# 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 introduction 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 IS-LAND, NOMINATED TO BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMER-ICA 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

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, inluding forthing accounting improving the web of law and standard strangtheorem.

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.

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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 Gov-

ernment 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 antisemitism 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 dedication 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 openended 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.

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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.

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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 CO-LUMBIA, NOMINATED TO BE CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER, 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 publicprivate 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

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

I am 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 and to ensure that it is well positioned to address the challenges of our times.

I would like to commend the staff at MCC who have helped me prepare for this hearing as well as several of MCC's former CEOs who have generously offered their time and advice.

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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, NOMI-NATED TO BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENI-POTENTIARY 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 Jesseca; 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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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 fiveminute 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 re-quests 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 Donnelly, 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 Serbia 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 supporting 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

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 ambas-sadors 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 coalfired 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. Enoh 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.

an Óhioan 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, NOM-INATED 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 Agent, 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.

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.

În 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

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

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.

ship 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 COLUM-BIA, 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.

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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 includ-

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 administra-

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 fam-

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 reconciliation, 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.

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

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 hear organ. Fulfiling that miscing her genuing Latin America and the Comin

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 alternative 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 DEVELOP-MENT 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'etat 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 andCaribbean 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 Čardin, 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.

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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 Parenthood 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.

Sénator 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 $\mu$ 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 antipoverty 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 Serbian 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 antitrafficking 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 WWIIera 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 anticorruption 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 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% 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 Orban 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 Orban. 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-questionsasked 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 nonpublic, non-transparent, bilateral deals. The United States has encouraged Serbia to seriously consider whether such proposed projects would be respected, and 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 Embassy 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 MICHÈLE 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 socalled 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 con-firmed, 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 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 consid-eration 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 especially 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:
- 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 make clear U.S. opposition to problematic anti-Israel mandates and aim to re-
- duce 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 re-tracts databases and other lists seeking to pressure companies into curtailing activities with Israel<sup>2</sup>

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 Com-missioner 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 ele-

ments 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 pan-demic 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 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 toleverage 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 fore-most" 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 principlesmeans 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 highquality 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

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 influences.

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 interagency 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 longstanding, 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-via 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% 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,<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

China's predatory lending practices across the African continent are well documented, especially regarding resource-backed loans for resource-rich nations.<sup>3</sup> 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 polices 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 polices 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

 $<sup>{}^1\,</sup>https://www.iea.org/reports/the-role-of-critical-minerals-in-clean-energy-transitions/executive-summary$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/21/world/us-china-energy.html

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> 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 emerg-ing 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 Indengia Kowa and Malawia and in the process of edding 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-Pa-cific Strategy. As one of USTDA's largest and most diverse country programs, the cific 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.

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# 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 sec-tors 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 deploy-ment 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 batbility of energy storage projects or create roadmaps for enabling regulations for bat-tery 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 en-ergy storage technologies. These visits include meetings with U.S. suppliers to wit-ness 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 ro-bust role in the deployment of energy storage systems in emerging economies across

bust role in the deployment of energy storage systems in emerging economies across the globe.

## RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED TO ENOH 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. In-stead, 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 ex-actly 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 Govern-ment, 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 relation-ships 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.

below-market prices, concessional mancing 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 US

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 ÚSTDA 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

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 oversite 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 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-esteemed 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 polices 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 financing. 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 multilateral 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 nonborrowing 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 RECP'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

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**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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