

NOMINATIONS

THURSDAY, APRIL 15, 2021

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

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 11:12 a.m., in Room SD-106, Senate Office Building, Hon. Bob Menendez, chairman of the committee, presiding.

Present: Senators Menendez [presiding], Cardin, Shaheen, Coons, Murphy, Kaine, Merkley, Booker, Schatz, Van Hollen, Risch, Johnson, Romney, Paul, Cruz, and Hagerty.

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

The CHAIRMAN. Let me turn to—again to the second part of our business meeting or hearing. Before I do, I want to say that I understand the administration will be coming up next week to brief senators on the decision to withdraw from Afghanistan. This committee will also receive a classified briefing next Monday.

The administration, in my view, was dealt a terrible hand by the last administration on Afghanistan, manifested in a withdrawal agreement, then negotiated away all of our leverage with the Taliban. President Biden was left only with bad options. Most Senators would agree that the war in Afghanistan has gone on too long and that we want to see our troops home. But as I have said before, how we draw down matters, as does the political arrangement left in our wake. I have many questions. How can the U.S. maintain the capability to conduct counterterrorism operations in the region without a military presence in Afghanistan? What will this decision portend for the women of Afghanistan? Without a U.S. military presence, how long does our intelligence community think the Afghan Government can survive in the face of punishing Taliban attacks? So I look forward to these conversations next week.

Let me turn to our——

Senator RISCH. May I respond?

The CHAIRMAN. Absolutely. The ranking member.

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

Senator RISCH. Thank you. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. First of all, I concur in the questions that you have. I do not concur in the initial statement about the prior administration. There is no good answer to this. There are just questions. I think that at this point we should look forward rather than backwards, and I think we

should get answers to those questions and decide what—how we can assist in the path forward because that is the most important role we will play here. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. Let me turn to our two nominees, Ambassador Nuland and Ms. Zeya. Congratulations on your nominations, and our thanks to both of you for your willingness to return to the State Department and distinguished careers in the Foreign Service. At this pivotal moment for our foreign policy for democracy and for the State Department, I am heartened that President Biden nominated both of you. You are experienced and accomplished diplomats, and you have both demonstrated the strength and commitment necessary to defend our values.

The positions you have been nominated for—Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs, Undersecretary of State for Civilian Security, Democracy, and Human Rights—are among the most important in the Department. Ms. Zeya, I understand that the distinguished senator from Virginia is going to introduce you this morning, so I will turn to him at this time. Senator Kaine?

Senator KAINE. Thank you, Mr. Chair, and to members of the committee, it is a real honor for me to introduce a wonderful public servant, Uzra Zeya, the nominee for the post described by the chair. Virginia is one of the most connected States in the country to our military mission, but I am also proud that it is one of the most connected States to our diplomatic and development missions, with many diplomats and State Department staffers calling Virginia home.

Ms. Zeya is a 20-year Virginia resident. She is a distinguished diplomat and nonprofit leader who has dedicated virtually her entire adult life to public service, the advancement of human rights, and U.S. national security. The duty to serve runs in her family. She is here with her husband, Tom, a United States Marine. Together, they have more than 60 years of public service to the American public, which is just wonderful, and I love that we have got a diplomat and a military union in the household. That is a wonderful balance.

Ms. Zeya served five presidents, three Republicans and two Democrats, with distinction for 28 years as a Foreign Service officer on four continents. She is fluent in Arabic, French, and Spanish. She was Acting Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights, Democracy, and Labor. In that post, she led U.S. human rights dialogue with China, Egypt, and Bahrain, among others. She vigorously defended religious freedom around the globe and expanded public/private partnerships to advance LGBT equality and counter gender-based violence.

She was *chargé d'affaires* in Paris, and she led the U.S. response to, sadly, three major terror attacks in that city, took U.S.-French cooperation on counterterrorism and Russia to unprecedented levels, and elevated U.S. engagement against antisemitism and online hate. In India, she crafted a strategic partnership framework over a decade ago that still enjoys broad bipartisan support and today serves as the cornerstone of the U.S. Indo-Pacific engagement. She helped overcome India's longstanding aversion to external democracy promotion, and launched new bilateral initiatives to support gender equality in Afghanistan, and to support free and fair elec-

tions abroad. As a young human rights officer in Syria, she documented the brutality of the Assad regime and led U.S. outreach to Syria's minority, religious, and ethnic communities under siege. Since leaving the State Department, Ms. Zeya served for 2 years as CEO and president of the leading nonpartisan Peacebuilders Network where she worked to strengthen the evidence base for successful political transitions and support greater accountability for taxpayer-funded foreign assistance. She also drafted the Council on Foreign Relations report on revitalizing the State Department.

Ms. Zeya is a trailblazer. She is the proud daughter of Indian-American immigrants. She would be the first Asian-American woman to serve as an undersecretary of state, and I believe she is very, very well prepared to take on this post, and we are proud to support this exemplary Virginian. Thank you, Mr. Chair.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator Kaine, for the robust endorsement of Ms. Zeya. Let me conclude. The State Department faces unprecedented challenges from restoring America's place in the world to managing the health and economic crisis created by COVID-19, and China and Russia is at the top of the list of foreign policy crises confronting America today. As you know well, Ambassador Nuland, the United States needs to act now to stop a resurgent Russia with Putin once again threatening Ukraine, continuing his attacks on our democracy, and threatening his grip on the Russian people and those who dare to oppose him. I want to applaud the administration for the actions that were announced today. They are robust. It is a type of action I would have wanted to see, and I look forward to their continuing engagement.

On China, we must both confront Chinese attempts to undermine democracy and human rights and compete with them economically. That is why I am pleased that Senator Risch and I have authored a bipartisan bill which will make the United States competitive with China, and provide us with a clear and coherent national security strategy on China. And while I look forward to a more in-depth discussion on Russia and China during our time for questions, I want to quickly highlight three additional policy areas: Iran, Turkey, and the Western Hemisphere.

Although I did not support the JCPOA, I felt strongly that the Trump administration's decision to withdraw without a coordinated diplomatic strategy would embolden Iran and leave us less safe, and Iran's behaviors only validated my predictions. I recently led a bipartisan letter supporting a diplomatic path forward, but let me be clear. That path must go beyond the scope of the JCPOA. I expect that this administration will pursue what the President and Secretary themselves have endorsed, a stronger and longer agreement, and I will expect you to provide the committee with details of any agreement and on exactly what "longer and stronger" means. Iran, not surprisingly, is seeking to control the timetable for these discussions by taking provocative actions against vessels in the Arabian Gulf and U.S. military facilities in Iraq.

In Turkey, President Erdogan got a free pass from the previous administration, and we are seeing the effects: the purchase of a Russian missile, systematic military aggression in Nagorno-Karabakh and Syria, bellicose actions against Greece and Cyprus. Long considered a NATO ally, Turkey seems to want to break with

us instead of being our partner now. Now, I do not agree with Erdogan's choice, but we have to begin to reorient ourselves in the Eastern Mediterranean towards democracies that share our values and our security interests. The administration has an important opportunity here, and I hope they seize it.

