Senator RISCH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Bass, I am going to start with you. I think I speak for every member of this committee when I say that the health incidents known as Havana syndrome are at the very top of our list of things that need to be addressed.

This is not a partisan issue by any stretch but is of great concern to all of us in Congress, particularly this committee. Have you had anything to do—first of all, I assume you are read in on most of this stuff as far as what is going on on Havana syndrome?

Mr. BASS. Senator, I have not yet had the opportunity to get the full brief on the classified elements because of my status as a nominee.

Senator RISCH. Right. And I would urge you that the very first thing you do after you raise your right hand and take the oath is get into a SCIF and get a briefing on this. There is a lot of people, there is a lot of different agencies, that are working on this. But we sure need a lot better answers than what we have been getting.

I would urge you, when you make your list of things that you want to accomplish, you put this right at the top because this is of critical importance to all of us.

Mr. BASS. Senator, as a three-time chief of mission, my guiding principle was always the concept of duty of care. The well being and lives of everybody serving overseas in my mission was entrusted to me and I took that responsibility very seriously.

And if I am confirmed for this role, I plan to apply that same principle to the entire workforce, particularly our colleagues who are suffering from whatever is causing these incidents, and I think we owe them our very best ability to care for them even while we try to figure out what is going on. And I am going to make sure that the components of the department that report to me directly, that I am responsible for their performance, understand that this is their top priority.

Senator RISCH. I appreciate that.

Moving briefly to the issue of risk, obviously, security measures are very, very important. I am assuming that you—having the background that you have—are familiar with the—complaints is probably too strong a word but the concern of the employees regarding their ability to get out and about because of restrictions from the department. Are you aware of those concerns?

Mr. BASS. Not only aware of them but have experienced them personally at different points in time myself. Yes, Senator.

Senator RISCH. You are probably in a good place to take a review of this and I urge you to give it a review once you get in because we do get that, those of us that travel out and that sort of thing. And I think a good—first of all, we all know you have to have security but you also need a balance, and when you look at the restrictions on our diplomats versus the—our competitors' diplomats there is a wide gap there and we need to catch up to them.

I hope you will do that. I hope you will take a look at that.

Mr. Nathan, I want to talk for a bit about the—about some of the developments. I wrote a letter recently, which I referred to in my opening statement—I assume you heard that—regarding the solar projects and the fact that we are very concerned that we are going to find U.S. taxpayers' money finding their way in the pockets of people that are employing slave labor in China. This is a real concern for us.

Can you have a look at that when you get into the agency and get back to me on that issue?

Mr. NATHAN. Absolutely. Taxpayer money should never be used to support forced labor.

Senator RISCH. I think—I do not think you will get any argument from any member of Congress in that regard. But for some reason, I think this has slipped through the cracks. If you would take a look at it we would really appreciate it.

Mr. Brzezinski, obviously, I think the biggest challenge that the United States faces on a foreign relations field is the challenge from China, and Poland, like every other country, faces that challenge.

Can you give me your thoughts on China's influence in Poland and the direction that is going?

Mr. BRZEZINSKI. Thank you, Senator, and thank you and your staff for the Risch report that you did on Chinese malign influence in Europe last year. I not only have studied it closely but in Ambassador School recommend it to every participant to read through, as it provides case studies of the deceptive practices China has been pursuing in Europe to advance its geopolitical role and position.

Senator RISCH. Mr. Chairman, we need this man confirmed immediately.

[Laughter.]

Mr. BRZEZINSKI. With regard—

The CHAIRMAN. Maybe we could talk to Senator Cruz.

[Laughter.]

Mr. BRZEZINSKI [continuing]. With regard to Poland, let me particularly flag the Three Seas Initiative and support of it through the DFC and the importance of that, because if there is a bulwark against broad Chinese expansionism in Central Europe it is that, and I look forward to fulsomely engaging with my embassy team and country team to support the Three Seas Initiative.

But lastly, just anecdotally, reading the Polish press—Gazeta Wyborcza, Rzeczpospolita—cover what Huawei has been doing in Poland, and I have been watching closely the investigation of particular individuals associated with Huawei and look forward to learning more about how we can join with our Polish friends to push back on this challenge.

Senator RISCH. Thank you very much. My time is up. But let me just conclude by saying I want to associate myself with the remarks of the chairman regarding human rights issues and the values. Those are—obviously, Poland is a strong, strong ally of ours, will be for a long time, but values matter. They are important to us, and I know you will put that at the top of your ledger also.

Thank you, Mr. Chair.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Senator Murphy?

Senator MURPHY. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. Thank you to all four of you for being willing to serve often, once again, this country abroad. We are deeply appreciative of your commitment to defending the security of this nation.

I know a lot of work goes into preparing for a confirmation hearing like this, but now you will have to get ready to sit and wait because we will move you out of this committee and then you will run into the Republican blockade that exists on ambassadors on the floor of the United States Senate.

I cannot imagine anything more dangerous than not having an ambassador, an incredibly qualified ambassador, in Poland right now as Russia amasses troops on Ukraine's border, as Putin and Lukashenko use migrants to destabilize Poland and Europe. And so I am glad that you are here.

But this is a mounting national security crisis for this country, the fact that we have 85 pending State Department nominees, half of which are before this committee, half of which have cleared the committee and are on the floor.

Ambassador Bass, I wanted to ask you about this because you are an experienced diplomat. You are going to be in charge of overseeing the management of the department.

I just came back from Belfast and London where there is a very complicated, very important negotiation happening around the Northern Ireland Protocol. Could compromise the Good Friday Agreement, something that the United States cares deeply about.

We do not have an ambassador to Dublin. We do not have an ambassador to London. We do not have an ambassador to the EU.

It makes it kind of hard to conduct diplomacy without people in those top posts.

What impact does it have when we have a lack of ambassadors in place in so many key places around the world?

Mr. BASS. Senator, thank you. I think it creates, first and foremost, a degree of uncertainty for host governments and companies and others in that society about whether the person in charge is really speaking on behalf of the nation at the highest levels of our government.

We have got great talented, dedicated professionals serving as charges all around the world. But they are a bit out of position and I think too often people look at them as a temporary solution and, particularly, if they are trying to advance our interests in ways that are uncomfortable or create a clash for the local government.

There is a tendency to want to wait them out. So definitely has an impact on our ability to be effective overseas.

Senator MURPHY. These charges are excellent. But make no mistake, there are countries in which charges cannot get ambassador-level meetings. There is a different level of public diplomacy that can be conducted by a charge than an ambassador. There is just a fundamental difference, no matter how qualified and experienced many of these charges are.

A second question for you, Ambassador Bass, let me first just associate myself with the remarks of the ranking member on this question of pushing our diplomats out beyond the wire.

Both he and I have legislation—complementary legislation—that we hope you will take a look at that could reset the incentives to allow our diplomats to be out there representing America beyond the walls of the embassy.

But I wanted to ask you a specific question around vaccinations for Americans abroad. We have vaccinated our diplomatic employees but we have a lot of Americans living abroad in countries where the host country is not actually vaccinating noncitizens so our citizens living abroad have only the choice to come back to the United States in order to get vaccinated.

Can you commit to being in a conversation with this committee about how we may be able to find at least limited means in certain specific countries to be able to provide access to vaccinations for Americans living abroad?

I know this is a big project and may be beyond the scope of the State Department if we talk about every American living abroad. But there may be a way to target this to those who have no other option than the American government.

Mr. BASS. Senator, I would welcome the opportunity, if confirmed, to work closely with you on this to find ways to ensure that Americans are getting, at a minimum, equal access to vaccines on local economies, from local governments, particularly in the vast majority of cases where our medical professionals, because they are not licensed in those countries, are unable to do that directly. Happy to follow up with you.

Senator MURPHY. And, Mr. Nathan, thanks for our time together. Just a quick word from you on the opportunities to fund energy projects abroad.

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We have expanded out the mandate of DFC to allow for energy-financing projects to be done in nondeveloping nations. But as we talk about China and Russia, this is a particular opportunity for the DFC to go out and build renewable energy capability in countries that are desperate to find sources other than petro dictator regimes like Russia.

Mr. NATHAN. Thank you for the time that we spent together and thank you for that question.

Under the European Energy Security and Diversification Act, the corporation is authorized to operate in Europe for energy-related projects and that would be a priority of mine.

Senator MURPHY. Great. Thank you very much. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Senator Schatz?

Senator SCHATZ. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and thank all of you for your willingness to serve and for your sacrifice.

Let me start with you, Mr. Nathan. The United States needs a long-term development finance strategy for the Pacific. DFC has been given a set of new tools to meet the needs of our partners in the Pacific, and I get that not every worthy project will pencil out but we can collaborate with our partners in the Pacific that are also financing projects in the region to do more to support economic growth with less risk to the taxpayer.

Can you talk about where the opportunities are for DFC to use newer financing products, use newer techniques like technical assistance, feasibility studies, to expand our development work in the Pacific?

Mr. NATHAN. Yes. Thanks for the question and for the conversation we had about this subject in preparation for the hearing.

The BUILD Act gave the DFC new tools and expanded authorities. As you mentioned, technical assistance is one of them in order to prepare countries which may not have the enabling environment to accept investment.

We also were given the equity investment tool, which gives much more flexibility and the possibility of going out on the risk spectrum for making investments. The BUILD Act has given DFC tools to make important and impactful investments in the region and elsewhere.

Senator SCHATZ. Thank you. Can you talk a little bit about why it is important that DFC step up its commitment on climate-focused development as part of the mission, particularly in the Pacific?

Mr. NATHAN. First and foremost, the climate crisis impacts the developing world and the people who live there greatly, potentially, more than anywhere else in the globe. It is important to find projects that are climate linked, which could include smart agriculture, water systems, in addition to power generation, so that these countries are prepared for dealing with the climate crisis.

Senator SCHATZ. Thank you.

Ambassador Brzezinski, we have seen backsliding with the Polish government, particularly on press freedom. Reporters Without Borders has cautioned that the government is pushing for greater

state control of the media by censoring private outlets or forcing to close those who will not comply.

Can you talk about what you will do to elevate press freedom?

Mr. BRZEZINSKI. Thank you.

First of all, we will speak directly with the Polish government regarding the importance of press freedom and human rights, generally. I mean, I come as an ambassador with a very clear message, America embraces equality, and that will be something that U.S. Embassy Warsaw will absolutely project and has been over the many generations of U.S. ambassadors that have been there before me.

I have been watching with concern what you report, Senator, about democratic backsliding. It is important to stress that Poland's role as a NATO ally is partly about its keeping its commitments, not just militarily but, as Senator Menendez said earlier, about its commitments on values.

There are international commitments for Poland to keep as a NATO member, as an EU member, and as an upcoming chair of the OSCE. And so we will be watching that closely.

And then lastly, there is the self-interest associated with the business angle. Business is attracted to places characterized by legal certainty. Places that are more legally certain attract more business, and that is something that is relevant to both Americans and Poles.

Thank you, Senator.

Senator SCHATZ. Thank you.

Ambassador Bass, a lot of routine consular services were either cancelled or moved online, and you briefly mentioned this earlier during the hearing but I would like you to flesh out where you think some of the changes that were made that were temporary ought to be made permanent and what other kinds of technologies and processes ought to be explored in order to move the State Department and consular services in particular into the information age.

Mr. BASS. Thanks, Senator.

You know, from my perspective, one of the most important things we do is provide those services to American citizens in issuing passports and facilitating business travel and tourism to the states through visa services.

We have gotten, I think, more agile in identifying where we have excess supply, if you will, capacity to support high-demand embassies. We are now doing quite a bit more remote adjudication.

We are continuing to explore ways to reduce the range of people for whom an in-person appearance is required so that we are only really focusing on interviewing those people who are particularly high risks or for other reasons come to mind like that. And we are looking at—

Senator SCHATZ. Are these permanent changes that are—or do you anticipate these being permanent changes? Are these precipitated in part by the pandemic or was this already underway?

Give me a sense for where we are and, I guess, give me some reassurance that we are not going to snap back to the old way where everyone has to stand in line and wait to get a stamp.

Mr. BASS. These are changes that have come about as adaptations to the limitations due to the pandemic, and we are currently in the process of looking at which of those we can apply as best practices and standardizing them, going forward, and if I am confirmed, very much intent on doing as much of that as we can.

Senator SCHATZ. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Senator Shaheen?

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Congratulations to each of you on your nominations and, if confirmed, I look forward to working with you.

Ambassador Bass, I would like to begin with you, and very much appreciated your thoughtful responses on how to make the State Department work better and be worthy of the dedicated personnel who work there.

I was also pleased to hear your mention of AHIs and your commitment to ensuring that people who are affected are taken care of. I know the State Department has made some significant progress in addressing that. That is very much appreciated.

One of the things that I understand the State Department does for new ambassadors is to have briefings and as part of that Ambassador School there is a briefing on AHIs.

Can I ask you, Ambassador Brzezinski, and you, Mr. Adler, if you will attend those briefings and ensure that you are up to date on how the State Department is dealing with Havana syndrome, or AHIs?

Mr. ADLER. Absolutely.

Mr. BRZEZINSKI. Absolutely.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you very much.

Ambassador Brzezinski, you were quite eloquent in talking about Poland's history and the partnership that the United States has had with Poland, and I appreciated that and I think that is why I am so disappointed to see what is happening in Poland now.

And despite assurances that we have been given on things like media freedom, I still have real questions about how Poland is approaching some of these issues, on TVN24, for example.

While they have renewed their license, the Polish regulator is still—my understanding is still contemplating asking the Constitutional Tribunal to review foreign ownership in media and so that would put us back at square one.

I hope that you will be very direct with the leadership of Poland about the importance of media freedom, of values, and why that matters, and their engagement in the EU and in NATO really depends on their continued commitment to the values that they embraced but now seem to be backsliding on.

Can I ask you how you will approach that?

Mr. BRZEZINSKI. Thank you so much, Senator, for that question.

And yes, it is almost ironic that we find ourselves in our relationship with Poland in the situation that you described, Senator, and when you think about the genesis of post-communist Poland out of Solidarity, what was the newspaper that supported the Solidarity movement? *Gazeta Wyborcza*, which, of course, stands for Election Gazette, one of the free newspapers that emerged out of the Solidarity movement.

The movement was, in part, driven—its essence was about free media and lack of infringement on media freedom and so forth. And so we will be watching closely what the regulator, KRRit—KRRit is what it is called, its acronym—as February approaches, not too far away, when it comes to TVN7, the entertainment dimension or the entertainment piece of the TVN Group and its license renewal.

And we will also be watching for the status of the media law that was put on ice and, again, we were encouraged by President Duda's words that he will veto any law infringing media freedom.

But this is something that we will work on with other friends of Poland's as well to make a unified and common message about values because, indeed, that is part of the international commitments that Poland agreed to when it joined NATO and the EU, and it would be highly ironic of Poland, as chair of the OSCE, and it is the next chair after Sweden—

Senator SHAHEEN. Right.

Mr. BRZEZINSKI.—to infringe media freedom while being the chair of the OSCE. We will be watching closely, Senator.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you. Having said that, I do very much appreciate Poland's willingness to support the opposition figures from Belarus who have moved into Poland looking for a safe haven and, at the same time, I think that has been very important in standing up to Lukashenko and what he is doing in Belarus.

They have not been as helpful, I think, with respect to the migrants who have been used as, really, a weapon by Lukashenko and Putin against the West and against Poland.

Again, what can we do to continue to support Poland in their efforts to house opposition figures and yet make it clear that the treatment of migrants is not helpful in the overall goals that they are trying to achieve?

Mr. BRZEZINSKI. It is a great question, and it is important to note that there are almost 1 million Ukrainian refugees who have found their home now in Poland and are assimilating and thriving quite well as an immigrant community in Poland having to flee what is happening in Ukraine, especially around cities like Bratslav and others.

And I completely join you, Senator, in saluting Poland's support of the opposition leaders like Svetlana Tikhanovskaya who are standing up against the Lukashenko regime.

And to just take a step back and think, and just I ask myself who would do what Lukashenko is doing, luring the poorest people of the world to Belarus to march through those dark forests, cold forests near Bialystok and Bialowieza, to be projected across the border? It is stunningly cruel, and we will work together with our friends in Poland and Europe to address that.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Hagerty?

Senator HAGERTY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

First, I would like to turn my question to Mr. Nathan. Good morning, Mr. Nathan. Congratulations. It is good to see you here in person.

You know, when we spoke in October, I said that the Development Finance Corporation would play a critical role in advancing

the strategic interest of the United States and this is because the DFC has the mandate and the resources to address critical national security challenges while they catalyze investment and help emerging markets.

As ambassador to Japan, I signed the MOU as representative of the United States to partner with both Japan and Australia to drive economic growth in emerging markets and to provide an alternative to state-directed initiatives.

The DFC should continue to focus on addressing critical national security challenges posed by malign actors such as China and Russia. As part of that effort, the DFC needs to be able to partner with middle and high income countries to counter China.

Mr. Nathan, if you are confirmed, would it help if Congress provided the DFC with more flexible authorities to invest in middle and high income countries which would offer the DFC more tools to enhance national security?

Mr. NATHAN. Thank you very much for the question, Senator, and thank you also for the great conversation we had a few months ago. I really appreciate it.

The BUILD Act gave the corporation expanded authorities and expanded tools and, if confirmed, I look forward to helping the corporation take full advantage of those tools to do as you say, to help counter the malign influence of state-directed investments by authoritarian governments. That is a very important objective as laid out in the BUILD Act.

In terms of expanding the operating authorities for the DFC, the European Energy Security and Diversification Act has done that in Europe for energy-related projects, and I look forward to working with you and your colleagues to see if there is further expansion that would make sense.

Senator HAGERTY. If you are confirmed, I look forward to working with you as well to see if you need any further flexibility.

You mentioned Europe and energy. I would like to go to another quick question. This is about energy in developing countries. Most developing countries need fossil fuels to keep their economies going, meaning that many cannot yet rely on green energy.

If there is a project that would enhance development to help us compete with China and it reduces emissions but it does involve investment in fossil fuel energy, would you throw it aside just because it involves fossil fuel energy and leave them stuck with their legacy energy sources?

Mr. NATHAN. No, I would not. The DFC is not restricted in terms of what kind of technology choice it makes for energy projects. Access to reliable and sustainable energy is critical for development. In the last year, in 2021, there have been two projects—in Sierra Leone and in Iraqi Kurdistan—that the DFC funded that were gas projects.

Senator HAGERTY. Got it. I—

Mr. NATHAN. These were highly developmental.

Senator HAGERTY. Good. I just want to see us not be theologians about this and be practical and pragmatic about helping these countries because it is possible to reduce their emissions while still getting them to a cleaner point.

Ambassador Bass, I would like to turn my question to you. Secretary Blinken put you in charge of the evacuation effort in Afghanistan to help get American citizens and permanent residents, citizens of allied nations, SIV applicants, and Afghans at risk out. Yet, that evacuation resulted in the death of 13 Americans, including Staff Sergeant Ryan Knauss in my home state of Tennessee. I have a couple of basic questions to ask you about what happened in Afghanistan.

First, Ambassador Bass, do you consider the way that the United States withdrew from Afghanistan a success?

Mr. BASS. Senator, I think those of us on the ground did the best we could with what we had to work with in the time constraints we had. The fact that we are still working to get people out signals we did not have 100 percent success in that period.

But I can assure you that there are thousands of career professionals who have invested parts of their lives in Afghanistan who continue to work in various ways to support the effort in the years ahead.

Senator HAGERTY. I understand. My staff are involved in that, too. How would you grade your own performance as the coordinator for Afghan relocation efforts?

Mr. BASS. As I noted, I did the best I could with what we had to work with on the ground. I am proud of the people we were able to save but I think every day about the people, many of whom I know personally, who are still inside Afghanistan we were not able to reach.

Senator HAGERTY. I would just like to highlight the fact that to this day, though the U.S. Foreign Secretary has resigned to take responsibility for Afghanistan, though the Dutch foreign minister has resigned to take responsibility for Afghanistan, no one yet in this administration has been held accountable for the 2021 withdrawal that resulted in deaths and mayhem and embarrassment to the United States.

General Mark Milley, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, even conceded that Biden's withdrawal from Afghanistan was, and I quote, "a strategic failure."

Ambassador Bass, I understand you were operating under tough circumstances. Indeed, I do. Ultimately, you were responsible for managing the on-the-ground evacuation effort in Afghanistan at the Kabul airport. Instead of being held accountable for your part in the failures of the Afghanistan withdrawal, the Biden administration now wants to promote you.

If confirmed, you will have even more responsibilities and oversee all aspects of management at the State Department. The fact that you are here today highlights the culture and lack of accountability at the State Department.

As the former U.S. ambassador to Japan, I understand firsthand that the State Department lacks a rigorous process to ensure that accountability is at the center of the State Department. This needs to change and it needs to change now.

As the ranking member on the Subcommittee on State Department Management, I am committed to fixing this enduring problem at the State Department in addition to a number of other structural issues.

Ambassador Bass, do you agree that Congress should take a leading role in reforming and modernizing the State Department, even including new legislation?

Mr. BASS. Senator, I, if confirmed, would very much look forward to working with you on key parts of our modernization agenda and on ensuring that we are always respectful of the principle of oversight and we are operating and consistent with that principle.

Senator HAGERTY. That is exactly the commitment I am looking for, that you will commit to work with us and continue to testify in front of the subcommittee, if you are confirmed. I appreciate that commitment.

Mr. BASS. You have it.

Senator HAGERTY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the senator has expired.

Senator Van Hollen?

Senator VAN HOLLEN. Thank you. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and congratulations to all of you on your nominations. I have had a chance over the years to meet all of you in some capacity or another and I am confident you will all serve our country well in the positions for which you have been nominated and look forward to supporting those nominations.

Ambassador Bass, I think the last time I saw you was in Afghanistan. It was a number of years ago. Thank you for your service there, Turkey, Georgia, other countries, and I am pleased to see you nominated for this position.

I think you would agree, based on your experience, that if we are going to continue to retain and recruit talented Foreign Service officers we need to do everything we can to support their families as they move around the world in service to the country. Would you agree with that basic premise?

Mr. BASS. Absolutely, Senator, and I really appreciate your sustained commitment to supporting our families.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. Thank you. I just want to ask you a couple questions in that regard, because Senator Sullivan and I teamed up a number of years ago to borne the Foreign Service Caucus. The idea was to have a group of senators, bipartisan group, supporting the mission and the families.

And we then introduced the Foreign Service Families Act, and I want to thank the chairman and the ranking member of this committee for supporting that effort, which is now part of a substitute amendment in the NDAA—the National Defense Authorization bill—which we all hope to pass in the coming days.

But we are going to go to conference with the House so I just want to ask you a couple questions. I was overseas visiting one of our embassies recently and a constituent from Maryland came up and told me that their son, their child, could not get into the University of Maryland because of the residency length requirements.

A number of years ago, in order to address that issue with military families who also move around the world Congress passed legislation to make sure that students—kids in military families would be able to get that in-state tuition. Do you agree that that is something that we should extend to Foreign Service families?

Mr. BASS. I do, Senator.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. There is also, as part of that coverage for military families, they are allowed to terminate some of their, for example, cell phone contracts if they are deployed, essentially, on short notice. Do you agree that we should extend that same benefit to Foreign Service families?

Mr. BASS. I think those kinds of practical arrangements would make all the challenges that our families face in moving frequently that much more bearable, so yes.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. And another finding that was reached as part of the State Department Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review—this was a number of years ago now—was it is important to seek opportunities for the spouses of Foreign Service officers because we have many families with two working spouses.

And would you agree that it is important for every mission to look for every opportunity to provide employment to the spouse where appropriate?

Mr. BASS. Absolutely, and not only to look for opportunities within the mission but to ensure that work agreements—bilateral work agreements that are in place, whether they are formal or informal, are being adhered to and that we are creating as many opportunities as we can on the local economy for people as well.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. Thank you. Again, we hope to get this over the finish line, a number of—a little ways still to go.

I do also want to associate myself with the comments of the ranking member and Senator Murphy about allowing our diplomats to get outside the fortress. Obviously, security is important. We recognize that. But it is also very important that Foreign Service officers get to know the country and the people that they are sent on our behalf to represent.

I hope you will work with us on that front, too. I think that is a common consensus among most diplomats and Foreign Service officers.

If I could turn, Mr. Nathan, to you. Congratulations on the nomination, and I chair the Africa Subcommittee. Senator Rounds is the ranking member. We are very focused on trying to increase U.S. investment and development in Africa, both to support African economies and also to help facilitate Maryland—U.S. business investment and jobs here in the United States.

Can you just briefly talk about your strategy with respect to Africa—you mentioned a couple of investments in Sierra Leone, other investments—and anything in particular you are doing on the digital front?

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

If I am confirmed, I definitely will be interested in focusing on Africa. The agency in the last year has made investments from vaccine manufacturing in South Africa and Senegal to, as you mentioned, energy investments in the full range of both communications technology, water, sanitation, health-related investments.

Africa is an area of focus for the DFC and I believe in 2021 was the area of the largest investment commitment.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. All right.

I would just in closing, Mr. Chairman, say that China has five times more investment right now in Africa than we do. We have

a lot of reasons we want to be there and invest. But we have a long way to go to do what I think we should be doing to fully engage.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, and thank you for your leadership on the—our Foreign Service families. Appreciate it.

Senator Barrasso?

Senator BARRASSO. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Ambassador Bass, I want to, first, follow up on some comments by Senator Hagerty. In August, President Biden oversaw a tragic mismanaged withdrawal from Afghanistan. The withdrawal is an epic failure—poor planning, zero strategy.

Instead, this administration had cobbled together a last-minute disorganized plan. People raced to the airport, Americans and allies left behind, and 13 soldiers lost their lives, including Riley McCollum of Wyoming. Tragic. Unnecessary.

You were the coordinator for Afghan relocation efforts. You headed up the State Department's efforts to evacuate American citizens and Afghans. You know of the failures of the withdrawal.

As Senator Hagerty said, nobody has been held accountable. Who at the State Department should be held accountable for the strategic failures and the disorganized plan?

Mr. BASS. Senator, I had a narrow view, if you will, of the evacuation itself. I could see from the perimeter of the airport to the horizon and I can tell you about the heroic work of so many on the ground.

From my perspective, I think it requires a bit more time and distance to understand the whole effort. I was not involved in the effort before August 17th so I cannot speak to the amount of planning that occurred or did not occur.

But I agree with you that it is important for us to undertake a robust lessons learned exercise so that we are better positioned in the future, and as I indicated earlier, I think one of the things we need to do is relook at our crisis management structure and organization and capabilities so we are better prepared for complex crises in the future.

Senator BARRASSO. Thank you.

Mr. Nathan, Senator Van Hollen asked about the African Subcommittee and you said you were interested in focusing on Africa. One of the issues that you mentioned was energy.

Senator Van Hollen mentioned the fact that China is investing five times more in Africa than we are and I am going to focus on that energy component that you just said of which you are interested because I know what China is doing in Africa.

The U.S. International Development Finance Corporation needs to provide financing for energy projects that are most suitable to the needs of developing countries, and I see you were kind of, like, oh my God, this is where he has gone because you know what a bad job is happening right now.

In April, this administration announced the DFC is going to halt all fossil fuel investments by 2030 to achieve a net-zero carbon emissions portfolio by 2040. China is not going to do that.

Also announced that the DFC is going to make one-third of its entire investment commitments to be focused on climate change starting in just two years. Your limitation on CO2 emissions for

new projects is equivalent to one 400-megawatt combined cycle gas plant a year, meaning over the entirety of the life of the future of the world you are only committed to eight natural gas power plants globally, forever. Eight natural gas power plants is not going to end energy poverty in developing countries.

Worldwide, 759 million people are living without electricity. Stable, affordable, reliable electricity is the best way to help developing countries climb out of poverty. China knows it. We know it. This administration needs to understand it.

Traditional energy projects are still the most affordable and still the most reliable. No modern economy will run on only variable renewable power. You are a smart man. You have to understand this.

A country needs continuous abundant energy to run a manufacturing plant, a data center, or a hospital. The things you are talking about doing require lots of energy. Abandoning important energy projects slowly—this is going to slow our effort to reduce poverty and it is going to make China more powerful.

You do not have to take my word for it. Listen to the leaders of another country. Let us talk about Uganda. October 24th, this year, the president of Uganda wrote an opinion editorial in the Wall Street Journal, “Solar and Wind Force Poverty on Africa.” You are forcing poverty on Africa, the policies of this administration.

I ask, Mr. Chairman, this article be submitted for the record.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection.

[The information follows:]

Senator BARRASSO. The president of Uganda has said Africa cannot sacrifice its future prosperity for Western climate goals. I could go on and on about this.

I would just say, if confirmed, when you ensure the International Development Finance Corporation promotes an all-of-the-above energy policy or are you going to be handcuffed to a policy that says we are going to let China take over with energy in Africa because we have our heads stuck in the sand?

Mr. NATHAN. Senator, I agree with you that access to reliable sustainable electricity is a critical component of development. I look forward to working with you and the committee to find ways to do that. I believe that it will have great development impact to bring electricity and clean power to the people of the developing world.

Senator BARRASSO. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. My time is expired.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Senator Cardin?

Senator CARDIN. Let me thank all four of you for your willingness to serve.

Ambassador Bass, I am going to follow up on Senator Hagerty's point. He and I are chair and ranking member on the State Department Subcommittee. And yes, there are lessons to be learned from Afghanistan, lessons learned over four administrations that led to the results that we saw this past month or two.

But one thing is clear. When we look at the training opportunities for State Department personnel, there is major areas of concern in regards to the number of personnel that are available in

order to go through training, the length of the training, the type of the training, et cetera.

We held a hearing in our subcommittee and we were disappointed that we were not able to have a representative from GTM present at that hearing, and I guess my request to you, if confirmed, do you agree to work with our subcommittee and to make sure that representatives of the agencies that are under your responsibility are available to us in order to develop a strategy as to how we can deal with, as we see it, the shortages in training opportunities for State Department personnel?

Mr. BASS. Yes.

Senator CARDIN. I thank you for that. We want to work together on this, the two of us. We recognize that there is need to take a look at the State Department. It has not been done for a while, and we look forward to, if you are confirmed, working with you to see how we can work Congress with you to provide that type of experience so that we have the people that have the proper training in the key positions rather than as it has been addressed too many times today that is not the case.

Mr. Brzezinski, I want to follow up a little bit on the Poland issue. I was at the Three Seas conference in Bulgaria. I had a chance to have a good conversation with President Duda on several issues.

But I really do think Poland is at a crossroads today. The countries that are under the dominance of the former Soviet Union made great strides, including Poland, in becoming a member of NATO and EU.

But we see the backsliding today, the prime example being Hungary but Poland also is not too far behind in some of the actions that they have taken in regards to the protection of democratic institutions.

I appreciate the fact that you say that it will be high on your list of conversations that you are going to have with the Polish government. But I think it has to be backed up by more than just conversations.

Their observations of support for democratic institutions do not bode well with internationally recognized standards. I would hope that we will be pretty definitive about Poland's future very much linked to its democratic commitments.

And you mentioned the OSCE chair in office. I think that is a really great example that we can use that where Poland should want to display its firm commitments to the OSCE principles when it has the chair in office.

Mr. BRZEZINSKI. Thank you, Senator, and thank you for hosting the hearing you did a few weeks ago with the Helsinki Commission on Poland. That resonated broadly, including in Poland and was covered widely including the statements by the witnesses.

Your point could not be more important, and I just cannot stress enough that Poland's role as a NATO ally and a NATO member and an EU member are linked to the commitments about democratic values and democratic practice.

And if there is a U.S. foreign policy that is characterized by bipartisan consultation and engagement and agreement, it is U.S. policy towards Poland over the decades, and I can just invoke Rich-

ard Lugar and Senator Hank Brown and others who were titans in bringing a fulsome bipartisan approach to the future of Poland.

And your point about democratic backsliding is heard loud and clear, and I look forward to engaging this committee and, hopefully, to welcoming you and members of this committee and members of the Senate to Poland to consult and engage directly with the Poles on this critically important issue.

Senator CARDIN. Thank you for that.

Mr. Adler, I just really want to put on the record and maybe get a very quick response, Belgium—there are some issues that we have concern. Probably the most is its use of technology and relationship with China companies. We have talked a little bit about China and the impact China is having in regards to American national security interests.

But I would like to get your thoughts as to how you see your role, if confirmed, in dealing with the penetration of China in technology in Belgium.

Mr. ADLER. Thank you, Senator. It is a very important issue.

As I mentioned in my opening remarks, IMEC is a major factor in semiconductors. But let me go to the point that you raise. I think what is most important is that we have to respect that Belgium has trade relations that are appropriate.

But at the same time, you just cannot accept trade and investment. What you need to do is make sure that you evaluate, you investigate, you know who you are doing business with and what they are doing. I will have that as an important part of the communications to the Belgium government.

Senator CARDIN. Thank you. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Senator Coons?

Senator COONS. Thank you, Chairman Menendez, Ranking Member Risch, for this hearing, and thank you to all of today's four nominees for your willingness to serve, to continue to serve.

I have worked with all four of you at different stages in the course of my career here in the Senate and I am greatly encouraged that our President nominated four well-qualified and experienced professionals for these important roles.

Let me turn, if I could, first, to Mr. Nathan, nominee to lead the Development Finance Corporation. Thank you for our conversation about the challenges and opportunities ahead.

I believe you have a perfect background for leading the Development Finance Corporation. I look forward to working with you if you are confirmed.

As someone who has invested in and advised investors in multiple contexts and different projects across different business sectors and geographies, could you just concisely explain why the DFC's equity authority can help drive the transformative development outcomes that many of us who helped craft and support the BUILD Act had in mind when the DFC was created?

Mr. NATHAN. Thank you, Senator, and thanks for the conversation we had in your office yesterday.

Equity authority is an important tool that the BUILD Act gave DFC. It allows—it would allow DFC to go further out on the risk spectrum, open up the aperture of potential projects focused on the

poorest countries where the operating environment can be more difficult. It gives us a seat at the table.

One of the intentions, I understand, behind giving DFC equity authority was to put it on equal footing with other development finance institutions, our allies, and also with multilateral development banks.

Senator COONS. That is exactly right, and I look forward to working with you to remove some of the obstacles that prevent the DFC from using that authority the way it was intended.

We are still in the middle of a pandemic globally. One of the areas that I am hopeful the DFC can make a significant difference is in vaccine production. There has already been some investment, as you referenced, some exploration at least in Senegal and South Africa.

How could the DFC support scaling up vaccine production in the developing world in places like Latin America, Southeast Asia, as well as Africa that could both help us get out of this pandemic and prepare for the next?

Mr. NATHAN. This is an important issue, as you say, not only for the current situation we are in but also preparing the globe for any potential further pandemics. DFC has made investments in the last year in India—a substantial investment—for diversifying vaccine manufacturing capacity, South Africa and Senegal. It is a pattern that, if confirmed, I would be very interested in repeating throughout the developing world.

Senator COONS. Thank you. I look forward to working with you.

If I might, Ambassador Bass, just briefly tell me, if you would, how you would prioritize making sure that our Foreign Service reflects the whole diversity of the United States.

I think it is one of our greatest strengths. How will you improve issues like promotion, attrition, and prioritize diversity in hiring and promotion?

Mr. BASS. Thanks, Senator. It absolutely is one of the key—in many respects, the key challenge we have in front of us today. I think we need to look at the whole effort. We need to question our assumptions about how we hire people, how we evaluate talent and select them.

As the Secretary noted a couple of weeks ago, it is no longer the case that the talented Americans who want a career that involves a significant chunk of their professional lives overseas that their only option or one of a few options is the State Department, and I think we still have a selection process that is geared too much to that assumption.

I think we need to use, creatively, all of the hiring authorities we currently have to broaden that pool that is coming in. I think we need to do a much better job of proactively supporting individuals from underrepresented communities as they take on this career.

I think we need to do a better job of professional development throughout and I think we need to prioritize selecting for advancement people who are not only good diplomats externally facing but who are promoting inclusive leadership and team building and collaboration within the organization.

Senator COONS. Thank you.

Mr. Chairman, I see I am out of time. I look forward to working with Ambassador Brzezinski and Mr. Adler in your roles. I am hopeful my colleagues will work quickly to confirm both of you.

I recently led a bipartisan delegation in countries where we do not have an ambassador. It weakens our ability whether to help the Poles stand up to the conduct of Belarus to it is to help our close partners and allies, Belgium, make good decisions in terms of supply chains and investment in partnership. I look forward to working with the chair and ranking member on getting these good folks confirmed.

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Senator Cruz?

Senator CRUZ. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Welcome. Congratulations to each of the nominees.

Mr. Brzezinski, as I am sure you know, the Senate is going to be debating today sanctions on Vladimir Putin's Nord Stream 2 pipeline. This committee has long opposed that pipeline with an overwhelming bipartisan majority but that bipartisan commitment has been fractured, but perhaps it has not yet cracked. And I, and my colleagues on the other side of the aisle, are currently in an intense granular negotiation over how best to proceed.

I have imposed holds on a number of nominees at both the State Department and the Treasury Department in an effort to force the Biden administration to comply with the law and stop the Nord Stream 2 pipeline.

My colleagues on the Democratic side of the aisle disagree with the use of that leverage to try to stop this disastrous pipeline from going online and, indeed, it appears likely that we are going to be voting both on Senator Risch's sanctions legislation, which I emphatically support, but also what is functionally a side by side from Chairman Menendez that would impose sanctions on Russia if and only if Russia invaded Ukraine.

The reason that is suddenly so important is when Nord Stream 2 goes online, the odds of Russian tanks rolling into Ukraine will have increased dramatically, and my colleagues on the Democratic side of the aisle know that. They understand that.

It is anticipated that most, if not all, Democrats will vote for these sanctions on Russia after the fact if Russia, in fact, invades Ukraine. Among the sanctions they will vote for are sanctions on Nord Stream 2 after the fact if Russia invades Ukraine.

It strikes me that if it is not in America's interest, if it is not in Europe's interest, if it is not in the world's interest for Russia to invade Ukraine, the way to stop it and the time to stop it is before the fact rather than after the fact by voting for the sanctions that both Democrats and Republicans have supported repeatedly, the sanctions that had worked, that had stopped Nord Stream 2 until President Biden surrendered those bipartisan sanctions in a massively unjustified gift to Vladimir Putin that has now put a target on Ukraine.

The reason Chairman Menendez is introducing these sanctions is because the chairman understands the risk of Ukraine being invaded has increased and increased dramatically because of Biden's surrender to Putin.

But, of course, our Ukrainian allies are not the only ones who are endangered by Nord Stream 2 and by Russian aggression. When the Biden administration struck its deal with Angela Merkel in July, Poland and Ukraine together issued a joint statement saying that the deal, quote, “cannot be considered sufficient to effectively limit the threats created by Nord Stream,” and that calls on the United States and Germany to address the security crisis in the region and that commits that Ukraine and Poland will work together with their allies and partners to oppose Nord Stream 2 until solutions are developed to address the security crisis created by Nord Stream 2.

They further wrote, quote, “This decision has created a political, military, and energy threat for Ukraine and Central Europe while increasing Russia’s potential to destabilize the security situation in Europe, perpetuating divisions among NATO and European Union member states.”

Mr. Brzezinski, if you are confirmed, you will be our country’s ambassador to Poland at a time when they feel that the decisions from President Biden have put their own national security at grave risk and you will be faced with the challenges of understanding and addressing those very real concerns.

First, I would like to ask you, how do you understand the Polish position to be on Nord Stream 2 and do you agree with that position?

Mr. BRZEZINSKI. Thank you, Senator, for that very important question.

Energy has been used as a weapon now for years by Vladimir Putin, particularly to try to weaken and intimidate Russia’s neighbors immediately to the west. It is an incredibly important question, and when I appeared before this committee in 2011 in advance of going to Sweden, I made clear that I was against the pipeline at that time. I think it is a bad idea, and I note also that President Biden and Secretary Blinken have said the same thing.

The Polish position, as you intimated, is clear. They are against the pipeline and they are worried about what is happening in the East. Secretary Blinken recently expressed deep appreciation for Poland’s vocal support for Ukraine’s sovereignty and territorial integrity in his phone call with Polish Foreign Minister Rau.

He noted that the United States, Poland, and other allies and partners are united in imposing significant costs on Moscow for its military aggression and malign activities.

Senator CRUZ. Would it be better to prevent that aggression before the fact or after an invasion occurred?

Mr. BRZEZINSKI. Absolutely, clearly, before the fact and I think it is important that Secretary Blinken is in Latvia today and yesterday to consult with NATO allies regarding what is happening in the East and what to do next, and then he will go to Stockholm to meet with OSCE partners, in part, on the same topics.

I can tell you, if confirmed, Senator, as Ambassador to Poland that I will be unwavering and deeply committed in support of Ukraine’s sovereignty and territorial integrity and I am going to work with Poland, our ally, and other partners to address Russia’s destabilizing activities in the region.

What Lukashenko has done on the border of eastern Ukraine in those forests in Bialowieza is outrageous, and I will keep you and this committee apprised and consult with this committee and engage with this committee accordingly.

Senator CRUZ. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Risch?

Senator RISCH. Very briefly.

Mr. Brzezinski, I want to—I ran out of time and I wanted to touch on one other subject that I think will be helpful for other nominees, as we go forward.

We had a situation where a person who was nominated to be ambassador to the U.N. had given a speech that was regarding China and it was significantly softer than it should have been.

She deeply regretted that. She recanted it here at the hearing. I supported her. I felt it was one step that that she took that did not color everything else that she did, and I still stand by that.

In 2019, you gave a speech at the China Development Forum in Beijing, which I now understand you have some reservations about also, and I wanted to give you the opportunity to clear the record.

But, more importantly, I think it is important that people such as yourself who have a history of dealing so well in foreign relations matters resist in giving these kinds of speeches, and they are unfortunate and then when people come here they have to back-track on it.

I wanted to give you a chance to clear the record on that, if you would, please.

Mr. BRZEZINSKI. Thank you, Senator, for that important question and, again, thank you for the case studies that you and your leadership and your staff pulled together in the Risch report on China's malign activities in Europe that you did last year.

I wish I had read that report before I did that speech. That speech was a family narrative that goes back to my family's long history in the Sino-U.S. relationship and I meant to invoke and draw perspectives and observations from that family narrative.

It was also about hope, misplaced hope, about diplomacy, having—being the answer to the problems that we have with China.

Your report edified me. As I said, I have shared with my fellow students in Ambassador School how important it is and now I feel, personally, it should be required reading. But more—I would also offer this, Senator. I would be happy to continue this conversation in a classified session to offer examples of what I did as ambassador in Stockholm between 2011 and 2015 with regard to the challenges and the threats your report so clearly edifies because I think that you will see that I walk the walk, sir, and will continue to walk the walk, if confirmed, and get a chance to go to Poland and, of course, walking the walk most—among most important policy steps one can take is with the Three Seas Initiative and our support of that through the DFC because that will be an important institution, among others, in terms of pushing back on China's malign influence in Europe.

But, absolutely, I would like to amend the narrative I offered in that speech and to take more into account what had happened in Hong Kong, what had happened vis-a-vis Taiwan and elsewhere.

Senator RISCH. Thank you. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Let me just close out this session with a couple of observations for the record because I would be remiss if I did not.

The situation in Afghanistan preceded with the previous administration under President Trump making decisions that, ultimately, led to what I think was an irreversible course.

When you enter into a surrender agreement in which you, ultimately, say to the Taliban, we are going to get out on a date certain, something that my Republican colleagues have railed against in every iteration it has ever taken place, when you reduce the troop level before the new administration comes in to a troop level that cannot sustain security, when you, ultimately, release thousands of Taliban prisoners and give them to the Taliban to augment their fighting capacity, and, for the most part, you say nothing during that time period, it is really hard to understand the lack of concern then and the concern now.

We all agree that we have to find ways to be better about when we have to deal with an emergency. But as much as none of us liked the end result, that result was in the making and there were no voices at that time suggesting that, in fact, that was not a good crisis to move.

Finally, on the question of Nord Stream, it is clear that I have supported sanctions against Nord Stream. I would have liked to have seen sanctions posed on Nord Stream during the totality of the hundreds of miles that were being laid under the Trump administration for which there were no sanctions until the final day of President Trump being in office.

The belief that somehow Nord Stream alone is going to stop the Russians and Putin from, potentially, invading Ukraine is beyond belief. That is why the amendment that I will offer, assuming we move ahead, is the mother of all sanctions on Russia, swift and a whole host of other elements, which, clearly, get to the heart of Putin, his pocket, and his cronies.

And in that regard, to send that clear message now before the Russians make any calibration in terms of taking any offensive action against Ukraine is critically important. It is not an after the fact reality. It is before the fact of what takes place so that the Russians will understand clearly and unequivocally what the consequences will be to them. To me, that is far more powerful.

Now, with that, I was about to close this hearing but I see Senator Markey is coming in and if he wants to get in his questions really quick, we will so observe it.

Senator Markey?

Senator MARKEY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, very much.

Wednesday morning in the United States Senate is like the old TV show "Supermarket Sweepstakes." They scheduled four separate hearings simultaneously, all beginning at the same time.

And so I apologize to you, and, Mr. Chairman, I will not take any extended time except to just recommend Scott Nathan as just an exemplary public servant, someone who will make a huge difference. His background in finance, his experience in the public sector, just makes him the perfect person to take on this huge responsibility that the United States has to play in this coming generation.

I did not want to take up any unusual amount of time, Mr. Chairman, other than I just wanted to make that point and to thank everyone else who is here for all of your great willingness to commit to serving our country.

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator Markey.

The record of this hearing will remain open until the close of business on Thursday, December 2nd. I would ask our colleagues that questions for the record be submitted no later than that time.

I would urge the nominees to answer the questions expeditiously and fully. Sometimes when nominees are skimpy in their answers or are not substantive in their answers it causes members to not agree to move the nominee forward at a business meeting.

That does not mean we need a treatise. But by the same token, it means be responsive and to do it as quickly as possible. And if that happens, we hope to get your nominations before a business meeting with the cooperation of the ranking member.

With the thanks of the committee, this hearing is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 11:59 a.m., the hearing was adjourned.]

Additional Material Submitted for the Record

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO SCOTT NATHAN BY SENATOR ROBERT MENENDEZ

Equity Investments Fix

Question. The current method DFC Equity Investments are scored for budget purposes assumes a 100 percent loss on all investments, and, therefore, requires a one-to-one dollar offset for those investments. This budget method negatively affects the ability of DFC to fully utilize one of the most promising new tools established in the BUILD Act and consumes scarce foreign assistance resources. Resolving this antiquated budgeting method will require this administration, including you, to provide the leadership to work with Congress to resolve this problem or other programs will be put at risk of a funding shortfall.

- Will you commit to engaging with the Office of Management and Budget, the National Economic Council and the National Security Council on the need to apply a more accurate budgeting method to the DFC's development financing programs?

Answer. Yes, if confirmed, I would engage with interagency partners including the Office of Management and Budget, the National Economic Council, and the National Security Council in support of present value scoring for equity. Equity investments are an important part of DFC's financial toolkit.

Question. How many equity deals has DFC done in the past fiscal year? How many are in the pipeline for FY 2022? How has DFC implemented its approach to equity?

Answer. As the nominee, I do not have access to DFC's pipeline. I have asked existing DFC personnel to respond to these questions regarding equity.

DFC Response

In FY 2021, DFC supported twelve projects (10 investment funds and 2 direct equity) valued at \$239 million. In FY 2020, DFC supported six projects (5 investment funds and 1 direct equity) valued at \$120 million. For FY 2022, there are 29 projects (20 investment funds and 9 direct equity) being considered, valued at \$645 million in total.

DFC's approach focuses on addressing the shortfall in equity capital required to address major gaps in critical infrastructure and to support economic growth and job creation in emerging markets. DFC invests in projects that support the development of infrastructure, technology, financial services, and global health, as well as

general economic development. DFC will continue to refine this approach based on its investment experience and developmental outcomes.

2X Women's Initiative.

Question. As the United States International Development Finance Corporation (DFC) supports efforts around the world so that global prosperity and security is increased, it must ensure that it does not neglect critical populations. If programs aim to use taxpayer dollars in the most efficient way, programs must follow the evidence and ensure that the needs, challenges, insights, and power dynamics of all genders are included in all DFC projects.

- How do you plan to ensure that the DFC fully meets its mandate in the BUILD Act [Sec. 1451 (f)] to “prioritize the reduction of gender gaps and maximize development impact by working to improve women’s economic opportunities” throughout the DFC’s entire portfolio?

Answer. I believe that gender investments need to be viewed holistically to address the unique challenges women face globally in accessing financing and unlocking the investment opportunity that results from valuing women as entrepreneurs, leaders, employees, and customers. In my briefings as nominee, I have learned that DFC has hired additional gender experts, who are working to develop a gender strategy and ensure that in supporting transactions proper analysis is considered on how the projects impact women and girls. It is my understanding that DFC has integrated questions into its screening and monitoring questionnaires to assess the gender diversity of each supported project’s ownership, leadership, employees, and customers both at the time of origination and during the life of the DFC investment.

Question. Will you commit to disclosing:

- Project-level information on the amount of WEE investment the DFC has made for each project; and
- What amount was mobilized by the private sector; and what the results and learnings are so we can better understand the value of these investments and replicate those investments that have the most impact?

Answer. I am committed to increasing public disclosure of project-level data. To accomplish this, I commit to seek resources to further invest in the Corporation’s technological capabilities and re-evaluate current processes to enable greater transparency. I also commit to thoughtfully consider collecting and disclosing additional project-level data from our private sector partners, as well as disclose lessons learned from investments, in a way that does not significantly increase their reporting burden or compromise the trust they put in DFC to protect their confidential business information from competitors.

Advancing Human and Worker Rights

Question. The BUILD Act includes provisions on ensuring that DFC does no harm in terms of human and worker rights, and that the agency’s activities enhance rights-based development.

- What steps will you take to implement this rights mandate?

Answer. I am aware of the BUILD Act provisions related to human and worker rights. It is my understanding that DFC reviews all projects for potential impacts to human and worker rights. During such reviews, DFC social impact experts identify potential risks and require commensurate mitigation and management measures for negative impacts to a project’s workforce and/or affected groups or people. The social impact assessment ensures that projects being considered for DFC support and active projects meet Congressionally mandated requirements for respecting human rights, including the rights of workers. If confirmed, I would commit to following this procedure and will continue DFC’s work with other development partners to maintain DFC’s position as a global leader in social policies and procedures.

Office of Accountability

Question. The establishment of the Office of Accountability was an important step for ensuring that the DFC is equipped to address and remediate grievances from communities experiencing unintended social and environmental harms as a result of DFC-financed projects. When harm occurs as a result of DFC’s activities, the Office of Accountability should facilitate the provision of remedy so that affected communities can restore their livelihoods.

- How will the DFC ensure that resources are available to provide remedy?

Answer. An effective, resourced, independent accountability mechanism is critical to ensuring that DFC creates space for feedback on the social and environmental impacts of its projects, and it offers a fair, transparent, and constructive voice for sometimes under-represented or marginalized communities. This consideration is what distinguishes DFC's approach from other investment models that do not value human rights and the protection of the environment. If confirmed, I would support an assessment of the Office of Accountability's current resources to best position it to successfully fulfill its mandate and provide a space for fair and equal representation of all stakeholders involved in DFC's projects.

Question. Will the DFC require clients to obtain project finance bonds, insurance, or trust funds in escrow to ensure that reserve funds are available to address adverse environmental and social impacts?

Answer. It is my understanding that DFC's environmental and social policies are aligned with the International Finance Corporation's Performance Standards and the World Bank Group's Environmental, Health and Safety Sector Specific Guidelines ("EHS Guidelines"). If confirmed, I pledge to explore this issue with DFC staff and consult with you on the issue.

Digital Development

Question. COVID-19 has propelled the world into a digital frame which will only deepen for both economic activity and government operations. The digital divide between developing and developed countries is wide and a barrier to progress in low- and lower-middle-income countries. Digital development is referenced in the DFC strategic plan Roadmap for Impact, but the DFC has done little in the digital arena.

- Do you agree that investing in digital technologies and capabilities should be a DFC priority, and how you envision making this happen?

Answer. Yes, I agree that digital technology and capabilities are critical for economic growth and competitiveness, and important for advancing most development sectors including education, financial inclusion, and health among others. If confirmed, I would consult with DFC and interagency experts to determine how the Corporation can best position itself to have a significant development impact in this market.

Greenhouse Gas Emissions Calculations

Question. The DFC accounting for greenhouse gas emissions from projects does not always fully account for lifetime or lifecycle emissions associated with a given project.

- Will you commit to reviewing the GHG emission evaluation methods and consulting with my office on any decisions to revise the accounting process and criteria?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I commit to reviewing the greenhouse gas emission evaluation methods and will consult with your office on decisions to revise the accounting process and criteria.

Sunshine Act

Question. The DFC has previously declared that the Sunshine Act does not apply to it, which has resulted in a lack of transparency around DFC's decision-making process.

- If confirmed, would you commit to adhering to the Sunshine Act, including posting all board meetings in the Federal Register?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I commit to reviewing the greenhouse gas emission evaluation methods and will consult with your office on decisions to revise the accounting process and criteria.

Joint Investment for Peace Initiative

Question. The DFC's participation in the Joint Investment for Peace Initiative, as called for in the Middle East Partnership for Peace Act of 2020, is an important and positive step in building up the Palestinian private sector as well as ties between Israeli and Palestinian people and businesses. This is absolutely critical to maintaining space for a negotiated two-state solution.

- If confirmed, what steps will you take to prioritize investment in Palestinian small and medium-sized enterprises? What metrics will you use in making those investments?

Answer. As I understand it, the Middle East Partnership for Peace Act (MEPPA) provides resources and direction to DFC and USAID to support private sector-led

development especially in the Palestinian Territories. If confirmed, I would work to help DFC fulfill its mandate under MEPPA and looks for opportunities to support development projects in the Territories, including alongside key partners. I anticipate that the Corporation will continue to evaluate prospective transactions based on their developmental and strategic impact, commercial viability and the additionality of a possible DFC investment.

Countering Chinese Influence in the Middle East

Question. China continues to invest in private sector infrastructure across the Middle East and North Africa, potentially in close proximity to U.S. diplomatic and military facilities.

- If confirmed, what steps will you take to provide countries in the Middle East and North Africa with an alternative method of financing that does not involve Chinese investment in critical infrastructure? How will those steps be balanced with the DFC's legislative mandate to invest almost exclusively in countries defined by the World Bank as lower-middle or low income?

Answer. If confirmed, I will direct the Corporation to devote time and resources to source commercially viable projects in the Middle East and North Africa and will apply the lens of strategic competition to project evaluation. The BUILD Act prioritizes support in lower-middle and low-income countries, while also mandating a role for the DFC in upper-middle income countries consistent with the legislative framework.

Sustainable Water and Energy Investment in the Middle East

Question. Most of the countries in the Middle East and North Africa face looming and long-term water shortages. At the same time, there is the growing potential for energy cooperation in the region to help address this problem, including with sustainable energy, while also providing energy to both domestic and international markets. The recent agreement between Israel, Jordan and the UAE to exchange solar-powered electricity for desalinated water is one such example, although it did not involve the DFC.

- If confirmed, what further steps will you take to invest in sustainable energy generation and infrastructure, and in the water sector, in the Middle East and North Africa? How will you balance those steps with the DFC's legislative mandate to invest almost exclusively in countries defined by the World Bank as lower-middle or low income?

Answer. If confirmed, I will direct the Corporation to explore how the DFC can have an impact on driving access to clean electricity and clean water in the Middle East and North Africa and to source transactions that meet this objective. DFC's Roadmap for Impact currently prioritizes investments in Water, Sanitation, and Hygiene (WASH), as well as investments in energy.

The BUILD Act prioritizes support in lower-middle and low-income countries, while also mandating a role for the DFC in upper-middle income countries consistent with the legislative framework.

Iraq

Question. Iraq remains largely dependent on Iranian electricity, and U.S. sanctions waivers, despite having ample gas reserves, much of which it flares off as a by-product of oil extraction. In August, 2020, the DFC signed an MOU with the Iraqi Government aimed at strengthening the Iraqi private sector with an investment of \$1 billion over four years.

- If confirmed, what steps will you take to counter Iranian influence by investing in Iraq's energy sector to allow it to produce electricity domestically and wean the country off Iranian electricity?

Answer. If confirmed, I would direct DFC to explore and consider opportunities for investment in Iraq's domestic energy market, which could include investments in power generation. DFC will also counter Iranian influence in Iraq by providing capital to support the development, diversification, and global integration of Iraq's private sector. DFC hopes to identify opportunities for scaling investment in Iraq. It is my understanding that DFC recently hosted a virtual Town Hall with Iraqi companies to educate them about DFC's investment tools and to identify potential new Iraqi projects.

- What is the status of the DFC's investments as outlined in the August 2020 MOU? If confirmed, will you commit to fully implementing that MOU and the investment therein?

Answer. While I do not have access to the status of DFC's investments as outlined in the 2020 MOU, if confirmed, I will look into this matter and consult with Congress on it. I have asked DFC to provide additional information below.

DFC Response on Status of DFC's Investments as Outlined in the August 2020 MOU

Question. The August 2020 MOU continues to serve as a practical roadmap to facilitate private investment in Iraq. The Government of Iraq is making progress to improve the business climate, and the DFC is actively seeking opportunities for investment. In 2021, the U.S. Embassy in Baghdad hosted a virtual town hall for the DFC to brief members of the Iraqi business community on the DFC's products and priorities. The DFC also agreed to invest \$250 million in a natural gas processing facility that will deliver gas to power plants in Iraqi Kurdistan. Additional projects are in various stages of the DFC's screening process, including those that would provide financing to SMEs and other energy-related projects.

- Currently, Iraq is defined by the World Bank as an upper-middle income country. How will you balance those steps with the DFC's legislative mandate to invest almost exclusively in countries defined by the World Bank as lower-middle or low income?

Answer. The BUILD Act laid out a dual mandate for DFC, both developmental and strategic. While focusing on the poorest countries of the world, the BUILD Act also calls for DFC to mobilize capital in UMICs, particularly where it affects the poorest segments of the population. I believe that good development is good for U.S. national security and can help meet the challenges posed by our strategic competitors. In addition, DFC's Roadmap for Impact specifically targets 60 percent of DFC's investments in LICs, LMICs, and fragile states.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO SCOTT NATHAN BY SENATOR JAMES E. RISCH

Climate

Question. Do you believe that climate is the most important issue facing the United States?

Answer. No. Climate change is one of several pressing issues currently confronting the United States.

Question. Do you believe that the DFC should primarily be funding climate-related projects?

Answer. No. DFC should primarily focus on advancing its development and strategic missions as set forth in the BUILD Act. DFC should prioritize projects with the greatest developmental and strategic impacts, across sectors and geographies.

Question. Do you commit that you will not advise any official senior to you to sacrifice other U.S. interests for the sake of an agreement with or promises from China on climate change?

Answer. Yes.

Question. Do you commit that you will not allow the DFC to be used as a tool to trade away other U.S. interests to China on climate change?

Answer. Yes.

Question. Former Secretary Kerry has said that climate change is a "standalone issue" in U.S.-China relations. But he subsequently said that "life is full of tough choices in the relationship between nations" and that our priority "first and foremost" must be to save this planet. He made these comments in response to an interview question between trade-offs related to climate and human rights. Since then, he has stated that human rights issues in China are "not in his lane."

- What are your views on these comments?

Answer. Human rights are an absolute priority and should not be compromised. I look forward to working with you and your team to address this key priority during my time at DFC.

Question. What would your approach be if you were faced with a project related to climate but could cause human rights concerns?

Answer. DFC's policies and procedures should reflect a prioritization of human rights. All DFC projects must adhere to DFC's policies and procedures. Projects that are not able to do so should not be supported by the Corporation.

Question. The Secretary of State is responsible for the conduct of foreign policy and exercises authority over the provision of U.S. foreign assistance, including by virtue of his seat on the Board of the DFC.

- What degree of influence, if any, should Special Presidential Envoy for Climate John Kerry exercise over the DFC and the projects it chooses to support?

Answer. DFC's corporate governance is established in the BUILD Act and implemented through the Board-adopted bylaws. The Secretary of State or his designee is the Chair of the Board of Directors. If confirmed, I will direct the Corporation to follow the governance structure and priorities enumerated in the BUILD Act.

Question. Do you believe it would be appropriate for Special Envoy Kerry to exercise that influence directly, or via the Secretary of State (by virtue of his position on the Board of the DFC)?

Answer. DFC's corporate governance is established in the BUILD Act and codified in its management directives. If confirmed, I will direct the Corporation to follow the governance structure enumerated in the BUILD Act.

Supply Chains

Question. Do you believe that the DFC should support projects that source solar panels from China, despite the knowledge we have about forced labor in China's solar technology supply chains?

Answer. Taxpayer funds should never be used to support projects which utilize forced labor. If confirmed, I would direct the Corporation to advance efforts to finance transactions that will help establish alternative supply chains for the solar sector.

Question. Do you believe that investing in any projects with supply chain ties to China undermines the strategic competition mandate of the DFC? If not, please explain how doing so supports U.S. national security interests.

Answer. DFC should exclude projects that procure goods that undermine U.S. national security interests. Certain PRC-produced goods have no place in the supply chains of DFC-supported projects. For example, under section 889 of the 2019 National Defense Authorization Act, DFC is prohibited from supporting projects that procure certain telecommunications equipment from the PRC. DFC should not walk away from involvement in transactions where U.S. involvement enhances our strategic position relative to China.

Question. Do you commit that you will prioritize—expeditiously—ensuring that DFC supply chains do not touch forced labor in any way, shape, or form? If confirmed, what will you do in your first 100 days on the job to achieve this objective?

Answer. If confirmed, I will review DFC's policies and procedures on this issue and work with DFC staff and the interagency to make adjustments, as appropriate. I will ensure that DFC's approach is communicated widely to staff and project applicants, and make sure that there are mechanisms in place to enforce compliance.

Question. If confirmed, will you commit to ending DFC support for procurements involving Chinese companies, including in the solar industry?

Answer. I am committed to advancing DFC's efforts to diversify supply chains, including in the solar sector. If confirmed, I will work to make sure that DFC's approach most effectively supports U.S. national security, and I will evaluate all options for achieving this goal.

Question. If confirmed, what will you do to diversify DFC investments in the Indo-Pacific, which are currently heavily focused on India with limited exposure in Southeast Asia?

Answer. DFC should look to diversify its portfolio in the Indo-Pacific region including expanding exposure in Southeast Asia. DFC needs to further strengthen relationships with partner development finance institutions in the region and expand its current business development in the region to identify potential new projects. I will look to closely coordinate with USAID missions and other U.S. Embassy personnel in the Indo-Pacific region. I will also look to build on the lessons learned from DFC's four forward deployed officers in Mumbai, Bangkok, Jakarta, and Singapore.

Question. Will you prioritize the identification of areas in Thailand where the DFC can still make investments, despite the partial rescinding of Thailand's benefits under the Generalized System of Preferences?

Answer. It is my understanding that DFC does not currently consider investments in Thailand due to USTR's determination with respect to workers' rights. If con-

firmed, I will closely monitor the current situation, and if it changes, will consult with USTR and other relevant Departments and agencies so that DFC can source transactions in Thailand.

Question. Please describe objectives you would pursue with respect to DFC investment in projects in the following countries:

- Philippines

Answer. As one of the region's fastest growing economies and strategically important countries, the Philippines market should be a promising market for DFC. If confirmed, I would look forward to closely working with the interagency and with DFC's experienced staff to identify opportunities for DFC engagement.

- Thailand

Answer. It is my understanding that DFC does not currently consider investments in Thailand due to USTR's determination with respect to workers' rights. If confirmed, I will closely monitor the current situation, and if it changes, will consult with USTR and other relevant Departments and agencies so that DFC can source transactions in Thailand.

- Indonesia

Answer. If confirmed, I will work to identify additional opportunities for investments in Indonesia. I would welcome the chance to engage with DFC and interagency experts, both in Washington and Indonesia, to explore these potential opportunities.

- Vietnam

Answer. I understand that DFC is currently active in multiple sectors in Vietnam. If confirmed, I would engage with our Southeast Asia team both in Washington and in the region to explore additional opportunities in Vietnam.

- Sri Lanka

Answer. I understand that DFC is growing its portfolio in Sri Lanka, particularly in SME and MSME support for women- and minority-owned business, which will be critical to growing its economy that was hit hard by the COVID crisis. If confirmed, I will work with DFC's Indo-Pacific team and our Embassy in Sri Lanka to identify developmental and impactful opportunities in Sri Lanka.

- Eligible Pacific Island Nations

Answer. If confirmed, I will work with regional partners, including Australia and Japan, and the interagency to expand our engagement in the region. It is my understanding DFC is participating in the White House Small and Less Populated Island Economies (SALPIE) initiative and I look forward to participating in this initiative, if confirmed.

Question. Under your tenure, will the DFC make investments in Burma while the military junta is still in control of the government?

Answer. No, not under current conditions. If confirmed, I would remain engaged with interagency partners and Congress to ensure that DFC's posture in Burma aligns with current U.S. foreign policy.

Question. If confirmed, how will you improve coordination with other DFIs (especially in Europe and Japan), including on concrete projects where there are opportunities for co-financing?

Answer. It is my understanding that this was a goal of the BUILD Act, and I believe that partnerships, both with bilateral development finance institutions (DFIs) as well as multilateral DFIs and other like-minded institutions, are important contributing factors to future DFC success. My understanding is that DFC has partnered this year with other DFIs on vaccine manufacturing investments in Africa. If confirmed, I would continue this work and, more broadly, work to strengthen relationships leading to more sharing of potential project opportunities and further collaborating on due diligence processes.

Question. What barriers do you foresee for working with other DFIs in the field

Answer. My understanding is that DFC shares a close relationship with DFIs from like-minded countries and is actively participating in co-financing transactions with other DFIs. If confirmed, I would continue to prioritize this collaboration. My understanding is that the challenges to this collaboration include: (1) different due diligence requirements, standards, and processes; (2) different budgetary and approval processes; and (3) different priority sectors and geographies. Nonetheless, DFC has established the position of Director for Collaborative Partnerships within the Office of the Chief Development Officer, whose role is to focus the Corporation

on mitigating and, if possible, overcoming some of these challenges so that we can get more out of these strategic partnerships.

Question. What are some ways these barriers can be overcome or mitigated?

Answer. My understanding is that DFC can continue to work with other DFIs to map out areas of priority investments, to better understand one another's tools and available resources, and to collaborate on sourcing and potentially share transactions in the pipeline. In addition, DFC can work to identify specific areas of collaboration with like-minded DFIs, particularly as the Corporation works as part of a whole of government approach to develop alternatives around the world to PRC's Belt and Road Initiative.

Energy

Question. The DFC was created by Congress, and we are committed to ensuring that Congressional intent is recognized and upheld. When we created the DFC, it was with the explicit intent that the corporation would pursue an "all of the above strategy" to reduce energy poverty. Multiple Indo-Pacific and African countries have told the committee that they need natural gas to make the transition to cleaner energy sources. Thus far, the Biden administration has signaled that natural gas cooperation with developing countries will not be a priority area, and the DFC has imposed a carbon cap on itself that will prevent it from involvement in natural gas projects in the future.

- Do you believe in the "all of the above" approach to reducing energy poverty? If not, why not?

Answer. My understanding is that DFC has not imposed restrictions on specific technologies or energy sources for power projects. If confirmed, I would continue this practice. While the Biden administration has prioritized low or zero emissions technologies, in certain developing markets there may be energy security or energy access considerations that warrant pursuing other technologies.

Question. Do you believe that the DFC should be involved in bankable natural gas projects to advance development and address the power needs of the developing world?

Answer. DFC has preserved the ability to engage in highly strategic or highly developmental natural gas projects that would enhance energy security and access in the poorest countries, as well as projects that advance U.S. national security interests. Where a natural gas project meets a highly developmental or highly strategic need, is bankable, and helps address energy poverty and energy security needs in a country, I would support DFC exploring supporting such transactions and would work to do so, if confirmed.

Question. If so, what will you do inside the administration if confirmed to make this a greater priority?

Answer. DFC has preserved the ability to engage in highly strategic or highly developmental natural gas projects that would enhance energy security and access in the poorest countries, as well as projects that advance U.S. national security interests. Where a natural gas project meets a highly developmental or highly strategic need, is bankable, and helps address energy poverty and energy security needs in a country, I would support DFC exploring supporting such transactions and would work to do so, if confirmed.

Question. If not, why do you disagree?

Answer. DFC has preserved the ability to engage in highly strategic or highly developmental natural gas projects that would enhance energy security and access in the poorest countries, as well as projects that advance U.S. national security interests. Where a natural gas project meets a highly developmental or highly strategic need, is bankable, and helps address energy poverty and energy security needs in a country, I would support DFC exploring supporting such transactions and would work to do so, if confirmed.

Question. You have been criticized for being a leader of the League of Conservation Voters while simultaneously leading the Baupost Group, which is heavily invested in BP. How do you reconcile the two?

Answer. While I was at Baupost Group during the time the firm purchased shares in BP, I was not directly involved in that investment decision. Like other investment firms regulated by the SEC, Baupost's fiduciary obligation is to serve its investors. My engagement with LCV represented an engagement in my personal capacity unrelated to my role at Baupost.

Question. If confirmed, what sectors of strategic significance to the United States would you focus on for DFC investments? Why should these be our priorities?

Answer. Before specifically articulating all of the priorities I would want to pursue, if confirmed, I would want to continue briefings and consultations including with Congress and other key stakeholders. DFC should play a leading role in the President's Build Back Better World initiative. The initiative, in partnership with our G7 allies, aims to fill the critical infrastructure gap in low- and lower-middle income countries.

DFC should also focus on vaccine manufacturing and other projects that promote pandemic preparedness. DFC can play a constructive role in helping to address market distortions created by strategic competitors and can present an attractive alternative that reflects U.S. values.

Question. Last year, DFC modernized its Environmental and Social Policy and Procedures (ESPP) to enable the support of nuclear power projects. This change enables greater access to reliable nuclear energy to help our allies and partners meet their development, energy security, and clean energy goals. In April, DFC committed to "Net Zero by 2040" and to increase its climate- focused investments, what role do you see for nuclear energy investments to meet these ambitious pledges?

Answer. Nuclear energy investments can play a critical role. Given global energy security challenges and the climate crisis, nuclear power should be considered as part of the energy mix.

Inter-agency Cooperation

Question. The DFC is one of many economic tools that the U.S. government can bring to bear to advance national security, foreign policy, and development objectives. Other tools include foreign assistance from the State Department, assistance and capacity-building by USAID, commercial advocacy and other tools in the Department of Commerce, certain Treasury Department programs, support for U.S. exports for infrastructure projects through the U.S. Trade and Development Agency, and the Export-Import Bank. It is of significant importance that the interagency coordinate the use of these tools, including when the U.S. Government is made aware of projects. Will you commit to robust participation by the DFC in relevant inter-agency processes, especially on infrastructure, energy, or digital projects that would advance U.S. national security and foreign policy interests?

Answer. Yes. I believe interagency coordination is key to DFC's success.

Question. Will you commit to cooperating with the Department of State and other relevant agencies on the Infrastructure Transaction and Assistance Network, including the Transaction Advisory Fund?

Answer. Yes.

FOREIGN ASSISTANCE

Dual Mandate

Question. DFC has a dual mandate: (1) to promote economic growth by unlocking and catalyzing private sector investment in low- to lower-middle income countries; and (2) to promote economic freedom, including by making investments in key sectors and countries that are important to the national security interests of the United States and are otherwise susceptible to the malign development model of strategic competitors, such as Russia and China

- How do you intend to align and balance these two mandates?

Answer. The BUILD Act laid out a dual mandate for DFC, both development and strategic. It will be important to balance these initiatives. Consultation will be key. I look forward to working with Congress on this as we seek to advance these two important goals.

Question. In your view, in which regions, countries, and sectors should the DFC prioritize investments?

Answer. Before specifically articulating all of the priorities I would want to pursue, if confirmed, I would want to continue briefings and consultations including with Congress and other key stakeholders. My initial impression is that DFC could look for opportunities to expand support for projects in Southeast Asia, Western Hemisphere, and sub-Saharan Africa. DFC should play a leading role in the President's Build Back Better World initiative. The initiative, in partnership with our G7 partners, aims to fill the critical infrastructure gap in low- and lower-middle income countries.

DFC should also focus on vaccine manufacturing and other projects that promote pandemic preparedness. DFC can play a constructive role in helping to address market distortions created by strategic competitors and can present an attractive alternative that reflects U.S. values.

Question. Under what circumstances, if any, should the DFC invest in high-income countries?

Answer. DFC is not authorized to operate in high-income countries (HICs) under the BUILD Act, except that the European Energy Security and Diversification Act of 2019 grants explicit authority to DFC to provide support for energy and related infrastructure projects in Europe—including in HICs. If confirmed, I will direct the agency to comply with these statutory requirements.

Question. Under what circumstances, if any, should the DFC invest in sectors that are dominated by China?

Answer. If possible, the United States should compete even in sectors dominated by China. The U.S. can provide an alternative model for development, based on high standards, transparency, private sector orientation, and free of corruption. We ultimately prevail on the strength of U.S. values by supporting private sector projects that uphold high social and environmental standards, reinforce good governance, avoid unsustainable debt levels, and contribute to sustainable and broad-based economic growth in the areas we work.

Values

Question. If confirmed, will you uphold all U.S. laws prohibiting the use of U.S. foreign assistance, to include development finance, to support the performance or promotion of abortion and forced sterilization overseas or to advocate for or against the legalization of abortion? What methods will you put in place to ensure compliance?

Answer. Yes. It is my understanding that for healthcare-related projects and hospitals, in order to comply with US statute, DFC includes in its financing documents an express prohibition on use of DFC funds in accordance with U.S. law. If confirmed, I would direct that this practice continue and DFC continue to follow all related U.S. laws in its development finance activities.

Equity Scoring

Question. The current method by which OMG scores DFC equity investments for budget purposes assumes a total loss on all investments, and, therefore, requires a one-to-one dollar offset for those investments. This method of budgeting negatively affects the ability of DFC to fully utilize one of the most promising new tools in the BUILD Act.

- Do you commit to working with Congress and the administration to resolve this issue by working to secure a fairer budget scoring method for DFC equity investments?

Answer. Yes. As Congress recognized, equity is a key tool to drive development and strategic impact. If confirmed, I would make engaging with Congress and the administration regarding equity scoring a top priority.

Global Health and Biosecurity

Question. Do you think it is appropriate for the DFC to finance certain health technologies and gain-of-function research that may serve a dual-use purpose?

Answer. If confirmed, I will direct that all projects under consideration for DFC support continue to be evaluated for biosecurity risks, and take steps to enhance biorisk management in DFC investments.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED TO SCOTT NATHAN BY SENATOR JEANNE SHAHEEN

Question. I was pleased to see the DFC's announcement this summer (July 1) that it will mobilize at least \$12 billion by 2025 as part of its new commitment to invest in businesses that advance gender equity in emerging markets as part of its 2X Women's Initiative.

- If confirmed, how will you work to prioritize not only projects that are specifically directed to advance gender equality—which is important—but also gender lens decision-making as part of all of the DFC's investments?

Answer. It is my understanding that DFC has integrated questions into its screening and monitoring questionnaires to assess the gender diversity of each applicant's and each investee's ownership, leadership, employees, and customers both at the time of origination and during the life of the DFC investment. If confirmed, I would support this wider, gender-lens approach at DFC. Gender investments need to be viewed holistically to address the unique challenges women entrepreneurs face globally in accessing financing.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO SCOTT NATHAN BY SENATOR EDWARD J. MARKEY

Question. The DFC has been tasked with financing companies working hard to address the pandemic. Projects in the program include critical manufacturing, shoring up America's supply chain to better respond to this and future public health emergencies. The importance of this mission is clear, as we have all observed the fragility and foreign dependence of the medical supply chain that Americans depend on. How do you propose to improve the program should it be extended into your tenure? *Answer:* It's my understanding that the Executive Order that established DFC's role in the DPA loan program is set to expire early in 2022. If confirmed, I will work with Corporation staff, as well as the interagency and Congress, to determine what actions are appropriate for DFC to take. This includes if the DPA loan program might be extended, and the Corporation is asked to continue its current role or in supporting the transition of a successor loan program to another agency. To that end, I would look to streamline the interagency review and loan disbursement monitoring processes, and direct that DFC works closely with the White House and Department of Defense, so the DPA loan program continues to support the administration's COVID-19 and pandemic preparedness responses. As part of that effort, however, I would want to make certain that DFC does not divert resources or attention from its principal mission and purposes as laid out by the BUILD Act.

Question. The DFC plays an active role in expanding critical healthcare access to the developing world. I applaud the administration for setting a goal to vaccinate 70 percent of the world by next September. However, in order to achieve that, we need to be producing and delivering hundreds of millions of vaccines every single month for the next nine months. How can the DFC advance the goal to vaccinate 70 percent of the world by next September? *Answer:* DFC has undertaken a multifaceted response focused on helping developing countries by expanding manufacturing for vaccines, strengthening health systems, providing liquidity for small- and medium-sized businesses, and providing technical assistance and expertise to businesses responding to critical challenges, including in water and sanitation. By focusing on health-systems projects that are viable on their own commercial merits, the Corporation can help create a global health ecosystem that is self-sustaining and will outlast the immediate crisis. DFC has taken steps such as supporting several projects to help respond to the COVID-19 pandemic, including financing vaccine production in both South Asia and on the African continent, and by providing political risk insurance for some countries participating in the GAVI alliance. These investments are critical to support COVID-19 production but also to build capacity for production of critical medical commodities in the future. If confirmed, I would direct DFC to prioritize investments in global health and health security.

Question. Climate change remains the premier global challenge of our generation. President Biden continues to take effective steps to combat this global crisis, and the DFC has the ability to play a prominent role in contributing to these actions. Earlier this year, the DFC announced that 33 percent of its new investments will be applied to net zero carbon investments, along with the creation of the novel position of Chief Climate Officer. Though a step in the right direction, more can be done. What further steps can the DFC take to avoid climate harming actions through its investments?

Answer. It is my understanding that mitigating the effects of the climate crisis is one of DFC's goals. This will be an important consideration in balancing investments across the portfolio. I believe this can be done in a manner than advances, rather than competes with, DFC's overall strategic and developmental goals.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO HON. JOHN R. BASS BY SENATOR ROBERT MENENDEZ

State Department Modernization

Question. As you are aware, in October, Secretary Blinken delivered a speech at the Foreign Service Institute to discuss how he intends to modernize the department—building capacity in critical new areas like cyber and technology, climate, and global health; elevating new voices; building and retaining a more diverse workforce; modernizing the Department’s technology and analytical capabilities; and reinvigorating in-person diplomacy and public engagement.

- How do you intend to prioritize and implement these measures?

Answer. As you have noted, Secretary Blinken has laid out an ambitious five-part modernization agenda. If confirmed, my job will be to support the bureaus and offices responsible for executing individual elements within that agenda—ensuring they have the direction, support and resources required to succeed.

In seeking to achieve these ambitious objectives, I would prioritize among the many initiatives based on guidance from the Secretary and Deputy Secretaries; consultations with other senior Department officials; priorities identified by our current workforce; availability of funding; and an assessment of potential constraints posed by existing law and regulation. I would seek to respond rapidly to the needs of the workforce, prioritizing initially initiatives for which the Department already has the necessary authorities to implement changes and funding either is available or not an obstacle.

For those initiatives requiring new authorities and/or significant additional resources, I would plan, in partnership with the Department’s leadership, to work with you and other members of the committee on possible solutions.

Question. What is your vision for State Department modernization?

Answer. I share the Secretary’s diagnosis of the challenges confronting the State Department today and fully support his vision for modernizing the institution and its organizational culture. Too many of our dedicated professionals love what they do, and remain in government service, despite—not because of—the ways in which the State Department organizes itself and conducts its business.

I believe our most pressing priority is to reassess, and change as warranted, the ways in which we recruit, retain and promote our workforce to ensure they reflect the expectations of contemporary American society, prospective employees and our current team. This is essential to building the diverse, dynamic and empowered workforce we need to sustain the United States’ influence and competitive advantages in today’s world and to address the complex, interdisciplinary challenges that will confront us in the coming decades.

We need to improve the environment in which our dedicated team works, whether domestically or overseas. That entails improving and adapting our physical infrastructure, our information technology and digital communications, our talent management and overall conditions of work. It also entails identifying ways to better manage risk in the many threat environments in which we operate. We also need to improve the Department’s agility—its ability to more rapidly and effectively shift its people and other resources to tackle the highest-priority issues and countries.

If confirmed, I also would concentrate on strengthening a “field-first” orientation within the Department’s organizational culture and business processes, to counteract the tendency to concentrate resources and decision-making authority within the headquarters in Washington.

In all of these initiatives, I intend to consult with you, other members of the committee and the wider Congress to ensure any changes provide the best possible impact for the nation and for our fellow citizens.

Question. What are your top priorities for assuring that the Department has the organization, tools, and resources it needs?

Answer. In seeking to implement the Secretary’s modernization agenda, if confirmed, I would prioritize among the many initiatives based on guidance from the Secretary and Deputy Secretaries; consultations with other senior Department officials; priorities identified by our current workforce; availability of funding; and an assessment of potential constraints posed by existing law and regulation. I would also be mindful of the importance of balancing resource allocation to address compelling urgent priorities and to invest in strengthening the institution and building capacity and organizational resilience for future challenges.

I would intend to prioritize improving our capacity to allocate any additional human resources to both strengthen the Department’s capacity to address imme-

diated policy priorities and to build a ‘float’ of positions that enables us to offer our workforce a wide range of professional development opportunities.

Diversity

Question. I have long said that diversity in the Foreign and Civil Services is not only one of the best ways of representing the United States and our values abroad, but also a national security imperative. Yet the Department continues to struggle to both recruit and retain a diverse workforce.

- How do you plan to hire, retain, and promote a diverse foreign and civil service?

Answer. If confirmed, I would work to ensure the Department does everything possible to recruit and retain a workforce that reflects the richness and diversity of America. I would begin by ensuring the Chief Diversity and Inclusion Officer and her staff have the resources they need to evaluate, and then address, current impediments to retaining and promoting a diverse team. I would support fully ongoing efforts to integrate diversity and inclusion practices strategically into all Department policies, reflecting the Secretary’s and administration’s priorities. Even as the State Department maintains fair and transparent interviewing and hiring, I believe we need to review our talent evaluation and selection process, given the unparalleled competition we face for the services of individuals who wish to pursue a career in which they spend a significant portion of their professional lives overseas.

I am committed to listening to the workforce and to better addressing its needs, including by using the full range of workplace flexibilities and encouraging a culture of inclusion for all of our employees. We need to invest in professional development and career-long learning across the workforce; strengthen mentoring programs that help individuals succeed and advance; provide actionable feedback on performance; chart career progression; provide more interagency and other detail opportunities; and create viable pathways for those in the Civil Service and Foreign Service as they aspire to advance their careers.

New Cyber Bureau

Question. Secretary Blinken recently announced the creation of a new cyber bureau and technology special envoy. As with any organizational change, the success of these new structures will depend on implementation.

- What steps will you take to ensure that the Bureau of Cyberspace and Digital Policy and the Special Envoy for Critical and Emerging Technology will be successful in achieving their missions?

Answer. The planned Bureau of Cyberspace and Digital Policy, and the office of the Special Envoy for Emerging Technology, are key components of the Secretary’s agenda to modernizing American diplomacy. This initiative is consistent with recent legislative proposals to both promote and protect cyberspace as a digital platform for global economic development and trade. If confirmed, I will ensure the Department provides the resources required, and uses its full range of hiring and other authorities, to enable these new organizational elements to effectively advance U.S. national interests and diplomacy in these critical policy areas. I commit to full and open engagement with all stakeholders including the Congress, OMB, employees, unions, and all impacted partners throughout the creation and initial operations of these new elements.

Havana Syndrome

Question. I remain concerned that the Department is lagging behind other agencies in providing benefits and caring for individuals affected by Havana Syndrome. I know that Deputy Secretary McKeon and the new head of the health incident task force, Jonathan Moore, will be leading the response, but it will fall to you to ensure that there are sufficient resources, and that bureaus under your leadership—primarily MED and Diplomatic Security—are acting with sufficient urgency.

- Do I have your commitment that you will review the resources allocated for these efforts and that getting to the bottom of these incidents will be a priority for the bureaus you oversee?