Finally, in our own hemisphere, we must strengthen our alliances and address forced migration. I am particularly concerned about the challenges Columbia, our top strategic partner in Latin America, currently faces, including the monumental task of implementing the 2016 Peace Accord, the violence related to drug trafficking, and the destabilizing influence of the Madura regime's crimes against humanity in Venezuela.

And, Ms. Zeya, I cannot close the day without raising a crisis that goes to the core of American values and American leadership: the state of democracy around the world. We are in the midst of a 15-year democratic recession. From Nicaragua to Hungary, democracy is marching backwards. Even worse, authoritarians are using the COVID-19 pandemic as an excuse to steamroll free and fair elections, independent media, and other hallmarks of democracy, and they have assumed that their violations will be met with little resistance. It is time for the United States to step up and speak out on democracy, and I expect that both of you will help lead the charge to restore democracy throughout the world.

At a time of unprecedented challenges around the world, America needs outstanding leadership at the State Department. I have no doubt that you are both up to that task, but I expect to hear from both of you today about how you plan to restore America's place in the world, repair democracy, and confront the immense challenges facing us.

With that, I turn to the ranking member for his opening comments.

Senator RISCH. Thank you very much Mr. Chairman. We all know that undersecretaries of state serve an important role at the Department. They are responsible for day-to-day management of and policy coordination for their respective bureaus, and we want to thank both of you for your willingness to serve in those capacities.

In the case of Ambassador Nuland's nomination to be undersecretary for political affairs, this role oversees all regional, bilateral, and multilateral policy issues for the Department. This is no small task obviously. While this position has a broad scope, there are a few specific areas of concern I would like to address today, the first of which, of course, is China. Next week, this committee will mark up the Strategic Competition Act. This legislation, introduced by Senator Menendez and myself, counters the Chinese Communist Party's malign influence globally, including by expanding the scope of the Committee on Foreign Investment and the United States' review of foreign money flowing into U.S. higher education institutions; advances concrete cooperation with allies and partners in technology, infrastructure, development, and defense; shines a light on China's predatory economic practices; pushes back on the Chinese Communist Party's influence at the U.N.; highlights China's growing nuclear missile capacities; and calls on President Biden to

assure our extended deterrence to allies and engage China in arms control talks.

These are just a few of the issues we face when it comes to strategic competition with China. The Biden administration's highest priority and ours here in Congress must be to prioritize resources and respond to the challenges posed by the Chinese Communist Party, as well as opportunities presented by expanded and concrete cooperation with allies and partners, especially in the Indo-Pacific region and in Europe.

I want to take this opportunity once again to thank the chairman and the majority party for the negotiations we have had on the China bill. I think this has been a very positive step forward, and it is certainly bipartisan. And obviously, as with all these kinds of things, there are parts of it that I am not in love with, but, on the other hand, it is always a give and take proposition to get where we want to go. I specifically want to thank the staffs of both of the majority and the minority for the give and take that they have entered into and the many hours they have spent negotiating the details of the many pages. I hope we can move this forward. I am a little bit concerned about the overall idea of taking this and wrapping it with six other committees who have ideas along this line. I think these are always difficult enough, but the more of those you wrap together, the more difficult it will be. So whatever happens, I hope we are able to move this bill forward in a bipartisan fashion.

Next, I would like to address the administration's ongoing desire to re-enter the failed JCPOA. Many of us on both sides in the Senate are closely following negotiations with the P5+1 in Vienna. I concur with the chairman that this is difficult. This is not an easy proposition. And at the outset, many of us are deeply concerned with the administration's promises to lengthen and strengthen. Unfortunately, it sounds like a bumper sticker, and, like the chairman, I am interested in hearing what the details are. Unfortunately, to me, it is starting to look a lot more like a straight re-entry into the 2015 deal, which is not acceptable to me and I think not acceptable to most members of this committee on both sides of the aisle. Discussions with the parties have led me to conclude that, and I hope I am wrong on this.

Negotiators have established working groups to address nuclear compliance and sanctions relief, but they have not established a working group on Iran's regional terrorism, something that a lot of us have repeatedly said must be addressed in any deal with Iran. Our national security interests on Iran must last longer than a single administration. If the administration chooses to continue on a path of straight re-entry into the nuclear deal, it will be short-lived. Either the next Republican administration will tear down the deal, or the nation most directly affected, who is remarkably always excluded from the deal, will take unilateral action, which will not end well. To avoid this outcome, the administration must seek bipartisan congressional support for any agreement with Iran. I am feeling that the administration is walking down a well-worn, partisan path that will repeat the mistakes of the original administration that entered into the deal. I hope I am wrong on all of this and all of us here who have a lot of experience in this will be listened to as we move forward.

In Europe, Russia remains a pressing concern. Although Russia is amassing tens of thousands of troops on Ukraine's border as we speak, they have still been allowed to continue construction of the malign Nord Stream 2 pipeline. And, Ambassador Nuland, I appreciate your candid discussion with me in that regard. Actually, in front of this committee, Secretary Blinken testified that he sees the pipeline as a bad deal and has told us that he would like to see it stopped. Yet despite having the power to stop it, we have not seen real action, and I am very disappointed in this. He was personally handed, by myself and other members of this committee, a vetted list of people who need to be sanctioned.

I am not happy with what has happened. They keep telling us that, well, they need to vet this and prepare a case so that when they put the sanctions on, they can be prepared to do it at Court. I have told them, no, you do not. You have probable cause on every one of those people that we have put in front of you, and you need to sanction them. Now, when you go to Court, you need lawyers that have a case well prepared, but there is probable cause on every one of these to be sanctioned that will shut down the pipeline.

The committee drafted and pushed through legislation on a bipartisan basis to prevent the completion. We continue to be concerned by the administration's refusal to fully implement the law and sanction all parties—all parties—involved in the construction of the pipeline. It is past time that the administration take meaningful action on this issue.

I would remind everyone, on day one of this administration, they stopped the XL pipeline, on day one. They have in hand direction from this Congress on a bipartisan basis to do the same thing on a Russian pipeline. If we are going to put American workers out of work, we ought to put the Russian workers out of work on the Nord Stream pipeline. Many on this committee bemoan the previous administration's posture on Russia. What is clear is that the Trump administration was tougher on them than the present Biden administration has been so far.

Next, we have Ms. Zeya's nomination to be undersecretary of state for civilian security, democracy, and human rights. This position is tasked with a broad functional portfolio, which encompasses human rights, counterterrorism, refugees, migration, and trafficking in persons. We must continue to lead on the promotion of democracy, the rule of law, and respect for human rights around the world, not just because those democratic values form the core of our values as a Nation, but also because they lead to stronger partnerships with other nations. I know virtually every member of this committee agrees with me on that proposition.

With regard to the rule of law, I share the administration's concern about the International Criminal Court's decision to investigate U.S. personnel in Afghanistan and Israeli actions in the Palestinian territories. It is completely unacceptable that the ICC has decided to pursue cases clearly outside of their jurisdiction. The Department must continue its efforts to protect our personnel from these politically-motivated efforts.

Again, I thank you both for being here today and your willingness to serve, and your family's willingness to undertake the sacrifices necessary to do so. With that, thank you, Mr. Chair.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator Risch. We will now turn to our two nominees. We ask you to summarize your statements in about 5 minutes or so, so we can have a conversation with you. Your full statements will be included in the record. We welcome your family members who may be with you either virtually or presently. We understand that it is a family affair. There are sacrifices that are made by all in this process, and we appreciate the willingness of your family members as well as yourselves to make the sacrifice. With that, let me turn to Ambassador Nuland.

STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE VICTORIA NULAND, OF VIRGINIA, TO BE AN UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (POLITICAL AFFAIRS)

Ambassador NULAND. Thank you, Chairman Menendez, Ranking Member Risch, and the members of this committee for the opportunity to appear before you today. I also want to thank my husband, Bob Kagan, and my kids, Lanie and David, for their love and their wise counsel. Bob and David are with me today. Lanie is studying for her law exams.

It is a huge honor to be nominated by President Biden and Secretary Blinken to serve as undersecretary of state for political affairs. If confirmed, I will rejoin the profession and the Department that I love, determined every day to strengthen America's capacity to protect our freedom, our security, and our prosperity. And I will support Secretary Blinken in his vision to re-energize American diplomacy, to strengthen our alliances and partnerships, and to build the closest possible collaboration with this committee and with both houses of Congress.

Over 32 years in the Foreign Service, I have served five presidents and nine secretaries of state from both Republican and Democratic administrations. That experience taught me that America is at its strongest when our foreign policy enjoys broad bipartisan support both in Washington and at kitchen tables across America, and the move that you have made together on a bipartisan China bill is really important in that regard.

The CHAIRMAN. Could I just ask you to turn—move your microphone closer to you? It is a little difficult.

Ambassador NULAND. Is that better?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, thank you.

Ambassador NULAND. Okay. My foreign service career was full of adventures, and challenges, and historic moments, from my first tour in Guangzhou, China in 1985, to watching the Soviet flag come down and the Russian flag go up over Red Square in 1991, to being at NATO when it invoked Article 5, an attack on one is an attack on all, 20 years ago in solidarity after the Twin Towers fell. And, of course, I had the opportunity to work closely with many of you in this room, both when I was ambassador in NATO in the Bush administration, and as assistant secretary for European and Eurasian Affairs in the Obama administration. I take pride that, together, we built strong bipartisan approaches to pol-

icity, and many members of this committee and the Senate contributed with their own travel and diplomacy.

Today, our Nation faces a confluence of challenges as daunting as at any time in my professional life. China, under Xi Jinping, does not simply want to compete with us, it wants to dominate the international system and change its rules to benefit autocrats and undercut freedom around the world. Putin's Russia has deployed its fighters and weapons on almost every continent and accelerated its disinformation, election interference, and snuff campaigns against its opponents. Iran is again enriching uranium at 20 percent, while continuing to destabilize its neighborhood from Syria, to Yemen, to Lebanon, to Iraq. ISIS and Al-Qaeda are weakened, but they are not defeated, and too many of the world's citizens are suffering under corrupt and/or illegitimate leaders with blood on their hands. Add to this the urgent global challenges we share: restoring global health and security, tackling climate change, and building our democracies and economies back better with more equity and more justice.

If confirmed as undersecretary of state for political affairs, my job will be threefold; first, to take on any negotiations or diplomatic assignments and management issues that the Secretary deems necessary; second, to oversee the work of the regional bureaus and the Bureau of International Organizations, ensuring that this orchestra of talent plays in harmony; and third, to maintain the closest coordination with fellow political directors around the world, especially in allied and partner capitals, to build communities of common action.

If confirmed, I will also be the senior lifer in the State Department. The President and Secretary Blinken have pledged to respect and empower our great workforce and to have their backs. That was also a powerful motivator for me to return to service to help revitalize and modernize American diplomacy. We must give our foreign, and civil service, and local employees more professional opportunities, support, training, career flexibility, and better technology, while strengthening diversity at all levels of the Department.

I am also animated every day by a firm belief that America is safer and stronger when we lead. As Secretary Blinken has said, the alternatives are far worse, a chaotic vacuum or a global takeover by the enemies of freedom. I also share President Biden's conviction that we are at a global inflection point. Democracy will and must prevail, but democracy does not happen by accident. We have to defend it, we have to fight for it, strengthen it, and renew it. If confirmed, it will be the honor of a lifetime to play my part in that effort.

I look forward to your questions. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Ambassador Nuland follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. VICTORIA NULAND

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

I also want to thank my husband, Bob Kagan and my kids, Leni and David, for their love, their wise counsel and the sacrifices they made as a foreign service family.

It is a huge honor to be nominated by President Biden and Secretary Blinken to serve as Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs. If confirmed, I will rejoin the profession and the Department that I love, determined every day to strengthen America's capacity to protect our freedom, our security and our prosperity. And I will support Secretary Blinken in his vision to reenergize American diplomacy; strengthen our alliances and partnerships; and build the closest possible collaboration with this committee and both houses of Congress.

Over thirty-two years in the Foreign Service, I served five Presidents and nine Secretaries of State from both Republican and Democratic administrations. That experience taught me that America is at its strongest when our foreign policy enjoys broad bipartisan support both in Washington and at kitchen tables across America. President Biden and his team have pledged to lead a foreign policy that represents and benefits the American people. This will require more listening, more consultation with each of you, and with American business, workers, and committed citizens across our country. If confirmed, I look forward to doing as much hard work at home as abroad.

My foreign service career was full of adventures, challenges and historic moments:

- From my first tour in Guangzhou, China in 1985 when our relationship seemed to have so much promise;
- To watching the Soviet flag come down and the Russian flag go up over Red Square in 1991;
- To working on tough arms control problems and conflicts from Rwanda to Haiti to Bosnia and Kosovo;
- Too serving as Deputy Chief of Mission at NATO when our great Alliance invoked Article 5—an attack on one is an attack on all—in solidarity with the United States the day after the twin towers fell.

And, of course, I had the opportunity to work closely with many of you when I was Ambassador to NATO in the Bush administration and Assistant Secretary for European and Eurasian Affairs in the Obama administration. Together, we built strong bipartisan approaches to policy, and many members of the Senate contributed with their own travel and diplomacy.