Answer. Yes. The Secretary of State has security responsibility for all U.S. Government employees on official duty overseas, except those under the command of an area military commander, a responsibility that entails protecting them and their families from a wide range of threats. If confirmed, there is nothing I will take more seriously than the health and security of my colleagues in the Department of State. I will review the resources that we have allocated for these efforts, identify additional resources as needed and work to reduce the administrative burdens on those suffering from the effects of these incidents. Anomalous Health Incidents (AHIs)

have been a top priority for Secretary Blinken. As Under Secretary, I would direct those bureaus and offices reporting to me to help the Health Incident Response Task Force achieve its priorities: strengthening the Department's communication with our workforce, providing rapid, thorough care for affected employees and family members; better protecting our work force against these incidents; and strengthening interagency partnerships to find the cause of these AHIs.

Morale/Political Appointees

Question. As you are aware, the Department's workforce endured serious declines in morale under the previous administration. While Secretary Blinken and Deputy Secretary McKeon have made this issue a top priority, I'd like to know what you will do to ensure that the Department's workforce is empowered and trusted to carry out its critical diplomatic work.

- Can you tell us today what concrete steps you will take to rebuild morale?

Answer. To fully succeed, the State Department must be more responsive to the needs of the contemporary work force, drawing on lessons and best practices from private industry that are applicable in a global public institution. If confirmed, I would continue to promote and expand workplace flexibilities—including telework and remote work—and stress the importance of caring for oneself and family. Our Employee Consultation Service (ECS) is integral to this effort. I fully support ECS's continued outreach to employees and family members to further reduce barriers to seeking care by increasing knowledge of supports ECS can offer and addressing any misperceptions that this will impose adverse consequences. If confirmed, I would ensure ECS has the resources it needs to permanently support its 24/7 expansion of services.

I also would seek additional ways to promote full use of resources the Department offers to assist employees including FSI workshops and engagements; 24/7 online access to Worklife4U to address personal issues, including mental health; and TalentCare, the single touchpoint for resources for well-being, community, safety, and workplace flexibilities. I would also plan to expand opportunities for professional development across the workforce and promote a culture of career-long learning.

Question. What steps will you take to reverse the culture of fear surrounding political reprisal and retribution? And what measures will you take to protect the Department from a future administration that might once again seek to act in such a fashion?

Answer. I view my Foreign and Civil Service colleagues with the highest regard. Department employees are free to express their views as part of the Department's policy formulation process without fear of reprisal. Career Civil Service and Foreign Service employees are protected by law from being removed from positions or deferred from promotions or appointments due to their political affiliation. If confirmed, I would work closely with the Department's other senior leaders to ensure these protections are observed and valued throughout the organization. If any Department personnel feel that political reprisal and retribution are taking place, I will highly encourage them to report it to the appropriate authorities, including the Office of the Inspector General. If confirmed, I will ensure that any transgressions are investigated and addressed promptly, including by ensuring the relevant elements of the Department have the personnel and resources needed to meet this standard. I would work to ensure that Congress is fully and currently informed on our ongoing efforts to prevent and punish any political reprisals or retribution. I would also personally reinforce our internal messaging to ensure employees have confidence that the Department will protect them from unlawful retaliation, including by subjecting supervisors to disciplinary action, up to and including separation, if they retaliate against employees.

Afghanistan Evacuation

Question. Americans, including U.S. Government employees, have reported that the State Department has limited communication pathway to successfully report Afghans in need of evacuation or assistance outside of Afghanistan. I have heard from other government agency employees that it is difficult to get through to the State Department and to discuss evacuations or assistance for Afghans overseas because the State Department lacks a transparent process or single point of contact with whom to discuss difficult cases of Afghans seeking assistance.

- Have you created a referral process for other government agencies or U.S. citizens and residents to alert the State Department of Afghans in need of evacuation?

Answer. If I am confirmed, you have my commitment that I will work at the Department to ensure we put in place a reliable set of mechanisms through which other U.S. Government agencies and private individuals can highlight cases of vulnerable or at-risk Afghans who need our support to depart Afghanistan.

Question. Members of my staff have flagged a number of cases over the last several months, many of which remain unresolved. The lack of response or resolution is disturbing. Will you commit that you will take action on these cases in a timely way?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I will work with my colleagues at the Department to ensure these cases are addressed in a timely way.

Question. We understand that a number of active-duty U.S. service members have contacted the State Department for assistance with their immediate family members trapped in Afghanistan. Does the State Department have the ability to coordinate the evacuation of the family members of active-duty U.S. military? Do immediate family members of our active-duty military qualify for SIV status? If not, will you prioritize family member evacuation via charter flights and resettlement to the United States or a third country under other programs?

Answer. The Department of State is working with the DoD and U.S. service members who have alerted us of their immediate relatives in need of relocation assistance. If confirmed, you have my commitment this will continue and, as necessary, be strengthened.

I understand from my Department colleagues that U.S. immigration and other laws dictate who is eligible to derive immigrant status from a U.S. citizen, an LPR, or a SIV principal applicant based on their familial relationship.

The Afghan SIV program does not provide an immigration pathway for family members of active-duty U.S. military members unless they independently qualify under the SIV program. Interested parties can check the Bureau of Consular Affairs' website for more information: <https://travel.state.gov/content/travel/en/us-visas/immigrate/special-immig-visa-afghans-employed-us-gov.html>. Members of our active-duty military who are U.S. citizens or lawful permanent residents may petition for family-based immigrant visas for their families, visa categories that are different from SIVs. Regardless of the legal pathway—SIV or family-based immigration—any Afghan who is eligible for an immigrant visa may continue to pursue that pathway to immigrate to the U.S.

Processing Afghans at Risk

Question. I understand that consular officers are not involved in P-1 or P-2 processing for Afghans, but that they can make P-1 embassy referrals.

- What guidance have you given to consular officers working overseas on how to assist Afghans—whether P-1, P-2, SIV, or others—who may arrive at the U.S. Embassy seeking help?

Answer. The Department continues to provide U.S. embassies and consulates worldwide with guidance for Afghans seeking help with refugee or visa processing. Personnel representing every part of our missions overseas remain committed to assisting Afghans that are vulnerable or at risk.

The Department continues to expedite SIV applications at every stage of the SIV process, including by transferring cases to other U.S. embassies and consulates around the world where applicants are able to appear. Consular officers at immigrant visa processing posts worldwide have been instructed to accept transfer of any interview-ready Afghan SIV application for processing at their location. To date, more than 17 embassies and consulates have issued SIVs to Afghan applicant since late August. The Department also has concluded an agreement with the Government of Qatar that will enable use of Camp As-Saliyah as a processing location for SIV applicants with Chief of Mission and I-360 petition approval, meaning they have established eligibility for the SIV and are ready to undergo a visa interview. We also continue to expedite processing of SIV applications at stages of the process that are performed in the United States.

Question. How are consular officers working with PRM refugee coordinators and Resettlement Support Centers to assist with refugee processing for Afghans? Can they submit parole applications on behalf of SIV and P-2 eligible Afghans?

Answer. With the exception of “following-to-join” for family reunification cases, consular officers are not involved directly with refugee processing. However, personnel representing every part of our missions overseas remain committed to assisting vulnerable and at-risk Afghans and to working with organizations that are seeking to resettle priority groups in the United States or in third countries where they

will be safe. I respectfully refer you to DHS for questions on eligibility or application procedures for parole.

Question. Why is the administration not doing remote/virtual processing for P-2 refugee-referred Afghans? Is there a way to break up the process to do some in-country screening and then to give a tentative “green light” on their eligibility before having them flee to a third country?

Answer. Neither in-country screening nor processing of Afghans referred to the U.S. Refugee Admissions Program (USRAP) is possible since the U.S. Government does not have a physical presence in Afghanistan. As the Department of State's Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration (PRM) works through the backlog of referrals, they are emailing Afghans whose referral is complete to confirm their referral. We are able to accept referrals for Afghans who are located in Afghanistan. Currently, we are legally unable, however, to begin processing those referrals until the individual departs Afghanistan.

Once referred individuals depart Afghanistan and reach a third country where processing is possible, PRM will create a case for the individual and assign the case to the relevant Resettlement Support Center (RSC). At that time, processing through the USRAP may begin.

Question. What are the P-2 numbers? Number of total referrals (primary applicants and primary applicants and dependents)? Number that have begun processing? Number approved?

Answer. As of December 6, PRM has received 12,158 P2 submissions of which 7,912 have been reviewed. Of those reviewed, PRM had enough information to accept 2,189 P2 referrals. We have thus far created cases for 131 families referred to the P2 for which case processing can now begin. We have been contacted by approximately 400 Principal Applicants who have referrals, and we are working to ensure their referrals are completed so their case processing can begin. We estimate 9,500 P2 families will be eligible for processing once their referral is brought to completion and the principal applicant relocates to a third country.

Question. What is Consular Affairs doing to expedite the processing of SIV applications? Has the Department surged resources and people to review SIV applications? And at the current level of personnel and resources, what is the expected processing timeline for SIV applications?

Answer. The Department continues to expedite SIV applications at every stage of the SIV process, including by transferring cases to other U.S. embassies and consulates around the world where applicants are able to appear. Embassies and consulates in Europe, the Middle East and South Asia have issued SIVs to applicants present in those regions since late August. The Department also has concluded an agreement with the Government of Qatar that will enable use of Camp As-Saliyah as a processing location for SIV applicants with Chief of Mission and I-360 petition approval, meaning they have established eligibility for the SIV and are ready to undergo a visa interview. We also continue to expedite processing of SIV applications at stages of the process that are performed in the United States.

The Department quintupled the size of its COM review team and cross-trained 54 additional personnel at the National Visa Center to continue managing the demand. It also sent additional officers to Kabul to assist with processing before the suspension of operations in August. Processing times vary on a case-by-case basis and have fluctuated throughout 2021 as a result of shifting resources to surge processing capacity. I understand the Department is analyzing data from the fourth quarter of fiscal year 2021 to evaluate the impact of surge staffing on processing times, in order to provide accurate updates to average processing times in the next quarterly report to Congress in January.

Reemployment Opportunities for Afghan Foreign Service Nationals (FSNs)

Question. The U.S. Government acted swiftly in relocating many of the State Department's foreign service nationals out of Afghanistan to the United States.

- Beyond the housing and integration assistance that the United States is providing via non-governmental organizations, how is the Department supporting those who may be interested in continuing their careers with the State Department?

Answer. The Department has provided information to the former Locally Employed Staff from Kabul to find U.S. Government employment opportunities should they wish to continue working with the Department and if their resettlement location allows them to do so. The Department has also identified a number of individ-

uals whose skills are needed immediately and is working on employing them via contract.

Question. Who is leading the Department's efforts to rehire its FSNs, either via contracts or as direct hires?

Answer. Former Locally Employed Staff from Kabul are eligible to apply for U.S. Government vacant positions, assuming they have received work authorization from the Department of Homeland Security, and they have been provided with the information on how to find these positions. Given that the resettlement agencies in the Washington Metropolitan Area are oversubscribed, the Department's Bureau of Global Talent Management, in coordination with the Bureau of South and Central Asian Affairs and the Bureau of Population, Migration and Refugees, is focused on encouraging the Locally Employed Staff to resettle in areas where there are many employment opportunities and where they can receive support.

Fulbright

Question. What actions will the Department take to allow current 2021-2022 Fulbright scholars and other F and J visa holders, like international students and faculty, to remain in the United States after their visas expire? What plans do the Department have for the future of the Fulbright program in Afghanistan?

Answer. In 2021, we welcomed the largest cohort to date of degree-seeking Fulbright students (109) at U.S. universities. The Department is committed to supporting these Afghan students' academic success by providing additional monitoring and support. The selection process for FY 2022-2023 Fulbright student program semi-finalists is currently on hold while we address significant safety, logistical, and programmatic constraints.

Regarding the status of students and scholars after the completion of their programs, I would refer you to the Department of Homeland Security.

Civil Service

Question. The structure of the Department's civil service means that civil service employees lack career mobility tracks. This makes career advancement and professional growth extremely difficult.

- What steps do you plan to take to enable civil service employees to grow professionally and to advance in their careers, just as Foreign Service officers can?

Answer. If the State Department is to most effectively advance the nation's interests, protect our fellow citizens and promote our values, I believe it needs to assess and value its employees based primarily on their talent and contributions, not the hiring category through which they joined the organization. As Secretary Blinken recently observed, our civil servants comprise some of the State Department's deepest policy and management expertise. I am committed to implementing his direction to increase opportunities and career development for our dedicated professionals in the civil service. Thanks in part to support from you and the committee, the Department was able to secure a 10 percent increase in the number of Senior Executive Service positions, creating new opportunities and pathways for civil servants to advance.

If confirmed, I am committed to listening to the workforce and to better addressing its needs, including investing in their professional development and career-long learning, and strengthening programs that create viable career mobility pathways for those who aspire to reach their full potential. I will support efforts such as developing a mobility float program that promotes and fosters continual employee career growth in a variety of ways and incentivizes bureaus to allow their Civil Service employees to participate in professional development opportunities while simultaneously filling gaps when needed, thereby reducing concerns of hiring managers that their mission goals will go unaddressed.

State Department / USAID Reorganization, Budget, Leadership

Question. Even with the previous administration's reform efforts now dead, there are still a great many legitimate questions concerning the relationship of the State Department and USAID—how they coordinate on policy and implementation, how they are run, and how to balance funding they each require to conduct their operations.

- What are your views on how to improve the relationship between State and USAID?

Answer. State and USAID partner to advance the President's priorities in defending democracy, mitigating climate change, and ending COVID-19, in a highly complementary manner. Because the Department's policy priorities drive our resource

and management decisions, if confirmed I commit to coordinating closely with the other members of the Department leadership team and our USAID counterparts to leverage the comparative advantages of each agency. For example, the Department and USAID teams are collaboratively developing a Joint Strategic Plan that will articulate shared goals and objectives for the next four years. If confirmed, I will ensure my team oversees a budget process that accounts for USAID's corporate perspective as we ensure coherence of foreign assistance programs across State and USAID. These strategic planning and budgeting efforts help align foreign policy and development priorities.

One of the characteristics of effective, healthy embassies overseas is a vibrant partnership between the State and USAID components in which each understands the respective strengths and works together to ensure their respective efforts are complementary and mutually reinforcing. If confirmed, I would support efforts to explore whether some of those overseas best practices could be applied more uniformly to the relationship between the two headquarters in Washington.

Embassy Security

Question. I am interested in your views on managing the Department's personnel security needs. For example, there are competing organizations within State that have overlapping areas of responsibility, including Diplomatic Security and Overseas Building Operations.

- How do you plan to de-conflict and align the different demands of different organizations inside the Department to assure the security of the Department's personnel?

Answer. The leaders of the State Department have a to protect all of our employees, and their families when overseas, from a wide range of threats and occupational workplace hazards. At the same time, our profession is at times dangerous and may involve service in harm's way. If confirmed, I would seek to improve our ability to balance these two imperatives while ensuring we secure maximum value for those taxpayer resources entrusted to the State Department, particularly with respect to providing our employees overseas and across the United States with secure, accessible, cost-effective work environments.

If confirmed, I would apply core principles of leadership to ensure Department organizations with lead responsibility for security and workplace safety share information; work together to achieve a common set of objectives; identify and resolve disagreements about priorities to the extent possible; and refer those issues on which they cannot reach resolution to me or other Department leaders for decision.

State Department Staffing—DRL and PRM

Question. During the Trump administration, the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor and the Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration were hollowed out, and remain understaffed to this day. These bureaus are critical in implementing President Biden's foreign policy agenda and in responding to ongoing crises, including in Afghanistan.

- What steps are you taking to remove barriers to fully staffing these bureaus as quickly as possible?

Answer. In 2021, the Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration (PRM) was approved to add 68 new direct-hire positions and worked to quickly staff these positions utilizing all available recruitment mechanisms and hiring authorities. Despite a slow security clearance process, unprecedented Afghanistan refugee resettlement operations and the intense competition for talent, PRM has already filled, or is in the process of filling, 46 of the 68 new positions and is actively working to fill the remaining 22 positions.

In 2017, the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor (DRL) had 30 vacant civil service positions as a result of the hiring freeze, which have all been filled. Since 2017, Congress has increased DRL's administrative funding by 50 percent, which allowed the bureau to fund 21 full-time positions to focus on foreign assistance programs. Most of these positions have now been filled. Continued recruitment remains a high priority for DRL.

If confirmed, I will monitor closely staffing levels and vacancy rates in these and other bureaus who were impacted disproportionately by the 2017 hiring freeze and subsequent decisions regarding allocation of resources.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO HON. JOHN R. BASS BY SENATOR JAMES E. RISCH

State Department Management and Oversight

Question. The State Department has been under enormous stress over the past few years due to COVID.

- What is your understanding of morale throughout the State Department?

Answer. The people who serve the nation at the U.S. Department of State are dedicated public servants committed to implementing the policies of our elected government, protecting our country's interests and promoting our values around the world in a wide range of operating environments. Our employees and their families have been buffeted by some policy choices in recent years that proved controversial given our nation's current political environment. The workforce continues to weather the challenges of the pandemic and fulfill its missions but is experiencing pandemic fatigue like the rest of the nation.

Many State Department employees who served in Afghanistan are struggling to come to grips with the Taliban's return to power, even as they support ongoing efforts to keep faith with those Afghans to whom our country has a special commitment. Many employees are frustrated there has not been more progress addressing some longstanding challenges with the Department's infrastructure, internal policies, business processes and workforce demographics.

Question. How do you intend to improve morale across all the State Department?

Answer. If confirmed, I plan to work closely with the Deputy Secretary for Management and Resources, and other senior leaders, to implement the core provisions of the modernization agenda outlined by Secretary Blinken in November 2021:

- building State's expertise and capacity to address cross-cutting issues, especially climate change, global health, economics and multilateral diplomacy;
- supporting the organization, staffing and activation of the new bureau of cyber and digital policy, and office of the special envoy for emerging technologies, thereby turning concepts into organizational realities;
- identifying organizational changes and incentives that encourage more innovation and initiative across the workforce;
- implementing specific measures to build and retain diverse, dynamic, entrepreneurial workforce; and
- promoting changes in organizational culture to reinvigorate in-person diplomacy and engagement, including by implementing sensible changes to the methods used to manage threats and risk across the enterprise.

I believe we also need to be more responsive to the needs of the contemporary workforce, drawing on lessons and best practices from private industry that are applicable in a global public institution. If confirmed, I would continue promoting and expanding workplace flexibilities—including telework and remote work—and stressing the importance of caring for oneself and family. Our Employee Consultation Service (ECS) is integral to this effort. I fully support ECS's continued outreach to employees and family members to further reduce barriers to seeking care by increasing knowledge of support ECS can offer and addressing any misperceptions that this will impose adverse consequences. I would ensure ECS has the resources it needs to permanently support its 24/7 expansion of services.

I also would seek additional ways to promote full use of resources the Department offers to assist employees including FSI workshops and engagements; 24/7 online access to Worklife4U to address personal issues, including mental health; and TalentCare, the single touchpoint for resources for well-being, community, safety, and workplace flexibilities. I would also plan to expand opportunities for professional development across the workforce and promote a culture of career-long learning.

Question. How do you intend to create a unified mission and vision across the State Department?

Answer. The President and the Secretary have articulated a clear vision for the Department: the lead foreign affairs agency, responsible for advancing the United States' interests and values through diplomacy, engagement, and assistance. It is a vision that restores diplomacy and the work of the Department to the center of our foreign policy. This is a vision all Department employees can embrace. If confirmed, I would partner with other senior leaders and utilize sustained communication, dialogue, and direct engagement to ensure those entrusted with fulfilling the Department's mission understand their unique role in carrying it out and the responsibilities that accompany this privilege.

Management: A Key Responsibility for State Department Leadership

Question. How would you describe your management style?

Answer. I believe strongly in empowering individuals and teams at all levels of an organization to take initiative, solve problems and improve our performance. I prioritize collaboration and emphasize the 'need to share' principle in making information widely available. I concentrate on delegating authority to the greatest extent possible, reserving for myself those decisions and problems that only I, through my rank, position and authorities, can address.

We all make mistakes. I emphasize to my teams that in an organizational culture centered on achievement, people will make mistakes. When mistakes occur, I focus my team's energy on learning from those mistakes and making any adjustments necessary to prevent repeats. I expect my team to share information, contacts and credit with each other and their colleagues across the larger organization. I am accessible to colleagues at all levels of the organization; I try to prioritize engaging personally those colleagues engaged in the tasks that are essential but unheralded to ensure the entire team knows that everyone's contributions are important to our success.

In the three embassies I led and as the Executive Secretary and Director of the Operations Center at State, this philosophy yielded strong, effective teams that were highly productive, positive environments in which people pulled together and looked out for each despite heavy workloads, high stress and, often, acute security threats. If confirmed, I intend to apply the same philosophy to those bureaus and offices within the Department for which the Under Secretary has line authority and to attempt to imbue these qualities into the broader organizational culture.

Question. How do you believe your management style will translate to an executive department setting, where resources may not be readily available and your diplomatic workforce are career employees?

Answer. Throughout my thirty-three years as a federal employee, I have contended frequently with staffing shortfalls and uncertainty regarding the scope and timing of funding and other resources. Despite these challenges, I repeatedly have compensated for deficits and found ways to fulfill the mission and achieve core objectives.

In the three embassies I have led as Ambassador, and as the Executive Secretary and Director of the Operations Center at State, I have emphasized the importance of effectively managing uncertainty, focusing on our core mission and identifying top priorities to which we would apply additional resources if they became available.

My leadership and management philosophy yielded strong, effective teams that were highly productive, positive, collaborative environments in which people pulled together and cared for each despite heavy workloads, high stress and frequent uncertainty regarding staffing levels and funding. If confirmed, I intend to apply the same philosophy to those bureaus and offices within the Department for which the Under Secretary has line authority and to attempt to imbue these qualities into the broader organizational culture.

Question. As a political appointee rather than career diplomat, do you believe it is incumbent on new appointees to integrate themselves into department operations and culture?

Answer. Across my thirty-three-year career in the federal government, I have had the opportunity to work extensively with a wide range of non-career officials, both in embassies overseas and at the State Department headquarters in Washington. The most effective of those political appointees were curious about the institution and organizational culture of the State Department; applied themselves to understanding how government service differed from their prior professional experiences; and adapted to those aspects of the operating environment unique to the federal government and the State Department. Conversely, non-career officials who were ineffective or drew special scrutiny from the inspector general often were those who were least interested in understanding the State Department and the unusual challenges associated with serving the nation overseas.

Many political appointees/non-career officials and ambassadors bring experience and perspective that can help the Department and its dedicated professionals. Virtually all of them want to be successful during their tenure in government. If confirmed, I would encourage non-career officials to learn the basics of State's structure, operations and organizational culture, emphasizing the strong correlation between absorbing this context and successful tenures as ambassadors and senior officials. I would also solicit their views and expertise in tackling some of the core issues on Secretary Blinken's modernization agenda for which there was strong evidence the private sector's methods were more effective than our current approach,

yet still consistent with inherently governmental functions performed by the State Department.

Question. If you do believe it is incumbent on appointees to integrate themselves into department operations and culture, how do you intend to do so?

Answer. If confirmed, I would first solicit views of current non-career officials to assess the effectiveness of the Department's formal and informal orientation efforts, including by assessing to what extent non-career officials were aware, and had utilized, the range of orientation materials and programs available to them. Working with other senior leaders at State, I would ensure all nominees for ambassadorial positions continued to be required to attend the Ambassadorial Seminar organized by the National Foreign Affairs Training Center (NFATC) for outbound chiefs of mission.

I also would work closely with officials in Global Talent Management, NFATC and other bureaus in the Department to strengthen our orientation program for political appointees serving in positions at State's headquarters here in Washington. I would intend to focus particularly on non-career officials occupying Deputy Assistant Secretary and equivalent positions in the Department. Individuals appointed to these positions often possess considerable substantive expertise but may lack equivalent experience at the State Department or other national security departments and agencies that hinders their ability to be optimally effective.

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

Answer. No, I do not. "Name and shame" neither improves performance nor strengthens organizational culture. I believe high-achieving organizations develop cultures that acknowledge their team members sometimes make mistakes, despite the best of intentions and effort. Addressing mistakes, deficiencies of performance or other workplace issues always should be done with wider morale and well-being in mind, and in accordance with the Department's regulations and guidelines concerning performance and conduct.

Question. How do you envision your relationship with your Deputy Under Secretary?

Answer. The position of Deputy Under Secretary for Management was discontinued when an Act of Congress of October 7, 1978, established the permanent position of Under Secretary of State for Management, and I do not intend to reinstate the position. Adding an additional management layer would be counterproductive to my goal of reducing bureaucracy and empowering the workforce, key elements employed by many private sector leaders to retain talent and boost productivity.

Question. If confirmed, what leadership responsibilities do you intend to entrust to your Deputy Under Secretary?

Answer. I do not plan to reinstate the Deputy Under Secretary position.

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 everyday citizens.

- How do you intend to increase the ability of U.S. diplomats to access all local populations?

Answer. The Secretary of State has security responsibility for U.S. diplomats on official duty overseas, a responsibility that entails protecting them and their families from a wide range of threats. At the same time, our profession is at times dangerous and often involves serving in harm's way. If confirmed, I would seek to improve our ability to balance these two imperatives. Our national security mission entails diverse types of risk. While our personnel routinely engage with interlocutors and contacts beyond the walls of our embassies, we are committed to doing even more. The Department goes to great lengths to facilitate our nation's diplomacy in challenging places, including high-threat locations, but a combination of current law and policy impairs our ability to most effectively tailor our management of risk to reflect actual threat levels in individual countries. If confirmed, I would welcome opportunities to consult and work closely with you, other members of the committee and the wider Congress to identify adjustments that would enable us to advance more effectively the country's interests in every country and threat environment.

Public Diplomacy: An Important Aspect of U.S. Foreign Policy Efforts.

- What is the public diplomacy environment like overall?

Answer. The United States confronts complex security, economic, health, social, and climate challenges in a world of rising nationalism and rivalry with authoritarian states. The public diplomacy environment is competitive. Other actors are actively competing for control of the information environment and for the affinities of foreign publics. Our competitors deploy centralized, state-run propaganda and disinformation fueled by the vast expansion of communications through technology and expend unprecedented resources in whole-of-government efforts to gain advantages in the sphere of public opinion and influence.

U.S. public diplomacy has enduring strengths founded on more than 70 years of work to build relationships and partnerships built on transparency and trust with governments, businesses, civil society, leaders, and ordinary citizens in the United States and around the world. Our global public diplomacy footprint—composed of 185 public diplomacy sections in U.S. missions abroad and over 4,000 public diplomacy professionals serving domestically and overseas—design and implement public engagement programs and messaging campaigns to support U.S. policy objectives in local context, help us understand foreign audiences, and design approaches that inform, listen to, and build relationships with them.

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

Answer. The Department faces a number of public diplomacy challenges, including rising authoritarianism, competition from rivals who outspend us, disinformation from malign actors, and closed media and communication environments. In addition, the COVID pandemic has impacted travel and consequently in person exchanges and the participation of foreign students in higher education in the United States.

Some provisions in law, enacted with the best of intentions in the aftermath of tragic attacks on embassy facilities and personnel, have reduced public access to our public diplomacy facilities, programs and professionals, constraining the State Department's ability to deliver maximum impact from the taxpayer resources entrusted to us to advance the nation's interests overseas. If confirmed, I would welcome opportunities to consult and work closely with you, other members of the committee and the wider Congress to identify adjustments that would enable us to advance more effectively the country's interests in every country and threat environment.

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

Answer. The messaging guidance provided by the Department is executed, supported, and refined for foreign audiences by public diplomacy teams in our embassies overseas, in close coordination with their corresponding regional bureaus' public diplomacy offices and the Bureau of Global Public Affairs (GPA). Our embassies design and implement messaging campaigns to support U.S. policy objectives in local context. Public diplomacy staff at our embassies, as well as monitoring and analyses undertaken by GPA and the Global Engagement Center help us understand foreign audiences and design approaches that inform, listen to, and build relationships with them. Washington-based and overseas public diplomacy staff strive to coordinate mutually reinforcing messaging.

Human Rights and International Organizations

Question. Officers who cover human rights at posts abroad are often singular officers or very small groups of officers responsible for reporting on a large quantity of human rights issues, including informing or drafting reports published by the bureaus of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, the office to Combat and Monitor Trafficking in Persons, and the Office of International Religious Freedom.

- What is your assessment of the lack of officers who cover human rights?

Answer. I appreciate the committee's sustained attention to human rights, trafficking in persons, and international religious freedom issues, and specifically the number of Department personnel at posts focused on them. The Department constantly strives to improve the quality of the work in these areas, including our reporting. While it is generally true that with additional resources, we could devote more staff to these valuable efforts, the Department is currently using available resources as efficiently as possible to both address country conditions and to produce well-respected reports. I am committed to further consulting with you and the committee on addressing any Department staffing needs.

Question. Should posts have more officers monitoring human rights in country?

Answer. I appreciate the Ranking Member's attention to human rights and, if confirmed, am committed to further consulting with you and the committee on addressing any of our staffing needs at overseas posts. Secretary Blinken, Deputy Secretary McKeon and others have underscored the importance of improving the State Department's agility, enabling more regular reallocation of our career professionals to address compelling policy priorities. If confirmed, I would ensure those bureaus and offices reporting to me, including Global Talent Management, support fully any future reviews of current overseas staffing distribution or initiatives to adjust staffing in our embassies and consulates overseas.

Question. During your time in Afghanistan during the Non-Combatant Evacuation Operation (NEO), who was responsible for flight clearances to land and depart from Hamid Karzai International Airport (HKIA)?

Answer. I refer you to the Department of Defense for more information about flight clearances at Hamid Karzai International Airport (HKIA) during the NEO.

Question. When you ceased operational responsibility, was the same person/entity still responsible for flight clearances in and out of HKIA and to the lily pads on U.S. military bases?

Answer. I refer you to the Department of Defense for more information about flight clearances at Hamid Karzai International Airport (HKIA) or U.S. military bases during the NEO and in the ensuing months.

Question. Please describe interactions with the Taliban during the NEO.

Answer. During the Non-Combatant Evacuation Operation, the United States communicated with the Taliban in Kabul and Doha on matters of important, temporary, operational U.S. interests, including the departure of U.S. citizens, lawful permanent residents, local U.S. Government staff and others from Afghanistan. As part of this communication, the Taliban altered their actions in ways that enabled us to evacuate most American citizens and many vulnerable and at-risk Afghans. Subsequent operational, ad hoc communications with Taliban representatives have allowed us to continue to relocate U.S. citizens, Lawful Permanent Residents, and Afghans.

Question. At what point did the bottleneck become so bad that gaining entry into the airport required passcodes and/or "knowing someone on the inside."

Answer. As Secretary Blinken noted in his testimony on September 14, "[T]he situation outside the airport became incredibly chaotic, with thousands of people massing at the airport, massing at the gates of the airport."

My involvement with the evacuation operation began on August 17, so I can only speak to circumstances that occurred on and after that date. By the time I arrived on the ground on August 19, the principal access points were characterized by extreme overcrowding that impeded entry by American citizens and legal residents, foreign nationals of Allied and Partner nationals, and those vulnerable or at-risk Afghans we sought to help depart.

In the ensuing days, numerous factors—threats of suicide attacks by ISIS-K, uneven conduct by Taliban irregulars controlling checkpoints on the approaches to the airport, severe overcrowding and viral information-sharing among Afghans seeking to depart—hampered our ability to develop methods to safely and predictably facilitate entry to the airfield complex for our citizens and other priority groups. State Department professionals and U.S. military counterparts developed new methods on a daily basis, then adjusted those methods multiple times each day to reflect real-time conditions and constraints. This persistent, creative problem-solving enabled us ultimately to evacuate many in priority groups for the United States and for over two dozen Allied and Partner nations.

The men and women with whom I served during the NEO did the best we could with what we had to work with, in the time constraints we faced. I think every day about the people, many of whom I know personally, who are still inside Afghanistan, who we were not able to reach. If confirmed, I intend to continue supporting the many career professionals working in various ways to support the relocation effort, today and in the years ahead.

Question. How many American Citizens remain in Afghanistan?

Answer. Since August 31, and as of December 1, the Department has directly assisted in the departure of 479 U.S. citizens from Afghanistan. As of December 8, 129 additional U.S. citizens in Afghanistan had requested assistance with departure, and, of those, three were ready to depart. This number fluctuates depending on those who have made their presence in Afghanistan known to the Department; expressed a desire for departure assistance; or returned to Afghanistan and are

again requesting assistance. Most U.S. citizens still in Afghanistan are there because they are not ready to depart.

Question. Under your direction, please describe your interactions with Veterans/Veterans Groups/NGOs looking to evacuate Afghans on private charters or other means of evacuation.

Answer. Upon my most recent return from Afghanistan, I was asked to establish a team to coordinate relocation efforts across government agencies and with advocacy groups, nonprofit organizations, and others. The team works closely with the Department of Defense, Department of Homeland Security, and other partners to facilitate the departure of those who wish to leave Afghanistan, including U.S. citizens, Lawful Permanent Residents (LPRs), and vulnerable or at-risk Afghans.

The team I established began communicating and working with veterans advocacy groups in early September. It now coordinates with a self-organized coalition of more than 100 organizations who share our commitment to continuing to facilitate the safe and orderly travel of U.S. citizens, LPRs, and vulnerable or at-risk Afghans.

Question. Did the Department offer to provide any resources to these groups to facilitate additional evacuations during the NEO or continued after the end of the NEO?

Answer. Other than the ongoing work of our personnel on these issues, the Department of State is not funding privately organized flights from Afghanistan. The Department has funded the cost of certain transportation, including air travel, for U.S. citizens, Lawful Permanent Residents (LPRs), and their immediate family members. As of December 1, the Department has assisted directly in the departure of 479 American citizens and 417 Lawful Permanent Residents since the conclusion of the noncombatant evacuation operation on August 30. We will continue our efforts to facilitate the safe and orderly travel of U.S. citizens, LPRs, and our other vulnerable or at-risk Afghan allies.

If confirmed, I would seek to ensure the Department continues to provide information to you and your colleagues about our support for private organizations' efforts, including as necessary in a closed setting.

Question. In your view, what is the difference between the Undersecretary of State for Management and the Deputy Secretary for Management and Resources? Are these two positions at all duplicative?

Answer. The Deputy Secretary for Management and Resources enables the Department to thoughtfully approach issues and resource needs that are cross-cutting, interdisciplinary, and involve substantial coordination with OMB, Congress, and other department and agency leadership. The Undersecretary of State for Management has a mix of operational responsibilities for today's issues and a focus on implementation for longer term planning to ensure proposed improvements to organization, process, and infrastructure are sustainable and applicable to a wide range of operating environments overseas. These positions are complementary and mutually reinforcing, enabling Department leadership to focus on both urgent and important challenges.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO HON. JOHN R. BASS BY SENATOR JEANNE SHAHEEN

Question. There have been numerous reports and many discussions here on the Hill in recent years about the lack of diversity at the State Department. I applaud the creation of the role of a Chief Diversity and Inclusion Officer and look forward to hearing more about the office's work. However, much of the responsibility for not only recruiting and hiring diverse talent, but retaining that talent, falls under the Undersecretary for Management. We have also heard many reports in recent years, about low morale at the State Department, for a variety of reasons.

- What specifically do you think needs to be done to retain diverse talent in the ranks of the State Department, both in the Civil Service and the Foreign Service? What policies and practices need to change, and how can Congress assist?

Answer. I am committed to retaining our talent. We must continue to expand our support to employees, including wellness resources, workforce flexibilities, childcare, targeted support for employees and their family members overseas, professional development opportunities, and rewarding career paths. We also must promote a diverse, equitable, inclusive and accessible environment where our employees can thrive. The Secretary recently announced that the Department is establishing a re-

tention team in the Bureau of Global Talent Management to better understand why employees leave, why they stay, and their personal and professional priorities, to build a Department-wide strategic plan focused on retaining our talented staff. I look forward to working with you, other members of the committee and the wider Congress to address these needs and opportunities.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO HON. MARK BRZEZINSKI BY SENATOR ROBERT MENENDEZ

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 agree these incidents must be taken seriously and pose a threat to the health of U.S. personnel. I understand a major interagency effort is investigating what is causing the incidents and how all U.S. personnel worldwide can be protected, and this issue remains a top priority for Secretary of State Antony Blinken. If confirmed, I will do my utmost to ensure anyone who reports anomalous health incidents receives immediate and appropriate attention and care, and I will consider it my primary responsibility to ensure the safety and security of the Mission Poland community.

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 will ensure that any employees or their family members who report a potential anomalous health incident will receive immediate and appropriate attention and care. If confirmed, I will communicate with our workforce to provide care for affected employees and their family members and work together with partners in Washington and the interagency to do what we can to protect against these incidents and to find the cause of what has been afflicting these members of our Embassy teams. I consider it my primary responsibility to ensure the safety and security of the Mission Poland community.

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. Yes. If confirmed, I will consider it my primary responsibility to ensure the safety and security of the Mission Poland community. If confirmed, I commit to meeting with medical staff and the RSO at post to discuss any past reported incidents and to ensure that all protocols are being followed.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO HON. MARK BRZEZINSKI BY SENATOR JAMES E. RISCH

Nord Stream 2

Question. The administration has declared that Nord Stream 2 is a Russian malign influence project and a bad deal for Europe. While it is widely accepted that Ukraine will be most disadvantaged due to its role in the transmission of Russian gas westward, Poland also operates a pipeline connecting Europe to Russian gas supplies.

- If Nord Stream 2 becomes operational, what new challenges will Poland face?

Answer. Poland, like the United States, opposes Nord Stream 2 as a harmful Russian geopolitical project that damages European energy security, particularly for Ukraine. Poland will end Gazprom gas contracts by the end of 2022, because it has diversified its energy mix away from Russian sources, including imports of LNG from the United States and other countries and the planned completion in October 2022 of the Polish-owned Baltic Pipe from Norway. The United States also has a strong partnership with Poland to develop nuclear power using U.S. technology and expand the use of other forms of zero-emission renewable energy.

Question. While the U.S. and Germany came to an agreement on how to respond should Russia use Nord Stream 2 to weaken Ukraine, what plan is in place should Russia do the same in Poland?

Answer. If confirmed, I am committed to work with Poland to advocate for full adherence in letter and in spirit of the pipeline's certification process and compliance with the EU's Third Energy Package, including its requirements for ownership unbundling and third-party access to the pipeline to transit gas from sources other than Russia and Gazprom. These measures, together with Germany's implementation of its commitments under our July 2021 Joint Statement on Support for Ukraine and European Energy Security, reduce the risks an operational NS2 pipeline would pose to European energy security and to the security of Ukraine and frontline NATO and EU countries, such as Poland.

Question. How do you believe Poland has interacted with this U.S.-Germany agreement?

Answer. Immediately following the conclusion of the agreement, State Department Counselor Derek Chollet traveled to Poland, as well as Ukraine, to consult with our Polish Ally about steps to avoid the worst-case scenarios regarding the Nord Stream 2 pipeline. Senior Advisor Amos Hochstein followed up with a trip to the region in September where he met with senior officials in Ukraine, Poland, and Germany to further coordinate our approach on this issue.

[Additional Response—12/16/2021]. Poland opposes Nord Stream 2, as does the United States. President Duda told Polish press the U.S.-Germany Joint Statement "reduces the security of a large part of Europe, including a number of European Union countries" To address Polish and Ukrainian concerns following the conclusion of the Joint Statement, State Department Counselor Derek Chollet traveled to Warsaw, as well as to Kyiv, to consult with our Polish Ally about steps to avoid the worst-case scenarios regarding the Nord Stream 2 pipeline. Senior Advisor Amos Hochstein followed up with a trip to Ukraine, Poland, and Germany in September to further coordinate with senior officials on this issue. Senior Advisor Hochstein continues to engage Allies and partners to address the risks posed by the Nord Stream 2 pipeline project.

Belarus and the Weaponization of Migrants

Question. Belarus has launched a hybrid attack by pushing thousands of migrants to its borders with its EU neighbors, and most intensely on Poland. This serves two purposes: 1. To put pressure on Poland, and 2. To divide the European Union over how it should approach the crisis.

- How will you work with the Polish Government to help them address the situation and find a domestic solution to the crisis?

Answer. The actions by the Lukashenka regime threaten security, sow division, and aim to distract from Russia's activities on the border with Ukraine. I hope the Belarusian authorities will take affirmative steps to resolve the humanitarian crisis that Lukashenka's regime started and alleviate the suffering of the people the Lukashenka regime has victimized. If confirmed, I pledge to continue close cooperation with Poland to support a free, independent, and democratic Belarus, including maintaining contacts with the Belarusian opposition exiled in Poland and strengthening U.S. Embassy grants to several Poland-based media outlets and NGOs that support independent media and democratic values in Belarus.

Question. How will you ensure that Poland upholds its international and EU obligations to uphold the rights of migrants?

Answer. The regime in Belarus refuses to respect its international obligations and commitments, with respect to its treatment of its own people and undermines the peace and security of Europe. If confirmed, I will work with the Polish Government to ensure it is doing everything it can to secure its borders while seeking to assist and protect the migrants and asylum seekers that Lukashenka has victimized. I will encourage the Polish Government to grant humanitarian organizations access to the border area to provide assistance to the migrants and asylum seekers. I should note that the Belarusian authorities have refused at least three attempts by the Polish Government to provide humanitarian aid to the migrants and asylum seekers on the Belarus side of the border.

Question. How will you work with your fellow U.S. diplomats in other EU countries to encourage their governments to work together to find a solution?

Answer. If confirmed, I will coordinate closely with my counterparts representing the United States in other EU and partner countries on working with our allies and partners to promote freedom, democracy, and rule of law in Belarus, to support the

Belarusian opposition in exile, and to hold the Lukashenka regime accountable for its flagrant violations and abuses of human rights in its treatment of Belarusians.

Expats and Exiled Opposition in Poland

Question. Many opposition politicians, activists, and journalists have fled Russia and Belarus to escape political persecution, and have formed expat communities in Poland and Lithuania where they continue their work.

- How will you engage with these opposition groups in Poland?

Answer. If confirmed, I will continue the frequent engagement that Mission Poland has had with Russian and Belarusian democracy activists since they were forced to flee to Poland.

Question. How will you engage with your fellow U.S. diplomats in other expat host countries to help protect the opposition's liberties and support their work against authoritarianism?

Answer. If confirmed, I will coordinate closely with my counterparts representing the United States in other EU and partner countries on working with our allies and partners to promote freedom, democracy, and rule of law in Belarus, to support the Belarusian opposition in exile, and to hold the Lukashenka regime accountable for its flagrant violations of the human rights of Belarusians. I will especially seek to work with my counterparts in Lithuania, Ukraine, and Latvia, where most Belarusians fleeing Lukashenka's repression have gone.

Question. What U.S. Government resources will you bring to bear to support the exiled pro-democracy and human rights activists of Russia and Belarus?

Answer. The U.S. Government dedicates significant resources to support exiled activists from Russia and Belarus, many of whom reside in Poland. If confirmed, I will ensure that Mission Poland is an active part of U.S. Government-wide efforts to use these resources effectively. This would include Mission Poland personnel engaging with exiled activists and coordinating closely with Department of State and USAID colleagues in Poland and Washington. I would also coordinate with the Government of Poland, and with representatives of like-minded governments, to ensure our support for exiled activists advances our policy goals and the aspirations of those who are fighting for a democratic future for Belarus and Russia.

Defense Issues

Question. The Polish Government has announced the desire to significantly expand its military capabilities to counter Russian aggression. Poland has indicated it plans to double the size of its military,

- As the Polish military grows in size and power, do you anticipate any issues for Poland maintaining civilian control over the military? What command and control issues exist in the Polish military?

Answer. The Polish constitution specifically enjoins the military to observe neutrality in political matters and subjects the military to civilian democratic control. The establishment of civilian democratic control of the armed forces was a key principle of NATO's 1995 Study on Enlargement. Poland observes this constitutional obligation and political responsibility as a NATO Ally. If confirmed, I look forward to working with Poland to strengthen its national security in accordance with these principles and look forward to consulting with members of this committee on this subject.

Question. Do you have any concern that such a military expansion will provoke Russia?

Answer. Poland, like all sovereign nations, has the obligation to defend its territory and people. As a NATO Ally, Poland develops its Armed Forces in coordination with Allies and the NATO Defense Planning Process. NATO is a defensive Alliance. If confirmed, I look forward to working with the Polish Government, colleagues in the Executive Branch, and members of this committee to increase Poland's capacity for individual and collective self-defense.

[Additional Response—12/16/2021]. No. It is Russia's aggressive policies and military expansion that are provocative, not the measures that its neighbors take to provide for their own defense. Poland, like all sovereign nations, has the obligation to defend its territory and people. As a NATO Ally, Poland develops its Armed Forces in coordination with Allies and the NATO Defense Planning Process. NATO is a defensive Alliance. If confirmed, I look forward to working with the Polish Government, colleagues in the Executive Branch, and members of this committee to increase Poland's capacity for individual and collective self-defense, which is consistent with

successive administrations' calls for Allies to shoulder more of NATO's military burden.

Nuclear Threats

Question. The Biden administration has been exploring the idea of establishing a "sole purpose" nuclear policy. Previous administrations have considered changing to a "no first use" policy, but realized international security was more important than ideology. Over time, proponents re-labelled the concept as "sole purpose," but have been clear that idea is the same in all but name. If this administration abandons nuclear deterrence, and adopts a sole purpose nuclear declaratory policy, it will scare our friends, embolden our adversaries, and damage the very nonproliferation goals it claims to support.

If the United States were to adopt a "sole purpose" nuclear policy:

- What new vulnerabilities and challenges would Poland have to face in revising its national defense strategy?

Answer. The Department of Defense is currently leading a Nuclear Posture Review (NPR) that will define U.S. declaratory policy. That review remains ongoing. It is therefore premature to speculate on the final outcome. During this review, the Biden administration is conducting extensive, wide-ranging consultations with U.S. allies and partners, including Poland. I understand the concerns expressed among some allies and partners, members of Congress, and experts regarding U.S. adoption of a "no-first-use" or "sole purpose" policy. Those concerns will inform the review process. If confirmed, I commit to working closely with Poland to understand how the NPR may impact Poland's national defense strategy.

[Additional Response—12/16/2021]. The Department of Defense is currently leading a Nuclear Posture Review (NPR) that will define U.S. declaratory policy. During this review, the Biden administration is conducting extensive consultations with U.S. Allies, including Poland, and the views expressed, including concerns about "no-first-use" or "sole purpose" will weigh heavily in the administration's decision making. President Biden has called Article 5 a "sacred obligation" and has repeatedly stressed to all Allies that our commitment to Article 5 is ironclad. The President's Interim National Security Strategy also makes clear "that our extended deterrence commitments to our allies remain strong and credible." While I am not part of the NPR review, I am confident that the final result will ensure that the U.S. will have the capabilities needed to deter aggression and respond if deterrence fails. If confirmed, I commit to working closely with Poland to understand how the NPR may impact Poland's national defense strategy.

Question. How would a change to sole purpose affect Poland's confidence in the Biden administration's allegiance to NATO's Article 5 commitments?

Answer. The DoD-led NPR, which will define U.S. declaratory policy, remains ongoing. It is therefore premature to speculate on the final outcome. Regardless of the outcome of the NPR, however, President Biden has called Article 5 a "sacred obligation" and has repeatedly stressed to all Allies that our commitment to Article 5 is ironclad.

Question. How would unilateral reductions in U.S. nuclear forces, regardless of growing threats, assure allies and deter adversaries?

Answer. President Biden's Interim National Security Strategic Guidance, which guides the drafting of the NPR, directed that "we will take steps to reduce the role of nuclear weapons in our national security strategy, while ensuring our strategic deterrent remains safe, secure, and effective and that our extended deterrence commitments to our allies remain strong and credible." Whether unilateral or reciprocal, any potential reductions would need to be carried out in a manner consistent with the objective of ensuring the United States sustains a modern, credible, and effective deterrent so long as nuclear weapons exist. I would never support unilateral reductions that endanger U.S. security or weaken U.S. negotiating leverage.

Question. What reforms and revisions to its strategy do you anticipate the Polish Armed Forces would make?

Answer. The DoD-led NPR, which will define U.S. declaratory policy, remains ongoing. It is therefore premature to speculate on the final outcome. During this review, the Biden administration is conducting extensive, wide-ranging consultations with U.S. allies and partners, including Poland. If confirmed, I commit to working closely with Poland to understand how the NPR may impact the Polish Armed Forces.

Question. How could the U.S. reassure Poland that we can mount an effective offense in the case of a conventional attack on its borders?

Answer. The DoD-led NPR, which will define U.S. declaratory policy, remains ongoing. It is therefore premature to speculate on the final outcome. Regardless of the outcome of the NPR, however, President Biden has called Article 5 a “sacred obligation” and has repeatedly stressed to all Allies that our commitment to Article 5 is ironclad. If confirmed, I will work to ensure that we are ready to respond to any attack on Poland, be it a conventional military attack or otherwise.

Democratic Backsliding

Question. Poland has been criticized by the EU for failing to uphold standards for judicial reforms as defined by an EU law that was rejected by Poland’s Constitutional Tribunal. They have raised related concerns for the Polish Government’s ability to fight corruption and uphold the rule of law.

- What are your concerns for judicial reforms, corruption, and rule of law in Poland?

Answer. I share the concerns expressed by the administration regarding democratic backsliding in Poland. I welcome Poland’s decision to dismantle the disciplinary chamber for judges as a positive first step toward restoring separation of powers and judicial independence, which are integral to a healthy democracy. If confirmed, I will engage in frank discussions between our governments on these issues and work with all stakeholders in Poland to strengthen the rule of law. I will stress that NATO not only defends our territories, but also our shared democratic values and way of life. If confirmed, I will continue to work with the Polish Government to uphold shared democratic values, especially as Poland becomes chair of the OSCE in 2022.

Question. How will you engage with the Polish Government to promote reforms for good governance?

Answer. Promoting our shared democratic values is an essential component of U.S.-Polish relations. If confirmed, I will advocate with the Polish Government to promote good governance. We will also leverage the strength of our civil society partnerships and depth of our public diplomacy tools, including social media, to engage with Poles regarding the importance of preserving the shared democratic values that underpin our relationship.

TVN and Discovery

Question. A bill in the Polish parliament proposes a ban on entities outside of the European Economic Area owning majority shares in media companies operating in Poland. The bill was approved by the Sejm, rejected by the Senate, and has now returned to the Sejm for a second vote. While progress has come to a standstill, there is still a serious possibility that the bill will become law. If this happens, U.S.-based company Discovery will be forced to sell its ownership stake in TVN, the most prominent television station that still maintains independence from Polish Government influence.

- The arguments in parliament are as such: the ruling Law and Justice party states this bill is designed to protect Poland from foreign disinformation, however the opposition argues it is an attempt to silence independent media. What is your interpretation of the bill’s purpose?

Answer. Despite the governing coalition’s claims that the bill is intended to prevent Russian and Chinese companies from acquiring Polish media companies, it is clear passage of this bill would erode democratic principles and further shrink the space for media freedom in Poland. If confirmed, I will continue to stress to Poland the importance of upholding shared democratic values, including media freedom, which are vital for the functioning of a democracy.

Question. Do you think it is likely that the bill will be passed?

Answer. I hope not. I was pleased the Senate rejected the Sejm’s legislation restricting foreign media ownership. This bill undermines the trust of investors and calls into question Poland’s commitment to democratic principles as it threatens media freedom. A definitive rejection of this bill in the Sejm would reassure foreign investors in Poland, but leaving it unresolved damages investor confidence. I welcome President Duda’s statements in support of freedom of expression, the sanctity of contracts, and the values that underpin our relationship and his promise to veto the bill if it were to reach his desk.

Question. If you could broker a compromise between the political parties that both protects independent media and protects Poland from malign influence, what would it look like?

Answer. A free and independent media makes our democracies stronger. Given the current regional challenges, and with Poland assuming the OSCE chairmanship in 2022, I believe it is in Poland's interest to maintain a strong and healthy democracy, a foundational component of U.S.-Polish relations. If confirmed, I will continue cooperation with Poland in promoting peace, prosperity, security, and democratic governance in Central and Eastern Europe while countering malign, outside influences and disinformation. We should work together in the OSCE to promote our democratic values. Media pluralism and freedom make democratic societies resilient against disinformation and malign influence, which are threats all our societies face.

Restitution Law

Question. The Polish parliament has passed bills that end restitution claims for both the Nazi and Communist periods.

- How will you engage with political parties in Poland to encourage the restoration of those rights?

Answer. I regret the passage of a law limiting claims for property restitution for victims of communism and Nazism, including Jewish Holocaust victims. This is a complex issue, and if confirmed, I will support our ongoing engagement with Poland to focus on Holocaust remembrance and education, including the acknowledgement of history. I would also explore ways to achieve a measure of justice for victims and their heirs to properly address that history.

Question. Many Americans are affected by the nullification of restitution claims and the end of the possibility to apply for restitution. How do you plan to work to fight for those Americans' and their concerns?

Answer. While I was disappointed by the enactment of the law to limit claims for property restitution for victims of communism and Nazism, including Holocaust victims, if confirmed, I will continue exploring ways to achieve a measure of justice through some form of compensation. This is a complex issue, so I believe it is best to establish a direct dialogue between experts on it. If confirmed, I would like the Polish Government to meet with U.S. experts to discuss new and creative approaches to meeting Poland's Terezin Declaration commitments on compensation.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS & HUMAN RIGHTS

Trafficking in Persons

Question. In the State Department's 2021 Trafficking in Persons Report, Poland remained on Tier 2 due to continued inadequate efforts to prevent identification of child trafficking and forced labor victims, among other failures to meet the minimum standards.

- How will you work with Poland's Government and the Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons to address these issues if you are confirmed as Ambassador?

Answer. If confirmed, I will ensure Polish interlocutors understand the United States is committed to combating trafficking in persons in Poland and beyond. While the Polish Government is making efforts to address this issue, more needs to be done. If confirmed, I will encourage the Polish Government to increase proactive identification and assistance for victims, particularly among vulnerable groups, and encourage consistent and sufficient funding for victim services. If confirmed, I will lead Mission Poland to develop and implement both short and long-term strategies of engagement with government officials, business leaders, and civil society in Poland.

International Religious Freedom

Question. In the State Department's 2020 International Religious Freedom report, serious religious freedom issues were highlighted in Poland, including anti-Semitic, anti-Muslim and anti-Catholic hate crimes.

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

Answer. Increasing societal respect for religious freedom and members of religious minority groups in Poland is important. If confirmed, I will work closely with civil society organizations, religious minority groups, and government entities to develop programs and advocate for appropriate policies and reforms. If confirmed, I will promote inter-religious dialogue among religious groups in Poland. I will work with both the Office of International Religious Freedom and the Office of the Special Envoy to Monitor and Combat Anti-Semitism to ensure Mission Poland rec-

ommends, develops, and implements policies and programs to combat discrimination and promote tolerance.

Human Rights

Question. In the State Department's 2020 Human Rights Report, serious human rights abuses in Poland included violence against or threats of violence against members of ethnic minorities.

- If confirmed, what steps will you take to address these instances with the host government?

Answer. U.S. foreign policy has always promoted respect for human rights, as embodied in our Constitution as well as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. If confirmed, I will work closely with civil society organizations and government entities to assess and bolster human rights and advocate for appropriate policies and reforms to address potential threats of violence against members of ethnic minority groups in Poland. If confirmed, I will underscore to the Polish Government that our bilateral partnership relies on a genuine shared commitment to democratic values and to the protection of human rights for all. And I will support civil society efforts to hold the Government accountable to its international commitments, including through the OSCE as Poland assumes the Chairmanship in 2022.

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

Answer. If confirmed, I will strongly support civil society efforts to hold the Government accountable to its international commitments on human rights for all, including through the OSCE as Poland assumes the Chairmanship in 2022. With my Political Section and Public Diplomacy team, I will seek opportunities to support civil society advocacy and to lift up the voices of human rights defenders. If confirmed, I will also underscore to the Polish Government that our bilateral partnership relies on a genuine shared commitment to democratic values and to the protection of human rights for all. We will leverage the strength of our civil society partnerships and the depth of our public diplomacy tools to engage with Poles to promote respect for human rights in Poland as well as throughout the region.

INDO-PACIFIC

China

Question. You gave a speech in 2019 at the China Development Forum. I would like to ask you to comment on several statements you made in your speech, specifically whether you still stand by these statements, and if not, how your views have changed. Please respond to each statement separately.

- “[T]oday the Sino-U.S. geopolitical relationship is being reduced to the specific disagreements we have.”

Answer. I made these remarks in 2019 as a private citizen and, as I mentioned in my hearing, I wish I could have read the November 2020 SFRC majority report before I gave that speech. That speech reflected my family's long history in the Sino-U.S. relationship, and I meant to draw perspectives and observations from my family's experience. As I stated in the hearing, I would like to amend the narrative I offered in that speech to take more into account what has happened in Hong Kong, Taiwan, and elsewhere. My focus is now on the U.S.-Poland relationship. If confirmed, I will represent and advocate for current U.S. policy regarding the PRC throughout my tenure as the U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Poland.

[Additional Response—12/16/2021]. When I gave these remarks, I had a considerably more optimistic view of PRC intentions than I do now. I now recognize that the United States can address the PRC challenge by rebuilding our strength at home, and by revitalizing our partnerships and alliances. The U.S. relationship with the PRC will be competitive when it should be, collaborative when it can be, and adversarial when it must be. My focus is now on the U.S.-Poland relationship. If confirmed, I will represent and advocate for current U.S. policy regarding the PRC throughout my tenure as the U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Poland.

Question. “The shared strategic determination to agree to disagree meant that a diplomatic accommodation could become a de facto strategic partnership, which it did.”

Answer. I made these remarks in 2019 as a private citizen and, as I mentioned in my hearing, I wish I could have read the November 2020 SFRC majority report before I gave that speech. That speech reflected my family's long history in the Sino-U.S. relationship, and I meant to draw perspectives and observations from my fam-

ily's experience. As I stated in the hearing, I would like to amend the narrative I offered in that speech to take more into account what has happened in Hong Kong, Taiwan, and elsewhere. My focus is now on the U.S.-Poland relationship. If confirmed, I will represent and advocate for current U.S. policy regarding the PRC throughout my tenure as the U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Poland.

[Additional Response—12/16/2021]. When I gave these remarks, the relationship with the PRC was at a different point than it is now. My views have evolved as well, based on an on-going pattern of provocative Chinese actions. The strategic environment has changed significantly in recent years, as has the PRC itself. There was once a broad consensus that economic liberalization in the PRC would lead to political liberalization. That has not happened. The PRC has been growing more authoritarian at home and more assertive abroad. Beijing is now challenging our security, prosperity, and values—and the international rules-based order. Our relationship with the PRC is now characterized by strategic competition. My focus is now on the U.S.-Poland relationship. If confirmed, I will promote current U.S. policy regarding the PRC throughout my tenure as the U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Poland.

Question. “Science & Technology collaboration was key, and brought the U.S. and the Chinese together around the concept of a segmented relationship: Consultative, bilateral as well as normalizing.” While this was true at the outset of normalization, much has changed. What are your views now on the extent to which the United States should engage in technology cooperation with China?

Answer. I made these remarks in 2019 as a private citizen and, as I mentioned in my hearing, I wish I could have read the November 2020 SFRC majority report before I gave that speech. That speech reflected my family's long history in the Sino-U.S. relationship, and I meant to draw perspectives and observations from my family's experience. As I stated in the hearing, I would like to amend the narrative I offered in that speech to take more into account what has happened in Hong Kong, Taiwan, and elsewhere. My focus is now on the U.S.-Poland relationship. If confirmed, I will represent and advocate for current U.S. policy regarding the PRC throughout my tenure as the U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Poland.

[Additional Response—12/16/2021]. When I made those earlier remarks, they reflected my earlier view, which has since evolved, that collaboration on science and technology was possible. We must be extremely vigilant toward PRC investment in critical infrastructure or technology that can expose any country to national security risks, as well as data privacy risks. We also should safeguard sensitive technology in research spaces, in order to minimize threats without threatening our own values and strengths of openness and diversity. Our STEM restrictions on student and research visas are carefully targeted and affect less than 2 percent of PRC university students, but help to safeguard national security and data privacy. My focus is now on the U.S.-Poland relationship. If confirmed, I will represent current U.S. policy regarding the PRC throughout my tenure as the U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Poland.

Question. “Despite the current trade difficulties and the alarming rhetoric associated with it, the U.S.-China relationship is one of “complex interdependence” as an article in “Liaowang” put it, where both sides can compete and consult within the existing international rules.”

Answer. I made these remarks in 2019 as a private citizen and, as I mentioned in my hearing, I wish I could have read the November 2020 SFRC majority report before I gave that speech. That speech reflected my family's long history in the Sino-U.S. relationship, and I meant to draw perspectives and observations from my family's experience. As I stated in the hearing, I would like to amend the narrative I offered in that speech to take more into account what has happened in Hong Kong, Taiwan, and elsewhere. My focus is now on the U.S.-Poland relationship. If confirmed, I will represent and advocate for current U.S. policy regarding the PRC throughout my tenure as the U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Poland.

[Additional Response—12/16/2021]. These remarks reflected an earlier view I held, including my hope that the PRC would support the international rules-based order and norms. An on-going pattern of Chinese provocations makes clear that this view is not realistic. As U.S. Trade Representative Tai outlined in her October 4 speech, the United States is taking four initial steps to re-align our trade policies towards the PRC. I support the U.S. Government's approach, which includes discussing Beijing's performance under the Phase One Agreement, restarting our targeted tariff exclusions process, raising concerns about Beijing's non-market policies and practices that distort competition, and consulting allies and partners like Poland to set the rules of the road for trade and technology in the 21st century. My focus is now on the U.S.-Poland relationship. If confirmed, I will work with the Polish gov-

ernment to promote current U.S. policy regarding the PRC throughout my tenure as the U.S. Ambassador to Poland and work to combat the PRC's malign influence in Poland.

Question. “To be sure, in so far as the status quo is concerned, China does seek changes in the international system, but it does so in a patient, prudent and peaceful fashion.”

Answer. I made these remarks in 2019 as a private citizen and, as I mentioned in my hearing, I wish I could have read the November 2020 SFRC majority report before I gave that speech. That speech reflected my family's long history in the Sino-U.S. relationship, and I meant to draw perspectives and observations from my family's experience. As I stated in the hearing, I would like to amend the narrative I offered in that speech to take more into account what has happened in Hong Kong, Taiwan, and elsewhere. My focus is now on the U.S.-Poland relationship. If confirmed, I will represent and advocate for current U.S. policy regarding the PRC throughout my tenure as the U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Poland.

[Additional Response—12/16/2021]. This statement does not reflect my current view of PRC coercive activities in specific sectors. The PRC is taking deliberate steps in attempts to reshape the United Nations and other multilateral bodies in ways that are inconsistent with the institutions' foundational values and established international norms. My focus is now on the U.S.-Poland relationship. If confirmed, I would make it a priority to work with the Polish Government to oppose efforts that undermine the rules-based international order as I advocate for current U.S. policy regarding the PRC throughout my tenure as the U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Poland.

Question. “Americans who deal with foreign affairs especially appreciate that Chinese strategic thinking about the world has moved away from notions of global class conflict and violent revolution, emphasizing instead China's “peaceful rising” in global influence while seeking a “harmonious world.”

Answer. I made these remarks in 2019 as a private citizen and, as I mentioned in my hearing, I wish I could have read the November 2020 SFRC majority report before I gave that speech. That speech reflected my family's long history in the Sino-U.S. relationship, and I meant to draw perspectives and observations from my family's experience. As I stated in the hearing, I would like to amend the narrative I offered in that speech to take more into account what has happened in Hong Kong, Taiwan, and elsewhere. My focus is now on the U.S.-Poland relationship. If confirmed, I will represent and advocate for current U.S. policy regarding the PRC throughout my tenure as the U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Poland.

[Additional Response—12/16/2021]. My views on the PRC's role in international organizations has significantly changed since I made this statement. The United States and other democracies share a deep commitment to the international rules, norms, and institutions that promote our security, stability, and prosperity. When the PRC's actions work against these institutions, the United States must adopt a competitive or even adversarial posture toward these actions. My focus is now on the U.S.-Poland relationship. If confirmed, I will work with the Polish Government to counter the PRC's malign influence and destabilizing activities while promoting current U.S. policy regarding the PRC throughout my tenure as the U.S. Ambassador to Poland.

Question. “The U.S.-China relationship will either expand or narrow. The whole world—as well as our countries—will benefit if it expands.”

Answer. I made these remarks in 2019 as a private citizen and, as I mentioned in my hearing, I wish I could have read the November 2020 SFRC majority report before I gave that speech. That speech reflected my family's long history in the Sino-U.S. relationship, and I meant to draw perspectives and observations from my family's experience. As I stated in the hearing, I would like to amend the narrative I offered in that speech to take more into account what has happened in Hong Kong, Taiwan, and elsewhere. My focus is now on the U.S.-Poland relationship. If confirmed, I will represent and advocate for current U.S. policy regarding the PRC throughout my tenure as the U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Poland.

[Additional Response—12/16/2021]. This statement conveyed my previous view of the U.S. relationship with the PRC, a view which has developed and become more nuanced, to include how competition with the PRC is an inevitable component of U.S. foreign policy. I now believe intense competition requires intense diplomacy. That's why President Biden initiated the November 15 meeting with President Xi. These high-level meetings help us to responsibly manage U.S.-PRC competition. President Biden underscored the importance of managing strategic risks. As part of

this effort, the two leaders decided to explore talks on arms control and strategic stability. My focus is now on the U.S.-Poland relationship. If confirmed, I will work with the Polish Government to counter the PRC's malign influence and destabilizing activities as I promote current U.S. policy regarding the PRC.

Question. “There is great potential for the Sino-U.S. relationship to be a comprehensive global partnership that parallels U.S. relations with Europe and Japan, complete with regularly scheduled formal and informal meetings of our top leaders and truly personal in-depth discussions regarding not just our bilateral relations but about the world in general.”

Answer. I made these remarks in 2019 as a private citizen and, as I mentioned in my hearing, I wish I could have read the November 2020 SFRC majority report before I gave that speech. That speech reflected my family's long history in the Sino-U.S. relationship, and I meant to draw perspectives and observations from my family's experience. As I stated in the hearing, I would like to amend the narrative I offered in that speech to take more into account what has happened in Hong Kong, Taiwan, and elsewhere. My focus is now on the U.S.-Poland relationship. If confirmed, I will represent and advocate for current U.S. policy regarding the PRC throughout my tenure as the U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Poland.

[Additional Response—12/16/2021]. Chinese conduct in recent years make it clear that this view is no longer realistic, although meetings between our top leaders are necessary, common-sense guardrails on the U.S.-PRC relationship to ensure that competition does not veer into unintended conflict. That said, my focus is now on the bilateral relationship between the United States and Poland. If confirmed, I will represent and advocate for current U.S. policy regarding the PRC throughout my tenure as the U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Poland.

Question. “Beyond the trade dispute, I worry there is developing in the U.S. an industry around demonizing China, scaring U.S. businesspeople away from normal business engagement.”

Answer. I made these remarks in 2019 as a private citizen and, as I mentioned in my hearing, I wish I could have read the November 2020 SFRC majority report before I gave that speech. That speech reflected my family's long history in the Sino-U.S. relationship, and I meant to draw perspectives and observations from my family's experience. As I stated in the hearing, I would like to amend the narrative I offered in that speech to take more into account what has happened in Hong Kong, Taiwan, and elsewhere. My focus is now on the U.S.-Poland relationship. If confirmed, I will represent and advocate for current U.S. policy regarding the PRC throughout my tenure as the U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Poland.

[Additional Response—12/16/2021]. This statement conveyed my earlier perception of the bilateral relationship, which has evolved in the face of China's increasingly aggressive conduct in the international arena. While I was hopeful about the role business engagement could play in our bilateral relationship with China, I now recognize the importance of being deliberate when we look at areas of competition with the PRC. We are not opposed to fair market cooperation with or competition from PRC companies. We are deliberate in our scrutiny of PRC threats, such as investment in critical infrastructure or technologies that can expose a country to national security risks, data privacy risks. This vigilance is necessary, and if confirmed, I will work with Poland to help build capacity and resilience in this area. If confirmed, I also will work with the Polish Government to counter the PRC's malign influence and destabilizing activities as I promote current U.S. policy regarding the PRC.

Question. In your 2019 China speech, you also said U.S.-PRC consultations regarding India-Pakistan can lead to more effective mediation.

- Given the violence and ongoing skirmishes on the PRC-India border, do you still think the PRC could be a helpful partner in this area?

Answer. I made these remarks in 2019 as a private citizen and, as I mentioned in my hearing, I wish I could have read the November 2020 SFRC majority report before I gave that speech. That speech reflected my family's long history in the Sino-U.S. relationship, and I meant to draw perspectives and observations from my family's experience. As I stated in the hearing, I would like to amend the narrative I offered in that speech to take more into account what has happened in Hong Kong, Taiwan, and elsewhere. My focus is now on the U.S.-Poland relationship. If confirmed, I will represent and advocate for current U.S. policy regarding the PRC throughout my tenure as the U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Poland.

[Additional Response—12/16/2021]. I made that earlier statement in the context of my hope that we could work with the PRC across different areas of our foreign

relations. I do not believe the PRC can play a constructive role in any mediation between India and Pakistan, particularly due to the PRC-India border skirmishes. The administration is working with European allies and partners through NATO and the U.S.-EU Dialogue on China to influence the PRC to make a positive contribution to global and regional security issues. When the United States and allies and partners like Poland can influence Beijing to bolster global and regional security, it is worth pursuing. If confirmed, I will seek to collaborate with the Polish Government to advance current U.S. policy objectives regarding the PRC throughout my tenure as the U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Poland.

Question. In your China speech, you say that we can “agree to disagree” and work with China despite our disagreements on Taiwan, human rights, and other things. Yet today the disagreements have veered into fundamentally competitive areas of conflict, such as the PRC’s insistence on Taiwan’s annexation and its goal to become “technologically dominant”. Moreover, through public statements and the insistence of adherence to the “Two Lists”, the Chinese Government has made clear it will not “de-link” areas of cooperation and competition, such as human rights and climate.

- Can we still agree to disagree on issues with China?

Answer. I made these remarks in 2019 as a private citizen and, as I mentioned in my hearing, I wish I could have read the November 2020 SFRC majority report before I gave that speech. That speech reflected my family’s long history in the Sino-U.S. relationship, and I meant to draw perspectives and observations from my family’s experience. As I stated in the hearing, I would like to amend the narrative I offered in that speech to take more into account what has happened in Hong Kong, Taiwan, and elsewhere. My focus is now on the U.S.-Poland relationship. If confirmed, I will represent and advocate for current U.S. policy regarding the PRC throughout my tenure as the U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Poland.

[Additional Response—12/16/2021]. I believe that the U.S. relationship with the PRC will be competitive when it should be, collaborative when it can be, and adversarial when it must be. Our commitment to Taiwan remains rock-solid and contributes to peace and stability across the Taiwan Strait. I would publicly highlight how the PRC’s military, economic, and diplomatic pressure on Taiwan, and coercive actions toward countries that seek to deepen ties with Taiwan, exacerbate tensions and increase concerns about the PRC’s behavior. My focus is now on the U.S.-Poland relationship. If confirmed as the U.S. Ambassador to Poland, I will work with the Polish Government to counter the PRC’s malign influence and destabilizing activities while promoting current U.S. policy regarding the PRC.

Question. What risks does doing so present to U.S. national security and national interests?

Answer. I made these remarks in 2019 as a private citizen and, as I mentioned in my hearing, I wish I could have read the November 2020 SFRC majority report before I gave that speech. That speech reflected my family’s long history in the Sino-U.S. relationship, and I meant to draw perspectives and observations from my family’s experience. As I stated in the hearing, I would like to amend the narrative I offered in that speech to take more into account what has happened in Hong Kong, Taiwan, and elsewhere. My focus is now on the U.S.-Poland relationship. If confirmed, I will represent and advocate for current U.S. policy regarding the PRC throughout my tenure as the U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Poland.

[Additional Response—12/16/2021]. I believe that the United States must pursue its national security priorities, without giving into PRC insistence on linking areas of competition or adversarial interaction without potential areas for cooperation. My focus is on the security relationship between the United States and Poland. If confirmed, I will work with the Government of Poland to build resiliency and tools that will help it stand against PRC attempts at economic and political coercion and linkage of issues that should not be linked.

Question. My understanding is that you accepted an \$18,000 honorarium for this speech, but that you originally only reported \$1,000 on U.S. Government ethics forms.

- Can you confirm that you did accepted the \$18,000?

Answer. Yes. As described below, information related to the China Development Forum was correctly reported on my OGE 278 Nominee Financial Disclosure Report in accordance with the reporting instructions.

Question. Can you confirm you have corrected your ethics forms?

Answer. Information related to the China Development Forum was correctly reported on my OGE 278 Nominee Financial Disclosure Report in accordance with the

reporting instruction. As noted above, I spoke at the China Development Forum in 2019. The honorarium for that event was received before 2020, and thus fell outside the reporting period covered by Part 2 of the OGE 278 report. However, Part 4 of the OGE 278 covers a longer period of time, and I accurately disclosed that I had received more than \$5,000 from the China Development Forum within the preceding two calendar years, which reflects the 2019 honorarium. I was subsequently scheduled to provide written remarks for a China Development Forum symposium in 2021, for which I received \$1,000. This honorarium is reflected in Part 2 of my nominee financial disclosure report because it was received during the “reporting period.” I ultimately decided not to participate in the 2021 symposium, and I returned the \$1000 to the entity that sponsored the conference.

Question. Do you still believe you should have accepted this honorarium for such a speech?

Answer. I accepted this invitation as a result of my longstanding family narrative with China. I come to this from a family that was educated by the Cold War, and knows about the Rule of Law. A lot of that speech is about hope. I was raised to find a diplomatic way forward, even when the chances are not high. I recognize now that is not the way forward. I have read Senator Risch’s report on China’s malign influence in Europe. I understand China’s malign influence, and the case studies offered in the report are incredibly illuminating. I wish I had read that report before I did the speech in 2019. I took in good faith the honorarium and thought at the time there was a good faith possibility for an opening for the U.S. to re-engage with China diplomatically. I of course do not feel the same way now. China has not demonstrated good faith efforts in engagement with the U.S., and with our transatlantic partners. China has demonstrated a bellicose foreign policy as it related to its neighbors in Southeast Asia, including Taiwan, and has mistreated the Uighurs and other ethnic minorities within China.

Question. China today is very different from the China of the 1980s and 1990s—and not just in all the economic growth it has achieved.

- How would you characterize the ways China has changed, and how should those changes affect the ways we and our allies like Poland engage with the Chinese Government?

Answer. The PRC has prospered economically since the 1990s, but its government continues to abuse human rights, particularly of Uighurs, Tibetans, and other ethnic and religious minorities, while denying all the people under its control basic freedoms and democratic rights. The PRC’s predatory lending practices and destabilizing activities place it outside the rule-based international order that maintains global peace and prosperity. If confirmed, I will continue to work with our Polish ally, bilaterally and through the European Union and Three Seas Initiative, to counter the PRC’s malign influence in Central Europe, particularly regarding disinformation and telecommunications networks.

Question. Deng Xiaoping took a very different economic approach than Xi Jinping. Xi is actively pursuing a common prosperity political goal, putting individual wealth, large technology and financial companies, and the global stock market at risk just to maintain the Party’s power over the Chinese economy and push foreign players out of the Chinese market. Externally, the Chinese Government uses its market power to coerce and punish countries that do not adhere to CCP policy. The time of Deng’s “reform and opening” has ended.

- Do you agree that there has been a fundamental shift in China’s economic policy?

Answer. Yes; the PRC is doubling down on an economic model that is fundamentally at odds with the market-based global trading system that enabled China’s economy to grow as it has. The PRC is using that system to gain access to U.S. and global markets without adhering to the rules and norms that enable fair competition, while imposing industrial policies with massive subsidies for its domestic firms that disadvantage foreign businesses in China. The PRC also uses its economic heft to coerce other countries and companies. This is a direct challenge to the United States and our allies, including Poland, and the Biden administration is determined to work with our allies and partners to address these challenges.

Question. If so, what risks does this shift present to U.S. businesses, the international financial system, and global supply chains?

Answer. I support the Biden administration’s effort to realize resilient, diverse, and secure supply chains to ensure our economic prosperity and national security, including by encouraging American companies to diversify their PRC supply chains

to create more resilient supply chains that can reduce vulnerabilities to economic coercion. Chief among the concerns is the PRC's use of state-led, non-market interventions, to capture large portions of value chains in sectors crucial to U.S. national and economic security. The PRC has used its dominance of critical sectors as economic leverage to advance its own geopolitical agenda, including numerous cases of economic coercion against trading partners who do not fully support Beijing's policies.

Question. What opportunities are there to work with Poland to offset these risks?

Answer. If confirmed, I will continue to work with our Polish ally to counter the PRC's malign influence in Central Europe, particularly regarding disinformation and telecommunications networks. I will support Poland's leadership of the Three Seas Initiative as a counterweight to the PRC's 16+1 framework in Central and Eastern Europe and continue to promote U.S. participation in the Three Seas Initiative to improve the region's connectivity to its natural partners in the West as well as its resilience against disinformation and predatory "investments" from the East.

Question. China-Poland relations have fluctuated wildly in the past few years, from tentative approaches towards rapprochement, to Poland being one of the most vocal opponents of the Comprehensive Agreement on Investment and expelling Chinese spies on Polish soil.

- How would you characterize Poland-China ties, and how would you engage the Polish Government on its relationship with China?

Answer. Poland maintains diplomatic and trade relations with the PRC, but I see Poland as wary of the PRC's malevolent intentions in the region and destabilizing activities globally and critical of the PRC's human rights abuses and disrespect for democratic values and institutions. If confirmed, I will continue to work with our Polish Ally to counter the PRC's malign influence in Central Europe, particularly regarding disinformation and telecommunications networks. I will support Poland's leadership of the Three Seas Initiative as a counterweight to the PRC's 16+1 framework in Central Europe and continue to promote U.S. participation in the Three Seas Initiative to improve the region's connectivity to its natural partners in the West as well as its resilience against disinformation and predatory "investments" from the East.

Question. What would your main messages be in this engagement?

Answer. Europe, particularly regarding disinformation and telecommunications networks. I will encourage Poland to continue its leadership of the Three Seas Initiative as a counterweight to the PRC's 16+1 framework in Central Europe to improve the region's connectivity to its natural partners in the West as well as its resilience against disinformation and predatory "investments" from the East.

Question. You mentioned you were edified by my report on transatlantic cooperation regarding China. The PRC Government is accelerating its aggressive tactics every day to leverage China's influence in Europe.

- Do you commit to take classified briefings from the relevant national security agencies on the risks China presents to U.S. interests in Europe prior to your departure to Warsaw?

Answer. Yes.

Question. Do you commit to regular classified and unclassified briefings to stay abreast of this issue?

Answer. Yes.

Question. Do you commit that you will not advise any official senior to sacrifice other U.S. interests for the sake of an agreement with or promises from China on climate change?

Answer. Yes.

Regional

Question. Poland is India's largest trade partner and export destination in Central Europe, and as of March 2021, India was the number one country in Asia for Polish investors.

- What role can the U.S. play to help foster Poland's relationships with other U.S. Indo-Pacific allies and partners, such as India?

Answer. If confirmed, I will continue to encourage Poland to strengthen its relationships with India and other U.S. allies and partners in the Indo-Pacific region and participate as a member of NATO and the EU in activities that promote our common interests in the region and counter PRC destabilizing activities.

[Additional Response—12/16/2021]. The United States supports Poland's growing ties with Indo-Pacific partners, including India. If confirmed, I plan to hold regular consultations with Polish officials and like-minded Ambassadors in Warsaw to further deepen these ties and identify areas for cooperation. This would include meetings with the Indian Ambassador and with Indo-Pacific Quad Ambassadors in Warsaw to discuss our shared commitment to a free and open Indo-Pacific, which is also inclusive and resilient. If confirmed, I will continue to encourage Poland to strengthen its relationships with India and other U.S. allies and partners in the Indo-Pacific region and participate as a member of NATO and the EU in activities that promote our common interests in the region and counter PRC destabilizing activities.

Question. Poland has sought to expand economic engagement in the Indo-Pacific to diversify away from China as well as counter Chinese economic holds in Europe.

- What can the U.S. do to support Poland in its attempts to do so?

Answer. If confirmed, I will encourage Poland to strengthen its economic relationships with India and other U.S. allies and partners in the Indo-Pacific region and participate as a member of NATO and the EU in activities that promote our common interests in the region and counter PRC destabilizing activities. In Europe, if confirmed, I will stress our continued partnership with Poland to counter the PRC's malign influence in Europe, particularly regarding disinformation and telecommunications networks. I also will encourage Poland to continue its leadership of the Three Seas Initiative as a counterweight to the PRC's 16+1 framework in Central Europe to improve the region's connectivity to its natural partners in the West as well as its resilience against disinformation and predatory "investments" from the East.

[Additional Response—12/16/2021]. If confirmed, I will encourage Poland to strengthen its economic relationships with India and other U.S. allies and partners in the Indo-Pacific region and participate as a member of NATO and the EU in activities that promote our common interests in the region and counter PRC destabilizing activities. I will encourage Poland to continue its leadership of the Three Seas Initiative as a counterweight to the PRC's 16+1 framework in Central Europe to improve the region's connectivity to its natural partners in the West as well as its resilience against disinformation and predatory "investments" from the East. I will encourage the Government of Poland to utilize its investment screening mechanism to safeguard the country from national security and data privacy threats posed by untrusted vendors investing in critical infrastructure and sensitive sectors.

Question. According to recent survey data by European Council on Foreign Relations, the majority of those in Poland support the EU increasing its investment in maritime security in the Indo-Pacific.

- In what areas can Poland be helpful in encouraging more EU security engagement in the region?

Answer. If confirmed, I will encourage Poland to coordinate and participate as a member of NATO and the EU in activities that promote our common interests in the region and counter PRC destabilizing activities.

[Additional Response—12/16/2021]. I have been encouraged by recent efforts in Europe to increase their interaction with Indo-Pacific countries on maritime security, and in increasing their presence in the region where consistent with their own security strategies and capabilities. The presence of UK, French, German and Dutch maritime security forces in the region in the past year shows how much Europe is investing in this issue.

I do not expect every European nation to deploy to the region, but Poland, as a likeminded partner, can actively support efforts—particularly through assertive public and private messaging—to preserve the rules-based international order, including the primacy of international law in resolving maritime disputes.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO MICHAEL M. ADLER BY SENATOR ROBERT MENENDEZ

Question. I am very concerned about directed energy attacks on U.S. Government personnel (so-called Anomalous Health Incidents (AHI)). 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. If confirmed, there is nothing I will take more seriously than the health and security of the people who will be working with me. AHIs have been a top priority for Secretary Blinken, who set clear goals for the Health Incident Response Task Force to strengthen the Department's communication with our workforce, provide care for affected employees and family members, and better protect against these events in the future as we continue to work closely with the inter-agency to find the cause of these AHIs.

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. Yes. If confirmed, I will do everything possible to ensure that employees who report a possible AHI receive immediate and appropriate attention and care and the incident is reported through appropriate channels.

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. Yes. If confirmed, there is nothing I will take more seriously than the health and security of the people who will be working with me.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO MICHAEL M. ADLER BY SENATOR JAMES E. RISCH

Question. In the State Department's 2021 Trafficking in Persons Report, Belgium remained on Tier 1 due to their consistent and effective efforts to stop the scourge of human trafficking. However, there is always room for improvement. How will you work with Belgium's Government and the Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons to address these issues if you are confirmed as Ambassador?

Answer. Belgium continues to take trafficking in persons issues seriously and has been a steadfast partner in coordinating on the issue with the United States. If confirmed, I will engage with U.S. and Belgian authorities to encourage cooperation and regularly raise trafficking in persons at the highest levels of the Belgian Government. I will urge the Government of Belgium to take further concrete actions to address the recommendations from this year's Trafficking in Persons Report, including the issue of lenient sentences for convicted human traffickers.

Question. If confirmed, how will you work with other regional ambassadors whose host countries are not on Tier 1 to improve regional counter-TIP efforts?

Answer. If confirmed, I will stay in regular contact with U.S. Ambassadors in the region to share best practices on how to ensure host governments are prioritizing the issue of human rights.

Question. In the State Department's 2020 International Religious Freedom report, societal respect for religious freedom wavers with recently reported incidents of violence, threats, harassment, discrimination, and hate speech against Muslims and Jews.

- What is your assessment of this particular issue?

Answer. Incidents of violence, threats, harassment, discrimination, and hate speech against members of any religious group are unacceptable. If confirmed, I will work with both government and civil society interlocutors to ensure that religious freedom and human rights are respected in Belgium.