Today, our nation faces a confluence of challenges as daunting as at any time in my professional life. China, under Xi Jinping, does not simply want to compete with us; it wants to dominate the international system and change its rules to benefit autocrats and undercut democracy and freedom around the world. Putin's Russia has deployed its fighters and weapons on almost every continent and accelerated its disinformation, election interference, and snuff campaigns against opponents. Iran is enriching uranium at 20 percent again, while continuing to destabilize its neighborhood from Syria to Yemen to Lebanon and Iraq. ISIS and AQ are weakened but not defeated. And too many of the world's citizens are suffering under corrupt and/or illegitimate leaders with blood on their hands. Add to this the urgent global challenges we share: restoring global health security, tackling climate change, and building our democracies and economies back better, with more equity and justice.

If confirmed as Under Secretary of State, my job will be three-fold:

- First, to take on any negotiations, diplomatic assignments or management issues that the Secretary deems necessary;
- Second, to oversee the work of the regional bureaus and Bureau of International Organization Affairs, ensuring this orchestra of talent plays in harmony, not at cross purposes;
- And third, to maintain close coordination with fellow Political Directors around the world, especially in allied and partner capitals, to build communities of common action to meet today's challenges.

If confirmed, I will also be the senior "lifer" in the State Department. The President and Secretary Blinken have pledged to respect and empower our great workforce, and to have their backs. That is a powerful motivator for me to return to service—to help revitalize and modernize American diplomacy. We must give our Foreign and Civil Service personnel and local employees more professional opportunities, support, training, career flexibility, and better technology while strengthening diversity at all levels of the Department. For years, the State Department scored the highest among government agencies for workforce satisfaction. I believe it can and will again.

I am also animated every day by a firm belief that America is safer and stronger when we lead. As Secretary Blinken has said, the alternatives are far worse: a chaotic vacuum or a global take-over by the enemies of freedom. I share President Biden's conviction that we are at a global "inflection point"—"democracy will and

must prevail . but democracy doesn't happen by accident. We have to defend it, fight for it, strengthen it, renew it.”

If confirmed, it will be the honor of a lifetime to play my part in that effort. I look forward to your questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. Ms. Zeya?

STATEMENT OF UZRA ZEYA, OF VIRGINIA, TO BE AN UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (CIVILIAN SECURITY, DEMOCRACY, AND HUMAN RIGHTS)

Ms. ZEYA. Thank you. Thank you, Chairman Menendez, Ranking Member Risch, Senator Kaine for your kind words, and distinguished committee members. It is also the honor of my lifetime to be President Biden's nominee as undersecretary of state for civilian security, democracy, and human rights. I am deeply grateful to the President and Secretary Blinken for the confidence they have placed in me.

I also want to thank those who made my journey here possible: my husband, Tom, for always having my back and his decades of service to our Nation as a U.S. Marine and civilian. I also want to thank our two children, Kiera and Lexi, who could not be here today, but whose idealism never ceases to inspire me. Ours is a family rooted in public service and the advancement of freedom. For my father-in-law, a World War II veteran who fought tyranny on the shores of Okinawa; to my grandfather, a freedom fighter in India's quest for independence; to my mother, whose own education was cut short by marriage at the age of 16, and invested all her brilliance in raising four independent-minded, opinionated daughters to seize opportunities never afforded to her. I thank my parents, brother, and sisters for their solidarity in joining virtually today.

In today's disrupted world, the work of the State Department's "J" family of bureaus and offices has never been more important. Authoritarianism, violent antisemitism, islamophobia, and xenophobia are on the rise as the world enters the 15th year of a democratic recession. The Chinese Government is perpetrating genocide and crimes against humanity in Xinjiang, strangling autonomy in Hong Kong, and repressing Tibetans, Christians, and other religious and ethnic minorities. Global human displacement is at record levels while the scourge of human trafficking is ever present and while terrorists expand their lethal reach from Africa to South Asia.

Recognizing the enormity and complexity of the task ahead, I would like to emphasize three core areas where, if confirmed, I would gladly partner with all of you to address. First, the United States needs to take on the China challenge from a position of strength, rooted in human rights and our democratic values. Having led U.S.-China human rights dialogues, I know the severe repression that has only grown more acute under the CCP. I have met with courageous Chinese human rights activists and their families, gave voice to their concerns at the United Nations, and demanded the release of Chinese prisoners of conscience who put their quest for liberty above their personal welfare. I am proud to have been banned on Weibo for denouncing systematic Chinese human rights abuses in Beijing in 2013. We also must continue to

press China on synthetic opioids, which have killed far too many Americans.

Second, we must defend and renew democracy at home in tandem with allies and partners. We are stronger when we work together to address not only China’s human rights abuses and Russia’s efforts to undermine Western democracies, but also rising corruption, disinformation, hate crimes, cyberthreats, and violent extremist movements. If confirmed, I will leverage decades of experience from Europe to South Asia, shoring up alliances in service of shared democratic values, and champion administration initiatives, such as the Quad Summit and the planned Democracy Summit. I am strongly committed to using tools developed by Congress, such as the Global Magnitsky Human Rights Accountability Act and the Uyghur Human Rights Policy Act to target human rights violators, human traffickers, and kleptocrats, and to encourage parallel action by allies and partners.

Third, we need more integrated, inclusive, and effective foreign policies and programs that deliver for the American people. If confirmed, I would build on my experiences inside and outside government to ensure that our assistance and policies have measurable impact and help support reliable rights respecting burden-sharing partners for the United States. To this end, I will support meaningful implementation of key bipartisan legislation, such as the Global Fragility Act, the Child Soldiers Protection Act, and the Women, Peace, and Security Act. And with the devastating impact of COVID–19, we need to ensure that humanitarian assistance and diplomacy work in tandem towards promoting prevention, self-reliance, and durable solutions.

And finally, with research showing that diverse organizations produce greater impact and innovation, I will gladly champion Secretary Blinken’s effort to build a more diverse and inclusive State Department, especially with respect to the “J” family workforce.

Thank you for the opportunity to be here and potentially return to public service. If confirmed, I will work intensively with all of the members of this committee on policies that seek to deliver greater peace, security, and prosperity for the American people. I welcome your questions.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Zeya follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF UZRA ZEYA

Thank you, Chairman Menendez, Ranking Member Risch, and distinguished Committee Members. It is the honor of my lifetime to be President Biden’s nominee for Under Secretary of State for Civilian Security, Democracy, and Human Rights. I am deeply grateful to the President and Secretary Blinken for the confidence they have placed in me.

I also want to thank those who made my journey here possible: my husband, Tom, for being here today and his decades of service to our Nation as a U.S. Marine and civilian. I also want to thank our two children, Kira and Lexi, who could not be here today but whose idealism never ceases to inspire me.

Ours is a family rooted in public service and the advancement of freedom—from my father-in-law, a World War II veteran who battled tyranny at Okinawa; to my grandfather, a freedom fighter in India’s quest for independence; to my mother, whose education was cut short by marriage at the age of 16, so she invested her brilliance in raising four independent-minded and opinionated daughters to seize opportunities never afforded her. I thank my parents, brother, and sisters for their solidarity in joining virtually today.