Question. If confirmed, how will you work with the Office for International Religious Freedom to bolster religious freedom in-country?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work closely with the Office for International Religious Freedom to monitor incidents against members of religious groups and advocate for religious freedom in Belgium. I would welcome the Ambassador at Large, if confirmed, and other USG officials to visit Belgium to promote religious freedom and human rights.

Question. In the State Department's 2020 Human Rights Report, Belgium was reported to have significant human rights abuses to include attacks motivated by anti-Semitism and anti-Muslim sentiment.

- If confirmed, what steps will you take to address these instances with the host government?

Answer. If confirmed, I intend to work with the Government of Belgium to keep the issues of human rights and religious freedoms at the forefront of our bilateral agenda. I would call upon the government to hold accountable perpetrators of such attacks. I would also encourage the Belgian Government to continue to take forward community-based initiatives promoting tolerance and inclusivity, including for Muslim and Jewish communities.

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

Answer. If confirmed, I will encourage Embassy Brussels to support outreach to civil society organizations working to improve tolerance, inclusion, and respect for human rights across all sectors of Belgian society.

Question. In September, a Rwandan court convicted Belgian citizen and U.S. lawful permanent resident Paul Rusesabagina, who inspired the film “Hotel Rwanda,” of terrorism-related charges and sentenced him to 25 years in prison. In August 2021, Mr. Rusesabagina arrived in Rwanda after he was reportedly tricked into boarding a plane in Dubai, where he was arrested and allegedly tortured while in detention. Mr. Rusesabagina’s trial, and that of his co-defendants, was marred with serious due process concerns which overshadowed the validity of the guilty verdict. Rwandan authorities continue to allow Belgian and U.S. consular access to Mr. Rusesabagina. However, the level of engagement and pressure on the Rwandan government by the United States and Belgium to free Mr. Rusesabagina varies.

- Do you commit, if confirmed, to following Mr. Rusesabagina’s case and the Belgian government’s statements and actions related to his detention?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to following Mr. Rusesabagina’s case and the Belgian government’s statements and actions related to his detention.

Question. Do you commit, if confirmed, to coordinating with State Department officials on United States efforts to cooperate with Belgium on diplomatic strategies focused on Mr. Rusesabagina’s release from prison and ultimate return to his family?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to coordinating with State Department officials on Paul Rusesabagina’s case.

Question. Do you commit, if confirmed, to being responsive to my office regarding any inquiries made to the State Department regarding Belgium as it relates to Mr. Rusesabagina’s case?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to being responsive to your office regarding any inquiries made to the State Department regarding Belgium as it relates to Mr. Rusesabagina’s case.

Question. Mission Belgium has been under enormous stress over the past few years due to COVID.

- What is your understanding of morale throughout Mission Belgium?

Answer. Belgium and all of Europe has been hit hard by COVID-19. As I understand, travel and other restrictions, heightened uncertainty, health concerns, and family obligations have been stressful for Mission Belgium officers and their families. If confirmed, I pledge to work with my team to address any concerns and proactively support morale-building activities in the Mission.

Question. How do you intend to improve morale across all of Mission Belgium?

Answer. If confirmed, I will make clear that the safety and morale of the Mission is of paramount importance to me. I appreciate the wealth of talent and experience of the Foreign Service and Locally Engaged Staff, and will ensure that they know that I will do everything I can to take care of them and their families. If confirmed, upon arrival, I will hold a Town Hall to seek input from all members of the Mission. I will meet regularly with all sections of the Mission to share my appreciation for the invaluable work and contributions they make and listen to their concerns.

Question. How do you intend to create a unified mission and vision across Mission Belgium?

Answer. Throughout my career in the private sector, I have worked hard to create a unified administration where communication, cooperation and coordination are paramount. I understand that motivating people and providing resources to accomplish our goals are key to success. If confirmed, I will work with my Country Team to establish clear goals and empower my staff to reach them.

Question. How would you describe your management style?

Answer. I work hard to create a team approach. I appreciate and seek input from all members of my team. I also understand that, as team leader, I am ultimately responsible for my team's actions and decisions.

Question. How do you believe your management style will translate to an embassy setting, where resources may not be readily available and your diplomatic workforce are career employees?

Answer. As a long-time business owner, I understand how to work with limited resources and career public servants. If confirmed, I believe as a team we will be able to use what resources we have to accomplish targeted goals.

Question. As a political appointee rather than career diplomat, do you believe it is incumbent on new chiefs of mission to integrate themselves into embassy operations and culture?

Answer. Yes, I do believe that it is important to integrate myself into the Embassy operations and culture.

Question. If you do believe it is incumbent on new chiefs of mission to integrate themselves into embassy operations and culture, how do you intend to do so?

Answer. If confirmed, I intend to proactively support and participate in activities set up by the Mission for Mission employees and families. I will maintain the smooth operation of the Embassy by following the established regulations and protocols. If confirmed, I look forward to becoming a part of the Mission family.

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 constructive to berate subordinates in public or private. If there are issues, I will address them professionally and constructively.

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

Answer. If confirmed, I intend to have an excellent, professional relationship with my deputy chief of mission. If confirmed, I will support the deputy chief of mission's role in the day-to-day management of the Mission and as my key advisor.

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 everyday citizens.

Answer. If confirmed, I intend to encourage officers to meet with contacts as the COVID situation allows, and to travel around the country to meet a diverse range of Belgians. I understand and embrace the value of people-to-people exchanges, and I intend to promote U.S. policies by supporting the Mission's public diplomacy programming.

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

Answer. While our U.S. diplomats in Brussels have access to virtually all sectors of Belgian society, if confirmed, I intend to continue to instill in members of the Mission community the importance of broadening and diversifying their contacts to form a complete picture of the local situation.

Question. Public diplomacy is an important aspect of U.S. foreign policy efforts.

Answer. I agree. If confirmed, I will prioritize public diplomacy efforts.

Question. What is the public diplomacy environment like in Belgium? What public diplomacy challenges do U.S. diplomats face?

Answer. The media environment in Belgium is professional, modern, respectful, multi-lingual, and mildly partisan. If confirmed, I will work with the public diplomacy section to raise the profile of U.S. priorities, such as in climate action, countering the actions of malign actors in Europe, and enhancing U.S.-Belgium economic ties. I will work with the public diplomacy section to build closer ties with the youth in Belgium, so they too understand the important role the United States played in the history of Belgium and Western Europe to help ensure our bilateral relationship remains strong into the future.

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. If confirmed, I will work with the public diplomacy section to tailor messages on policy priorities with the realities on the ground. I will work with my team

to communicate with Main State and make sure that our messaging resonates with Belgians. I will also encourage creative ways of sharing our message to appeal to targeted audiences.

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. I have received an unclassified briefing on anomalous health incidents. If confirmed, I commit to receiving additional, classified briefings on the incidents.

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 will maintain detailed records of the incident and share them with the State Department and others to contribute to the investigation. I commit to working closely with the leaders of the Health Incident Response Task Force (HIRTf) in Washington, Ambassador Jonathan Moore, and Ambassador Margaret Uyebara to support affected personnel.

Question. 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. 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 will take every measure to keep our staff safe and secure and would take any report of an anomalous health incident very seriously. I will do my best to ensure those affected receive the attention they deserve, that incidents are investigated fully, and that we work with the appropriate offices and agencies to ensure required reporting, investigation, potential countermeasures, and provision of medical care. I would share what information I can within the bounds of privacy and security concerns with my team and the mission community.

NOMINATIONS

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 14, 2021 (a.m.)

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

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:04 a.m., in Room SD-106, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Robert Menendez, chairman of the committee, presiding.

Present: Senators Menendez [presiding], Cardin, Shaheen, Coons, Murphy, Kaine, Booker, Van Hollen, Risch, Rubio, Johnson, Romney, and Rounds.

Also Present: Senators Toomey, Casey, and Padilla.

OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. ROBERT MENENDEZ, U.S. SENATOR FROM NEW JERSEY

The CHAIRMAN. This hearing of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee will come to order.

We are here today to consider nominations for three important positions: Mayor Eric Garcetti to be the Ambassador to India, Ambassador Donald Blome to be the Ambassador to Pakistan, and Dr. Amy Gutmann to be the Ambassador to Germany.

Congratulations to the three of you. We appreciate your willingness as well as that of your family to serve the country in this capacity.

We have some of our colleagues here today and we want to recognize them first. I understand that Senators Toomey and Casey will be introducing Dr. Gutmann and Senator Padilla will be introducing Mayor Garcetti.

Let us start with Senator Toomey.

STATEMENT OF HON. PATRICK J. TOOMEY, U.S. SENATOR FROM PENNSYLVANIA

Senator TOOMEY. Thank you very much, Chairman Menendez, Ranking Member Risch, and members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Thank you for allowing me to briefly introduce Dr. Amy Gutmann and express my strong support for her nomination to be our next U.S. Ambassador to Germany.

Dr. Gutmann, thank you for your willingness to serve in such an important leadership role.

As members of this committee likely know, Dr. Gutmann currently serves as the president of the University of Pennsylvania, and before I highlight just a few of her many accomplishments there, I want to acknowledge a different aspect of Penn's history, which I think is relevant to this hearing.

Penn's founder, Benjamin Franklin, was one of the U.S.' most accomplished diplomats. He skillfully navigated the complicated dynamics of 18th century European politics to promote American ideals and protect our nascent democracy abroad.

Of course, much has changed since then. But some of the diplomatic challenges that Franklin faced remain the same today, including faithfully and ardently defending U.S. interest, even in times of disagreements with our allies while maintaining close relationships.

We face this challenge today in our relationship with one of our most important European allies, Germany. We rely on Germany as a major security and trade partner, especially given its role in the European Union, and amidst increasing global threats to the U.S. and Europe, strong U.S. representation to Germany is critical.

I am confident that Dr. Gutmann will rise to meet these and other challenges facing the U.S. and our European allies.

Dr. Gutmann earned Bachelors and doctorate degrees from Harvard University, a Master's degree from London School of Economics. She subsequently spent over 20 years at Princeton University in a myriad of roles, most recently as university provost.

In 2004, Dr. Gutmann became the eighth president of Penn, a position she still holds today, and during her tenure she dramatically grew Penn's endowment, expanded Penn's commitment to science, technology, and medical innovation, and enhanced the university's engagement in the Philadelphia community, among other things.

Dr. Gutmann is a widely respected expert in subjects ranging from ethics to health care to political philosophy, and she has received countless awards and honors, including being named to Fortune World's 50 Greatest Leaders list in 2018.

Her impact at Penn has been recognized, including by the many Penn students who regard her as a committed and passionate leader. These accomplishments, coupled with her commitment to global leadership and experience in academia in the highest levels, have prepared Dr. Gutmann well for the role of Ambassador.

As I conclude, I also want to note the significance of Dr. Gutmann's nomination in the context of her family's history. Her father fled religious persecution in Nazi Germany in the 1930s, and her family's return to Germany in the form of U.S. Ambassador Amy Gutmann will be an extraordinary moment.

I am confident Dr. Gutmann will approach this next mission with the same ingenuity, tenacity, and dedication as she did over the nearly 20 years she has spent at Penn and I look forward to supporting Dr. Gutmann's nomination and I urge my colleagues to do the same.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Senator Casey?

**STATEMENT OF HON. ROBERT P. CASEY, JR.,
U.S. SENATOR FROM PENNSYLVANIA**

Senator CASEY. Mr. Chairman, thanks very much for this opportunity.

I want to start by thanking you and the committee for this opportunity to talk about Dr. Gutmann. But if I refer to her as Amy throughout some of my remarks, that is because I have known her for the better part of 15 years, know her character, know her commitment, not only to academic excellence and the excellence personified by those who are graduates of Penn but also for the commitment she has made to the city of Philadelphia and our commonwealth, and now on an even bigger stage her commitment to our country by putting herself forward for this kind of public service.

I wanted to start by talking about her tenure at Penn. Since 2004, Amy has served as the longest tenured president of the university. During her 18 years of commitment to the university, the city of Philadelphia, our Commonwealth—and our commonwealth, President Gutmann transformed the university into a more inclusive, a more innovative, and more impactful academic institution.

In 2006, she led the largest fundraising effort in Penn history to support financial aid for students in need. Other initiatives, like the President's Innovation prize and Engagement prize have offered students opportunities to turn their startup and service ideas into reality. She has also focused on the development of the community around the university through programs like Penn Compact 2022 and the Netter Center for Community Partnerships.

As the leader of Philadelphia's largest private employer, Dr. Gutmann has one of the Commonwealth's most powerful economic engines with an estimated total economic impact of \$21.5 billion dollars annually in the region. While leading the university, she has continued to publish cutting-edge scholarship on the intersection of political science, ethics, education, and philosophy.

In 2019, she published her seventeenth book, and she remains one of the top political theorists in the United States.

Outside of her roles at the university, Amy has long supported Philadelphia in the country through a variety of interdisciplinary roles, including as a board member at Vanguard and chair of the Presidential Commission for the Study of Bioethical Issues.

Her many years of leadership at Penn, applied expertise in political science, and commitment to the community prepare her well to be United States Ambassador to Germany and represent U.S. interests with one of our most important allies.

I do not think I have to explain to the members of the committee the importance of this bilateral relationship, especially now. She is prepared to do this job, and I can testify to her character, her commitment to public service, and her willingness at an important time in our nation's history to serve as U.S. Ambassador to Germany.

I want to thank the committee. I want to thank Dr. Gutmann and her family for this commitment to the country.

Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator Casey.

Timing is everything in life, and Senator Padilla has now made it on time to introduce Mayor Garcetti.

**STATEMENT OF HON. ALEX PADILLA,
U.S. SENATOR FROM CALIFORNIA**

Senator PADILLA. Thank you, Chairman Menendez and Ranking Member Risch. It is my pleasure to be here to introduce Mayor Eric Garcetti from my home city of Los Angeles and the great state of California as President Biden's nominee for Ambassador to India.

Mayor Garcetti's credentials are impressive. He is a graduate of Columbia University, a Rhodes Scholar, and a 12-year veteran of the United States Navy Reserve. Mayor Garcetti was first elected to the Los Angeles City Council in 2001 where we served together for five years.

In 2006, Mayor Garcetti succeeded me as president of the City Council as I launched my campaign for California State Senate, and in 2013 he was elected to serve as mayor of the city of Los Angeles, the second largest city in America.

In his time as mayor, he has led the city through a number of challenges while leveraging the position to exert influence over regional, national, and international organizations.

He served as chair of L.A. Metro, one of the largest public transit agencies in the country. He is the founder of Climate Mayors, a national bipartisan group of more than 400 mayors adopting the Paris Climate Agreement.

He championed Los Angeles' successful bid to host the 2028 Summer Olympics. Mayor Garcetti also chairs C40 Cities, an international network of the world's largest cities taking action on the climate crisis and he led the organization's expansion in India.

In the past year and a half, he has used that network to spur international collaboration in the face of the COVID-19 pandemic and share resources and best practices around the world. His commitment to public service and leadership on issues from climate to human rights will be instrumental to his new role as ambassador to India.

India is a critical partner on the frontlines of many of the world's biggest challenges from COVID to climate change to national security. Our close cooperation will help support global security, fight the climate crisis, and further economic growth.

Mr. Chairman, I urge the committee to support Mayor Garcetti's nomination and I thank you for this opportunity.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator Padilla, and we know you have other important duties, so when you need to please feel free to excuse yourself.

Let me turn to a few brief remarks on these three nominees.

Mayor Garcetti, we welcome your nomination to this post at a critical time in the U.S.-India relationship. With more than 1.3 billion people and the sixth largest economy in the world, India is a vital strategic partner for the United States.

As a member of the Quad alongside the United States, Japan, and Australia, India is playing a greater role in helping maintain a free and open Indo-Pacific.

In September, the Biden administration hosted the first ever in-person Quad Summit here in Washington. When it comes to the bilateral relationship, there is much to discuss. In particular, the shared threat of climate change and India's growing need for electricity presents an opportunity for deeper cooperation. That is why

I introduced the Prioritizing Clean Energy and Climate Cooperation with India Act that would help advance India's climate goals.

In addition, dealing with the coronavirus must also remain a core element of our bilateral engagement. As you know, India was on the frontlines of the pandemic earlier this year when it faced a devastating surge in new cases.

As we deepen our partnership with New Delhi, there will inevitably be areas of friction, including concerns related to India's purchase of Russian military hardware and reports of democratic backsliding and discrimination against religious minorities.

I expect you to be frank with your Indian counterparts, not just on the areas of cooperation but also on these differences, all of which are bipartisan priorities for this committee.

New Delhi will need to address our concerns if it seeks to deepen our partnership even further. Having you in place in India, Mayor Garcetti, will be critical to advance U.S. interests on these issues and many others.

Ambassador Blome, we welcome your nomination at this particularly challenging moment in the U.S.-Pakistan bilateral relationship. As I told this committee last month, the failure of our mission in Afghanistan was due in no small part to years of Pakistani double dealing.

Islamabad offered safe haven to the Taliban even as its militants targeted and killed U.S. troops. We need to have a serious conversation with the Pakistani Government on the path forward, and I am confident that you will deliver a tough message to them, if confirmed.

Beyond Afghanistan, I remain deeply concerned about the growing strength of extremist groups within Pakistan itself. The Government has created an increasingly permissive environment for extremist groups to operate. Pakistan has also become an increasingly dangerous place for religious minorities and I am eager to hear your views on how to strengthen religious freedom in Pakistan.

However, there are other many important equities in the bilateral relationship, such as curbing nuclear proliferation, managing tensions with India, responding to COVID-19. Your experience in Kabul and other hardship posts will be an asset and I look forward to hearing how you will address these challenges in Islamabad.

Dr. Gutmann, welcome and congratulations on your nomination. Your years of experience as the president of a leading university, your academic experience, and your powerful family history will no doubt serve us well.

The importance of having a Senate-confirmed U.S. ambassador in Berlin cannot be overstated. This is a critical time for the transatlantic relationship and, particularly, for the United States and Germany.

With the new German Government we have an opportunity to build on and renew decades of friendship and cooperation. It is no secret that U.S.-German relations suffered under the last administration. I am confident that upon your confirmation you will help return the relationship to one of respect and to a close strategic partnership.

Germany is also a critical ally in our efforts to deter Russian aggression in Europe and prevent a renewed invasion of Ukraine. As Putin continues to try to bully his way through Europe, we need strong U.S. representation and close coordination with allies to stand up for our partners and reject illegitimate efforts to redraw the map of Europe.

The urgency of these challenges underscores why we need our Embassy in Berlin to have a confirmed ambassador in place immediately, and I hope my colleagues will join me in supporting your nomination and moving it swiftly forward.

Let me turn to the ranking member for his opening.

**STATEMENT OF HON. JAMES E. RISCH,
U.S. SENATOR FROM IDAHO**

Senator RISCH. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, and thank you to all of you for a willingness to serve and for your families who will share in the sacrifices you will make.

I want to turn first to the nomination of Ambassador to Germany. We are entering a new chapter in our relationship with Germany. After 16 years, Angela Merkel is no longer—no longer leads the country and we must build a new relationship with Germany's first three-party coalition.

This transition comes at a critical point for the European continent. Most worrisome is the prospect of a Russian invasion of Ukraine. Despite Russia's huge troop presence on Ukraine's borders, Germany and this administration seem dead set on handing Putin another point of leverage and that is Nord Stream 2. It is no secret I and many other members are firmly opposed to this pipeline, and I will continue efforts to see it and Putin's influence in NATO are stopped.

A full-fledged effort across the transatlantic alliance is required to deter Russia. Cooperation with Germany on this front must be a priority.

The United States and Europe must also take on the challenge of the Chinese Communist Party together. If confirmed, cooperating with German counterparts to counter Chinese influence will need to be among our top priorities. Chinese influence is a problem all over the world, and as we are going to see here in a minute, it is a real problem right here in the United States.

It is important this committee understands how, Dr. Gutmann, you will handle these issues, given the history of the close and extensive ties between China and the University of Pennsylvania, the institution you ran and directed during your tenure there and still do.

The U.S. Department of Education Data shows that U Penn has received, roughly, \$86 million—let me say that again, \$86 million—in donations and contracts from sources in China since 2014. It is safe to assume the actual amount is much higher, given that universities are only required to report gifts and contracts over \$250,000.

And, Dr. Gutmann, I want to underscore here that this is not unique to U Penn. This is an issue throughout our higher education system, and we have been drafting and discussing and attempting to pass legislation to address this.

We do not allow cash to flow to our politicians to influence them when they execute their duties of office. It just astounds me that, nonetheless, we look the other way as this cash flows into our higher education system.

You told the committee, our staff, you were not aware of most foreign donations and contracts coming into U Penn and do not have a role in any process related to reporting of foreign donations in contracts to the Department of Education.

I want to explore this during the question and answer period. But I think the American public deserves an explanation not only as to the University of Pennsylvania, but we are going to talk about it in the broader context of all higher education.

We need to understand how and why as president you were not aware of the kinds of donations and contracts coming from authoritarian countries like China.

I understand a university is a large operation. However, as captain of the ship, you are in charge of it. I believe that is the attitude that chiefs of mission need to have as well. Today is your opportunity to clear the air on this and we will give you that opportunity.

I have in front of me the large or just a portion of the large number of these contributions that were made to U Penn and we are going to talk about those when we get to the question and answer period.

On the nomination of Ambassador to India, India is a critical U.S. partner in the Indo-Pacific. U.S.-India defense cooperation today is more robust than it has ever been and the fruits of that were evident in U.S. support during India's border crisis with China last year.

India plays a crucial role in the Indian Ocean region and our strategic competition with China. But we cannot ignore the reality of concerns over India's defense relationship with Russia.

We need to ensure our relationship is healthy and strong for the long term so we work together to advance a free and open Indo-Pacific.

We must also work closely with India on counterterrorism. Our withdrawal from Afghanistan led to big shifts in India's security environment. It is a good thing that we have the nominees for both India and Pakistan on this panel so we can address these issues together and thoroughly.

This is also an opportunity for more economic cooperation with India, especially in technology, health, and energy. We do still have economic irritants to address like lack of intellectual property protections and high tariffs.

India's tariffs remain a key challenge for Idaho agricultural companies. The United States also needs to continue to advocate on human rights issues in India. I look forward to hearing your thoughts on these important issues.

On the nomination of ambassador to Pakistan, for more than 20 years the U.S.-Pakistan relationship has been viewed through the lens of the war in Afghanistan. Pakistan has and should continue to play a key role in mitigating the fallout from this administration's catastrophic withdrawal from Afghanistan.

Whether it is humanitarian assistance, human rights, or counter-terrorism, it is clear the end of U.S. military involvement in Afghanistan does not signal the end of American interests there.

However, we are also presented with a rare opportunity to reframe a U.S.-Pakistan relationship not solely focused on Afghanistan. For example, as we adopt our relationships with India around competition with China, we must do so with an eye on the balance of power with all players in South and Central Asia.

I look forward to hearing your thoughts on the nature of U.S.-Pakistan relationship, moving forward.

With that, I will yield back. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator Risch.

All right. We will turn to our nominees now. We would ask you to summarize your statement in about five minutes. Your full statement will be included for the record.

And we will start with Ambassador Blome and work our way down the dais.

STATEMENT OF HON. DONALD ARMIN BLOME OF ILLINOIS, 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 ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF PAKISTAN

Ambassador BLOME. Chairman Menendez, Ranking Member Risch, honorable members of this committee, thank you for considering my nomination to serve as ambassador to the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. I am grateful to this committee for previously confirming me as Ambassador to the Republic of Tunisia.

I would like to start by thanking my family: my wife, Debra, who is here with me today, and my three children, Sarah, Nicholas, and Carl, who could not be here.

Over more than 28 years in the Foreign Service they have served with me and during frequent moves, emergency evacuations, and long periods of separation, and they have also shared with me the honor of serving our country abroad, an honor for which I have always been deeply grateful.

Events in Afghanistan weigh heavily on me, having previously served there as Embassy Kabul's top political officer in 2012 and '13. I worked alongside colleagues in and out of uniform, some of whom gave their lives in the service of our country, some of whom were gravely injured, and many who still bear the invisible wounds of war.

I also engaged with courageous Afghans who put themselves at great risk to build the Afghan state's institutions and stability.

If confirmed, I will prioritize the safe relocation from Afghanistan of any U.S. citizens, lawful permanent residents, Special Immigrant Visa holders, and other Afghans to whom we have a special responsibility, along with their family members.

Mission Pakistan also plays an important role in encouraging an inclusive Afghan Government that respects and promotes the human rights of all individuals, including women and girls, members of minority groups, and ensuring that Afghanistan never again becomes a safe haven for international terrorism.

If confirmed, I will press Pakistan to target all terrorist groups without distinction. I will also work with my colleagues to decrease tensions between India and Pakistan. I have been encouraged by the continued ceasefire along the Line of Control.

Strong partnerships with India and Pakistan are not mutually exclusive. We need productive ties with both. Pakistan and India should decide the pace, scope, and character of their bilateral interactions.

I will also promote U.S. commercial interests in Pakistan. I will encourage Pakistan to promote more transparent investments through sustainable financing with a focus on the environmental and social impacts of investment projects.

Pakistan is a partner in the COVID-19 pandemic. In May of 2020, Pakistan donated 100,000 face masks and 25,000 protective suits to the United States to safeguard our health care workers in the early stages of the pandemic.

The United States has, in turn, donated to Pakistan 26.7 million doses of the Pfizer and Moderna vaccines as well as 200 ventilators.

On climate, Pakistan has signed onto the Global Methane Pledge, announced a moratorium on improving new coal-fired power generation, and committed to having renewables provide 60 percent of electricity generation by 2030 and is implementing a 10-billion-tree planting campaign.

If confirmed as Ambassador, I will never shy away from defending human rights in Pakistan, particularly freedom of religion and expression. Religious minorities in Pakistan have long faced discrimination, including accusations of blasphemy.

These accusations have undermined the rule of law, threatened mob rule, and deeply damaged Pakistan's international reputation and have led to many deaths.

If confirmed, I will speak out against violations of human rights and religious freedom. Pakistani journalists and members of civil society face kidnappings, assaults, intimidation, and disappearances. I will advocate for expanded protections for freedom of association and assembly, and will meet with civil society partners regularly.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to close by saying we have an important opportunity to renew and strengthen the bilateral relationship with Pakistan and I want to work with this committee and Congress to do so.

Thank you for considering my nomination and I look forward to answering any questions you might have.

[The prepared statement of Ambassador Blome follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. DONALD ARMIN BLOME

Chairman Menendez, Ranking Member Risch, and honorable members of this committee; thank you for considering my nomination to serve as Ambassador to the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. I am grateful to this committee for previously confirming me as Ambassador to the Republic of Tunisia.

I would like to start by thanking my family, my wife Debra who is here with me today and my three children, Sarah, Nicholas, and Carl, who could not be here. Over more than 28 years in the Foreign Service they have served with me, enduring frequent moves, emergency evacuations, and long periods of separation. They have also shared with me the honor of serving our country abroad, an honor for which I have always been deeply grateful.

The United States' relationship with Pakistan remains extraordinarily consequential for our core interests. Pakistan is pursuing expanded economic linkages with the United States as part of what it calls "geo-economics." We have a shared interest in promoting the role of U.S. business and commercial interests in Pakistan's economy. If confirmed, I will work with Pakistan to resolve market access issues, including concerns with Pakistan's digital economy regulations, intellectual property protections, and contract enforcement. I will encourage Pakistan to promote more transparent investments through sustainable financing, with a focus on the environmental and social impacts of investment projects.

Events in Afghanistan weigh heavily on me, having previously served there as Embassy Kabul's top political officer in 2012 and 2013. I worked alongside colleagues in and out of uniform, some of whom gave their lives in service of our country, some of whom were gravely injured, and many who still bear the invisible wounds of war. I also engaged with courageous Afghans who put themselves at great risk to build the Afghan state's institutions and stability. If confirmed, I will prioritize the safe relocation from Afghanistan of any U.S. citizens, lawful permanent residents, special immigrant visa applicants, and other Afghans to whom we have a special responsibility, along with their family members. Mission Pakistan also plays an important role on encouraging an inclusive Afghan Government that respects and promotes the human rights of all individuals, including women and girls and members of minority groups, and ensuring that Afghanistan never again becomes a safehaven for international terrorism.

On the critical issue of counterterrorism, if confirmed, I will press Pakistan to target all terrorist groups without distinction. The United States and Pakistan are committed to combatting Al-Qa'ida, ISIS-Khorasan, and Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan. If confirmed, I also will engage Pakistan on fighting all other groups—including Lashkar-e-Taiba and Jaish-e-Mohammed.

The region can ill afford another conflict, especially between nuclear-armed states. If confirmed, I will work with my colleagues to decrease tensions between India and Pakistan. I have been encouraged by the continued ceasefire along the Line of Control. Strong U.S. bilateral partnerships with India and Pakistan are not mutually exclusive; we need productive ties with both states. Pakistan and India should decide the pace, scope, and character of their bilateral interactions.

Pakistan is a partner in the COVID-19 pandemic and the climate crisis. In May of 2020, Pakistan donated 100,000 facemasks and 25,000 protective suits to the United States to safeguard our healthcare workers in the early stages of the pandemic. The United States has in turn donated to Pakistan 27.6 million doses of the Pfizer and Moderna vaccines, as well as 200 ventilators, and 1,200 pulse oximeters. On climate, Pakistan has signed onto the Global Methane Pledge, announced a moratorium on approving new coal-fired power generation, committed to having renewables provide 60 percent of electricity generation by 2030, and is implementing a 10 billion tree planting campaign.

If confirmed as Ambassador, I will never shy away from defending human rights in Pakistan, particularly freedom of religion and expression. Religious minorities in Pakistan have long faced societal and legal discrimination, as well as accusations of blasphemy. These accusations have undermined the rule of law, threatened mob rule, deeply damaged Pakistan's international reputation, and led to murderous violence and many deaths. If confirmed, I will speak out against these abuses and violations of human rights and religious freedom. I will urge the Pakistani Government to cease harassment of journalists and members of civil society, who have faced kidnappings, assaults, intimidation, and disappearances, and hold perpetrators of these actions accountable. I will advocate for expanded protections for freedom of association and assembly and will meet with civil society partners regularly.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to close by saying that we have an important opportunity to renew and strengthen the bilateral relationship with Pakistan, and I want to work with this committee and Congress to do so. Thank you for considering my nomination and I look forward to answering any questions you might have.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.
Mayor Garcetti?

**STATEMENT OF HON. ERIC M. GARCETTI OF CALIFORNIA,
NOMINATED TO BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND
PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO
THE REPUBLIC OF INDIA**

Mr. GARCETTI. Thank you very much, Chairman Menendez, Ranking Member Risch, to all members of this committee. I am honored to appear before you today as President Biden's nominee to be Ambassador from the United States to the Republic of India, and let me start by thanking the President and Secretary Blinken for their trust and for this amazing opportunity to serve our nation.

Few nations are more vital to the future of American security and prosperity than India. If confirmed, I look forward to building on the work of my predecessors to elevate our partnership to new heights.

My parents, Gil and Sukey Garcetti, are here today, the children and grandchildren of immigrants from Mexico and Russia, two public servants who first brought me to India as a teenager and who taught me how deeply we are connected to everyone in this world.

Two people not with me today in person are always the best part of my day, my wife, Amy Elaine Wakeland, and our incredible and beautiful daughter, Maya. Amy has devoted her entire life to advocating for women and children, and Maya just turned 10 years old yesterday and is watching this hearing with her mother as she gets ready for school, and I just want to say good luck with your science test today, honey. I love you.

In 1990, I visited India as the guest of Ambassador Bill Clark, who served under President H. W. Bush and who was—whose son was my college roommate. Inspired by this trip, I started studying Hindi and Urdu in college, Indian and cultural religious history, and at that time, U.S.-India ties languished in the shadow of Cold War mistrust.

Annual trade stood at a paltry \$2 billion. Defense trade was zero and military interoperability was nonexistent. The very idea of a U.S.-India strategic partnership would have been deemed laughable.

Today, the fundamental nature of that strategic partnership is firmly ingrained here in Washington and in New Delhi. Twenty years ago, President Biden, when he was chair of this esteemed committee, called for a new and ambitious U.S.-India partnership, and thanks to successive administrations, Democratic and Republican, and the bipartisan work of this committee and Congress, that strong new chapter is upon us.

In September, President Biden hosted Prime Minister Modi and their Australian and Japanese counterparts for the first ever in-person Quad Leaders Summit here in Washington to reinforce cooperation among common challenges from COVID to climate. Most notably, an Indian vaccine manufacturer with support from Quad members will produce 1 billion additional vaccine doses for the world.

If confirmed, I will endeavor to advance our ambitious bilateral partnership united by a shared vision of a free and open and inclusive Indo-Pacific region. Even with a pandemic, our bilateral trade this year is expected to break a record and, if confirmed, I intend to champion an ambitious economic partnership with India to re-

duce market barriers, to bolster free trade, and to generate good middle class American jobs.

We all know India is situated in a tough neighborhood. If confirmed, I will extend efforts to strengthen India's capacity to secure its border, to defend its sovereignty, to counter terrorism, and to deter aggression.

We will do that through information sharing, counterterrorism coordination, joint freedom of navigation patrols, and military exercises which I have witnessed personally with my brave Indian counterparts, as well as sales of our best defense technologies in order to fully realize the potential of our major defense partnership.

As an aside, I want to express my condolences to the Indian people and armed forces for the loss of Chief of Defense Staff General Bipin Rawat last week, who was a hero to his nation and a good friend to ours.

If confirmed, I will work to advance partnerships in space, science, and flight as well as other critical and emerging technologies. Senator Padilla mentioned I have chaired C40, which is a global network of mayors from the largest cities of the world to confront global climate change and to share the experience of L.A., which is on track to be fully renewable power by 2035 and, if confirmed, I will work closely with India on a similarly bold approach to promoting green energy through the International Solar Alliance and through the Agenda 2030 Climate and Clean Energy Partnership.

For my friends in India, the bedrock of our relationship are the warm and deep ties between our peoples. They connect our nations and it is embodied best, perhaps, by the 4 million strong Indian-American diaspora, I know, in each of your states strengthens our nation, that serves at the highest level including our vice president, and the nearly 200,000 Indian students and tens of thousands of Indian professionals contribute every single day to the strength of this country.

And, in addition, respect for human rights and strong democratic institutions are key elements of our relationship and values that are enshrined in both of our constitutions and, if confirmed, I will engage regularly and respectfully with the Indian Government on these issues.

Lastly, I acknowledge the weight and honor of responsibility of chief of mission for the welfare of hundreds of U.S. and thousands of locally-employed staff at Embassy Delhi and our four consulates in India, in addition to the 950,000 U.S. citizens who reside in India, and I want to assure this committee there will be no higher priority than their safety and security.

Chairman Menendez, Ranking Member Risch, thank you for the opportunity to share this testimony, and finally, let me say I recognize, I respect, and I relish the role of Congress in advancing our leadership and I cannot wait to regularly engage with you, with your staffs, and with the staff and members of this committee.

If confirmed, I look forward to serving in India as it celebrates 75 years of independence and to shepherding an incredible next chapter in the U.S.-India partnership.

I look forward to your questions.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Garcetti follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF ERIC M. GARCETTI

Chairman Menendez, Ranking Member Risch, and members of the committee, I am honored to appear before you today as President Biden's nominee to be the Ambassador of the United States to the Republic of India. I would like to thank President Biden for his trust and for this amazing opportunity to serve our country.

Few nations are more vital to the future of American security and prosperity than India. If confirmed, I look forward to building on the work of my predecessors to elevate our partnership to new heights.

I have committed my life to service—as a teacher, a naval officer, and a public servant.

All of my work reflects values my parents instilled in me at a young age: to be a proud American with a heart for service who is always engaged with the world. My parents, Gil and Sukey Garcetti, are here today; they first brought me to India as a teenager and taught me how deeply we are connected to people everywhere on this planet—no matter where they live, what language they speak, how much money they have, or how they worship God.

Two people not with me in person today are always the best part of my day: my wife Amy Elaine Wakeland, a woman from Indiana whom I met when we were studying together as Rhodes Scholars who never stops fighting for women and children, and Maya, our beautiful and incredible daughter, who just turned 10 years old yesterday. Maya is watching this hearing with her mother as she gets ready for school. Good luck with your science test, sweetie—Daddy loves you and is so proud of you!

In 1992, the year I graduated from college after studying Hindi and Indian cultural and religious history, U.S.-India ties languished in the shadow of Cold War era mistrust. Annual trade stood at a paltry \$2 billion, defense trade was zero, and military interoperability was non-existent. The very idea of a U.S.-India strategic partnership would have been deemed laughable.

Today, the fundamental nature of that strategic partnership is firmly ingrained in both Washington and New Delhi. 20 years ago President Biden—then chairman of this esteemed committee—called for a new and ambitious vision of U.S.-India ties. Thanks to successive administrations—Democratic and Republican—and the bipartisan work of this Congress, that strong new chapter is upon us.

Despite the challenges of the COVID-19 pandemic, bilateral trade is expected to reach new heights and if confirmed, I intend to champion an ambitious economic partnership with India that reduces market access barriers and bolsters fair trade and creates good jobs for the American middle class.

India is situated in a tough neighborhood. If confirmed, I intend to double-down on our efforts to strengthen India's capacity to secure its borders, defend its sovereignty, and deter aggression—through information sharing, counterterrorism coordination, joint freedom of navigation patrols and military exercises (which I have participated in as a naval officer alongside my Indian counterparts), and sales of our best defense technologies in order to realize the full potential of our Major Defense Partnership.

As Mayor, I have chaired C40—a global network of mayors from the world's largest cities—to confront global climate change and to share the experience of Los Angeles, which is on track to be powered by 100 percent renewable energy by 2035. If confirmed, I will work closely with India to support a similarly bold approach to promoting green energy through the International Solar Alliance and through the Agenda 2030 Climate and Clean Energy Partnership.

The bedrock of our partnership are the human ties that connect our nations, embodied by the four million strong Indian-American diaspora that strengthens our nation and the nearly two hundred thousand Indian students and tens of thousands of Indian professionals who contribute to our economy.

In addition, respect for human rights and strong democratic institutions are key elements of our strategic partnership and values enshrined in our constitutions, and if confirmed, I will engage closely and regularly with the Indian Government on these issues.

I acknowledge the weight and honor of responsibility as Chief of Mission for the welfare of hundreds of U.S. and thousands of locally employed staff in Embassy New Delhi and our four Consulates in India, in addition to the approximately 950,000 U.S. citizens residing in India. If confirmed, there will be no higher priority for me than the security of our Mission team and of U.S. citizens in India.

Chairman Menendez and Ranking Member Risch, thank you for the opportunity to share this testimony. I recognize, respect and relish the role of Congress in advancing our relationship with India and I can't wait to regularly engage with both of you and with all members and their staffs on all matters of mutual concern. If confirmed, I look forward to serving in India as it celebrates 75 years of independence and to shepherding an incredible next chapter in the U.S.-India partnership.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.
Dr. Gutmann?

STATEMENT OF DR. AMY GUTMANN OF PENNSYLVANIA, NOMINATED TO BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

Dr. GUTMANN. Chairman Menendez, Ranking Member Risch, and members of the committee, thank you for the opportunity to appear before you today. I also thank the senators from my home state of Pennsylvania, Senator Casey and Senator Toomey, for their support and friendship.

I would like to introduce my husband of 45 years, Michael W. Doyle, to the committee. His love and his wry wit provide constant sustenance, as do our daughter, Abigail, and son-in-law, Jakub, who regret that they could not be here today.

I am deeply grateful to President Biden and Secretary Blinken for placing their confidence in the daughter of a Jewish-German refugee and a first-generation college graduate to represent our nation to one of our closest and most important European allies.

It would be my honor and duty, if confirmed, to work closely with this committee and Congress as the United States Ambassador to Germany.

My father's journey to the United States made the most profound impression on me. After fleeing Hitler's Germany and saving the lives of his parents and siblings, Kurt Gutmann found a home in the United States.

He instilled in me what it means to lead as an American. Never forget and always stand up against anti-Semitism, racism, and all forms of bigotry and discrimination. Work to advance freedom and democracy, prosperity and the rule of law, national security, and respect for the dignity of all.

"Democracy does not happen by accident," as President Biden has observed. "We have to defend it, fight for it, strengthen it, renew it."

My professional life and scholarship has been devoted to advancing freedom and democracy. As president of the University of Pennsylvania, the largest private employer in Philadelphia and the second largest in Pennsylvania, I expanded educational opportunities while championing civil dialogue and global diplomacy. Innovation and economic growth have soared, generating thousands of jobs while revolutionizing life-saving patient care.

Most recently, Penn research enabled companies in the United States and Germany to produce vaccines that are saving millions of lives in record time.

If confirmed, I will work to further strengthen our bilateral and multilateral relationships with Germany. I highlight just three key priorities here.

First, I will work closely with Congress and many agencies represented by Mission Germany to maximize the benefits of our bilateral relationship. This includes increasing trade and investment, combating climate change, strengthening global health, resisting weaponized energy flows, and countering corruption, terrorism, and malign influence.

Second, I will engage in robust and inclusive public diplomacy to strengthen the foundations of our bilateral relationship. I will engage younger generations of Germans to discuss the United States' role in helping to rebuild a prosperous, unified, and democratic Germany, a story that is an example to the world.

Third, I will advocate to strengthen our transatlantic alliances and European partnerships, central among them NATO and the EU. Partnership with Germany is essential to deterring Russian plans to take further and more significant aggressive moves against Ukraine and to addressing the challenges to our shared security, prosperity, and values posed by the PRC.

An essential foundation for advancing our national interests will be avidly supporting the health, safety, security, and morale of Mission Germany. Our dedicated, hardworking, and unsurpassed public servants and uniformed personnel deserve no less.

Chairman Menendez, Ranking Member Risch, and members of the committee, I am greatly honored to have been nominated to serve as the United States Ambassador to Germany.

If confirmed, I would be excited to begin work during this key juncture in our relations as a new German Government is stepping onto the global stage. I pledge that I will serve the American people with honor and dignity, and I will work to foster an even stronger alliance between the United States and Germany based on our common interests and shared values.

Thank you so much for your consideration. I welcome your questions.

[The prepared statement of Dr. Gutmann follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF DR. AMY GUTMANN

Chairman Menendez, Ranking Member Risch, and members of the committee, thank you for the opportunity to appear before you today. I also want to thank the Senators from my home state of Pennsylvania, Senator Casey and Senator Toomey, for their support and friendship.

I would like to introduce my husband of 45 years, Michael W. Doyle, to the committee. His love and wry wit provide constant sustenance, as do our daughter Abigail and son-in-law Jakub, who regret that they could not be here today.

I am deeply grateful to President Biden and Secretary Blinken for placing their confidence in the daughter of a Jewish German refugee—and a first-generation college graduate—to represent our nation to one of our closest and most important European Allies. More than an honor, it would be my privilege and duty, if confirmed, to work closely with this committee and Congress as the United States Ambassador to Germany.

My father's journey to the United States made the most profound impression on me. After fleeing Hitler's Germany and saving the lives of his parents and siblings, Kurt Gutmann found a home in the United States. He instilled in me what it means to lead as an American. Never forget and always stand up against anti-Semitism, racism, and all forms of hatred, bigotry, and discrimination. Work to advance freedom and democracy, prosperity and the rule of law, national security and respect for the dignity of all. "Democracy doesn't happen by accident," as President Biden has observed. "We have to defend it, fight for it, strengthen it, renew it."

These shared values and interests have formed the foundation of the cooperation between the United States and a democratic Germany for decades.

My professional life has been devoted to advancing freedom and democracy. As President of the University of Pennsylvania, the largest private employer in Philadelphia and the second largest in Pennsylvania, I expanded educational opportunities while championing free speech, civil dialogue, and global diplomacy. Innovation and economic growth have soared, generating thousands of jobs while revolutionizing life-saving patient care. Most recently, Penn research enabled companies in the United States and Germany to produce vaccines based on modified mRNA that are saving millions of lives in record time. My scholarship also has centered on advancing values and interests key to America's global leadership.

If confirmed, I will work to further strengthen our bilateral and multilateral partnerships with Germany. I highlight just three key priorities here.

First, I will work closely with Congress and the many agencies represented by Mission Germany to maximize the benefits of our bilateral relationship. This includes increasing trade and investment, combating climate change, strengthening global health, resisting weaponized energy flows, and countering corruption, terrorism, and malign influence.

Second, I will engage in robust and inclusive public diplomacy to strengthen the foundations of our bilateral relationship. I will engage younger generations of Germans, many with refugee parents like me, to discuss the United States' role in helping to rebuild a prosperous, united, and democratic Germany. That story, rebuilding Germany after the Holocaust to be a champion for democratic principles and human rights, is an example to the world.

Third, I will advocate to strengthen our Transatlantic alliances and European partnerships, central among them NATO and the EU. The stronger and more capable our multilateral partnerships, the more effective we will be in realizing the boundless opportunities in a free and open rule-based order. Partnership with Germany is essential to deterring Russian plans to take further and more significant aggressive moves against Ukraine, and to addressing the challenges to our shared security, prosperity and values posed by the PRC.

An essential foundation for advancing our national interests will be supporting the safety, security, and morale of Mission Germany. This includes the 473 U.S. direct hires, 1,033 family members, and 703 local staff representing nine Cabinet-level and five other independent federal agencies at the Embassy and five consulates, as well as our military service members and all American citizens living in Germany. Whether addressing unexplained health incidents or the physical security of our mission, the health and safety of my team will be my top priority. Our dedicated, hard-working, and unsurpassed public servants and uniformed personnel deserve no less.

Chairman Menendez, Ranking Member Risch, and members of the committee, I am greatly honored to have been nominated to serve as United States Ambassador to a country that is such an important partner with ours, and with which I have such a historically meaningful connection. If confirmed, I would be excited to begin work during this key juncture in our relations, as a new German Government is stepping onto the global stage. I pledge that I will serve the American people with honor and dignity, and I will work to foster an even stronger alliance between the United States and Germany based on our common interests and shared values.

Thank you for your consideration. I welcome your questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. Thank you all for your statements. We will turn to a series of five-minute rounds.

Before I begin that, I have a few questions that are on behalf of the committee as a whole that speak to the importance that this committee places on responsiveness by all officials in the executive branch and that we expect and will be seeking from you. I would ask each of you to provide verbally a yes or no answer to the following questions.

Do you agree to appear before this committee and make officials from your office available to the committee and designated staff when invited?

[All witnesses answer in the affirmative.]

The CHAIRMAN. Do you commit to keep this committee fully and currently informed about the activities under your purview?

[All witnesses answer in the affirmative.]

The CHAIRMAN. Do you commit to engaging in meaningful consultation while policies are being developed, not just providing notification after the fact?

[All witnesses answer in the affirmative.]

The CHAIRMAN. And finally, do you commit to promptly responding to requests for briefings and information requested by the committee and its designated staff?

[All witnesses answer in the affirmative.]

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much. All of the nominees have responded yes to all questions. The chairman will reserve his time and recognize Senator Risch.

Senator RISCH. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Ms. Gutmann, one of my pet peeves is the amount of money that is flowing into institutions of higher education in the United States from China. Most Americans are not aware of this.

I have to tell you, in fact, I worked with the Chairman as we tried to rein this in and we are going to continue to do that, and I want to get your thoughts on this while you are here.

To be honest with you, I was shocked at this number of \$86 million flowing into your institution. I have to tell you, I was also shocked when you indicated you really did not know that much about this. What do you know about that? Do you supervise this at all?

Dr. GUTMANN. Thank you, and please let me put this question into context, first, of your excellent report of November 2020 on transatlantic cooperation on China.

The focus on the PRC's use of American institutions of higher education by having Confucius Institutes at universities to restrict academic freedom, to control faculty hiring, and to threaten our core values is something that I share great concern about.

At a time when Confucius Institutes were proliferating in the United States, I ensured that the University of Pennsylvania did not accept an invitation to have a Confucius Institute—that was in 2009—and have ever since been vigilant against the nefarious influences of the PRC.

Senator RISCH. I think that is to your credit, by the way. I knew that you had declined the invitation to have a Confucius Institute and I think that is really to your credit.

But having said that, the \$86 million is still pretty stunning and I am going to talk about a few of them here when you are done. But go ahead.

Dr. GUTMANN. Thank you for—we are one on this issue. And the second piece of context, which goes directly to your question of the scale of Penn and what I do, as president, take due diligence on, we have 12 schools and six hospitals, and the fundraising over the period you spoke about is over \$5 billion and over my presidency over \$10 billion.

A very small fraction of that comes from China, less—considerably less than 1 percent. What I do make sure of it is—so it is not surprising that I do not know of specific gifts and contracts, most of which are in our Wharton School of Business.

But what I do know and what I make sure of is that no gifts, no contracts, to the University of Pennsylvania, are allowed to threaten academic freedom, are allowed to threaten national secu-

urity. We do no classified research. We get about one gift per three minutes, every few minutes, and one separate different donor every few minutes of every day.

And so it is not surprising that I am not familiar until actually being asked the question by you and your staff of the details of this. I was not familiar with those.

What I am sure of is that the University of Pennsylvania has stood strong against accepting any gifts that would threaten academic freedom, that would threaten national security and, as I said, we do no classified research, and this is aligned also with the concerns expressed in the 2019 staff report by Senators Portman and Carper and the Committee on Homeland Security.

Senator RISCH. Thank so much. I think that is a fair answer, and since it is 1 percent I think that does put it in context for us and that will give us a springboard to go forward here.

I look at these, and I know university presidents. They, certainly, do not deal with the kind of money you do but they look at this list every day to look at those contributions that are coming in and seeing what they can do to advance them some more.

I am surprised you are not at least somewhat more familiar with these. But, I mean, you take things like contributions from the Shanghai Advanced Institute of Finance. I cannot imagine they are giving you money to promote capitalism, but maybe they are.

There is all kinds of these that are anonymous. I mean, million-dollar gifts that says the country of origin is China and it says anonymous, and there is dozens of these on here.

Let me ask you this because my time is up. Do you think if we gave the institutions of higher learning time to extricate their selves from this and to back away from these kinds of influence, particularly when you have a place like China where, clearly, some of this money is coming from slavery? We all know what is going on with the Uighurs and that is money that is being generated, clearly, as a result of slavery.

Do you think that we could wean higher institutions from this cash flow if we gave them time to reconstitute, particularly when, as you noted, it is only 1 percent of what you get? But when you are talking about \$86 million they have got to be getting something for it.

And so it seems to me that we ought to wean the institutions of higher learning from these kind of contributions.

Dr. GUTMANN. Senator, I agree with you that we should make sure that institutions of higher education do not accept gifts from the PRC or any foreign government that would compromise our values.

I should say, for the record, that none of the gifts that the University of Pennsylvania accepted would it accept anonymously. The anonymity is what the Department of Education in its reporting is required by law to do. But every gift under my presidency to the University of Pennsylvania had—was looked at by our legal team and so on and none would be anonymous.

But I do agree with you that we should make sure that institutions of higher education prevent the kind of nefarious influence that the PRC is all too capable of and notorious for.

Senator RISCH. Money always carries influence and that is the difficulty.

My time is up. Thank you, Mr. Chair.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Cardin?

Senator CARDIN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Let me thank all three of our nominees for their willingness to continue to serve and to serve our nation. We thank you very much and we thank your families because we know this is a family commitment. We thank you for all that.

Senator Risch, I think you know that our concerns about the PRC's impact on our academic centers around the nation has been around the entire country. We have had our issues in Maryland, and I appreciate the fact that we need to continue to put a big spotlight on this, and I do congratulate Dr. Gutmann for her leadership at Penn in this area and in so many areas of integrity.

Senator RISCH. And that issue is bipartisan, Senator. I think we can all agree on that.

Senator CARDIN. No question about it. Yes, it is. No question about it.

Ambassador Blome, I want to start, if I might, in regards to Pakistan. You mentioned during your opening statement concern about human rights. We have found significant challenges on protecting basic human rights. Recent actions taken by the Pakistani Government in regards to restrictions on social media platforms is just the latest of the efforts.

Tell me how you plan to use the tools available, if confirmed, to advance the values of human rights that America stands for in your representation in Pakistan.

Ambassador BLOME. Thank you very much, Senator.

If confirmed to this position, I would, certainly, use my position to speak publicly along with my engagements at senior levels of the Pakistani Government to make clear U.S. Government priorities and values with regards to human rights and personal freedoms.

Beyond that, I think it is also very important to work with local groups and individuals who are often courageously leading these fights on the ground and I would look for ways that we can continue to support those groups and strengthen our support for those groups and those voices to make them more effective in leading the movement for change in Pakistan.

Senator CARDIN. And would you send a clear message that the Embassy is open to those who are standing up to defend human rights within Pakistan to have a friendly venue where they will have attentive ears?

Ambassador BLOME. Absolutely, Senator, I would do that, and it, certainly, would be an open door for such groups.

Senator CARDIN. Thank you. I appreciate that.

Mayor Garcetti, I want to talk a little bit about India, if I might. India was just downgraded from the annual report by Freedom House from free to partly free. They recently enacted a Citizenship Amendment Act that is very much aimed against the Muslim population within India.

The same question to you, if you could be a little more specific. India is an incredibly important strategic partner of the United

States but the human rights records there are, certainly, anything but the way we would like to see them.

How do you balance our need to work with India as a strategic partner but making advancements on behalf of human rights?

Mr. GARCETTI. Thank you very much, Senator. There is no question that the U.S.-India relationship should be underpinned by our common commitment to democracy, to human rights, and to civil society.

It is enshrined in our constitutions—the oldest democracy in the world and the largest democracy in the world—and human rights and defense of democracy is a pillar of our foreign policy.

But to answer specifically, if confirmed, I will actively raise these issues. I will raise them with humility. It is a two-way street on these. But I intend to engage directly with civil society.

There are groups that are actively fighting for the human rights of people on the ground in India that will get direct engagement from me. We know that democracies are complicated—we can look at our own and at India's—but it is a cornerstone of our shared values.

And I just want to say, for me, these will not be afterthoughts. My Master's degree was in human rights and international law. I have fought for human rights on four different continents and it will be a core part of what I will pursue with my Indian counterparts, if confirmed.

Senator CARDIN. I believe the Citizenship Amendment was passed just recently. The way it looks like it is going to be implemented it will be very discriminatory against the Muslim population, which is very, very large.

Do we have your commitment that you will be a voice in regards to any discrimination against minority groups such as the Muslim population within India?

Mr. GARCETTI. Absolutely, Mr. Cardin. Thank you, Senator. And I would not only just bring it up, but it would not be something at the end as an obligation. It will be a core piece of what I will be engaging my Indian counterparts, if confirmed, with.

Senator CARDIN. Thank you. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Senator Shaheen?

Senator SHAHEEN. Congratulations to each of our nominees. If confirmed, I look forward to working with you and I know this committee feels the same way.

Mayor Garcetti, I would like to begin with you because I have read with some concern accusations that one of your advisors engaged in a pattern sexual harassment while employed for you and that you did not respond to those allegations in a way that would have stopped the behavior.

And I raise this because I want to give you a chance to respond to those allegations but also because, as we all know, India is an ally, the world's biggest democracy, but it is a democracy where the rights of women and sexual assault and sexual harassment against women has been rampant over the years. They have made some real progress and women are speaking out more, but there is still a great deal of fear and intimidation for women to speak out on issues of harassment.

And so I think it is very important that we model the behavior that we want to see in our allies and so I wanted to give you a chance to respond to those allegations.

Mr. GARCETTI. Thank you, Senator, and I deeply appreciate not only the importance of that question, I understand, but I am very grateful for the opportunity to address it as well.

Simply said, Senator, harassment and discrimination have no place in the workplace, no place in our society, and I have zero tolerance for that, and I also know that words are not enough.

We have to take persistent action to support and protect victims and I have dedicated my professional life to doing just that, whether it was in college setting up the National Student Coalition Against Harassment, whether it is as a naval officer adjudicating cases, or as a mayor, where I have broad-backed policies to be able to centralize complaints and to allow folks to anonymously be able to report and seek justice.

In regards to this specific case, I want to say unequivocally that I never witnessed nor was it brought to my attention the behavior that has been alleged, and I also want to assure you if it had been I would have immediately taken action to stop that.

In India, this will be a priority of mine because it has been a priority my entire life. My wife and I have served, and I know Senator Risch's staff has worked closely, for instance, with the Coalition to Abolish Slavery and Trafficking.

I have on-the-ground experience with standing up law enforcement to go after sexual harassment, sexual assault, civilian teams that roll out on domestic violence and sexual assault calls for police officers to be able to engage and help people extricate themselves.

But I will as ambassador, if confirmed, not have this as one of the issues. It is a core issue of my life and will be if confirmed as ambassador.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you very much.

Mr. GARCETTI. Thank you, Senator.

Senator SHAHEEN. I look forward to your strong stance when you are confirmed.

Mr. GARCETTI. Thank you.

Senator SHAHEEN. Dr. Gutmann, as you are aware, I am sure, the United States and Germany last summer made a joint statement to Ukraine about the importance of taking—of responding to Russia's aggressive behavior in Ukraine and using—taking the opportunity to try to use Nord Stream 2 as a way to use energy to threaten Ukraine and to weaponize energy.

As you are thinking about your role as ambassador, how will you work with Germany, with this new government in Germany, around the Nord Stream 2 issue and around holding Russia accountable for its efforts to weaponize energy?

Dr. GUTMANN. Thank you, Senator, for that important question. I view our opportunity to advance our relationship to Germany as one that is opened up by the new coalition government, Germany being one of our strongest European allies.

I believe Nord Stream 2 is a bad deal—a bad deal for Germany, for Ukraine, terrible for all of Europe and the United States. You have my commitment to focus on a diplomacy that resists all

threats, all human rights violations, especially from Russia and the PRC.

I will call on Germany to meet its 2 percent commitment to NATO. That is an important security measure against Russia. I view the July joint statement as setting not only a commitment and an important floor on our expectations of alliance with our important ally, but it is a floor, not a ceiling, on what we may need to do together.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you very much. I am sure that everyone on this committee would agree with that strong position.

I am out of time, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Senator Coons?

Senator COONS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member. Thank you to all three of today's nominees. I have enjoyed working with you in the past and look forward to this next chapter in your service to our nation.

I am thrilled the Biden administration continues to send to the Senate and this committee such well-qualified nominees. I will just note at the outset, I am gravely concerned that for three such important countries we do not have confirmed ambassadors and it is the middle of December.

I will do everything I can to advance your nominations through this committee and the floor, and hope my colleagues on both sides of the aisle will work with us to achieve that goal.

If I might, Mayor Garcetti, it is great to see you again, and I think your experience leading a global coalition of mayors in combating climate change will serve you well in this new role. Your long experience in foreign relations as well as in leading a critical city of our nation will be important.

Talk to me about how you think we can continue to build on the U.S.-India relationship in terms of public health and how we might strengthen and expand our partnership around vaccine manufacturing while still finding ways to respect American innovation and protect some of the ways in which our inventions or creations, whether it is in copyright, trademark, or elsewhere, could be best protected.

Mr. GARCETTI. Thank you, Senator, and thank you for your friendship and collaboration over the years as well.

I am very excited, if confirmed, about this part of the job. Public health on both sides of the Indo-Pacific are going to be critical and the Quad Leaders Summit, I think, embodied that.

It was not just U.S. and India but also the two other countries that make up the Quad joining together to support the manufacturing capacity of India, to bring a billion more vaccine doses around the world, and vice versa, for us to be able to make sure that we have supply chains that are diversified from a single country.

I think that when it comes to public health we have a very strong record together, whether it is in those supply chains or some of the innovations that we have.

And I would just offer, if confirmed, to my Indian counterparts it is in our mutual interest to co-write rules of law that will allow intellectual property in India, which they develop.

They are not just a country that produces vaccines made elsewhere. They are great innovators in the medical field. They want to protect that intellectual property and we want to as well.

When it comes to emergencies like a COVID pandemic, I think the moves of this administration were the right ones to try to open that up, to try to work with the world community and the private sector to say in crisis moments we can relax those rules in order to save lives.

But for the long term, I think we have great jobs to produce both in India and, most importantly, here in the U.S. from that cooperation.

Senator COONS. Thank you, Mayor, and I look forward to even closer U.S.-India ties both in security and strategy, but also in research and economically and in public health.

Dr. Gutmann, it is great to see you again. I recently led a bipartisan delegation to Berlin. We met with Chancellor Scholz and senior members of the Bundestag. I will be interested to see how their foreign policy of this new coalition government differs from the previous.

What do you think might be the challenges in the Bundestag, given the coalition's statement in maintaining consensus on foreign policy, and how do you think we can learn from the ways in which German advanced manufacturing and, in particular, their workforce skilling practices may show the way in the new economic environment that we face post-pandemic?

Dr. GUTMANN. Thank you, Senator, and thank you for leading the CODEL to Germany and other countries at such an important time.

I was heartened to see that Chancellor Scholz mentioned that there is continuity in German foreign policy. That said, I think there is always more to be done and especially in light, as you mentioned, of the challenges of Russian aggression, of Chinese malign influence, Chinese predatory trade practices, Chinese genocide against Xinjiang, against the Uighurs, and its aggressions against Hong Kong, Tibet, and its threats to Taiwan.

So I see this as an opportunity. I think there will be a challenge with the coalition, no doubt. I think we can address that with strong and respectful diplomacy.

On the trade and investment, Germany, as you know, is our third largest source of foreign direct investment and accounts for over 850,000 jobs for Americans and we, in turn, account for about 700,000 jobs in Germany.

Germany has a model of apprenticeship that I believe we could build on in close partnership with Germany. It already exists in the United States in some states and I think we could do more. It is a great alternative for talented hard-working young people for whom four-year college is not the best.

My father actually was apprenticing at the time he had to flee Nazi Germany, but that apprentice program has grown in the Democratic Republic and I think we could learn and work with Germany on it.

Senator COONS. Thank you very much, Dr. Gutmann. Could I ask forbearance for one more question or should I move on?

The CHAIRMAN. Go right ahead.

Senator COONS. Mr. Chairman, briefly, if I might.

Ambassador Blome, you and the mayor will be nearby in a very tough neighborhood. I will just be interested, briefly, in how you believe we can repair the U.S.-Pakistan relationship while also more successfully engaging them in the counterterrorism mission, going forward.

Ambassador BLOME. Thank you, Senator.

I think it is very important that we find ways to work together to address some of these shared challenges that we are going to face on the counterterrorism front now. We have to be clear eyed about the troubled history that we have had on these issues.

But looking ahead, I think Pakistan has a shared interest in ensuring that Afghanistan does not once again become host to terrorist groups and a contributor to regional instability, and I think we have seen some signs recently in terms of Pakistan's willingness to engage with international partners on issues of Afghanistan's future, including in the extended Troika format recently and the upcoming OIC meeting that is going to be dedicated to that question. I will urge them to continue to work together with international partners on a common set of objectives there.

Senator COONS. Thank you—

Ambassador BLOME. And looking a little bit further ahead, I think there is things that we can do on the trade and investment front to grow the U.S.-Pakistani trade and investment relationship in a way that benefits both our countries in a balanced way. I believe there are significant opportunities there that I would look for.

Senator COONS. Thank you, Ambassador. I look forward to working with you. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Kaine?

Senator KAINE. Thank you, Mr. Chair, and I want to congratulate each of the nominees for the positions. You are all very, very well qualified.

I will begin with you, Ambassador Blome, to just continue the line of thought. In Pakistan, Pakistan, arguably, is China's closest ally in South Asia. How would you see Islamabad balancing ties with the United States and China, particularly as we work more closely together with India on mechanisms like the Quad and the Indo-Pacific?

Ambassador BLOME. Thank you, Senator. I think Pakistan has signaled very clearly an interest in diversifying their relationships. While their relationship with China has been important, recently I think the signal has been very clear that they are interested in a—growing the relationship with the United States, doing business, treating the United States as a key partner for Pakistan's private sector.

We have been Pakistan's largest export market for decades. We enjoy strong people-to-people ties with the people of Pakistan through their diaspora, through civil society, and their stated aspirations of a geoeconomic-driven foreign policy demonstrates their interest in diversifying the relationship beyond Beijing.

If confirmed to this position I would look forward to working on those issues with Pakistan.

Senator COONS. Thank you, Mr. Ambassador.

Mr. Mayor, great to see you again. Congratulations to you and to your family. I have kind of a similar question not about China but actually about Russia. India and Russia have had a long-standing defense tie. Prior to the passage of the CAATSA sanction law in 2016, India had begun to explore purchase of the S-400 air defense system from Russia. That could trigger CAATSA sanctions. There is an executive waiver possibility within the CAATSA sanctions.

But talk to us a little bit about as we are doing more and more together with India in our military relations, a lot of joint exercises—the Indian military does more joint exercise with the United States than any other nation—what is the potential danger to the U.S.-India mil cooperation that the acquisition of the S-400 system would create?

Mr. GARCETTI. Thank you, Senator, and great to see you as well. I do not want to prejudge the Secretary's decision about sanctions or a waiver, and I do want to tell the Chairman, Ranking Member, all the members, I do fully support the law of the land, the implementation of CAATSA as law here, and part of that is the waiver provision, as you mentioned.

If confirmed, though, I would advocate the following: the continued diversification of India's weapon system, the threats to our own weapon systems if that diversification does not occur because we have to protect our data and our systems, and work towards really growing this major defense partnership.

I think it is one of the great success stories of the last few decades, from zero to \$20 billion in procurement, the intelligence sharing that we have, the interoperability, the exercises, the maritime work that we are doing, and I would seek, as somebody who has served alongside my Indian counterparts, to really deepen those people-to-people relationships in the military, the industrial coordination on that, and just be very clear about what the threats are to our system, especially for new weapon systems in the future that would come from outside the United States or, in this case, Russia.

Senator KAINE. And Mr. Mayor, I walked in right at the end of Senator Cardin's questions but I know he was also asking you questions about human rights and I just want to put an exclamation point on that.

We have a sizable Indian diaspora community in Virginia and many Sikhs and others feel like there is often nationalism or religious division that is sort of pushed at times of internal political challenge and they feel victimized by that, and I hope that is a matter that you will take very, very seriously with this important ally.

Dr. Gutmann, congratulations to you. Senator Coons was covering what I wanted to cover. But just in particular, I just want to make sure that Germany sees the same danger in Russia amassing forces on the Ukraine border as the U.S. does.

We had some meetings earlier, Senator Coons and I, at the Halifax Security Forum with EU officials—they were not from Germany but they were EU officials—and it did not make us feel good. They did not seem to feel that the danger of the Russian troops amassing on the border was as significant as we believe it to be.

Germany believes the Nord Stream pipeline is very, very important. But I would have to believe and expect that they would view an incursion into Ukrainian sovereignty, a further incursion by Russia, as sort of an existential challenge in Europe and I hope that they see that threat as seriously as we do.

Dr. GUTMANN. As do I, Senator, and if confirmed, I will take the good work of this committee and of Congress and the administration's—what I understand the ongoing high-level discussions going on now to Germany and really underscore how important it is to act strongly in alliance against the aggressions of Russia.

Senator KAINE. Thank you. Thank you, Mr. Chair.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Van Hollen is with us virtually.

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Van Hollen?

Senator VAN HOLLEN. Can you hear—Mr. Chairman, can you hear me okay?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, I can, loud and clear.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. All right. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Congratulations to all of you on your nominations.

Dr. Gutmann, as you mentioned in your opening statement and in response to questions, you are going to be representing the United States with a critical NATO ally, Germany, with the new government and at a time where we are witnessing ongoing Russian aggression, especially threats to the sovereignty of Ukraine.

And so I know that you understand the severity of the situation. I hope the Biden administration and Germany will agree that if Russia takes any offensive actions or invades Ukraine there would be an immediate snap back of the Nord Stream 2 sanctions.

Mayor Garcetti, congratulations to you on your nomination. As you know, India is a critical U.S. partner in the Indo-Pacific region. I want to salute the Biden administration's efforts to further expand the Quad relationship and India's role in it, and as been indicated earlier, we are working with India to try to develop vaccines to address the challenges throughout the developing world.

Maryland has a company, Novavax that has teamed up with the Serum Institute of India and have pledged to provide 1.1 billion doses to COVAX to distribute to the neediest places around the world. That is still going through the final hoops of getting accepted, but I am confident that that is going to happen and I look forward to staying in touch with you about that.

Ambassador Blome, thank you for your service over many years in the Foreign Service and your most recent posting in Tunisia. As we discussed when I met you earlier, I have been concerned with the lack of a real strategy from the administration as it relates to Pakistan.

I am interested in your thoughts on how we can more fully engage both economically, politically, and on security issues at the highest levels. Pakistan, as you know, is an important country at any time. It has an especially important role right now with the withdrawal of U.S. and other forces from Afghanistan and the Taliban takeover of Afghanistan.

There are many who exaggerate the amount of influence that Pakistan has over the Taliban. People forget that Pakistan has waged its own bloody war against the Pakistani Taliban—the

TTP—and as you know, Pakistan has not yet recognized the new government in Kabul—the new Taliban Government.

At the same time, clearly, Pakistan has ties to elements of the Taliban and could play a positive role, potentially, going forward with respect to our demands on the new Taliban Government.

Here is the question. What do you think our strategy should be? What role can Pakistan play in furthering our goals, together with others in the international community, with respect to the goals we have set out in Afghanistan and the demands we have placed on the new government there?

Ambassador BLOME. Thank you, Senator, for that question, a very important one.

I think there are opportunities to work with Pakistan on the agenda that we have set out for Afghanistan, and in particular, I think we can identify a number of areas of common ground that we have with Pakistan in trying to achieve a government that is inclusive in nature inside Afghanistan, one that can help avert humanitarian catastrophe inside the country, stabilize the economy, and ensure that Afghanistan does not, again, become a source of terrorist threats to the United States and our allies.

We have set these out in a number of dialogues that we have had recently in international fora with Pakistan, including those hosted in the extended Troika format and in the upcoming OIC.

I think we have established a basis that we can work with Pakistan on those important strategic issues. We have to find a way to make progress on this and work together on these issues.

Beyond that, again, as we discussed in our meeting, Senator, I think we can also look at ways we can build the relationship with Pakistan on other bases that are important, including the trade and investment ties that I mentioned before.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. Thank you. I would just ask you, if confirmed, to use your influence to arrange a telephone call between President Biden and Prime Minister Kahn. I think this is a self—this is an own goal. This is an unforced error on our part. It would be, I think, an important gesture at this point in time.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Senator Rubio?

Senator RUBIO. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and I will not use, hopefully, my whole time. I know we are pending a vote that has already started.

I guess, Ms. Gutmann, I wanted to—I know Senator Risch has already asked about the money the entities—the Chinese entities gave to the university.

And good morning to all of you. Thank you for all your willingness to serve and be here.

I wanted to ask you more specifically about China and Germany. Germany is China's largest European trading partner, and since 2017, I think, China has been Germany's largest trading partner.

And it is concerning because while other governments have been more forward leaning, for example, on the diplomatic boycott of the Olympics and speaking out about the genocide of the Uighurs, Ger-

many has, obviously, been more resistant and I think the commercial links explain why.

What is, generally, your assessment of how the Germans view China on a global scale and what are your plans or thoughts about getting them to become more engaged?

Dr. GUTMANN. Thank you for that very important question, Senator.

My sense is that there has been a balancing in the German Government between its important economic ties with China and its concerns for human rights and democracy and the threats thereof.

If confirmed, I would lean in on this to emphasize our government's position and our society's position that the ongoing genocide in Xinjiang province against the Uighurs, the threats to fair market practices, cybersecurity threats, and I could go on and on, and will, if confirmed, with the German Government pose economic as well as security threats to Germany, to Europe, to the free world and, of course, to the United States.

I see this as an opportunity with the new government, that there is an opening to help build and reset Germans' position. I will very much urge Germany, in concert with this committee, to join us in boycotting the Olympics, to stand down and speak up against Chinese practices in alliance.

It will be to the betterment of German security and, most important to me, if confirmed, to the interests and the values of the United States.

Senator RUBIO. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. There are a series of votes going on. There is no other member that I know of seeking recognition at this time. The chair has a series of very significant questions, but he is going to submit it—I am going to submit it for the record.

I would expect substantive answers to my questions. I would hate to be the one holding you up for your business meeting.

This record will remain open until the close of business tomorrow. I would ask members to submit their questions. I would ask the nominees to answer those questions expeditiously and substantively so we can consider your nominations before a business meeting.

With the thanks of the committee, this hearing is adjourned.

Senator RISCH. I would like to have this submitted for the record, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the documents that Senator Risch has asked will be included in the record.

[The information referred to is located at the end of this transcript.]

The CHAIRMAN. And this hearing is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 11:23 a.m., the hearing was adjourned.]

Additional Material Submitted for the Record

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO HON. DONALD ARMIN BLOME BY SENATOR ROBERT MENENDEZ

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 re-

sponse 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. The Biden administration is committed to the health, safety, and security of all U.S. Government personnel and family members serving domestically and overseas. This commitment extends to the handling of anomalous health incidents (AHI). As of October 2021, the Department has received reports of AHIs from every region of the globe. If I am confirmed, you have my commitment that I will work with my colleagues at the Department to address these cases in Mission Pakistan to ensure all employees and their families get any care they need. The safety of our personnel has always been a top priority for the Mission; if confirmed, I will continue to ensure that threats against U.S. personnel are taken seriously.

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. The Secretary and all of us at the Department and throughout the U.S. Government take reports of anomalous health incidents very seriously. If I am confirmed, you have my commitment that I will follow the Department's protocols on reporting and addressing these incidents through the Health Incident Response Task Force (HIRTF).

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 I am confirmed, you have my commitment that I will follow the Department's protocols on reporting and addressing these incidents through the Health Incident Response Task Force (HIRTF). I will ensure that this topic be included in briefings I will receive upon arrival at post if confirmed.

Question. Pakistan played a double-game throughout the war in Afghanistan, claiming to support U.S. counterterrorism efforts while allowing the Taliban and al-Qaeda to operate on their territory.

- Please assess the relationship between the Pakistani ISI and the Taliban. How will you navigate that relationship as ambassador, given our non-recognition of the Taliban regime in Kabul?

Answer. Pakistan repeatedly called for an inclusive political solution to the conflict in Afghanistan, though it has not been willing to take steps that would jeopardize its relationship with the Taliban. The State Department has engaged with the Pakistani Government at senior levels, including Secretary Blinken, Deputy Secretary Sherman, and Special Representative for Afghanistan West, to urge close coordination and alignment with the international community on the way forward in Afghanistan.

If confirmed, I will convey to Pakistan the importance the U.S. administration places on Pakistan's constructive role moving forward. I also will make it clear to Pakistan that a government in Kabul that allows safe passage for those who wish to leave Afghanistan, is inclusive, protects the rights of women and members of minority groups, adheres to its counterterrorism commitments, and ensures humanitarian access would be in the best interests of all countries in the region.

Question. Since the fall of Kabul, the Pakistani Government seems increasingly willing to cut deals with domestic, religiously motivated violent extremist groups, such as the Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan and the Tehreek-e-Labbaik Pakistan.

- What is your assessment of the Pakistani Government's actions since the fall of Kabul when it comes to domestic extremism? Do you believe this is a tactical response to the events in Afghanistan or indicative of a broader shift in how the Government deals with such groups?

Answer. Pakistan has a shared interest in ensuring terrorist organizations operating in Afghanistan and Pakistan do not threaten regional stability. The Government of Pakistan in no way supports the TTP, and in fact our interests align in halting the TTP's activities in the border regions.

Pakistan seeks regional stability and is sensitive to threats from domestic extremists that target the Pakistani state. Pakistan is also concerned about the potential effects that Afghanistan's failed economy could directly have on its neighbors, such as impacts to trade, security, and refugee movements. If confirmed, I will reinforce our shared interest in taking action against the TTP and all other terrorist groups.

Question. Pakistan's relationship with China is growing stronger through both economic and security partnerships. The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor is the flagship project of the Belt and Road Initiative, with Beijing offering more than \$62 billion in loans for energy and infrastructure projects.

- How do you assess the long-term trend of China-Pakistan relations? What do you see as the main areas of growth in that relationship? What are potential points of tension between the two nations?

Answer. PRC global lending, including to Pakistan, frequently fails to meet international standards of openness, inclusivity, transparency, and governance. Unsustainably high financial obligations that are at odds with those standards risk undermining Pakistan's economic stability and limit opportunities for Pakistani workers and businesses. China's close ties with Pakistan do not preclude the United States from also having a productive partnership with Pakistan. Pakistan's stated aspirations of a "geo-economic"-driven foreign policy demonstrates its interest in diversifying its relationship beyond Beijing. The United States is a key partner for Pakistan's private sector, and we have been Pakistan's largest export market for decades. The United States enjoys strong people-to-people ties with Pakistan through the diaspora, civil society, educational exchanges, and beyond. If confirmed, I will continue and expand U.S. Government efforts with the Government of Pakistan, civil society, minority populations, and the private sector to promote robust U.S.-Pakistani economic and financial ties that continues to be open, inclusive, and transparent.

Question. According to a U.S. Commission on International Freedom (USCIRF) report, Pakistan has the second strictest blasphemy laws in the world, after Iran. Worryingly, there has been a surge in blasphemy cases against religious minorities in recent years. The existence of Pakistan's blasphemy laws have normalized extrajudicial enforcement from violent mobs. In December 2021, a Sri Lankan factory manager was lynched and his body set on fire by a brutal mob in Pakistan over allegations of blasphemy.

- If confirmed, how would you address this troubling trend of violence in Pakistan that is creating an increasingly unsafe environment for religious minorities?

Answer. The U.S. Government strongly opposes blasphemy laws and views their very existence as inconsistent with the right to freedom of religion or belief. Pakistan has allowed application of these laws to lead to egregious arrests of those wrongfully accused, and subjected individuals to years of unjust imprisonment and targeted assassinations. These laws are also too often used by individuals as a pretext to justify violence against those whose religion or ethnicity differs from their own or to settle personal grievances.

I am concerned by the pattern of targeted killings against individuals accused of blasphemy and members of Pakistan's Ahmadiyya community, including U.S. citizen Tahir Naseem, who was gunned down in open court in Peshawar while on trial for blasphemy in July 2020 and the mob violence against the Sri Lankan businessman you referenced. If confirmed, I will continue U.S. calls for justice for Mr. Naseem and urge Pakistan to reform its blasphemy laws. I also will advocate for the right of members of religious minority groups to practice their faith free from harassment or threat of violence while enjoying the full protection of the rule of law. If confirmed, I will raise this and other cases forcefully and engage and empower civil society groups advocating for reform to the blasphemy laws.

Question. Since 2018, Pakistan has been designated a "Country of Particular Concern" for their gross violations of religious liberty and freedom of belief. However, for the last four years, the State Department's CPC designation on Pakistan has been accompanied with a waiver on congressionally-mandated U.S. sanctions under the International Religious Freedom Act of 1998.

- Do you believe that granting the waiver the last four years has benefited the United States and advanced our interests in the region? Do you think that Pakistan should continue to receive this waiver?

Answer. If confirmed, I will continue to advocate for the rights of everyone to express their religion or belief in a safe and secure environment. The Pakistani Government has taken significant notice of the "Country of Particular Concern" designation, and we continue to engage at senior levels to advance our position. I will work with the Department to assess the utility of the Presidential waiver based on the effect of our advocacy on religious freedoms, if confirmed.

Question. In January 2021, Pakistan's Supreme Court released Ahmed Omar Saeed Sheikh who was responsible for the beheading of American journalist Daniel Pearl. Secretary Blinken called the decision "an affront to terrorism victims every-

where.” Sheikh was previously indicted by a U.S. grand jury for the kidnapping and murder of Daniel Pearl and the 1994 kidnapping of a United States citizen in India.

- Do you unequivocally condemn the release of Pearl’s murderer? What steps has the State Department taken since the decision to secure justice for Pearl’s family, and what steps will you take if you are confirmed?

Answer. Securing justice for Daniel Pearl and his family is and will remain a priority of the U.S. Government. Ahmed Omar Saeed Sheikh and his co-conspirators remain under detention as the decision of a Supreme Court panel is being reviewed. If confirmed, I commit to consistently emphasize the importance the United States places on this matter in my engagements with Pakistani leaders and I will urge them to keep detained those responsible for Mr. Pearl’s kidnapping and murder and to pursue a robust review of the judgments that led to their ordered release. Those guilty for this heinous crime must continue to be held accountable.

Question. Pakistan remains a Major Non-NATO Ally, which grants it privileged status for increased U.S. assistance and advanced weapon procurement under the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 and the Arms Export Control Act. Since 2001, Pakistan has received over \$34 billion in U.S. assistance, including military assistance, even after the Taliban took Kabul with the public cheerleading of the Pakistani Government.

- Do you think Pakistan should remain a Major Non-NATO Ally with all the benefits afforded to countries on that list?

Answer. Pakistan remains an important partner with shared regional strategic and counterterrorism interests. Pakistan seeks regional stability and has a shared interest in ensuring Afghanistan does not once again become host to terrorist groups with transnational ambitions and that violence and unrest does not spill across from Afghanistan into Pakistan.

If confirmed, I commit to consider all tools at our disposal and regularly engage with Pakistani officials at the highest levels to convey the U.S. expectation that Pakistan must advance a peaceful, stable, and prosperous South Asia. I commit to consulting closely with this committee on any consideration of a change in MNNA status.

Question. Pakistan has recently signed agreements with both China and Turkey to co-produce unmanned aerial vehicles. In 2020, Pakistan reportedly purchased the CH-4 from China and in 2021, Pakistan signed an agreement with Turkish Aerospace Industries to produce Anka combat drones.

- Please assess Pakistan’s UAV capabilities and partnerships on UAV technology with both China and Turkey.

Answer. Pakistan has an active defense relationship with PRC and Turkey and, like many other countries, seeks to capitalize on UAV technology to meet its defense and security needs. Pakistan prefers U.S. equipment but has pursued defense relationships with China, Turkey, and other countries in part because the United States has limited its security cooperation with Pakistan. If confirmed, I commit to monitoring Pakistan’s UAV partnerships and keeping this committee informed of pertinent developments in Pakistan’s defense and procurement relationships involving advanced technology.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO HON. DONALD ARMIN BLOME BY SENATOR JAMES E. RISCH

Question. In the 2021 Trafficking in Persons Report, Pakistan was identified as Tier 2 Watch List for the second year in a row because of a continued lack of overall adequate resources to address trafficking. How will you work with the Pakistan Government to address these issues if you are confirmed as Ambassador?

Answer. Pakistan’s largest human trafficking problem is bonded labor, particularly in the agriculture and brick-making sectors. Key recommendations in the Department’s 2021 TIP Report included increasing investigations and prosecutions of traffickers, including complicit officials, and increasing efforts to identify and provide sufficient services for trafficking victims. Pakistan has expressed interest in working with the United States to combat human trafficking and has made certain strides in implementing anti-TIP measures. These efforts included finalizing implementation rules for the 2018 Prevention of Trafficking in Persons Act (PTPA), adopting a new five-year national action plan to combat trafficking in persons and migrant smuggling crimes, and referring more potential trafficking victims for care

than in the previous reporting period. Effective implementation of legislation will be an important indicator of Pakistan's commitment to addressing TIP in the coming years.

If confirmed, I will work closely with government officials and civil society. One group worth highlighting is the Pakistan-U.S. Alumni Network (PUAN), the largest network of U.S. Government exchange program alumni in the world, with 32,000 members, which created an interest group with experts in combatting human trafficking. These respected specialists' voices resonate in their communities and help the U.S. Government not only refine its approach but also amplify and communicate key policy concerns.

Question. In the 2020 International Religious Freedom report, Pakistan was identified as having very little societal and governmental respect for religious freedom. What is your assessment of this particular issue and if confirmed, how will you work with the Office of International Religious Freedom to bolster religious freedom in-country?

Answer. Repression of religious freedom in Pakistan is a multi-faceted problem that manifests itself in many ways, including the harsh enforcement of blasphemy laws and persecution of the Ahmadiyya community. The U.S. Government strongly opposes blasphemy laws and views them as inconsistent with the right to freedom of religion or belief. Pakistan has allowed application of these laws to lead to egregious arrests of those wrongfully accused and subjected individuals to years of unjust imprisonment and targeted assassinations. These laws are also too often used by individuals as a pretext to justify violence against those whose religion or ethnicity differs from their own or to settle personal grievances.

If confirmed, I will continue U.S. calls for justice for the murder of Tahir Naseem, a U.S. citizen gunned down in open court in Peshawar while on trial for blasphemy in July 2020, and urge Pakistan to reform its blasphemy laws. I also will advocate for the rights of members of religious minority groups to practice their faith free from harassment or threat of violence while enjoying the full protection of the rule of law. I will raise this and other cases forcefully and engage civil society groups advocating for reform to the blasphemy laws and religious minority rights.