In today's disrupted world, the work of the State Department's "J family" of bureaus and offices to advance civilian security, democracy, and human rights has never been more important. Authoritarianism, violent anti-Semitism, Islamophobia, and xenophobia are on the rise worldwide, with a global democratic recession entering its fifteenth year. The Chinese government is perpetrating genocide and crimes against humanity in Xinjiang while strangling autonomy in Hong Kong and continuing to suppress Tibetans, Christians, and other religious and ethnic minorities. Global human displacement is at the highest levels ever recorded and the scourge of human slavery is ever present, while terrorists expand their lethal reach from Africa to South Asia.

Recognizing the enormity and complexity of the task ahead, I'd like to emphasize three core areas where—if confirmed—I would partner with members of this committee to address:

First, the United States needs to take on the China challenge—what Secretary Blinken has called our greatest geostrategic test—from a position of strength, anchored in America's support for human rights and democratic values. Having led U.S.-China human rights dialogues, I know the severe repression of human rights in China that has grown even more acute. I met with courageous Chinese human rights activists and their family members, gave voice to their concerns at the United Nations, and demanded the release of Chinese prisoners of conscience who put their quest for liberty above their personal welfare. I am proud to have been banned on Weibo—a state-controlled social media platform—for denouncing systematic Chinese human rights abuses in 2013. We also must continue to press China on synthetic opioids, which have killed too many Americans.

Second, we must defend and renew democracy at home and abroad, in tandem with allies, the "force multipliers" for our national security. We are stronger when we work together with democratic allies and partners to address not only China's human rights abuses and Russia's malign efforts to undermine Western democracies, but also rising corruption, disinformation, hate crimes, cyber threats, and violent extremist movements. If confirmed, I will leverage decades of experience, from Europe to South Asia, shoring up alliances and partnerships in service of shared, democratic values, and champion Biden-Harris administration efforts to empower democratic partnerships, such as the Quad Summit and the planned Democracy Summit. I am strongly committed to using tools developed by Congress, such as the Global Magnitsky Human Rights Accountability Act and the Uyghur Human Rights Policy Act, to target human rights violators, human traffickers, and kleptocrats—and to encourage parallel actions by allies and partners.

Third, we need more integrated, inclusive, and effective foreign policies and programs that deliver for the American people. If confirmed, I would build upon my experiences inside and outside government, most recently as CEO of a non-partisan global peacebuilders' network. We must be careful stewards of taxpayer dollars while ensuring our policies and assistance have a measurable impact and help support reliable, rights-respecting, burden-sharing partners for the United States. In consultation with Congress, we must also exercise greater leadership to implement bipartisan legislation such as the Global Fragility Act, the Child Soldiers Prevention Act, and the Women, Peace, and Security Act. And with the impact of COVID-19, we need to ensure that humanitarian assistance and diplomacy work in tandem towards promoting prevention, self-reliance, and durable solutions.

Finally, research shows diverse organizations produce more impactful and innovative results. If confirmed, I will champion a more diverse and inclusive State Department, especially with respect to the talented, 1,000-plus J family workforce.

Thank you for the opportunity to be here today. If confirmed, I will work with members of this committee on policies that seek to deliver greater peace, security, and prosperity for the American people. I look forward to your questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much to both of you, and we will start a round of 5 minutes questioning.

Ambassador Nuland, I appreciate your leadership over the years in countering Kremlin malign influence. I do not think they were very happy to hear of your nomination, which is a good thing, but a lot has changed since you were in government. Thanks to Congress, we have the CAATSA law, which forced the last administration to take some sanctions measures. However, the last administration also ignored key mandatory provisions in CAATSA and did

little to galvanize our friends in Europe to counter Russian aggression in all of its forms. So what specific new measures would you recommend the Biden administration take to build cohesion among our European allies to show a united front against Kremlin aggression?

Ambassador NULAND. Thank you, Chairman, and thank you for your leadership on this issue. I am going to guess you are right about Kremlin's attitude to today's proceedings. I think we made a very important step today with the strong package of sanctions and measures that the President announced, including, very importantly, constraining Russia's access to our financial markets, to hold them to account for the SolarWinds attack, and other things. I think you have also seen that the administration has already been working hard to align with allies and partners when it moves on Russia. For example, the sanctions that were imposed after Navalny's arrest in February were matched in Europe and in other parts of the world.

I agree with you completely that the U.S. can confront Russia alone, but that is not the smart policy, and we are far stronger when we do it together. I was very pleased to see Chancellor Merkel, for example, issue a parallel, very strong warning to President Putin with regard to his aggression in and around Ukraine and the buildup of forces. That is the kind of thing we need to do, and we need to continue to build sanctions packages together so that the costs are borne born equally, and we highlight what Russia is doing collectively.

The CHAIRMAN. Can we count on you to robustly implement the CAATSA law?

Ambassador NULAND. Absolutely, as well as Global Magnitsky, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. Let me turn to China, which we collectively agree is probably biggest strategic challenge whether it is the broader Indo-Pacific region, getting that right, which I think is the way in which we ultimately face the China challenge correctly, or the previous administration, which I welcomed the Trump administration's clarification of our legal position on China's unlawful claims in the South China Sea. How do you intend to be part of implementing a new approach that we know that such claims are not self-enforcing? It is critical that we make a legal position of reality, not just rhetoric in the South China Sea, among other things. How do you see your role in that regard?

Ambassador NULAND. Well, Mr. Chairman, I agree with you, and, as I said in the opening, China is not just competing with us. It wants to change the rules of the global system. This is the challenge of our time, and having strong bipartisan consensus, not just in this committee, but across the Congress and across the country, makes us stronger. So does investing in our strength at home. But as you have said, and as we talked about with regard to Russia, doing this in tandem and addressing all of China's issues in tandem with our allies and partners is absolutely essential.

So we have to build a coalition of allies and partners to combat unfair trade practices, to the aggressive security policies of China in the South China Sea and in the Taiwan Straits, the cybersecurity, disinformation, all of these things, and protect against a PRC

takeover of international organizations. I am particularly gratified to see more countries joining us, as you said, in the South China Sea with freedom of navigation patrols, et cetera, and we need to take this new quad and build on it, and get Europe and other parts of the world more involved.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Ambassador NULAND. If confirmed, obviously every bureau that I will oversee will have to play a very strong role in our China policy, and I would be responsible for weaving that into everything that we do.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much. Ms. Zeya, let me ask you one last question. The previous administration, in my view, deprioritized human rights and weakened U.S. credibility on this important value. From abdicating our role in the Human Rights Council to failing to call out dictators' human rights abuses, the previous administration disregarded one of the most critical pillars, in my view, of U.S. foreign policy. Can you speak to the importance of U.S. leadership on human rights in terms of our values and interests, and will you make it a priority to ensure that we are working to hold both our allies and our adversaries to the same standards on human rights?