Question. In the 2020 Human Rights Report, Pakistan was identified as having committed severe human rights abuses, including arbitrary or unlawful government interference with privacy; serious restrictions on free expression, the press, and the internet, including violence against journalists, unjustified arrests and disappearances of journalists, censorship, and site blocking; government interference with the rights of peaceful assembly and freedom of association, such as overly restrictive nongovernmental organization laws; severe restrictions of religious freedom, and more.

If confirmed, what steps will you take to address these instances with the host government?

Answer. Press freedom and freedom of expression are integral to all functioning democracies, and if confirmed, I will advocate that Pakistan cease harassment and censorship of its journalists, reform legislation that stifles freedom of expression, commit to ensuring the physical safety of journalists, and emphasize the importance of a free, independent, and diverse press that does not face intimidation and coercion. I will meet with local press with my public affairs team when appropriate.

Another issue of concern is the lack of accountability for enforced disappearances of political and human rights activists. I will press for the Government to transparently, and in consultation with all stakeholders, reinvigorate its investigations into individual cases of disappearances and hold perpetrators accountable.

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

Answer. Strong civil society organizations provide the opportunity for civic engagement upon which a healthy democracy relies. The U.S. Government currently works closely with Pakistani civil society organizations, and if confirmed, I will seek to continue U.S.-funded programs that support civil society development. I will also urge the Government of Pakistan to ensure space for civil society to operate free of intimidation or harassment. I will seek to strengthen the relationship between civil society organizations and the Government of Pakistan, including by regularly meeting with members of Pakistani civil society and, when appropriate, providing a platform to highlight their work.

Question. If confirmed, how will you work with American businesses and social media companies, like Twitter, on the Government's efforts to silence dissent and punish critics on social media?

Answer. Freedom of expression is integral to all functioning democracies, and if confirmed, I will advocate that Pakistan cease harassment and censorship of its critics and emphasize the importance of a free, independent, and diverse press and public sphere free from intimidation and coercion. Relatedly, U.S. firms have relayed their concerns about data localization and local presence requirements in the recently enacted Removal and Blocking of Unlawful Online Content Rules 2021 and other measures of the draft Personal Data Protection Bill which could harm their ability to conduct business in Pakistan. We have repeatedly raised these concerns with Pakistani officials. If confirmed, I would advocate for Pakistan to address those issues before finalizing legislation.

Question. The Office of Multilateral Strategy and Personnel (MSP) in the IO bureau at the State Department is leading a whole-of-government effort to identify, recruit, and install qualified, independent personnel at the UN, 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 capitals and within the U.N. member states.

If confirmed, do you commit to demarching the Pakistan Government and any other counterparts necessary to communicate our support of Doreen?

Answer. Electing Doreen Bogdan-Martin as the next secretary-general of the International Telecommunication Union (ITU) in September 2022 is a top priority for the United States. With almost three decades of experience at the ITU, she is the most qualified candidate for the job. If confirmed, I will continue to urge Pakistan to support her candidacy and to deepen our two countries' cooperation to advance shared goals on critical telecommunications issues.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to aiding the MSP office in efforts to support U.S. desired candidates within the U.N. system?

Answer. If confirmed, I will coordinate closely with the IO/MSP office and across the broader U.S. interagency as well as with likeminded countries to advance efforts to elect qualified, independent candidates for U.N. bodies, including the International Telecommunication Union (ITU) and the Human Rights Committee/International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR). In consultation with Congress and the Executive Branch, I will strive to advance U.S. priorities across key multilateral bodies and will work with the rest of the international community to meet our shared commitment to promoting respect for democracy and human rights.

Question. U.S. missions across the globe have been under enormous strain over the past few years due to COVID.

- What is your understanding of morale throughout Mission [Islamabad]?

Answer. While Mission personnel have experienced significant hardship during the COVID-19 pandemic, the Mission is now over 99 percent vaccinated and has energetically pursued our strategic objectives in Pakistan. I understand morale is high, but this will be an issue I will prioritize if confirmed to this position.

Question. How do you intend to improve morale across all of Mission [Islamabad]?

Answer. If confirmed, I will consult closely with Mission staff to understand the complex challenges of Mission Pakistan. I commit to being a responsive Chief of Mission who puts our people first, and I will work to ensure they have the resources and support they need to do their jobs.

Question. How do you intend to create a unified mission and vision across Mission [Pakistan]?

Answer. If confirmed, I plan to closely align Mission Pakistan's efforts with the President's interim National Security Strategy, National Security Council guidance, State and USAID's Joint Strategic Plan, the SCA Joint Regional Strategy, USAID's Country Development and Cooperation Strategy, and the Mission Pakistan Integrated Country Strategy. I intend to run a mission that puts U.S. interests first, in accordance with U.S. law and overarching strategic regional interests. I will stress in particular coordination across interagency elements on the Country Team to ensure a cooperative environment, mutually reinforcing efforts, and clarity of and adherence to our objectives.

Question. Management is a key responsibility for chiefs of mission.

- How would you describe your management style?

Answer. As Ambassador to Tunisia, I use an inclusive, mission-driven approach that prioritizes open communication, a unity of purpose across the Country Team,

and results oriented planning. I consult closely with the White House, Department of State, interagency, and Congress to advance U.S. objectives. I have zero tolerance for misconduct and prioritize mentorship for team members of all ranks and backgrounds. I will fully adhere to the Department's diversity, equity, and inclusion principles.

Question. If confirmed, how do you believe your management style will translate to an Embassy setting, where resources may not be readily available and your diplomatic workforce consists of career employees?

Answer. I have led successful results-oriented missions in a variety of environments. Resources will not always be readily available to support mission objectives, and if confirmed, I will carefully evaluate our capabilities and help the team prioritize goals. At the same time, I will strongly advocate for appropriate resources to match important policy objectives.

Question. As a political appointee rather than career diplomat, do you believe it is incumbent upon new chiefs of mission to integrate themselves into Embassy operations and culture? If yes, how do you intend to do so?

Answer. I am proudly a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, and I understand it is critical that Chiefs of Mission integrate themselves into Embassy operations and culture. I plan to actively participate in Embassy functions and events, being mindful of morale and mentorship development, including among our locally-hired employees.

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

Answer. No. Bullying is never acceptable or constructive, and has no place in Embassy Tunis and, if confirmed, it will not be appropriate or acceptable behavior in Embassy Islamabad and constituent posts. I have zero tolerance for berating team members and will take swift disciplinary action if members of my team engage in this behavior.

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

Answer. The deputy chief of mission is vital leader in all diplomatic missions, playing an important role in every aspect of policy formulation, operations, and management. If confirmed, I will consult closely with and depend heavily on the deputy chief of mission to partner in effective management of the country team and our critical relationship with Pakistani counterparts.

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

Answer. The deputy chief of mission (DCM) plays an integral role in leadership of the mission, including leadership of staff and management of operations. I would be comfortable delegating many leadership responsibilities to the DCM, if confirmed, though accountability for the overall performance and well-being of the mission rests with me.

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 everyday citizens.

- If confirmed, will you encourage Mission [Islamabad] diplomats to engage in-person with the [Pakistani] people outside of U.S. Embassies and consulates?

Answer. Consistent with security restrictions and COVID-19 protocols, I will encourage Mission Pakistan diplomats to continue and expand engagement with Pakistani contacts outside of our Embassy and consulates, if confirmed.

Question. Public diplomacy is an important aspect of U.S. foreign policy efforts.

- What is the public diplomacy environment like in [Pakistan]? What public diplomacy challenges do U.S. diplomats face?

Answer. Public diplomacy supports our national interests and furthers mission objectives to create a more resilient Pakistan by countering misinformation and extremist messaging, supporting a free media, building human capacity and economic growth through exchanges and outreach, and creating a nationwide network of alumni and partners invested in the future of the U.S.-Pakistan relationship. Pakistan presents one of the most difficult public diplomacy environments for the United States worldwide, due to an unpredictable security environment, difficulties in obtaining Pakistani Government approval to access large parts of the country, negative perceptions of U.S. policy, and persistent media restrictions.

Additionally, the suspension of U.S. security assistance in 2018, tensions with India, and strong Pakistani Government and public support for the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) present unique public messaging and diplomacy challenges on how to demonstrate continued U.S. commitment to the Pakistani people. If confirmed, I am committed to support an extensive range of exchanges, media outreach, grant programs, and broader public engagements.

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. The messaging guidance provided by the Department is executed, supported, and refined for foreign audiences by public diplomacy teams in our Embassies overseas, in close coordination with their corresponding regional bureaus' public diplomacy offices and the Bureau of Global Public Affairs (GPA). If confirmed, I will support our public diplomacy officers in their crafting of messaging campaigns and subsequent delivery to Pakistani audiences with maximum effect in the local context. Public diplomacy officers at our Embassies and in Washington, as well as monitoring and analyses undertaken by GPA and the Global Engagement Center, help us understand foreign audiences and design approaches that inform, listen to, and build relationships with them. Effective communication between the mission and Washington, as well as with the Government and people of Pakistan will be among my top priorities.

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.

- If confirmed, do you commit to taking this threat seriously?

Answer. Yes. Secretary Blinken is committed to the health, safety, and security of Department personnel and family members serving domestically and overseas. This commitment extends to the handling of anomalous health incidents (AHI). As of October 2021, the Department has received reports of AHIs from every region of the globe. If I am confirmed, you have my commitment that I will work with my colleagues at the Department to address these cases in Mission Pakistan, to mitigate effects, if possible, and to ensure all employees and their families get any care they need.

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

Answer. If I am confirmed, you have my commitment that I will communicate effectively with my colleagues at Mission Pakistan. My door will remain open and I look forward to convening town halls and other events to demonstrate I value input and concerns of the team.

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. As the current Chief of Mission to Tunisia, I have already received briefings on the anomalous health incidents.

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 I am confirmed, you have my commitment that I will follow the Department's protocols on reporting and addressing these incidents through the Health Incident Response Task Force (HIRTf).

Question. 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. 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. The Secretary and all of us at the Department and throughout the U.S. Government take reports of anomalous health incidents of our colleagues very seriously. We are committed to ensuring that employees and their families get any care they need. I also commit to sharing information with team members so they and their families might make decisions based on the threat that best suit their needs and well-being.

Question. Many of us are deeply concerned with the counterterror implications of the Biden administration's withdrawal from Afghanistan. According to open-source estimates, the Islamic State will be in a position to conduct external attacks in just 6 months—Al-Qaeda in two short years. What role should Afghanistan's neighbors play in protecting vital U.S. CT interests?

Answer. Pakistan seeks regional stability and has a shared interest in ensuring Afghanistan does not once again become host to terrorist groups with transnational ambitions. Pakistan is also concerned about the potential effects that Afghanistan's failed economy could directly have on its neighbors, such as impacts to trade, security, and refugee movements.

Pakistan has publicly emphasized the importance of the Taliban adhering to its commitments not to allow Afghanistan to become a safe haven for terrorists to launch attacks against the United States and our allies. If confirmed, I intend to work actively with the Pakistani Government to ensure it plays a constructive role in monitoring and mitigating the threat of terrorist activity emanating from Afghanistan. I also will urge the Pakistani Government to hold the Taliban accountable in preventing terrorist groups, such as al-Qaeda and ISIS-K, from using Afghanistan as a base for external operations that could threaten the United States or our allies.

Question. Faced with a rising China, the U.S. and India have significantly expanded strategic cooperation in recent years. While necessary, this cooperation may impact the balance of power in South Asia. In light of the existing nuclear programs maintained by both India and Pakistan, any mismatch—whether it be perceived or otherwise—in the balance of power has significant implications for U.S. national security interests. If confirmed, what steps would you take to maintain stability in the South Asia region and mitigate a balance of power contest between India and Pakistan?

Answer. The Department remains concerned by the growth of nuclear and missile capabilities in Asia. Pakistan has a shared interest in avoiding a costly arms race with its neighbors. If confirmed, I will urge the Pakistani Government to exercise restraint regarding its weapons capabilities. I also will work with my counterpart in Mission India to urge all parties to maintain peace and stability, including along the Line of Control, and refrain from actions or statements that could impact regional stability. I also will support a security assistance posture in which all proposals continue to be rigorously vetted to ensure they enhance our national security and foreign policy objectives, including contributing to regional stability.

Question. Despite attempts to make inroads into Pakistan, Chinese investments have yet to yield the promised returns for Pakistan. Chinese Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) is on the decline and there is reportedly growing frustration inside Pakistan about the cost of Chinese projects. In recent months, projects under CPEC have stalled over reported disagreements between Pakistan and China. This presents a potential opportunity for the US. How would you characterize China's relationship with Pakistan? Are there tools at our disposal we can use to prevent Chinese predatory practices in Pakistan? Should the US provide technical assistance to Pakistan to safeguard against predatory deals with China?

Answer. CPEC is Beijing's single largest project in the PRC's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), largely made of loans by PRC state-owned banks. Pakistan and the PRC remain politically and institutionally committed to CPEC, and Pakistani leaders from across the political spectrum continue to characterize it as vital to Pakistan's economic growth and prosperity. The Pakistani public has supported the long-standing relations with the PRC, with minor exceptions, such as Baloch separatists opposed to CPEC projects in their region.

Pakistan and the PRC have strong bilateral political ties dating back to the 1960s, with the PRC typically backing Pakistani positions in U.N. bodies and attempts to insulate it from punitive actions. Pakistan, in return, tends to behave reciprocally; for example, Pakistan avoids criticism of the PRC's human rights abuses including genocide and crimes against humanity in Xinjiang, which it dismisses as an internal matter.

PRC global lending, including to Pakistan, however, frequently fails to meet international standards of openness, inclusivity, transparency, and governance.

Unsustainably high financial obligations that are at odds with those standards risk undermining Pakistan's economic stability and limit opportunities for Pakistani workers and businesses, and underscore potential dissonance in the Pakistan-PRC economic relationship.

Pakistan's strong ties with China do not preclude the United States from also having a productive partnership with Pakistan. Pakistan's stated aspirations of a "geo-economic"-driven foreign policy demonstrates its interest in diversifying its relationship beyond Beijing. The United States is a key partner for Pakistan's private sector, and we have been Pakistan's largest export market for decades. The United States enjoys strong people-to-people ties with Pakistan through the diaspora, civil society, educational exchanges, and beyond. Expanding upon these ties will be a key priority for me if I am confirmed.

In our assistance in Pakistan, the United States emphasizes that our approach to development underscores the importance of economic independence and sustainable development, as well as quality and transparent investments. If confirmed, I stand ready to work with Pakistan on the next chapter of its infrastructure development.

Question. Many contend that Pakistan prioritizes counterterrorism inside of its own borders over countering violent extremism. What programs would you pursue to encourage Pakistan to counter violent extremism?

Answer. The USAID Mission in Pakistan prioritizes countering violent extremism as part of its development objective to promote inter-religious tolerance and create peaceful communities in key areas within Pakistan, namely areas bordering Afghanistan, Karachi, Northern Sindh, and Southern Punjab. Our public affairs section also implements a range of programming preventing and countering violent extremism throughout Pakistan. If confirmed, I plan to support programming that encourages Pakistan to prevent and counter violent extremism in addition to U.S. efforts that are focused on the threat of counterterrorism.

Question. Despite the end of the military mission in Afghanistan, the United States has vital national security interests there to include counterterrorism, preventing a humanitarian catastrophe and the continued evacuation of Americans and at-risk Afghans. What role does Pakistan play or should play in each of these areas? Please provide an answer for each.

Answer. Pakistan has a shared interest in ensuring Afghanistan does not become a safe haven for terrorist groups to launch attacks from or create conflict that spills over into Pakistan or neighboring countries. If confirmed, I commit to engaging with Pakistani officials in any way that supports our core counterterrorism objectives in the region. Pakistan is also deeply concerned about preventing further economic instability and humanitarian need in Afghanistan. Hosting and inviting the United States as an observer to the December Organization of Islamic Cooperation ministerial, for example, demonstrates Pakistan's desire to work with the U.S. and international stakeholders to address the humanitarian crisis in Afghanistan.

The Pakistani Government has convened multiple meetings, including through the Troika Plus format, to work with regional and international stakeholders to chart a way forward in Afghanistan. If confirmed, I commit to working with the Pakistani Government on our mutual interests to prevent further violence and stabilize the Afghan economy, as well as mitigate the human cost of the further humanitarian crisis in Afghanistan. Pakistan has been helpful in supporting the evacuation and relocation of U.S. citizens, lawful permanent residents, special immigrant visa applicants, and other Afghans to whom the United States has a special commitment. If confirmed, I will seek to continue that cooperation.

Question. What leverage does Pakistan have with the Taliban?

Answer. Pakistan repeatedly called for an inclusive political solution to the conflict in Afghanistan, though it has stopped short of taking steps that would jeopardize its longstanding relationship with the Taliban. The State Department has engaged with the Pakistani Government at senior levels, including Secretary Blinken, Deputy Secretary Sherman, and Special Representative for Afghanistan West, to urge close coordination and alignment with the international community on the way forward in Afghanistan.

If confirmed, I will convey to Pakistan the importance the U.S. administration places on Pakistan's constructive role moving forward. I also will make it clear to Pakistan that a government in Kabul that allows safe passage for those who wish to leave Afghanistan, is inclusive, protects the rights of women and members of minority groups, adheres to its counterterrorism commitments, and ensures humanitarian access would be in the best interests of all countries in the region.

Question. Pakistan, fearing for a humanitarian disaster in Afghanistan on its border, continues to advocate for increased humanitarian assistance and foreign assistance to Afghanistan. What is the practical level of assistance the United States should provide to Afghanistan? What restrictions should accompany U.S. assistance?

Answer. I remain deeply concerned by the deteriorating humanitarian situation in Afghanistan. The United States should direct assistance to independent organizations, such as U.N. agencies and NGOs, to directly help Afghan people in need. None of our humanitarian assistance is directed to sanctioned individuals and entities.

Since mid-August, the United States has announced more than \$208 million in additional humanitarian assistance for the people of Afghanistan. This funding brings our humanitarian assistance inside Afghanistan and in the region to nearly \$474 million in Fiscal Year 2021.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO HON. DONALD ARMIN BLOME BY SENATOR MARCO RUBIO

Question. The United States has maintained a high level of cooperation with the Pakistani Government and military in order to ensure our ability to supply the American and allied forces in Afghanistan. We maintained this cooperation even as Pakistan has grown closer to Chinese Communist Party in recent years. Now that the U.S. no longer has a mission in Afghanistan to support, I believe it is valid to question whether we should continue this cooperation.

- How do you envision the future of U.S.-Pakistani security relations moving forward?

Answer. The United States and Pakistan have a shared interest in regional stability, including ensuring Afghanistan does not once again become host to terrorist groups. If confirmed, I will ensure that any security cooperation with Pakistan enhances our national security and foreign policy objectives. I will make sure that engagement with Pakistan is focused on supporting a partnership aimed at combatting mutual threats in line with specific administration priorities. Those priorities include counterterrorism, border security, and maritime cooperation, and in the short-term, securing continued assistance in evacuating American citizens and others at risk from Afghanistan.

Question. If confirmed, will you advocate for limiting security assistance to the Pakistani military? If not, why?

Answer. If confirmed, I will ensure that any security assistance proposals considered for Pakistan continue to be rigorously vetted to ensure they enhance our national security and further specific foreign policy objectives.

Question. As a major partner in China's Belt and Road Initiative, Pakistan has increasingly moved into China's sphere of influence. Bilateral trade between Pakistan and China hit "record levels" in 2021. Lijian Zhao, spokesman for the Chinese Foreign Ministry even praised Pakistan's declining to participate in the President's democracy summit last week.

- Should the U.S.-Pakistan relationship adjust to account for Pakistan's increasingly warm relations with the Chinese Communist Party? If so, what role will you play in this adjustment, if confirmed?

Answer. China's close ties with Pakistan do not preclude the United States from also having a productive partnership with Pakistan, in furtherance of U.S. national security and strategic regional goals. The Pakistani people have an interest in working with and growing Pakistan's long-standing relationship with the United States. The United States is a key partner for Pakistan's private sector, and we have been Pakistan's largest export market for decades. We have partnered with Pakistan in the energy sector for over 60 years. The United States enjoys strong people-to-people ties with Pakistan through the diaspora, civil society, educational exchanges, and beyond. Strong cooperation in fighting COVID-19 in Pakistan is grounded in a health relationship that dates back decades. Additionally, Pakistan's stated aspirations of a "geo-economic" driven foreign policy demonstrates its interest in diversifying its relationship beyond Beijing. If confirmed, I will stand strongly in support of strengthening democratic institutions in Pakistan. I will also continue U.S. support for civil society development, focused on boosting democratic resilience and increasing media literacy, while partnering with the Pakistani Government in addressing pressing regional security and political concerns.

Question. If confirmed, will you advocate for de-listing Pakistan as a Major Non-NATO Ally (MNNA) given that they continue to build relations with our most significant global competitor? If not, why not?

Answer. Pakistan remains an important partner with shared strategic interests. Pakistan seeks regional stability and has a shared interest in ensuring Afghanistan does not once again become host to terrorist groups with transnational ambitions.

If confirmed, I commit to consider all tools at our disposal and regularly engage with Pakistani officials at the highest levels to convey the U.S. expectation that Pakistan must advance a peaceful, stable, and prosperous South Asia. I commit to consulting closely with this committee on any consideration of a change in MNNA status.

Question. Last week, the Taliban's Pakistan affiliate, the Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP), announced that it is ending its ceasefire with the Pakistani Government and will resume attacks against Pakistani civilians.

- What is your assessment of the TTP's ability to carry out renewed attacks on the Pakistani military and civilians?

Answer. The Pakistani people have suffered at the hands of terrorists, including the TTP. TTP cells began to conduct attacks killing Pakistani security officers immediately after the TTP announced the end of the ceasefire with the Government of Pakistan. Our interests align with the Pakistani Government's in degrading the TTP's ability to conduct attacks inside or outside Pakistan. Pakistan has acted against terrorist groups like the TTP that it considers a threat to its own interests, but the threat of further attacks remains present.

If confirmed, I will reinforce our shared interest with the Pakistani Government in taking action against the TTP and all other terrorist groups.

Question. If confirmed, what would you do in response to a TTP attack that killed or injured Americans living in Pakistan?

Answer. The protection of U.S. citizens overseas is among the highest priorities of the U.S. Department of State and our Embassies and consulates abroad. If confirmed, I will work to support the Pakistani Government in taking action against the TTP and other terrorist groups while ensuring the perpetrators of any attacks against American interests or citizens are brought to justice.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO HON. DONALD ARMIN BLOME BY SENATOR TODD YOUNG

Question. Some in Pakistan have been longtime supporters of the Taliban, and we understand Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence Agency is helping support the Taliban. What is your assessment of Pakistan's relationship with the Taliban?

Answer. Pakistan has not formally recognized the so-called "caretaker government" that the Taliban announced on September 7 and has publicly stated it would not unilaterally do so without consultations with other countries. Prior to the Taliban's takeover of Kabul, Pakistan repeatedly called for a political solution to the conflict in Afghanistan, and since August 15, Pakistan has continued to stress the need for an inclusive political settlement in Afghanistan and has pressed the Taliban leadership to assure education and employment rights for women and girls. Pakistan has, however, clearly sought to maintain its longstanding relationship with the Taliban and has not taken steps that would jeopardize that relationship. Pakistan moreover is among the strongest voices arguing for direct engagement of the Taliban on humanitarian issues to avert a major crisis in Afghanistan this winter.

If confirmed, I would continue to urge Pakistan to stay aligned with the international community on the way forward in Afghanistan. Pakistan seeks regional stability and desire to work with the United States to ensure transnational terrorist groups do not receive harbor in or otherwise operate from Afghan territory.

Question. If confirmed, how would you engage with the Government of Pakistan on the issue of Afghanistan and the Taliban in particular?

Answer. If confirmed, I will make it clear to Pakistan that it is in the best interests of all countries in the region that leadership in Kabul must: allow safe passage for those who wish to leave Afghanistan, include minorities; protect the rights of women and members of minority groups; adhere to counterterrorism commitments; and ensure humanitarian access. Senior Pakistani officials have continued to stress the need for an inclusive political settlement and the protection of women's educational and employment rights in Afghanistan.

The State Department has engaged with the Pakistani Government at senior levels to urge close coordination and alignment with the international community on the way forward in Afghanistan.

Question. What do you see are the consequences of Pakistan's direct support to the Taliban for U.S. development and security assistance with Pakistan?

Answer. The United States has substantially reduced civilian assistance to Pakistan and is focused on results-oriented bilateral cooperation. I would seek to employ targeted civilian assistance to Pakistan to advance U.S. interests and national security objectives, including countering PRC influence, increasing trade and investment, strengthening governance, promoting human rights, and combatting the COVID-19 pandemic and other critical health threats.

If confirmed, I will ensure that any security assistance considered for Pakistan advances our national security and foreign policy objectives. I will make sure that security assistance to Pakistan is focused on partnering to help combat mutual threats in line with specific administration priorities. This includes counterterrorism, border security, and maritime cooperation.

Question. What is your assessment of the potential for further conflict in the Kashmir region or elsewhere between India and Pakistan? What should the United States do to reduce this potential?

Answer. The potential for armed conflict between Pakistan and India is a serious risk. Many previous Indo-Pak crises have been sparked by terrorist attacks, and terrorist groups remain active in the region. If confirmed, I will urge Pakistan to uphold the Indian-Pakistani commitment in February 2021 to observe all agreements pertaining to a ceasefire on the Line of Control. I also will work with my counterpart in Mission India to urge all parties to maintain peace and stability along the Line of Control, refrain from actions or statements that could impact regional stability, and to support confidence-building measures that will reduce tensions between the two states. I also will press Pakistan to continue to take action against terrorist leaders and groups seeking to destabilize the region.

Question. If confirmed, how would you work with U.S. representatives in India and with the Government of Pakistan to pursue greater rapprochement between India and Pakistan?

Answer. Longstanding U.S. policy is that the pace, scope, and character of any dialogue on bilateral disputes is for India and Pakistan to determine. If confirmed, I will urge Pakistan to uphold the February 2021 Indian-Pakistani commitment to observe the ceasefire on the Line of Control. I will also work with my counterpart in Mission India to urge all parties to maintain peace and stability along the Line of Control and refrain from actions or statements that could negatively impact regional stability. This includes preventing acts of terrorism and taking action against terrorist groups that agitate tensions. We must also work with both countries to support confidence-building measures that will reduce bilateral tensions.

Question. On December 9, the Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesperson applauded Pakistan's decision to not attend the Democracy Summit, calling Pakistan "a real iron brother." China likes to use that term "iron brother" when referring to Pakistan, and in this case it seems framed as if Pakistan is aligning with China against the United States and our push for democratic values throughout the world. How would you characterize the relationship between China and Pakistan?

Answer. China's close ties with Pakistan date back to the sixties. Those ties do not preclude the United States from also having a productive partnership with Pakistan. The Pakistani people have an interest in working with and growing Pakistan's relationship with the United States. The United States is a key partner for Pakistan's private sector, and we have been Pakistan's largest export market for decades. The United States enjoys strong people-to-people ties with Pakistan through the diaspora, civil society, educational exchanges, and beyond. Additionally, Pakistan's stated aspirations of a "geo-economics" driven foreign policy demonstrates its interest in diversifying its relationship beyond Beijing.

Question. Do you feel Pakistan's young democracy can withstand pressure from authoritarian China seeking to undermine its institutions?

Answer. Pakistan has a tradition of vibrant parliamentary politics and a large, active civil society. More work needs to be done to ensure all Pakistanis are able to safely exercise their human rights and other fundamental freedoms, such as freedoms of press and of expression, key to robust democratic participation. If confirmed, I will stand strongly in support of strengthening democratic institutions in Pakistan.

I believe the Pakistani people have a strong interest in doing business and growing Pakistan's relationship with the United States. The United States is a key partner for Pakistan's private sector, and we have been Pakistan's largest export market for decades. The United States enjoys strong people-to-people ties with Pakistan through the diaspora, civil society, educational exchanges, and beyond. If confirmed, I will continue and expand U.S. Government efforts on these issues with the Government of Pakistan, civil society, minority populations, and the private sector.

Question. What can the United States do to support Pakistan's democracy and counter Chinese misinformation?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work with Pakistani leaders to strengthen Pakistan's democratic institutions by advocating for greater transparency and accountability, as well as for recognition of its citizens' human rights and fundamental freedoms, including freedom of expression and freedom of the press. If confirmed, I will stand strongly in support of strengthening democratic institutions in Pakistan. I will also continue U.S. support for civil society development, focused on boosting democratic resilience and increasing media literacy, while partnering with the Pakistani Government in addressing regional security and political concerns.

Question. China has long made Pakistan its poster child for its Belt and Road debt financing scheme, with quick money through opaque terms under the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor. Beijing is now Pakistan's largest creditor, and many of the loans have failed to provide the promised boost to Pakistan's development, only raising costs for the people of Pakistan. Probably the best proof we have that there is trouble brewing has been the recent press reports coming out of China stating there is no debt crisis in Pakistan. How do you view Chinese lending to Pakistan? Has it led to genuine development for the people of Pakistan?

Answer. PRC global lending, including to Pakistan, frequently fails to meet international standards for openness, inclusivity, transparency, and governance. Unsustainably high financial obligations that are at odds with those standards risk undermining Pakistan's economic stability and limit opportunities for Pakistani workers and businesses. If confirmed, in my engagements and activities in Pakistan, I would emphasize that the U.S. approach to development underscores the importance of economic independence, fair competition, and sustainable development, as well as quality and transparent investments.

Question. As Chinese lending to Pakistan has waned in the past year as more Pakistanis recognized the costs and risks, are there opportunities to pursue more fundamental development and economic reforms?

Answer. Pakistan's stated aspirations of a "geo-economics"-driven foreign policy demonstrates interest in diversifying its relationship beyond China. If confirmed, I stand ready to work with Pakistan on introducing economic reforms to improve the business and investment climate.

Question. What do you assess is the appetite within Pakistan to make difficult economic reforms to ensure genuine development?

Answer. Pakistan remains a challenging environment for foreign investors. Weak rule of law, opaque decision making, disproportionate taxation, limited enforcement of intellectual property rights, and overly burdensome regulation are all problems regularly encountered by foreign investors. I believe there is recognition in Pakistan that enacting reforms to improve its business climate is needed. I commend Pakistan's recent commitments to implement macroeconomic reforms as outlined in Pakistan's IMF program, which will increase central bank autonomy and help get the country's macroeconomic situation on a more sustainable path. If confirmed, I will encourage Pakistan to continue to address its investment climate, security, regulatory, and fiscal challenges to address U.S. businesses' concerns.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO HON. ERIC M. GARCETTI BY SENATOR ROBERT MENENDEZ

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 share your concerns about Anomalous Health Incidents (AHIs) and agree these incidents must be taken seriously. If confirmed, my top priority will be the health, safety, and security of Department personnel and family members serving in Mission India. I understand the interagency community is actively examining a range of hypotheses but has made no determination about the cause of these Anomalous Health Incidents or whether they can be attributed to a foreign actor. AHIs have been a top priority for Secretary Blinken, who set clear goals for the Health Incident Response Task Force to strengthen the Department's communication with our workforce, provide care for affected employees and family members, and better protect against these events in the future as we continue to work closely with the interagency to find the cause of these AHIs.

If confirmed, I look forward to coordinating with colleagues at Mission India and in Washington to safeguard Mission personnel and ensure prompt treatment should any incidents occur.

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. Yes. If confirmed, you have my commitment that I will follow the Department's protocols on reporting and addressing these incidents through the Health Incident Response Task Force (HIRTF) and ensure any affected individuals receive prompt access to the medical care they require.

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. Yes. If confirmed, I will prioritize meeting with RSO and medical staff to ensure the safety of Mission India's personnel, which will be my responsibility as Chief of Mission.

Question. Despite efforts by New Delhi to reduce its overall dependence on Russian arms, I remain deeply concerned about the S-400 sale and Russia-India defense ties. Both Indian and Russian officials have now said that deliveries of the S-400 have already begun. The presence of the S-400 systems, and the Russian personnel who will presumably have to be present to monitor, train and service them, could compromise U.S. technology should India seek to purchase advanced fighter aircraft from the United States. Do you commit to trying to dissuade India from accepting the S-400 and other Russian military hardware? How do we convince our Indian friends that Vladimir Putin is not a good long-term security partner?

Answer. If confirmed, I will continue to press India to continue to diversify away from Russian arms purchases. Since 1990, India has taken considerable steps to diversify its defense supplier base away from Russia and expand indigenous production. If confirmed, I will work with the Department of Defense to accelerate this trend, including by highlighting U.S. reliability and maintenance support, bolstering interoperability, and increasing offers of advanced U.S. platforms and co-development opportunities. I will also work to ensure U.S. technologies are safeguarded, if confirmed. If confirmed, I will underscore that closer cooperation with Russia does not align with the strategic interests and values shared by the United States and India.

Question. Helping India reduce its carbon emissions is critical in the global fight against climate change. The Biden administration took a good first step earlier this year by launching the U.S.-India Climate and Clean Energy Agenda 2030 Partnership. How will you bolster and promote the U.S.-India climate partnership once in New Delhi?

Answer. Deepening climate and clean energy cooperation with India is a top priority for the Biden-Harris administration. Recently, the U.S. Development Finance Corporation announced a \$500 million investment to support U.S. firm First Solar's efforts to expand solar panel manufacturing in India. If confirmed, I pledge to form a close relationship with key Indian interlocutors to deepen climate cooperation and will work closely with Special Presidential Envoy for Climate Kerry to seize clean energy opportunities, including solar, civil nuclear, wind, and hydrogen. Advancing our new bilateral cooperation mechanisms—the Climate Ambition and Finance Mobilization Dialogue (CAFMD) and the Strategic Clean Energy Partnership (SCEP)—will be one of my key priorities.

Question. India is central to dealing with the China challenge, given its size, strategic location, and democratic orientation. India has the opportunity to play a decisive role in the Indo-Pacific but needs help improving some of its capabilities. How

can we deepen U.S.-India security and defense ties? What capabilities does India need to be able to play a greater role in the Quad?

Answer. U.S.-India security cooperation has been underpinned by growing interoperability and information sharing, sales of U.S. platforms, and complex multi-service exercises. If confirmed, I will work to accelerate these lines of effort, including in the critical area of maritime security. I will also explore opportunities to expand security cooperation among India and other like-minded partners, including Quad partners, while recognizing that the Quad's primary function is not security related. I will encourage India's continued robust, multi-level Quad engagement across multiple ministries and seek opportunities to provide U.S. support and assistance, as appropriate, to facilitate India's efforts, if confirmed.

Question. As the world's largest democracy, India has a responsibility to protect the fundamental rights of their citizens. The Government's track record on this issue is poor to say the least. The Indian Government under Prime Minister Modi's Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) has veered toward illiberalism through its approach to press and media freedoms, its abuse of India's anti-terrorism law, and its intolerance toward opposition voices. Much of the logic of the U.S.-India partnership is based on India as a democracy, sharing in our values, not just a counterweight to China. Will you communicate to our friends in New Delhi that a closer partnership with the United States demands a principled commitment to democracy? How will you communicate this U.S. commitment to the Indian Government?

Answer. As I have demonstrated throughout my career, respect for human rights is a core priority of mine. If confirmed, I will engage the Indian Government closely on our shared democratic values, underscoring the importance the United States places on the recognition and protection of human rights. If confirmed, I will also closely engage Indian civil society for their expertise on these issues and to hear their concerns.

Question. How will you ensure that U.S. prioritization of human rights and democracy is not lost in the focus on our security relationship with India?

Answer. The U.S.-India strategic partnership is multi-dimensional, and human rights and democratic values must play a role in every part of our partnership, including our security relationship. If confirmed, I will continue the work of Mission India to encourage the Indian Government to maintain the respect for human rights as an important dimension of our security relationship.

Question. Democracies have a responsibility to protect the fundamental rights of their citizens, including religious minorities. Mobilization of Hindu nationalist elements against Muslim and other minority communities have weakened Indian democracy. Authorities often fail to investigate or hold perpetrators accountable for attacks and crimes against Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, and members of other minorities are regularly met with impunity. The National Register of Citizens for Assam (NRC) and the Citizenship Act of 2019 both have been implemented to prevent Muslims from obtaining or strip Muslims of Indian citizenship, while the Unlawful Activities Prevention Act has been used to detain and prosecute members of the Sikh community. How will you promote religious tolerance and freedom as ambassador, particularly given that individuals affiliated with the BJP are often responsible for many of these abhorrent policies? How will you follow up on issues outlined in the USCIRF report?

Answer. The Biden administration is dedicated to protecting and promoting the right of freedom of religion or belief. If confirmed, I will engage with members of diverse religious communities in India to demonstrate the importance of freedom of religion or belief as a core priority of the Biden administration and listen to their perspectives on religious freedom in India. I will also raise concerns regarding religious freedom directly with senior Indian Government officials and encourage the Indian Government to uphold its commitments to protect religious freedom for all.

Question. India is not a signatory to the Hague Abduction Convention, nor are there any bilateral agreements in force between India and the United States concerning International Parental Child Abduction (IPCA). According to the State Department's 2021 report on international child abductions, India does not adhere to any protocols with respect to IPCA and continues to demonstrate a pattern of non-compliance. Indian authorities regularly fail to work with the Department of State toward the resolution of pending abduction cases. In January 2020, the Department of State proposed the formation of a U.S.-India Joint Committee on IPCA as a bilateral forum to facilitate cooperation on addressing IPCA issues. The Government of India has not yet agreed to participate in the Joint Committee. Will you commit to

personally urging the Government of India to agree to the Joint Committee on IPCA and to accede to the Hague Abduction Convention?

Answer. International Parental Child Abduction (IPCA) is a top priority for the State Department and our leading consular challenge with India. If confirmed, I will partner with the Bureau of Consular Affairs to press the Government of India to resolve pending IPCA cases, improve cooperation with the United States on IPCA including via dedicated bilateral conversations between our experts on consular issues, and encourage India's accession to the Hague Convention on the Civil Aspects of International Child Abduction to regularize cooperation. I welcome partnering with Congress to encourage the Indian Government to make progress on this challenging issue impacting our most vulnerable citizens.

Question. The majority of child abduction cases in India from U.S. residents, including with my constituents in New Jersey, have not been resolved. Will you do everything in your power to ensure that internationally abducted children of U.S. residents be returned to their habitual country of residence, including by personally raising these matters with Indian officials?

Answer. Yes, if confirmed, I commit to personally raising IPCA with Indian officials. As a parent myself, I recognize the pain of parents separated from their children as a result of international parental child abduction.

Question. India has proposed intermediary guidelines and data localization measures across many critical sectors which would restrict, and in some cases preclude, the ability of U.S. companies to do business in India. Ambassador Tai recently met with her Indian counterpart under the Trade Policy Forum (TPF) and both sides have committed to establish an action plan in 2022. How will you use the TPF, in addition to other U.S.-India economic dialogues, to raise this issue as well as other important IP and digital issues?

Answer. Reducing tariff and non-tariff barriers for U.S. companies seeking to do business in India is essential to increasing bilateral trade and creating resilient supply chains. If confirmed, I plan to work closely with my USTR colleagues to implement any TPF action plans and pledge to raise U.S. trade and economic concerns directly with senior Indian leaders, including these important concerns regarding the intermediary guidelines and data localization. I also plan to advocate for closer consultations with U.S. and Indian businesses on data-related legislation and regulations, if confirmed.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO HON. ERIC M. GARCETTI BY SENATOR JAMES E. RISCH

Question. In the 2021 Trafficking in Persons Report, India was identified as Tier 2 due to lack of overall inadequate anti-trafficking efforts, including high acquittal rate for traffickers and fewer convictions for traffickers. How will you work with the Indian Government to address these issues if you are confirmed as Ambassador?

Answer. As Mayor of Los Angeles, I have worked with the local community and law enforcement to combat trafficking and reintegrate survivors in their communities. If confirmed, I will engage relevant Indian Government ministries on the importance of both of our countries working together to combat human trafficking. As a bulk of anti-trafficking efforts in India take place at the state and local level, I will strongly work with the Mission to engage state governments on the importance of anti-trafficking efforts, as well, including through leveraging projects funded through our foreign affairs assistance.

Question. In the 2020 International Religious Freedom report, it was clear that India has significant religious freedom issues. What is your assessment of this particular issue and if confirmed, how will you work with the Office of International Religious Freedom to bolster religious freedom in-country?

Answer. As diverse and pluralistic democracies, the United States and India share a common identity underscored by the importance of religious freedom in our constitutions. Nonetheless, both of our countries face challenges related to religious freedom, and, if confirmed, I will engage closely with India's religious minorities to learn more about their perspective on these challenges. I will also raise concerns regarding religious freedom directly with senior Indian Government officials. If confirmed, I look forward to coordinating closely with Ambassador-at-Large Hussain and will greatly value the Office of International Religious Freedom's expertise on our engagement on religious freedom issues in India.

Question. In the 2020 Human Rights Report, India was identified as having serious human rights abuses and issues including tolerance of violations of religious freedom, forced and compulsory child labor, restrictions on freedom of the press and expression including threats of violence against journalists, impunity for officials, and more. If confirmed, what steps will you take to address these instances with the host government?

Answer. I have fought for human rights throughout my public service career and believe human rights are a core priority of our foreign policy. If confirmed, I will ensure human rights are central to my engagements with senior Indian leaders by regularly raising human rights concerns and having frank, open discussions to explore how both of our democracies can better protect and respect human rights. I will also engage closely with members of civil society across India to better understand their concerns and underscore U.S. support for their important work.

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

Answer. I understand that Mission India has a robust relationship with numerous Indian civil society organizations specializing in many important areas, such as freedom of expression, gender equality, LGBTQI+ rights, and anti-trafficking efforts, among many others. I understand the important information that Mission India learns from its engagement with civil society informs State Department policy and our Congressional reporting. If confirmed, I will prioritize the robust enhancement and prioritization of these engagements with a diverse array of civil society organizations across India and look forward to meeting with civil society organizations personally.

Question. Please detail your planned engagement with the Indian Government regarding the protection of religious minorities, including Muslims?

Answer. Freedom of religion is protected under the Indian Constitution and religious pluralism is central to India's cultural identity. If confirmed, I plan to regularly meet religious leaders and organizations across many of India's religious communities, including India's diverse Muslim community, to demonstrate the United States' commitment to religious freedom and learn from the perspectives of India's religious minority communities. If confirmed, I pledge to raise religious freedom concerns with Indian officials and encourage the Indian Government to uphold our shared values of pluralism and tolerance.

Question. India is currently in the first year of a two-year term on the Security Council to further their long-standing goal of becoming a permanent member. There are a number of issues that the U.S. and India do not agree on, including the Syria Humanitarian Assistance Cross Border mechanism. This past summer, the mechanism was renewed for one more year but not without significant obstacles to do so including a no vote by India. If confirmed, do you commit to engaging with the Indian Government on this important issue and communicating the U.S. position that this mechanism is a vital lifeline for millions of Syrians that must be renewed?

Answer. The United States fully supports the Syrian Humanitarian Assistance Cross Border Mechanism. If confirmed, I will work with our Indian partners to encourage their support for this important initiative.

Question. The Office of Multilateral Strategy and Personnel (MSP) in the IO bureau at the State Department is leading a whole-of-government effort to identify, recruit, and install qualified, independent personnel at the U.N., including in elections for specialized bodies like the International Telecommunication 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 a tough race that will require early, consistent engagement across capitals and within the U.N. member states. If confirmed, do you commit to demarching the Indian Government and any other counterparts necessary to communicate our support of Doreen?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work closely with our Indian partners and coordinate with my colleagues in the IO Bureau and others across the U.S. interagency to continue our support and advocate for Doreen Bogdan-Martin. I will also seek to deepen bilateral cooperation to advance shared priorities on critical telecommunications issues, if confirmed.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to aiding the MSP office in efforts to support U.S.-desired candidates within the U.N. system?

Answer. If confirmed, I will closely coordinate with my colleagues in the MSP office in the IO Bureau, U.S. interagency, and like-minded countries to advance efforts to elect qualified, independent U.S.-desired candidates for U.N. bodies.

Question. Do you commit to pressing India on tech protection/mitigation if it moves forward the S-400 transaction?

Answer. Yes. The protection of U.S. defense technologies is critical, and if confirmed, I will work closely with the Department of Defense on this matter.

Question. Do you commit to ensuring India takes appropriate technology protection/mitigation if the administration decides to issue a CAATSA waiver for India?

Answer. If confirmed, I will strongly encourage the Indian Government to refrain from major new purchases of Russian military equipment that could risk mandatory sanctions under CAATSA Section 231. I cannot prejudge whether a specific transaction would result in sanctions, and the Secretary of State has not made any determination regarding the significance of any transaction involving India. Technology protection talks are a regular feature of our engagement with the Government of India, and if confirmed, I will continue to support technology protection/mitigation.

Question. The U.S. and India have concluded a few agreements on co-development of technology, including the co-development of UAVs. What other opportunities are there for co-development with India? What challenges still remain to our technology cooperation with India?

Answer. The U.S.-India Defense Technology and Trade Initiative (DTTI) is our primary mechanism for pursuing defense co-development opportunities with India. DTTI continues to explore several potential projects, including for lightweight small arms. If confirmed, I will work closely with the Department of Defense and private sector to explore new opportunities for U.S.-India defense industrial collaboration and co-development.

Question. Do you commit to pressing India to be more helpful to the United States on Diego Garcia issues?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I will coordinate with the Department of Defense and like-minded countries to engage the Government of India as appropriate.

Question. How do you balance our defense interests with human rights and other values-based concerns?

Answer. No single issue defines the U.S.-India partnership and even close partners can have differences. If confirmed, I plan to engage on the full spectrum of issues in our comprehensive strategic partnership, including human rights.

Question. How do we build on the progress made in the wake of last year's Chinese border attacks? How can we provide more relevant and timely support to India?

Answer. The United States fully supports India's efforts to safeguard its sovereignty. If confirmed, I will ensure that the Department continues its efforts to strengthen and deepen the United States' strategic partnership with India, including in defense and security cooperation. I will support direct dialogue, a reduction in tensions, and a peaceful resolution to the border dispute, if confirmed.

Question. Do you commit to updating Congress, particularly the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, on the status of U.S. nuclear civil cooperation with India?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to updating Congress, including the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, on U.S.-India civil nuclear cooperation, including progress on the construction of U.S. nuclear power plants.

Question. There are six nuclear power plant projects being discussed with India. What is the status of these six projects?

Answer. I understand the United States continues to work with the Government of India and Westinghouse Electric Company (WEC) to support the construction of six AP1000 reactors at Kovvada in southern India. I understand negotiations have been delayed because of a multitude of factors. If confirmed, I will continue advocacy efforts on behalf of WEC.

Question. How would you describe the China-India relationship?

Answer. I understand India is deeply concerned about the People's Republic of China's economic coercion in the Indo-Pacific, its close relationship with Pakistan, and its aggression and destabilizing behavior along the Line of Actual Control.

Question. What do you foresee happening along the China-India border in the short- or medium-term?

Answer. The United States was encouraged by India and People's Republic of China's agreement on the limited disengagement of front-line troops in February 2021.

If confirmed, I will continue to support direct dialogue, a reduction in tensions, and a peaceful resolution to the border dispute.

Question. How should the U.S. respond or support allies and partners when they face political and economic coercion from China?

Answer. The United States supports a free and open Indo-Pacific region where every nation can prosper without fear of coercion. Our relationship with the People's Republic of China is cooperative when it can be, competitive when it should be, and adversarial when it must be. I believe it is critical for the United States to stand by allies and partners when facing political and economic coercion, including consulting them closely on the elements of support they require.

Question. What risks does the close Pakistan-China relationship present to India?

Answer. India remains very concerned about military cooperation between the People's Republic of China and Pakistan and the potential for coordinated aggression on two fronts, including an increase in cross-border terrorism and negative impacts on regional stability. If confirmed, I will work with our Indian partners on how the United States can best support regional stability and security.

Question. How does our withdrawal from Afghanistan change India's security environment and shift India's security priorities?

Answer. I understand India is concerned about potential terrorist threats emanating from Afghanistan and Pakistan, and the political situation in Afghanistan has created more uncertainty and instability in South Asia. If confirmed, I will work to deepen our counterterrorism partnership with India and consult Indian officials closely on matters related to Afghanistan, recognizing India's significant investments in Afghanistan over the past two decades.

Question. Describe your concerns in the short- and medium-term about the India-Pakistan relationship.

Answer. I welcome the sustained ceasefire along the Line of Control but remain concerned about the potential for an outbreak of violence sparked by extremist groups seeking to undermine regional stability. If confirmed, I will coordinate closely with my counterpart in Islamabad on these concerns.

Question. What will you do to support U.S.-India cooperation on counterterrorism?

Answer. The U.S.-India Counterterrorism Joint Working Group and Homeland Security Dialogue remain the primary mechanisms to deepen counterterrorism cooperation with India. I understand the United States and India enjoy a growing intelligence sharing partnership. If confirmed, I will work to accelerate these efforts.

Question. India has been particularly concerned about U.S. sanctions in Burma and how they might negatively affect Indian businesses in Burma. How would you balance these interests?

Answer. The United States is working closely with India to address the political and humanitarian crisis in Burma. We share an overall objective to end the violence, support Burma's path to democracy, and reach a peaceful resolution that respects the will of the people of Burma. If confirmed, I plan to coordinate closely with my colleagues in the Bureau of East Asian Pacific Affairs and my counterpart in Rangoon to expand coordination with India on Burma.

Question. Do you commit to working closely with the U.S. Ambassadors in Bangladesh and Sri Lanka?

Answer. Yes.

Question. What would be your primary goals on the economic front in India?

Answer. If confirmed, my primary economic goal is to strengthen the bilateral trade and investment relationship with India. Greater economic exchange will create well-paying jobs in both of our countries to the benefit of both of our populations.

Question. What are the key asks we should be making of India in terms of economic reform?

Answer. I understand India has made progress in strengthening its market economy through structural economic reforms such as adopting the Goods and Services Tax (GST) and Insolvency and Bankruptcy Code, consolidating numerous and often contradictory labor laws, improving the ease of doing business through trade facilitation, and expanding and improving infrastructure. If confirmed, I would suggest efforts to reform the economy should include increasing regulatory transparency and certainty through more uniform application of public notification and public com-

ment requirements for legislation, regulations, and draft rules to better incorporate input from stakeholders—such as workers, domestic and international companies, and non-governmental organizations. It is particularly important for India to consult with stakeholders in developing regulations that will continue to foster innovation and growth in digital trade and the technology sector. If confirmed, I would work with Indian officials to encourage sound regulatory policies, reduce trade barriers between our countries and improve market access for U.S. companies.

Question. India has a strategic energy agreement with the U.S. and has made lofty climate goals. Yet India's energy sector is still in its transition phase, and in the interim energy sources such as natural gas will become increasingly important for India. Do you commit to ensuring the Biden administration's focus on climate does not unfairly prejudice Indian energy goals and needs?

Answer. India has long advocated for a “just transition,” and I understand and agree with the importance of climate solutions that are fair and equitable. There are hundreds of millions of Indians living in poverty, who have done almost nothing to contribute to global warming yet will be most exposed to its negative effects. I understand USAID has several multi-million-dollar programs that are focusing on climate adaption and resilience, and, if confirmed, I look forward to engaging with our development specialists in Mission India. We recognize the complex environment within which India, as a huge and diverse developing nation, is transitioning its economy to a carbonless future. If confirmed, I look forward to working with India to support its target of having 500 GW of non-fossil power generation capacity installed by 2030 and its 2070 net-zero goal.

Question. Do you commit to working with India on natural gas, especially based on your experience in Los Angeles using natural gas as a transition fuel, as you indicated in your meeting with SFRC staff? If so, how will you advance this priority should you be confirmed?

Answer. If confirmed, my primary goal on climate matters is to support the Indian Government's goal of reaching 500 gigawatts of non-fossil energy by 2030. While India may need to build natural gas infrastructure as it transitions away from coal and, if confirmed, I am open to exploring working with India in this regard, I would want to make sure that there was a strong developmental impact and ensure that infrastructure is constructed in such a way to be compatible with next-generation fuels, such as green hydrogen.

Question. USTR is expected to travel to India this month. What should our trade priorities with India be? What deliverable would you like to see come out of this meeting?

Answer. USTR Tai visited India in late November to re-launch the U.S.-India Trade Policy Forum with Indian Minister of Commerce and Industry Piyush Goyal. By all accounts, the meeting was productive and will lay the groundwork for future enhancements to our trade relationship. I understand that both sides agreed that regular engagement under the Trade Policy Forum would help in addressing outstanding bilateral trade concerns and allow the two countries to explore important, emerging trade policy issues. I understand there was consensus to finalize work on several market access issues for U.S. and Indian agricultural items, and both sides discussed important economic matters related to medical devices, digital services, and electronic payment services.

Question. What are some opportunities we have with India on supply chain issues? What are going to be the challenges of looking to India as a source for non-PRC supply chains given some of the difficulties of investing and doing business there?

Answer. India shares our interest in secure and resilient supply chains. It has a major opportunity to expand manufacturing in areas like semiconductors, consumer electronics, and batteries, but this will require additional steps by the Indian Government to complete its ongoing infrastructure buildout to reduce logistics costs and promote greater predictability and transparency in the business environment. If confirmed, I will urge the Indian Government to address ease of doing business concerns while undertaking advocacy for U.S. firms.

Question. How will the Biden administration cooperate with India on 5G, digital security, and other emerging technology issues? Please be specific.

Answer. High technology cooperation with India is an important priority for the Biden administration. I understand the NSC Senior Director for Technology recently traveled to New Delhi to discuss potential ideas for cooperation, including on semiconductors, quantum computing, and artificial intelligence. I also understand the

Quad has launched a new working group on critical and emerging technologies. If confirmed, I will fully support these efforts and work to identify new areas for technological cooperation.

Question. India has imposed new restrictions on U.S. tech companies, such as requiring them to hire representatives to redress formal grievances from the Indian Government. India has threatened to jail employees of these companies. It's tightening content rules, etc. Is there anything you think that can be done about this?

Answer. If confirmed, I intend to engage on these concerns as some of India's policies in the digital and e-commerce space are problematic for U.S. companies and could set negative precedents for other countries. If confirmed, I plan to continue to raise these concerns with Indian officials at the appropriate ministries. I will also continue engagement with Indian and U.S. businesses and civil society regarding their concerns over these regulations, such as their impact on freedom of expression, if confirmed.

Question. What are your views on the purpose of the DFC?

Answer. I believe that the DFC is one of our most important foreign policy tools and is absolutely critical to supporting the American private sector abroad. This is especially true in a country like India, which has a growing and increasingly vibrant private sector, but remains an investment climate that can be challenging. DFC can be the actor that bridges that gap by encouraging companies to invest in projects they might not invest in otherwise. It is also sustainable for the American taxpayer: DFC/OPIC have consistently earned money for our Treasury. I know that DFC already has a significant portfolio in India, and, if confirmed, I would work to deepen and expand its work in India.

Question. DFC is investing significantly in India's solar industry. Will you prioritize working with the DFC as appropriate to ensure solar projects in India do not rely on PRC forced labor? Will you work with DFC to avoid purchasing solar equipment from the PRC for these projects?

Answer. I understand that DFC recently announced board approval for the First Solar project, which will provide \$500 million in financing for a 3.3 gigawatt solar facility near Chennai. This would be the largest debt investment in DFC's history. First Solar uses a unique manufacturing process that does not rely on technologies used by solar supply chains that are associated with forced labor in Xinjiang. If confirmed, I commit to working with DFC and other U.S. Government agencies to encourage a diversification of solar supply chains outside the People's Republic of China.

Question. Will you commit to leveraging the economic corps and other parts of the U.S. Mission to identify other types of energy projects in India, not just in the solar industry?

Answer. Yes.

Question. What are some of the other main areas development finance can make an impact in India?

Answer. Development finance can make an impact in India in a range of sectors. In India, we have development finance programs directly through DFC, and also indirectly through the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank, and other multilateral institutions. I understand there are ongoing projects in affordable housing, renewable energy, sustainable agriculture, and transportation.

Question. What is your understanding of morale throughout Mission India?

Answer. While I cannot yet comment on the morale of Mission India, I do look forward to working closely with our dedicated diplomats as Chief of Mission, if confirmed. If confirmed, maintaining high morale throughout Embassy Delhi and our four Consulates will be a key priority of mine.

Question. How do you intend to improve morale across all of Mission India?

Answer. As Mayor of Los Angeles and throughout my public service career, I have learned the importance of engaging directly with my teams to learn from their perspectives. If confirmed, I look forward to engaging closely with the Mission India team immediately upon my arrival for their recommendations on how I can maintain high morale throughout the Mission.

Question. How do you intend to create a unified mission and vision across Mission India?

Answer. If confirmed, I intend to closely consult leadership at the White House, Department of State, and my team in Mission India to ensure our mission and vi-

sion across Mission India advances the strategic priorities of the Biden administration and the well-being of the peoples of the United States and India in line with our strategic frameworks.

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

Answer. I believe that an organization works best when all employees feel valued and respected. I consider myself a caring and collaborative manager with an open-door policy. I work hard and expect the same of others, but I always underscore the importance of making the workplace welcoming and enjoyable. I am not a micro-manager, but I do want to understand every aspect of the organization to best value the individual and collective contributions of my team.

Question. If confirmed, how do you believe your management style will translate to an Embassy setting, where resources may not be readily available and your diplomatic workforce consists of career employees?

Answer. I have been proud to lead the city of Los Angeles which has more than 50,000 employees, many of whom are City workers for their entire careers. Our career workforce is dedicated to public service, and I work to empower them with the tools they need to succeed. I am used to motivating and directing a dispersed and diverse workforce that comes from multiple agencies and is located in multiple geographical areas, similar to the context of the U.S. Mission to India. I also believe that part of my job and part of our collective responsibility is to be more efficient and more cost effective. I feel that managing the City of Los Angeles through the COVID economic crisis has prepared me well for the management and organizational challenges facing me in Mission India, if confirmed.

Question. As a political appointee rather than career diplomat, do you believe it is incumbent upon new chiefs of mission to integrate themselves into Embassy operations and culture? If yes, how do you intend to do so?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I look forward to consulting my team across Mission India on day one to gain a strong understanding of Embassy operations and culture and learn how I contribute and strengthen both as Chief of Mission.

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

Answer. I do not believe this behavior is ever acceptable or constructive, whether in public or private. If confirmed, I pledge to conduct myself in a way that honors the American public and the Biden administration.

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

Answer. I understand no relationship is more vital at a diplomatic mission than the one between an ambassador and his/her deputy chief of mission (DCM). If confirmed, I intend to have a close working relationship with my DCM on all issues, including policy, Mission morale and welfare, and Mission maintenance.

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

Answer. If confirmed, I will greatly value the expertise of my DCM on all issues and look forward to working closely together in advancing U.S. foreign policy and the welfare of Mission India although I have not yet specifically delineated such responsibilities.

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 everyday citizens. If confirmed, will you encourage Mission India diplomats to engage in-person with the Indian people outside of U.S. Embassies and consulates?

Answer. Yes, if confirmed, this will be an important priority across all of Mission India. If confirmed, I also will look forward to meeting in-person with people of all backgrounds both in New Delhi and across India.

Question. Public diplomacy is an important aspect of U.S. foreign policy efforts. What is the public diplomacy environment like in India? What public diplomacy challenges do U.S. diplomats face?

Answer. India has a vibrant cultural and media environment shaped by its world-famous film industries, literary, dance, music, and artistic traditions, and dynamic television and press outlets. I understand that many cities in India, like Los Angeles, are filled with millions of highly resourceful and talented youths who are highly engaged with American social media platforms, such as Facebook, Instagram,

WhatsApp, and YouTube. Our countries are linked by robust people-to-people networks, driven by student scholarship and exchange programs, along with workers and diaspora communities in the United States, and increasing receptivity to U.S. attitudes and messages. I would imagine one of India's greatest strengths can be a challenge for public diplomacy outreach: configuring our outreach for a very large and populous country with widespread ethnic, linguistic, and cultural diversity. If confirmed, I look forward to closely working with our public diplomacy experts in Mission India on these matters.

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. If confirmed, I would greatly value the expertise of our Public Affairs Section in tailoring public diplomacy messages for diverse Indian audiences. I would expect that our Public Affairs Section would work in tandem with the Bureau of Global Public Affairs, the Bureau of South and Central Asian Affairs, and functional bureaus across the Department of State to ensure the Mission is well-connected with the messaging priorities of the Biden administration and leverage the additional analytical resources provided by the Department in Washington.

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. If confirmed, do you commit to taking this threat seriously?

Answer. I share your concerns about Anomalous Health Incidents (AHIs). If confirmed, my top priority will be the health and welfare of Mission India personnel and their families. I understand the interagency community is actively examining a range of hypotheses but has made no determination about the cause of these Anomalous Health Incidents or whether they can be attributed to a foreign actor. AHIs have been a top priority for Secretary Blinken, who set clear goals for the Health Incident Response Task Force to strengthen the Department's communication with our workforce, provide care for affected employees and family members, and better protect against these events in the future as we continue to work closely with the interagency to find the cause of these AHIs.

If confirmed, I commit to taking this issue seriously and look forward to receiving further briefings on this issue and coordinating with colleagues in New Delhi and in Washington to safeguard Mission personnel and ensure prompt treatment should any incidents occur.

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

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I will share with information I can within the bounds of privacy and security concerns with my team and Mission India 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. If confirmed, I look forward to receiving further briefings on these incidents before departure for New Delhi as this will be an important priority for me.

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 I am confirmed, you have my commitment that I will follow the Department's protocols on reporting and addressing these incidents through the Health Incident Response Task Force (HIRTf) by maintaining detailed records of the incident.

Question. 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. 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 will closely listen to the concerns among U.S. and locally employed staff across Mission India regarding these anomalous health incidents and work closely with Department stakeholders such as the Bureau of Medical Services to ensure these concerns are addressed.

Question. Please provide an update on the status of U.S. civil nuclear cooperation with India.

Answer. I understand Department and interagency officials continue to discuss areas of civil nuclear cooperation with Indian authorities although several important projects, such as the installation of nuclear power plants, have stalled because of nuclear liability concerns from the Indian Government. If confirmed, I will work to advance progress on civil-nuclear cooperation.

Question. We understand there are six nuclear power plant projects being discussed with India. What is the status of these six projects?

Answer. The United States continues to work with the Government of India and Westinghouse Electric Company (WEC) to support the construction of six AP1000 reactors at Kovvada in southern India. I understand negotiations have been delayed because of a multitude of factors. If confirmed, I will continue advocacy efforts on behalf of WEC.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO HON. ERIC M. GARCETTI BY SENATOR MARCO RUBIO

Question. In recent years, the U.S.-India relationship has blossomed. Since the 2017 clashes near Doklam in Bhutan, we have seen a renewed willingness in India to align strategically with the United States to counter an increasingly revisionist China. If confirmed, how will you strengthen this relationship and U.S.-India defense coordination?

Answer. As evidenced by the 2+2 Ministerial Dialogue and the multitude of senior-level engagements, U.S.-India defense and security cooperation is a central pillar of the overall strategic partnership. As Major Defense Partners, U.S.-India security cooperation in recent years has been underpinned by growing interoperability and information sharing, sales of U.S. platforms, and complex multi-service exercises. If confirmed, I will work with the Department of Defense to accelerate these efforts, including in the critical area of maritime security.

Question. Specifically, if you are confirmed, how would you advise the United States to support India in maintaining the security of its northern border?

Answer. The United States fully supports India's efforts to safeguard its sovereignty. If confirmed, I will work closely with my colleagues at the Department of Defense to ensure we can meet India's military requests for assistance, including those related to information sharing, spares/munitions, and cold weather gear. I will also support bilateral dialogue and efforts to reduce tensions along the border.

Question. During Vladimir Putin's visit to India to announce the shipments of the SD-400s, India and Russia also signed 28 agreements to expand their bilateral trade. As you know, India historically sought close ties with the Soviet Union in order to balance against its tense, and sometimes hostile, relations with China. But in recent years, instead of the Sino-Soviet split that existed during the Cold War, Russia and China are increasingly aligned. How do you reconcile India's growing cooperation with the members of the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue with its warm relations towards Russia?

Answer. India has long sought a multitude of international partners to maintain flexibility and autonomy in its foreign policy. While this will continue to be a tenet of Indian foreign policy, India is also committed to deepening cooperation with partners who share its vision for a free and open Indo-Pacific, particularly the United States. If confirmed, I plan to pursue opportunities to highlight to the Indian Government and people that partnerships with the United States and like-minded partners best further India's security and strategic interests in the Indo-Pacific.

Question. In your opinion, can India continue to be a reliable partner to counter the Chinese Communist Party if it continues to maintain warm relations with Russia, one of the CCP's partners in undermining U.S. interests?

Answer. The U.S.-India Comprehensive Global Strategic Partnership stands on its own merits. If confirmed, I pledge to deepen our partnership across all areas, mini-

mize areas of divergence, and ensure our two democracies continue to stand as two central pillars of a free and open Indo-Pacific that protects democratic values.

Question. If confirmed, what would you recommend the Biden administration do with regard to the Indian-Russian relationship?

Answer. India has a long-standing relationship with Russia, going back to the Cold War. While I believe India and Russia's interests are diverging, it will take time for the relationship to fully reflect these changes. If confirmed, I will urge India to continue its policies of relying less on Russia as a defense supplier and refrain from major new purchases of Russian military equipment and underscore that closer cooperation with Russia does not align with the strategic interests and values shared by the United States and India.

Question. If confirmed, how would you press the Indian Government to fulfill its defense needs from companies in the United States, Japan, or Australia, rather than from Russia?

Answer. Since 1990, India has taken considerable steps to diversify its defense supplier base away from Russia and expand indigenous production. If confirmed, I will work with the Department of Defense to accelerate this trend, including by highlighting U.S. reliability and maintenance support, bolstering interoperability, working with like-minded partners, and increasing offers of advanced U.S. platforms and co-development opportunities.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO HON. ERIC M. GARCETTI BY SENATOR TODD YOUNG

Question. Do you agree that our competition with China should be the primary, driving factor in our strategic decision making with regard to our relationship with India?

Answer. U.S.-India ties have deepened significantly over the last two decades. While the United States and India coordinate closely on shared concerns regarding the People's Republic of China, our broad strategic partnership is deeply rooted in a range of strategic priorities, including burgeoning economic and energy ties and a shared commitment to tackling global challenges like climate change and the COVID-19 pandemic. The September 24 summit between President Biden and Prime Minister Modi, and frequent meetings between senior officials from both of our countries, underscores the high-level U.S. commitment to our strategic partnership with India in numerous areas of strategic importance.

If confirmed, I intend to coordinate closely with India on our mutual concerns regarding the People's Republic of China in addition to our other shared strategic priorities.

Question. India has a long, established relationship with Russia that predates our current Countering America's Adversaries Through Sanctions Act (CAATSA) sanctions policy. What are your views on India's defense relationship with Russia?

Answer. Despite a legacy defense relationship dating to the Cold War, India has over the past three decades taken steps to diversify its foreign defense suppliers, turning to Israel, France, and increasingly the United States. India is also focused on bolstering its domestic defense industry through co-development projects and indigenous production. Since 2005, U.S. defense sales to India have increased from near zero to more than \$21 billion. The United States and India have also concluded four major defense enabling agreements and regularly hold complex multi-service exercises. If confirmed, I will work to increase bilateral defense cooperation and urge India to continue diversifying from Russian arms including by highlighting U.S. reliability and maintenance support, bolstering interoperability, and increasing offers of advanced U.S. platforms and co-development opportunities. If confirmed, I will underscore that closer cooperation with Russia does not align with the strategic interests and values shared by the United States and India.

Question. How do you believe India would respond to U.S. sanctions over the S-400 or any of its other defense deals with Russia, which include fighters, warships, and submarines?

Answer. Historically, India has responded negatively to unilateral sanctions. If confirmed, I will continue to press India to continue to diversify away from Russian arms purchases that could be subject to mandatory CAATSA sanctions. I cannot pre-judge sanctions decisions for any specific transaction prior to the Secretary of State's determination of significance.

Question. Do you worry that sanctions could push India away from the United States?

Answer. Any potential sanctions would risk undermining the broader, extremely positive trajectory of the U.S.-India strategic partnership.

Question. If confirmed, how would you seek to strengthen our relationship with India to ensure that they remain a strong partner in the region and beyond?

Answer. The United States and India are bound by our shared vision for a free and open Indo-Pacific, growing defense and security ties, common goals for clean energy and climate, and robust people-to-people and economic linkages. If confirmed, I plan to build upon these strengths and the work of my predecessors to ensure the U.S.-India Comprehensive Global Strategic Partnership remains on a strong and positive trajectory.

Question. How would you hope to coordinate actions and unity around a Quad strategy with all of the other players, including for example U.S. representatives in Tokyo, Canberra, the NSC and State Bureaus?

Answer. The Quad is a central pillar of U.S. engagement in Indo-Pacific and a valuable structure to solve common challenges. Our Quad working groups span everything from climate and critical technologies to vaccines and maritime security. If confirmed, I will seek out new opportunities to deepen Quad cooperation with Indian officials engaged on Quad policy and pledge to coordinate closely with my colleagues across the U.S. Government, including in Canberra and Tokyo. I will also work with my Quad Ambassadorial counterparts in New Delhi, as well, if confirmed.

Question. U.S. exporters and investors face non-transparent and often unpredictable regulatory and tariff regimes and some U.S. goods and services have limited access to the market. India has the highest average applied tariff of any G20 country and among the highest bound tariff rates in the World Trade Organization. What would be your priorities for making commerce easier between the United States and India?

Answer. U.S.-India trade and investment has expanded rapidly over the past decade, but I believe that there is great potential to further expand our trade relationship. If confirmed, I would work closely with the U.S. Trade Representative and Department of Commerce to use every tool in our economic toolkit to advance U.S. commercial interests and support President Biden's Foreign Policy for the Middle Class. We need to work intensively to improve market access and reduce regulatory barriers because expanding our commercial relationship will create good, well-paying jobs for Americans and Indians alike.

Question. India's state and territorial governments generally hold greater power than their U.S. state counterparts. U.S. companies face varying business and economic conditions across India and must have a regional strategy to succeed in the country. If confirmed, how would you seek to create a unified business environment for U.S. companies that reduces barriers for entry into the Indian market?

Answer. Just like the United States, India has a federal system of government, and different states have different natural resource endowments, tax regimes, and investments rules. If confirmed, I would advocate for India to develop consistent regulatory policies at a national level that provide a level playing field for U.S. firms. I would also seek to visit as many of India's states and union territories as possible to engage diplomatically at the sub-national level to support U.S. commercial interests. As Indian states compete for U.S. investment, one way to encourage business-friendly policies is to highlight the efforts of those Indian states and sub-national governments that have done a particularly effective job of providing a sound regulatory environment for U.S. investment.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO DR. AMY GUTMANN BY SENATOR ROBERT MENENDEZ

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. I share your deep concern and compassion for all those affected. If confirmed, there is nothing I will take more seriously than the health and security of the people who will be working with me. HIs have been a top priority for Secretary Blinken, who set clear goals for the Health Incident Response Task Force to strengthen the Department's communication with our workforce, provide care for affected employees and family members, and better protect against these events in the future as we continue to work closely with the interagency to find the cause of these AHIs.

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. Yes. If confirmed, I will do everything possible to ensure that employees who report a possible AHI receive immediate and appropriate attention and care and the incident is reported through appropriate channels.

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. Yes. Again, if confirmed, there is nothing I will take more seriously than the health and security of the people who will be working with me.

Question. We are clearly at a critical juncture with regard to Russia. There still may be a window to deter Putin from deciding to invade Ukraine. But we must be clear about what awaits Russia if it chooses that unwise path. And, we know that deterrence measures are more impactful when we coordinate with our allies.

- If confirmed, what will be your strategy for engaging Berlin, and building coalitions to deter Kremlin aggression against our allies in Ukraine and elsewhere?

Answer. If confirmed, I will coordinate closely with German officials to pressure Moscow and develop a policy agenda on Ukraine. The United States consults closely with Germany and other Allies and partners to condemn Russia's military build-up and destabilizing efforts in Ukraine. The United States joined Germany in a December 12 G7 statement calling on Russia to de-escalate and abide by its international commitments on transparency of military activities. The United States also joined a December 14 NATO statement that aggression against Ukraine would have massive consequences for Russia. The United States supports France and Germany's efforts to achieve full implementation of the Minsk Agreements via the Normandy Format.

Rebuilding U.S.-German Relations

Question. U.S.-German relations were tested under the last administration. Personal insults and tariff threats overshadowed the importance of a strategic transatlantic partnership that benefits both nations. What is your assessment of the current state of U.S.-German relations and how will you work to ensure that this will be a lasting relationship that can endure through future challenges?

Answer. U.S.-German relations are strong and getting stronger. Germany welcomed the Biden administration's emphasis on transatlantic reengagement and its return to the World Health Organization and the Paris Climate Agreement, and its efforts to achieve Iranian compliance with the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action. If confirmed, I will build on this momentum and on our 76-year friendship to strengthen a strategic transatlantic partnership that benefits both nations. I will respectfully address challenges and cooperate with the new German Government coalition to advance our common interests and shared values.

Question. German partnership in NATO is essential for transatlantic security. I found it reassuring that the new German Government recommitted to nuclear sharing in its coalition agreement, and I appreciate Germany's leadership in NATO's multinational battlegroup Lithuania. As NATO works to update its Strategic Concept in advance of the 2022 Madrid Summit, how can we work with Germany in developing a comprehensive strategy to address hybrid threats and to deter Russia?

Answer. Emphasizing communication and information sharing will be key in developing a comprehensive strategy that is able to meet hybrid threats and deter Russia. The Strategic Concept will also enable us to build a more common threat perception with Germany, who has been and remains a committed NATO Ally. In addition to developing a common strategy, it is also important that we show strength and consensus on existing NATO agreements and policies. Discouraging Germany from joining as an observer to the TPNW meeting is one way to accom-

plish this. Recent events in Ukraine and the evolving situation in Belarus only serve to reinforce the fact that we must develop a common strategy to meet emerging threats.

Question. The new German Government's coalition agreement commits to working out a "comprehensive China strategy" that considers German values and interests in the systemic rivalry with China. Both within the context of the U.S.-EU Dialogue on China and bilaterally, how can we further engage Germany on building economic and technological resilience, diversifying and securing supply chains, and addressing economic coercion?

Answer. Germany has played a large role in helping shape EU China policy, supporting the U.S.-EU Dialogue on China framework and the U.S.-EU Trade and Technology Council—a forum to coordinate approaches to key global trade, economic and technology issues, and to deepen transatlantic trade and economic relations based on shared democratic values. Germany's presidency of the G7, starting in January 2022, will be another opportunity to strengthen our cooperation in addressing shared PRC-related concerns. If confirmed, I will engage our German partners to cooperate more closely on tackling the PRC's economic coercion and take joint action to uphold a rules-based international order.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO DR. AMY GUTMANN BY SENATOR JAMES E. RISCH

Question. In the 2021 Trafficking in Persons Report, Germany was identified as Tier 2 due to lenient sentencing of traffickers, investigating fewer suspected traffickers and remaining without a national victim identification and referral mechanism for all forms of trafficking.

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

Answer. Germany takes human trafficking seriously and is a steadfast partner on the issue. If confirmed, I will engage with U.S. and German authorities to encourage cooperation and regularly raise trafficking in persons at the highest levels of the German Government. I will urge the German Government to take further concrete actions to address the recommendations from this year's Trafficking in Persons Report. Specifically, I will encourage the Government of Germany to increase efforts to identify victims among vulnerable groups, ensure all victims have access to services, increase awareness of the severity of the crime and the merit of significant sentences for convicted traffickers, and increase efforts to identify victims of labor trafficking.

[Additional Response—1/11/2022]. If confirmed, I will work with the German Government on increased prosecution and victim protection efforts. I will urge the Government to increase their investigation and prosecution efforts, particularly for labor trafficking, and to raise awareness of the severity of the crime and the merit of significant sentences for convicted traffickers. I will also work with Germany to identify victims among vulnerable groups, including foreign migrants and asylum-seekers; ensure all victims have access to services; increase efforts to identify victims of labor trafficking; and ensure equitable treatment of victims by creating a national identification and referral guideline for all forms of trafficking across all states.

Question. Other countries in the region struggle with anti-trafficking efforts but progress is being made. How can you work with other regional U.S. Ambassadors to improve counter trafficking measures regionally?

Answer. If confirmed, I will coordinate closely with my fellow U.S. Ambassadors in the region to encourage joint engagement and actions in raising trafficking in persons at the highest levels of government, bilaterally, and at the EU.

[Additional Response—1/11/2022]. If confirmed, I will coordinate closely with my fellow U.S. Ambassadors in the region to address trafficking in persons at the highest levels of government—bilaterally, and at the EU. I will encourage regional implementation of trafficking-related EU directives and other high-level concrete actions that, if implemented regionally, would improve efforts to combat human trafficking. This includes the adoption of anti-trafficking national action plans for all forms of trafficking, the establishment of independent national rapporteurs, the adoption of robust anti-trafficking laws, and the establishment of national coordination committees for all forms of trafficking.

Question. In the 2020 International Religious Freedom report, incidents of serious religiously motivated crimes were rampant and on the rise. Societal respect for religious freedom is wavering with a 13 percent rise in crimes since the previous reporting period, amounting to over 2,032 anti-Semitic crimes in Germany. What is your assessment of this particular issue and if confirmed, how will you work with the Office of International Religious Freedom to bolster religious freedom in-country?

- What actions will you take as Ambassador to work with the host government and civil society to improve religious freedom on the ground?

Answer. Germany takes religious freedom seriously. Germany's constitution guarantees freedom of religion, and other laws and policies also contribute to the generally free practice of religion. Unfortunately, there are reports of escalating societal abuses or discrimination based on religious affiliation, belief, or practice, including a significant increase in antisemitic incidents in 2020. Major human rights issues included crimes involving violence motivated by antisemitism and crimes involving violence targeting members of ethnic or religious minority groups motivated by anti-Muslim hatred or other forms of right-wing extremism. The Government took steps to investigate, prosecute, and punish officials in the security services and elsewhere in government who committed human rights abuses. If confirmed, I look forward to working together with the Ambassador at Large for International Religious Freedom, as well as the Department's Special Envoy to Monitor and Combat Anti-Semitism, and to broadly engage civil society to bolster respect for freedom of religion and the rights of members of religious minority groups.

Question. It was noted in the chapter on Germany in the International Religious Freedom report that the U.S. Embassy was developing ways to promote tolerance and communication among religious groups. If confirmed, please explain what you believe some of these might be.

Answer. The United States and Germany are strong allies in advancing religious freedom, diversity, equity, and inclusion. Mission Germany frequently engages with diverse communities in Germany, including the Afro-German community, LGBTQIA activists, Muslim leaders, and Jewish clergy, to promote tolerance and communication. In June 2021, Secretary Blinken and former German Foreign Minister Maas launched a U.S.-Germany bilateral dialogue on Holocaust issues. If confirmed, I look forward to contributing to that dialogue, and I also will encourage Mission Germany to take full advantage of this environment to advance our values and interests with all sectors of the German populace.

Question. In the 2020 Human Rights Report, Germany's human rights issues included violence motivated by islamophobia and anti-Semitism, as well as property restitution issues for Holocaust survivors. If confirmed, what steps will you take to address these instances with the host government?

Answer. The German Government takes its historical responsibility seriously and has been a committed partner on combatting Holocaust denial and revisionism. The United States and Germany signed a Memorandum of Understanding for a new Holocaust Dialogue during Secretary Blinken's June 2021 visit to Berlin.

Germany is also dedicated to fighting currently rising antisemitism and anti-Muslim hatred and has been quick to condemn violence and other acts of racially and ethnically motivated violent extremism. The new April 2021 "Act on Combating Right-Wing Extremism and Hate Crimes" requires social networks to assess and potentially restrict illegal content and to report online hate crimes to the Federal Criminal Police. Online threats will now be treated the same as in-person threats. If confirmed, I will publicly and privately reiterate to the Government the importance of this issue and identify areas where the United States can cooperate with the Government and with Germany's Jewish and Muslim communities to combat antisemitism and anti-Muslim hatred, working in coordination with the Ambassador at Large for International Religious Freedom as well as the Special Envoy to Monitor and Combat Anti-Semitism.

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

Answer. If confirmed, I will work closely with civil society organizations to help us assess human rights issues, develop programs, and advocate for stronger policies and reforms. The U.S. Embassy in Berlin enjoys strong and longstanding relationships with civil society on human rights and democracy issues. I will work to strengthen those relationships to advance our concerted efforts in support of human rights.

Civil society has played an important role in promoting accountability of elected leaders, driving meaningful reform, supporting the rights of members of minority

groups, and supporting access to justice for vulnerable communities. To cite one extremely significant example, civil society organizations and groups play an essential role in fighting against the worldwide rise of antisemitism and anti-Muslim hatred. I will work with the German Government to advocate for creating a safe space for civil society organizations and groups such that members of minority groups do not face intimidation, coercion, or other forms of invidious discrimination.

Question. How will you work with the Special Envoy for Holocaust Issues on restitution issues?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work closely with the Special Envoy for Holocaust Issues to advocate for restitution of or compensation for property confiscated during the Holocaust era or subsequently nationalized during the Communist era, consistent with the Terezin Declaration commitments made at the conclusion of the Prague Holocaust Era Assets Conference in June 2009. Germany has been a reliable partner in addressing restitution and I will ensure that we continue to hold them to account. Germany provided more than \$1 billion in 2020 to Holocaust survivors disproportionately affected by the pandemic due to age and economic status and agreed in 2021 to new pensions for survivors via the Claims Conference.

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 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 a tough race that will require early, consistent engagement across capitals and within the U.N. member states. If confirmed, do you commit to demarching the German Government and any other counterparts necessary to communicate our support of Doreen?

Answer. Electing Doreen Bogdan-Martin as the next Secretary-General of the International Telecommunication Union (ITU) in September 2022 is a top priority for the United States and for me personally. Germany supports Ms. Bogdan-Martin's candidacy for Secretary-General and has also presented a candidate for Director of the ITU Telecommunication Standardization Sector. If confirmed, I will work closely with German officials to urge other ITU members to support Ms. Bogdan-Martin's candidacy and will deepen bilateral cooperation to advance shared goals on critical telecommunications issues.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to aiding the MSP office in efforts to support U.S.-desired candidates within the U.N. system?

Answer. If confirmed, I will coordinate closely with the IO/MSP office, the U.S. interagency, and likeminded countries to advance efforts to elect qualified, independent U.S.-desired candidates for U.N. bodies, including the International Telecommunication Union (ITU) and the Human Rights Committee, which monitors implementation of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR). In consultation with Congress and the Executive Branch, I will strive to advance U.S. priorities on key multinational bodies, and I will work with the international community to meet our shared commitment to promoting respect for democracy and human rights.

Malign Influence

Question. In your hearing, you mentioned that every foreign gift and contract is reviewed by the legal team at the University of Pennsylvania. What role did you play in seeking, reviewing, or accepting foreign gifts and contracts?

Answer. As President of the University of the Pennsylvania, I direct the creation of broad policies and procedures for accepting foreign gifts and contracts that ensure that the gifts and contracts are in compliance with the law and consistent with the interests of the University and the country. In implementing these policies and procedures, I rely on such offices as Development and Alumni Relations, the Division of Finance, the Office of Research Services, and the Office of General Counsel, as well as the various schools and centers within the University, each of which have their own administrative structures.

[Additional Response—1/11/2011]. The creation of broad policies and procedures for the review of foreign gifts and contracts that I direct as President of the University of Pennsylvania applies to solicitation (seeking) and accepting foreign gifts and contracts as well. Such policies and procedures ensure that the solicitation, reviewing, and acceptance of gifts and contracts are in compliance with the law and consistent with the interests of the University and the country. As noted in my prior

response, in implementing these policies and procedures, I rely on such University offices as Development and Alumni Relations, the Division of Finance, the Office of Research Services, and the Office of General Counsel, as well as the various schools and centers within the University, each of which have their own administrative structures.

Question. Other than not accepting a Confucius Institute, what actions can you point to as President of the University of Pennsylvania that you took monitor, review, conduct oversight of, or otherwise scrutinize foreign donations and contracts coming into the university? Please be specific.

Answer. Since my appointment as President of the University of Pennsylvania in 2004, I have always directed the University to comply with applicable laws and institutional policies and procedures, including the review of foreign donations and contracts. During my presidency, the University has strengthened and further developed its policies and procedures regarding gift acceptance, export controls, reporting of foreign gifts and contracts, and research oversight.