Ms. ZEYA. Thank you, Senator, for your leadership on bipartisan human rights issues as seen in the Strategic Competition Act, and I think it is a very pertinent question. I would commend the administration's approach to reasserting U.S. leadership on human rights by reclaiming an American seat at the table. I think the U.S. decision to rejoin the recent Human Rights Council session and to seek reelection to the Human Rights Council reflects its commitment to make the aspiration of centering human rights and democratic values in our foreign policy a reality.

I would say that they are doing this eyes wide open, recognizing many of the endemic flaws within the Human Rights Council itself, starting with the fact that you have almost a who is who of the world's worst human rights violators as members of that grouping. But I think even within the session that just took place where the U.S. was an observer, we are seeing the positive impact of American engagement and leadership.

And, you know, one of the very important issues that I would continue to focus on is working to eliminate pervasive anti-Israel bias in the U.N. At the just concluded Human Rights Council session, they were able to reduce the number of agenda items for Article 7. You know, the only country in the world is Israel in having a specific agenda inclusion in that fashion. And also work with like-minded partners on issues like Sri Lanka, Belarus, Iran, on so many of the core concerns of this committee, and I would work to expand and sustain that leadership.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. Senator Risch?

Senator RISCH. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. First of all, Ms. Nuland, I want to talk about the JCPOA for a moment. Look, all of us have been through this exasperating exercise now for many, many, many years. Can you give me your thoughts on how we can get together on this, the administration and Congress? I mean, words alone cannot explain to you how frustrated we were in dealing with the negotiators the last time as they dealt with

Iran. Totally ignored everything we asked them to do, and then came back and wanted us to agree to what they had agreed to. How are we going to work through this? Help me out here.

Ambassador NULAND. Senator Risch, I agree with you 100 percent that whatever agreements we reach with Iran need to be supported in a bipartisan fashion, not only on this committee, but across the Congress and across America, and, you know, that will ensure that they are binding across administrations and for the long term. So we have to do our job and consult at every phase, and hear your ideas and incorporate them, and use your expertise and the expertise that we have on this committee and throughout the Congress.

We also have to get on with the job because as we sit here, Iran is now enriching again at 20 percent. It is deploying IR2 centrifuges again. Its breakout time has shortened. So, you know, first job, get them back in the box, and then together define what “longer and stronger” means, and work together as we go through these negotiations.

You know, I think you know from our time together working on Ukraine, we built that policy together, and it was enduring because of that. And if confirmed, I would pledge to be here as often as we need to be to ensure that we all support what is going—what is happening.

Senator RISCH. Well, I appreciate that. One of the things that strikes me, and I have just become so disgusted with this over the years. I have listened very carefully to the nation that is most directly affected by what happens with Iran’s nuclear ambitions, and they are very clear that it does not matter what kind of an agreement you make, they are going to take care of themselves. And so, look, however we go forward in this, they have got to be brought into the fold here to come along because they do not believe they are bound by this. They believe that their existence depends on Iran not having a nuclear weapon, and they are going to see that they do not, regardless of what the agreement says. So this is an issue that really has to be addressed.

And the question I keep asking the administration is, what happens when you get the call, because that is going to be the question. What do we do when we get the call? And so I think that is something that is obviously appropriate for a closed session, but somebody has got to answer that question.

In any event, let’s talk for just a minute. Well, my time is running out. Let me, again, express my frustration on the U.N. Human Rights Council. I understand all the criticism that was given to the last administration for getting up and walking out of the Council. Frankly, I was not as shocked as a lot of people were. I do not know how you sit at a table with—Ms. Zeya, as you indicated, you are sitting around a table with the who is who of human rights violators on the planet, and how do you talk to these people? How do you say to them, you guys got to behave yourself even a little bit more, and they are telling us mind your own business, you know, we will handle our things internally. How do you handle that?

Ms. ZEYA. Senator, I share your concern and even frustration over that issue, but I think it is a question of tactics where U.S.

disengagement from the multilateral system leaves a vacuum that others are very gladly there to fill, starting with China, but also Russia and other countries allied to basically entirely distort the framework of universal human rights, arguments of sovereignty, to reject any notion of international scrutiny or accountability for human rights violations.

So I think the United States needs to be there, but I think the critical element as well, as I cited, is really leveraging our alliances and partnerships, something that China and Russia do not have and does not compare, as a force multiplier to basically integrate universal human rights and our democratic values to make bodies like the Human Rights Council much more effective, and upholding the mission that they were set out to pursue.

Senator RISCH. Well, thank you. That is really good description of what they do and their malign activities, but I think the general statement that we want to make things better, as you talked about it, getting them to move forward on this, I wish you well. I really, really do. But, boy, I will tell you, watching what they have done and how they defend it, I am sure not optimistic in that regard. But I wish you well, and we will support you every way we can. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. Senator Cardin?

Senator CARDIN. Well, thank you, Mr. Chairman, and let me thank both Ambassador Nuland and Ms. Zeya for your public service, your incredible record to our country, and your willingness to continue. And I also want to express my thanks to your family for putting up with public service. It is not always easy, so thank you both.

You both have mentioned that our foreign policy mission must be defined by our values, and I agree completely with that. I have listened to President Biden express that on several occasions as well as Secretary of State Blinken. Both of you mentioned Global Magnitsky, and I am pleased that you underscored the importance of that particular statute that was passed by Congress and incorporated in an executive order by the President. You might be aware that there is a limitation on that, a sunset clause, and there is legislation to remove that sunset clause. And I take it we will have your support for making clear that that statute needs to be made permanent by Congress.

Ms. ZEYA. Yes, Senator. Absolutely.

Ambassador NULAND. Absolutely.

Senator CARDIN. Thank you. I got both of your answers. Thanks. Appreciate that. And, Ambassador Nuland, I want to just underscore your point about President Biden's action taken against Russia. It was not only a decisive action, as it was. It was very clear on its findings, which was refreshing to see the President of United States be very clear about Russia's accountability under Mr. Putin in regards to incursions on borders of other countries, in regards to the treatment of Mr. Navalny, in regards to interference in our cybersecurity, all those. It was a very clear finding, so that was refreshing to see. So knowing your record, it looks like the President is following in your footsteps about being very direct about issues, and we appreciate that very much.

I also want to underscore the point that both of you made, that we have to engage our allies. If we are going to be effective in our foreign policy objectives, it is not only having bipartisan support here in Congress. It is having the support of like-minded countries, and that requires effort, and we have done that in regards to the sanctions under Global Magnitsky. We have gotten more and more countries to go along with us, but I think we need to do more of those, that type of outreach.

Ms. ZEYA, I want to just mention one area that is under your portfolio, and that is trafficking in persons. We have a pretty clear statute on trafficking in persons. It is pretty objective findings as to what tier a country would find itself. But we have had problems under previous administrations where political considerations interfered with the objective findings of countries because of other bilateral considerations. Do we have your commitment that you will maintain the integrity of the TIP reports so that it is based solely on the facts and not interfered with by other politics?

Ms. ZEYA. Yes, Senator. Absolutely.