Regarding foreign donations, the University revised its processes in 2020 so as to apply additional scrutiny regarding prospective gifts. For example, the revised processes noted specifically that “international gifts are of particular concern where there is not adequate transparency,” and that prior to soliciting a gift of \$25,000 or more consideration should be given to whether “the donor is a foreign government, head of state or otherwise under the control of a foreign government.”

With respect to export controls, during my presidency the University has engaged with relevant federal agencies to fully develop strong internal policies and has over time enhanced its efforts to build export control knowledge and capacity throughout Penn’s academic research community. The University is a leader in this field and has sponsored national export control conferences attended by many other research institutions. Penn will next sponsor a national export control conference in May 2022.

Regarding foreign donations and contracts subject to Section 117 of the Higher Education Act, under my presidency the University’s Division of Finance developed a robust compliance program involving multiple University offices as well as the University’s schools and centers. Furthermore, as developed under my presidency, all gifts from, and contracts with, foreign entities and individuals are screened against U.S. restricted party lists prior to the acceptance of any donation or execution of a contract. The University also performs its own due diligence using public sources to determine if prospective donors have engaged in conduct that would create a reputational risk to the University or are proposing a gift inconsistent with the University’s mission.

Finally, the University reaffirmed its policy prohibiting classified research and has remained steadfast in its refusal to compromise academic freedom or national security interests.

Question. As President, did you or did you direct your senior leadership team to take steps to reduce the number and amount of donations and contracts coming from the People’s Republic of China as more information about malign Chinese influence in universities came to light in the last several years?

Answer. The University followed its policies, practices, and the law in reviewing foreign donations and contracts, including donations and contracts originating in the People’s Republic of China, utilizing further processes and screening protocols as described in the response to question #10. As awareness of malign influence increased within the higher education community, Penn instituted additional internal vetting and assessment protocols for heightened scrutiny of donations from foreign donors.

[Additional Response—1/11/2022]. The processes and screening protocols described in my prior response to question #10 resulted in declining certain gifts and contracts originating from the PRC. For example, in September 2018, as a result of the University’s enhanced processes and protocols, Penn removed Huawei, a Chinese telecommunications and consumer electronics manufacturer, and its affiliates from its list of approved contractors eight months before the Bureau of Industry and Security of the U.S. Department of Commerce placed Huawei on the Entity List in May 2019. Additional examples include Penn declining sponsored research in 2015 from Futurewei, a U.S. Huawei controlled entity, to perform research that had been proposed to but not funded by the NSF, and Penn declining postdoctoral funding for electrocatalysis research from the University of Electronic Science and Technology of China in 2019.

Question. Were you aware of the malign Chinese influence in U.S. universities that have come to light in the last several years? If so, what sources did you draw information from?

Answer. Given that malign influence in U.S. universities from the Government of the People's Republic of China has been widely acknowledged in recent years, I have been increasingly concerned and aware of the impact such influence could have on the University of Pennsylvania. My information regarding the malign influence of the PRC has been drawn from research and reports, media sources, conferences, professional associations, and information sharing within the higher education community, and as briefed by senior University administrators. For example, Penn's Division of Public Safety regularly liaisons with the Federal Bureau of Investigation regarding a variety of topics of mutual interest. My service from 2005 to 2009 on the National Security Higher Education Board, which advised the Federal Bureau of Investigation on issues related to higher education, provided further information relevant to the issue of malign influence. My concern and awareness of malign foreign influence, as informed by the resources described above, resulted in my decision in 2009 to decline acceptance of a Confucius Institute at Penn.

Question. Do you believe that universities would be willing to forgo taking donations and contracts from China and other authoritarian countries?

Answer. Although I cannot speak for all universities, I certainly believe that universities would forego donations and contracts that compromise U.S. national security interests and present substantive threats to academic freedom and the free exchange of knowledge and ideas.

Question. How can the U.S. Government and universities work together to reduce the amount of money coming into U.S. universities from authoritarian countries?

Answer. Although I cannot speak for all universities, consideration could be given to the U.S. Government engaging with organizations such as the American Council on Education, the Association of American Universities, the American Association of Public and Land-grant Universities, and the American Association of State Colleges and Universities to discuss appropriate standards and reporting requirements for any receipt of gifts, contracts, or sponsored research from countries with authoritarian regimes and governments.

Question. Do you believe the level of transparency and reporting required by institutes of higher education regarding foreign donations and contracts is sufficient, given the challenges posed to the United States by authoritarian nations like China? Please explain your position.

Answer. Given the recently revised reporting and disclosure requirements of Section 117 of the Higher Education Act, as well as the regulatory requirements for export control compliance and related areas, I believe the present level of transparency and reporting required of institutions of higher education is sufficient, subject to ongoing assessment and review by Congress and federal agencies so as to be appropriately responsive to national security interests and related concerns. To further ensure appropriate transparency and reporting, clarifying guidance from the U.S. Department of Education for Section 117 of the Higher Education Act would be welcomed by many in the higher education community.

Question. Can you please clarify what you meant in the following statement you made during your hearing regarding anonymous donations?: "The anonymity is what the Department of Education in its reporting is required by law to do." It is not my understanding that the Department of Education is required to report foreign donations and contracts to universities as "anonymous." If this is not what you meant to convey, what did you mean?

Answer. Prior to 2020, Section 117 of the Higher Education Act did not require disclosure of the identity of donors or contracting partners to the U.S. Department of Education (U.S. DOE). For that reason, gifts reported by Penn were identified in the report as "anonymous." The donors were known to Penn; they just were not reported because that was not required. In 2020, the regulations were revised to require that names and addresses for reportable foreign gifts and contracts be submitted to the U.S. DOE as part of the Section 117 report, although the names and addresses were now required to be kept confidential by U.S. DOE. The University has complied with the revised regulations.

Question. You mentioned that none of the donations and contracts to the University of Pennsylvania are allowed to threaten academic freedom or national security. Do you think it is in the national security interests of the United States to provide executive education programs to a Chinese Government agency responsible for foreign talent recruitment (the State Administration of Foreign Experts), as the University of Pennsylvania did?

Answer. Academic and educational exchanges with foreign countries, entities, and businesses are an effective way to model American principles, systems, and values; such exchanges between American higher education institutions and foreign countries thereby promote and strengthen our national interests. By engaging with foreign countries and their governments, Penn is not endorsing their beliefs, philosophies, or political systems. Furthermore, as I stated in the December 14, 2021, hearing with the U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, the University of Pennsylvania would not enter into contracts that would threaten national security or academic freedom.

Wharton's executive education program for the State Administration of Foreign Experts Affairs was a two-week leadership program that included a day in Washington, D.C., and/or New York City. The program was sponsored by Mary Kay Cosmetics, China.

Question. Do you think it is in the national security interests of the United States to provide executive education programs to Chinese state-owned enterprises that are under the direct administration of an agency of the Chinese central Government and involved in "One Belt, One Road," such as China Merchants Bank, as the University of Pennsylvania did?

Answer. As one of the world's leading business schools, Penn's Wharton School provides executive education programs and services to businesses and organizations around the world. These programs are grounded in American free-market principles, with content developed and taught by Wharton faculty. As Penn does not engage in classified research, at no time would any such executive education program share information that might compromise the country's national security interests.

Wharton's executive education program for China Merchants Bank was a three-week program that incorporated academic topics from Wharton's MBA program.

Question. Do you think it is in the national security interests of the United States to accept a restricted gift, as the University of Pennsylvania did in 2021, from a source in China to establish an artificial intelligence program at the university, given what we know about China's technology ambitions and policies?

Answer. This question refers to a 2021 gift from a graduate of the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania as noted on the University's Section 117 report. That gift is for the support of an academic program in business analytics based solely in the Wharton School. All of the work in this program is done by Wharton faculty and students and is consistent with principles of academic freedom which requires that the studies and advances made be published and available in the public interest.

Question. According to Department of Education data and your responses to SFRC pre-hearing questions, the University of Pennsylvania provided executive education to 10 Chinese state-owned enterprises between 2014 and 2019. What U.S. interests were served in providing this education?

Answer. As stated above, Penn's Wharton School provides executive education programs and services to businesses and organizations around the world. These programs are grounded in American free-market principles, with content developed and taught by Wharton faculty, and model American principles, systems, and values. As Penn does not engage in classified research, and is steadfast in its commitment to academic freedom, at no time would any such executive education program share information that might compromise the country's national security interests.

Question. Please provide additional information on the \$1 million restricted gift dated May 20, 2021, from China that "supports the development of the Artificial Intelligence Program at the Wharton School." This is listed on the Department of Education's website, but the data provided by the University of Pennsylvania contains a different description, preventing SFRC from corroborating the two data sets.

- Who is the source of this gift?

Answer. A \$1 million gift dated May 20, 2021, is from Mr. Tao Zhang. Mr. Zhang is a 2002 graduate of the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania.

Question. For what purpose is the artificial intelligence program being established?

Answer. The Wharton Artificial Intelligence for Business Initiative, announced by the Wharton School in May 2020, is for teaching and research in the nascent field of artificial intelligence related to business analytics. The Initiative is for the support of students and faculty of the Wharton School and the business community. The Wharton Artificial Intelligence for Business Initiative is part of Analytics at Wharton. A description of Wharton's Artificial Intelligence for Business Initiative

can be found at <https://ai.wharton.upenn.edu/>. A description of Analytics at Wharton can be found at <https://analytics.wharton.upenn.edu>.

Question. Are any individuals from or entities incorporated in the People's Republic of China involved in the activities of the artificial intelligence program?

Answer. The Wharton Artificial Intelligence Program for Business Initiative and Analytics at Wharton are operated by the Wharton School and led by Wharton faculty, and are for the support of students and faculty of the Wharton School and the business community. Penn does not engage in classified research and or engage in programs that contravene Penn policy or compromise national security interests.

[Additional Response—1/11/2022]. Wharton Artificial Intelligence for Business and Analytics at Wharton are operated solely by the Wharton School. I confirm that I am not personally aware of any individuals with ties to the Government of the PRC, or entities incorporated in the PRC, that are involved in the activities of Wharton Artificial Intelligence for Business or Analytics at Wharton. It is worth noting again that the University of Pennsylvania does not engage in classified research or engage in programs that contravene Penn policy or compromise national security interests.

Question. In the first round of pre-hearing questions, you stated that—to the best of your knowledge—the University of Pennsylvania never received a donation from or signed a contract with any part of the Chinese Communist Party, the Government of the People's Republic of China, or from entities under the direct control of the Party or Government. The University of Pennsylvania's Department of Education filings show contracts with a Chinese Government agency and several major state-owned enterprises. Do you stand by the responses in your first round of pre-hearing questions?

Answer. Yes. As stated above, and per my written responses of September 21, 2021, I answered all questions to the best of my personal knowledge. As I noted in the December 14, 2021 U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations hearing, the University has received donations of over \$10 billion during my presidency, with a very small fraction of that amount—less than 1 percent—originating from China. The Wharton School in particular also enters into numerous contracts with corporate entities all around the world. Given the scale and sheer number of donations to the University, and contracts with Wharton, I have very little personal knowledge of the overwhelming majority of specific gifts or contracts. However, as I also noted during the December 14, 2021, U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations hearing, the limited knowledge I now have regarding any University contracts with any Chinese entities was developed during my preparation for the December 14, 2021, hearing, and was subsequent to my September 21, 2021 written responses.

Question. In the information provided to SFRC by the University of Pennsylvania, there is listed approximately \$468,000 in contracts for executive education for Shanghai Yanchong Information Technology Co., Ltd. There is an additional \$369,000 listed for Shenzhen Guoshengyuan Trading Co., Ltd. In an online search, SFRC could not verify either company's name or address. Please provide a description of these entities, including major shareholders.

Answer. The Shanghai Yanchong Information Technology Co., Ltd., is located at 1F, No. 258, Pingyang Road, Minhang District, in Shanghai, China. The company engages in technology development, consultation, transfer, and services in information technology and software development. The University is unaware of major shareholders.

The Shenzhen Guoshengyuan Trading Co., Ltd. is located at Unit 401, Kaiyuan Tower, No. 7001 North Ring Road Futian District, in Shenzhen, China. The company engages in import and export of goods and technologies, economic information consultation, and marketing planning. The University is unaware of major shareholders but understands that the company may be organized under Hao Run Holdings.

Question. What is the Gu Analytics Fund?

Answer. The Roger Gu Analytics Fund was established in 2020 for the purpose of providing financial support for research and programmatic activities of Analytics at the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School. The fund is administered by the Vice Dean of Analytics and the Dean of the Wharton School. A general description of Analytics at Wharton can be found at <https://analytics.wharton.upenn.edu>.

Question. What is the Yun Wang and Beibei Jiang Presidential Professorship?

Answer. The Yun Wang and Beibei Jiang Presidential Professorship was established in 2018 to support recruitment and retention of tenure-track faculty, with

preference for appointments in the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School. The professorship is currently vacant.

[Additional Response—1/11/2022]. I have no personal knowledge of these individuals and thus have no knowledge as to whether either is employed by or has substantial ties to the CCP, the Chinese Government, or any entity under the direct control of the CCP and/or the Chinese Government.

Question. The University of Pennsylvania's 2021 filing lists Nanyang Technological University as paying a \$44,000 contract. Nanyang Technological University is a university in Singapore, but University of Pennsylvania filings list an address in Nanjing, China. Please explain this discrepancy.

Answer. This entry is a coding error. The correct contracting party for this 2020 entry is Nanjing University of Science and Technology in Nanjing, China.

[Additional Response—1/11/2022]. The contract in question is in fact with Nanjing University, China, not Nanjing University of Science and Technology. The \$44,000 contract is for a subscription to Wharton Research Data Services, which is described at <https://wrds-www.wharton.upenn.edu/pages/about/data-vendors/factset/>. I had no involvement in soliciting, concluding, implementing, or overseeing this contract, which was not a donation, and I am not aware of any individuals with ties to the Chinese Government or military that were the beneficiaries of this contract.

Question. Please describe your understanding of how the Chinese Communist Party and PRC Government works in Germany to advance its interests and to counter U.S. and allied interests. Please provide some specific examples.

Answer. German-PRC ties are characterized by cooperation, competition, and systemic rivalry. Bilateral relations remain heavily focused on trade, investment, and major industrial supply chain lines, all of which still depend on China. There is increasing concern in Germany over Beijing's theft of intellectual property, forced technology transfers, lack of market reciprocity, and targeted acquisitions of German companies in sensitive sectors. The PRC Government runs disinformation campaigns globally, including in Germany, using social media and other means. If confirmed, I will work with Germany to track and expose PRC disinformation and influence campaigns, and to inform and educate consumers of media about malicious state actors pushing forward false narratives. The United States counters these campaigns by bringing these activities to light and identifying state actors and/or proxies for who they are.

Question. Please describe your understanding of the nature and extent of malign or undue PRC influence in Germany's institutions of higher education and in academia more generally. What are the biggest challenges in this area, in your view?

Answer. There are 19 Confucius Institutes (CIs) located throughout Germany in each of the Mission's consular districts. Each CI is run in cooperation between a local university, a PRC university, and the PRC Government's international education agency. But these are not merely centers of cultural and linguistic exchange. CIs are being used for non-traditional intelligence collection and influence operations. The PRC often leverages CIs to attempt to curb free speech and enable PRC monitoring of Chinese students and scholars at universities.

Question [updated]. Please describe your understanding of challenges China presents to German universities and academics other than Confucius Institutes

[Additional Response—1/11/2022]. German and Chinese academic institutions are increasingly bound by cooperative agreements—close to 1,500 at last count. This demonstrates a higher risk tolerance of the security threats posed by conducting research in cooperation with the People's Republic of China. As this cooperation increases, so do the pressures for German academics and academic institutions. While many German scholars signed the solidarity agreement in 2021 in response to Chinese sanctions against European lawmakers, academics, and nongovernmental organizations, many others did not, perhaps in fear of retribution or losing support for their research projects. Across numerous fields, the PRC employs foreign talent recruitment programs that use concerning provisions, such as requirements to obfuscate the source of funding, which undermine academic and scientific exchanges and can also skew funding decisions and decrease opportunities for researchers from U.S. and partner nations. If confirmed, I will continue to engage the Germans on the dangers posed by collaboration with the PRC. The German Government and German universities must become our partners in protecting sensitive STEM research and production as they relate to weapons technology, semi-conductor production, and vaccine development among other critical areas.

Question. Please describe your understanding of any steps taken by the German Government to address malign or undue influence in Germany's institutions of higher education.

Answer. The German Government, through public institutes of higher education, has started to push back against the level of influence exerted by Confucius Institutes (CIs). The Universities of Dusseldorf and Hamburg expressed concerns about active Chinese Community Party influence at the CIs and concerns over research freedom and integrity when they suspended their cooperation agreements in 2020. In 2021 two German universities strongly denounced cancellations of public readings at their CIs and dozens of politicians and educators publicly joined in the rejections. The readings were cancelled due to pressure from a Chinese university and Chinese Government officials.

Question [updated]. Would like more detail for this question on issues other than Confucius Institutes.

[Additional Response—1/11/2022]. In response to growing concerns over negative Chinese influence on academic freedom in Germany, the German Rectors' Conference published "guiding questions" on how universities should approach academic cooperation with Chinese institutions. This guidance encourages the balancing of opportunity and risk while remaining aware not to jeopardize Germany's academic principles. Germany also announced this summer a doubling of its funding towards independent China research which would allow universities to extend their work in this field free of funding from the CCP.

Question. What do you think are some of the greatest obstacles to addressing this challenge [malign or undue PRC influence in Germany's institutions of higher education] in Germany?

[Additional Response—1/11/2022]. There is continued demand among young Germans to study Mandarin language and attend cultural programming at Confucius Institutes (CIs). CIs promote fully funded and partially funded exchange programs to China to encourage "non-traditional" exchanges. CIs also often supplement language instruction at German universities at little or no cost to the university itself, which creates an incentive for universities to continue cooperation, especially those that do not already have Chinese language instructors on staff or independent China or Asian studies programs. Germany must develop alternative routes to understand China that are not dependent on PRC Government soft power tools and propaganda, such as CIs.

Question [updated]. PRC influence in universities and academia extends beyond Confucius Institutes. Please describe your thoughts what must be done on other challenges. One example is the lack of transparency around foreign donations to German universities, including donations from China.

[Additional Response—1/11/2022]. There is continued demand among young Germans to study Mandarin language and attend cultural programming at Confucius Institutes (CIs). Many German federal state universities are excluded from Freedom of Information legislation. I would like to see Germany develop alternative routes to understand China that are not dependent on PRC Government soft power tools and propaganda, such as CIs or restrictive cooperative agreements. If confirmed, my Embassy colleagues and I will work closely with the new German Government as it develops a comprehensive China strategy to address the PRC threat to academic freedom and the appropriation of sensitive technology through PRC ties to German research and education institutions.

Question. Other than engaging with your counterparts, what are some concrete ideas you have on cooperating with Germany on malign foreign influence from the PRC, if confirmed?

Answer. Germany is an important partner in upholding the international rules-based system and opposing PRC efforts to undermine international institutions and their foundational values, principles, and rules. If confirmed, I will work closely with German leaders to reinforce the integrity and foundational principles of international organizations, support the U.S.-EU Trade and Technology Council, strengthen investment screening, counter disinformation from the PRC, and call out PRC human rights abuses. Germany's leadership of the G7 starting in January 2022 will be another opportunity to strengthen our cooperation in addressing shared PRC-related concerns alongside G7 partners.

Question. If confirmed, what are the key areas related to China that you will focus on in terms of cooperation with and messaging to Germany?

Answer. Germany is an important partner in upholding the international rules-based system and opposing PRC efforts to undermine international institutions and their foundational values, principles, and rules. If confirmed, I will work closely with German leaders to promote and coordinate a values-driven policy agenda that, as a high priority, addresses our mutual concerns on the PRC's unfair trade practices; offers quality infrastructure development and financing to third-countries; and stands up for human rights in Xinjiang, Tibet, and Hong Kong.

Question. What are areas where you believe the United States and German positions on China are already in alignment?

Answer. The United States and Germany share the view that our relations with the PRC are multifaceted and complex, with cooperative, competitive, and adversarial aspects. Germany has joined the United States on numerous occasions to rebuff the PRC's efforts to reshape and undermine international institutions and values. The United States works closely with Germany to advocate for human rights in China, and if confirmed, I will advocate and coordinate with the German Government on issues of mutual concern, particularly as they relate to Hong Kong, Xinjiang, and Tibet.

[Additional Response—1/11/2022]. The United States and Germany share the view that our relations with the PRC have cooperative, competitive, and adversarial aspects. Germany has joined the United States on numerous occasions to rebuff the PRC's efforts to reshape and undermine international institutions and values. Our countries agree that the PRC's attempts to bully Lithuania are unacceptable. These actions threaten the global rules-based order and target U.S. and European companies. I agree we must strengthen our economic resilience by diversifying our supply chains and resolutely countering all forms of economic blackmail. Together we condemn the genocide and crimes against humanity in Xinjiang, and advocate for human rights in China.

Question. What are areas where the views and policies of the two countries are not in alignment, and what will you do to address these areas, if confirmed?

Answer. The United States and Germany both recognize there are adversarial, competitive, and cooperative aspects to our relationships with the PRC. Engaging consistently with Germany in a focused dialogue on PRC is key to maintaining strategic alignment. Our shared values will be a foundation for charting a common course of action. If confirmed, I will work closely with the Germans so that our countries stand strongly together in challenging areas that require a competitive or adversarial approach to the PRC, such as taking action on human rights abuses by the PRC Government.

[Additional Response—1/11/2022]. As with any close friends, Germany and the United States' approaches occasionally diverge. Differences between the United States and Germany on PRC policy, however, are largely stylistic rather than substantive. In the past, the Germans have taken a more private approach to diplomacy on some PRC issues and have been reticent to publicly admonish the PRC, preferring instead to register concerns privately. However, the German Government has been increasingly vocal in calling out the PRC's troubling actions, including condemning human rights abuses in Xinjiang, Tibet, and Hong Kong and supporting EU human rights sanctions. Working closely with Germany in a focused dialogue on PRC is key to maintaining alignment on key strategic priorities. Our shared values will be a foundation for charting a common course of action. If confirmed, I will work closely with the Germans so that our countries stand strongly together in challenging areas that require a competitive or adversarial approach to the PRC.

Question. What are your views on how the new coalition government in Germany has thus far described its policy on China?

Answer. In line with the EU, Germany sees the PRC as a partner, economic competitor, and systemic rival. The new German Government has made clear that it seeks a values-based foreign policy, with human rights and respect for international law as central pillars. I welcome that Chancellor Scholz's coalition government seeks "close transatlantic coordination on China policy" and cooperation with other like-minded countries to "reduce strategic dependencies." If confirmed, I look forward to coordinating closely with German counterparts on the full range of issues related to the PRC.

Question. What do you find encouraging, and what do you find discouraging about the new coalition government's policy on China?

Answer. PRC-German ties are characterized by cooperation, competition, and systemic rivalry. Bilateral relations remain heavily focused on trade, investment, and

major industrial supply chain lines, all of which still depend on China. However, the new German Government has made human rights and international law central elements of its foreign policy in its coalition agreement. The coalition agreement also includes language on resolving maritime disputes peacefully, preserving the status quo in the Taiwan Strait, and supporting Taiwan's participation in international organizations. If confirmed, I look forward to working with German counterparts to advance these shared goals.

Question. As I alluded to in my opening statement, Chiefs of Mission are at the end of the day responsible or accountable for everything in their Embassy, regardless of their level of direct day-to-day involvement. This is the natural consequence of being in charge. Do you share this view, and is that how you will approach your duties as Chief of Mission? If so, please describe how your leadership and management style reflects this.

Answer. I share this view, and if confirmed this is certainly how I will approach my duties as Chief of Mission. Throughout my career, I have demonstrated an ability to work productively with colleagues of all backgrounds in a constructive manner. I regularly engage with members of my team and always seek to create a space for open dialogue and diversity of thought. I will work hard to foster an environment of respect. I believe in both setting high standards and leading by example. There is nothing more valuable than our team, and I will dedicate myself to their professional development and to helping our employees grow and advance. If confirmed, I am committed to working collaboratively and productively with the Country Team.

Question. Do you support a greater role for Germany in the Indo-Pacific region?

Answer. Yes. Germany is one of our closest partners on a range of global issues and could play a greater role in enhancing security and prosperity in the Indo-Pacific region. The administration welcomed the recently released EU Indo-Pacific strategy and supports European partners taking a greater role in the Indo-Pacific region both bilaterally and through NATO. The administration also welcomed Germany's deployment of the frigate Bayern to join the monitoring of U.N. sanctions on the DPRK, as well as support for freedom of the seas and a rules-based international order.

Question. What are specific areas where greater German engagement would advance U.S. and shared interests in the region?

Answer. Germany is a key partner in upholding the international rules-based system, and supporting democracy, transparency, and human rights around the world. If confirmed, I will coordinate closely with Germany on a values-driven Indo-Pacific policy that is aligned with U.S. interests. We can best tackle PRC human rights violations and economic coercion when we call out these violations with a unified voice and take concerted actions together. Germany has strong investment screening mechanisms for critical infrastructure and defense. We can also continue to bolster our security cooperation following Germany's December 2021 deployment of a frigate to the Indo-Pacific, which included a transit through the South China Sea and participation in the DPRK sanctions monitoring mission. We should also welcome a role for Germany in voicing its support for international maritime law, particularly in the South China Sea.

Question. Do you commit that you will not advise Secretary Blinken, the President, or any other official to sacrifice other U.S. interests for the sake of an agreement with or promises from China on climate change?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I look forward to working with Germany and other NATO Allies and like-minded partners to strengthen Transatlantic efforts to mitigate the long-term effects of climate change. The United States has made clear to the PRC that climate change is a global crisis we must all face together and that we reject attempts by the PRC to link cooperation on climate change with any other issues.

Question. Do you commit that you yourself will not take any steps to trade other U.S. interests for the sake of an agreement with or promises from China on climate change?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I look forward to working with Germany and other allies and like-minded partners to strengthen transatlantic efforts to mitigate the long-term effects of climate change. The United States has made clear to the PRC that climate change is a global crisis we must all face together and that we reject attempts by the PRC to link cooperation on climate change with any other issues.

I will work with Germany to stand with us against PRC attempts to link climate change with unrelated issues.

Question. Do you commit that you will not encourage the German Government to sacrifice shared transatlantic interests and values for the sake of an agreement with or promises from China on climate change?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I look forward to working with Germany and other allies and like-minded partners to strengthen transatlantic efforts to mitigate the long-term effects of climate change. Shared transatlantic values and interests, including human rights, will remain at the core of our efforts on climate change. The United States has made clear to the PRC that climate change is a global crisis we must all face together and that we reject attempts by the PRC to link cooperation on climate change with any other issues. I will work with Germany to stand with us against PRC attempts to link climate change with unrelated issues.

Question. The administration has declared that Nord Stream 2 is a Russian malign influence project and a bad deal for Europe. The undersea pipeline makes land-fall and drives strong business interests in Germany, putting the country at the center of this issue.

- What role do you believe the U.S. Ambassador should play in negotiations with Germany over security concerns for Europe with regard to Nord Stream 2?

Answer. If confirmed, I believe my role will be to reiterate to Germany that the United States sees Nord Stream 2 as a Russian geopolitical project and a bad deal for Germany and for Europe. I will engage closely with senior German officials, in consultation with relevant U.S. officials, to push for rapid progress on implementation of the July 21 joint statement to ensure Germany continues supporting Ukraine and continues developing options to respond if Russia uses energy as a weapon. I will also make sure the German Government is aware of our views on the broader energy security situation in Europe and the need for a rapid transition out of reliance on Russian natural gas.

Question. Do you believe that Germany's decision to continue construction, and now testing and certification of the pipeline makes other European nations more vulnerable to Russian influence and coercion?

Answer. Nord Stream 2 is a bad deal for the United States and a bad deal for Germany and the rest of Europe. My understanding is that the German regulator has suspended certification procedures for Nord Stream 2 until the Nord Stream 2 AG submission is compliant with the European Union's Third Energy package—including unbundling and third-party access regulations. As part of U.S. engagement with Germany on Nord Stream 2, the July 21 joint statement commits the United States and Germany to work together to advance negotiations on continuing transit of Russian gas through Ukraine beyond 2024.

[Additional Response—1/11/2022]. Nord Stream 2 is a bad deal, and it continues to be viewed primarily as a geopolitical project designed to undermine the security of Eastern European partners, particularly Ukraine. The new German Government remains committed to and is making progress on implementing the July 21 "Joint Statement of the United States and Germany on Support for Ukraine, European Energy Security, and our Climate Goals." My understanding is that the German regulator has suspended certification procedures for Nord Stream 2. I believe the new German Government has also made it clear that additional Russian aggression against Ukraine would further call into question the pipeline's future.

Question. Do you believe threatening to prevent the operation of Nord Stream 2 will persuade Russia to withdraw their threat to invade Ukraine?

Answer. Russian officials, in particular President Putin, have a strong, emotional position on Ukraine that is based on their one-sided understanding of Russian history and view of the collapse of the Soviet Union as a tragedy that must be reversed. They have a desire to "take back" Ukraine that is stronger than specific considerations around Nord Stream 2. It seems unlikely that stopping the pipeline alone would cause Russia—and President Putin—to abandon the threat to further invade Ukraine.

Question. Do you agree to work to prevent Nord Stream 2 from becoming operational should Russia further invade Ukraine?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work with senior U.S. and German officials to persuade Germany that it should put a stop to Nord Stream 2 if Russia further invades Ukraine. Senior German officials have publicly said that Russia would face severe political and economic consequences for renewed military action against Ukraine.

and I would work to hold them to those statements and work jointly with Germany to develop very strong measures to impose costs on Russia for its malign behavior.

Question. Have you read the July 21, 2021 Joint Statement between Germany and the United States?

Answer. Yes, I have read the Joint Statement between Germany and the United States.

Question. The joint statement states: “This commitment is designed to ensure that Russia will not misuse any pipeline, including Nord Stream 2, to achieve aggressive political ends by using energy as a weapon.”

- What is your understanding of the definition of “use of energy as a weapon”?

Answer. The commitment to work together in the event Russia uses energy as a weapon is at the heart of the July 21 joint statement. It is my understanding that talks between the United States and Germany are currently ongoing on how to define the use of energy as a weapon and how to respond to such a situation. If confirmed, I will work to ensure Germany understands the United States’ position on Russia’s use of its leverage in the European energy market and how to push back effectively. If confirmed, I would ensure the United States negotiating team has my full support in developing this joint approach with Germany.

Question. How would you define whether or not Nord Stream 2 is involved in “the use of energy as a weapon”?

Answer. If confirmed, I would work closely with United States Government energy experts to evaluate implications of the Nord Stream 2 pipeline on European energy security and possible Russian use of energy as a weapon. I would engage at senior levels of the German Government to ensure they understand the United States position on the pipeline and are following through aggressively on the commitment in the July 21 joint statement to ensure there are consequences if Russia uses energy as a weapon, as our two governments decide that term should be defined.

Question. What is your understanding of the German Government’s definition of the “use of energy as a weapon”?

Answer. I am not privy to the details of current diplomatic engagements between Germany and the United States surrounding Nord Stream 2 and Germany’s precise definition of the use of energy as a weapon. If confirmed, I would work hard to develop a joint understanding with Germany on the use of energy as a weapon and potential responses.

Question. How do you believe the German Government would define whether or not Nord Stream 2 is involved in “the use of energy as a weapon”?

Answer. At this point, I am not privy to diplomatic discussions with Germany and do not know exactly how the German Government would define whether Nord Stream 2 is involved in the use of energy as a weapon. If confirmed, I would work closely to impress on Germany the U.S. position that the pipeline is a bad deal and work to ensure rapid implementation of the July 21 joint statement that commits the United States and Germany to work together to respond if Russia uses energy as a weapon, as our two governments decide that term should be defined.

Question. If there is a determination that Russia has used Nord Stream 2 as a weapon, will you support efforts to shut down the pipeline?

Answer. If confirmed, I will continue to implement U.S. policy which states that Nord Stream 2 is a bad deal and undertake every effort to limit the negative impact of an operational pipeline. This administration has been clear in its opposition to Nord Stream 2 and the ideal solution would be for the pipeline to be shut down, if that is possible. If confirmed, I will support ongoing efforts to limit its potential negative impact and to ensure gas continues to flow through Ukraine.

Question. How will you work with the German Government to help them address the situation and aid Poland in finding a solution to this crisis?

Answer. If confirmed, I will coordinate closely with Germany, Allies, and partners to develop a policy agenda on Poland and Belarus based on shared values. Belarus continues to break international law and OSCE commitments. I appreciate Poland’s leadership (along with Latvia and Lithuania) in confronting the challenges created by the Lukashenka regime. The United States recognizes the right of the governments impacted by the actions of Belarus, including Poland, to secure their borders. The United States announced on December 2 a fifth tranche of sanctions in close coordination with the EU, Allies, and partners, holding accountable the Lukashenka regime for hybrid operations and ongoing attacks on democracy and human rights.

Question. How will you ensure that Germany upholds its international and EU obligations to uphold the rights of migrants?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work with Germany to promote close coordination and develop a policy agenda based on shared values. I am deeply concerned by the Lukashenka regime's inhumane actions and strongly condemn its callous exploitation and coercion of vulnerable people, including migrant smuggling across its borders into states of the European Union. By exploiting vulnerable individuals and villainizing democratic countries, the regime in Belarus seeks to pressure its neighbors into ending EU sanctions and other efforts to hold the regime accountable. If confirmed, I will work with German leaders to promote close coordination and develop a policy agenda based on shared values.

Question. How will you work with your fellow U.S. diplomats in other EU countries to encourage their governments to work together to find a solution?

Answer. If confirmed, not only will I work hard to ensure our cooperation continues, I also will look for ways to strengthen our partnership. As long as the regime in Belarus violently represses human rights, holds political prisoners, and undermines the democratic aspirations of the Belarusian people, I will work with Allies and partners to increase pressure and call for accountability. If the regime seeks sanctions relief, the steps are clear: end the ongoing crackdown, release unconditionally all political prisoners, hold accountable perpetrators of abuses, and engage in a genuine, inclusive dialogue with the Belarusian opposition and civil society that will lead to new free and fair presidential elections under international observation.

Question. If confirmed, how will you work with the German Government to ensure they uphold our mutual support for nuclear deterrence?

Answer. I welcome the new German Government's continued commitment to participate in NATO's nuclear mission, as stated in its coalition agreement. The United States strongly discourages NATO Allies, including Germany, from participating as observers in the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW). NATO's stated policy maintains the TPNW is "inconsistent with the Alliance's nuclear deterrence policy, is at odds with the existing non-proliferation and disarmament architecture, risks undermining the NPT, and does not take into account the current security environment." If confirmed, I will continue to reinforce the importance of Germany's support for NATO as a nuclear alliance.

Question. What is your understanding of the German Government's support for a "Sole Purpose" nuclear declaratory policy in the U.S., and additionally, in NATO?

Answer. I am not aware of any public statements German officials have made on the subject. Throughout DOD's ongoing Nuclear Posture Review, the Biden administration has conducted extensive consultations with Allies and partners, including Germany. Feedback from these consultations will help inform the President's decision on declaratory policy. The President has called our extended deterrence guarantees a "sacred obligation" and has repeatedly stressed that our commitment to our treaty allies is ironclad. I am confident that the result will ensure that the United States will have the capabilities needed to deter aggression, assure our Allies, and respond if deterrence fails.

Question. Do you believe that the administration's Nuclear Posture Review and consideration of a transition to a "Sole Purpose" or "Fundamental Purpose" nuclear doctrine sends a message to allies, like Germany, that they should consider policies that would reduce nuclear deterrence?

Answer. Throughout the Nuclear Posture Review, the Biden administration has conducted extensive consultations with Allies and partners, including Germany, to solicit their views. Those viewpoints will help inform the President's policy making. As President Biden has called our extended deterrence guarantees a "sacred obligation" and has repeatedly stressed that our commitment to NATO is ironclad, the President will only choose a declaratory policy which enhances our security and that of our Allies. The President's Interim National Security Strategic Guidance also makes clear "that our extended deterrence commitments to our allies remain strong and credible."

[Additional Response—1/11/2022]. As part of the Nuclear Posture Review (NPR) process, the Biden administration is conducting extensive consultations with U.S. Allies, including Germany, and the views expressed, including concerns about "no-first-use" or "sole purpose," will weigh heavily in the administration's decision making. President Biden has called Article 5 a "sacred obligation" and has repeatedly stressed to all Allies that our commitment to Article 5 is ironclad. The President's Interim National Security Strategy also makes clear "that our extended deterrence commit-

ments to our allies remain strong and credible.” While I am not part of the NPR review, I am confident it will ensure that the U.S. will have the capabilities needed to deter aggression and respond if deterrence fails. If confirmed, I commit to working closely with Germany to understand how the NPR may impact Germany national defense strategy.

Question. While Germany has made strides toward meeting its NATO defense spending obligation, it still falls far short of 2 percent of its GDP. How will you work with the German Government to ensure they meet their NATO spending obligations as soon as practicable?

Answer. Germany is a steadfast NATO Ally. If confirmed, I will urge Germany to increase defense spending to 2 percent of GDP to meet NATO capability targets and fulfill force contributions pursuant to the Wales Pledge. Ongoing events in Ukraine and the developing situation in Belarus are powerful reminders of why Allies must share the burden of their collective defense. Trustworthy information, intelligence-sharing, and communication will be critical to increasing shared threat perceptions.

Question. While Germany has recently installed its new coalition government, marking an end to the Merkel era. How will you work to establish new relationships with officials in the new Government?

Answer. Germany remains a strong Transatlantic partner and NATO Ally. Our shared values form the foundation for our strong cultural, economic, and security ties. I welcome Germany’s new “traffic light” coalition government comprised of Social Democrats (SPD), Greens, and Free Democrats (FDP). If confirmed, I will seek to continue the rhythm of early and frequent engagement. Secretary Blinken congratulated new Foreign Minister Baerbock by phone shortly after her December 8 swearing-in, and the two held a bilateral meeting two days later at the G7 Foreign Minister Ministerial in Liverpool. President Biden also congratulated Chancellor Scholz and kicked off this new partnership by phone.

[Additional Response—1/11/2022]. If confirmed, I will set meetings with the Chancellor, Foreign Minister, and other key cabinet members for as soon as possible after I arrive in Berlin. I will also make a point to visit all five U.S. consulates early in my tenure and meet with local officials; given that many powers in Germany are held at the local level. Beyond senior government officials, I will make sure to engage with other political, economic, and cultural leaders throughout Germany and ensure the team at U.S. Mission Germany does so as well at appropriate levels. I will convey U.S. positions on key issues such as Ukraine/Russia, Nord Stream 2, and China and will listen carefully to what my German counterparts have to say so we can build an even stronger partnership.

Question. What challenges do you anticipate you will face with the new government?

Answer. I welcome the new coalition’s pro-Transatlantic approach to foreign policy and, if confirmed, will cooperate closely with Chancellor Scholz’s new government. I understand the United States worked closely and productively with the new chancellor in his previous role as vice chancellor and finance minister. Because our two countries are such deep and longstanding friends and democracies, we will continue to work together across different administrations led by different parties—in both our countries. We have major immediate challenges to tackle together, including climate change, the COVID-19 pandemic, countering Russian aggression, and calling out PRC human rights violations and economic coercion.

Question. What are the forefront issues you plan to address when you arrive at post?

Answer. If confirmed, my first priority is the safety and security of my staff and U.S. citizens overseas, and to carry out the policies of the U.S. Government. Externally, Germany and the United States face myriad challenges, on which I will start to work immediately. This includes combatting the COVID-19 pandemic, stepping up our ambition on climate change, and coordinating united responses to Russia and China—including calling out their human rights abuses, economic coercion, corrupt acts, and threats to European security.

Question. U.S. missions across the globe have been under enormous strain over the past few years due to COVID. What is your understanding of morale throughout Mission Germany?

Answer. Strong morale is critical to advancing U.S. policy priorities. Unfortunately, the pandemic and reports of anomalous health incidents have challenged that morale. If confirmed, I will work with my Deputy Chief of Mission to ensure

we maintain an atmosphere where our staff feels safe, heard, and comfortable bringing serious issues to the leadership's attention. I will promptly conduct personal outreach to staff, promote training and professional development, and offer Mission and Department resources. Through clear and open communication, and practicing an open-door policy, I will ensure my team knows their safety and security are my highest priority.

Question. U.S. missions across the globe have been under enormous strain over the past few years due to COVID. How do you intend to improve morale across all of Mission Germany?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work tirelessly to build and preserve morale by supporting my team, maintaining open lines of communication, and leading by example. As a strong believer in an open-door policy, I will make myself accessible to my staff, and I will lead and participate in community-building initiatives. I will treat my team with respect and professionalism and give them the tools they need to succeed. I believe all members of Mission Germany are one talented, hard-working, and dedicated team working for the success of the U.S.-Germany relationship and the interests of the United States and the American people. If confirmed, I will strive to inspire my team through clear and empathetic leadership, support, and communication.

Question. U.S. missions across the globe have been under enormous strain over the past few years due to COVID. How do you intend to create a unified mission and vision across Mission Germany?

Answer. If confirmed, I plan to establish a strong team with a clear understanding of our goals and objectives, maintain open and transparent communications through broad information sharing, and prioritize the safety of the Mission community—both American and local staff. I will treat the team with respect and professionalism and give them the tools to succeed. I believe all members of Mission Germany are one talented, hard-working, and dedicated team working for the success of the U.S.-Germany relationship and the interests of the United States and the American people. If confirmed, I will strive to inspire my team through clear and empathetic leadership, support, and communication.

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

Answer. I have a collaborative and responsive management style. I believe in leading by example, sharing information, empowering my team, keeping an open mind to fresh ideas, and providing clear guidance and timely decisions. I regularly engage with members of my team and seek to create a space for open dialogue and diversity of thought.

Question. Management is a key responsibility for chiefs of mission. If confirmed, how do you believe your management style will translate to an Embassy setting, where resources may not be readily available and your diplomatic workforce consists of career employees?

Answer. As I understand it, the State Department continuously reviews its priorities, organization, and staffing relevant to the needs of each mission. If confirmed, I will ensure that we use our available resources as effectively as possible to advance our top policy priorities. Although I will advocate for critical resources necessary for carrying out our team's mission, I will also always take with the utmost seriousness my responsibility to be a judicious steward of public funds.

Question. Management is a key responsibility for chiefs of mission. As a political appointee rather than career diplomat, do you believe it is incumbent upon new chiefs of mission to integrate themselves into Embassy operations and culture? If yes, how do you intend to do so?

Answer. Yes, if confirmed, one of my first actions as ambassador will be to meet the entire Mission Germany team and to establish a coordination plan with the various sections and agencies. I will strive to create opportunities for regular engagements with the Mission community, ensuring I stay aware of community concerns and the state of morale.

Question. Management is a key responsibility for chiefs of mission. Do you believe it is ever acceptable or constructive to berate subordinates, either in public or private?

Answer. Absolutely not. It is never acceptable or constructive to berate subordinates, either in public or private. Indeed, it is totally counterproductive to our mission and it runs counter to my core values of mutual honor and respect.

Question. Management is a key responsibility for chiefs of mission. How do you envision your relationship with your deputy chief of mission?

Answer. If confirmed, I will strive to establish a strong, positive, and supportive relationship with my Deputy Chief of Mission, one in which we are each other's trusted partners, confidantes, and alter egos in successfully managing and leading the Mission.

Question. Management is a key responsibility for chiefs of mission. If confirmed, what leadership responsibilities do you intend to entrust to your deputy chief of mission?

Answer. If confirmed, I look forward to having a close working relationship with my Deputy Chief of Mission (DCM). I look forward to the DCM being fully engaged and informed on all aspects of policy and Mission management. I would be honored to work with and learn from the DCM, an accomplished career diplomat who has successfully led the Mission as Charge d'Affaires since the departure of the previous ambassador.

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 everyday citizens. If confirmed, will you encourage Mission Germany diplomats to engage in-person with the German people outside of U.S. Embassies and consulates?

Answer. Yes. I understand and greatly appreciate that U.S. diplomats, including those working at Mission Germany, have done a remarkable job to get outside our Embassy and consulate walls and advance U.S. objectives to accomplish our Mission by meeting local actors in diverse settings and environments. If confirmed, I will encourage the Embassy team to maximize opportunities to advance our interests with all sectors of the German populace. I will also lead by example.

Public Diplomacy: An Important Aspect of U.S. Foreign Policy Efforts

Question. What is the public diplomacy environment like in Germany? What public diplomacy challenges do U.S. diplomats face?

Answer. Public diplomacy is a vital part of our mission. Established in 1952, the U.S.-Germany Fulbright program is one of the oldest, largest, and most innovative Fulbright programs in the world. Germany is an intense, dynamic media environment; while television and major print dailies still hold the broadest audiences and influence, German media has continued its own shift toward digital. The Embassy and Consulates constantly interact with reporters, editors, and editorialists from outlets across the spectrum. The Mission's digital engagement efforts are evolving to continue engaging Germany's current and future opinion leaders, particularly the "digital native" generation who consume news online rather than from TV or print.

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. Unity of message is important in foreign policy, so when it comes to public messaging on policy issues, Mission Germany should and does depend on guidance from Main State. Using their understanding of the local context, the public diplomacy team in Mission Germany blends amplification of department or administration messaging with effectively tailoring Washington's messages to achieve the greatest impact with local audiences. If confirmed, I will continue to deploy public diplomacy staff and resources to analyze, engage, inform, and influence German audiences in support of U.S. foreign policy goals.

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.

- If confirmed, do you commit to taking this threat seriously?

Answer. Yes. There is nothing I take more seriously than the health and security of the people who will be working with me. AHIs have been a top priority for Secretary Blinken, who set clear goals for the Health Incident Response Task Force to strengthen the Department's communication with our workforce, provide care for affected employees and family members, and better protect against these events in the future as we continue to work closely with the interagency to find the cause of these AHIs.

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

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I will share what information I can within the bounds of privacy and security concerns with my team and Mission Germany 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. I have received an unclassified briefing on anomalous health incidents. If confirmed, I commit to receiving additional, classified briefings on the incidents before I depart for my post.

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 will maintain detailed records of the incident and share it with the State Department and others to contribute to the investigation.

Question. 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. 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 will take every measure to keep our staff safe and secure and would take any report of an anomalous health incident very seriously. I will do my best to ensure those affected receive the attention they deserve, that incidents are investigated fully, and that we work with the appropriate offices and agencies to ensure required reporting, investigation, potential countermeasures, and provision of medical care. I will also openly share what information I can within the bounds of privacy and security concerns with my team and the Mission community.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO DR. AMY GUTMANN BY SENATOR TODD YOUNG

Question. I am encouraged by recent statements from the new German Government indicating it will reconsider the EU-China Investment Treaty, a recognition of the growing strategic rivalry with China. How can the United States build on our growing consensus with the Government of Germany about the threat that China poses to international security and stability?

Answer. If confirmed, among my highest priorities will be working to counter threats to our international security and stability. Specifically, I will work closely with Germany to rise to threats and challenges posed by the PRC. We also share a positive vision for this vital region. Germany's 2020 Indo-Pacific strategy outlines plans to expand defense cooperation with Indo-Pacific partners and calls for more economic transparency, sustainability, and fair competition. As the United States finalizes our own national Indo-Pacific Strategy, we will seek to bolster the United States' and Germany's strategic and security ties with Indo-Pacific partners; diversify and strengthen our economic ties with the region; and jointly tackle global challenges like climate change and protecting human rights.

Question. If confirmed, what steps would you take to coordinate with Germany on countering Chinese aggression in Germany and Europe more broadly?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work with German officials and civil society to deepen U.S.-German cooperation on addressing China's problematic influence in Europe. I will advocate for the importance of a strong and unified position in countering Chinese aggressive actions. Germany played a leading role in shaping a more assertive China policy in the EU and supports the Trade and Technology Council, and the U.S.-EU Dialogue on China framework. Germany pushed for an EU-level investment-screening mechanism and has increasingly countered the threats the PRC's aggressive actions pose to the rules-based international order. Germany's 2022 G7 presidency will be another opportunity to strengthen our cooperation on shared PRC-related concerns.

Question. In light of the growing threats from Russia and Belarus in the region, how would you characterize U.S.-German military engagement and cooperation?

Answer. Germany is a staunch NATO ally and host to the largest number of U.S. forces permanently based in Europe. As you are aware, on February 19 President Biden ended the active-duty force cap of 25,000 U.S. troops in Germany. The cooperation between our military authorities is close at every level. The United States, Germany, and all NATO Allies are discussing ongoing concerns about Russia's actions in and around Ukraine, and the evolving situation in Belarus. Allies have delivered a unified message, including as recently as December 16 with a public statement on Russian actions and proposals.

Question. Germany has reportedly blocked some Ukrainian requests to NATO for defensive weapons systems, fearing Russia may view it as a provocation. Germany's insistence on continuing with Nordstream 2 also undermined Ukraine's security, and Ukraine now views Germany's commitment to Ukraine territorial integrity with suspicion. How do you assess Germany's relationship with Russia?

Answer. Germany is a vital Ally in deterring Russian aggression. The foreign minister warned Russia of serious economic and political consequences for any further violation of Ukrainian sovereignty and territorial integrity. Germany is concerned certain military support for Ukraine could provoke Russia, and seeks to tamp Russian aggression through the Normandy Format. Despite economic ties to Russia (including Nord Stream 2), Germany strongly condemns Russia's human rights abuses. Given Russia's aggressive actions and threats - including amassing troops at the Ukraine border - Germany's demonstrated willingness to take a strong economic and political stance against Russia is significant and critically important.

Question. If confirmed, what would be your message to the Government of Germany regarding Ukraine's territorial integrity and recent Russian provocations?

Answer. To deter Russia from taking further aggressive moves against Ukraine, our support for Ukraine's territorial integrity must be strong and steadfast. Our actions vis-à-vis Russia will be more forceful and effective if they include our European Allies. If confirmed, I will engage early and at high levels with the new German Government on Russia's troop buildup around Ukraine. I will coordinate closely across the United States Government to ensure we are sharing all appropriate information with Germany. I will work with senior U.S. and German officials as we develop plans to support Ukraine, engage in diplomacy with Russia and Ukraine to find achieve a peaceful resolution, and develop tough economic measures to deter Russian aggression.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO DR. AMY GUTMANN BY SENATOR TED CRUZ

Question. If confirmed, you would be arriving at a delicate point in U.S.-German relations and in Germany's relations with its European neighbors. The German Government's position in favor of Putin's Nord Stream 2 pipeline has badly undermined its relations with European Union countries across the board, and especially to its east. This summer, the Biden administration decided to waive sanctions, administration officials said there was no reason to impose sanctions because there was no way to stop Nord Stream 2's completion. Sec. Blinken testified to Congress that it was a "fait accompli."

Recently, administration officials have completely flipped on their assessments. Recently, NSA Sullivan said that Nord Stream 2 was "leverage for the West, because if Putin wants to see gas flow through that pipeline, he may not want to take the risk of invading Ukraine." Sec. Blinken said on Sunday that Nord Stream 2 "doesn't have any gas flowing through it right now. it's a source of leverage on Russia because to the extent President Putin wants to see gas flowing through that pipeline. it's very unlikely or hard to see that happening if Russia has renewed its aggression on Ukraine."

- Do you assess that Nord Stream 2 can be prevented from coming online?

Answer. Nord Stream 2 is a bad deal for Germany and for Europe. Given that the Nord Stream 2 pipeline was over 90 percent complete when the Biden administration took office, the administration assessed it would not be possible to stop its physical construction. As I understand, the German national regulatory authority must still certify the Nord Stream 2 pipeline before it can achieve full operation. If confirmed, I will work hard to reduce the risks posed by Nord Stream 2 to European energy security and to ensure Germany fully implements the July 21 joint

statement, committing it among other measures to abide by the letter and the spirit of the EU's Third Energy Package, including with respect to the certification of Nord Stream 2, and take all necessary steps to ensure that gas continues to flow through Ukraine.

Question. Do you believe that Putin has been using energy as a weapon against our European allies?

Answer. The nonconfidential sources to which I have access suggest that Russia has certainly come close to using energy as a weapon, and the U.S. Government continues to monitor its actions closely. Many of our European allies remain overly dependent on Russian natural gas and need urgently to secure alternative sources of energy to shift away from this dependence. As long as this dependence exists, Russia will have leverage over our European allies and could potentially use energy as a weapon. This energy dependence also gives our European allies less freedom to maneuver in developing options to respond to Russia's problematic behavior.

Question. What sorts of assurances—or changes to assurances—do you believe would have to happen for new German assurances to be credible?

Answer. Germany has been a close ally and partner of the United States for decades. In the German system, they carefully negotiate a coalition agreement before forming a government, then generally adhere to that agreement after the government takes shape. Statements from the new government have been critical of Nord Stream 2, especially from new Foreign Minister Annalena Baerbock, who is a long-time critic of the pipeline. If confirmed, I would work hard to ensure these statements are followed up with the right actions and that we would get all necessary assurances from the new German Government.

Part 1—Section 117 of the Higher Education Act Public Records, University of Pennsylvania Foreign Funding Disclosure Reports

Data Sources: Foreign Gifts and Contracts Reporting System (new data) and Postsecondary Education Participants System (legacy data)

Date Range: University of Pennsylvania public records
(January 1, 2020–October 5, 2021)

[illegible]

Date Range: University of Pennsylvania public records
(January 1, 2020–October 5, 2021)

[illegible]

**Part 2—Section 117 of the Higher Education Act Public Records,
University of Pennsylvania Foreign Funding Disclosure Reports**

**Data Sources: Foreign Gifts and Contracts Reporting System (new data) and
Postsecondary Education Participants System (legacy data)**

**Date Range: University of Pennsylvania public records
(January 1, 2020–October 5, 2021)**

Amount	Receipt Date	Contract Start Date	Contract End Date	Restricted Transaction Description	Institution Owned By Foreign Source	Legacy Data
\$2,000,000	6/23/2020				No	No
\$500,000.00	3/30/2020				No	No
\$2,500,000	6/22/2020				No	No
\$499,977.00	6/23/2020				No	No
\$250,000.00	6/17/2020				No	No
\$125,000.00	6/22/2020				No	No
\$125,000.00	6/23/2020				No	No
\$125,000.00	6/24/2020				No	No
\$125,000.00	6/25/2020				No	No
\$250,000.00	6/29/2020				No	No
\$350,000.00	11/24/2020				No	No
\$350,000.00	8/28/2020				No	No
\$500,000.00	5/6/2021				No	No
\$10,000.00	6/29/2021				No	No
\$250,000	3/30/2021				No	No
\$1,000,000	5/20/2021				No	No
\$40,386.08		8/1/2020	8/31/2020		No	No
\$41,083.00		9/1/2020	9/1/2020		No	No
\$41,626.76		10/1/2020	10/31/2020		No	No
\$42,320.32		11/1/2020	11/1/2020	*	No	No
\$42,773.08		12/1/2020	12/31/2020	**	No	No
\$43,196.72		1/1/2021	1/31/2021		No	No
\$43,411.20		2/1/2021	2/28/2021		No	No
\$43,101.52		3/1/2021	3/31/2021		No	No
\$42,712.88		4/1/2021	4/1/2021		No	No
\$43,589.00		5/1/2021	5/31/2021		No	No
\$43,795.92		6/1/2021	6/1/2021		No	No
\$45,596.10		11/1/2020	11/30/2020		No	No

**Part 2—Section 117 of the Higher Education Act Public Records,
University of Pennsylvania Foreign Funding Disclosure
Reports—Continued**

**Data Sources: Foreign Gifts and Contracts Reporting System (new data) and
Postsecondary Education Participants System (legacy data)**

**Date Range: University of Pennsylvania public records
(January 1, 2020–October 5, 2021)**

Amount	Receipt Date	Contract Start Date	Contract End Date	Restricted Transaction Description	Institution Owned By Foreign Source	Legacy Data
\$45,828.25		12/1/2020	12/31/2020		No	No
\$46,265.70		1/1/2021	1/31/2021		No	No
\$46,239.90		2/1/2021	2/28/2021		No	No
\$46,070.40		3/1/2021	3/31/2021		No	No
\$46,220.70		4/1/2021	4/30/2021		No	No
\$46,597.80		5/1/2021	5/31/2021		No	No
\$46,386.90		6/1/2021	6/30/2021		No	No

* Supports research of type 2 diabetes in the Perelman School of Medicine

** Supports the development of the Artificial Intelligence Program at the Wharton School

University of Pennsylvania Donations and Contracts— Partial List of Entities and Relevancy

- State Administration of Foreign Experts: During its operation, this group was responsible for recruiting foreign talent to the People's Republic of China, including in scientific and technological fields. It has since been eliminated and its duties absorbed by China's Ministry of Science and Technology.
- Shanghai Institute of International Studies: This organization is a government-affiliated think tank.
- Bank of Communications: This company is a bank with significant state investment. According to its website, major shareholders include China's National Social Security Fund (overseen by a government agency that reports to the State Council of the People's Republic of China), and China SAFE Investment Ltd. (the Hong Kong branch of China's sovereign wealth fund).
- China Construction Bank Corporation: This company is a state-owned bank.
- China Everbright Group: This company is a state-owned financial conglomerate. Its major shareholders include state-owned sovereign wealth fund subsidiary Central Huijin Investment Ltd. and China's Ministry of Finance.
- China Merchants Bank: This bank is a subsidiary of China Merchants Group, a state-owned firm under the direct supervision of the State-owned Assets Supervision and Administration Commission of the State Council (SASAC).
- Guanghua School of Management: This is a school in a state educational institution (Beijing University) under the administration of the Ministry of Education. The leadership of the school includes a Party Secretary and two Deputy Party Secretaries.
- Shanghai Advanced Institute of Finance: This institute resides within Shanghai Jiao Tong University. The dean of the Wharton School at the University of Pennsylvania sits on the board, alongside six Chinese government officials. The Chairman of the Board is the Vice Mayor of Shanghai. The institute's governance structure includes a Party Secretary. Shanghai Jiao Tong University itself is administered by China's Ministry of Education and the State Administration for Science, Technology and Industry for National Defense.
- SAIC Motor HK Investment Limited / Shanghai Automotive Industry Corporation: This is a state-owned automotive enterprise. The majority of the members of the board of directors, the board of supervisors, and leadership are members of the Chinese Communist Party. This fact is advertised prominently on the company's website.
- Zhejiang University: This is a state university under the administration of the Ministry of Education. Its leadership includes a Party Secretary and a committee for the Vice Secretary of the Party.

- Beijing Longfor Properties Co., Ltd.: There is evidence of state ties by senior executives of this company.
- China Minsheng Banking Co., Ltd.: This is a mixed ownership bank with evidence of state-tied shareholding. Various senior executives are members of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, All China Youth Federation, All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce, and other groups directed by the Chinese Communist Party. The Vice Chairman of the Board of Supervisors formerly was employed by the United Front Department of the CPC Central Committee.
- Industrial Bank Co., Ltd.: This bank has significant ties to the government of Fujian Province.
- Ping An Bank Co., Ltd.: This is a state tied company. The second largest investor is the Shenzhen municipal government through its investment arm, and the third largest shareholder is a wholly owned subsidiary of the Chinese government's sovereign investment fund. Its fifth largest shareholder is a state finance firm.
- China Zheshang Bank Co., Ltd.: This is a state tied company. The two largest shareholders are state-owned asset supervision and management commissions. Senior executives have held various positions within the Chinese Communist Party.

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Year Reported	Gift/Contract	Donor/Partner	Address	Amount	Purpose
2020	Gift	Chenwei Gu (Mr.)	1 Long Dong Avenue, Tomson Golf Villas Unit #511, Pudong New Area, 201203 Shanghai, China	\$125,000.00	Gu Analytics Fund
2020	Gift	Chenwei Gu (Mr.)	1 Long Dong Avenue, Tomson Golf Villas Unit #511, Pudong New Area, 201203 Shanghai, China	\$125,000.00	Gu Analytics Fund
2020	Gift	Chenwei Gu (Mr.)	1 Long Dong Avenue, Tomson Golf Villas Unit #511, Pudong New Area, 201203 Shanghai, China	\$125,000.00	Gu Analytics Fund
2020	Gift	Chenwei Gu (Mr.)	1 Long Dong Avenue, Tomson Golf Villas Unit #511, Pudong New Area, 201203 Shanghai, China	\$125,000.00	Gu Analytics Fund
2020	Gift	Chenwei Gu (Mr.)	1 Long Dong Avenue, Tomson Golf Villas Unit #511, Pudong New Area, 201203 Shanghai, China	\$125,000.00	Gu Analytics Fund
2020	Gift	Chenwei Gu (Mr.)	1 Long Dong Avenue, Tomson Golf Villas Unit #511, Pudong New Area, 201203 Shanghai, China	\$125,000.00	Gu Analytics Fund
2020	Gift	Chenwei Gu (Mr.)	1 Long Dong Avenue, Tomson Golf Villas Unit #511, Pudong New Area, 201203 Shanghai, China	\$125,000.00	Gu Analytics Fund
2020	Gift	Chenwei Gu (Mr.)	1 Long Dong Avenue, Tomson Golf Villas Unit #511, Pudong New Area, 201203 Shanghai, China	\$125,000.00	Gu Analytics Fund
2020	Gift	Chenwei Gu (Mr.)	1 Long Dong Avenue, Tomson Golf Villas Unit #511, Pudong New Area, 201203 Shanghai, China	\$100,000.00	Gu Analytics Fund
2020	Gift	Ge Li, Ph.D.	Pudong New Area, 201203 Shanghai, China	\$25,000.00	Annual Fund
2020	Gift	Ge Li, Ph.D.	House 185, No. 1883 Nong, Hua Mu Road, Regency Park, Pudong District, 201204 Shanghai, China	\$1,000,000.00	Penn Wharton China Center
2020	Gift	Hua Medicine	House 185, No. 1883 Nong, Hua Mu Road, Regency Park, Pudong District, 201204 Shanghai, China	\$1,000,000.00	Wharton Annual Fund
2020	Gift	Hua Medicine	c/o Li Chen, 275 Ai Di Sheng Road, Pudong, 201203 Shanghai, China	\$250,000.00	Diabetes Research
2020	Gift	Hua Medicine	c/o Li Chen, 275 Ai Di Sheng Road, Pudong, 201203 Shanghai, China	\$250,000.00	Diabetes Research
2020	Gift	Qun Wu (Mr.)	Jiangsu Yuyue Medical Equipment & Supply Co., Ltd. No. 2, Zhenxin Rd, Yuyang Ind. Park, Danyang City, 212300 Hainan, China	\$200,000.00	MBA Fellowship
2020	Gift	Qun Wu (Mr.)	Jiangsu Yuyue Medical Equipment & Supply Co., Ltd. No. 2, Zhenxin Rd, Yuyang Ind. Park, Danyang City, 212300 Hainan, China	\$200,000.00	Wharton Annual Fund
2020	Gift	Sylvia Chu (Ms.)	Jiangsu Yuyue Medical Equipment & Supply Co., Ltd. No. 2, Zhenxin Rd, Yuyang Ind. Park, Danyang City, 212300 Hainan, China	\$99,977.00	Wharton Academic Research Building Fund
2020	Gift	Sylvia Chu (Ms.)	Hopson Development Holdings Limited, 23 West Dawang Road, Chaoyang District, 100022 Beijing, China	\$1,250,000.00	Dinan Hall - Wharton
2020	Gift	Sylvia Chu (Ms.)	Hopson Development Holdings Limited, 23 West Dawang Road, Chaoyang District, 100022 Beijing, China	\$750,000.00	Graduate Student Financial Aid
2020	Gift	Sylvia Chu (Ms.)	Hopson Development Holdings Limited, 23 West Dawang Road, Chaoyang District, 100022 Beijing, China	\$500,000.00	Wharton Annual Fund

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Year Reported	Gift/Contract	Donor/Partner	Address	Amount	Purpose
2020	Gift	Yun Wang (Mr.)	Room 1702, Building 3, 258 Puming Road, Pudong New Area, 200120 Shanghai, China	\$125,000.00	Wharton Building Fund
2020	Gift	Yun Wang (Mr.)	Room 1702, Building 3, 258 Puming Road, Pudong New Area, 200120 Shanghai, China	\$125,000.00	Yun Wang and Bebel Jiang Presidential Professorship
2020	Gift	Yun Wang (Mr.)	Room 1702, Building 3, 258 Puming Road, Pudong New Area, 200120 Shanghai, China	\$100,000.00	Yun Wang and Bebel Jiang Presidential Professorship
2020	Gift	Yun Wang (Mr.)	Room 1702, Building 3, 258 Puming Road, Pudong New Area, 200120 Shanghai, China	\$175,000.00	Wharton Building Fund
2020	Gift	Yun Wang (Mr.)	Room 1702, Building 3, 258 Puming Road, Pudong New Area, 200120 Shanghai, China	\$175,000.00	Yun Wang and Bebel Jiang Presidential Professorship
			TOTAL GIFTS	\$7,199,977.00	
2020	Contract	E-House (China) Holdings Unlimited	17/F, East Building, Investment Promotion Bureau Plaza, No.333, 200041 Shanghai, China	\$1,206,119.92	Wharton Executive Education
2020	Contract	E-House (China) Holdings Unlimited	17/F, East Building, Investment Promotion Bureau Plaza, No.333, 200041 Shanghai, China	\$1,125,060.00	Wharton Executive Education
2020	Contract	E-House (China) Holdings Unlimited	17/F, East Building, Investment Promotion Bureau Plaza, No.333, 200041 Shanghai, China	\$257,500.00	Wharton Executive Education
2020	Contract	E-House (China) Holdings Unlimited	17/F, East Building, Investment Promotion Bureau Plaza, No.333, 200041 Shanghai, China	\$217,500.00	Wharton Executive Education
2020	Contract	E-House (China) Holdings Unlimited	17/F, East Building, Investment Promotion Bureau Plaza, No.333, 200041 Shanghai, China	\$80,000.00	Wharton Executive Education
2020	Contract	Guangzhou R&F Properties Co., Ltd.	45-54 Floors, Full Center No. 10, Huaxia Road Zhujiang New City, Tian, Guangzhou, China	\$1,163,093.40	Wharton Executive Education
2020	Contract	Nanyang Technological University	22 Hankou Road, 210093 Nanjing, China	\$44,000.00	Wharton Executive Education
2020	Contract	Shanghai Advanced Institute of Finance	211 West Huailai Road, Shanghai, 200030 Shanghai, China	\$1,320,000.00	Wharton Executive Education
2020	Contract	Shanghai Advanced Institute of Finance (SAIF)	211 West Huailai Road, Shanghai, 200030 Shanghai, China	\$358,323.23	Wharton Executive Education
2020	Contract	Shanghai Advanced Institute of Finance (SAIF)	211 West Huailai Road, Shanghai, 200030 Shanghai, China	\$128,495.00	Wharton Executive Education
2020	Contract	Shanghai Automotive Industry Corporation	No. 489, Weihai Road, Jing An District, 200041 Shanghai, China	\$43,730.00	Wharton Executive Education
2020	Contract	Shanghai Automotive Industry Corporation	No. 489, Weihai Road, Jing An District, 200041 Shanghai, China	\$233,230.00	Wharton Executive Education
2020	Contract	Nipshop Co., Ltd.	Fengjill Dai, No.20 Huailai Street, Lian District, Guangzhou, Guangdong, China	\$191,567.90	Wharton Executive Education
			TOTAL CONTRACTS	\$7,468,619.45	

University of Pennsylvania
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Year Reported	Gift/Contract	Donor/Partner	Address	Amount	Purpose
2021	Gift	Hua Medicine	c/o Li Chen, 275 Ai Di Sheng Road, Pudong, 201203 Shanghai, China	\$250,000.00	Diabetes Research
2021	Gift	Qun Wu (Mr.)	Jiangsu Yuyue Medical Equipment & Supply Co., Ltd, No. 2, Zhenxin Rd, Yuyang Ind. Park, Danyang City, 212300 Hainan, China	\$100,000.00	Wharton Academic Research Building Fund
2021	Gift	Qun Wu (Mr.)	Jiangsu Yuyue Medical Equipment & Supply Co., Ltd, No. 2, Zhenxin Rd, Yuyang Ind. Park, Danyang City, 212300 Hainan, China	\$200,000.00	MBA Fellowships
2021	Gift	Qun Wu (Mr.)	Jiangsu Yuyue Medical Equipment & Supply Co., Ltd, No. 2, Zhenxin Rd, Yuyang Ind. Park, Danyang City, 212300 Hainan, China	\$200,000.00	Wharton Annual Fund
2021	Gift	Tao Zhang (Mr.)	18 Nassim Hill, #0303, Singapore, 259485, Singapore	\$1,000,000.00	Wharton Data Analytics Research Initiative
2021	Gift	Tao Zhang (Mr.)	18 Nassim Hill, #0303, Singapore, 259485, Singapore	\$10,000.00	Wharton Annual Fund
			TOTAL GIFTS	\$1,760,000.00	
2021	Contract	Shanghai Yanchong Information Technology Co., Ltd.	1618 Yishang Road, Building A, Suite 310, Shanghai, China	\$40,386.08	Wharton Executive Education
2021	Contract	Shanghai Yanchong Information Technology Co., Ltd.	1618 Yishang Road, Building A, Suite 310, Shanghai, China	\$41,083.00	Wharton Executive Education
2021	Contract	Shanghai Yanchong Information Technology Co., Ltd.	1618 Yishang Road, Building A, Suite 310, Shanghai, China	\$41,626.76	Wharton Executive Education
2021	Contract	Shanghai Yanchong Information Technology Co., Ltd.	1618 Yishang Road, Building A, Suite 310, Shanghai, China	\$42,320.32	Wharton Executive Education
2021	Contract	Shanghai Yanchong Information Technology Co., Ltd.	1618 Yishang Road, Building A, Suite 310, Shanghai, China	\$42,773.08	Wharton Executive Education
2021	Contract	Shanghai Yanchong Information Technology Co., Ltd.	1618 Yishang Road, Building A, Suite 310, Shanghai, China	\$43,196.72	Wharton Executive Education
2021	Contract	Shanghai Yanchong Information Technology Co., Ltd.	1618 Yishang Road, Building A, Suite 310, Shanghai, China	\$43,411.20	Wharton Executive Education
2021	Contract	Shanghai Yanchong Information Technology Co., Ltd.	1618 Yishang Road, Building A, Suite 310, Shanghai, China	\$43,101.52	Wharton Executive Education
2021	Contract	Shanghai Yanchong Information Technology Co., Ltd.	1618 Yishang Road, Building A, Suite 310, Shanghai, China	\$42,712.88	Wharton Executive Education
2021	Contract	Shanghai Yanchong Information Technology Co., Ltd.	1618 Yishang Road, Building A, Suite 310, Shanghai, China	\$43,589.00	Wharton Executive Education
2021	Contract	Shanghai Yanchong Information Technology Co., Ltd.	1618 Yishang Road, Building A, Suite 310, Shanghai, China	\$43,795.92	Wharton Executive Education

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Year Reported	Gift/Contract	Donor/Partner	Address	Amount	Purpose
2021	Contract	Shenzhen Guoshengyuan Trading Co., Ltd.	Room 1708, 17th Floor, Kaiyuan Building, 7001 North Ring Road, Futian District, Shenzhen, China	\$45,596.10	Wharton Executive Education
2021	Contract	Shenzhen Guoshengyuan Trading Co., Ltd.	Room 1708, 17th Floor, Kaiyuan Building, 7001 North Ring Road, Futian District, Shenzhen, China	\$45,828.30	Wharton Executive Education
2021	Contract	Shenzhen Guoshengyuan Trading Co., Ltd.	Room 1708, 17th Floor, Kaiyuan Building, 7001 North Ring Road, Futian District, Shenzhen, China	\$46,265.70	Wharton Executive Education
2021	Contract	Shenzhen Guoshengyuan Trading Co., Ltd.	Room 1708, 17th Floor, Kaiyuan Building, 7001 North Ring Road, Futian District, Shenzhen, China	\$46,239.90	Wharton Executive Education
2021	Contract	Shenzhen Guoshengyuan Trading Co., Ltd.	Room 1708, 17th Floor, Kaiyuan Building, 7001 North Ring Road, Futian District, Shenzhen, China	\$46,070.40	Wharton Executive Education
2021	Contract	Shenzhen Guoshengyuan Trading Co., Ltd.	Room 1708, 17th Floor, Kaiyuan Building, 7001 North Ring Road, Futian District, Shenzhen, China	\$46,220.70	Wharton Executive Education
2021	Contract	Shenzhen Guoshengyuan Trading Co., Ltd.	Room 1708, 17th Floor, Kaiyuan Building, 7001 North Ring Road, Futian District, Shenzhen, China	\$46,597.80	Wharton Executive Education
2021	Contract	Shenzhen Guoshengyuan Trading Co., Ltd.	Room 1708, 17th Floor, Kaiyuan Building, 7001 North Ring Road, Futian District, Shenzhen, China	\$46,386.90	Wharton Executive Education
2021	Contract	Zhongcai Longma (Beijing) Education Consulting Co., Ltd.	Building 2, No.A12, Xidawang Road, Chaoyang District, 100012 Beijing, China	\$4,542.90	Wharton Executive Education
2021	Contract	Zhongcai Longma (Beijing) Education Consulting Co., Ltd.	Building 2, No.A12, Xidawang Road, Chaoyang District, 100012 Beijing, China	\$3,689.59	Wharton Executive Education
2021	Contract	Zhongcai Longma (Beijing) Education Consulting Co., Ltd.	Building 2, No.A12, Xidawang Road, Chaoyang District, 100012 Beijing, China	\$554,157.78	Wharton Executive Education
TOTAL CONTRACTS				\$1,399,592.55	

NOMINATIONS

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 14, 2021 (p.m.)

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

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 2:32 p.m., in Room SD-G50, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Benjamin L. Cardin presiding.

Present: Senators Cardin [presiding], Shaheen, Coons, Kaine, Booker, Schatz, Van Hollen, Johnson, Portman, Young, and Barrasso.

Also Present: Senators Warner and Blunt.

OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. BENJAMIN L. CARDIN, U.S. SENATOR FROM MARYLAND

Senator CARDIN. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee will come to order.

We have eight extraordinary nominees that are before us today in two panels, and I want to thank Senator Portman for his willingness to help us on this hearing so that we could accommodate these hearings before the end of the year.

Thank you, Senator Portman, for doing this. Both of us have decided to defer our rather lengthy opening statements so that we can hear first from our colleagues that are here that I understand have pressing appointments.

Let me first, if I might, recognize Senator Warner, for an introduction.

STATEMENT OF HON. MARK R. WARNER, U.S. SENATOR FROM VIRGINIA

Senator WARNER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman and Ranking Member Portman. It is great to see you. Thank you for the courtesy. We are in the middle of an intel session where we have got a—we are doing a big briefing on China to a series of classified business leaders. I am very, very appreciative.

This is a great panel. I am here to introduce my dear friend, Fabiana Jorge, but—and I hope that Chris Coons will not screw up the introduction of our former colleague, Joe Donnelly.

[Laughter.]

Senator WARNER. The balance of this panel, I know Leopoldo, who will—if Fabiana is confirmed, Fabiana will work with Leopoldo, who is up as director of the Inter-American Development Bank, is a Virginian and I want to give his—my hearty endorsement to him as well.

Fabiana and I go back a long way, 33 years. She and her husband—I knew her husband, Doug Sosnik, before, and while I cannot completely claim that I was the matchmaker of their wedding, I was the person that tried to convince Doug repeatedly to go visit this wonderful country, Argentina, where I lived as an exchange student, and through that visitation, Doug and Fabiana developed a relationship, a marriage. I was proud to be at their marriage in Argentina, and I cannot think of many people I would break away from intel meeting to come and kind of put my two cents in.

I will also add you are going to hear as well, hopefully, later in the second panel from Roy Blunt. This kind of bipartisan affection for Fabiana Jorge is universal for everyone who knows her. She has been in this country 32 years. She is an expert not only on Latin America, she is an expert on issues around, particularly, pharmaceuticals and drugs and flow of trade between Latin America and our country.

I can speak enormously of her intellect, her values, her, in many ways, kind of classic American immigrant story as someone who is coming over to our country—citizen—and wants to give back and wants to make a contribution.

I cannot think of anyone that would be better suited to be the associate director at the Inter-American Development Bank than Fabiana Jorge and I will ask my colleagues to give her favorable consideration when she is up in the second panel, and I very much appreciate the committee's courtesy letting me even jump in front of my friend, Chris Coons.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator CARDIN. Thank you, Senator Warner. We appreciate those comments. It is always nice to have you before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Senator Coons will get all the time before our committee as a member of our committee, and we all had to fight as to who was going to introduce Senator Donnelly, and Senator Coons won out.

So Senator Coons?

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

Senator COONS. Thank you, Senator Cardin. Thank you, Senator Portman. I am glad I won this fight.

This is a wonderful panel with another group of skilled and talented nominees by this administration, all of whom I support, a number of whom I have worked with previously and know and look forward to supporting in their next chapter in their service.

But I am particularly grateful for the opportunity to introduce today my friend and our former colleague here in the Senate, Joe Donnelly of Indiana. Joe was a born in New York but had the wisdom to go to the University of Notre Dame in South Bend. Once there, he never left. He met and married his sweetheart, Jill. The two of them went on to become Double Domers and lifetime members of the Notre Dame family.

Joe got his law degree from the University of Notre Dame, stayed and practiced in the South Bend area. A successful lawyer and businessman, he ran for and won Indiana's Second District congressional seat, represented that seat from 2007 to 2013.

A colleague of ours here in the United States Senate from 2013 to 2019, Joe served on the Armed Services, Banking, and Agriculture Committees. But, frankly, more importantly, in my view, was the heart and the attitude that Joe brought to his service here. He was recognized by the Center named for Richard Lugar, former Senator from Indiana, as one of the most bipartisan Senators. He worked hard to bring us together, Democrats and Republicans, in order to represent Hoosiers well.

He is a proud father of Molly and Joe, Jr., a dedicated and loyal member of his community. I recently had the blessing of an opportunity to be with him at a 9/11 commemorative in his home community, and to see and hear the ways in which he was greeted and celebrated and recognized by folks he had previously represented was a reminder that Joe has never forgotten where he is from.

I will close by saying this. We send our very best around the world as diplomats, and when we send someone from the world of elected politics sometimes there is a question about whether they also meet that test of being the best to represent us.

Joe is going to represent us. Senator Donnelly is going to represent us at the Holy See. And like another friend of mine, a former colleague, former Senator who bears the same name, Joe Donnelly is someone who has lived his faith. As a child, when he was 10 his mother passed and his father and his family leaned hard on their faith and wrapped their arms around each other to get through that toughest of times.

And I have known Joe Donnelly to be a man who has been inspired by his faith to meet the needs of the world and his neighbors in the moment and who has been sustained by his faith in moments of both joy and challenge.

I think we will send our very best to the Holy See to represent us at the Vatican when we confirm Senator Joe Donnelly.

Thank you, Mr. Chair.

Senator CARDIN. Thank you, Senator Coons. We appreciate that introduction very much.

We understand that Senator Kaine, who will be here shortly, wants to do an introduction for Ms. Taylor and Mr. Martinez. We will have those introductions when Senator Kaine is here.

Let me, first, welcome all of our nominees. We thank you very much for your willingness to serve our country. We know this is a sacrifice for public service not only for yourself but also for your families. We thank you very much for your willingness to serve.

We have two panels because of the numbers today. We have two nominees for very important ambassadorships in our country, Ambassador Hill for the Republic of Serbia. Serbia is a critical nation in a very difficult part of the world. We know in the Balkans today we still have unfinished business in regards to the full integration of these countries.

Serbia has been on an inconsistent path for integration into Europe and still represents a concern as to what is going to happen in Bosnia-Herzegovina with the Republic of Srpska looking to Serbia as a support group to prevent the full reforms necessary for the stability in Bosnia.

We will be interested in learning Ambassador Hill's priorities and how we can improve our relationship with Serbia but also improve the stability of that region.

In regards to the Holy See, we, certainly, welcome Senator Donnelly, our former colleague here. The Holy See is a partner for the United States in promoting universal values and human rights, and I will be interested as to how you see our mission at the Holy See reinforcing our concerns about challenges that we see around the world on human rights and dealing with poverty issues.

We have critical nominees in regards to other ambassadorships. We have the—our representative to the United Nations Human Rights Council with the position of Ambassador. We welcome Michèle Taylor to our committee.

The Human Rights Council has received a great deal of attention in this Congress. We recognize that there have been different views among administrations as to the U.S. participation in the Human Rights Council because of its outrageous discrimination against the State of Israel and the way that it has highlighted that country.

We recognize, though, that there are many trouble spots around the world and we would welcome your thoughts as to how the Human Rights Council can deal with the human rights crises that we see in so many countries around the world from Yemen to Ethiopia to Burma to China. Clearly, there is a role for U.S. leadership in the United Nations Human Rights Council.

And then, lastly, on the first panel we have Alice Albright, who has been nominated as the Chief Executive Officer to the Millennium Challenge Corporation, one of our most important tools to deal with countries that share our values but need help in regards to transformational economic programs. So we look forward to your leadership and your thoughts as to how we can better utilize that particular tool.

On our second panel, and I will introduce our second panel a little bit later, we have four nominees that are all engaged in regards to our economic programs: the Director of the Trade and Development Bank, Director of the African Development Bank, Executive Director of International American Development Bank, and alternative Executive Director of the Inter-American Development Bank.

With the second panel we will be concentrating on the economic tools that we have available for a more prosperous and stable world.

Before turning to our nominees, let me first turn to our ranking member, Senator Portman.

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

Senator PORTMAN. Great. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and I thank the nominees who are before us today for your willingness to step forward and serve your country, many of you again.

It is a diverse panel. I look forward to diving into some of the issues that your new roles might present.

Senator Donnelly, welcome back to the Senate. It was great speaking with you last week. I cannot improve upon the introduc-

tion you just received from Senator Warner so I will leave it at that.

Ms. Albright, as we discussed last week, I am a strong supporter of MCC—the Millennium Challenge Corporation. I like what they do in terms of relying on a rigorous analytical approach to aid, ensuring that it is smart development and that it is metrics based and focused on getting the best results for both the partner country and U.S. taxpayers. I look forward to talking about that.

Ambassador Hill, good to see you. You are no stranger to this committee, this time looking to reenter diplomatic service in another global hotspot, I see.

We have worked together in the past. I have enjoyed that. As I recall, we first met in Poland about 15 years ago at the Ambassador's residence this time of year. I recall your Christmas tree up in the residence.

I appreciate your service as Ambassador to South Korea and, of course, as Assistant Secretary for East Asia at State. I particularly appreciate the help you gave me during a very difficult time when a young man, Otto Warmbier, from my hometown was wrongly detained and horribly treated by North Korea.

Ms. Taylor, thank you and your family for your willingness to serve. I will say up front that I am very concerned about the bias I see at the U.N. Human Rights Council. My colleague, Senator Cardin, just mentioned this.

That body, in my view, has consistently discriminated against our ally, Israel, and I want to talk to you about that and look forward to your thoughts on how you would use your voice, if confirmed, to speak out against that kind of double standard and discrimination.

With that, again, thanking you for your willingness to step forward to serve our country, I turn it back to you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator CARDIN. Thank you, Senator Portman.

We will now hear from our four nominees. Let me introduce them and they will be asked to give opening statements. Try to do it within five minutes. Your full statements will be made part of our record.

Ambassador Christopher Hill is a career member of the Foreign Service. Before he retired in 2010, Ambassador Hill served as U.S. Ambassador to Iraq, Korea, Poland, and Macedonia, as well as Assistant Secretary of State for East Asia and Pacific Affairs, and headed the U.S. delegation to the Six Party Talks on North Korea.

For 10 years, Ambassador Hill was dean of the Josef Korbel School of International Studies and then chief adviser to the Chancellor for Global Engagement and a professor of the practice of diplomacy at the University of Denver. He has given his career to foreign service.

Michèle Taylor is a board member of the National Center for Civil and Human Rights and served as its Power to Inspire Chair and Development Chair. Ms. Taylor has been an active member of the Committee on State Sponsored Antisemitism and Holocaust Denial, a member of the Committee on Conscience, and a member of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Council. Ms. Taylor earned her BA from Miles College and her MA from Boston University.

Ms. Alice Albright is the chief executive officer of the Global Partnership for Education's secretariat and served in the Obama administration from 2009 to 2013 as the Executive Vice President and Chief Operating Officer of the Export-Import Bank of the United States.

Prior to this, Ms. Albright was the chief financial investment officer at the Global Alliance for Vaccines and Immunization and worked as a banker focusing on emergency markets.