Senator CARDIN. Thank you. And I use that as an example because there is legislation that I hope will move in this Congress that will use that model for dealing with anti-corruption activities in countries. All countries have problems with trafficking. All countries have problems with corruption. Many of the issues that you have talked to, the root problem is corruption. Mr. Putin does what he does because he gets a lot of money. Oligarchs support his operations, his corruption, and we need to increase the capacity in our country missions to evaluate the corruption situations as we did with trafficking, and then evaluate and use that for foreign policy considerations, and that legislation does exactly that. So can I have both of your commitments to work with us on passing legislation that would use the trafficking model to deal with corruption so that we have capacity in each of our mission countries to deal with corruption in those countries?

Ms. ZEYA. Yes, Senator. I confirm to consult with you and would certainly support the elevation of U.S. anti-corruption efforts, and view corruption as both a violation of human rights, a means to sustain autocracy, as well as an inherent danger to democracies.

Ambassador NULAND. Senator, same from me. Corruption is a country killer. It is also a tool of malign outside actors. I think we have got to do a better job of pulling together the tools of government to help countries attack corruption, so combining the efforts of the State Department, intelligence services, Treasury, Justice into a fusion, and we can do that off the embassy platforms, but we also have to train and educate and support our officers out in the field better. And if confirmed, I look forward to working with you on these issues.

Senator CARDIN. Thank you. My last point—it is not a question—is that, dealing with diversity in the State Department is a very high priority, and I know both of you have mentioned that. Recognize that you have support in the Senate to advance diversity within the Department of State. We have—it is a challenge because we are looking for senior positions as well as entry positions, and I hope that you will work with us on a strategy as to how we can improve the record of diversity within the State Department.

Ms. ZEYA. Yes, I will.

Ambassador NULAND. Absolutely.

Senator CARDIN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator Cardin, and I think you have spoken to the ranking member as well. We look forward in the near future to have your legislation on corruption, which I understand is bipartisan, for a markup soon.

I am going to see if we have some of our colleagues virtually. Senator Paul?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Senator Cruz?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Hagerty?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. Okay. Then as we wait for them to get connected, let me turn to Senator Shaheen.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and congratulations to both of you on your nominations. And thank you both for your willingness to come back into the State Department and continue your public service, which has been admirable on both counts.

Ambassador Nuland, I have expressed disappointment in the President's decision to set the September deadline in Afghanistan to remove all of our troops. Given that we have a very limited time there, is there anything that we should be looking for in terms of benchmarks that we should try and reach before that September deadline?

Ambassador NULAND. Thank you, Senator, and thank you for your long commitment to Afghanistan, and particularly to the women of Afghanistan. As you mentioned, when we prepare for the U.S. redeployment of forces, that puts an emphasis even more strongly on the diplomatic aspects of our work and on the embassy as the platform for that. So we have really got to bear down on this peace process and on bolstering civilian, and economic, and humanitarian assistance programs, and particularly those that protect the gains that have been made, and the gains of women and human rights, Afghan people. We have got to, as the President has pledged to do, expand and expedite special immigrant visas for those Afghans who helped us. We have got to ensure that, as we find a new place to stage our counterterrorism efforts, that we are successful in the diplomacy to establish that, but also in their ability to deploy as needed. I think we also have to look at our embassy platform, particularly when we do not have military security around it.

So I would expect we are going to be coming back to this committee and to the Congress as a whole for more support, and particularly also to get you involved in the diplomacy. I know that has been something you have been willing to do in the past, so watch this space. Thanks.

Senator SHAHEEN. And can you expand a little bit on post-withdrawal strategy with respect to how we can continue to support the gains that women and girls have made in Afghanistan?

Ambassador NULAND. Well, Senator, I want to be careful here because I obviously——

Senator SHAHEEN. Assuming you have been confirmed.

Ambassador NULAND. Yes. Yeah. I was not part of the deliberations, but, as you know, we have very robust support programs, assistance programs, and civilian training programs for women and girls both in Afghanistan and outside. I think we need to ensure that our allies and partners are also contributing to that effort. And we have to hold the Afghan Government and the Taliban to account for their commitments in this regard, and it needs to be a fundamental measure of whether Afghanistan is making progress or retaining the gains or sliding backwards.

Senator SHAHEEN. Ms. Zeya, I appreciate your mentioning the Women Peace and Security Act in your opening remarks. I think it is a very important tool that we have, and I was disappointed that it was not used by the previous administration in Afghanistan as they were negotiating with the Taliban. But can you talk about how you will work with the Office of Global Women's Issues, if you are confirmed, to ensure that the "J" family is aligned with the gender concerns of GWI and the GPC?

Ms. ZEYA. Absolutely, Senator, and I want to thank you for your leadership on building bipartisan consensus for, you know, greater women's empowerment and ultimately achieving women, peace, and security goals. And I think the Afghanistan example is critical, as you discussed with Ambassador Nuland. I would say, from my own perspective, I think it is very important with this decision for the U.S. to continue to strongly support increased women's participation in the peace process. As you are well aware, women's participation in peace processes, most of which fail, you know, by record of history, makes them 35 percent more likely to last 15 years or more. This is critical, I think, at the inflection point we find ourselves.

It is also critical to take an integrated approach in the State Department. I think since the GWI Office was created, and, you know, it has been a bipartisan effort with important progress made, it is really critical to recognize this is not the work of one office. So if confirmed, I would certainly seek to further integrate gender equality across the full spectrum of "J" family activity, obviously on democracy and human rights, but also on issues like counterterrorism, counter-narcotics, and, quite obviously, trafficking in persons. So this work is too important, it is too enormous for anyone office to accomplish alone, and I certainly would seek to leverage the talent and expertise in the "J" family to make WPS goals a reality. And I think we have a critical task ahead of us in Afghanistan to make that possible.

Senator SHAHEEN. Well, thank you both very much. If you are confirmed, and I assume you will be, I look forward to working with you.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator Shaheen. Thank you for your leadership on global women's issues. With that, I understand now that Senator Hagerty is with us virtually?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Hagerty?

Senator HAGERTY. Thank you very much. I have a question for Ms. Zeya, please. Ms. Zeya, this is a matter of deep concern to me. It is a serious problem in my home State of Tennessee. December 1st, 2018, President Xi promised then-President Trump to halt the

export of fentanyl and all of the ingredients used to make fentanyl. Since that promise was made, we have had over 100,000 American lives lost to synthetic opioids, directly traceable to CCP-produced fentanyl. If I think about it, America has done a great job, in the current administration and the administration that preceded it, in dealing with the COVID-19 situation, but there is no vaccine for the addiction to fentanyl that we are experiencing at the hands of communist China. Can you tell me what your plan is to address this and to hold President Xi to his promise made in December of 2018?