At the Global Office for Vaccine Immunization, Ms. Albright led the innovative finance program enhancing the delivery and financing of vaccines to poor countries around the world.

Then, lastly, our former colleague, Senator Joe Donnelly, I am pleased to see you back before the United States Senate. Mr. Donnelly served as a United States Senator from Indiana from 2013 to 2019, was a member of the U.S. House of Representatives from 2007 to 2013 representing Indiana's Second Congressional District.

He was a member of the Afghanistan Study Group and has been a professor at the University of Notre Dame and very ably introduced by our colleague, Senator Coons.

With that, we will hear from Ambassador Hill.

STATEMENT OF HON. CHRISTOPHER R. HILL OF RHODE ISLAND, NOMINATED TO BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA

Ambassador HILL. Thank you very much, Ranking Member Portman, for those kind remarks about our background, and with your permission, Mr. Chairman, I would like to introduce my wife, who is sitting behind me, Julie Hill, here who is a retired school teacher from Florida.

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Ranking Member, and distinguished members of the committee, it is an honor to appear before you today as President Biden's nominee to be the next U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Serbia.

I am humbled by the trust President Biden and Secretary Blinken have placed in me to represent the American people. I hope to earn your trust as well and, if confirmed, would work closely with you and with your staff to advance U.S. interests in Serbia.

Years ago, I began my Foreign Service career in Belgrade, and later, I participated in a process that culminated in peace talks in Senator Portman's home state of Ohio—that is, in peace talks in Dayton, Ohio—and those peace talks had ended the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

I returned to the region as the U.S. Ambassador to Macedonia, took on additional responsibilities at the time as Special Envoy to the Kosovo crisis in 1998 and '99, and I have done my best to be well prepared to serve as the chief of mission in Serbia and to advance U.S. priorities there. I would be truly honored to serve as U.S. Ambassador in Serbia.

Serbia is a lynchpin for stability and progress in the Western Balkans. The United States, together with our European partners, continues to support Serbia's development as a modern, prosperous European country at peace with its neighbors.

Serbia's progress is integral to achieving U.S. strategic goals and revitalizing our European alliances, support democracy and the rule of law, promote economic cooperation, and address global and regional challenges. The United States remains committed to deepening our bilateral relationship with Serbia through further political, economic, and security cooperation.

As we celebrate—as our two countries celebrate 140 years of diplomatic relations, I look forward to strengthening people-to-people ties, working with youth and civil society, and sharing the American experience in Serbia.

If confirmed, I will lead a government wide effort to advance key U.S. priorities in Serbia. The United States supports Serbia's own stated strategic priority of accession to the European Union.

To this end, Belgrade must accelerate its serious reforms to meet EU standards and we look forward to the EU to recognize that progress has been made and reaffirm that membership is, indeed, possible. With U.S. technical support, Serbia has made significant steps, particularly economic and fiscal management. But, clearly, more needs to be done.

The United States continues to support Serbia's progress in other areas, including battling corruption, improving the rule of law, and strengthening democratic institutions.

If confirmed, I will encourage electoral transparency and fairness ahead of the April 2022 elections. I will try to reinforce the importance of media freedom and support the crucial role of civil society.

A diverse political landscape and a free and independent press are critical to Serbia's success as a European democracy. Most importantly, and as a prerequisite for eventual EU accession, Serbia must normalize its relationship with Kosovo.

The United States strongly supports the EU-facilitated dialogue as the best chance for both countries to resolve outstanding differences. As President Biden has stated, the U.S. believes mutual recognition is the best way to go forward.

Serbia's European potential and strength in its regional stability and security is vital. If confirmed, I will encourage Serbia to engage vigorously and urgently to find a way forward with its neighbor.

If confirmed, the safety and security of Americans and the U.S. mission personnel will be my top priority. I will continue our longstanding efforts to push for full investigation into the 1999 murder of the Bytyqi brothers, three American citizens executed while in Serbian police custody.

I am committed to pressing the Serbian Government to ensure that those involved are brought to justice regardless of rank or position.

I will work to invigorate Serbia's economic future by encouraging policies that bolster its international investment, climate, strengthen its infrastructure, improve its energy diversity, and, importantly, I will try to help Serbia build resilience to malign and external influences, including from Russia and China.

Serbia has enormous potential with an educated and talented workforce, and I think there is a large role for U.S.-based firms to play in Serbia. If confirmed, I will continue to support American companies exploring those opportunities.

Finally, if confirmed, I will build on the positive momentum of recent bilateral defense consultations, the first in five years to expand mutually beneficial defense cooperation.

Serbia is an important partner of the United States, particularly through its 15-year state partnership with the Ohio National Guard. While not a NATO member, Serbia is active in Partnership for Peace and a global security contributor to one—as one of Europe's largest per capita troop-contributing countries.

It would be an honor to lead the U.S. mission in Belgrade and work with the Government and people in Serbia.

Thank you very much for the opportunity to appear before you and I do welcome your questions.

[The prepared statement of Ambassador Hill follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF CHRISTOPHER HILL

Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member, and distinguished members of the committee, it is an honor to appear before you today as President Biden's nominee to be the next U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Serbia. I am humbled by the trust President Biden and Secretary Blinken have placed in me to represent the American people. I hope to earn your trust as well, and if confirmed, would work closely with you to advance U.S. interests in Serbia.

Thank you for this opportunity to recognize my wife, Julie, who shares my excitement about the prospect of this assignment. Years ago, I began my foreign service career in Belgrade. Later, I participated in the process that culminated in Peace Talks in Dayton, Ohio, that ended the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina. I returned to the region as U.S. Ambassador to Macedonia and took on additional responsibilities as Special Envoy to the Kosovo Crisis in 1998–1999. I believe I am well prepared to serve as Chief of Mission in Serbia and advance U.S. priorities there. I would be truly honored to serve as U.S. Ambassador to Serbia.

Serbia is a linchpin for stability and progress in the Western Balkans. The United States, together with our European partners, continues to support Serbia's development as a modern, prosperous, European country, at peace with its neighbors. Serbia's progress is integral to achieving U.S. strategic goals to revitalize our European alliances, support democracy and the rule of law, promote economic cooperation, and address global and regional challenges. The United States remains committed to deepening our bilateral relationship with Serbia through further political, economic, and security cooperation. As we celebrate 140 years of diplomatic relations, I look forward to strengthening people-to-people ties, working with youth and civil society, and sharing the American experience with Serbia.

If confirmed, I will lead a government-wide effort to advance key U.S. priorities in Serbia. The United States supports Serbia's own stated, strategic priority of EU accession. To this end, Belgrade must accelerate serious reforms to meet EU standards, and we look to the EU to recognize progress made and reaffirm that membership remains possible. With U.S. technical support, Serbia has made significant steps, particularly in economic and fiscal management.

The United States continues to support Serbia's progress in other key areas, including fighting corruption, improving the rule of law, and strengthening democratic institutions. If confirmed, I will encourage electoral transparency and fairness ahead of April 2022 elections, reinforce the importance of media freedom, and vocally support the crucial role of civil society. A diverse political landscape and a free and independent press are critical to Serbia's success as a European democracy.

Most importantly—and a prerequisite for eventual EU accession—Serbia must normalize its relationship with Kosovo. The United States strongly supports the EU-facilitated Dialogue as the best chance for both parties to resolve outstanding differences. As President Biden stated, the United States believes “mutual recognition” is the best way to unlock Serbia's European potential and strengthen regional stability and security. If confirmed, I will encourage Serbia to engage seriously and urgently to reach a compromise.

If confirmed, the safety and security of Americans and U.S. Mission personnel would be my top priority. I will continue the push for a full investigation into the 1999 murder of the Bytyqi brothers, three American citizens executed while in Serbian police custody. I am committed to pressing the Serbian Government to ensure that those involved are brought to justice, regardless of rank or position.

I will work to invigorate Serbia's economic future by encouraging policies that bolster its international investment climate, strengthen its infrastructure, improve its energy diversity and security, and build resilience to malign external influence, including from Russia and China. Serbia has enormous potential, with an educated and talented workforce—U.S.-based firms have invested well over \$4 billion in Serbia in the past 20 years and employ around 20,000 people. If confirmed, I will continue to support American companies exploring opportunities in Serbia.

Finally, if confirmed, I will build on the positive momentum of recent bilateral defense consultations—the first in five years—to expand mutually beneficial defense cooperation. Serbia is an important security partner for the United States, particularly through its 15-year State Partnership with the Ohio National Guard. While not a NATO member, Serbia is active in the Partnership for Peace program and a global security contributor as one of Europe's largest per capita troop-contributing countries to peacekeeping operations in both EU and U.N. missions.

It would be an honor to lead the U.S. Mission in Belgrade and work with the Government and people of Serbia and our international partners on these priorities.

Thank you again for the opportunity to appear before you. I welcome your questions.

Senator CARDIN. Thank you, Ambassador Hill.
We will now hear from Ms. Taylor.

**STATEMENT OF MICHELE, TAYLOR, OF GEORGIA, NOMINATED
TO BE UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE TO THE U.N.
HUMAN RIGHTS COUNCIL WITH THE RANK OF AMBASSADOR
DURING HER TENURE OF SERVICE**

Ms. TAYLOR. Chairman Cardin, Ranking Member Portman, distinguished members of the committee, thank you for the opportunity to appear before you today as President Biden's nominee to serve as the United States Representative to the United Nations Human Rights Council.

My sincerest thanks in advance to Senator Kaine for what I know will be a kind introduction and, thank you, Senator Cardin, for making one yourself.

I am deeply honored to be here and grateful to the President and Secretary Blinken for their confidence and support.

I would like to thank my family for their love, faith, and unwavering encouragement. My two children, Zach, who is with me today, and his partner, Raymond, and my daughter, Zoe, and her husband, Christian, are a constant source of inspiration.

Most importantly, I am thankful to my husband, Kenneth, who is also with me today, who lifts me up at every opportunity.

I am the proud daughter and granddaughter of Holocaust survivors. Today, December 14th, is the anniversary of the death of both my mother and grandmother, and I know that they and my grandfather would be so proud to see me appearing before you today.

Mr. Chairman, my family legacy is one of survival. I feel a responsibility to serve as a champion for everyone whose rights are threatened so that what happened to my mother's family does not happen to others.

I am proud of my Jewish identity, and the rise of global anti-semitism and anti-Israel bias have only made me more resolute to embrace it.

I am also grateful to my father, Nick Nichols, who, thankfully, is able to watch from California today, for raising me with the belief that my gender should in no way limit my opportunities or diminish my accomplishments. This helped shape my lifelong dedica-

tion to the empowerment of women and girls in all their diversity and my belief in the power of partnership.

Public service is an honor and responsibility I have embraced throughout my life, including when I was appointed by President Obama to the United States Holocaust Memorial Council where I worked on genocide and atrocity prevention as a member of the Committee on Conscience.

As a board member for the National Center for Civil and Human Rights, I have brought my voice to today's human rights challenges, local, national, and global.

If confirmed, I would bring with me to the U.N. Human Rights Council my experience and a determination to defend the human rights of all individuals. I would take on this important role with my eyes wide open.

The Council is the most important multilateral venue designed to promote international human rights but its flaws and failings are real. Among those flaws is a persistent inexcusable bias against Israel, the only nation in the world assigned a permanent agenda item at the Council.

As long as it persists, I will take every opportunity to demand an end to the bias, to insist on the fair treatment of Israel, like any other country, and the elevation of genuine human rights challenges on the Council's agenda.

This includes tirelessly underscoring our objection to the open-ended Commission on Inquiry targeting Israel. The Council's membership is, clearly, part of the problem. Nations such as Venezuela with abysmal human rights records have no place on a council dedicated to promoting those rights and protecting those defending them. And in the absence of a U.S. presence on the Council, China has assumed an outsized voice, despite its own human rights record.

I understand the difficulty in reforming the Council's membership rules. But, if confirmed, I will lead an effort to encourage credible nations from all regions to step forward to serve on this body and deny those seats to human rights abusers.

Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member, members of the committee, when Secretary of State Blinken announced the President's decision that the United States would, again, seek election to the Council, he laid out these very concerns.

He also underscored the very real importance and utility of a functional Human Rights Council, which, at its best, prompts investigation of abuses in places such as Syria and North Korea, which gives voice to those working against racism, intolerance, and religious persecution, and promotes concrete action to advance respect for the human rights of women, LGBTQI+ persons, and minorities.

I understand the skepticism of those who believe the United States should not legitimize this very imperfect body with its presence, and I know that, if confirmed, there will be struggles.

But I also know that conversations about global human rights are poorer without an American voice. Human rights defenders around the world are more vulnerable if the United States is not a present forceful leader in venues such as the Human Rights

Council, and I know from experience that more can be accomplished in active partnership than in principled absence.

The President and Secretary Blinken have placed human rights at the center of U.S. foreign policy. If confirmed, I will be a relentless advocate for American interests at the Human Rights Council and in defense of the human rights that should be enjoyed by all.

Thank you. I welcome your questions.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Taylor follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF MICHÈLE TAYLOR

Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member, distinguished members of the committee, thank you for the opportunity to appear before you today as President Biden's nominee to serve as the United States Representative to the United Nations Human Rights Council. Thank you also to Senator Kaine for his generous introduction. I am deeply honored to be here and grateful to the President and Secretary Blinken for their confidence and support.

I would like to thank my family for their love, faith, and unwavering encouragement. My two children and their partners, Zach and Raymond and Zoë and Christian, are a constant source of inspiration. Most importantly, I am thankful to my husband, Kenneth, who lifts me up at every opportunity. I am the proud daughter and granddaughter of Holocaust survivors and I know that my mother and her parents would be so proud to see me standing before you today.

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If confirmed, I would bring with me to the U.N. Human Rights Council my experience and a determination to defend the human rights of all individuals. I would take on this important role with my eyes wide open. The Council is the most important multilateral venue designed to promote international human rights, but its flaws and failings are real. Among those flaws is a persistent, inexcusable bias against Israel—the only nation in the world assigned a permanent agenda item at the Council.

As long as it persists, I will take every opportunity to demand an end to this bias, to insist on the fair treatment of Israel like any other country, and the elevation of genuine human rights challenges on the Council's agenda. This includes tirelessly underscoring our objection to the open-ended Commission of Inquiry targeting Israel.

The Council's membership is clearly part of the problem. Nations such as Venezuela, with abysmal human rights records, have no place on a Council dedicated to promoting those rights and protecting those defending them. I understand the difficulty in reforming the Council's membership rules, but if confirmed I will lead an effort to encourage credible nations from all regions to step forward to serve on this body and deny those seats to human rights abusers.

Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member, members of this committee: when Secretary of State Blinken announced the President's decision that the United States would seek election to the Council, he laid out these very concerns. He also underscored the very real importance and utility of a functional Human Rights Council, which at its best prompts investigation of abuses in places such as Syria and North Korea, which gives voice to those working against racism, intolerance, and religious persecution, and promotes concrete action to advance respect for the human rights of women, LGBTQI persons, and minorities.

I understand the skepticism of some who believe the United States should not legitimize this imperfect body with its presence, and I know that if confirmed there will be challenges.

But I also know that conversations about global human rights are poorer without an American voice. Human rights defenders around the world are more vulnerable if the United States is not a present, forceful leader in venues such as the Human Rights Council. And I know from experience that more can be accomplished in active partnership than in principled absence.

The President and Secretary Blinken have placed human rights at the center of U.S. Foreign Policy. If confirmed, I will be a relentless advocate for American interests at the Human Rights Council and in defense of the human rights that should be enjoyed by all.

Thank you. I welcome your questions.

Senator CARDIN. Thank you, Ms. Taylor, for your comments.
We will now hear from Ms. Albright.

STATEMENT OF ALICE ALBRIGHT OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, NOMINATED TO BE CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER OF THE MILLENNIUM CHALLENGE CORPORATION

Ms. ALBRIGHT. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, Mr. Ranking Member, and members of the committee. I thank you so much for the opportunity to appear before you today.

I am so deeply honored to have been nominated by President Biden to serve as the next Chief Executive Officer of the Millennium Challenge Corporation. If confirmed, I look forward to working with what appears to be a very talented and committed team at MCC to advance the delivery of the agency's mission to ensure that it is well positioned to address the challenges of our time.

I would like to commend the staff at MCC who have helped me to prepare for this hearing, as well as several of MCC's former CEOs who have generously offered their time and advice.

I would also like to thank the many Senators from this committee and their staffs with whom I have had a chance to meet prior to this hearing. Should I be confirmed, I look forward to staying in touch and working closely with you over the months and years ahead to ensure that you are kept abreast of MCC's progress in issues.

And, finally, I would like to thank my wonderful family and dear friends who are here today for all the—and online for all their support and encouragement over the many years.

And Mr. Chairman, if you will allow, I would like to introduce my wonderful older son, David, who is here representing our families.

I am deeply honored by the prospect of leading an innovative and effective agency that delivers on a singular mission, to reduce poverty through economic growth. MCC is focused on good governance and accountability as well as the agency's commitment to country ownership and institutional capacity building creates a more stable and secure world with more opportunities for inclusive economic growth both at home and abroad.

This is an exciting time for MCC as the agency approaches its 20th anniversary. MCC's selective evidence-based approach and partnership focus delivers durable impact in key sectors such as infrastructure, agriculture, and water in well-governed low and lower middle income countries around the world.

With cost-effective projects and a dedicated staff of technical experts, MCC incentivizes partner governments to undertake significant reforms to create the right conditions to support sustained economic growth that endures long after MCC's investments are concluded.

I have spent my career in international finance and development. Early on, I was trained as a banker and worked in the emerging markets at a time when many regions were encountering seismic shifts in their access to finance.

I witnessed firsthand the impact the Latin American debt crisis had on the region, the opportunities that arose from the transition for South Africa to a post-apartheid economy, and the impact that the fall of the Iron Curtain had on Eastern European economies.

What I learned was that working hand in hand with governments and the private sector would make a difference in helping countries in those regions develop and evolve.

More recently, I have devoted 16 years to global development challenges. I have held leadership positions in two global public-private partnerships, one in global health and in my current position as the chief executive of the Global Partnership for Education where we work closely with the U.S. as the major donor. At GPE, we work to ensure that children in the poorest countries have access to a quality basic education.

I have also held a leadership position at the U.S. Export-Import Bank. I have worked closely with the U.S. and other donor and developing country governments, the private sector and foundations, civil society, and others to secure better outcomes and improved and healthier lives.

Over the years, I have visited dozens of countries and met with their leaders, health and education ministers, finance ministers, parliamentarians, health workers, teachers, to get a full understanding of priorities, implementation challenges, and what was happening on the ground.

It is this working in partnership that makes the difference in advancing development goals, and, if confirmed, how I hope to lead as the CEO of MCC.

MCC is a gem within the U.S. Government foreign assistance toolkit. If confirmed, it will be a true honor to join the team there and work with Congress and this committee over the years ahead.

I thank you so much for your consideration of my nomination and would be happy to answer any questions that you have.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Albright follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF ALICE ALBRIGHT

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I thank you for your consideration of my nomination and would be happy to answer any questions.

Senator CARDIN. Thank you very much, Ms. Albright.

We will now hear from Senator Donnelly.

STATEMENT OF HON. JOSEPH DONNELLY OF INDIANA, NOMINATED TO BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE HOLY SEE

Senator DONNELLY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Chairman—Senator Cardin—Ranking Member Senator Portman, and distinguished members of the committee, it is a privilege to appear before you. I am honored to have been nominated to serve as U.S. Ambassador to the Holy See, and I thank President Biden and Secretary Blinken for their confidence in me.

I want to thank my wife, Jill, for her support and help and friendship throughout this journey—she would be here except that she is helping to take care of our young granddaughter, Josephine; our daughter Molly, her husband Mike, and their daughter, Josephine; son, Joe, Jr., and his wife, Jesseca; my sisters and brother, and so many other friends who have touched my life over the years.

I want to thank the people of Indiana for having given me the chance to represent them in the United States House of Representatives and in the United States Senate.

I felt privileged to have that opportunity and to have such examples to model myself after as my mom, my dad, my second mom, Joan, Father Ted Hesburgh—the former president of the University of Notre Dame—mentors like Congressman John Brademas and Senate giants like Richard Lugar and Birch Bayh of Indiana, whose legacy was caring, duty, competence, and love of country.

I believe my service in the House and Senate has helped prepare me for this posting to represent the United States. If confirmed, I will work with the representatives of the Holy See to make progress on the critical issues facing our country and the world.

If confirmed, I plan to bring the same public service ethic, collaborative mindset, and focus on delivering for the American people that define my time in Congress to the task of expanding and deepening our partnership with the Holy See.

The Holy See is unique among states with an influence that reaches across the globe. More than 1.3 billion Catholics worldwide and millions of non-Catholics take inspiration from Pope Francis' leadership.

Additionally, hundreds of Catholic-affiliated NGOs, charities, religious orders, and lay organizations provide health care and education, build peace, and make personal connections with people in every part of the world.

The United States and the Holy See have had formal diplomatic relations since 1984. But our relationship runs much deeper than that, back to the very founding of our country when George Washington dispatched our first envoy to the Papal States in 1797.

If confirmed, I see three core priorities. First, promoting peace and security. If confirmed, my foremost priority will always be the safety and security of Americans, including the personnel and family members assigned to Embassy Vatican.

But our shared interest in promoting peace and stability extends much further. Vatican diplomats and Catholic organizations serve as effective mediators to end conflicts, promote peace, and advocate for the release of political prisoners.

If confirmed, I would seek to strengthen our quiet diplomacy with the Vatican to resolve crises peacefully.

Second, advancing human rights. Promoting human rights and human dignity lies at the heart of the U.S.-Holy See partnership. The Holy See is a leader in defending religious freedom and promoting interfaith dialogue.

Under Pope Francis' leadership, the Vatican has prioritized efforts to combat human trafficking, and Catholic organizations and religious orders provide essential care and services to human trafficking victims all over the world.

Pope Francis has condemned antisemitism and violence against Jews. With threats to human rights rising in many parts of the world, our cooperation with the Vatican is increasingly important.

Third, tackling the climate crisis. Pope Francis has been a vocal advocate for protecting the environment and addressing climate change, including through his second encyclical. Vatican City and Catholic organizations are working hard to implement Pope Francis' climate vision in their own operations by reducing waste and emissions.

If confirmed, I look forward to identifying new ways to collaborate with the Holy See to raise global ambitions to tackle the climate crisis. I would feel fortunate to be a part of the team with the incredibly talented individuals who work at the U.S. Embassy to the Holy See and all the other dedicated folks who serve our beloved country.

As a former member of this body, I also eagerly look forward to partnering with Congress to further U.S. priorities with the Holy See.

If confirmed, I enthusiastically await engaging Vatican officials, sharing ideas, and deepening our collaboration as we work together to build a brighter future.

Thank you so much for the opportunity to testify today. I look forward to your questions.

[The prepared statement of Senator Donnelly follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. JOSEPH DONNELLY

Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member, and distinguished members of the committee, it is a privilege to appear before you. I am honored to have been nominated to serve as U.S. Ambassador to the Holy See, and I thank President Biden and Secretary Blinken for their confidence in me.

I want to thank my wife Jill for her support and help and friendship throughout this journey: our daughter Molly, her husband Mike, and their daughter Josephine; son Joe Jr., and his wife Jessica; my sisters and brother; and so many friends who have touched my life over the years.

I want to thank the people of Indiana for having given me the chance to represent them in the United States House of Representatives and in the United States Senate. I felt privileged to have that opportunity, and to have such examples to model myself after as my mom, dad, and second mom Joan, Father Ted Hesburgh, the former President of the University of Notre Dame, mentors like Congressman John Brademas from my former Congressional District, and Senate giants like Richard Lugar and Birch Bayh of Indiana, whose legacy was caring, duty, competence, and love of country.

I believe my service in the House and Senate has helped prepare me for this posting to represent the United States. If confirmed, I will work with the representatives of the Holy See to make progress on the critical issues facing our country and the world. If confirmed, I plan to bring the same public service ethic, collaborative mindset, and focus on delivering for the American people that defined my time in Congress to the task of expanding and deepening our partnership with the Holy See.

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Thank you for the opportunity to testify today. I look forward to your questions.

Senator CARDIN. Thank you, Senator Donnelly.

First, I have a few questions that speak to the importance that this committee places on responsiveness of all officials in the executive branch and that we expect and will be seeking from you.

I would ask each of you to provide either a yes or no answer to these questions. This will be preliminary to the customary five-minute rounds.

Do you agree to appear before this committee and make officials from your office available to the committee and designated staff when invited?

[All witnesses answer in the affirmative.]

Senator CARDIN. Do you commit to keep this committee fully and currently informed about the activities under your purview?

[All witnesses answer in the affirmative.]

Senator CARDIN. Do you commit to engage in meaningful consultation while policies are being deployed, not just providing notification after the fact?

[All witnesses answer in the affirmative.]

Senator CARDIN. Do you commit to promptly responding to requests for briefings and information requested by the committee and its designated staff?

[All witnesses answer in the affirmative.]

Senator CARDIN. Let the record show that all four of the nominees answered yes to all four of the questions.

Ms. Taylor, I think you have been saved. Senator Kaine is here. Let us see whether your thanking him for such nice comments, in fact, was justified or not.

Senator Kaine?

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

Senator KAINE. Mr. Chair, thank you and my deep congratulations to this very esteemed panel. It is so good to see Senator Don-

nely, my longtime friend, and Mr. Chair, I have the pleasure of saying a word about another longtime friend, Michèle Taylor, and I apologize for being late, but thank you for giving me this opportunity.

And if you would additionally indulge me, I would also like to say a word about one of the nominees on panel two because I am not going to be able to be here for panel two so I would try to do both at once, if that is acceptable.

Senator CARDIN. That is fine. Certainly.

Senator KAINE. Two very qualified nominees, Michèle Taylor to be the U.S. Representative to the U.N. Human Rights Council, and then Leopoldo Martinez, who is here, a great friend, to be U.S. Executive Director of the Inter-American Development Fund.

First, Michèle. Longtime friend, hails from Georgia, community volunteer, educator, outdoorswoman, and tireless human rights champion. She served as a board member of the National Center for Civil and Human Rights, longtime member of the board of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council where she served diligently, motivated by her mother, who was a Holocaust survivor.

Michèle has decades-long experience in working in politics advancing opportunity and empowerment for women and girls, especially members of the LGBTQ community.

In 2014, under the direction of the White House, Michèle helped to generate the report on the 20th anniversary of the Violence Against Women Act through the Office of the Vice President, now President Biden.

She continues to give back to students, business executives, and veterans as a course director and lead instructor for North Carolina Outward Bound School. I have known Michèle and her family, including her children, now for about a dozen years and for many years—I have known her for a long time and I know she will represent the Senate—the United States very, very well in this capacity.

She has a tenacious spirit wrapped in a diplomatic spirit, and both of those traits—tenacity and diplomacy—will help her be a strong voice for the United States on the Human Rights Council, elevating pressing human rights causes within the institution and also pushing back against the anti-Israel bias that has plagued that institution for years. I urge the committee to support her strongly.

And if I might say about my wonderful friend, Leopoldo Martinez of Virginia, for the position of United States Executive Director of the Inter-American Development Bank, it is great to have a Senator here in Joe Donnelly but it is also great to have a parliamentarian here. Leopoldo Martinez, in an earlier chapter of his life, was a parliamentarian in Venezuela.

He has had a long and distinguished career in both public service and the private sector. He is a Venezuelan-American immigrant. He will come to the role with a breadth of knowledge, having spent over three decades working tirelessly in support of U.S. relations with Latin America and the Caribbean.

In light of the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic, the challenges that our hemisphere faces and, in particular, Latin America and the Caribbean are severe. Latin America and the Caribbean have about

8 percent of the global population, 30 percent of COVID deaths in the world.

From worsening economic inequality to the health care challenges to the rising tide of authoritarianism across the Americas, there is no better person equipped to deal with the region's challenges with empathy, humility, and dedication. And, again, Leopoldo Martinez has not just seen it, he has lived it and he understands some of these challenges and feels them very, very deeply.

His personal story makes him uniquely qualified. After his family fled Venezuela nearly two decades ago, he has dedicated his life to giving back to that country and supporting democracy and human rights there and throughout the hemisphere. I am confident that his life experience as well as his professional background and deep intellect makes him an absolutely perfect pick to be the U.S. Executive Director for the Inter-American Development Bank and I urge my colleagues to support him.

Thank you, Mr. Chair.

Senator CARDIN. Thank you, Senator Kaine. We appreciate that very much.

We will now have some questions in regards to the first panel and let me start with Ms. Taylor. I had a whole series of questions I was going to ask you but your statement was pretty clear about your understanding of our concerns about the Human Rights Council.

I fully understand the importance of participation rather than not participating. But when you are in a body that has a bias in the way that they have organized against Israel, it makes it difficult for us to understand the credibility of the Human Rights Council to its primary function.

And I appreciate the comments that you made. I also serve on the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum board and I know the importance of that assignment, and we have not only contributed by being on the Council but also being exposed to the real challenges of history and the current challenges on the rise of antisemitism.

And a lot of the bias that we see in the Human Rights Council, although it is anti-Israel it also has roots in antisemitism. It is a challenge for our participation on this Council to really make significant progress in promoting our values but also for this important council to play a meaningful role in regards to human rights abuses around the globe.

You know the membership. You know its history. What, realistically, can you achieve by your participation on behalf of the United States, if confirmed?

Ms. TAYLOR. Thank you so much for that question and for reaffirming the challenge that I have ahead, which I am fully prepared to take on.

I think I will start with the Israel question. I think there are very, very real things that I could do, if confirmed, at the Council. One of them is, just to start with, we have left a very vulnerable country because Israel has not walked away from the Council as we did, vulnerable and alone and standing up to bullies without a lot of support.

To start with, we would show up for her and I, in particular, if confirmed, would show up strongly for her. You know, the other thing that I think it is important to do with respect to Israel, she is the only country with a standing permanent agenda item on the agenda of the Council but should be treated like every other country, and we have been successful in the past and I would make it a priority to move any considerations about Israel out of Agenda Item Seven and into the other agenda items where they belong, just like every other country is treated, and, again, we have had some success with that.

And then, lastly, I think one of the most important things that we can do—and, again, we have had success—is recruiting countries that can be partners and allies to the United States in our agenda at the Human Rights Council to run for seats at the Council.

We had great success with a country, the Marshall Islands, that has turned out to be not only a champion with us in bringing forward resolutions supporting the issues that we care about but has also really stood up to China, and I look forward to bringing other countries on board that will do the same.

And then the other thing that we can do, of course, is to continue to support resolutions that elevate the issues that we really care about and want to see elevated at the Council.

We should be focusing more on places like Ethiopia, Burma, the Xinjiang region and what is happening with the Uighur population there, et cetera. I could go on. Sadly, there are many.

Senator CARDIN. Thank you for that response.

Ambassador Hill, I agree completely with your focus on Kosovo and the need for Serbia to take action on recognition. But as I mentioned in my opening comments, I am also concerned about the Republic of Srpska's belief that Serbia is their support entity for their holding out for a unity type of a government in Serbia itself.

Tell me how you see this unfolding with the U.S. mission in advancing the security and peace in the Balkans, recognizing Kosovo but also Bosnia's challenges, moving forward.

Ambassador HILL. Thank you for asking that, Mr. Chairman.

I think with respect to Bosnia, Serbia is a signatory country of the Dayton Peace Accords and they need to be held to that. Obviously, the situation in Bosnia has become more problematic. We have seen Srpska trying to take steps to get out of, for example, judiciary issues and the common military. The Serbian president, Alexander Vucic, has made very clear there is not going to be any change and he absolutely supports continuation of these institutions.

But I think this will continue, frankly, to be a work in progress and I think we need to work very closely with the Serbs on our common position that we need to support Bosnia's unity, and I think the Serbs are under no illusion that we would look for some kind of change in Bosnia, any kind of unilateral such change. And so I think we will have to work very closely with them and make it clear that the Republika Srpska's future is in Bosnia, not in some other entity.

Senator CARDIN. I agree with that. But the Dayton Accords were never meant to be the final answer to Bosnia. I recognize that Ser-

bia was the signatory not living up even to some of those commitments.

Ambassador HILL. Yeah.

Senator CARDIN. But we have got to move beyond that with constitutional reform within Bosnia for its future, and Serbia could play an important role in that making that a reality.

Ambassador HILL. If confirmed, I would expect and look forward to considerable discussions within Belgrade about the—our mutual interest in a successful Bosnia and I think we can find common ground with the Serbian Government with the Serbian leadership on this point.

Senator CARDIN. Thank you very much.

Senator Portman is in an extremely generous mood today as far as yielding time. We have been joined by Senator Roy Blunt, who would like to make an introduction and Senator Portman has agreed to withhold the questioning at this stage for Senator Blunt's introduction.

**STATEMENT OF HON. ROY BLUNT,
U.S. SENATOR FROM MISSOURI**

Senator BLUNT. Thank you, Senator Cardin and Senator Portman. I know that the nominees are eager for your questions, particularly, our former colleague, Senator Donnelly, can hardly wait to answer questions and I am glad to have this privilege to take a minute of their time as I get a chance to join Senator Warner, who earlier introduced our good friend, Fabiana Jorge.

I want to thank you for letting me be here to talk about her nomination to be United States alternate Executive Director of Inter-American—the Inter-American Development Bank. I am, certainly, honored to join in welcoming her to the Senate today.

Our families are close friends and have been since our sons started pre-kindergarten together about a dozen years ago. I have spent a lot of time with Fabiana at soccer games and their house and our house and other places, and so I come with some strong sense of who she is as a person.

To everything she does she brings integrity, a desire to help others. She is always well prepared and I think she is well prepared for this job. She has had three decades of experience in international business and trade and I think that will make her incredibly valuable as an addition to the leadership of the Inter-American Development Bank.

Fabiana founded a global consulting firm that focuses on protecting intellectual property and access to medicine. She has extensive experience involving several international trade agreements, including the USMCA.

She holds a Bachelor's degree, and this might have been pointed out already, and a Master's degree in business administration from Columbia University. Her Bachelor's degree is in political science and with a specialty in international relations from Catholic University in Buenos Aires. She served as an adjunct professor at the University of El Salvador in Buenos Aires, Argentina.

I have no doubt, if confirmed, she will be incredibly successful and effective in this job. It is a real honor for me to have a few minutes today to share that with you and I look forward to sup-

porting her confirmation on the floor and hope that the committee is able to move quickly and, in spite of everything, the Senate also would be able to move quickly and get this nominee confirmed.

Senator CARDIN. Senator Blunt, it is a pleasure to have you before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. We thank you for being here today. Thank you.

Senator BLUNT. Thank you, Senator Cardin. Thank you, Senator Portman.

Senator CARDIN. Senator Portman is recognized.

Senator PORTMAN. Great, and thank you, Senator Blunt. We look forward to having an opportunity to ask some questions of Fabiana in a moment.

Ms. Taylor, I noticed that when the United States reentered the U.N. Human Rights Council that Tony Blinken made a powerful statement. He said that the Council suffers from serious flaws, including disproportionate attention on Israel and membership of several states with egregious human rights records.

He said, "The U.S. must push back against attempts to subvert the ideals upon which the Human Rights Council was founded," end quote. So you have some help from the Secretary of State in doing what you have talked to Senator Cardin about.

You touched on some of the things you would do to end the Council's anti-Israel bias. They have shown an unyielding and continued bias against Israel and Senator Cardin and I have been involved in this issue for some time.

Since 2006, when it was founded, they have passed over 90 anti-Israel resolutions. By the way, that is more resolutions than they have passed condemning Iran, Syria, North Korea, China, Cuba, and Venezuela combined.

They have, as you indicated earlier, put Israel on Agenda Item Seven so it will be on the agenda at every single meeting.

I guess my question to you is sort of the follow-on to what you have already said. You said you will take steps to try to address these concerns. But what if the Council fails to change? What will the repercussions be from the United States? What should they be?

Ms. TAYLOR. Thank you for that question, and you are absolutely right that there have been more resolutions against Israel than any other country and, again, I would argue that we have made really significant impact when we are present at the Council.

The number of resolutions is far less. This egregious open-ended Commission of Inquiry was founded when we were not members of the Council. I cannot change the permanent agenda item, if confirmed, immediately.

But, again, I think that we can continue to force those issues to come under other agenda items and prove that Agenda Item Seven is not necessary and then, again, look for those partners and allies who, when we might be ready to collectively present a resolution to get rid of Item Seven, would be ready to stand with us.

Senator PORTMAN. Okay. You know, I served at one point on the Subcommittee on Human Rights in Nice and Geneva under U.N. auspices, and it was an honor to do that representing our country.

But I felt like much of what I did there, and this was before I had gotten involved in elected politics after the first Bush White House, but a lot of what I did was to talk to countries that should

have been allies of ours about the fact that they should not be going along with some of these egregious activities, particularly, overlooking the human rights violations in some countries that I just mentioned.

How would you work to change the voting practices of some of these American allies who far too often vote in support of the Council's discriminatory anti-Israel agenda? Specifically, will you be making more of an issue of these votes as a part of our bilateral relationship with those allies?

Ms. TAYLOR. Absolutely.

If confirmed, I look forward to working with bilateral ambassadors in all of the countries that we have good relationships with and, as you said, should be our partners and allies.

We have to show up, and I know that there are differences of opinion about whether we serve this body better by abstaining from membership and, therefore, calling out the challenges versus that engagement.

I think if we are not at the table we are on the menu, and so we need to be there and we need an Ambassador there. We were blindsided by a Yemen vote because, again, those partners and allies that we expected we did not have someone there building those relationships and making sure that we were all on the same team.

If there, I would work very hard, again, with both our bilateral Ambassadors and with the representatives from those countries to build those partnerships and make sure that they know that America is back and that we are there to support one another on the Council.

Senator PORTMAN. Thank you. I think our—both our mics are off, which is fine. We can just yell across the room.

[Laughter.]

Senator PORTMAN. But I hope you will ensure if we are at the table that we are aggressively at the table so that our allies are not part of the menu either.

Ms. Albright, I appreciated our conversation last week. I am glad you are here. I am concerned, as I told you in our call, about some of the politicization of the approach toward development finance institutions.

There was a diplomatic cable sent recently to the U.S. embassies saying that the United States would unilaterally be ending support for most overseas fossil fuel projects while committing the Development Finance Corporation and the Millennium Challenge Corporation to spending over 50 percent of its future budget on projects that are directed to climate change.

Look, I am not opposed to institutions supporting climate solutions. But I strongly believe that this is a change that undermines the founding principles of the MCC—Millennium Challenge Corporation—for which you are being nominated by predetermining project selection and it writes our bilateral partners out of the process.

They are going to make their own decisions, and, interestingly, this past weekend I was in Ohio at what is dubbed as the most efficient natural gas utility power station in the entire world. It is a brand new natural gas power-generating facility, replacing coal-fired plants, therefore, reducing emissions substantially.

This natural gas plant, by the way, is going to start mixing hydrogen, which has zero emissions, into its mix of fuels and it would not be able to be considered as part of the MCC's work if it were in one of these developing countries.

My question for you is the same one I posed to you when we talked. Do you share my concerns that these programmatic changes made to the MCC project selection process is politicizing the agency and do you agree that we should stick to the fundamental principles of how MCC has selected projects in the past?

Ms. ALBRIGHT. Thank you very much, Senator Portman, for your question. You have touched on a fundamental aspect of how MCC works, which is that the countries very much look at the issues that they face. That is at the heart of the constraints to growth process that you are familiar with at MCC.

Increasingly, we see that one of the biggest constraints to growth that countries are facing are climate-related issues, and so an example of a project that MCC has done in this regard is one in the Philippines to help build a road that was then protected in the face of typhoons.

It is not my intention to change how the agency works in this regard. At the moment, the agency does have a coal-free policy. The administration has announced some executive orders just in the last day or so that the agency will have to take a look at and we will continue to have a case by case basis in this regard. And I very much look forward to being in touch with your office and the other offices to continue to be in touch on this very important issue.

Senator PORTMAN. Okay. That is not a satisfying answer for me. Again, I think MCC has a huge role to play and I am a big supporter, as you know. But if we are going to use this as the overlay—we are going to say that no fossil fuel project can be supported—by the way, China is happy to support those projects as are other countries, and some of these projects are going to reduce emissions substantially. I mentioned natural gas, including LNG projects that could be U.S. funded but also that the actual natural gas could be provided by us, which is cleaner-burning natural gas, by the way, than they are going to get from Russia or other places. And you are saying you are okay with that?

Ms. ALBRIGHT. Senator, again, I thank you very much also for the example that you have given. I think that MCC—I am not there yet—but, if confirmed, will continue to be—take the matter on a case by case basis and also look at the administration's recent guidance that has been issued.

Senator PORTMAN. That is not in the MCC charter that is part of legislation that we have laid out. Again, I am concerned about that and we have got plenty of work to do, and to tell countries they are not eligible because they are not following a particular prescription, whether it is in this area or other areas, seems to me violates the foundational principles of MCC.

Senator Donnelly, welcome back. The Holy See plays a unique role in so many ways in organizations like the United Nations and regional organizations like the Organization of American States, the Arab League, African Union.

As Ambassador, what will you convey to the Holy See about working with the United States to advance our shared interests in these multinational bodies?

Senator DONNELLY. That the United States will be a continually strong partner with the Holy See in promoting human rights, religious freedom, fighting against human trafficking, working for climate change, working to make sure that we can promote the interests of people around the world and that they have a partner they can rely on.

And this is a friendship that has been across hundreds of years that we have had extraordinary representation at the Vatican on behalf of our country, and so just when they look they know they have got a friend.

Senator PORTMAN. Just one quick one. Then I want to turn back to my colleague because I am over time here. But there is right now an issue with China, as you know. I think the Holy See would like to work more closely with China. I think they have been told by China they have to sever their ties with Taiwan. If they want to reestablish relations with China, the price of doing that is ending their relationship with Taiwan.

What are your thoughts about this and the Holy See's Chinese relationship and how are you going to deal with it, if confirmed?

Senator DONNELLY. I would urge a strong position in favor of human rights in China to the Vatican and that human rights also reflects religious freedom. We see the Uighurs in Xinjiang where there are constant attacks, where they have been put in camps.

We see the Chinese Communist Party trying to make sure that they are the ones who choose who the next Dalai Lama is. We see in the Catholic Bishops that they have been in the middle of that for a number of years now and religious freedom would indicate, as it does in our country, that people in the church pick who their bishops are.

And so what I would say to them is stand strong for religious freedom. Stand strong for human rights. Taiwan has been an exceptional friend to the Vatican. I have not seen anything that indicates they are moving away from relations with Taiwan, but Taiwan has been a faithful and strong partner to them.

Senator PORTMAN. Thank you very much, and I am going to get back to my colleagues now.

But, Ambassador Hill, of course, I have lots of questions for you, which I may send some for the record, but mostly just to say, given your extraordinary background, I am pleased that you have agreed to reenter the role of a diplomat and I look forward to working with you.

Ambassador HILL. Thank you very much.

Senator CARDIN. Senator Shaheen?

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and I would just begin by echoing Senator Portman's comments, Ambassador Hill. I am delighted that you are rejoining the diplomatic arena and, particularly, that you are being nominated to be Ambassador to Serbia.

And let me—I meant to begin by congratulating each of you on your nominations and saying I look forward to working with you, if confirmed, to address the many challenges that you will face.

And, Ambassador Hill, I do want to start with you because, obviously, the Western Balkans are very important to Europe and maintaining peace in the Western Balkans has been challenging over the years, as they have been the source of several of the conflicts that have spread far beyond the region.

Can you talk a little bit about how, as Ambassador, you would see your role in trying to encourage Serbia to be a constructive member of the Western Balkans, particularly with respect to what is happening in Bosnia?

Ambassador HILL. Yes, Senator. I think there are a number of issues that concern me about contemporary Serbia and the contemporary Balkans. One, of course, the chairman already raised, which was the issue of Bosnia and the continued efforts of politicians in the Srpska region of Bosnia to suggest that they have a different future than the future that has been already laid out.

NATO was never—I am sorry, Dayton was never supposed to be some immutable future for everybody. The point was that you cannot do this unilaterally. If people want to make changes, changes can be made but they need to be made together and we are not seeing that from the Serb Republic. We are seeing Mr. Dodik, really, operating on his own in a way that I think is very deleterious for the entire country.

First of all, I think it is very important that we have clear-eyed conversations with the Government in Belgrade to make them understand that our level of effort with respect to Bosnia, our level of effort with respect to the entire Western Balkans, continues to be very serious and we will look very carefully to see who is helping to steer things in the right direction and, perhaps, who is not. I think Bosnia is absolutely crucial to how we can work with Serbia in the future.

The second area, of course, is Kosovo. There has been some progress in talks but there has also been a kind of frustrating lack of progress in talks. The European Union has made very clear to Serbia that it has conditioned eventual membership for Serbia on the basis of whether they can work these issues out.

It is to say that the European Union does not want to bring in problems that countries have with their neighbors. They want that countries that do aspire to membership and do eventually achieve membership do so in the context of good relations with their neighbors.

I think working with the Government in Belgrade and trying to be helpful in resolving some of these issues with Kosovo, I think, will be very important.

And thirdly, I would like to mention the fact that for some 75 years, I mean, ever since, really, the end of World War II we have looked at Belgrade as a special place where we do not want to see a growth of Russian influence there.

What we are seeing today is precisely the kind of issue that we need to be vigilant about and prepared to do something about. It is particularly worrisome to see Serbia, for example, looking to make purchases for their military, purchases that are necessary. They are trying to have a first-class military.

But it is worrisome to see that they look to the Russians for some of this. It is also worrisome to see that some of their infrastructure

needs—and they have great infrastructure needs—they look to China to help satisfy those.

We need not only to be vigilant but we need to be prepared to see—to show them that we offer a better model. We offer better alternatives for them. It is not enough to simply say there are problems in accepting Chinese or Russian proposals. That in and of itself will not be enough. We need to show that what we have is better and better for Serbia, and that would be my intention, if confirmed.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you. Very well said. I appreciate that and look forward to being able to work with you.

I am out of time, Mr. Chairman. But can I ask one more question from Senator Donnelly?

You are being nominated to take over a really exciting position as Ambassador to the Vatican and I wanted to get your thoughts. One of the things that I admire most about Pope Francis is his commitment to refugees, and I know he just came back from the island of Lesbos, where I had a chance to visit in 2015 right in the middle of the height of the Syrian crisis and the migration crisis across Europe.

And I wondered if you could talk a little bit about how you see your role as Ambassador and the United States' role in working with Pope Francis and the Vatican in support of refugees, which has become a huge challenge in Europe, in the United States, across the world.

Senator DONNELLY. It is an extraordinary challenge, Senator, and thank you for the question.

I remember when I was in the Senate that I was at the Syrian refugee camps at the Kilis border in Turkey, and to see the damage and destruction done to those people by the Assad regime took your breath away.

And so there are people not only there but, obviously, around the world, refugees, who the church's mission is to look out for the poor, to look out for those with the least among us.

If you—we are all familiar with the Bible verse, “Whatever you do for the least of us you do for me,” and that is what Pope Francis is trying to carry out, and I actually think when we work closely with the Vatican on this issue it also helps to protect our own country.

It helps to promote safety and security here when this is an issue that is—that has good people working on it trying to find solutions and trying to find answers for these families who, in almost every single case, just want to make sure that their family is safe, that their children can have food, and that they have a future.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you very much. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator CARDIN. Thank you, Senator Shaheen.

It is my understanding that there is no further questions. I just wish to acknowledge that we were joined on WebEx by Senator Booker, Senator Van Hollen, Senator Young, Senator Johnson, and Senator Schatz was here.

There being no further questions at this particular time, there may be questions for the record. We would ask that you respond

to them as quickly as possible, and we will now go to our second panel.

[Pause.]

Senator CARDIN. Let me welcome our four nominees, and thank you for your willingness to serve our country. We thank you and we thank your families because we know this is a shared sacrifice.

Let me acknowledge the four of you in this order. If you will then make opening statements. We hope you keep it within five minutes. Your full statements will be made part of the record.

We have, first, Ms. Oren Whyche-Shaw, who happens to come from the state of Maryland—and that is not the reason I am introducing her first, although maybe it is—was the Deputy Assistant Administrator for the African Bureau of the Coordinator for President Obama's Partnership and Growth in the Trade Africa Initiative at the U.S. Agency for International Development.

She also served as the Director of the Office of African Nations and a senior advisor in the Multilateral Development Bank Office at the Department of Treasury. Ms. Whyche-Shaw has lived and worked internationally in more than 50 countries for over 30 years. She holds a Bachelor of Science degree in theoretical mathematics and French from Capital University in Columbus, Ohio.

Ms. Enoch Ebong, who currently serves as the Acting Director of the U.S. Trade and Development Agency as acting director, Ms. Ebong leads the agency's partnership with the U.S. private sector to develop sustainable infrastructure and foster economic growth in emerging economies.

She has also served in several previous roles in the agency, most recently as the general counsel as well as Deputy Director and Chief Operating Officer.

She earned a JD from the University of Michigan Law School and a Master's in communication from the University of Michigan, a Master's in history from the University of Edinburgh in Scotland.

We then have Mr. Leopoldo Martinez, who is the founder of the Center for Democracy and Development in the Americas. He served on the Small Business Legislative Commission of the Commonwealth of Virginia and currently sits on the University of Mary Washington's Board of Visitors and the Sorensen Institute at the University of Virginia. He has also served in the transition committee for Virginia Governor Ralph Northam.

Mr. Martinez has worked with large international law and accounting firms and has extensive experience advising Fortune 500 companies, private equity funds, Multi-Latino corporations, international business, and nonprofit organizations.

And then we have Ms. Fabiana Jorge, Jorge is the Founder and President of MFJ International, LLC, a global consulting firm which specializes in international business, trade, intellectual property, drug supply chain and access to affordable medications. Jorge also served as the Editor of the Journal of Generic Medicines from 2009 to 2014.

Ms.

As part of her work at MFJ, Jorge wrote a report in 2020 for the Inter-American Development Bank on how Latin America and the Caribbean could play a critical role in strengthening the U.S. drug supply chain while creating economic development in the region.

She also worked on related matters for other international organizations including the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (U.N.-ECLAC) and for the Pan-American Health Organization (PAHO).

Prior to establishing her own firm, Jorge served as Principal and Director of Latin American Affairs Practice for the firm Verner, Liipfert, Bernhard, McPherson and Hand (today DLA Piper) from 1994 to 2000 and as Director of the Latin American and Caribbean Division of The Rendon Group from 1991 to 1994. From 1987 to 1990, Jorge held several positions at the Argentine Ministry of Economy, Secretariat of Foreign Trade, including as Assistant to the Undersecretary for Trade.

She was an adjunct professor at the University of El Salvador in Buenos Aires, Argentina, where she was born. She holds a Bachelor's degree in political science with a specialization in international relations from Catholic University in Buenos Aires and an MBA from Columbia University.

We have four very well qualified individuals. We will start first with Ms. Whyche-Shaw to be United States Director of the African Development Bank for a term of five years.

First, I will yield to Senator Portman.

Senator PORTMAN. Let me just give a brief opening. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and thanks to the nominees who are before us.

We have got a very distinguished panel on some very important issues. International banking and development institutions are a critical aspect of our national security as a country. Smart, focused, and tailored programs by these institutions help combat poverty and promote democratic values through providing reliable development assistance.

They also play a crucial role right now, in particular, in providing developing nations an alternative—a viable alternative to China's Belt and Road Initiative, which saddles countries often with insurmountable debt and uses that debt as leverage to exact geopolitical concessions.

It is extremely important that you are here today and you are willing to step forward. It is an experienced group. I do want to say to Ms. Whyche-Shaw your Ohio connection at Capital University in Columbus, Ohio, makes me biased toward you.

[Laughter.]

Senator PORTMAN. And then we have a Michigan law grad. I am also a Michigan law grad. Ms. Ebong, thank you for being here as well, and I cannot talk as much about that connection since I am an Ohioan and a Buckeye. But I appreciate that great education.

And to the others, welcome. We have to acknowledge that Fabiana Jorge got more introductions than anyone else today at the hearing, which must mean something.

And so not to leave you out, Leopoldo Martinez Nucete, your background is also very impressive and we look forward to hearing from you all.

Thank you.

Senator CARDIN. Thank you, Senator Portman.

Ms. Whyche-Shaw, you may proceed.

STATEMENT OF OREN E. WHYCHE-SHAW OF MARYLAND, NOMINATED TO BE UNITED STATES DIRECTOR OF THE AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK FOR A TERM OF FIVE YEARS

Ms. WHYCHE-SHAW. Thank you, Chairman Cardin, Ranking Member Portman, and esteemed members of this committee. I am honored to have the opportunity to speak with you today and I am equally honored to have been nominated by President Biden as the next United States Executive Director of the African Development Bank.

Mr. Chairman, I wish to pause to recognize some members of my family who instilled in me the critical values that have brought me to this point in my career: my mother, Mildred Randall-Whyche, a role model of family values and caring, my father, William Whyche, a World War II veteran who taught me to work hard, do my best no matter what the task, and my beloved husband, Lieutenant Colonel Shaw, an Air Force Academy graduate who served for several years at the Strategic Air Command and, subsequently, at the National Security Agency, where he was the Vice Chair of the SIGINT Committee, and, finally, my sister, who is watching this hearing today, Stephanie Whyche, who has been my steadfast supporter my entire life.

Africa has been a central theme of my life and my career. My first contact with the continent was when I was selected to go to Zaire on a technical team supporting a World Bank loan. The role was my first brush with international development. Subsequently, I joined the United States Agency for International Development to support the financial sector expansion in Tunisia.

I fostered exploration of U.S. private sector investment opportunities for companies such as Dole and General Motors. As Citibank vice president for Africa and Eastern Europe, I successfully negotiated the conditionality with the International Monetary Fund for the purchase of Cote d'Ivoire's entire cocoa harvest on behalf of Hershey. Based on my work in Tunisia, USAID chose me as its first private sector advisor for West and Central Africa based in Cote d'Ivoire.

In Abidjan, I also served as the private sector advisor for the U.S. executive director at the African Development Bank. I worked as the director for the private sector unit at the African Development Bank and I also, when I returned to the United States, was selected as Treasury Department's director for the Office of African Nations.

I am particularly proud that while at Treasury I supported development of President George W. Bush's African Mortgage Market Initiative, which resulted in an interagency effort to spur growth of housing finance for middle income Africans, building upon the experience and the expertise of the U.S. housing industry.

In 2008, I was asked to join and support USAID's first leadership role in a G-7 session. Finally, before I left in 2020, I served as the USAID Africa Bureau's Deputy Assistant Administrator for West Africa during the Ebola epidemic and then as the Deputy Assistant Administrator for southern Africa during the outbreak of the COVID pandemic.

Africa is a continent of exceptional opportunity with a dynamic young population and natural resources. But as we all know, there

are daunting challenges. African countries can only succeed in meeting these challenges by drawing upon the efforts and the ingenuity of the totality of the populations including women, minorities, and underrepresented groups.

African countries must adopt greater transparency and accountability to attract sustainable foreign as well as domestic investment. Such reforms are necessary to address corruption and confront the threat of unsustainable financing from nontransparent players.

The African Bank is in a particularly good position to assist these countries meet these challenges. But that said, the African Bank must also follow through on institutional reforms to boost capacity, enhance oversight and accountability, bolster financial stability, and improve selectivity.

If confirmed, I will draw upon my experience in the private sector, the public sector, and not for profit sectors to advocate for these reforms and their consistent implementation.

I am honored by this nomination and, if confirmed, I look forward to working with the committee to advance U.S. interest in Africa and the mission of the African Development Bank for both mutual benefit.

Thank you for your consideration of my nomination this afternoon and I would be pleased to answer any questions you may have.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Whyche-Shaw follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF OREN E. WHYCHE-SHAW

Good afternoon, Chairman, Ranking Member, and esteemed members of this committee, I am honored to have the opportunity to appear before you today. I am equally honored to have been nominated by President Biden as the next United States Executive Director of the African Development Bank.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to pause to recognize members of my family who are not here today, but who have instilled in me the critical values which have brought me to this point in my career. My mother, Mildred Randall-Whyche, who was a role model of humility, family values, and caring. My father, William Whyche, a World War II veteran who taught me curiosity, and to work hard and do my best, no matter what the task and gave me a global perspective. My loving husband, Lt. Colonel William Shaw, an Air Force Academy graduate who served for several years at the Strategic Air Command and subsequently, at the National Security Agency. He and I shared an appreciation for the importance of critical thinking, the benefits of maintaining a cool head in a crisis and the love of country. And finally, a warm thank you to Stephanie Whyche who is my loving and supportive sister and friend.

For over thirty years, Africa has been a central focus of my life and career. My first contact with the continent was when I was selected to go to Zaire as part of a technical assistance team supporting a World Bank loan. That role was my first brush with Africa and international development. Subsequently, I joined the United States Agency for International Development to support financial sector expansion efforts in Tunisia. There I led the project that resulted in the first zero coupon, split maturity bond ever issued on the continent. I fostered exploration of U.S. private sector investment opportunities for U.S. companies such as Dole and General Motors. Later, in my role as a Citibank Vice President for Africa and Eastern Europe, I successfully negotiated the conditionality with the International Monetary Fund for the Hershey Company's proposed purchase of Cote d'Ivoire's entire cocoa harvest using a debt swap.

Based on my work in Tunisia, USAID chose me as its first private sector advisor for West and Central Africa based in Cote d'Ivoire. In Abidjan, I also served as the private sector advisor to the U.S. Executive Director at the African Development Bank. I was Deputy Director at the African Development Bank's Private Sector unit for two years. When I returned to the United States, I served as Director for Africa for a not-for-profit that helps people lift themselves out of poverty by harnessing the

power of the private sector by building competitive farms, businesses, and industries.

I subsequently was selected as the Treasury Department's Director for the Office of African Nations. I am particularly proud that while at Treasury, I was able to help develop President George W. Bush's African Mortgage Market Initiative, which resulted in an interagency effort to spur growth of housing finance for middle income Africans building upon the experience and expertise of the U.S. housing industry. I was equally honored to support the agency's first leadership role for a G7 session. Finally, before I left USAID, I served first as the Africa Bureau's Deputy Assistant Administrator for West Africa during the Ebola epidemic and then, as the DAA for Southern Africa during the outbreak of the COVID pandemic.

As we know, Africa is a continent of exceptional opportunity with a dynamic young population supported by abundant land, sea, and energy resources. Building on those resources requires meeting the continent's needs such as: infrastructure in health, education, agriculture, energy; transportation to create jobs; boosting inclusive growth; adapting to and mitigating the threat of climate change; and reducing poverty. African countries can only succeed in meeting the challenges they face by drawing upon the efforts and ingenuity of the totality of their populations especially women, minorities, and under-represented groups.

African countries must adopt greater transparency and accountability to attract greater, sustainable domestic and foreign investments. Such reforms are also necessary to confront the threat that unsustainable financing from non-transparent actors poses to growth and poverty reduction on the continent.

The African Development Bank, through its broad membership and commitment to high social, environmental, and fiduciary standards, is in a unique position to assist these countries in meeting these challenges. And it is in the best interest of the United States to continue to support the Bank in these efforts. That said, the African Development Bank needs to follow through on institutional reforms to boost its capacity, enhance oversight and accountability, bolster financial sustainability, and improve selectivity to strengthen its effectiveness and efficiency. I will draw on my organizational management and development experience in the private and public sector to advocate for these reforms.

I am honored by this nomination and, if confirmed, I look forward to working with the committee to advance U.S. interests in Africa and the mission of the African Development Bank. I look forward to building on the mutually beneficial relationship between the United States and the African Development Bank.

Thank you for your consideration of my nomination and I would be pleased to answer any questions you may have.

Senator CARDIN. Thank you very much for your comments.

We will now hear from Ms. Ebong to be Director of the Trade and Development Agency.

STATEMENT OF ENOH T. EBONG OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, NOMINATED TO BE DIRECTOR OF THE U.S. TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT AGENCY

Ms. EBONG. Thank you very much, and good afternoon, Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member Portman, distinguished members of the committee. I am honored and grateful to appear before you as the President's nominee to serve as the Director of the U.S. Trade and Development Agency.

I would like to take a moment to acknowledge my family, my sisters, Inyang Ebong Harstrup and Ima Ebong, my nephews, Magnus and Haakon Harstrup, and my partner, Keith Taylor, who is with me here today. I am blessed to have their unwavering love and support.

As an immigrant from Nigeria, my presence before you is reflective of the possibilities that exist in this country. It is also reflective of the values that my late parents, Ime and Rose Ebong, instilled in my sisters and me.

My father was a public servant who worked to shape Nigeria's economic development as a newly independent country in the

1960s. My mother worked in the private sector and focused on human capital development, or as she put it, making sure people were equipped to both contribute and succeed.

My parents taught me the value of public service and making a difference in other people's lives. Most of all, they showed me the value of a good education and the importance of being able to put that education to good use. That is why they encouraged me to come to America for opportunity.

These are the values that drew me to this country and these are the values that I have exhibited throughout my life and career. If confirmed, these are the values that I will bring to USTDA.

USTDA is a foreign assistance agency with a mandate to support U.S. jobs. That makes it truly unique. USTDA is the only U.S. Government agency that focuses exclusively on project preparation with the express goal of positioning U.S. companies to meet the infrastructure needs of our partners overseas.

USTDA has excellent results. Currently, the agency generates \$117 in U.S. exports for every program dollar spent. USTDA has supported more than \$76 billion in U.S. exports since its founding in 1992. This includes small business exports from 370 communities across the United States. I am proud of my role supporting USTDA and these results.

After completing law school at the University of Michigan, I worked at an international law firm with a focus on business and finance. This prepared me to join USTDA in 2004 as the attorney advisor for the Africa team. As a career civil servant, I rose through the ranks of the agency, serving as a general counsel and then Deputy Director and Chief Operating Officer. I also served briefly as the agency's acting director.

I am personally and professionally committed to USTDA. I am proud of my association with its highly talented and motivated staff that has driven the agency's incredible results. They have made USTDA the most innovative and effective U.S. Government agency.

In fact, USTDA was recognized as one of the best places to work in the U.S. Government for three consecutive years during my tenure as deputy director.

If confirmed, I will bring my deep understanding of USTDA's programs, policies, operations, and talent. I will bring my ability to build, manage, and lead and I will bring the values that my parents have taught me.

My vision for USTDA is one of shared prosperity for our overseas partners and for the United States. If I am confirmed, USTDA will continue to work with U.S. industry and across the U.S. Government to advance high-quality infrastructure overseas and support good-paying jobs here at home.

These efforts will include engaging more of America's small and diverse businesses. USTDA will also use its full range of tools to level the playing field for American companies facing unfair competition in emerging economies.

If I am confirmed, USTDA will remain focused on critical economic sectors, including clean energy and transportation. The agency will also work toward connecting millions more people to

the internet and providing improved patient care through stronger health care infrastructure in emerging economies.

If confirmed, I look forward to working with you, your staffs, and the administration to advance USTDA's mission. I believe that I have the knowledge, experience, and commitment to lead USTDA, to make a difference at home and abroad, and to build global partnerships that will be good for all of us.

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

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Ebong follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF ENOH T. EBONG

Thank you very much. Good morning, Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member Risch, distinguished members of the committee.

I am honored and grateful to appear before you as the President's nominee to serve as the Director of the U.S. Trade and Development Agency.

I would like to take a moment to acknowledge my family: my sisters Inyang Ebong-Harstrup and Ima Ebong; my nephews Haakon and Magnus Harstrup; and my partner Keith Taylor. I am blessed to have their unwavering love and support.

As an immigrant from Nigeria, my presence before you is reflective of the possibilities that exist in this country. It is also reflective of the principles that my late parents, Ime and Rose Ebong, instilled in my sisters and me.

My father was a public servant who worked to shape Nigeria's economic development as a newly independent country in the 1960s.

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These are the values that drew me to this country, and these are the values that I have exhibited throughout my life and career. If confirmed, these are the values that I will bring to USTDA.

USTDA is a foreign assistance agency with a mandate to support U.S. jobs—that makes it truly unique: USTDA is the only U.S. Government agency that focuses exclusively on project preparation, with the express goal of positioning U.S. companies to meet the infrastructure needs of our overseas partners.

USTDA has excellent results. Currently, the agency generates \$117 in U.S. exports for every program dollar spent. USTDA has supported more than \$76 billion in U.S. exports since its founding in 1992; this includes small business exports from 370 communities across the United States.

I am proud of my role supporting USTDA and these results. After completing law school at the University of Michigan, I worked at an international law firm, with a focus on business and finance. This prepared me to join USTDA in 2004, as the attorney-advisor for the Africa team.

As a career civil servant, I rose through the ranks of the agency, serving as General Counsel and then Deputy Director & Chief Operating Officer. I also served briefly as the agency's Acting Director.

I am personally and professionally committed to USTDA. I am proud of my association with its highly talented and motivated staff that has driven the agency's incredible results. They have made USTDA the most innovative and effective U.S. Government agency. In fact, USTDA was recognized as one of the best places to work for three consecutive years during my tenure as Deputy Director.

If confirmed, I will bring my deep understanding of USTDA's programs, policies, operations and talent. I will bring my ability to build, manage and lead. And I will bring the values that my parents have taught me.

My vision for USTDA is one of shared prosperity for our overseas partners and for the United States. If I am confirmed, USTDA will continue to work with U.S. industry and across the U.S. Government to advance high-quality infrastructure overseas and support good-paying jobs at home. These efforts will include engaging more of America's small and diverse businesses. USTDA will also utilize its full

range of tools to level the playing field for American companies facing unfair competition in emerging economies.

If I am confirmed, USTDA will remain focused on critical economic sectors including clean energy and transportation. The agency will also work toward connecting millions more people to the internet and improving patient care through stronger healthcare infrastructure in emerging economies.

If confirmed, I look forward to working with you, your staffs, and the administration to advance USTDA's mission. I believe that I have the knowledge, experience, and commitment to lead USTDA, to make a difference at home and abroad, and to build global partnerships that will be good for all of us.

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

Thank you.

Senator CARDIN. Thank you very much for your comments.

We will now hear from Mr. Martinez to be the United States Executive Director of the Inter-American Development Bank.

**STATEMENT OF LEOPOLDO MARTINEZ NUCETE OF VIRGINIA,
NOMINATED TO BE UNITED STATES EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
OF THE INTER-AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK FOR A
TERM OF THREE YEARS**

Mr. NUCETE. Thank you, Chairman.

Good afternoon, Chairman Cardin, Ranking Member, and esteemed members of this committee. I am deeply honored to appear before you today as President Biden's nominee to serve as the U.S. Executive Director to the Inter-American Development Bank—IDB. I am grateful for President Biden's trust to serve our great nation.

I am joined today by my wife, Analuisa. Her support is immeasurable to me. My children, Leopoldo, Analuisa, Eduardo Ignacio, Alejandro, my parents, Bernardo and Beatriz, my extended family and many Latino leaders I know are tuning via live stream from Florida, Michigan, California, New York, Massachusetts, Mexico, and Venezuela.

Integrity, intellectual curiosity, hard work, and public service are the bedrock values upon which I was raised and I have strived to pass down to my children. Their steadfast support and unwavering fidelity to American values have made my mere presence here possible in the first place.

Our American journey started 16 years ago when my family and I were forced to flee Venezuela and seek refuge here in the United States simply for raising my voice as an outspoken champion for democracy and human rights against a socialist dictatorship.

From the moment the United States opened its doors to my family, we have worked to give back and make this great nation proud. My family story is an affirmation of the American dream and a testament to the promise of our country. Nowhere else would this story be possible.

Following in the footsteps of my grandparents, both key founding figures of what once was a strong and exemplary democracy in Venezuela, I have dedicated a significant portion of my career to public service, mostly—most recently serving in the University of Mary Washington, the University of Virginia, and the Commonwealth of Virginia.

Throughout my private and public sector career, I have worked firsthand with the inter-American system and participated in complex negotiations and initiatives for development and political rec-

conciliation, all key competencies necessary to serve and excel as the U.S. Executive Director to the Inter-American Development Bank.

When I was a law school professor in Caracas and as a visiting scholar at Harvard Law School, I argued and advocated in my teachings that the United States has a critical role to play in ensuring the success of the Inter-American Development Bank. I believe that has only been solidified since those days.

With over three decades of working on U.S.-Latin America relations, our robust network of stakeholders across the region, I am prepared starting on day one to work with Congress, particularly this committee, the executive branch, the IDB leadership, to create opportunities for equitable economic growth and to deepen economic relations with our hemispheric partners.

I will bring to this role my extensive professional credentials in the legal, economic, and financial sectors. I have significant experience on project finance, sovereign borrowing, debt restructuring, institutional economic reforms, social impact entrepreneurship.

In addition, as an international lawyer and consultant, I possess valuable experience throughout the Americas working with large international law and accounting firms, Fortune 500 companies, private equity firms, Multi-Latina corporations, international businesses, and nonprofit organizations centers.

Senators, if confirmed, my highest priority will be to advance United States' strategic interest in the hemisphere by building partnerships and programs for sustainable development in the region.

Fulfilling that mission begins by ensuring Latin America and the Caribbean cannot only recover but build back better from the COVID-19 pandemic. To that end, the United States, including through the IDB, must lead in the region to reduce poverty and inequality, strengthen inter-American supply chains to outcompete China, facilitate the transition to stronger greener economies, and address the root causes of migration.

Chairman, Ranking Member, and members of the committee, since its founding in 1959, the IDB has improved the lives of millions in Latin America and the Caribbean. I welcome the opportunity and the privilege to ensure the United States continues to play a significant role in this institution.

It would be the honor of a lifetime to represent our nation as the United States Executive Director at the Inter-American Development Bank. In addition to bringing my vast body of work and technical expertise, I would also bring to this role the hopes and dreams of immigrants and political refugees that have contributed so much to our country.

It would also be an honor to be the first Venezuelan-American immigrant to be appointed and confirmed by the U.S. Senate to a position of leadership and trust in our Government.

Clear-eyed about the challenges before us and driven by boundless opportunities to make a difference, I respectfully ask for your favorable consideration to my nomination and I look forward, Senators, to answering any questions you may have.

Gracias. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Nucete follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF LEOPOLDO MARTINEZ NUCETE

Good afternoon, Chairman, Ranking Member and esteemed members of this committee: I am deeply honored to appear before you today as President Biden's nominee to serve as the U.S. Executive Director of the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB). I am grateful for President Biden's trust to serve our great nation.

I am joined today by my wife Analuisa, my children Leopoldo Henrique, Analuisa, Eduardo Ignacio, and Alejandro Antonio. My parents Bernardo Martinez and Beatriz Nucete de Martinez, in addition to my extended family, are tuning in via livestream from Florida, Michigan, New York, and Venezuela.

Integrity, intellectual curiosity, hard work and public service are the bedrock values upon which I was raised and have strived to pass down to my children. Their steadfast support and unwavering fidelity to American values have made my mere presence here possible in the first place. Our American journey started 16 years ago, when my family and I were forced to flee Venezuela and seek refuge here in the United States, simply for raising my voice as an outspoken champion for democracy and human rights against a socialist dictatorship. From the moment the United States opened its doors to my family, we have worked to give back and make this great nation proud. My family's story is an affirmation of the American dream and a testament to the promise of our country—nowhere else would this story be possible.

Following in the footsteps of my grandparents—both key founding figures of what once was a strong and exemplary democracy in Venezuela—I have dedicated a significant portion of my career to public service, most recently serving the University of Mary Washington, the University of Virginia, and the Commonwealth of Virginia.

Throughout my private and public sector career, I have worked firsthand with the inter-American system and participated in complex negotiations and initiatives for development and political reconciliation—all key competencies necessary to serve and excel as the U.S. Executive Director of the Inter-American Development Bank.

When I was a law school professor in Caracas, and as a visiting scholar at Harvard Law School, I argued and advocated in my teachings that the U.S. has a critical role to play in ensuring the success of the Inter-American Development Bank—a belief that has only been solidified since those days.

With over three decades of working on U.S.-Latin America relations and a robust network of stakeholders across the region, I am prepared—starting on day one—to work with Congress, particularly this Committee, the Executive Branch, and IDB leadership to create opportunities for equitable economic growth and to deepen economic relations with our hemispheric partners. I will bring to this role my extensive professional credentials in the legal, economic and financial sectors, where I have significant experience on project finance, sovereign borrowing and debt restructuring, institutional and economic reforms, and social impact entrepreneurship. In addition, as an international lawyer and consultant, I possess valuable expertise throughout the Americas working with large international law and accounting firms, as well as Fortune 500 companies, private equity funds, Multi-Latina corporations, international business, and non-profit organizations.

If confirmed, my highest priority will be to advance U.S. strategic interests in the hemisphere by building partnerships and programs for sustainable development in the region. Fulfilling that mission begins by ensuring Latin America and the Caribbean can not only recover, but build back better from the COVID-19 Pandemic. To that end, the United States, including through the IDB, must lead in the region to reduce poverty and inequality; strengthen inter-American supply chains to outcompete China; facilitate the transition to stronger, greener economies and address the root causes of migration.

Chairman Menendez, Ranking Member Risch, and members of the committee, since its founding in 1959, the IDB has improved the lives of millions in Latin America and the Caribbean. I welcome the opportunity and privilege to ensure the United States continues to play a significant role in this institution—particularly relating to the policies and financial engagements that can strengthen our leadership in the region.

It would be the honor of a lifetime to represent our Nation as the U.S. Executive Director at the IDB. In addition to bringing my vast body of work and technical expertise, I would also bring to this role the hopes and dreams of immigrants and political refugees who have contributed so much to our country. It would also be an honor to be the first Venezuelan-American immigrant to be appointed and confirmed by the U.S. Senate to a position of leadership and trust in our Government.

Clear-eyed about the challenges before us, and driven by the boundless opportunities to make a difference, I respectfully ask for your favorable consideration of my nomination. I look forward to answering any questions you may have.

Gracias—thank you.

Senator CARDIN. Thank you, Mr. Martinez. We appreciate your testimony.

We will now hear from Ms. Jorge to be the United States alternate Executive Director of the International American Development Bank.

STATEMENT OF MARIA FABIANA JORGE OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, NOMINATED TO BE UNITED STATES ALTERNATE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE INTER-AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK

Ms. JORGE. Thank you, Senator. And before I start, I want to thank very much Senator Warner and Senator Blunt for their kind introductions today.

Chairman Cardin, Ranking Member Portman, and distinguished members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, thank you very much for the opportunity to appear before you today. I am humbled and honored to have been nominated by President Biden to serve as the alternate U.S. Executive Director of the Inter-American Development Bank.

I am the youngest of seven children, born and raised in Argentina. From a very young age, my parents, my school, and my religion reinforced the importance of trying to make the world a better place. I am deeply thankful to my parents and siblings for their unconditional love and the values they taught me.

I was in sixth grade in March 1976 when a military coup d'état took place in Argentina and I remember the discussion that my parents had that night about what was about to come.

By the end of its rule, the dictatorship had kidnapped, tortured, and killed over 30,000 people. This experience changed me in a profound way and has deepened my love for the United States, our democracy, our freedoms, and the opportunities we have to work hard and to live the American dream.

I began my career in Argentina as a trade negotiator and a professor at a university. I organized the first seminars on political campaigns after the fall of the military government. That is how I met the love of my life, my husband, Doug, who is here with me today. Just a few weeks ago, we celebrated our 30th wedding anniversary. I am so grateful to God for the family that we have built together with our wonderful children, Christopher, Phillip, and Nicole.

During my first decade in the United States, I opened and ran Latin American and Caribbean practices for two firms. At one of these firms, Verner Liipfert, or DLA Piper as it is known today, I was blessed to work with leaders on both sides of the aisle, such as former Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen and Senator Bob Dole.

For the past 21 years, I have been the owner of a consulting firm representing clients on matters regarding trade, international business, and access to affordable medicines. I learned to work with different stakeholders, to build coalitions, and to appreciate the importance of seeking common agendas independently of where each person was coming from.

As this committee knows, the COVID-19 pandemic has devastated Latin America and the Caribbean. In 2020, while global

GDP contracted 3.5 percent, the region's GDP decreased on average by 7 percent with some individual countries experiencing a significantly higher rate.

Poverty in Latin America rose 12.5 percent, affecting more than 33 percent of the population. Over 200 million people are now poor in the region. As of December 6, the region had 18 percent of the COVID-19 cases worldwide and 29 percent of the deaths, even though Latin America and the Caribbean represent only 8.4 percent of the global population.

If confirmed, I look forward to advancing U.S. interests in Latin America and the Caribbean by helping our partners recover from the COVID-19 pandemic. To foster political stability in Latin America and the Caribbean, we need to ensure sustainable and inclusive economic growth and job creation by fostering more regional integration, a better enabling environment for the private sector, stronger macroeconomic policies, and better governance, including anti-corruption, institutional capacity, respect for the rule of law, and democratic norms.

This is particularly true given the efforts of China and Russia to increase their influence in Latin America. The Inter-American Development Bank is uniquely positioned to make a difference by providing development financing that reduces poverty and inequality and, if confirmed, I will work closely with this committee to advance our national interest in stability and progress in the region.

Latin America and the Caribbean should be key strategic partners for the United States on economic and security issues. If confirmed, I will work with the Biden administration, Congress, and the professionals at the IDB to help the region prosper and play a new and important role in the global value chain.

Chairman Cardin, Ranking Member Portman, and distinguished members of the committee, thank you again for your consideration and I look forward to answering your questions.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Jorge follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF MARIA FABIANA JORGE

Chairman Menendez, Ranking Member Risch and distinguished members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, thank you very much for the opportunity to appear before you today. I am humbled and honored to have been nominated by President Biden to serve as the Alternate U.S. Executive Director of the Inter-American Development Bank.

I am the youngest of seven children, born and raised in Argentina. From a very young age, my parents, my school and my religion reinforced the importance of trying to make the world a better place. I am deeply thankful to my parents and siblings for their unconditional love and the values they taught me.

I was in sixth grade in March 1976 when a military coup d'état took place in Argentina and I remember the discussion that my parents had that night about what was about to come. By the end of its rule, the dictatorship had kidnapped, tortured, and killed over 30,000 people. This experience changed me in a profound way and has deepened my love for the United States, our democracy, our freedoms, and the opportunities we have to work hard and to live the American Dream.

I began my career in Argentina as a trade negotiator and a professor at a university. I organized the first seminars on political campaigns after the fall of the military government. That is how I met the love of my life, my husband Doug, who is here with me today. Just a few weeks ago we celebrated our 30th wedding anniversary. I am so grateful to God for the family that we have built together with our wonderful children Christopher, Phillip and Nicole.

During my first decade in the United States, I opened and ran Latin America and Caribbean practices for two firms. At one of these firms, Verner Liipfert or DLA

Piper as it is known today, I was blessed to work with leaders on both sides of the aisle, such as former Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen and Senator Bob Dole. For the past 21 years, I have been the owner of a consulting firm representing clients on matters regarding trade, international businesses, and access to affordable medicines. I learned to work with different stakeholders, to build coalitions, and to appreciate the importance of seeking common agendas, independently of where each person was coming from.

As this committee knows, the COVID-19 pandemic has devastated Latin America and the Caribbean. In 2020, while global GDP contracted 3.5 percent, the region's GDP decreased on average by 7 percent, with some individual countries experiencing a significantly higher rate. Poverty in Latin America rose 12.5 percent, affecting more than 33 percent of the population. Over 200 million people are now poor in the region.

As of December 6, 2021, the region had 18 percent of the COVID-19 cases worldwide and 29 percent of the deaths even though Latin America and the Caribbean represent only 8.4 percent of the world population. If confirmed, I look forward to advancing U.S. interests in Latin America and the Caribbean by helping our partners recover from the COVID-19 pandemic and develop greater resilience to pandemics.

To foster political stability in Latin America and the Caribbean, we need to ensure sustainable and inclusive economic growth and job creation by fostering more regional integration, a better enabling environment for the private sector, stronger macroeconomic policies, and better governance, including anti-corruption, institutional capacity, respect for the rule of law and democratic norms. This is particularly true given the efforts of China and Russia to increase their influence in Latin America. The Inter-American Development Bank is uniquely positioned to make a difference by providing development financing that reduces poverty and inequality and, if confirmed, I will work closely with the committee to advance our national interest in stability and progress in the region. Having worked with the IDB, I am well-equipped to serve as Alternate ED, as I understand the Bank's potentially transformational role in generating economic growth through its work.

Latin America and the Caribbean should be key strategic partners for the United States on economic and security issues. If confirmed, I will work with the Biden administration, Congress, and the professionals at the IDB to help the region prosper and play a new and important role in the global value chain.

Chairman Menendez, Ranking Member Risch and distinguished members of the committee, thank you again for your consideration and I look forward to answering your questions.

Senator CARDIN. Again, thank you for your comments, and to all four of you, thank you for sharing your life experiences and how you have used that in order to strengthen our community. We appreciate that and your desire to serve our nation.

I have some preliminary questions that are asked of all nominees before this committee about the cooperation with our committee. I would ask that you answer simply yes or no.

Do each of you agreed to appear before this committee and make officials from your office available to the committee and designated staff when invited?

[All witnesses answer in the affirmative.]

Senator CARDIN. Do you commit to keep this committee fully and currently informed about the activities under your purview?

[All witnesses answer in the affirmative.]

Senator CARDIN. Do you commit to engaging in meaningful consultation when policies are being developed, not just providing notification after the fact?

[All witnesses answer in the affirmative.]

Senator CARDIN. Do you commit to promptly responding to requests for briefings and information requested by the committee and its designated staff?

[All witnesses answer in the affirmative.]

Senator CARDIN. Let the record show that to each of these four questions all four nominees responded in the affirmative. I am going to reserve my time and yield now to Senator Shaheen.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I would like to begin with Ms. Ebong. And you may have heard some of the discussion in the earlier hearing with respect to influences by Russia and China in Eastern Europe and particularly in the Western Balkans, and I wonder, in your view, how do USTDA's investments in Eastern Europe, energy projects in Poland, 5G infrastructure in Turkey, how do those help lessen dependence on energy and digital infrastructure from Russia and China, and can you also talk about how you would prioritize those kinds of projects?

Ms. EBONG. Thank you very much, Senator, for your question. USTDA's objective is to provide sound alternatives for our partners all over the world in the developing and middle income countries, particularly those alternatives that are reflective of the best that U.S. companies have to offer.

And so with respect to Eastern Europe, in fact, just today we had signed a grant with Ukraine to provide a complete regulatory analysis with respect to making available small modular nuclear technologies, small modular reactor technologies, new technologies that are being advanced and developed now.

Our goal is to be at the point that technologies are being developed and find the way to access—to provide our companies access so that we can provide our partners alternatives that are based in partnership, based in mutual benefit, based in the best solutions that we have to offer.

In terms of prioritizing, we look to our partners to understand their needs, to U.S. industry to understand where they are in terms of their developments, and we look to the guidance that is available from the administration and from our works, working with the committees as well.

Senator SHAHEEN. This is really a question for you and for Ms. Whyche-Shaw because one of the efforts that we have undertaken for several administrations now is to recognize the role of empowering women in the economic life of countries.

And as you are thinking about investments, as you, Ms. Whyche-Shaw, are thinking about investments in Africa, how can we do more to encourage supporting women-run businesses and how do we see those as an investment that will pay dividends not just in terms of the businesses themselves but in terms of contributing back to the communities that women are living in?

Ms. WHYCHE-SHAW. Thank you, Senator Shaheen.

As I indicated in my statement, African countries—the only way they are going to be able to truly meet the needs of their people, to have the economic development that we all hope for, is by using the totality of their populations and women are, certainly, 50 percent.

During my career, I have had a passion for dealing with women, credit, business. As a White House Fellow working at the FTC, I produced a film, "Women and Credit," that was shown in every Small Business Administration office throughout the country.

I was a member of the board of the North Carolina Planned Parenthood and, subsequently, on the Federation of Planned Parent-

hood board in New York, as chair of Plan USA, which is a large—relatively large not for profit organization. It was a pleasure for me to manage the pivoting of that organization from a more general economic development to an organization that is now focused on the empowerment of women and girls.

And, finally, I am on the board of the World Bicycle Relief, a smaller not for profit working primarily in Africa, which is providing access to transportation for women and girls, predominantly, so that girls can go to school, so that women can have access to health care services.

In terms of what I could do and what the bank should be doing, if confirmed, it is assuring that policies, that programs, are not only highlighting the importance and the requirement that women and girls be part of those discussions but also making sure—and this, for me, has always been a critical issue—it is not just the policies, the regulations, the strategies.

It is the consistent application, and so the oversight that the board can have, if confirmed, as a member of that board make sure that there is consistent application through our oversight so that women and girls can be equal partners in the development of their economies, of their communities, of the world is something that I will, certainly, continue to do. Thank you.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you very much. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator CARDIN. Thank you.

Senator BARRASSO?

Senator BARRASSO. Thanks, Mr. Chairman.

Ms. Whyche-Shaw, I had a couple of questions for you and it focuses on something we talked about, the global inequity of energy.

There are 2.6 billion people around the world who cook using open fires or stoves fueled by wood, by charcoal, and by dung. In sub-Saharan Africa, an estimated nine out of 10 people cook with these sources.

As a result, close to 4 million people die prematurely every year from illness attributed to indoor air pollution from cooking. Cook smoke is described as the most deadly of all indoor pollutants.

On May 6th, 2021, *The Economist*—I think I mentioned this article to you before—I have the article here. Mr. Chairman, I ask to put this into the record.

Senator CARDIN. Without objection.

[The information follows:]

Senator BARRASSO. The headline of the article is “Donors Make it Harder for Africans to Avoid Deadly Wood Smoke: Making the Cleanest the Enemy of the Clean.” The article makes a point that one big obstacle is that donors in rich countries—the United States—are reluctant to back investment in any fossil fuels, even though the alternatives to natural gas are wood and charcoal and they are worse for the environment and for the cooks and for the children.

But that is the policy of this administration. This is exactly what the Biden administration is doing. Last week, media reports indicated the Biden administration has ordered U.S. agencies to immediately stop financing of carbon-intensive energy projects overseas, period.

The people of Africa, the world's poorest, are, in effect, being asked to bear the costs. I look at this and say how many more people living today in Africa is the Biden administration willing to let die in the name of a renewable energy goal and not allowing them to move to cleaner energy?

Ms. WHYCHE-SHAW. Thank you, Senator. The issue of energy is, certainly, something that is a critical factor for economic development, not just economic development but also for access to social services, health. You need refrigeration, which means you need energy.

I agree with you that energy is, certainly, something that has to be looked at because Africa has a paucity of energy—energy generation, distribution, and usage.

It is my understanding that the African Development Bank is looking and support a wide variety of energy projects. If confirmed, I would, certainly, look at every project based on the merits and the needs of the country, the overall context of the African Development Bank strategy in that country as well as taking guidance from my colleagues at Treasury on the implementation of the administration's strategy for fossil fuels.

We are not—the African Development Bank—I cannot speak because I am not in the administration and—

Senator BARRASSO. My time is running out so if you could just let me get to a next—go ahead.

Ms. WHYCHE-SHAW. Okay. I was going to say that the African Development Bank, while we are the second largest shareholder, we do not have a veto. I can, certainly, explain and present the administration's view, but it will be the members, the shareholders, that will determine whether or not projects are being approved or not.

Senator BARRASSO. All of Africa, a population of 1.3 billion people, accounts for a little more than 3 percent of total global electricity generation. In comparison, Americans use more electricity playing video games than all of Nigeria, a nation of 200 million people.

Despite the energy poverty issues, the administration—the Biden administration—is refusing to help finance and support traditional energy projects, and this administration, this president, is asking countries in Africa to leapfrog—that is their term—over traditional energy resources to power itself with solar, wind, and renewables only. We used those sources to build our economy but we are not allowing African nations the same opportunity.

Why is this administration blocking countries living in poverty in Africa, some of the most impoverished nations in the world, from using traditional energy sources to build their economies? These people are living there and suffering today.

Ms. WHYCHE-SHAW. Senator, you are absolutely right. I was not involved. Obviously, not being in the administration, I was not involved in the discussions of the policies that were put in place.

But I will, certainly, be conferring with my colleagues at Treasury and would be happy to get back to you with the responses.

Senator BARRASSO. Mr. Chairman, if I may, one last question.

Because African countries are speaking out against these policies by the administration. Recently, the president of Senegal explained that ending gas financing for Africa, he described it as a fatal blow.

He says at a time when several African countries are preparing to exploit their significant gas resources, the end of funding for gas sector under the pretext that gas is a fossil energy would bear a fatal cost to their emerging economies.

Senegal has significant reserves of natural gas. The development of its energy sector is a fundamental pillar of the country's economic development. I think we visited by the time—my trips to Ethiopia, the reason that women die in childbirth is because they do not have the energy for to use the devices that they need to help that woman through the birthing process.

On October of this year, the president of Uganda wrote an opinion editorial in the Wall Street Journal. Said solar and wind force poverty on Africa. This is the U.S. forcing poverty on Africa. He said, Africa cannot sacrifice its future prosperity for Western climate goals. The president of Uganda explained, this stands to forestall Africa's attempts to rise out of poverty, which requires, as you said, reliable energy.

African manufacturing is going to struggle, he says, to attract investment and, therefore, to create jobs without consistent energy sources.

I would just—if confirmed, I ask would you ensure that the bank promotes an all-of-the-above energy policy rather than something which will condemn people to live a life in poverty that is inescapable for them?

Ms. WHYCHE-SHAW. Senator, if confirmed, I, certainly, would not support policies that would keep people in poverty forever. I mean, that is not why the African Development Bank or why we are members of the African Development Bank.

And, again, I will confer with my colleagues at Treasury to get back with you.

Senator BARRASSO. Thank you. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator CARDIN. Thank you, Senator Barrasso.

I just saw—in response somewhat to Senator Barrasso's point, I was in Glasgow and know of our efforts to work with the African nations in regards to their energy needs, and one of the issues that was brought up frequently is that the developed world really needs to put its technology and resources behind the development of the developing world if we expect that they are going to make the type of sacrifices that are necessary in order to meet our greenhouse gas targets.

I think, Senator Barrasso, you raise some very important points, and I know that is going to be part of an overall strategy that we have in the developing world to make sure that they are treated fairly. I appreciate the response.

I want to raise one additional issue—and you are all going to get saved by the bell. We have a vote on the floor. And that is, particularly, in our hemisphere, Mr. Martinez and Ms. Jorge, I am concerned about the rising corruption within our own hemisphere.

The impunity rates in our hemisphere and many countries are just outrageous. The governmental corruption growth in several countries are very well documented. We need to make sure that

our participation in our hemisphere to help people do not fuel corruption or oligarchs that are stealing the resources from their own people.

I would ask that you develop a strategy, an anti-corruption strategy, as part of our participation to make sure that the efforts that we make are not diluted because of the advantages going to corruption and corrupt leaders.

And if you have a comment on that, briefly, I would be welcome to take it. Otherwise, we will continue this conversation at a later point.

Mr. NUCETE. Thank you, Senator. I would like to take the opportunity to welcome your concern and your comment, and express to you that is also a concern I share with you and many members of this committee.

Corruption is a corrosive force throughout the region and in the world, and we have to combat corruption in every front. I think IDB has developed best practices to make sure that corruption is not in presence in any decision or bidding process or selection of contractors, providers, the bank works with, and also to make sure that the countries implement reforms that ensure anti-corruption practice.

I would also say that IDB offers, Senator, a very important tool to ensure that we fight corruption across the region, which is institutional policy lending projects.

We can work in reforming the judiciary, helping institutions throughout the Americas to be ready to support anti-corruption practices throughout the region.

Senator CARDIN. Thank you for that response.

Yes, Ms. Jorge?

Ms. JORGE. Thank you, Senator. I would like to add to that that I agree with you a hundred percent. I think corruption is a cancer of society, democracy, inequality.

But I would like to mention that the Biden administration last week in the Summit of Democracies released an anti-corruption plan and I am really looking forward to working with the administration and with Congress and with the bank, because if we do not address this issue, the impact that we are going to have will be very, very minor.

Senator CARDIN. Thank you for that.

And, again, I thank all four of our witnesses for their willingness to serve our country and for your responsiveness at this hearing.

The record will stay open until the close of business Wednesday, tomorrow, December 15th, for questions for the record. We would ask that you respond as promptly as possible and as completely as possible to any questions that might be asked by members of this committee. That goes for both panels. Will get there the close of business tomorrow.

And with that, there being no further business, the committee will stand adjourned with our thanks to our nominees.

[Whereupon, at 4:35 p.m., the hearing was adjourned.]

Additional Material Submitted for the Record

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO HON. CHRISTOPHER R. HILL BY SENATOR ROBERT MENENDEZ

Anomalous Health Incidents

Question. I am very concerned about directed energy attacks on U.S. Government personnel (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. If confirmed, there is nothing I will take more seriously than the health and security of the people who will be working with me. Anomalous Health Incident (AHIs) have been a top priority for Secretary Blinken, who set clear goals for the Health Incident Response Task Force to strengthen the Department's communication with our workforce, provide care for affected employees and family members, and better protect against these events in the future as we continue to work closely with the interagency to find the cause of these AHIs.

- 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. Yes. I will do everything possible to ensure that employees who report a possible AHI receive immediate and appropriate attention and care and the incident is reported through appropriate channels.

- 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. Yes. Again, if confirmed there is nothing I will take more seriously than the health and security of the people who will be working with me.

Question. Kosovo and Serbia's EU-facilitated dialogue has seemed to yield little fruit, especially in recent months. The two sides did not meet in November, as they were unable to agree on what topics to discuss. Serbia hoped to discuss implementation of the 2013 Brussels Agreement and the creation of an Association of Serb-Majority Municipalities, while Kosovo pushed to discuss 1600 missing Kosovo Albanians following the end of the 1998-1999 war.

- How will you push the Serbian Government to be a more constructive partner in the EU-facilitated dialogue?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work to build on the progress the current and prior administrations have made in the Western Balkans to advance regional security, stability, and economic prosperity. If confirmed, I will emphasize with Serbian authorities the importance of honoring previous commitments and the necessity of compromise and flexibility as well as of improved cooperation between Serbian and Kosovo officials in support of normalization of relations. President Vucic has repeatedly stated he understands the Dialogue is the only way forward. I will reinforce with Serbian authorities that EU membership for Serbia is the best guarantee of long-term regional prosperity and peace, and that the EU-facilitated dialogue is essential to this strategic goal.

- How can the U.S. better support the EU-led dialogue?

Answer. The United States has a key role to play in helping the parties reach an agreement to establish fully normalized relations, and closely coordinates with EU counterparts on the Dialogue. If confirmed, I will work closely with the EU and Serbian authorities to advance the Dialogue as the mechanism for Serbia to normalize relations with Kosovo through implementation of the provisions of the 2013 Brussels Agreement and, ultimately, a comprehensive normalization ideally based on mutual recognition. This is essential for enduring stability in the Western Balkans. I commit to reinforcing with Serbian officials, and the Serbian public, the continued importance of compromise to achieve normalization for Serbia's strategic goals of EU membership and regional prosperity.

Question. Serb member of Bosnia and Herzegovina's presidency, Milorad Dodik, has intensified attacks on the Office of High Representative, and continues to threaten to separate the Republika Srpska from Bosnia and Herzegovina. He has

also called for a Bosnian Serb army, and called the labeling of the Srebrenica massacre as genocide, “untrue,” and “biased.”

- How will you encourage the Serbian Government to exert its influence to tone down this rhetoric, and protect the territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina?

Answer. The United States and the EU are increasingly concerned by the inflammatory rhetoric and actions of Milorad Dodik and Republika Srpska (RS) officials, which undermine the Dayton Accords. The Biden administration has engaged Serbia’s leadership to join calls against RS secession and withdrawal from state institutions. If confirmed, I will continue to encourage President Vucic to sustain clear and vocal public and private support for the Dayton Accords and the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as he has done.

Question. The U.S. Treasury’s Office of Foreign Assets Control recently sanctioned leaders of the Zvonko Veselinovic Organized Crime Group, as well as the vice president of Kosovo’s Serb List, Milan Radoicic. OFAC said that the Veselinovic group “engaged in a large-scale bribery scheme with Kosovo and Serbian officials who facilitate the group’s illicit trafficking of goods, money, narcotics, and weapons between Kosovo and Serbia.” President Vucic commented on the sanctions announcement, expressing that authorities would launch an investigation into them if the allegations were serious.

- Given the response from President Vucic, how do you assess the role of targeted sanctions in the United States’ strategy in the Western Balkans?

Answer. Sanctions are an important tool to support our broader goal to combat corruption, and other illicit activity, and promote stability and democratic institutions in the region. The recent release by the White House of the first-ever U.S. Government Strategy on Countering Corruption; the expansion of the U.S. sanctions regime for the Western Balkans, which expressly authorizes economic sanctions in connection with corruption and other destabilizing activities; and the recent designation of the Veselinovic crime group under the Global Magnitsky sanctions program, demonstrate that the Biden administration takes this goal very seriously. Such tools have demonstrated positive impact globally and in this region, including leading to local investigations, anticorruption reforms, and media and civil society attention.

Question. The U.S. Treasury’s Office of Foreign Assets Control recently sanctioned leaders of the Zvonko Veselinovic Organized Crime Group, as well as the vice president of Kosovo’s Serb List, Milan Radoicic. OFAC said that the Veselinovic group “engaged in a large-scale bribery scheme with Kosovo and Serbian officials who facilitate the group’s illicit trafficking of goods, money, narcotics, and weapons between Kosovo and Serbia.” President Vucic commented on the sanctions announcement, expressing that authorities would launch an investigation into them if the allegations were serious.

- How can sanctions be used to hold others accountable for crime and corruption in Serbia?

Answer. The administration has prioritized fighting corruption as a key U.S. national security interest and has taken actions to elevate this priority. The recently signed Western Balkans-related E.O. modernized the sanctions program, in part by expanding the list of sanctionable activities to better address current challenges facing the Western Balkans. These challenges include corruption and other activities that degrade key democratic institutions or aim to obstruct the implementation of key international agreements. Corruption threatens economic equity, global anti-poverty and development efforts, and democracy itself. Sanctions are one of many tools that promote accountability, combat impunity for those involved in corruption, and deter future criminal activity.

Question. The Serbian Government has used COVID-19 as an excuse to further threaten media freedom, arresting those like Ana Lalic for reporting on conditions in a hospital in Novi Sad. Freedom House assesses there to be an environment of self-censorship in journalism in Serbia after Lalic’s arrest, and warns of increased surveillance of journalists by Serbia’s Security Information Agency. Online journalists face an increasingly toxic environment in which to report, characterized by threats, harassment, and criminal liability.

- How will you work to support independent media in Serbia, and push the Serbian Government to reverse this concerning trend in media freedom?

Answer. If confirmed, I will reinforce the importance of a free media and of actions to protect the safety of journalists with Serbia’s political leaders and the Ser-

bian public and speak out publicly and privately in defense of investigative journalists and media organizations who are shining a light on corruption. A free and independent media is critical for any democratic society, just as it is for Serbia's EU accession. I am concerned by Serbia's deteriorating media environment, including threats against journalists, opaque media ownership, frivolous lawsuits against journalists by government officials, and politically motivated editorial pressure. If confirmed, I will continue to support independent media through programs to strengthen investigative journalism and the professionalism of media outlets, as well as improve transparency—in all aspects, including ownership.

Elections in Serbia

Question. Representatives of the European Parliament and the Speaker of the Serbian Parliament agreed in September on sixteen measures to improve election conditions in advance of the Serbia's April 2022 elections. However, many of these recommendations have not been implemented on the timeline planned, and civil society groups have questioned whether these recommendations would create conditions for free and fair elections.

- How do you assess Serbia's prospects for electoral reforms? How will you engage the Government, if confirmed, to push for free and fair elections in April, and beyond?

Answer. If confirmed, I will engage interlocutors across the political spectrum to encourage constructive dialogue between the Government and opposition and a media environment that allows opposition voices to be heard. It is important that the serious and legitimate concerns which citizens have raised be properly addressed, including allowing democratic debate, pushing back against voter coercion and vote-buying, and improving the electoral system. Many of the calls for reforms have merit, including calls to ensure free and fair elections, stronger protections for freedom of expression, including by journalists, and fair access to state-supported media outlets for all candidates. If confirmed, I will continue to support efforts to broaden political representation and increase the capacities of political parties and civil society to help ensure free and fair electoral conditions.

Sexual Assault

Question. I am deeply concerned by reports of cases of sexual assault and rape going uninvestigated, and government efforts to defame survivors like Danijela Stajnfeld that choose to share their stories publicly. How will you work to hold Serbia accountable for its commitments under the Istanbul Convention, and shift the dialogue on these issues to a more constructive place?

Answer. The United States takes seriously the issue of gender-based violence (GBV). Serbia has made progress in creating the legal framework to combat GBV, but it needs to bolster services for survivors, strengthen partnership with civil society organizations, improve courtroom practices, and reach historically marginalized groups. GBV remains a significant problem in Serbia. If confirmed, I will continue Embassy Belgrade's advocacy and outreach—including its recent well-publicized "16 Days of Activism against GBV" campaign—to support efforts to prevent all forms of GBV. I will urge the Serbian Government to protect survivors of GBV from discriminatory threats and intimidation, including during and after any legal proceedings.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED TO HON. CHRISTOPHER R. HILL BY SENATOR JAMES E. RISCH

Question. In the 2021 Trafficking in Persons Report, Serbia was identified as Tier 2 due to lack adequate efforts and resources to aid victims of trafficking in country. How will you work with the Government to address these issues if you are confirmed as Ambassador?

Answer. The Embassy works closely with and provides foreign assistance to anti-trafficking civil society groups and actively urges the Government of Serbia to address several priorities, such as investigation, prosecution, and conviction of traffickers, including complicit officials, and impose adequate penalties. This assistance also focuses on proactive victim identification, as well as victim-centered approaches and access to justice measures. If confirmed, I will engage with U.S. and Serbian stakeholders to advance cooperation on this issue. I will urge the Serbian Government to increase proactive identification and assistance for victims, particularly

among vulnerable groups, and encourage consistent and sufficient funding for victim services.

Question. In the 2020 International Religious Freedom report, Serbia was identified having significant religious freedom issues, including a rise in antisemitic crimes.

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

Answer. Antisemitism and Holocaust distortion are world-wide phenomena and rising at an alarming rate. Although levels of antisemitism are lower in Serbia than in some other parts of Europe, I view any increase in antisemitism with serious concern. If confirmed, I will reiterate to the Serbian Government the importance of this issue and work to empower civil society on the ground who are tirelessly working on these issues. I will work with the Office of the Special Envoy to Monitor and Combat Antisemitism, the Special Envoy for Holocaust Issues, and the Office of International Religious Freedom to identify areas where the United States can further cooperate with the Government and Serbia's Jewish community to combat antisemitism, confront Holocaust revisionism, and bolster respect for the freedom of religion or belief.

Question. Serbia still has not adopted the IHRA working definition of Antisemitism. If confirmed, will you press the Serbian Government on adopting this important term and working definition?

Answer. In February 2021, Serbia adopted the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) working definition of antisemitism and passed a law establishing a Holocaust Memorial Center at Staro Sajmiste, the site of a former WWII-era concentration camp located in Belgrade. In 2016, Serbia became the first country to adopt a law on the restitution of heirless and unclaimed Jewish property seized during the Holocaust, consistent with the 2009 Terezin Declaration, which it endorsed. If confirmed, I will continue to encourage the Serbian Government to follow through on its commitments regarding Holocaust issues.

Question. What efforts will you direct your Embassy to take to promote dialogue between religious groups and subsequently between religious groups and the Serbian Government to promote tolerance and cooperation?

Answer. The Serbian constitution guarantees the freedom of religion or belief. Embassy Belgrade consistently engages with all religious communities to promote religious tolerance and diversity, regularly highlighting these programs and events via the Embassy's social media accounts. Some religious groups and NGOs criticize the Government for granting special privileges to religious groups it defines as "traditional," such as tax exemptions, that "non-traditional" groups do not receive. If confirmed, I will continue to meet with members of Serbia's religious communities and the Government to address the status of religious freedom and interreligious cooperation in Serbia and to promote interfaith and intra-faith dialogue.

Question. In the 2020 Human Rights Report, Serbia was identified as having serious human rights issues including serious restrictions on free expression and the press, including violence, threats of violence, and unjustified arrests and prosecutions against journalists; numerous acts of government corruption, and more. If confirmed, what steps will you take to address these instances with the host government?

Answer. If confirmed, I will reinforce the importance of a free media and of the safety of journalists with Serbia's political leaders and the Serbian public and speak out publicly and privately in defense of investigative journalists and media organizations. A free and independent media is critical for any democratic society, just as it is for Serbia's EU accession. I am concerned by Serbia's deteriorating media environment, including threats against journalists, opaque media ownership, frivolous lawsuits against journalists by government officials, and politically motivated editorial pressure. If confirmed, I will continue to support independent media through foreign assistance programs that strengthen investigative journalism, as well as press for transparency in all aspects, including ownership.

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

Answer. U.S. foreign assistance programs in Serbia to improve the human rights situation include grants to civil society organizations working on anti-corruption and government transparency, media freedom, and access to the justice system, as well as minority protection and advocacy issues. New programs focused on people with

disabilities and the LGBTQI+ community will increase support to these populations. If confirmed, I look forward to building on these efforts and working with civil society to promote democracy, anti-corruption, rule of law, human rights, and global norms. U.S. Embassy Belgrade has strong relationships with civil society organizations, and I commit to working closely together to promote and protect human rights and other shared values. If confirmed I will also engage with the Government of Serbia to stress the importance of a robust civil society for democracy and urge the Government to engage with civil society and take into account civil society's views on issues that affect them.

Dayton Accords

Question. The Dayton Accords are now 26 years old, and some Balkan leaders begun to casting doubt on their efficacy. Some minor reforms have been made to the document, but Dayton largely functions as it did a generation ago. We have heard that the reform of ethnic restrictions on the tri-part presidency and other ethnically restricted offices are one avenue for change that has been identified by the State Department. What are some other ways that the Dayton Accords could be reformed?

Answer. The Dayton Accords successfully put an end to the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) and have helped maintain the peace there for over 26 years. The United States remains fully committed to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of BiH. The State Department continues to work closely with the EU on efforts to advance key rule of law, economic, anti-corruption, and electoral reforms in BiH. If confirmed, I will engage Serbia's leaders to use their influence—in cooperation with U.S. and EU partners—to support the reforms necessary for BiH to implement rulings of the European Court of Human Rights and build a more democratic and prosperous future for all citizens of BiH.

Question. Do you believe the discussion of reforms to the Dayton framework could, as some allege, pose a risk to stability in the region?

Answer. Solutions for reform and advancement are available now, such as those in the EU's Key Priorities. The United States, in collaboration with EU partners, is focused on building consensus for step-by-step reforms. These include limited constitutional changes, to fully implement rulings of the European Court of Human Rights, and to achieve a more democratic, less corrupt, economically viable, and secure Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH). If confirmed, I will engage with Serbia's leaders and together with the U.S. Ambassadors to BiH and Croatia to work to support the reforms necessary to build a prosperous future for all citizens of BiH.

Coordination Within the State Department

Question. If confirmed, you will join a team of career diplomats already working in the region as Deputy Assistant Secretary, Ambassadors, and Special Envoy. How will you coordinate efforts within the region with other State Department officials to maximize the effectiveness of U.S. involvement in Serbia and the Western Balkans?

Answer. If confirmed, I look forward to establishing close and productive working relationships with Deputy Assistant Secretary and Special Representative for the Western Balkans Gabriel Escobar and U.S. Ambassadors throughout the Western Balkans to advance a European future for all the countries of the region, cement democratic norms and the rule of law, and deepen regional cooperation based on common values and a shared future. The security and economies of the Western Balkans are inextricably linked, with Serbia playing a pivotal role as the largest population and largest economy. If confirmed, I commit to communicating and consulting frequently with my regional counterparts and Washington to collectively advance U.S. policies.

Question. What are some specific frameworks you would like to develop with your State Department colleagues in the region to ensure you have a unified approach to issues facing the region?

Answer. Regional cooperation and consistency of the U.S. approach is imperative in the interlinked Western Balkans. The United States has a key role in helping these countries to resolve residual legacy issues such as missing persons, war crimes, and historical revisionism, as well as cross border policy priorities such as those affecting ethnic minority populations in neighboring countries, migration, crime and corruption, counterterrorism, and regional economic cooperation. For these reasons, if confirmed, I commit to building positive and productive relationships with both Washington and colleagues throughout the region through regular

communication, consultation, and policy discussions to strategically approach cross border issues.

Anti-Corruption

Question. The Balkan sanctions regime was revised by the Biden administration this summer to shift the focus from prevention of violence to the prevention of corruption. The administration also just released the U.S. Strategy on Countering Corruption and announced the sanctioning of a Kosovar-Serbian Organized crime ring, the Zvonko Veselinovic Organized Crime Group, and its affiliates, under the Global Magnitsky Human Rights Accountability Act.

- How would you implement the anti-corruption strategy in Serbia in the context of other Western Balkan nations?

Answer. Corruption remains the most significant rule of law issue in Serbia and the Western Balkans. It weakens public confidence in Serbia's institutions and democratic processes, discourages investment, makes Serbia vulnerable to malign external actors, and threatens Serbia's EU accession progress. On December 9, Secretary Blinken also announced the establishment of a State Department Coordinator on Anticorruption, who will integrate and elevate the fight against corruption across all aspects of U.S. diplomacy and State Department foreign assistance, and to lead the State Department's implementation of the U.S. Strategy on Countering Corruption. If confirmed, I will work closely with the State Department Coordinator to effectively implement the U.S. anti-corruption strategy in the Serbia and Western Balkans context, and will continue to target U.S. foreign assistance to support Serbia's anti-corruption units in law enforcement and the judiciary, public procurement reform, and civil society and media in their critical oversight role. Sanctions, visa restrictions, and other accountability tools including President Biden's modernized Western Balkans-related E.O., are also important tools to address threats to stability and democratic institutions.

Question. Do you believe the imposition of sanctions on organized crime rings, human rights abusers, or other persons involved in corruption is a useful tool in Serbia? Please explain why you see such sanctions as efficacious or not.

Answer. Yes. Sanctions are an important tool to address corruption, organized crime, and human rights violations. They demonstrate U.S. commitment to promote accountability and disrupt and deter malign activity, they can limit the freedom and impunity with which corrupt actors operate, and they can provide the basis and impetus for regional authorities to launch their own investigations to hold these actors to account. If confirmed, I will support the implementation of U.S. sanctions and other accountability tools as useful components of a broader policy aimed at countering threats to national security posed by particular activities, groups, individuals, and organizations.

Illegal Immigration

Question. One issue facing Serbia includes illegal immigrants arriving from the Middle East. Those who manage to enter Serbia move on and contribute to the larger migration problem facing Europe, while others have been refused entry and pushed back from the border, causing crises in neighboring countries. How will you engage with the Serbian Government to confront migration issues?

Answer. Unresolved global conflicts prompted the movement of over 1.5 million refugees and migrants through the Western Balkans in 2015 and 2016. Serbia today hosts approximately 5,000 refugees, asylum-seekers, and migrants, mainly from Afghanistan and Syria. From FY 2016-FY 2021, the State Department's Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration provided nearly \$48 million in humanitarian aid for programs in the Balkans. If confirmed, I will continue U.S. Government efforts, in coordination with local partners such as UNHCR and civil society, to help the Government of Serbia strengthen its asylum system and integrate humanitarian assistance into economic development and institutional protection programs.

Question. One issue facing Serbia includes illegal immigrants arriving from the Middle East. Those who manage to enter Serbia move on and contribute to the larger migration problem facing Europe, while others have been refused entry and pushed back from the border, causing crises in neighboring countries. How can this issue be a barrier to EU integration?

Answer. As part of its EU accession requirements, Serbia needs to undertake reforms required by chapter 24 of the EU *acquis communautaire*, which sets out common rules for border control, visas, external migration, and asylum. According to the EU's 2021 progress report, Serbia helped manage the mixed migration flows towards the EU and played a constructive role in cooperating effectively with its

neighbors and EU member states. It also continued to effectively implement the integrated border management strategy and its action plan. If confirmed, I will reinforce the importance of further international cooperation to address migration.

Question. One issue facing Serbia includes illegal immigrants arriving from the Middle East. Those who manage to enter Serbia move on and contribute to the larger migration problem facing Europe, while others have been refused entry and pushed back from the border, causing crises in neighboring countries. How could this issue benefit from greater EU involvement, and what form would EU assistance in Serbia take?

Answer. The Serbian Government runs migrant and asylum centers, primarily supported by EU Instrument for Pre-Accession special measure funds, that provide basic amenities. Few migrants are interested in seeking asylum in Serbia. However, upon arrival, most migrants express interest in international protection and assistance prior to moving onward along well-defined smuggling routes into Western Europe. If confirmed, I commit to engage with the Department of State's Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration; the EU; UNHCR; and non-governmental organizations actively working on this issue to ensure donor coordination and identify solutions to migration flows.

Question. One issue facing Serbia includes illegal immigrants arriving from the Middle East. Those who manage to enter Serbia move on and contribute to the larger migration problem facing Europe, while others have been refused entry and pushed back from the border, causing crises in neighboring countries. How could finding a proper domestic solution to this issue benefit Serbia's EU aspirations?

Answer. The Serbian Government runs migrant and asylum centers providing basic amenities to these individuals while they are in Serbia. If confirmed, I will continue to work with the Serbian Government and other local entities to improve Serbia's asylum/migrant system in line with EU standards. It is important that the Government of Serbia accelerate the reforms necessary to meet these EU standards, and U.S. foreign assistance is helping it do so. As Serbia closes additional EU accession chapters, it will move closer to our shared goal of eventual EU membership for Serbia.

Kosovo

Question. The Serbia-Kosovo relationship continues to face many obstacles, with the most recent issue being over mutual recognition of license plates. What are the greatest obstacles to normalizing relations between Serbia and Kosovo?

Answer. Relations between Serbia and Kosovo remain difficult, and unresolved issues frequently lead to tensions that affect people on both sides of the border. These differences and the lack of normalization of their relations hinder their respective European paths, slow regional reconciliation and cooperation, and deter potential business investors. The United States has encouraged both Serbia and Kosovo to engage meaningfully, constructively, and urgently with each other to address and finally resolve their differences, primarily through the EU-facilitated Dialogue. If confirmed, I will commit to reinforcing with Serbian officials and the Serbian public the continued importance of fully normalizing relations with Kosovo.

Question. As Ambassador, how would you pursue progress in the Serbia-Kosovo relationship, and what issues would you prioritize first when you arrive at post?

Answer. If confirmed, I would prioritize reinforcing United States' support for the EU-facilitated Dialogue as the most effective way to reach a locally owned, legally binding, and comprehensive agreement. The United States believes this should be based on mutual recognition. The United States is not dictating what that agreement must entail; that is up to the parties. If confirmed, I would also encourage Serbia to approach the Dialogue seriously and with urgency, focus on diplomacy, and be creative and flexible in reaching a compromise deal, which will improve the lives of citizens in Serbia and Kosovo alike.

Bosnia and Herzegovina

Question. Republika Srpska President Milorad Dodik has been vocal about his efforts to establish government offices and military forces separate from the Bosnia Federation and Herzegovina, which poses serious threats to stability in the country and the region. As Ambassador, how will you engage with the Serbian Government and encourage them to support stability in Bosnia with regard to such destabilizing actions in Republika Srpska?

Answer. The United States and the EU are increasingly concerned by the inflammatory rhetoric and actions of Milorad Dodik and Republika Srpska (RS) officials,

which undermine the Dayton Accords. The Biden administration has engaged Serbia's leadership to join calls against RS secession and withdrawal from state institutions. If confirmed, I will continue to encourage President Vucic to sustain clear and vocal public and private support for the Dayton Accords and the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as he has done to date.

Question. Do you believe that, as some have insinuated, Mr. Dodik's antics are encouraged by Belgrade or Moscow?

Answer. No matter the origin or rationale for President Dodik's behavior, it is unacceptable. The sovereignty and territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina remains essential to regional stability. If confirmed, I will continue to encourage President Vucic to sustain clear and vocal public and private support for the Dayton Accords and the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Kremlin's interests in Bosnia and Herzegovina do not align with U.S. interests, as it sows instability in the region and seeks to keep the Western Balkans from its chosen path of moving closer to Europe.

Transatlantic Integration

Question. The Western Balkans have stalled on integration with the rest of Europe. What are the greatest obstacles to advancing Serbia's integration with Europe and EU accession?

Answer. Since formally opening accession negotiations with the EU in 2014, Serbia has made significant reforms. Serbia has more to do, particularly in areas such as fighting corruption, improving the rule of law, strengthening democratic institutions and civil society, expanding the economy, improving the media environment, addressing climate change and other environmental issues such as waste management, air quality, and the protection of Serbia's rivers, and reforming its energy sector. Normalization of relations with Kosovo is also an important condition for Serbia's EU accession. If confirmed, I will continue to advance the U.S. policy of supporting Serbia's stated goal of EU membership which will fully anchor Serbia into its rightful place in Europe. I will also continue foreign assistance programs that catalyze related reforms.

Question. What is your understanding of EU members' hesitation to strengthen ties with Serbia?

Answer. The EU's strongest carrot motivating reforms has been, and will remain, accession. Prospects for accession need to be tangible and achievable, and progress can be incremental but should be steady. Western Balkan leaders must do more than reiterate public commitments to achieving EU membership -- they must take real actions and press ahead with difficult reforms, particularly on rule of law and transparency, as well as on alignment with common EU foreign policy. Accelerating reforms will bolster the Western Balkan countries as serious credible candidates for EU membership. When countries deliver on reforms, EU member states should deliver on their promise by moving these countries forward on their respective accession paths.

Question. What is your understanding of Serbia's hesitation to fully throw itself into undertaking the reforms that are necessary for it to become an EU member?

Answer. Many of the reforms required for Serbia's EU accession, including normalization of relations with Kosovo, require significant work and take time. If confirmed, I will emphasize with Serbian leaders and the Serbian public the importance of further progress on reforms, and of active participation in the EU-facilitated dialogue with Kosovo, because this will improve lives in Serbia, Kosovo, and the whole region. The United States wants to see Serbia develop as a modern, prosperous European country that enjoys strong relations with all its neighbors and demonstrates full respect for the rule of law, democracy, and the rights of all its citizens.

Question. How would you work to advance Serbia's prospects for European integration and EU accession, and what issues would you prioritize first when you arrive at post?

Answer. If confirmed, I will continue supporting Serbia's EU accession progress in areas such as fighting corruption, improving the rule of law, strengthening democratic institutions and civil society, expanding the economy, improving the media environment, and reforming its energy sector, among other issues. I will reinforce that the United States and Serbia share a common strategic goal in advancing membership in the European Union for all of the countries of the Western Balkans. I will continue to demonstrate that shared purpose by providing Serbia with needed technical assistance and capacity building to advance its accession.

Russian Influence

Question. Serbia has one of the most favorable relationships with Russia in Europe. This is concerning for both Serbia's well-being, as well as the stability of the Western Balkans itself. What are the greatest risks posed by Russian influence in Serbia, both for the country itself and the region?

Answer. Moscow wields influence in Serbia through political, economic, military, cultural, media, and other means and looks to expand its influence throughout the Western Balkans, including in Serbia, and to keep the region from integrating with Western institutions. To this end, Russia sees instability in the Western Balkans as in its interest, although this undermines Serbia's interest in a stable, prospering region. Furthermore, Russia exploits its position as a permanent member of the U.N. Security Council with veto power to maintain leverage over Serbia, opposing Kosovo's independence and blocking Kosovo's international integration. If confirmed, I will commit to honest, frank conversations with Serbian leaders about Russia's true intentions.

Question. If confirmed, what will you do to confront Russian influence in Serbia?

Answer. The United States and Russia have starkly different visions for the future of Serbia and the region. Moscow actively sows friction and distrust because it sees such division as in its interest. In contrast, U.S. interests are cementing democratic norms, rule of law, and cooperation based on common values and a shared future. If confirmed, I will encourage Serbian authorities to make policy choices that reflect Western values and continue making the case that Russia does not support Serbia's own strategic goals. Serbia's future lies with Europe, and the U.S. is committed to helping it get there. This path leads through democratic reforms, especially strengthening rule of law, democratic institutions, and media freedom.

Question. What tools does the U.S. have to guide Serbia away from strengthening ties with Russia and encouraging transatlantic integration?

Answer. I will continue to use Countering Russian Influence Fund (CRIF) foreign assistance to bolster Western Balkans countries' abilities to respond. If confirmed, I would encourage the administration's strategy, which includes sustained high-level engagement by U.S. officials, creative project financing options, and strong commercial advocacy for U.S./European firms to counter the Kremlin's malign influence. Supporting Serbia's European future will help Serbia undertake important democratic reforms and cement Western values. Bolstering U.S.-Serbia economic and defense cooperation will highlight positive alternatives to partnership with Russia (and China).

Question. Please discuss your understanding of the influence of the Russian Orthodox Church on politics in Serbia.

Answer. The Russian Orthodox Church retains significant influence within the Serbian Orthodox Church (SOC). The Orthodox faith is central to Serbian national identity and to spiritual, cultural, and political life in Serbia as well as in Serb communities in neighboring countries. The SOC is one of Serbia's most trusted institutions, and almost 85 percent of Serbia's public are members of the church. The SOC wields significant social and political influence and consistently takes a conservative stance on recognition of Kosovo. The protection and status of Orthodox religious sites in Kosovo and Montenegro remain highly sensitive and subject to foreign influence; this is something that I will monitor carefully along with my fellow Ambassadors to the region.

Question. Hungary has emerged as one of the EU's strongest proponents of joining Serbia to the EU. Hungarian President Orbán has also increased his engagement with Serbian President Vucic. What do you believe are the reasons for Hungary's growing interest in Serbia?

Answer. Serbia and Hungary signed a Strategic Partnership Agreement in September 2021, Serbia's only such agreement in the region. The neighboring countries enjoy warm relations based on growing economic ties and an apparent personal affinity between President Vucic and Hungarian PM Viktor Orbán. Hungary has been a leading and vocal supporter of Serbia's EU accession. Ethnic Hungarians enjoy strong minority rights in the autonomous province of Vojvodina in the north of Serbia. As neighbors they share strategic interest in the economic growth of the region. If confirmed, I will work to channel these interests on a positive trajectory.

Chinese Influence

Question. China has identified the Balkans as an opportune region to establish its political-economic presence in Europe. Serbia has already engaged in multiple

“Belt-and-Road” projects, namely Chinese-built infrastructure projects funded by unsustainable loans. What are the greatest risks posed by PRC influence in Serbia, both for the country itself and the region?

Answer. The PRC’s role in Serbia (and the region) is expanding rapidly. Through a combination of opaque loans and investments, the PRC is building infrastructure in Serbia and capturing strategic industries like mining and steel production. The PRC takes advantage of the desire of some officials for expedited, no-questions-asked investment and financing to secure entry points into the EU market. It also takes advantage of the existing lack of transparency in Serbia’s public procurement system to sign non-transparent deals for infrastructure projects and other economic cooperation.

Question. If confirmed, what will you do to confront Chinese influence in Serbia?

Answer. If confirmed, I will encourage Serbian authorities to reassess whether China’s interests align with Serbia’s own strategic goals. Serbian leaders should conduct a thorough accounting of PRC infrastructure projects to assess their economic viability and their adherence to Serbia’s environmental and labor regulations. If confirmed, I will advise Serbia’s leaders to ensure that all foreign investment and economic support—including from China—advances Serbia’s own goals of sustainable economic growth and EU membership. I will use foreign assistance tools such as the Countering Chinese Influence Fund and caution Serbia to examine closely PRC investments in critical infrastructure that could expose citizens to security or data privacy risks.

Question. What tools does the U.S. have to guide Serbia away from predatory business deals with China and promote fair deals with businesses from the U.S. and our democratic partners?

Answer. The United States can help improve Serbia’s investment climate and, through support for greater regional interconnectedness, foster a market that offers high quality alternatives to PRC investment. It is also important that U.S. businesses have a level playing field to operate in Serbia and the region. Infrastructure financing through DFC and EXIM, for example, are invaluable tools, and Serbia’s commitments to decarbonize its energy sector and broader economy will broaden opportunities for U.S. and European green energy firms. If confirmed, I will press Serbia to ensure American firms market opportunities equal to those afforded to PRC and other foreign firms.

Question. What are barriers to foreign investment in Serbia, and how can concerns behind them be addressed in order to attract more foreign investment?

Answer. While Serbia has made great strides, it needs to accelerate the implementation of structural reforms and improve corporate governance and its business environment. This will generate investment opportunities, broad-based economic growth, and improved living standards for all. If confirmed, I will continue U.S. Embassy Belgrade’s support for implementation of Serbia’s reform agenda to strengthen the rule of law, combat corruption, and encourage transparent and accountable government to protect the rights of U.S. exporters, suppliers, and investors doing business in Serbia. I will continue efforts to improve protection of intellectual property rights and to address trade barriers that interfere with the growth of U.S. exports.

Question. The China-built Budapest-Belgrade Railway remains under construction. What are your views of this project?

Answer. Whether to accept PRC financing and investment is a sovereign decision, and the United States respects Serbia’s right to decide for itself. However, the Biden administration has been clear that Serbia and other countries should only consider certain PRC offers with eyes wide open. The PRC takes advantage of the desire of some officials for expedited, no-questions-asked investment and financing, as well as non-transparent procurement processes, to secure entry points into the EU market. For example, Chinese firms have led several major recent transportation projects, including the Belgrade-Budapest high-speed railway, through non-public, non-transparent bilateral deals.

Question. The China-built Budapest-Belgrade Railway remains under construction. What positive or negative effects will it have for Hungary?

Answer. Reports indicate the PRC intends to link the Budapest-Belgrade railway to the deep seaport of Piraeus in Greece, providing direct access for Chinese goods to enter Europe. The Hungarian Government has faced criticism for signing a Chinese loan worth more than \$2 billion in 2020 to undertake the project and classified the terms of the loan on the pretense of national security. An oligarch aligned with

Hungarian PM Orban eventually won the tender to construct the railway perpetuating a system of corruption pervasive in Hungarian public tenders. Opaque deals with foreign state-owned firms on critical infrastructure on the territory of a NATO Ally and EU member could raise security concerns for Hungary itself and for our partnerships.

Question. The China-built Budapest-Belgrade Railway remains under construction. What positive or negative effects will it have for Serbia?

Answer. Serbia has limited national security-focused tools, like investment screening or procurement processing, that could mitigate potentially harmful economic activities. PRC firms, among several other major recent transportation infrastructure projects, secured the Belgrade-Budapest high-speed railway project through non-public, non-transparent, bilateral deals. The United States has encouraged Serbia to seriously consider whether such proposed projects would be economically viable, whether Serbia's own environmental and labor regulations would be respected, and whether PRC investments in critical infrastructure would expose Serbia and its citizens to security or data privacy risks or hinder its EU accession progress.

Question. The China-built Budapest-Belgrade Railway remains under construction. What positive or negative effects will it have for the Balkans region?

Answer. To have positive impacts on the region—increased productivity and regional interconnectivity—transportation infrastructure projects such as railway construction should be coordinated with broader EU efforts and meet quality standards. They must also be commercially viable. To date, however, the Budapest-Belgrade Railway project has lacked transparency and its high costs call into serious question its long-term commercial viability. This much is certain: once completed, this project will place parts of the region's critical infrastructure in the PRC's hands, ultimately deepening the region's entanglement in the 16+1 and Belt and Road Initiative and creating serious vulnerabilities of foreign interference.

Question. The China-built Budapest-Belgrade Railway remains under construction. What positive or negative effects will it have for the EU?

Answer. EU regulations and standards require that large infrastructure projects be awarded through a public tender. In 2016, the EU opened an infringement procedure against Hungary and asked it to be more transparent and to organize a public tender for the railway contract, thus minimizing the risk of corruption. Hungary eventually released a public tender but a government aligned oligarch won the contract, further entrenching the cronyism that is rampant in Hungary. Opaque deals with foreign state-owned firms on critical infrastructure or technology on the territory of a NATO Ally and EU member could also raise security concerns first for Hungary itself and also for our common partnerships.

Question. The China-built Budapest-Belgrade Railway remains under construction. What positive or negative effects will it have for NATO?

Answer. The extensive financial, logistical, and engineering support provided by PRC firms on this project will create vulnerabilities in what could be a major transportation artery in a NATO Ally. If confirmed, I will work with other U.S. Ambassadors in the region to inform its leaders of the abundant risks associated with outsourcing vital infrastructure to PRC entities.

Question. U.S. missions across the globe have been under enormous strain over the past few years due to COVID. What is your understanding of morale throughout Mission Serbia?

Answer. The American and local employees at Embassy Belgrade have dealt with significant challenges posed by COVID-19. I am grateful for their tremendous service in overcoming these challenges. If confirmed, I will prioritize meeting with and supporting Embassy employees to understand and mitigate the impact of the pandemic on the mission. If confirmed, the health and safety of the personnel and family members of Embassy Belgrade will be my first priority, and I look forward to working with the incredibly talented team of locally employed staff, U.S. Direct Hires, and their families, and to ensuring that everyone on my team understands they are valued and have my support.

Question. How do you intend to improve morale across all of Mission Serbia?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work with my Deputy Chief of Mission and senior staff to foster an atmosphere in which all employees know that they can bring serious issues to us and that they are being heard at the highest levels. If confirmed, I will work to ensure everyone on my team is treated professionally, their rights are respected, and they are safe and secure. I will conduct personal outreach to Em-

bassy staff when I arrive. If confirmed, I will promote training and professional development, and ensure that all staff members are aware of the employee and family support resources that the Department offers to assist employees.

Question. How do you intend to create a unified mission and vision across Mission Serbia?

Answer. If confirmed, I will foster a strong team with a clear understanding of our goals and objectives, maintain continuous and transparent communications throughout the Mission by sharing information, promote diversity and inclusion, seek ways to build morale, and support and ensure the safety and community of the Mission community—including both American and local staff. I will treat the team with respect and professionalism and seek to provide them the tools they need to do their jobs. We are all one team, working together to advance the U.S.-Serbia relationship, and in the interests of the American people; I will ensure this collaborative service focus is central to our work.

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

Answer. I value respect, professionalism, open communication, and creative thinking. I welcome divergent points of view. I strive to provide clear decisions and guidance as needed to lead. I am committed to fostering a diverse and inclusive workforce that fully represents and supports many different cultures, backgrounds, and perspectives to provide a productive and effective workplace for all that advances U.S. policy goals.

Question. If confirmed, how do you believe your management style will translate to an Embassy setting, where resources may not be readily available, and your diplomatic workforce consists of career employees?

Answer. If confirmed, my commitment will be to ensure we use our available resources as effectively as possible to advance our top policy priorities for the U.S.-Serbia relationship. I will draw upon the experience, expertise, and advice of Embassy staff when making resource allocation decisions. If necessary, I will advocate for additional resources to better carry out our mission.

Question. As a political appointee rather than career diplomat, do you believe it is incumbent upon new chiefs of mission to integrate themselves into Embassy operations and culture? If yes, how do you intend to do so?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, one of my first actions as Ambassador will be to meet the entire team at our Embassy in Belgrade to fully understand their roles and responsibilities and how I can best support, guide, and advocate for them. I will schedule opportunities for regular coordination, consultation, and planning of Embassy operations. I will also create opportunities for more informal meetings and events with members from across the Embassy community, so that I build and maintain strong awareness of community concerns and the state of Embassy morale. I will rely on the experience, expertise, and advice of the talented U.S. Direct Hire and Locally Engaged staff to help determine how I can best integrate into and enhance Embassy operations.

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

Answer. No, it is never acceptable or constructive to berate subordinates, either in public or private.

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

Answer. If confirmed, I look forward to a positive and productive relationship with the Deputy Chief of Mission (DCM) centered on trust and collaboration. If confirmed, I hope to establish a positive relationship where my Deputy Chief of Mission will be my trusted partner and confidante whom I can depend on and work closely with to ensure the success of the overall Mission.

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

Answer. If confirmed, I look forward to building a collaborative working relationship with my Deputy Chief of Mission (DCM) and consulting with the DCM across the range of issues. If confirmed, I will entrust the DCM with responsibility for the day-to-day operations of the Mission. The DCM should also keep abreast of policy issues in order to serve as Chargé d'Affaires in my absence, so I will ensure that the DCM is fully involved in policy issues and decision-making.

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 everyday citizens. If confirmed, will you encourage Mission Serbia diplomats to engage in-person with the Serbian people outside of U.S. embassies and consulates?

Answer. I agree that it is imperative that U.S. diplomats get outside of the Embassy to meet with local stakeholders, including host government officials, non-governmental organizations, and citizens from all facets of society. If confirmed, I will demonstrate the importance of getting outside of our Embassy by example, provided pandemic health and safety guidelines allow it. If confirmed, I hope to exchange ideas with people from all parts of Serbian society to hear their views, promote our shared goals, and expand the people-to-people bonds that are the foundation of our strong bilateral relationship. I will encourage colleagues and official visitors to do the same, conditions permitting.

Question. Public diplomacy is an important aspect of U.S. foreign policy efforts. What is the public diplomacy environment like in Serbia? What public diplomacy challenges do U.S. diplomats face?

Answer. Embassy Belgrade's Public Diplomacy Section uses the full array of public diplomacy tools to engage with Serbians across all facets of society: including, media engagement; the U.S. Speaker Program; English language instruction; educational and professional exchanges; alumni; cultural and sports diplomacy programs; grants to local non-governmental organizations (NGOs); and educational advising. Disinformation, harmful foreign influence, and the COVID-19 pandemic pose challenges to public diplomacy outreach. Conditions permitting, U.S. diplomats will increase in-person engagements. If confirmed, I look forward to using traditional and social media in addition to in-person programs to engage with the Serbian public.

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. If confirmed, I will work with the public diplomacy team to closely coordinate the efforts of Washington and Belgrade-based public diplomacy professionals to maintain a unified approach, highlighting the key U.S. messages and policies in Serbia and globally. I will leverage public diplomacy tools to enhance security cooperation, expand economic relations, support Serbia's EU accession path and positive relations with its neighbors, and deepen people-to-people ties. I will work to counter adverse influence and disinformation through traditional media and social media engagements, institutional outreach, and personal interactions, tailoring our messaging and activities to Serbian audiences for the strongest impact.

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. If confirmed, do you commit to taking this threat seriously?

Answer. Yes. There is nothing I take more seriously than the health and security of the people who will be working with me. AHIs have been a top priority for Secretary Blinken, who set clear goals for the Health Incident Response Task Force to strengthen the Department's communication with the workforce, provide care for affected employees and family members, and better protect against these events in the future as we continue to work closely with the interagency to find the cause of these AHIs.

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

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I will share what information I can within the bounds of privacy and security concerns with my team and Mission Serbia 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. I have received an unclassified briefing on anomalous health incidents. If confirmed, I commit to receiving additional, classified briefings on the incidents.

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 will maintain detailed records of the incident and share it with the State Department and others to contribute to the investigation.

Question. 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. 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 will take every measure to keep our staff safe and secure and would take any report of an anomalous health incident very seriously. I will do my best to ensure those affected receive the attention they deserve, that incidents are investigated fully, and that I work with the appropriate offices and agencies to ensure required reporting, investigation, potential countermeasures, and provision of medical care. I would share what information I can within the bounds of privacy and security concerns with my team and the mission community.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO HON. CHRISTOPHER R. HILL BY SENATOR TODD YOUNG

Question. Under the Trump administration, we began to see some movement on the longstanding dispute between Kosovo and Serbia. The September 2020 meeting at the White House between Serbian and Kosovo leaders was a welcome sight and paved the way to normalize economic relationships. If confirmed, what steps would you take as Ambassador to build on these successes and improve communication between Kosovo and Serbia?

Answer. If confirmed, I would work to build on the progress prior administrations and the Biden administration have made in the Balkans. Past commitments have created tangible benefits for citizens of both Serbia and Kosovo: improved trade, cooperation on streamlined customs and border procedures to facilitate transit of goods and people, greater opportunity for engagement, and increased economic planning. It is important that Serbia and Kosovo honor in good faith all previous commitments, that they remain flexible and prepared for necessary compromises, and that they make progress through the EU-facilitated Dialogue to improve technical cooperation and trust in support of the goal of comprehensive normalization of relations, ideally based on mutual recognition.

Question. How can the United States coordinate better with EU efforts in mediating between Kosovo and Serbia?

Answer. While not at the table, the United States has played a consistent, strong role in helping the parties reach an agreement to establish fully normalized relations. The administration closely coordinates with EU counterparts. If confirmed, I will continue to work closely with the EU to advance the Dialogue as the mechanism for implementation of the provisions of the 2013 Brussels Agreement and, ultimately, a comprehensive normalization ideally based on mutual recognition. This is essential for enduring stability in the Western Balkans. I commit to reinforcing with Serbian officials, and the Serbian public, the continued importance of compromise and normalization for achieving Serbia's strategic goals of EU membership and regional prosperity.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
 SUBMITTED TO MICHÈLE TAYLOR BY SENATOR ROBERT MENENDEZ

Anti-Israel Bias

Question. I believe that the U.S. is best positioned to counter anti-Israel bias on the U.N. Human Rights Council when it is a member of that Council. I have been heartened by the Biden administration's steps to counter anti-Israel bias at the U.N. in general and I fully expect that work to continue with our renewed membership on the Human Rights Council.

- If confirmed, what steps will you take to counter anti-Israel bias on the Council? What specific changes do you think the Council ought to make and what to you see as the U.S.'s most effective points of leverage to enact those changes?

Answer. The United States is committed to seeking reforms of the U.N. Human Rights Council, particularly with respect to the Council's disproportionate focus on Israel and the Council's problematic membership. When we have had a seat at the table, we have been able to advocate on Israel's behalf, and we have seen changes like a reduction in the number of resolutions targeting Israel. If confirmed, I will prioritize working closely with U.S. friends and allies, as well as non-traditional partners, to address the Council's problematic anti-Israel bias and will engage regularly with the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights to make clear U.S. opposition to problematic anti-Israel mandates.

Question. What steps will you take to remove Israel as a permanent agenda item on the Council?

Answer. If confirmed, I will prioritize working closely with U.S. friends and allies, as well as non-traditional partners, to address the Council's problematic anti-Israel bias and will engage regularly with the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights to make clear U.S. opposition to problematic anti-Israel mandates. If confirmed, I will work tirelessly to:

- reduce the overall number of Israel-related resolutions at the Council;
- continue recent progress in minimizing the items considered under Agenda Item 7 by shifting consideration of Israel into other agenda items where they will be treated as every other nation;
- make clear U.S. opposition to all anti-Israel mandates and aim to reduce the impact of such mandates; and
- bolster the number of countries aligned with U.S. views on the need to permanently tackle the Council's bias against Israel.

Question. What steps can the U.S. take, both at the U.N. and bilaterally, to change the voting practices of U.S. allies that have voted in support of the Council's biased agenda and resolutions against Israel?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work intensively with our allies to bolster their support in combatting the Council's anti-Israel bias. We have also seen that when the United States plays an active and constructive role on the Council, we have been able to effectively engage with our allies and other partners to make real progress, including encouraging and supporting countries with better records to run for seats.

BDS Movement

Question. I remain concerned by efforts by the U.N. Human Rights Council to promote the Boycott, Divestment and Sanction (BDS) movement against Israel, especially the establishment and publishing of a database of companies conducting business in the West Bank and East Jerusalem.

- If confirmed, what steps will you take to end efforts such as these on the Council, which promote boycotts against Israel?

Answer. The United States opposed the creation of the database and release of the report, as mandated by the Human Rights Council in 2016, and continues to oppose any work to update it. The United States has not provided and has no intention to provide any information to OHCHR for the database. If confirmed, I will also encourage other countries not to provide any information for the database. The United States continues to engage with the High Commissioner in Geneva to make its views and opposition clear and to push for retraction of the database. If confirmed, I will continue this effort.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO MICHELE TAYLOR BY SENATOR JAMES E. RISCH

Question. If confirmed, what will your priorities be as the Ambassador to the U.N. Human Rights Council (UNHRC)?

Answer. If confirmed, I would bring with me to the U.N. Human Rights Council my experience and a determination to defend the human rights of all individuals. I would work tirelessly to restore U.S. leadership on the Council in order to defend Israel and diminish the Council's anti-Israel bias. I would seek new partnerships to advance reform of the Council's membership, and I would return the United States to the center of the human rights debate, where we can fight racism, intolerance, and religious persecution, promote concrete action to advance respect for the human rights of women, LGBTQI persons, and minorities, and give the necessary attention to the world's worst human rights offenders.

Question. Do you believe that the UNHRC is the appropriate body to discuss the promotion or creation of "new" human rights, like the right to a "safe, clean, healthy, and sustainable environment?" If not, why not? If yes, why?

Answer. I understand that the United States, including through its delegation to the HRC, has consistently reiterated that there are no universally recognized human rights specifically related to the environment; that we do not recognize the HRC's action to recognize a new right to a safe, healthy and sustainable environment; and we do not believe that an HRC resolution is an appropriate means of attempting to elaborate a new and undefined right.

Question. Since its inception, the UNHRC has passed 95 resolutions condemning Israel, a U.S. Ally, more than any combination of other countries. Bashar al Assad's brutal regime in Syria has only garnered 36 condemnations for its use of barrel bombs, chemical weapons, torture, diversion of aid, and more. The People's Republic of China, a genocidal regime attempting to erase ethnic minorities in its country, has zero. If confirmed, how will you work to counter this unbalanced and discriminatory approach to human rights?

Answer. The United States is committed to seeking reforms of the U.N. Human Rights Council, particularly with respect to the Council's disproportionate focus on Israel and the Council's problematic membership. When we have had a seat at the table, we have been able to advocate on Israel's behalf, and we have seen changes like a reduction in the number of resolutions targeting Israel. If confirmed, I will prioritize working closely with U.S. friends and allies, as well as non-traditional partners, to address the Council's problematic anti-Israel bias and will engage regularly with the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights to make clear U.S. opposition to problematic anti-Israel mandates.

We have also seen that when the United States plays an active and constructive role on the Council, we have been able to engage with our allies and partners to encourage and support countries with better records to run for seats. More broadly, if confirmed, I would work closely with U.S. friends and allies to push back on the People's Republic of China's (PRC) efforts to erode respect for human rights in favor of its authoritarian aims and will work to expand space for civil society engagement in the Council's work, something the PRC has worked to restrict in recent years.

Question. Do you believe that regimes like those in Syria, China, Russia, Iran, and others deserve to be condemned in this body?

Answer. When President Biden announced that the United States would seek election to the Council, he underscored the importance and utility of a functional Human Rights Council, which at its best prompts investigation of abuses in places such as Syria and North Korea, gives voice to those working against racism, and related intolerance, promotes concrete action to advance respect for the human rights of women, LGBTQI persons, and members of minority groups, including religious minority groups. If confirmed, I will be an unrelenting voice for those whose rights are threatened and will seek every appropriate opportunity to shine a light on the conduct of human rights offenders, including in Syria, the People's Republic of China, Russia, and Iran.

Question. In May, the U.N. Human Rights Council (UNHRC) created a new so-called commission of inquiry to investigate the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The new commission's mandate is much broader in scope chronologically, geographically, and substantively than the mandates of its predecessors, including the infamous and deeply flawed Goldstone Commission. In July, the UNHRC announced the appointment of three exceptionally anti-Israel persons to serve as the three members of the commission. Based on its mandate and members, the commission appears poised to

falsely allege that Israel is guilty of the crime of apartheid, based on an invented new definition of that crime. The Biden administration has chosen to reengage with the UNHRC, with Secretary Blinken asserting that despite the Council's flawed record on Israel "the best way to improve the Council is to engage with it and its members in a principled fashion." Blinken committed that the U.S. would be at the Council "table using the full weight of our diplomatic leadership" and said we "strongly believe that when the United States engages constructively with the Council, in concert with our allies and friends, positive change is within reach." Yet the mandate and membership of the new UNHRC commission of inquiry represents a chance for the worse rather than the better.

- If confirmed as the top U.S. diplomat in Geneva, are you going to use the full weight of our diplomatic leadership to stop the UNHRC from libeling Israel as engaged in apartheid?

Answer. Yes. I am committed to working with Israel and our other allies and partners to reduce and eventually eliminate the HRC's attacks on Israel. If confirmed, I will work to ensure the United States uses the full weight of our diplomatic leadership, in Geneva and in our bilateral and multilateral missions around the world, to address the Human Rights Council's longstanding anti-Israel bias.

Question. If yes, how specifically would you plan to fight this battle?

Answer. If confirmed, I will prioritize working closely with U.S. friends and allies, as well as non-traditional partners, to address the Council's problematic anti-Israel bias and will engage regularly with the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights to make clear U.S. opposition to problematic anti-Israel mandates. If confirmed, I will work tirelessly to:

- reduce the overall number of Israel-related resolutions at the Council;
- continue recent progress in minimizing the items considered under Agenda Item 7 by shifting consideration of Israel into other agenda items where they will be treated as every other nation;
- make clear U.S. opposition to all anti-Israel mandates and aim to reduce the impact of such mandates; and
- bolster the number of countries aligned with U.S. views on the need to permanently tackle the Council's bias against Israel.

Question. If yes to question 5, what are you prepared to do to ensure the farce of this Commission of Inquiry does not move forward on the Biden administration's watch?

Answer. The United States strongly opposed the special session of the U.N. Human Rights Council following the conflict in Gaza in May, 2021. The session exemplifies the Council's disproportionate focus on Israel. The establishment of an open-ended Commission of Inquiry distracts from the diplomatic work necessary to provide greater dignity, freedom, and prosperity for Israelis and Palestinians.

If confirmed, I will work closely with Israel and likeminded partners to influence the scope and timeline of this Commission as part of broader efforts to ensure Israel is treated fairly by the Human Rights Council, in line with the treatment of other U.N. member states. If confirmed, I will also engage regularly with the High Commissioner for Human Rights to make clear U.S. opposition to the Commission.

Question. The UNHRC is in desperate need of reform. If confirmed, please detail your plan of engagement to undertake those reforms, including removing Agenda Item 7.

Answer. The United States is committed to seeking reforms of the U.N. Human Rights Council, particularly with respect to the Council's disproportionate focus on Israel. When the U.S. has had a seat at the table, we have been able to advocate on Israel's behalf, and have seen changes like a reduction in the number of resolutions targeting Israel. If confirmed, I will continue recent progress in moving consideration of Israel out of Agenda Item 7 and into the regular Council agenda with all other U.N. member states, thus rendering Item 7 unnecessary and underscoring its illegitimate intent. I will prioritize working closely with U.S. friends and allies, as well as non-traditional partners, to address the Council's problematic anti-Israel bias and will engage regularly with the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights to make clear U.S. opposition to problematic anti-Israel mandates.

When the United States plays an active and constructive role on the Council, we have been able to engage with our allies and partners to keep off some of the countries with the worst human rights records and to encourage and support countries with better records to run for seats. More broadly, if confirmed, I will work closely with U.S. friends and allies to push back on the People's Republic of China's (PRC) efforts to erode respect for human rights in favor of its authoritarian aims and will

work to expand space for civil society engagement in the Council's work, something the PRC has worked to restrict in recent years.

Question. Growing CCP influence in the U.N. and subsequently on the Council is of grave concern. As we try to push back on such influence, the CCP has made significant inroads both in the council and within the U.N. to block and tackle ideas that do not comport with CCP thought. Please explain your intended strategy for combatting malign influence in the council.

Answer. If confirmed, I will work closely with U.S. friends and allies to push back on the People's Republic of China's (PRC) efforts to erode respect for human rights in favor of its authoritarian aims and will work to expand space for civil society engagement in the Council's work, something the PRC has worked to restrict in recent years. I will also build partnerships to prioritize needed reforms to alter positively the composition of the Council, including encouraging and supporting countries with better records to run for seats.

Finally, I believe we must push back against the PRC's efforts to elevate the concept of societal rights, which threatens to undermine the traditional notion of international human rights centered on the rights of the individual. This attempted normative erosion runs counter to the notion of human rights articulated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the binding U.N. human rights conventions.

Question. Do you commit, if confirmed, to aiding the Office of Multilateral Strategy and Personnel (MSP) in the State Department's Bureau of International Organizations who is leading a whole-of-government effort to identify, recruit, and install qualified, independent personnel at the U.N., including in elections for specialized bodies like the International Telecommunications Union (ITU)?

Answer. Yes, if confirmed I look forward to supporting the efforts of this office however possible and appropriate.

Question. Do you commit to helping in MSP's efforts as it relates to Americans in junior positions at and within UNHRC?

Answer. I believe the JPO program offers a unique opportunity for the United States to invest in the career development of qualified young Americans and made needed progress in expanding the number and distribution of Americans working in international organizations. If confirmed, I will actively support efforts by the Department of State to identify opportunities for JPOs, including in venues such as the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights.

Question. U.S. missions across the globe have been under enormous strain over the past few years due to COVID. What is your understanding of morale throughout Mission Geneva?

Answer. As U.S. Representative to the United Nations Human Rights Council, I will not be responsible for mission operations in Geneva. However, it is my understanding that morale at the Mission is high, particularly in light of our imminent return to the Council as an elected member. If confirmed, I look forward to joining this excellent team and benefitting from its extraordinary expertise.

Question. How do you intend to improve morale across all of Mission Geneva?

Answer. If confirmed, I look forward to supporting Mission leadership in its efforts to guide, encourage, and recognize the exceptional community of professionals in Geneva. That includes working closely with the human rights team to ensure they have clear direction regarding our objectives at the Human Rights Council, are treated with the utmost respect, and enjoy an appropriate work-life balance.

Question. How do you intend to create a unified mission and vision across the entire U.S.-U.N. HRC team?

Answer. My interactions to date with State Department professionals working on human rights issues gives me great confidence that the United States is poised to lead on these issues at the Human Rights Council, and do so with confidence, energy, and focus. If confirmed, I will invest that confidence in the team, benefit from its wisdom, and guide it proudly.

Question. How would you describe your management style?

Answer. I would describe myself as both motivational and encouraging as a manager. Success is important to me but is not measured merely in outcomes. I strive to create an environment where all members of my team feel valued for their contributions and supported in their personal goals. I have a record of both achievement and creating collaborative environments in diverse communities. I am espe-

cially proud of my ability to find common ground with people from a wide spectrum of ideologies and opinions.

Question. If confirmed, how do you believe your management style will translate to an Embassy setting, where resources may not be readily available and your diplomatic workforce consists of career employees?

Answer. I understand that resource constraints, including human resources, may be a challenge during my tenure, if confirmed. However, I believe in setting ambitious goals and cultivating team excitement accordingly. The U.S. return to the Human Rights Council will require considerable effort, and I will lead by example without creating undue strain on the professional staff. I am committed to taking an active role in helping to support the career goals of each of my team members and will work with them to find opportunities for professional development.

Question. As a political appointee rather than career diplomat, do you believe it is incumbent upon new chiefs of mission to integrate themselves into Embassy operations and culture? If yes, how do you intend to do so?

Answer. As U.S. Representative to the United Nations Human Rights Council, I will not be responsible for mission operations in Geneva. However, if confirmed, I will be excited at the prospect of meeting and working with the extraordinary team at Mission Geneva and will lean heavily upon their expertise and wisdom as I assume this challenging assignment.

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

Answer. Under no circumstances.

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. If confirmed, do you commit to taking this threat seriously?

Answer. Absolutely, and while I will not have Mission management responsibilities as the U.S. Representative to the HRC if confirmed, I will lend my support however possible to ensure the health and wellbeing of the Mission personnel, especially, but not limited to, my direct reports.

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

Answer. While I will not have Mission management responsibilities as the U.S. Representative to the HRC, I will certainly contribute as appropriate to these conversations.

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 received a related briefing during the Ambassadorial Seminar.

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 as U.S. Representative to the U.N. Human Rights Council, I will not have Mission management responsibilities. However, I will support Mission leadership in these matters as possible and appropriate.

Question. 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. 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. Although I will not have mission oversight responsibilities if confirmed as the U.S. Representative to the U.N. Human Rights Council, I do believe I can contribute to positive, inclusive communications within the team, and I look forward

to working with Mission leadership to explore that potential role as possible and appropriate.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO MICHÈLE TAYLOR BY SENATOR MARCO RUBIO

Question. Through the annual appropriations bills passed during the Trump administration, Congress has included provisions that prohibit U.S. funding for the U.N. Human Rights Council unless the Secretary of State determines reports to Congress that participation in the Council is in the national interest of the United States.

- What is your view on this provision?

Answer. Specifically defunding the U.N. Human Rights Council is neither an appropriate nor an available option. The Council's funding is drawn from assessed contributions provided to the U.N. Secretariat, which uses those contributions to support a wide range of U.N. operations. President Biden is committed to paying our nation's assessed contributions in full and on time. He has also determined that participating in the Human Rights Council is in the national interest, and I strongly support that determination.

As I noted in my statement to the committee, I believe firmly that that conversations about global human rights are poorer without an American voice and without American leadership. The President has made clear his belief that the Human Rights Council is a venue where the United States can and must lead, and I know from my experience working with human rights defenders more can be accomplished in active partnership than in principled absence. If confirmed, I will work tirelessly to rebuild American leadership on the Council.

Question. How, if at all, does it impact U.S. influence in Council operations?

Answer. I believe that paying U.S. assessed contributions in full and on time is a key aspect of demonstrating U.S. leadership in international organizations and denying our competitors easy opportunities to suggest diminishing American commitment to global challenges.

Question. What is the extent of U.S. influence on the Council?

Answer. There is no doubt in my mind that U.S. influence on the Council diminished considerably during the period of our absence. If confirmed, I will use my position and the U.S. return to the Council to restore our nation's place at the center of the global human rights conversation.

Question. Has the U.S. addressed issues of U.S. concern, such as the need for reform and the Council's disproportionate focus on Israel, and if so, how successful have these efforts been?

Answer. The United States is committed to seeking reforms of the U.N. Human Rights Council, particularly with respect to the Council's disproportionate focus on Israel. When the United States has had a seat at the table, we have been able to advocate on Israel's behalf, and have seen changes such as a reduction in the number of resolutions targeting Israel. If confirmed, I will prioritize working closely with U.S. friends and allies, as well as non-traditional partners, to address the Council's problematic anti-Israel bias and will engage regularly with the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights to make clear U.S. opposition to problematic anti-Israel mandates.

When the United States plays an active and constructive role on the Council, we have been able to engage with our allies and partners to encourage and support countries with better records to run for seats. More broadly, if confirmed, I will work closely with U.S. friends and allies to push back on the People's Republic of China's (PRC) efforts to erode respect for human rights in favor of its authoritarian aims and will work to expand space for civil society engagement in the Council's work, something the PRC has worked to restrict in recent years.

Question. If confirmed, what will you do to push the Council to condemn the ongoing genocide and crimes against humanity in Xinjiang?

Answer. I firmly believe that the United States advances our national interests best when we have a seat at the table in the multilateral system, including the Human Rights Council (HRC). By raising our voice, and working with like-minded partners, we have used the Council platform to shine a light on Beijing's ongoing genocide and crimes against humanity in Xinjiang and human rights abuses in

Tibet and Hong Kong. If confirmed, I will be tireless in my efforts to sustain focus on the PRC's human rights conduct and the hypocrisy of its presence on the Council.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO MICHÈLE TAYLOR BY SENATOR TODD YOUNG

Question. The Biden administration itself acknowledged that the Human Rights Council needs reforms to its agenda, membership, and focus when it chose to rejoin the council earlier this year. If confirmed, what specific reforms will you push for at the Human Rights Council?

Answer. The United States is committed to seeking reforms of the U.N. Human Rights Council, particularly with respect to the Council's disproportionate focus on Israel. When the U.S. has had a seat at the table, we have been able to advocate on Israel's behalf, and have seen changes like a reduction in the number of resolutions targeting Israel. If confirmed, I will prioritize working closely with U.S. friends and allies, as well as non-traditional partners, to address the Council's problematic anti-Israel bias and will engage regularly with the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights to make clear U.S. opposition to problematic anti-Israel mandates.

When the United States plays an active and constructive role on the Council, we have been able to engage with our allies and partners to keep off some of the countries with the worst human rights records and to encourage and support countries with better records to run for seats. More broadly, if confirmed, I will work closely with U.S. friends and allies to push back on the People's Republic of China's efforts to erode respect for human rights in favor of its authoritarian aims and will work to expand space for civil society engagement in the Council's work, something the PRC has worked to restrict in recent years.

Question. If confirmed, how will you fight anti-Israel bias at the U.N. Human Rights Council?

Answer. If confirmed, I will prioritize working closely with U.S. friends and allies, as well as non-traditional partners, to address the Council's problematic anti-Israel bias and will engage regularly with the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights to make clear U.S. opposition to problematic anti-Israel mandates. If confirmed, I will work tirelessly to:

- reduce the overall number of Israel-related resolutions at the Council;
- continue recent progress in minimizing the items considered under Agenda Item 7 by shifting consideration of Israel into other agenda items where they will be treated as every other nation;
- make clear U.S. opposition to all anti-Israel mandates and aim to reduce the impact of such mandates; and
- bolster the number of countries aligned with U.S. views on the need to permanently tackle the Council's bias against Israel.

Question. Following the launching of thousands of rockets at Israel from Gaza this May, the Human Rights Council took the step of establishing a permanent commission of inquiry to investigate Israel, the only such permanent agenda item of the council. What are your thoughts on the commission? Should the U.S. cooperate with commission?

Answer. The United States strongly opposed the special session of the U.N. Human Rights Council following the conflict in Gaza in May, 2021. The session exemplifies the Council's disproportionate focus on Israel. The establishment of an open-ended Commission of Inquiry distracts from the diplomatic work necessary to provide greater dignity, freedom, and prosperity for Israelis and Palestinians. It also reminds us of what can happen when American leadership at the Council is absent and underscores the importance of our recent election and the need for a Senate-confirmed Ambassador in this crucial position.

If confirmed, I will work closely with Israel and likeminded partners to influence the scope and timeline of this Commission as part of broader efforts to ensure Israel is treated fairly by the Human Rights Council, in line with other U.N. member states. If confirmed, I will also engage regularly with the High Commissioner for Human Rights to make clear U.S. opposition to the Commission.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
 SUBMITTED TO MICHÈLE TAYLOR BY SENATOR TED CRUZ

Question. The U.N. Human Rights Council (UNHRC) has been subject to bipartisan criticism for endemic anti-Israel bias. It has in recent years taken a leading role in promoting economic measures against Israeli Jews and in territories where Israeli Jews live. The Human Rights Council has published a blacklist of companies doing business in the West Bank and East Jerusalem—including American companies. The move puts these companies at severe reputational and potentially even legal risks, pursuant to American statutes prohibiting participation in such boycott efforts.

- What specific changes should the UNHRC pursue to mitigate its anti-Israel bias?

Answer. The United States is committed to seeking reforms of the U.N. Human Rights Council, particularly with respect to the Council's disproportionate focus on Israel. When the U.S. has had a seat at the table, we have been able to advocate on Israel's behalf, and have seen changes such as a reduction in the number of resolutions targeting Israel.

If confirmed, I will prioritize working closely with U.S. friends and allies, as well as non-traditional partners, to address the Council's problematic anti-Israel bias and will engage regularly with the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights to make clear U.S. opposition to problematic anti-Israel mandates. I will work tirelessly to:

- reduce the overall number of Israel-related resolutions at the Council;
- continue recent progress in minimizing the items considered under Agenda Item 7 by shifting consideration of Israel into other agenda items where they will be treated as every other nation;
- make clear U.S. opposition to problematic anti-Israel mandates and aim to reduce the impact of such mandates; and
- bolster the number of countries aligned with U.S. views on the need to permanently tackle the Council's bias against Israel.

Question. How long do you assess it will take you, if confirmed, to secure these specific changes mitigating the UNHRC's anti-Israel bias?

Answer. I cannot offer a specific timeline. However, I can assure you that, if I am confirmed, the United States, and I personally, will work tirelessly to diminish anti-Israel bias on the Council.

Question. What specific steps do you intend to take to ensure that the Council retracts databases and other lists seeking to pressure companies into curtailing activities with Israel?

Answer. The United States opposed the creation of the database and release of the report, as mandated by the Human Rights Council in 2016, and continues to oppose any work to update it. The United States has not provided and has no intention to provide any information to OHCHR for the database. If confirmed, I will also encourage other countries not to provide any information for the database. The United States continues to engage with the High Commissioner in Geneva to make its views and opposition clear and to push for retraction of the database. It is also my understanding that the database has not been updated.

If confirmed, I will continue this effort.

Question. How long do you assess it will take you, if confirmed, to ensure that the Council retracts databases and other lists seeking to pressure companies into curtailing activities with Israel?

Answer. I cannot offer a specific timeline. However, I can assure you that, if I am confirmed, the United States, and I personally, will continue to engage regularly with the High Commissioner in Geneva to urge the retraction of this database and push to ensure that the database is not updated.

Question. What specific steps do you intend to take to ensure that the Council removes Israel as a permanent agenda item?

Answer. As noted above, if confirmed I will prioritize working closely with U.S. friends and allies, as well as non-traditional partners, to address the Council's problematic anti-Israel bias and will engage regularly with the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights to make clear U.S. opposition to problematic anti-Israel mandates. In particular, I will work to:

- reduce the overall number of Israel-related resolutions at the Council;

- continue recent progress in moving consideration of Israel out of Agenda Item 7 and into the regular Council agenda with all other U.N. member states, thus rendering Item 7 unnecessary and underscoring its illegitimate intent; and
- make clear U.S. opposition to all anti-Israel mandates and aim to reduce the impact of such mandates.

Question. How long do you assess it will take you, if confirmed, to ensure that the Council removes Israel as a permanent agenda item?

Answer. I cannot offer a specific timeline. However, I can assure you that, if I am confirmed, I will be unrelenting in this effort.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO MICHÈLE TAYLOR BY SENATOR BILL HAGERTY

Question. In May 2021, the U.N. Human Rights Council (UNHRC) moved to create the permanent Commission on Inquiry (COI) on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Unlike prior UNHRC commissions that examined specific Israeli-Palestinian clashes in the West Bank and Gaza, this COI is set to exist in perpetuity, is mandated to search for violations in pre-1967 Israel as well as in the disputed territories, and appears to be designed to reach the false conclusion that Israel is committing apartheid.

Moreover, the UNHRC announced the appointment of Navi Pillay as chair of the COI. While serving as U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights from 2008 to 2014, Pillay repeatedly and caustically accused Israel of committing war crimes, and declared that “the Israeli Government treats international law with perpetual disdain.” Indeed, in May 2012, House Foreign Affairs Committee Chair Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (R-FL) and Congressman Eliot Engel (D-NY) opposed Pillay’s extension as U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights, saying Pillay had “repeatedly demonstrated bias against the State of Israel.”

In December 2021, the United States voted at the U.N. General Assembly’s Fifth Committee to support an Israel-authored amendment to defund the COI.

- Ms. Taylor, do you agree that it was outrageous and counterproductive for the U.N. Human Rights Council to create the Commission on Inquiry (COI) in May 2021, and that the United States therefore should do everything in its power to work with Israel and other like-minded nations to deny funding and staff to the COI and ultimately to disestablish the COI?

Answer. I agree that it was counterproductive for the U.N. Human Rights Council to create the Commission of Inquiry (COI), and I understand that the United States strongly opposed the special session of the U.N. Human Rights Council following the conflict in Gaza in May 2021. The session exemplifies the Council’s disproportionate focus on Israel. The establishment of an open-ended COI distracts from the diplomatic work necessary to provide greater dignity, freedom, and prosperity for Israelis and Palestinians. It is also a demonstration of the risks of absenting American leadership at the Council and underscores the importance of our recent election to it.

If confirmed, I will work closely with Israel and likeminded partners to influence the scope and timeline of this Commission as part of broader efforts to ensure Israel is treated fairly by the Human Rights Council, in line with the treatment of other U.N. member states. If confirmed, I will also engage regularly with the High Commissioner for Human Rights to make clear U.S. opposition to the Commission.

Question. If confirmed to serve as United States Representative to the U.N. Human Rights Council, do you commit to make the denial of funding and staff to the COI and the ultimate disestablishment of the COI at top priority?

Answer. During the Fifth Committee budget negotiations that concluded in December 2021, the United States successfully pushed for a reduction of resources for the COI, including a 25 percent reduction in the number of associated positions. While the mandate for the COI is open-ended, funding and staffing levels for human rights mandates must be approved on an annual basis. If confirmed, I look forward to working with Israel and other partners to decrease the scope and timeline of this Commission and address the COI’s unprecedented open-ended mandate in Geneva. If confirmed, I will also engage regularly with the High Commissioner for Human Rights to make clear U.S. opposition to the Commission.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO ALICE ALBRIGHT BY SENATOR ROBERT MENENDEZ

Joint Development/Strategic Mandate

Question. Development finance is an important tool to realize U.S. foreign policy objectives and can be especially effective in countering malign influence of China and other adversary nations. Most developing countries would prefer to work with the U.S. and our private sector partners, as opposed to the PRC's predatory development financial institutions.

- How will you work to balance development and strategic outcomes through MCC's investments?

Answer. The role China plays around the world is a top concern of mine.

MCC's grant-based programs are designed to be cost-effective investments shaped by evidence-based analysis to ensure measurable returns on investment. The MCC model encourages country partners to double down on good governance, democratic consolidation, and anti-corruption efforts as a pre-requisite to investments.

Country selectivity, evidence-based decision-making, and transparency are elements of a "best practice" development approach that enable sustainable results and stand in contrast to approaches taken by other development actors, including China. If confirmed, I would continue this approach at MCC, and I would welcome continued engagement with you and your staff on this issue.

COVID-19 Recovery

Question. The USAID OIG found that the impacts of COVID-19 will reduce the number of MCC eligible countries by 3 (to 81 total). MCC has reported that "efforts are underway to account for the impact of COVID-19 on targeted outcomes of MCC's programs."

- Can you please discuss the status of these efforts?

Answer. I am committed to addressing the ongoing challenges created by the pandemic while ensuring that MCC's programs and policies continue to be the best fit for the evolving moment we find ourselves in. A component of that is making sure that MCC's programs in implementation, many of which, it's my understanding, face unprecedented delays due to public health restrictions and other impacts of the pandemic, exercise the appropriate time extension to successfully complete the intended work and secure the intended benefits to reduce poverty through growth.

Threshold Oversight

Question. A September OIG report found that MCC lacked a process for assessing progress of the overall Threshold Program. As such, MCC cannot fully measure the effectiveness of the Program or determine how it contributed to assessing candidates for future MCC compacts.

- How is MCC fixing this to ensure the benefits of the Threshold Program are being maximized and that the program is working as intended?

Answer. I can firmly assure you that I am committed to the success of the Threshold Program and will look for ways to maximize the value of this program if I am confirmed. I am also very supportive of the principal of measuring program effectiveness, and while I am not yet aware of the specific responses that management will consider in response to the audit's recommendations, I am confident that MCC staff are also firmly committed to rigorous measurement and to program effectiveness. I look forward to working with you given our shared commitment.

Renewable Energy Storage

Question. The USG development community has made several announcements to bolster renewable energy development abroad, including MCC's Burkina Faso Compact II consisting of The Strengthening Electricity Sector Effectiveness Project, the Cost-Effective and Reliable Electricity Supply Project, and the Grid Development and Access Project. Energy storage is essential to ensure consistent renewable energy output.

- How do you think MCC can be utilized to facilitate energy storage projects like the MCC Burkina Faso Compact II project?

Answer. MCC works alongside partner countries to examine needs across the energy sector, build country capacity, and make needed reforms. MCC works with country partners to develop energy infrastructure that is consistent with master plans and that is supported by the right policy and institutional environment to be economically sustainable and attractive for private sector investment. The agency

also leverages private sector financing and expertise by developing and structuring opportunities to crowd in investors, often in collaboration with other donors.

If confirmed, I will look to continue to follow MCC's evidence-based model to advance the agency's investment portfolio, consistent with their core principles of country ownership and data-driven analysis.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO ALICE ALBRIGHT BY SENATOR JAMES E. RISCH

Millennium Challenge Corporation Model

Question. Since its creation by Congress in 2004, the Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC) has set a global standard for effective foreign assistance and, in the process, has distinguished itself from other U.S. foreign assistance agencies and efforts. For example, MCC is distinctly different from USAID in many respects, not the least of which includes its statutory mission to reduce poverty through economic growth, as well as its commitment to transparency, selectivity, and accountability for results. If confirmed, will you commit to upholding the following foundational principles of MCC, as enshrined by statute:

- That the MCC remains unconstrained by administration initiatives, directives, and earmarks;

Answer. If confirmed, I look forward to working with MCC staff, Congress, and the administration to leverage MCC's focus on good governance and accountability, as well as the agency's approach to country ownership and institutional capacity building, to further the MCC's goal to reduce global poverty and create a more stable, secure world with more opportunities for inclusive economic growth.

- That the agency partners with countries selected through a transparent and competitive process on the basis of their measurable commitment to democratic governance, investing in people, and economic freedom?

Answer. Yes

- That the agency invests in country-led efforts to address binding constraints to growth, as identified through a rigorous economic constraints analysis?

Answer. Yes

Question. If confirmed, will you commit to remaining politically agnostic through compact development and to allowing the data to guide investment?

Answer. Yes

Question. How will you balance your own personal views on education as the foundation of development against this long-standing principle?

Answer. If confirmed, I will continue MCC's singular focus on reducing poverty through economic growth, using rigorous data and a country-driven approach, to identify a country's binding constraints to economic growth.

Question. How does MCC's recently announced, self-imposed, carbon cap impact its ability to remain politically agnostic while assessing the key constraints to economic growth in a partner country and subsequently designing compacts?

Answer. MCC's recently announced commitment on climate does not establish a carbon cap, but rather, commits the agency to strengthening how it takes climate change into account in its programs consistent with its model, its focus on key constraints to economic growth, and its mission of poverty reduction. MCC's partner countries exercise program ownership, with partner governments taking the lead in setting priorities for MCC investments in close consultation with citizens and civil society organizations. It's my understanding that countries MCC works with have their own economic and climate-related goals and challenges and work with MCC to develop and implement sustainable projects across a range of sectors in order to drive economic prosperity.

If confirmed, I will ensure that MCC continues to follow its model and that any climate-related investments MCC makes will continue to adhere to this core principle of country ownership.

Question. A shrinking pool of eligible partner countries has led some to suggest that MCC should alter its selection criteria. This includes proposals to alter the income categories for eligible partner countries, allow for investments in impoverished cities or regions within otherwise wealthy countries, add or eliminate certain third party indicators used on MCC scorecards, alter or eliminate the eligibility "hard

hurdle” for corruption, and/or allow for three or more additional compacts with previous partners.

- If confirmed, what measures would you recommend to ensure that MCC maintains a credible pool of eligible partner countries while still upholding its foundational principles?

Answer. This is something I will certainly plan to review if confirmed. The global poverty picture and our understanding of the nature of development need is changing, and I want to ensure that MCC’s systems are still the right ones 17 years after MCC was created.

Should changes be necessary, if confirmed, I look forward to working with you and your staff to determine what, if any, potential legislation would be needed.

Question. Will you commit to working in good faith with Congress to address data lags, which may skew eligibility?

Answer. If confirmed, I would support MCC staff in ensuring that MCC’s analytical tools and products remain cutting edge and use the most up-to-date evidence and data possible. I would welcome continued engagement with you on these issues.

Question. Will you also commit to continuously working to identify the most reliable indicators of corruption?

Answer. Yes

Question. Will you also commit to continuously working to refine the manner in which MCC calculates economic rates of return?

Answer. If confirmed, I would support MCC staff to ensure the agency uses the most-up-to-date Economic Rate of Return calculations.

Question. If confirmed, will you commit to working in a bipartisan manner with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, including by providing timely, accurate, and complete information on the development, implementation, and impact of MCC-supported compacts and threshold programs, including with regard to financial commitments, obligations, and expenditures?

Answer. Yes

Waste, Fraud, and Abuse

Question. If confirmed, will you commit to upholding a zero tolerance policy for waste, fraud, and abuse in the programs under your purview?

Answer. Yes

Question. the sexual exploitation and abuse of the communities they are meant to serve?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I will uphold MCC’s Counter-Trafficking in Persons policy, which clearly states that the Agency has a zero-tolerance policy that applies to both MCAs and contractors.

Question. If confirmed, will you commit to ensuring full and complete compliance with current law, which prohibits the use of U.S. foreign assistance to perform or promote abortion as a method of family planning, support involuntary sterilizations, or lobby for or against the legalization of abortion overseas?

Answer. If confirmed, I will comply with current law, including the “Prohibition on use of funds for Abortions and involuntary Sterilizations” in the Millennium Challenge Act of 2003.

Climate and Energy Poverty

Question. Understanding that a lack of access to reliable and affordable energy is a key constraint to growth for roughly two-thirds of the population of sub-Saharan Africa, MCC has invested \$2.5 billion in projects that reduce energy poverty and advance the objectives of the Power Africa initiative. When the Power Africa Initiative was authorized by Congress in 2016, it was with the explicit intent that the each of the contributing agencies, including MCC, would pursue an “all of the above strategy” to reduce energy poverty. Since that time, multiple African countries have told the Committee that they need natural gas to reduce poverty while making the transition to cleaner energy sources. Yet, thus far, the Biden administration has signaled that natural gas cooperation with developing countries will not be a priority area, and MCC’s self-imposed carbon cap may prevent it from involvement in future natural gas projects.

- Do you believe in the “all of the above” approach to reducing energy poverty? If not, why not?

Answer. It's my understanding that, other than MCC's publicly stated "coal-free policy," the agency would consider supporting an energy project consistent with their core principles of country ownership and data-driven analysis.

If confirmed, I will look to continue to follow MCC's evidence-based model to advance the agency's investment portfolio.

Question. Do you believe that climate is the most important issue facing the United States?

Answer. No.

I believe that climate change is one of several pressing issues currently confronting the United States.

Question. Do you believe that MCC should primarily be funding climate-related projects?

Answer. MCC should prioritize projects that adhere to its singular focus on reducing poverty through economic growth, using rigorous data and its country-driven approach, to identify a country's binding constraints to economic growth.

Question. If confirmed, will you commit to ensuring that MCC is not used as a tool to advance climate change initiatives at the expense of its mandate to reduce poverty through economic growth?

Answer. If confirmed, I will look to continue to follow MCC's evidence-based model to advance the agency's investment portfolio, consistent with their core principles of country ownership and data-driven analysis.

Question. Former Secretary Kerry has said that climate change is a "standalone issue" in U.S.-China relations. But he subsequently said that "life is full of tough choices in the relationship between nations" and that our priority "first and foremost" must be to save this planet. He made these comments in response to an interview question between trade-offs related to climate and human rights. Since then, he has stated that human rights issues in China are "not in his lane."

- What are your views on these comments?

Answer. Human rights should not be compromised. If confirmed, I look forward to working with you and your staff while at MCC on this issue.

Question. What would your approach be if you were faced with a project related to climate but could cause human rights concerns?

Answer. Again, human rights should not be compromised, and MCC's policies and procedures reflect this.

Question. The Secretary of State is responsible for the conduct of foreign policy and exercises authority over the provision of U.S. foreign assistance, including by virtue of his seat on the Board of the MCC.

- What degree of influence, if any, should Special Presidential Envoy for Climate John Kerry exercise over the MCC and the countries and projects it selects for support?

Answer. MCC's corporate governance is established in the Millennium Challenge Act of 2003 and implemented through the Board-adopted bylaws. The MCC Board is comprised of both public sector and private sector members, with bipartisan representation. The Secretary of State or his designee is the Chair of MCC's Board of Directors. If confirmed, I will direct MCC to follow the governance structure and parameters enumerated in the Millennium Challenge Act of 2003.

Question. Do you believe it would be appropriate for Special Envoy Kerry to exercise that influence directly, or via the Secretary of State (by virtue of his position on the Board of the MCC)?

Answer. MCC's corporate governance is established in the Millennium Challenge Act of 2003. If confirmed, I will direct MCC to follow the governance structure and parameters enumerated in that Act.

Supply Chains

Question. Do you believe that the MCC should support projects that source solar panels from China, despite the knowledge we have about forced labor in China's solar technology supply chains?

Answer. I understand that MCC's policies and contract documents include provisions that prohibit forced labor, including within supply chains—and MCC's due diligence and oversight approaches support compliance with these provisions.

If confirmed, I would continue this policy and would welcome continued engagement with you on these issues.

Question. If confirmed, will you commit to ensuring that MCC-supported supply chains do not touch forced labor in any way, shape, or form?

Answer. If confirmed, I will follow MCC's policies and contract documents, which include provisions that prohibit forced labor, including within supply chains.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO ALICE ALBRIGHT BY SENATOR MARCO RUBIO

Question. With few exceptions, the Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC) can only provide funding to projects in low and lower-middle income countries. While I appreciate that this is to ensure that American taxpayer's money goes to countries most in need, I believe this restriction needlessly disadvantages the United States in competing with the Chinese Communist Party's malign Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). While MCC has relatively little flexibility in choosing its funding recipients, the BRI has free rein to trap any country in a pernicious cycle of predatory loans and defaults that builds projects that do more to benefit the Chinese Communist Party and its armed wing, the People's Liberation Army, than they do the countries in question.

- Are you in favor of loosening the national income restriction so that MCC is better positioned to provide nations in Asia, Latin America, and Africa with an alternative source of investment to the Belt and Road Initiative?

Answer. This is something I will certainly plan to review if confirmed. The global poverty picture is changing, and I want to ensure that MCC's systems are still the right ones 17 years after MCC was created.

Should changes be necessary, if confirmed, I look forward to working with you and your staff to determine what, if any, potential legislation would be needed.

Question. If confirmed, would you recommend that MCC provide funding for projects in upper- middle-income countries in Latin America and Asia that are currently the targets of significant CCP investment, such as Panama, Chile, or Malaysia?

Answer. If confirmed, I will certainly review MCC's income category restrictions. I am committed to constructive engagement in these regions. Should changes be necessary, I look forward to working with you and your staff to determine what, if any, potential legislation would be needed.

Question. Country management of MCC compacts is intended to bolster partner governments' capacity, but shifting management to the partner government may diminish U.S. control over implementation. MCC has proven willing to rescind funding over its disapproval of countries' implementation. The Government of Ghana, for example, recently terminated a private sector concession for power distribution, drawing criticism for breach of contract and leading MCC to terminate \$190 million of its compact with Ghana.

- If confirmed, what steps would you take to ensure that partner governments maintain U.S.-funded investments, particularly infrastructure, after a compact is completed?

Answer. MCC's model rests on country ownership, including the transfer of knowledge and processes through which a successful project is run. Much of this is instituted through the country "Accountable Entities"—referred to as MCAs. If confirmed, I would ensure MCC continues working with host governments to reinforce the importance of their ongoing commitment to maintaining US-funded infrastructure and preserving the MCA best practices beyond the life of the compact, and that partner countries continue the oversight, management, funding, and monitoring and evaluation of MCC projects post close-out date. I would also maintain a clear and consistent message to countries that to be considered for subsequent MCC programs, the MCC Board requires countries to maintain prior MCC program investments. I understand that this has been a significant incentive for countries in the past.

Question. Is it important to contract locally for project implementation to ensure a sustaining presence after compact conclusion, or should U.S. dollars from MCC go to U.S. firms instead?

Answer. MCC's commitment to country ownership—one of its founding principles—means that countries are full partners in developing the agency's time-limited investment programs and take the lead in program implementation, including the acquisition of program related products and services. Program procurements, grants,

and public-private partnerships are solicited, awarded, and administered by partner country accountable entities—or Millennium Challenge Accounts, also known as MCAs. Procurements comply with MCC’s Program Procurement Guidelines, which are based on international procurement standards. MCC oversees these procurement processes to ensure that contracts are open, transparent, free of corruption, and provide best value to American taxpayers. All contracts awarded by MCC partner countries are based on fair and open international competition, which creates a level playing field where companies, including U.S. companies and small businesses, can compete and win.

Question. To what extent does MCC’s mission to promote market-led governance conflict with the necessity of respecting governments’ right to set their own policies? If confirmed, how would you balance these two principles?

Answer. MCC was founded on the idea that its grant resources are most effective in those countries with sound policy environments as defined in its founding statute. I understand that private sector companies also view a country’s performance on the MCC scorecard, and the presence of MCC in a country, as significant signals that a country is open for business. MCC is a voluntary program and country governments always have the right to follow the development path they deem best. My responsibility, if confirmed, will be to the most efficient and effective use of U.S. taxpayer resources. I strongly believe that MCC’s current balancing of the important considerations you raise is the right one within that context.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO ALICE ALBRIGHT BY SENATOR TODD YOUNG

Question. How would you compare and contrast MCC Compacts with China’s Belt and Road Initiative?

Answer. MCC competes with its model, not the dollar amount. The agency’s high-quality assistance responds to countries’ real poverty needs by providing grants to address specific “binding constraints” to economic growth, which frequently include critical infrastructure needs. MCC’s programs are designed to be cost-effective investments shaped by evidence-based analysis to ensure measurable returns on investment.

The MCC model encourages country partners to double down on good governance, democratic rights, and anti-corruption efforts as pre-requisites to undertaking externally financed infrastructure investments. MCC’s country selectivity, evidence-based decision-making, and transparency are elements of a “best practice” development approach—a model often cited as a “gold standard” in development—that enables sustainable results without adding to a country’s debt burden, in contrast to approaches taken by China.

Question. What is your sense about the transparency and efficacy of MCC grants compared with the BRI?

Answer. MCC has been at the forefront of promoting transparency in international development. MCC was the highest ranked bilateral donor in the world in the 2020 Aid Transparency Index, the only independent measure of aid transparency among the world’s major development agencies. The agency also received the highest score of all federal agencies in Results for America’s 2021 Invest in What Works Federal Standard of Excellence, which showcases how agencies use data and evidence to drive decision-making and improve lives. MCC works transparently with its country partners to identify programs that are broadly recognized as critical for genuine and lasting economic development by people in our countries.

For MCC, collecting and publishing data on all its investments allows it to track progress toward targets and course-correct if needed. Moreover, relying on data to deliver and produce results ensures that the American people are getting a good return on their investment.

MCC employs technically rigorous, systematic, and transparent methods of projecting, tracking, and evaluating the impacts of its programs. While I am not currently in a position to comment directly on BRI, if confirmed, I look forward to working with MCC staff to continue the agency’s success on transparency.

Question. China has been actively fighting against Nepal’s MCC compact, including reports that Chinese intelligence officials have been actively spreading misinformation about the MCC process in Nepal. If confirmed, how would you work with Nepalese officials to ratify the MCC compact and move forward with our partnership there?

Answer. Since compact signing in September 2017, the Government of Nepal has been working towards entry-into-force, which requires satisfaction of certain conditions precedent, including that the Compact be ratified by a majority vote in Parliament. It's my understanding that Nepal has made significant progress in meeting the conditions precedent on multiple fronts, but has yet to ratify the compact despite political commitments by the Government of Nepal to do so.

In addition, the effort of ratification has been complicated by impacts of COVID-19, political instability, and a targeted mis- and disinformation campaign by detractors of the compact, including from some of its neighbors according to press reports.

With these developments, it's my understanding that MCC is conveying to the Government that prompt ratification is essential, and MCC is closely monitoring developments.

If confirmed, addressing misinformation and disinformation about MCC's work and working with the partners across the U.S. Government and the Government of Nepal to advance ratification will be one of my top priorities. I look forward to working with you and the committee on this matter.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO HON. JOSEPH DONNELLY BY SENATOR ROBERT MENENDEZ

Question. The Holy See and the United States share a commitment to religious freedom and to prioritizing diplomatic engagement with religious communities as a matter of routine diplomacy. Please describe how you will work with the Holy See to further U.S. religious freedom goals and to ensure that religious actor engagement remains a central feature of U.S. diplomacy.

Answer. Religious freedom is a key fixture of the U.S.-Holy See relationship. When President Biden met Pope Francis at the Vatican on October 29, the two leaders reaffirmed their shared commitment to defending freedom of religion or belief around the world. The Catholic Church plays an important role in the civil life of many countries where human rights and religious freedom are under threat. If confirmed, I will represent the policies of the President, including on promoting religious freedom. I will continue to engage with the Holy See on advocacy and policy coordination in countries where religious freedom is under threat and encourage the Holy See to hold those governments to account.

Question. Pope Francis' recent joint statement on climate with the Archbishop of Canterbury and His All Holiness Bartholomew was deeply inspiring. His meeting with Grand Ayatollah Sistani in Iraq sent a positive message to millions of Muslims around the world. How will you encourage further interfaith efforts and dialogues on important issues, including responses to humanitarian disasters?

Answer. The Vatican plays a vital role in creating interfaith dialogues and has made strides in recent years through meetings between faith leaders and the Holy See's Pontifical Councils which promote dialogue with people of other faiths and Christian denominations. If confirmed, I will continue to encourage these efforts and, as the United States is the world's largest provider of humanitarian aid, I will work with the Holy See to promote collaboration with Catholic humanitarian organizations in the wake of natural disasters and crises.

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. If confirmed, there is nothing I take more seriously than the health and security of the people who will be working with me. AHIs have been a top priority for Secretary Blinken, who set clear goals for the Health Incident Response Task Force to strengthen the Department's communication with our workforce, provide care for affected employees and family members, and better protect against these events in the future as we continue to work closely with the interagency to find the cause of these AHIs.

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. Yes. If confirmed, I will do everything possible to ensure that employees who report a possible AHI receive immediate and appropriate attention and care and the incident is reported through appropriate channels.

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. Yes. Again, if confirmed, there is nothing I will take more seriously than the health and security of the people who will be working with me.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO HON. JOSEPH DONNELLY BY SENATOR JAMES E. RISCH

State Department Management

Question. U.S. Missions across the globe have been under enormous strain over the past few years due to COVID.

- What is your understanding of morale throughout the Mission to the Holy See?

Answer. Morale at Embassy Vatican remains generally high despite a challenging two years of living in a pandemic. While Italy was hit very hard in the early days of COVID-19, it now has one of the highest vaccination rates in the world and most daily activities have resumed. If confirmed, I am committed to working closely with the Deputy Chief of Mission to address any morale issues that may arise.

Question. How do you intend to improve morale across the Mission to the Holy See?

Answer. I believe that improving morale in any community requires creating an environment of open, frank communication. I realize that living overseas, even in a wonderful city like Rome, presents challenges for employees and their families. If confirmed, I would work with members of the community to ensure each person feels heard and valued, and that their concerns are addressed. I would use the excellent community liaison office to give everyone in the community a voice.

Question. How do you intend to create a unified mission and vision across the Mission to the Holy See?

Answer. Our mission to the Holy See benefits from being part of a tri-mission community. By combining management and support functions with the other missions, Embassy Vatican can focus on policy. If confirmed, I would work with the leadership of all three missions to increase the feeling of working towards a common goal, both in and out of the office. I would be an advocate for the needs of Embassy Vatican within this community without forgetting all three missions have the same purpose: to advance U.S. foreign policy.

Management is a Key Responsibility for Chiefs of Mission

Question. How would you describe your management style?

Answer. I believe that communication is the key to successful management. I understand that there are differing, sometimes conflicting, opinions on most topics, and I want to hear those differing opinions. I ask those who work for me to be honest and to let me know when they disagree or see a problem with my thinking. I promote a work environment where everyone is respected and feels empowered to do their best work.

Question. If confirmed, how do you believe your management style will translate to an Embassy setting, where resources may not be readily available and your diplomatic workforce consists of career employees?

Answer. To me, a workforce of career employees is an asset, not a liability. These are women and men who have spent years working on U.S. diplomacy, and if confirmed, I would work closely with the career employees to advance our nation's interests. I understand that working overseas can be challenging, and that we may have to make tough decisions about how to use resources. If confirmed, I would prioritize the health and safety of my employees, both direct-hire and local staff. I would work with the Deputy Chief of Mission to ensure that the needs and concerns of career staff are being met as we represent the United States to the Vatican.

Question. As a political appointee rather than career diplomat, do you believe it is incumbent upon new chiefs of mission to integrate themselves into Embassy operations and culture? If yes, how do you intend to do so?

Answer. Yes, I believe that a new chief of mission should integrate themselves into Embassy operations and culture. If confirmed, I would work closely with my Deputy Chief of Mission to ensure a smooth transition. I would prioritize meeting the members of Mission Vatican and learning the culture and the processes in place.

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

Answer. I have a policy of zero tolerance for workplace bullying or harassment. It is never acceptable to berate subordinates, and if confirmed, I would not accept that behavior at Mission Vatican.

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

Answer. If confirmed, I would work closely with the Deputy Chief of Mission to advance U.S. foreign policy priorities and to ensure the safety and health of our community.

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

Answer. If confirmed, I would consult closely with the Deputy Chief of Mission about the Embassy's priorities and needs and would create a strategic plan about how best to address them.

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 everyday citizens.

- If confirmed, will you encourage the Mission to the Holy See diplomats to engage in-person with the people outside of U.S. embassies and consulates?

Answer. Yes, I would promote an atmosphere of engagement with interlocutors outside of the U.S. community. I believe that in-person interactions are the foundation of diplomatic work and would encourage high levels of involvement outside the mission.

Public Diplomacy is an Important Aspect of U.S. Foreign Policy Efforts

Question. What is the public diplomacy environment like in the Holy See? What public diplomacy challenges do U.S. diplomats face?

Answer. In general, the U.S. Embassy to the Holy See enjoys a close and cooperative relationship with Rome-based correspondents of mainstream and religious outlets, and the Vatican's own media outlets. Embassy Vatican can collaborate with print, TV, and radio to draw attention to issues of U.S. and Vatican concern, such as religious freedom, trafficking in persons, improvements in health care, and climate change, as well as message widely via social media to a large audience of people around the globe who follow Vatican affairs.

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. Missions overseas and Main State work together to craft a shared public diplomacy vision, as well as a comprehensive strategy, to effectively reach, educate, and influence key audiences with our policy messages and public diplomacy initiatives. Once Main State and Embassy Vatican develop the overarching policy direction, post builds in the in-country knowledge and expertise, and the strategy and tactical skills, that will advance policy goals in the local context with foreign audiences. Teamwork and clear communications between Main State and Post public affairs teams are critical for our success in developing effective messaging and influencing audiences.

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.

- If confirmed, do you commit to taking this threat seriously?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, there is nothing I will take more seriously than the health and security of the people who will be working with me. AHIs have been a top priority for Secretary Blinken, who set clear goals for the Health Incident Re-

sponse Task Force to strengthen the Department's communication with our workforce, provide care for affected employees and family members, and better protect against these events in the future as we continue to work closely with the inter-agency to find the cause of these AHIs.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to talking as openly as you can to personnel at the mission to the Holy See?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I will share what information I can within the bounds of privacy and security concerns with my team at the Mission to the Holy See.

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. I have received an unclassified briefing on anomalous health incidents. If confirmed, I commit to receiving additional, classified briefings on the incidents.

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 will maintain detailed records of the incident and share it with the State Department and others to contribute to the investigation.

Question. 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. 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 will take every measure to keep our staff safe and secure and would take any report of an anomalous health incident very seriously. I will do my best to ensure those affected receive the attention they deserve, that incidents are investigated fully, and that we work with the appropriate offices and agencies to ensure required reporting, investigation, potential countermeasures, and provision of medical care. I would share what information I can within the bounds of privacy and security concerns with my team and the mission community.

Human Rights and International Organizations

Question. The Vatican recently extended the Sino-Vatican agreement with the Chinese Government that establishes a process for appointing bishops in China. Under the Agreement, bishops in China are in communion with Rome but also approved by the Chinese Government. The details of this agreement have never been made public. Despite the agreement, Catholic bishops not affiliated with the Chinese Catholic Patriotic Association continue to face persecution. Will you and whomever is confirmed as Ambassador-at-Large For International Religious Freedom prioritize religious freedom issues in China in your diplomatic engagements with Vatican officials?

Answer. The Holy See has a long history of promoting religious freedom, including through advocacy and interfaith dialogue. If confirmed, I look forward to working closely with the Vatican on this issue. I would encourage the Holy See to speak out publicly against the PRC's human rights violations and abuses, including the ongoing genocide and crimes against humanity against Uyghurs, who are predominantly Muslim, and members of other ethnic and religious minority groups. I would also encourage the Holy See to hold the PRC Government accountable to the terms of the provisional agreement and make the terms of the agreement public to promote accountability for the PRC for its commitments.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED TO OREN E. WHYCHE-SHAW BY SENATOR JAMES E. RISCH

Question. If confirmed, what will your priorities be as the U.S. Director of the African Development Bank?

Answer. If confirmed, my priority will be to exercise the United States voice and vote at the AfDB to promote high development standards; strong, sustainable development outcomes; improved accountability and transparency; and, high additionality in AfDB operations. These priorities will help strengthen the economic management and development outcomes of AfDB operations, which will also enhance U.S. development and national security objectives, create new markets for trade and ensure effective use of U.S. taxpayer dollars.

Question. If confirmed, how will you work to advance these priorities with the other members of the Bank?

Answer. While the United States is the largest non-regional shareholder (second largest overall) and can exercise considerable oversight over AfDB policies and operations, U.S. influence at the AfDB also depends on our ability to build coalitions with likeminded shareholders and work effectively with AfDB Management. I have demonstrated this ability to build coalitions and advance U.S. priorities in Africa throughout my career in both the public and private sector. If confirmed, I commit to exercising the United States' voice and vote to advance U.S. interests at the AfDB in close partnership with our allies, particularly those from the region.

Question. In your opinion, other than important and significant financial contributions as the largest non-African shareholder, what does the United States bring to the work of the African Development Bank?

Answer. The United States' focus on development outcomes, additionality, transparency and accountability, and strong environmental and social standards contributes to a more sustainable economic development model at the AfDB and better development outcomes for its regional member countries.

Question. How will you balance U.S. priorities with those of other non-African members, including China, Turkey, and Saudi Arabia?

Answer. The extent of U.S. influence at the AfDB depends on our ability to build coalitions with likeminded shareholders and draw on our experience as a long-standing, trusted partner of African countries and the AfDB and advocate for sustainable, inclusive development. If confirmed, I commit to exercising the United States' voice and vote to advance U.S. interests at the AfDB in partnership with our allies and partners to promote U.S. interests over those of other shareholders that may not have similar goals for the institution.

Question. As African economies face a tough post-COVID recovery, what should be the Bank's lending priorities vis-à-vis other multilateral regional development banks (MDBs)?

Answer. The AfDB should build on its infrastructure expertise to support preparedness through basic infrastructure investments and capacity-building around sustainable infrastructure investment. If confirmed, I will use the United States' voice and vote to target the Bank's resources to critical needs and promote equitable economic opportunity as countries continue to cope with impacts of the pandemic.

Question. What should set AfDB apart from other MDBs in this regard?

Answer. The AfDB's regional and infrastructure expertise, including in fragile and conflict-affected situations, sets it apart from other MDBs and development partners operating in Africa. If confirmed, I commit to encouraging coordination between the AfDB and other responsible development partners to avoid redundancies in the support provided to African countries.

Question. U.S. companies receive a very small share of AfDB procurement—just under 0.5 percent in 2020. Meanwhile, China firms accounted for 37.53 percent of procurement by the Bank.

- Do you believe that this disparity between China and the U.S. regarding procurement should be of significant concern to the U.S.?

Answer. I fully share your concern of the need for a more level playing field at the AfDB. If confirmed, I commit to working with the AfDB and U.S. interagency to promote strong procurement and bidding standards and to strongly advocate for implementing procurement policies that focus on lifecycle costs and value-for-money rather than awards to the lowest bidder. I will also advocate for AfDB assistance to build public financial management capacity in African countries, including for public procurement, and strengthen governance and business enabling environments in African countries.

Question. What explains this miniscule amount of U.S. companies in AfDB procurement?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to working with the AfDB and U.S. interagency to identify barriers that may prevent U.S. companies from securing a greater share of AfDB-funded contracts. Steps to strengthen governance, transparency, and the business enabling environment throughout the continent are important for creating more attractive opportunities for U.S. companies.

Question. How can the United States Government, including through the position through which you are nominated, leverage better its companies to receive a larger share of AfDB's procurement?

Answer. I welcome greater participation by U.S. firms in AfDB operations. In my previous position in the AfDB's Private Sector department, I worked with the interagency to broaden communication with U.S. companies about AfDB procurement opportunities. If confirmed, I commit to undertaking efforts to strengthen procurement and bidding standards as well as increase transparency into AfDB operations, as well as measures to build public procurement capacity and strengthen governance and the business enabling environment in African countries, can enhance U.S. competitiveness in AfDB contracts. I will advocate for full implementation of procurement policies that focus on lifecycle costs and value-for-money rather than awards to the lowest bidder.

Question. If confirmed, as U.S. Director at the African Development Bank, how will you work with the Bank's largest shareholder Nigeria and Nigerian economist Dr. Adesina, who is currently serving as the president of the Bank, particularly to address issues of corruption, transparency, and sustainability in the Bank's investments?

Answer. Strong institutional governance is essential to maintaining a high standard development institution positioned to contribute to African capacity needs. I understand AfDB Governors will consider updates to the AfDB's policies related to institutional governance, ethics, and whistleblowing and clarify the governance framework. If confirmed, I will exercise the United States' voice and vote, in partnership with likeminded shareholders, to promote policies that strengthen institutional governance of the AfDB and its operations.

Question. In what ways may the United States incorporate AfDB into the strategy underpinning the Prosper Africa initiative in terms of the U.S. increasing two-way trade and investment with Africa?

Answer. By promoting high development standards, better accountability and transparency, strong development outcomes, and high additionality in AfDB operations, the United States can benefit from the AfDB's operations in the region as these efforts will create conditions for sustainable economic development that will also open new markets for trade.

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 on increased transatlantic cooperation, including in Africa, to counter Chinese malign influence more effectively.

- In what ways should the United States partner with important multilateral lending institutions like AfDB to build on likeminded interests in Africa and counter the malign influence of China?

Answer. In addition to being the largest regional source of official development assistance, the AfDB's focus on high development standards and outcomes make it an important institution in Africa's economic development. The United States should use its influence as the largest non-regional shareholder and one of the largest donors at the AfDB, in partnership with other likeminded shareholders, to advance a sustainable economic development model that incorporates transparency and strong governance to set high standards that should be met by all sources of financing.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO OREN E. WHYCHE-SHAW BY SENATOR MITT ROMNEY

Question. Critical minerals, like cobalt, lithium, and nickel, are essential for our national security and as components of clean energy technologies. Countries with ambitious climate reduction objectives cannot meet lofty goals for vehicle electrification and renewable energy buildouts without a robust supply of critical minerals. Yet, there is significant mineral concentration for production in only a few countries,

including the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), with a reported 70 percent of global cobalt production,¹ and China, with the most significant mineral processing. In recent years, China has expanded its footprint in the DRC and now owns all cobalt mining operations in the country, further exacerbating supply chain concentrations.²

China's predatory lending practices across the African continent are well documented, especially regarding resource-backed loans for resource-rich nations.³ Under the guise of local economic growth and development, opaque Chinese loan agreements often result in harmful and unsustainable debt obligations for host nations.

If confirmed as the next U.S. representative to the African Development Bank, how will you work with allies to ensure the Bank's investment policy supports a viable market and diverse supply chain for critical minerals?

Answer. I fully share your concern and, if confirmed, I will advocate that the AfDB, in helping countries achieve their development goals, assist in diversifying regional supply chains and open new markets for trade in critical minerals and other goods so that African countries have alternative trade and investment partners to China. I will also promote in partnership with likeminded shareholders strong procurement and bidding standards at the AfDB to encourage transparency and competitive bidding processes to support diverse markets and supply chains, including for critical minerals. In addition, I commit to exercising the United States' voice and vote, in partnership with likeminded shareholders, to advance sustainable economic development in AfDB operations and policies so that borrowing countries have access to more transparent and affordable financing options.

Question. How can the U.S. leverage its position as a non-regional member country in the African Development Bank to counter China's predatory development policies in the region?

Answer. While the United States is the largest non-regional shareholder (second largest overall) and can exercise considerable oversight over AfDB policies and operations, U.S. influence at the AfDB also depends on our ability to build coalitions with likeminded shareholders. If confirmed, I commit to exercising the United States' voice and vote to promote U.S. interests at the AfDB in close partnership with our allies to advance a sustainable economic model based on transparency and strong governance to set high standards that should be met by all sources of finance.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO OREN E. WHYCHE-SHAW BY SENATOR TODD YOUNG

Question. The African Development Bank reports that it has provided the largest crisis response in its history to the COVID-19 pandemic. Yet most of this support has been in the form of loans and comes at a time when many countries are seeking debt relief under the Common Framework. And, of course, this amount pales in comparison to the hundreds of billions most of these same countries owe China under obscure and non-transparent terms.

- How can we ensure that lending is sustainable and does not overly burden developing countries with additional debt they cannot pay off?

Answer. The objective of the AfDB is to spur sustainable economic development and social progress in its regional member countries, thus contributing to poverty reduction. If confirmed, I commit to exercising the United States' voice and vote to advance sustainable economic development in AfDB operations and policies to help African countries avoid overly burdensome debt that does not help them achieve their development goals. This translates to advocating for projects that improve public financial management, support medium term debt management strategies, and contribute to sustainable debt.

Question. What steps can the United States take to ensure that multilateral development bank assistance is not used to just pay off Chinese loans?

Answer. I fully share your concern about the increasing debt vulnerabilities many of the poorest countries face and the role of non-transparent creditors in worsening

¹ <https://www.iea.org/reports/the-role-of-critical-minerals-in-clean-energy-transitions/executive-summary>

² <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/21/world/us-china-energy.html>

³ <https://www.cnbc.com/2021/02/17/africas-reliance-on-chinese-loans-has-experts-concerned-about-more-debt-defaults.html>

those vulnerabilities. The African Development Bank can play an important role in assisting countries with building debt management capacity, promoting debt transparency through debt data collection and reporting, and supporting countries participating in debt relief initiatives, such as the G-20 Common Framework. If confirmed, I will also work with likeminded shareholders to exercise our collective voices and votes to ensure that AfDB assistance goes toward sustainable development outcomes rather than simply servicing debt payments.

Question. If confirmed, what would be your approaches to engaging with China on debt transparency standards?

Answer. As the second largest shareholder and largest non-regional shareholder, the United States can exercise considerable influence over AfDB policies and operations in partnership with likeminded shareholders. I understand the effort to engage with China on debt transparency is occurring in a variety of fora, including through the G-20. If confirmed, I commit to supporting those efforts and working with allies and partners to promote debt transparency. I will also encourage the AfDB to put in place policies to incentivize debt transparency and sustainability, emphasize building institutional capacity and strengthening public financial management in borrowing countries to help move countries toward sustainable economic development.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO ENOH T. EBONG BY SENATOR ROBERT MENENDEZ

Joint Development/Strategic Mandate

Question. Development finance is an important tool to realize U.S. foreign policy objectives and can be especially effective in countering malign influence of China and other adversary nations. Most developing countries would prefer to work with the U.S. and our private sector partners, as opposed to the PRC's predatory development financial institutions.

- How will you work to balance development and strategic outcomes through USTDA's investments?

Answer. USTDA has a unique dual mission that allows it to balance the development goals of its overseas partners with the strategic foreign policy goals of the U.S. Government. The agency was created to both a) provide foreign assistance for economic development through the promotion of quality infrastructure and b) support U.S. jobs through exports to the infrastructure projects that the agency develops.

Accordingly, overseas infrastructure project preparation is USTDA's mission and source of expertise. The agency's early-stage engagement is fundamental to American competitiveness and critical to the ability of the agency's overseas project sponsors to develop bankable infrastructure deals that can be financed, implemented, and sustained. Grant-funded project-specific feasibility studies and technical assistance are the key components of USTDA's toolkit, as are pilot projects that demonstrate the scalability and replicability of cutting-edge U.S. technologies in overseas settings. USTDA's commitment to partnership, shared priorities, and quality infrastructure solutions offers a stark alternative to China's predatory development approach and is attractive to the agency's overseas partners.

If confirmed, I will continue to ensure the successful execution of the agency's mandate to work with the U.S. private sector on priority infrastructure projects with potential for U.S. exports in sectors that have clear development impact. These include clean energy, more efficient transportation systems, greater connectivity, and better healthcare outcomes through strong, resilient, healthcare infrastructure. USTDA will continue to engage at the most critical and strategically important stage of the project development cycle when design choices and technology options are being defined and determined. If confirmed, I will ensure that the agency utilizes the U.S. private sector to develop how projects will be designed, financed, and implemented, which is not only critical for creating a level, fair playing field for U.S. companies, but also for developing high-quality infrastructure projects that lead to sustainable economic growth.

The success of USTDA's approach is evident in the fact that the agency has generated approximately \$117 in U.S. exports for every \$1 programmed over the most recent 10-year evaluation cycle. If confirmed, I will review each activity that is brought forward for funding consideration with an eye to both its developmental and strategic impacts, including the commercial opportunity it presents to support U.S. jobs.

USTDA in the Indo-Pacific and Africa

Question. Under the Trump administration, USTDA sought to expand its overseas presence in Africa and the Indo-Pacific.

- What is the status of this expansion and its impact?

Answer. USTDA has a presence in many of the world's most important emerging markets, which is necessitated by the increasing demand for USTDA's products as a countermeasure to Chinese and other malign "development" actors. This overseas presence allows the agency to build stronger relationships with reputable project sponsors, which facilitates the early identification of quality infrastructure projects that can create export opportunities for U.S. companies. USTDA's overseas offices also help develop and monitor the agency's project preparation activities. They help connect sources of implementation financing to USTDA's projects and support the identification of U.S. exports and evaluation of development impacts associated with the agency's activities. USTDA's overseas offices are also a clear demonstration of the U.S. Government's commitment to economic growth in our most strategic emerging market partner countries.

USTDA's overseas presence is divided into two categories: 1) U.S. citizens employed through a personal services contract and 2) locally employed staff through an interagency agreement with the U.S. Department of Commerce.

Current Presence

South Africa: 1 U.S. citizen, 1 locally employed staff

Thailand: 1 U.S. citizen, 1 locally employed staff

Ghana: 1 U.S. citizen

Brazil: 1 Locally employed staff

Vietnam: 1 Locally employed staff

India: 2 Locally employed staff

Nigeria: 1 Locally employed staff

Kenya: 1 Locally employed staff (new position)

Malaysia: 1 Locally employed staff (new position)

Indonesia: 1 Locally employed staff (new position)

New Recruitment Efforts

India: 1 U.S. citizen

Philippines: 1 U.S. citizen

China's financing of low-quality infrastructure solutions has long plagued emerging markets, adding to their debt burden and leading to failed projects and harmful development outcomes. USTDA's expanded overseas presence offers an alternative. For this reason, USTDA has recently added locally employed staff in competitive markets including Indonesia, Kenya and Malaysia and is in the process of adding personal services contractors in India and the Philippines.

India is a like-minded partner and key pillar of the U.S. Government's Indo-Pacific Strategy. As one of USTDA's largest and most diverse country programs, the agency is prioritizing an expanded local presence to include a personal services contractor. This will increase USTDA's engagement in the market, thereby expanding the U.S. Government's influence at the expense of Chinese foreign policy interests and deepening market opportunities for U.S. companies. The new position will be responsible for USTDA's broader South Asia portfolio and allow for the expansion of the agency's reach and engagement across the subcontinent.

USTDA's personal services contractor in the Philippines will work directly with the Asian Development Bank (ADB), which is headquartered in Manila. This local presence will enhance USTDA's ability to support the development and design of ADB investments using the agency's project preparation tools. This will facilitate the implementation of quality infrastructure projects that use U.S. goods and services.

Renewable Energy Storage

Question. The USG development community has made several announcements to bolster renewable energy development abroad, including a recent announcement USTDA made to award a technical assistance grant to the Dominican Republic's Superintendent of Electricity to facilitate the growth of renewable power generation in the country. Energy storage is essential to ensure consistent renewable energy output.

- How do you think USTDA can be utilized to facilitate energy storage projects like the recently announced USTDA project in the Dominican Republic?

Answer. The incorporation of energy storage in the power and transportation sectors will be critical for countries to meet their renewable energy targets. The global

market for energy storage systems has advanced considerably over the past several years, and as the prices for batteries continue to decrease, batteries and other forms of energy storage are becoming an economically viable option for countries around the world.

USTDA can support emerging economies by laying the groundwork for the deployment of energy storage systems. For example, USTDA can provide grant funds for technical assistance and feasibility studies to assess the technical and economic viability of energy storage projects or create roadmaps for enabling regulations for battery storage systems, electromobility, and renewable generation projects that involve energy storage. Additionally, USTDA can sponsor pilot projects in partner countries to test energy storage technology applications for the generation, transmission, and distribution of electricity. Finally, USTDA can sponsor reverse trade missions to the United States for public and private sector representatives who seek to procure energy storage technologies. These visits include meetings with U.S. suppliers to witness the design, manufacture, and operation of these solutions in the United States.

Under USTDA's Global Partnership for Climate-Smart Infrastructure, USTDA has prioritized clean energy and transportation projects. By leveraging all of its project preparation and partnership-building tools, USTDA will be able to play a robust role in the deployment of energy storage systems in emerging economies across the globe.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO ENOCH T. EBONG BY SENATOR MARCO RUBIO

Question. For years, we have seen more and more countries accept financing from the Chinese Communist Party through the predatory Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). While some see this as evidence of other countries choosing to align with the CCP over the United States, the truth is a bit more complicated. For many of these countries, BRI loans are often the only game in town. It's unrealistic for us to expect America or other Western governments to match BRI lending dollar for dollar. Instead, we need to channel the unrivalled capacity and size of the American private financial system to provide an alternative to BRI loans. In many ways, this is exactly what the U.S. Trade and Development Agency was designed to do, but we just aren't seeing this on the ground.

- What is the USTDA currently doing to provide alternatives to BRI lending in other countries?

Answer. Consistent with its mandate to a) provide foreign assistance for economic development through the promotion of quality infrastructure and b) support U.S. jobs through exports to the infrastructure projects that the agency prepares, USTDA takes a number of approaches to providing alternatives to BRI lending in other countries:

a. *Quality Infrastructure Project Preparation.* USTDA helps its emerging market partners gain access to both American and global financial systems for their infrastructure development needs. The agency's project preparation activities, including grant-funded technical assistance, feasibility studies, and pilot projects, help to develop bankable infrastructure deals that address the requirements of any lender, whether it is a host country development bank or Government, a multilateral development bank, a private bank, or a U.S. Government institution such as the U.S. International Development Finance Corporation. USTDA's project preparation mission complements the needs of American and global financial institutions that seek to invest in well prepared, high-quality infrastructure projects in emerging markets. The agency leverages its relationships with financial institutions around the world to mobilize capital for projects that use U.S. goods, services, and technologies.

b. *Promotion of Sound Procurement Practices.* USTDA's Global Procurement Initiative (GPI) is reforming emerging market public procurement practices that favor low-cost solutions, result in high-debt, and lead to poor quality infrastructure investments. GPI helps public procurement officials establish international best practices and policies that integrate life-cycle cost analysis and best-value determinations into their procurement decisions. This helps open infrastructure tenders to greater international competition and creates a fair and level playing field for U.S. companies. By focusing on total cost of ownership and high-quality infrastructure solutions, the GPI enhances the competitiveness of U.S. companies over the low-cost, low-quality solutions offered by competitors from markets such as China.

c. *Training Grants.* Through its training grant assistance program, USTDA has the unique ability to level the playing field for U.S. companies that face unfair competition from foreign companies. U.S. companies competing for overseas infrastructure projects may find themselves in situations in which a foreign (often Chinese) competitor, with support from its respective host-country government, is offering to the project sponsor some additional form of incentives, below-market prices, concessional financing or other type of benefit(s) or advocacy that goes beyond the technical and financial requirements of the procurement. This can put the U.S. company at a competitive disadvantage.

In such a situation, the disadvantaged U.S. company may request USTDA assistance. Following its robust due diligence process, USTDA may offer the project sponsor specialized training assistance to build its capacity to implement and operate its infrastructure project. The agency's offer would be contingent on the project sponsor's entry into a contract with the U.S. company.

USTDA works in concert with the U.S. Departments of Commerce and State to ensure that its offer of training assistance is coordinated with official U.S. Government advocacy efforts for the U.S. company. This unique program tool has supported numerous successful efforts by U.S. companies to overcome unfair competition from Chinese Government-backed companies.

d. *Collaboration with Like-Minded Partners.* USTDA has developed innovative partnerships with like-minded global partners, which bring a coordinated approach to addressing challenges caused by BRI lending. In November 2017, the agency signed a Memorandum of Cooperation with Japan's Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry (METI) to jointly support the development of energy infrastructure and strengthen procurement capacities and best practices of national entities in the Indo-Pacific region. In September 2019, USTDA and Australia's Department of Foreign Affairs & Trade (DFAT) signed a Memorandum of Cooperation to enhance cooperation on infrastructure development in the Indo-Pacific region.

Under the GPI, USTDA has worked with METI and multilateral development banks to train more than 1,000 public procurement officials in 15 countries on best practices for maintaining transparency in procurement while achieving best value.

Question. If confirmed, what will you do to ensure that USTDA lives up to its mission to "promote economic growth in developing and middle-income countries, while simultaneously helping American businesses to export their products and services, thereby creating U.S. jobs"?

Answer. If confirmed, I will develop and maintain strong relationships with U.S. businesses and overseas project sponsors. Their interests, priorities and capabilities will be integrated with USTDA's strategic outlook and statutory mandate to promote private sector participation in infrastructure projects overseas. To achieve this, if confirmed, I will place emphasis on economic sectors with significant U.S. export potential, such as clean energy, transportation, information and communications technology, healthcare infrastructure, and agribusiness.

If confirmed, I will ensure that USTDA continues to conduct rigorous due diligence on its partners to ensure they are reputable, experienced, and capable of implementing the projects that USTDA supports. Of equal importance, the agency will maintain a robust monitoring and evaluation framework that is integrated into individual project, management, and policy decisions. If I am confirmed, USTDA will continue to support activities that have the potential to obtain financing, have a positive development benefit to the host country, and generate significant exports of U.S. goods and services.

As the U.S. Government's overseas project preparation agency, USTDA will also continue to expand and leverage its relationships with global financial institutions to ensure its projects receive the financing needed for implementation. In sum, I will work to ensure that the agency continues to contribute to effective foreign assistance by partnering with host country governments, the private sector, and multilateral institutions to find workable solutions to development priorities that provide benefits to all parties.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO ENOH T. EBONG BY SENATOR TODD YOUNG

Question. USTDA can serve a valuable role in bringing transparency and competition to global infrastructure projects. This is sorely needed in a world awash with

opaque and corrupt Chinese deals, particularly in the developing world. If confirmed, what specific steps would you take to help position U.S. industry to compete effectively on foreign infrastructure projects against Chinese firms that may be willing to break the rules?

Answer. If confirmed, I would leverage the following tools and approaches to help position U.S. industry to compete against Chinese firms:

a. *Early-Stage Engagement.* Overseas infrastructure project preparation is USTDA's mission and source of expertise. The agency's early-stage engagement is fundamental to the competitiveness of U.S. industry and critical to the ability of the agency's overseas project sponsors to develop bankable infrastructure deals without turning to China.

Grant-funded project-specific feasibility studies and technical assistance are the key components of USTDA's toolkit, as are pilot projects that demonstrate the scalability and replicability of cutting-edge U.S. technologies in overseas settings. USTDA's commitment to partnership, shared priorities, and quality infrastructure solutions offers a stark alternative to China's predatory development approach and is attractive to the agency's overseas partners.

If I am confirmed, USTDA will continue to engage at the most critical and strategically important stage of the project development cycle when design choices and technology options are being defined and determined. If confirmed, I will ensure that the agency utilizes the U.S. private sector to develop how projects will be designed, financed, and implemented, which is not only critical for creating a level, fair playing field for U.S. companies, but also for developing high-quality infrastructure projects that lead to sustainable economic growth.

If confirmed, I will review each activity that is brought forward for funding consideration with an eye to both its developmental and strategic impacts, including the commercial opportunity it presents to support U.S. jobs.

b. *Alternative Sources of Infrastructure Finance.* USTDA offers its partners in emerging economies alternatives to China and predatory Chinese lending practices by helping them gain access to both American and global financial systems for their infrastructure development needs. The agency's project preparation activities help develop bankable infrastructure deals that address the requirements of any lender, whether it is a host country development bank or government, a multilateral development bank, a private bank, or a U.S. Government institution such as the U.S. International Development Finance Corporation. These financial institutions are committed to high-quality infrastructure and procurement procedures that are fair, open, and transparent. This helps level the playing field for U.S. companies.

c. *Promoting Sound Procurement Practices.* USTDA's Global Procurement Initiative (GPI) is reforming emerging market public procurement practices that favor low-cost solutions, lack transparency, result in high-debt, and lead to poor quality infrastructure investments. GPI helps public procurement officials establish international best practices and policies that integrate life-cycle cost analysis and best-value determinations into their procurement decisions. This helps open infrastructure tenders to greater international competition and creates a fair and level playing field for U.S. companies. By focusing on total cost of ownership and high-quality infrastructure solutions, the GPI enhances the competitiveness of U.S. companies over the low-cost, low-quality solutions offered by competitors from markets such as China.

d. *Training Grants.* Through its training grant assistance program, USTDA has the unique ability to level the playing field for U.S. companies that face unfair competition from foreign companies. U.S. companies competing for overseas infrastructure projects may find themselves in situations in which a foreign (often Chinese) competitor, with support from its respective host-country government, is offering to the project sponsor some additional form of incentives, below-market prices, concessional financing or other type of benefit(s) or advocacy that goes beyond the technical and financial requirements of the procurement. This can put the U.S. company at a competitive disadvantage.

In such a situation, the disadvantaged U.S. company may request USTDA assistance. Following its robust due diligence process, USTDA may offer the project sponsor specialized training assistance to build its capacity to implement and operate its infrastructure project. The agency's offer would be contingent on the project sponsor's entry into a contract with the U.S. company.

USTDA works in concert with the U.S. Departments of Commerce and State to ensure that its offer of training assistance is coordinated with official U.S. Government advocacy efforts for the U.S. company. This unique program tool

has supported numerous successful efforts by U.S. companies to overcome unfair competition from Chinese Government-backed companies. This includes emerging economy infrastructure projects that are strategically important to U.S. national security interests in areas such as 5G and undersea fiber optic cable systems.

Question. What steps can the United States and international community take to increase transparency in infrastructure procurement overall?

Answer. In the last decade, there has been an increased focus by the United States and the international community on public procurement in emerging economies due to the dramatic, negative economic impacts of corruption and failures in public procurement processes. The mounting debt incurred by these countries because of systemic procurement failures and China's malign actions in emerging markets has further widened the global infrastructure gap. To build stronger and more resilient infrastructure and begin to close this gap, the United States and its global partners in the G7 and G20 must take a unified approach to tackle the issue of building quality infrastructure in these markets while simultaneously supporting transparent and fair procurement systems that focus on value for money to break the debt cycle. The two issues of supporting transparent procurement systems and building quality infrastructure are inextricably tied and must be addressed together to produce sustainable infrastructure development.

Quality infrastructure development is at the heart of USTDA's mission. As such, USTDA's project preparation activities are executed according to internationally accepted standards and best practices. This includes life-cycle cost analysis so that the agency's overseas project sponsors understand the total cost of ownership for their infrastructure project.

As stated above, the GPI is another critical tool that USTDA deploys to reform emerging market public procurement practices that favor low-cost solutions, lack transparency, result in high-debt, and lead to poor quality infrastructure investments. The GPI program incentivizes governments to establish strong and transparent procurement oversight bodies so that they can attain quality infrastructure for the best overall value in a manner best serving their people who bear the cost of the investment.

Establishing anticorruption measures and strict monitoring/auditing bodies is a critical necessity in this approach. Countries wishing to receive USTDA's assistance must demonstrate that they have the legal foundation to consider factors other than price in procurement, have strong procurement oversight bodies with a dedication to maintaining transparency throughout the procurement process, and be committed to the professional development of its procurement workforce.

The GPI coordinates closely with the agencies of the U.S. Government that fund anticorruption efforts overseas and strengthen the institutional capacity of key oversight bodies and civil society organizations. These include the U.S. Agency for International Development's Good Governance program; the U.S. Department of Commerce's Commercial Law Development Program; the U.S. Department of Justice's Antitrust Division; the Office of Federal Procurement Policy at the Office of Management and Budget; the General Services Administration; and the Government Accountability Office. The training programs provided by these agencies create the conceptual foundation for USTDA's GPI partner countries to safely transition to more transparent, sophisticated, value-based procurement systems, which are needed to procure complex infrastructure projects.

USTDA also works closely with multilateral development banks (MDB) in the design of its GPI training programs and includes MDB officials as observers in every training program offered. Under the GPI, USTDA has partnered with like-minded foreign counterparts including Australia's Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) and Japan's Ministry of Economy, Trade, and Industry (METI) to demonstrate collective best practices for how to conduct market research, design projects to deliver high-quality outcomes, and manage contracts after award to ensure successful implementation. Working together with these international partners, USTDA has trained more than 1,000 public procurement officials in 15 countries on best practices for maintaining transparency while achieving best value.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO LEOPOLDO MARTINEZ NUCETE BY SENATOR JAMES E. RISCH

Question. Please provide a clear 'yes' or 'no' answer to this specific question:

- If confirmed, do you commit to work with IDB President Claver-Carone to implement the IDB's Vision 2025, Reinvest in the Americas?

Answer. Yes, if confirmed, I commit to working, as appropriate, with IDB President Claver-Carone to advance U.S. priorities for the IDB Group and the region.

Question. Please provide a clear 'yes' or 'no' answer to this specific question:

- Do you agree that a tenth general capital increase for the IDB would strengthen the Bank's ability to help the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean achieve sustainable and serviceable debt structures?

Answer. Yes, a capital increase could be one way to contribute to the IDB's ability to help some countries in Latin America and the Caribbean, but achieving sustainable and serviceable debt structures ultimately depends on a range of policy choices by country authorities. If confirmed, I would work with IDB Management, other shareholders, you and committees of jurisdiction to analyze the financing and policy challenges facing Latin America and the Caribbean and how best the IDB could respond.

Question. Please provide a clear 'yes' or 'no' answer to this specific question:

- In March 2021, Sens. Menendez, Rubio, Kaine, Cassidy, and Cardin filed a bill (S. 616), which would direct the President to take steps to support a tenth general capital increase for the Inter-American Development Bank, and for the U.S. Governor of the Bank to vote in favor such a general capital increase. These mandates are included in the United States Innovation and Competition Act of 2021 (S. 1260). If confirmed, do you commit to support these actions?

Answer. It is my understanding that the Department of the Treasury is working with IDB Management and other shareholders to analyze the financing challenges facing Latin America and the Caribbean, including whether an IDB general capital increase would provide sufficient development benefits for the region. If confirmed, I commit to work with you and committees of jurisdiction on the issue of a potential IDB general capital increase.

FOLLOW-UP QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY SENATOR RISCH

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to work with IDB President Claver-Carone to implement the IDB's Vision 2025, Reinvest in the Americas, which includes presenting a focus on achieving sustainable and inclusive economic growth, identifying a pathway to achieve those goals with an emphasis on five clear opportunities, and presenting a value proposition to strengthen the IDB Group's ability to execute?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to working with IDB Management and other shareholders to promote sustainable and inclusive growth through a focus on high development standards, strong development outcomes, better accountability and transparency, and high additionality in IDB operations. These priorities will enhance U.S. development and national security objectives in the region and create new markets for trade.

Question. Do you agree that a tenth general capital increase for the IDB would strengthen the Bank's ability to help the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean achieve sustainable and serviceable debt structures?

Answer. It is my understanding that the Department of the Treasury is working with IDB Management and other shareholders to analyze the development and financing challenges facing Latin America and the Caribbean, the region's capacity to address those challenges, the roles the IDB Group can play in supporting the region, and how the IDB can best use its existing resources in line with a process mandated by the IDB's Board of Governors. If confirmed, I commit to working with the Department of the Treasury to identify how the IDB Group can best help address the region's needs.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to take steps to support a tenth general capital increase for the IDB, including advancing diplomatic engagement to build support among member countries of the Bank for a tenth general capital increase for the Bank?

Answer. It is my understanding that the Department of the Treasury is working with IDB Management and other shareholders to analyze the development and financing challenges facing Latin America and the Caribbean, the region's capacity to address those challenges, the roles the IDB Group can play in supporting the region, and how the IDB can best use its existing resources in line with a process mandated by the IDB's Board of Governors. If confirmed, I commit to working with

the Department of the Treasury to identify how the IDB Group can best help address the region's needs.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to work with the IDB Board of Governors to admit Taiwan as a non-borrowing member of the IDB?

Answer. I understand that Taiwan has been an important development partner for the region. If confirmed, I commit to working with the Department of the Treasury, IDB Management, and other IDB shareholders to advocate for a continued strong relationship between Taiwan and the IDB and the region.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO LEOPOLDO MARTINEZ NUCETE BY SENATOR MARCO RUBIO

Question. I am extremely concerned about a number of tweets you have made in the last few years that seem to imply an extremely biased and, frankly, incorrect view of the world. The Inter-American Development Bank is a key part of America's relations with the Western Hemisphere. Its leadership will inevitably reflect on the image America presents to the nations of Latin America and the Caribbean.

- On October 26, 2018, you tweeted your support for a sign that called Republicans “pendejos.” Do you still stand by your endorsement of this view, and does this view extend to the other politicians in the hemisphere, including those from right-leaning parties?

Answer. I deeply regret tweets and retweets I have sent that contained statements that characterized others using partisan or unkind terms. I would like to take this opportunity to apologize. Going forward, I will hold myself to a higher standard, in all circumstances, both public and private. If confirmed, I will administer my office in the same pragmatic, non-ideological manner that I have my entire career. I also pledge to work collaboratively with members of both parties.

Question. I understand that you are the CEO of the Center for Democracy and Development of the Americas (CDDA). According to *El Nuevo Herald*, CDDA sponsored an event in Miami in 2015 that encouraged American businesses to invest in Cuba. As we saw this past June, the Diaz-Canel-Castro regime has leveraged the profits it makes from foreign investment to finance its oppression of Cuban protesters. As long as the regime maintains the ability to confiscate wages and profits from ordinary Cuban workers and businesses, economic engagement with the regime only strengthens their hold on power.

- Do you stand by CDDA's support for encouraging American businesses to work with the regime in Cuba?

Answer. The “Cuba Summit” was an event that took place in Washington, D.C. It was organized and hosted by “The Economist”. Neither CDDA nor I, had input into the content or the panels in the event. As a “marketing partner” of the event, together with other respected organizations such as American University and the United Nations, we were offered the opportunity to highlight the event and bring guests in attendance. The economic opening policy towards Cuba was the existing U.S. policy at the time, and we thought, as we always do regarding issues impacting Latin America and The Caribbean, that CDDA and our stakeholders had to be part of such conversation. The report by *El Nuevo Herald* in Miami was published without our comments, and therefore the editors agreed to publish an explanatory letter by CDDA, with the same visibility the report had, which we include here for the record: <https://amp.elnuevoherald.com/opinion-es/cartas/article39185640.html>

In the current context I support the Biden-Harris administration Policy towards Cuba. The Biden-Harris administration has escalated sanctions against those violating the human rights of protesters in Cuba.

Question. If confirmed, will you advocate for providing investment and funding to organizations controlled by the Cuban military?

Answer. I have never and will never advocate to provide funding to organizations controlled by the Cuban military.

Question. On the Center for Democracy and Development of the Americas' (CDDA) website, it promotes its “firm commitment” to transparency and provides links to CDDA's required financial disclosures. However, those documents do not detail the contributors and funders of CDDA's programs. As CEO, CDDA it is important to know the sources by which your organization has been funded. In 2012, CDDA received an influx of cash, reporting a growth in funding from \$200,000 to

more than \$2.5 million. Please provide a full accounting on the sources of CDDA's funding since 2012.

Answer. CDDA is a 501(c)(3) organization that discloses annually on confidential schedules all its donors to the IRS (Schedule B), together with its 990 annual reports, both of which are required by law.

CDDA and I, are seen or characterized by the Chavista-Maduro regime in Venezuela as "enemies of their Revolution", given my role in the opposition while a Congressman in Venezuela; as well as the organization's strong programming to defend the return to democracy and enforcement of human rights in Venezuela, as well as to expose the abuses and corruption of the regime.

Many of CDDA's donors are still in Venezuela or have family there. If their names became public, they could be at grave danger or risk.

Question. I have long advocated for a 10th capital increase for the IDB, as others have in the Senate. I think doing so is critical in ensuring the IDB has adequate resources to provide sustainable financing to our partners in the hemisphere. If the IDB were to expand its capital base, do you believe that the increased resources would supplant private credit, or is the region's need for credit larger than local commercial markets can supply?

Answer. It is my understanding that the Department of the Treasury is working with IDB Management and other shareholders to analyze the development and financing challenges facing Latin America and the Caribbean, the region's capacity to address those challenges, the roles the IDB Group can play in supporting the region, and how the IDB can best use its existing resources in line with a process mandated by the IDB's Board of Governors. If confirmed, I commit to working with the Department of the Treasury to identify how the IDB Group can best help address the region's needs.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to working with the IDB's president to secure a 10th capital increase for the bank?

Answer. It is my understanding that the Department of the Treasury is working with IDB Management and other shareholders to analyze the development and financing challenges facing Latin America and the Caribbean, the region's capacity to address those challenges, the roles the IDB Group can play in supporting the region, and how the IDB can best use its existing resources in line with a process mandated by the IDB's Board of Governors. If confirmed, I commit to working with the Department of the Treasury to identify how the IDB Group can best help address the region's needs.

FOLLOW-UP QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY SENATOR RUBIO

Question. Thank you for your responses to my questions on the Center for Democracy and Development of the Americas' (CDDA) financial disclosures. I understand and appreciate your commitment to protecting individuals that are regarded by these regimes as enemies. Indeed, the Maduro regime has shown the appetite to go after these individuals even beyond the borders it controls. At the same time, the American people are owed full transparency when confirming nominees to such high-esteem posts responsible for overseeing taxpayer funds. Do you confirm that none of the donors for the non-profits listed on the biographical note published by the White House and that you are the founder or principal of, are regime sympathizers or sanctioned by the United States?

Answer. None of the donors for the non-profits listed on my White House biography, where I am the founder or principal of, are regime sympathizers or sanctioned by the United States.

Question. Do you confirm that CDDA has never, nor will ever receive donations from individuals that previously supported the breakdown of democratic government and rule of law in Venezuela during the Chavez and Maduro tenures?

Answer. CDDA has never, nor will ever receive donations from individuals that previously supported the breakdown of democratic government and rule of law in Venezuela during the Chavez and Maduro tenures.

Question. Has LMN Consulting, IQ Latino, or Latino Victory Project cooperated with any individual with a past history of supporting either the Maduro regime or the previous Chavez administration in Venezuela?

Answer. LMN Consulting, IQ Latino, or Latino Victory Project has not cooperated with any individual, to our knowledge, with a past history of supporting either the Maduro regime or the previous Chavez administration in Venezuela.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO LEOPOLDO MARTINEZ NUCETE BY SENATOR TODD YOUNG

Question. The Inter-American Development Bank reports that it has provided the largest crisis response in its history to the COVID-19 pandemic. Yet most of this support has been in the form of loans and comes at a time when many countries are seeking debt relief under the Common Framework. And, of course, this amount pales in comparison to the hundreds of billions most of these same countries owe China under obscure and non-transparent terms.

- How can we ensure that lending from the IDB is sustainable and does not overly burden developing countries with additional debt they cannot pay off?

Answer. I believe the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), with its financial capabilities, technical expertise, and convening power, can and should play a leading role across a wide array of development issues across Latin America and the Caribbean. If confirmed, I commit to exercising the United States' voice and vote to advance sustainable economic development in IDB operations and policies to help Latin American and Caribbean countries secure financing in line with their development goals.

Question. What steps can the United States take to ensure that multilateral development bank assistance is not used to just pay off Chinese loans?

Answer. I fully share your concern about the increasing debt vulnerabilities many of the poorest countries face and the role of non-transparent creditors in worsening those vulnerabilities. The IDB can play an important role in assisting countries with building debt management capacity, promoting debt transparency through debt data collection and reporting, and supporting countries participating in debt relief initiatives, such as the G-20 Common Framework. If confirmed, I will also work with like-minded shareholders to exercise our collective voices and votes to ensure that IDB assistance goes toward sustainable development outcomes.

Question. If confirmed, what would be your approaches to engaging with China on debt-transparency standards?

Answer. As the largest shareholder, the United States can exercise considerable influence over IDB policies and operations in partnership with likeminded shareholders. I understand the effort to engage with China on debt transparency is occurring in a variety of fora, including through the G-20. If confirmed, I commit to supporting those efforts and working with allies and partners to promote debt transparency. I will also encourage the IDB to emphasize building institutional capacity and strengthening public financial management in borrowing countries to help move countries toward sustainable economic development.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO LEOPOLDO MARTINEZ NUCETE BY SENATOR TED CRUZ

Question. On January 27, 2021, President Biden issued an Executive Order (EO) 14008, on "Tackling the Climate Crisis at Home and Abroad," which mandated that the U.S. will "immediately begin to develop a climate finance plan, making strategic use of multilateral and bilateral channels and institutions, to assist developing countries in implementing ambitious emissions reduction measures, protecting critical ecosystems, building resilience against the impacts of climate change, and promoting the flow of capital toward climate-aligned investments and away from high-carbon investments." If confirmed, do you intend to limit U.S. support inside the Inter-American Development Bank for projects related to the use of fossil fuels?

Answer. If confirmed, I will vote according to applicable laws and policies. The IDB can play a vital role in expanding energy access in Latin America and the Caribbean while at the same time supporting ambitious emissions reduction, protecting critical ecosystems, building resilience against climate change, and promoting the flow of capital toward climate-aligned investments. IDB should select energy projects that account for the full range of costs and externalities over the lifecycle of the project and avoid financing projects that the private sector is capable of fi-

nancing. IDB should finance projects that utilize technologies that provide energy access and promote energy efficiency, but do not lock Latin American and Caribbean countries into technologies that may soon be obsolete.

Question. Please assess the degree to which you believe that further limits on the Inter-American Development Bank's support for investments related to the use of coal, oil, and gas, would affect the Bank's ability to fund active projects aimed at meeting energy demand in Latin America, including your assessment about the demand for such projects.

Answer. The IDB can play a vital role in expanding energy access in Latin America and the Caribbean while at the same time supporting ambitious emissions reduction, protecting critical ecosystems, building resilience against climate change, and promoting the flow of capital toward climate-aligned investments. IDB should select energy projects taking into account the full range of costs and externalities over the lifecycle of the project and avoid financing projects that the private sector is capable of financing. IDB should prioritize investments that include options for clean energy, innovation and energy efficiency to meet demand in Latin America and the Caribbean.

Question. If confirmed, you will be responsible for implementing policies aimed at addressing, among other things, economic dislocation that the Biden administration describes as root causes of illegal immigration. In June 2018, I stated—regarding long-standing immigration policies—that there is “a court order that prevents keeping the kids with the parents when you put the parents in jail,” and that “when you see Democrats saying don’t separate kids from their parents, what they’re really saying is don’t arrest illegal aliens.” In response to this stance, you published “[A]merican values are far from this rhetoric.” Please describe how you view the role of development in the context of illegal migration?

Answer. Migration in the Americas has several causes, which often present themselves as a bundle in a given country at different moments in history: authoritarianism, violence, corruption, lack of economic opportunity, and natural or climate change related disasters.

Investing and creating partnerships throughout the region to address these issues with a holistic approach to promote development, advances the strategic interest of the United States. The stronger the economies across Latin America and the Caribbean, and the more we promote equity, inclusion and social mobility, the better for the United States. It can reverse current migration trends, and increase trade, investments and reliable supply chains within the hemisphere.

The Inter-American Development Bank is well positioned to advance such an agenda throughout the region through its financial assistance and policy advice.

Question. Which American values do you believe are in play in the enforcement of domestic statutory constraints and authorities related to 2018-era immigration policies?

Answer. Asylum is a form of legal migration into the United States, and the system does not allow for consular asylum petitions. Therefore, people or families, who believe they have a case for asylum protection, have to enter the U.S. to make their case. That is also part of our legal system, and asylum and refuge are embedded in American values, as a nation that has welcomed people from different parts of the world, in different times, seeking refuge and fleeing persecution, wars, violence or oppressive conditions not granting safety and opportunities. We are a nation of immigrants.

I don’t think it is necessary to detain and separate a family, which does not represent a threat to American society, instead of releasing them upon detention and giving the migrants their day in Court, in order to listen to their asylum—or other cases they bring—under our laws.

I also think separating minor children from their parents is in serious contradiction with international treaties on human and children rights that we adhere to as a nation. Families seeking asylum (or other forms of migration relief), that do not represent any threat or danger, can be released to the community, and abide by the consequences of their case, without the traumatic consequences of family separation.

As part of an immigrant family that fled persecution out of Venezuela, I understand the hopes and motives, as well as have empathy for the suffering of these families seeking refuge in the United States. Data and history also confirm that they will become an intrinsic part of our society, contributing to our economic growth, while tapping into opportunities that we offer in the United States, without any detrimental consequences to our labor markets.

Question. If confirmed, you will be responsible for implementing policies that promote economic development against the backdrop of national and international fiscal policy environments. The policies that you will be responsible for choosing and promoting will also be constrained by—and will have to address—the concrete sociological, religious, and political identities of communities across the Western Hemisphere, including communities of faith. Much of the development assistance policy environment at national and international levels emphasizes participatory development. On April 5, 2016 you published, regarding my speech in the aftermath of the Wisconsin primary, that “Listening to Cruz one realizes his entanglement with religion and irresponsible fiscal recipe [are] as dangerous as Trump.” To what extent do you believe that faith should be disentangled from development?

Answer. I absolutely believe that faith-based organizations play an extraordinary and impactful role in assisting with development programs, initiatives and efforts across the Americas. Furthermore, I believe that collaboration of multilateral development banks with faith-based organizations is desirable, if not required. During my professional life I have collaborated with several faith-based organizations, most recently Catholic Relief Services (CRS).

Question. Describe the role that you understand faith to play in economic development, both as a constraint and as a contributing factor.

Answer. Education and respect for human rights, promoting social mobility in market economies, is the key to development. There is a strong and long history of faith-based NGOs working in collaboration with private sector and governmental organizations dramatically improving the lives and livelihoods of vulnerable populations across the world. I believe they are an indispensable partner in our efforts to promote development, democracy and rule of law around the world.

Question. Please describe what you believe to be the proper ‘fiscal recipe’ for regional development.

Answer. Macroeconomic stability and fiscal sustainability are key components to a successful regional development strategy. Fiscal sustainability is not just a function of cutting taxes, but rather an adequate balance between fair taxation and a sustainable level of public expenditures as well as investment needed to create conditions for social mobility, equitable and inclusive growth in a market economy, which empowers women, minorities, and vulnerable and marginalized populations.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO MARIA FABIANA JORGE BY SENATOR JAMES E. RIACH

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to work with IDB President Claver-Carone to implement the IDB’s Vision 2025, Reinvest in the Americas, which includes presenting a focus on achieving sustainable and inclusive economic growth, identifying a pathway to achieve those goals with an emphasis on five clear opportunities, and presenting a value proposition to strengthen the IDB Group’s ability to execute?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to working with IDB Management and other shareholders to promote sustainable, inclusive growth and development through focus on high development standards, strong development outcomes, better accountability and transparency, and high additionality in IDB operations. These priorities will enhance U.S. development and national security objectives in the region and create new markets for trade.

Question. Do you agree that a tenth general capital increase for the IDB would strengthen the Bank’s ability to help the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean achieve sustainable and serviceable debt structures?

Answer. It is my understanding that the Department of the Treasury is working with IDB Management and other shareholders to analyze the development and financing challenges facing Latin America and the Caribbean, the region’s capacity to address those challenges, the roles the IDB Group can play in supporting the region, and how the IDB can best use its existing resources in line with a process mandated by the IDB’s Board of Governors. If confirmed, I commit to working with the Department of the Treasury to identify how the IDB Group can best help address the region’s needs.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to take steps to support a tenth general capital increase for the IDB, including advancing diplomatic engagement to build support among member countries of the Bank for a tenth general capital increase for the Bank?

Answer. It is my understanding that the Department of the Treasury is working with IDB Management and other shareholders to analyze the development and financing challenges facing Latin America and the Caribbean, the region's capacity to address those challenges, the roles the IDB Group can play in supporting the region, and how the IDB can best use its existing resources in line with a process mandated by the IDB's Board of Governors. If confirmed, I commit to working with the Department of the Treasury to identify how the IDB Group can best help address the region's needs.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to work with the IDB Board of Governors to admit Taiwan as a non-borrowing member of the IDB?

Answer. I understand that Taiwan has been an important development partner for the region. If confirmed, I commit to working with the Department of the Treasury, IDB Management, and other IDB shareholders to advocate for a continued strong relationship between Taiwan and the IDB and the region.

FOLLOW-UP QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY SENATOR RISCH

Question. Please provide a clear 'yes' or 'no' answer to this specific question:

- If confirmed, do you commit to work with IDB President Claver-Carone to implement the IDB's Vision 2025, Reinvest in the Americas?

Answer. Yes, if confirmed, I commit to working, as appropriate, with IDB President Claver-Carone to advance U.S. priorities for the IDB Group and the region.

Question. Please provide a clear 'yes' or 'no' answer to this specific question:

- Do you agree that a tenth general capital increase for the IDB would strengthen the Bank's ability to help the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean achieve sustainable and serviceable debt structures?

Answer. Yes, a capital increase could be one way to contribute to the IDB's ability to help some countries in Latin America and the Caribbean, but achieving sustainable and serviceable debt structures ultimately depends on a range of policy choices by country authorities. If confirmed, I would work with IDB Management, other shareholders, you and committees of jurisdiction to analyze the financing and policy challenges facing Latin America and the Caribbean and how best the IDB could respond.

Question. Please provide a clear 'yes' or 'no' answer to this specific question:

- In March 2021, Sens. Menendez, Rubio, Kaine, Cassidy, and Cardin filed a bill (S. 616), which would direct the President to take steps to support a tenth general capital increase for the Inter-American Development Bank, and for the U.S. Governor of the Bank to vote in favor such a general capital increase. These mandates are included in the United States Innovation and Competition Act of 2021 (S.1260). If confirmed, do you commit to support these actions?

Answer. It is my understanding that the Department of the Treasury is working with IDB Management and other shareholders to analyze the financing challenges facing Latin America and the Caribbean, including whether an IDB general capital increase would provide sufficient development benefits for the region. If confirmed, I commit to work with you and committees of jurisdiction on the issue of a potential IDB general capital increase.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED TO MARIA FABIANA JORGE BY SENATOR MARCO RUBIO

Question. Last month, I joined Senator Menendez in introducing legislation to direct the Biden administration to develop a strategy to secure Taiwan's membership in the Inter-American Development Bank. I think this is an appropriate step given the high level of Taiwan's assistance to countries in the Western Hemisphere.

- What is your opinion of Taiwan's participation in the Western Hemisphere?

Answer. Taiwan can be a useful source of knowledge for Latin American and Caribbean countries given its success as a democracy and its own path of economic development, which allowed it to graduate from receiving development assistance. Taiwan also provides significant development assistance to the countries with which it maintains diplomatic relations.

Question. If confirmed, how will you encourage Taiwan's role in the region and to coordinate U.S. efforts with Taiwan?

Answer. If confirmed, I look forward to working with the Department of the Treasury, IDB Management, and other IDB shareholders to encourage Latin American and Caribbean countries to engage with Taiwan as a valuable source of knowledge given the success of its economic development and transition to democracy.

Question. If confirmed, will you work to secure IDB membership for Taiwan?

Answer. I understand that Taiwan has been an important development partner for the region. If confirmed, I commit to working with the Department of the Treasury, IDB Management, and other IDB shareholders to advocate for a continued strong relationship between Taiwan and the IDB and the region.

Question. In 2017, IDB members agreed to provide an additional \$317 million to keep the IDB's Multilateral Investment Fund (MIF) running from 2019 to 2023. Although the United States has historically been the largest contributor to the MIF, it did not contribute to the fund's replenishment.

- In your opinion, how will the lack of U.S. participation in the latest replenishment affect the IDB's operations?

Answer. I understand that despite the United States not participating in the MIF's latest replenishment, the United States remains the second highest contributor to the MIF (now known as IDB Lab) behind Japan and is active in the MIF Donors' Committee. I also understand that the replenishment's financing also represented an effort by the region to contribute more to its own development. If confirmed I commit to working with the IDB to address the region's development financing needs and look forward to learning more about the projects supported by the IDB Lab and its development impact.

Question. Are you in favor of the U.S. agreeing to a 10th capital increase for the IDB?

Answer. It is my understanding that the Department of the Treasury is working with IDB Management and other shareholders to analyze the development and financing challenges facing Latin America and the Caribbean, the region's capacity to address those challenges, the roles the IDB Group can play in supporting the region, and how the IDB can best use its existing resources in line with a process mandated by the IDB's Board of Governors. If confirmed, I commit to working with Congress and the Department of the Treasury to identify how the IDB Group can best help address the region's needs.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to work with the IDB president to ensure the bank's initiatives are put forth in countries in Latin America and the Caribbean?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to working with IDB Management and IDB shareholders to address economic development challenges across Latin American and Caribbean countries.

Question. As the China-Latin America trade and economic relationship has grown over the past several years, China has increased its financial contributions to various IDB financing mechanisms.

- What is your assessment of China's influence in shaping priorities at the IDB?

Answer. I share your concern regarding the role of China at the IDB and if confirmed, I will exercise the United States' voice and vote at the IDB in partnership with like-minded countries to uphold IDB's strategic priorities—social inclusion equality, productivity and innovation, and regional economic integration—along with a focus on transparency and strong governance to achieve sustainable economic development across the region as well as broader U.S. interests. This will ensure that the United States and its regional partners maintain the strongest influence over the IDB. I believe that strong U.S. leadership is important in helping the IDB and other multilateral institutions maintain high standards that would help counter the malign influence of China in the region, support sustainable development, and good governance in the hemisphere.

Question. Do you believe that increased involvement by the CCP in the IDB is beneficial to the region and to American interests?

Answer. As expressed above, I am concerned about China's influence at the IDB and the region and will work with like-minded shareholders to uphold the IDB's focus on sustainable development based on transparency and strong governance, which will help contribute to U.S. development and national security interests in the region and strengthen markets for trade. This will ensure that the United States and its regional partners maintain the strongest influence over the IDB. I believe that strong U.S. leadership is critical in helping the IDB and other multilat-

eral institutions maintain high development standards that would help counter the malign influence of China in the region.

FOLLOW-UP QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY SENATOR RUBIO

Question. Thank you for your support for Taiwan's role in the Western Hemisphere. I agree with you that Taiwan and the IDB should continue to have a strong relationship. This relationship can become much stronger if Taiwan joins the IDB as a full member. That's why I am a cosponsor of Senator Menendez's bill to direct the Secretaries of State and Treasury to initiate a plan to endorse Taiwan as a non-borrowing member of the IDB.

- What is your analysis of the Menendez bill? If you are confirmed, and the bill is enacted, would its provisions support your priorities at the IDB?

Answer. I recognize your leadership on this issue. While I have not conducted an analysis of the Menendez bill, I pledge to work very closely with you on this bill if I am privileged enough to be confirmed.

Question. If confirmed, will you encourage the Biden administration to support Taiwan's membership in the IDB?

Answer. I understand that Taiwan has been an important development partner for the region. If confirmed, I commit to working with the Department of the Treasury, IDB Management, and other IDB shareholders to advocate for a continued strong relationship between Taiwan and the IDB and the region.

Question. I understand that you played a role in negotiating the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) which came into force late last year. The RCEP strengthens trade between the People's Republic of China and key American allies and partners, like Korea, Japan, the Philippines, Indonesia, Australia, and the ASEAN countries. This deeper integration with the PRC often comes at the expense of these countries' economic relationships with the United States.

- Do you believe the creation of RCEP to be a positive development in the Indo-Pacific?

Answer. No, I do not believe the creation of RCEP to be a positive development in the Indo-Pacific. My participation was limited to the extent of monitoring and educating on the access to affordable medicines.

Question. Why do you think the RCEP excluded Taiwan?

Answer. I have not been privy to internal deliberations and discussions as to why RCEP excluded Taiwan.

Question. Do you believe the RCEP's intellectual property provisions to be a model to be followed in Latin America?

Answer. I have only followed intellectual property provisions as they relate to access to affordable medicines.

Question. Thank you for your answers on the PRC's role in the IDB. While I appreciate you sharing my concern with the PRC's role in the IDB, you did not provide your assessment of how the PRC shapes the IDB's priorities.

- Can you please expand on how you think the PRC influences decision-making at the IDB?

Answer. As I am not working at the IDB, I don't have knowledge about how the PRC influences decision-making at the institution. However, I am very concerned about the growing influence of the PRC in Latin America.

Question. Do you believe the PRC is a force for good in the region?

Answer. The U.S. is in a serious strategic competition with the PRC and there are certainly aspects of our relationship that are adversarial. When the PRC bullies our allies, conducts industrial espionage to steal American intellectual property, assaults freedom in Hong Kong, and provides an economic lifeline to corrupt, oppressive regimes in the hemisphere, including those in Cuba, Venezuela, and Nicaragua, it is acting in adversarial ways.

Many countries use an array of public sector financial institutions to provide financing for development projects across the region, often with a mix of humanitarian and geopolitical goals. The PRC differs from other countries in its strong prioritization of the geopolitical, often at the expense of any plausible humanitarian goals. The PRC's financing often lacks the transparency, due attention to debt sustainability and standards needed for effective and sustainable development. As a result, I understand that project quality can be subpar. The PRC also refuses to engage in coordinated debt relief when it is warranted.

As Secretary Yellen has said, the Biden administration will be willing to make use of the full array of tools to hold the PRC accountable, working with U.S. allies and partners, including through multilateral institutions, to confront the PRC's abusive behaviors. If confirmed, I will do so.

AN ARTICLE SUBMITTED FOR THE RECORD BY SENATOR BARRASSO

The Economist

May 8th 2021 edition

Fire Escape

Donors make it harder for Africans to avoid deadly wood smoke

Making the cleanest the enemy of the clean

May 6th 2021

KASAI

YVONNE KAYAYA has never seen a gas cooker. In a poorly ventilated room in her home in Kasai, Congo, she stews potato leaves over a charcoal stove no bigger than a small stool—as generations before her have done. “I sometimes cook with firewood. If I have money, I always buy charcoal,” she says, unaware that both fuels are clogging up her lungs.

Ms Kayaya is one of the 4bn people who heat their food over a smoky fire. In sub-Saharan Africa nine out of ten people cook with dirty fuel, such as wood, charcoal or kerosene. This is unhealthy. Some 2.5m-4m people die prematurely every year because of indoor air pollution, most of which is from cooking, according to the Paris-based International Energy Agency (IEA) and the World Health Organisation. Breathing soot is particularly dangerous for infants: worldwide it may cause almost half of all fatal cases of pneumonia among children under five.

There are environmental costs, too. Wood may be renewable, but chopping down trees for firewood or to make charcoal contributes to deforestation. The charcoal industry is one of the main reasons why the rainforest of the Congo basin is shrinking. The damage done to this rainforest, the world's second largest, is not just a tragedy for Congo; it is also one for the world, since the forest removes hundreds of millions of tonnes of carbon from the atmosphere each year.

How Africans can cook more healthily for more than a billion stomachs is a conundrum. The poor need energy to have comfier, more prosperous lives. How can they do so without cooking the planet?

Africa's population is growing faster than any other continent's. It is urbanising faster, too. As people move to cities, they tend to switch from firewood to charcoal, which, because it is made from wood that is then heated by burning more wood, destroys forests still faster.

Since few Africans, whether in cities or villages, have grid-connected electricity, the obvious way to wean them off wood and coal is to encourage the use of bottled gas. India and China have managed to reduce pollution from cooking fires in this way in the past decade. But markets for

gas have been slow to take off in Africa because rural folk in countries like Congo, where almost three-quarters of people live on less than \$1.90 a day, do not see the need to pay for gas when wood is free. "I only cook with wood," says Martin Batumala, a Congolese farmer. "I go and collect it every day on a bicycle with my children."

By contrast, refilling a canister of 12kg with liquefied petroleum gas (LPG) costs \$20, almost as much as farmers make in a month. Charcoal can be bought in small quantities, which makes it easier for the cash-strapped to afford. And cost is not the only consideration. Charcoal creates distinctive flavours, which many people like and do not wish to give up.

Advocates of clean cooking hope eventually to change people's habits. It would be easier if gas were cheaper, but to make it so will require lots more public and private investment. One big obstacle is that donors in rich countries are reluctant to back investment in any fossil fuels, even though the alternatives to gas—wood and charcoal—are worse for the environment, for the cooks and their children.

Opponents of gas note that it contributes to climate change, which is true. They suggest that Africa should "leapfrog" to powering itself primarily with solar, wind and other renewable sources of electricity. But some perspective is in order. The continent is responsible for less than 2% of global carbon emissions. Its people, the world's poorest, are in effect being asked to bear the costs of a sudden energy transition that many rich countries have been reluctant to embark on. Switching millions of Africans away from charcoal and firewood to a cleaner fuel would still mean Africa is helping to reduce carbon emissions, says Mansoor Hamayun, the boss of Bboxx, an international energy company that initially provided only rooftop solar systems in Africa, but now also offers LPG cookers. Gas "is not a perfect choice", he says. "But it's part of a journey to net zero." ■

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