Ms. ZEYA. Thank you, Senator, for raising a critically-important issue, and I just want to express my own concern for the welfare of your constituents, and this was one of the reasons I raised this point in my opening remarks. And as you recounted, I think there was progress made under the previous administration where China agreed to implement controls and schedule fentanyl analogs, but sadly, what happened is we saw transnational criminal organizations adapt and basically shift to using precursor chemicals from China, negating the gains from the previous effort, which was the result of considerable U.S. diplomacy and negotiation. So I absolutely believe that the Chinese Government can and must do more to hold its citizens and companies accountable that are supplying these precursors to transnational criminal organizations in Mexico and elsewhere.

I think the United States needs to take a whole-of-government approach where the State Department, our embassy in Beijing, plays a very important role, but we also need to work with the Department of Homeland Security, DEA, and DOJ, to take on the Chinese Government's willful ignorance on this issue and to really prioritize saving the lives. As you mentioned, the record numbers of American losses due to opioid-related overdoses is unacceptable, and this is something I would intend to prioritize if confirmed.

Senator HAGERTY. I appreciate your prioritization of that, and I would also underscore the fact that our border has become far more porous at Mexico, and that is where this fentanyl is coming in and being produced in mass quantities. I was just back in my home State of Tennessee talking with sheriffs, with mayors, and what they have told me is something I think is probably being experienced across America. There has been a huge uptick in the number of overdoses since the borders collapsed after the 20th of January. So this situation has become even more critical at this point, and very much appreciate your attention to it.

Ms. ZEYA. Thank you, Senator, for sharing that information, and I will certainly work to prioritize that in the work of the International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Bureau, and I know this remains a significant priority in terms of our counter-narcotics engagement with Mexico.

Senator HAGERTY. Thank you, Ms. Zeya. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. Next is Senator Kaine, and there is a vote that is ongoing. It is the intention of the chair to work through the vote, so I would urge members to possibly vote and return. The order I have in order of appearance is—and, course, we will flip back and forth to the extent that there are members on

the other side who are available. It is Senator Kaine, Senator Merkley. I do not know if they will be here, but Senator Schatz, Senator Van Hollen, Senator Coons, Senator Booker, and Senator Murphy. That is the order I have. With that, Senator Kaine?

Senator KAINE. Great to see both of you, and congratulations on your nominations. Ambassador Nuland, briefly, I am about to reintroduce a bill that this committee acted on last year but that never saw action on the floor that would clarify that no President can withdraw unilaterally from NATO without congressional action. NATO is a Senate-affirmed treaty. I view this as a statement of congressional prerogative, but also just simply an effort to demonstrate to our NATO allies that congressional support for the alliance's near 75 years is still very, very strong. You have a lot of experience with our NATO allies. Would they see that statement of strong intent from Congress in a positive light?

Ambassador NULAND. Thanks, Senator Kaine. When you introduced it last year, you could hear the huzzahs on the other side of the Atlantic. I think there was quite a lot of concern. And, you know, I also think that it is really interesting that over the last 3 years, public opinion polling on the United States with regard to NATO has gone up to record levels over the last 20 years. You know, Americans want to work with allies and partners, so I think you are reflecting the bipartisan commitment to our great alliance as well across the country. So I commend you.

Senator KAINE. Thank you. And when that bill was acted on by the committee last year, just to specify, it was a very bipartisan vote. It was bipartisan in introduction. The version that we will introduce, again, is very bipartisan. Ms. Zeya, thank you for the conversation that we had the other day. One of the issues I would like to ask you about is the issue of the refugee cap. The past administration dramatically scaled back U.S. acceptance of refugees, and the Biden administration sort of in its campaign and earlier today said we wanted to kind of return more to the norm where the U.S. was accepting refugees who go through a careful vetting process because our Nation has been such a haven for those seeking refuge from circumstances that are just nearly unspeakable. Tell me, is it your understanding that it is still the administration's intent to revert back to a norm on refugee admission? Some of us are a little bit discouraged at the timing and pacing of that, but please let us know what the administration's plans are, to your knowledge.

Ms. ZEYA. Thank you, Senator. I can assure you that I strongly support President Biden's public commitment to raise the ceiling for refugee admissions to 125,000 for fiscal year 2022. Now, as a nominee I am not privy to policy discussions that are under way, but I know that the President is committed to regrowing this program and doing it in the most effective, orderly, and humane way possible. So if confirmed, I will do everything in my power to make this a reality.

Senator KAINE. My surmise is that when the past administration cut the program down so dramatically in terms of the admissions, they may have also reassigned staff who were working on vetting and other issues. And so I do not think we want to just go back to the number without having the staff to make sure the program is run well, so I think we would all understand if it takes a while

to get back to the norm. But should you be confirmed, we would really love your reporting to us about the progress toward that, recognizing it is not just a State Department issue, but multiple agencies work on this, and we would love to be in dialogue with you about that going forward.

Human rights questions, I cannot think of anybody whose background is better suited than yours to dealing with these tough human rights issues. And one of the things that, you know, I have often found on this committee in dealing with human rights issues is, it is one thing to raise them against adversaries, you know, what is happening with the Uyghurs in China, what is happening with Hong Kong pro-democracy activists, and we need to be muscular in raising this with adversaries, but it is one of the most difficult sets of human rights issues when you are dealing with allies. And, you know, whether it is a—we have had an alliance with Saudi Arabia, we have an alliance with Egypt, but we run into significant human rights challenges with them.

And when you raise human rights issues with an ally, one of the stock responses we used to hear from the past administration, but not just them, from others, is, well, if you push us too hard on human rights, of course, we will just buy our arms or do our, you know, diplomatic activities with Russia or others. Just talk about how we balance aggressive promotion of our human rights values with this sort of oft-repeated threat that, well, if you push us, we will deal with countries that are not interested in human rights.

Ms. ZEYA. Thank you, Senator, for raising, you know, what is a challenging and a critically-important issue, this issue of consistency with respect to centering human rights and democratic values in our foreign policy. And in this case, the way I see it, the administration is absolutely committed to democratic renewal at home and abroad. And what this means is it is important, as we seek to shore up our alliances and partnerships, for us to hold one another accountable. And ultimately, I think we have seen how a selective U.S. approach to human rights, one that only targets U.S. competitors or adversaries, ultimately undermines U.S. credibility and leadership. So I can pledge to you, if confirmed, I would work very closely with Ambassador Nuland, with counterparts in regional bureaus, our 270 missions in the field, to strike the right balance and to make sure that we are truly centering human rights and democratic values in our foreign policy.

I think that the initiative of the Democracy Summit, which the President is committed to, is a very important one where we can help carry a concrete agenda forward on issues like corruption, countering rising authoritarianism, and really defending human rights at home and abroad.

Senator KAINE. Thank you much. I am over my time. Thank you, Mr. Chair.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. I just want to echo Senator Kaine's concern about the presidential declaration on refugees. There is a difference between refugee resettlement and the question of those who seek asylum at our border. They are fundamentally different, and they should not be conflated, and I do hope and I believe the President is committed to that, but the sooner he signs the declara-

tion, the greater the crystallization of that commitment will be realized. So thank you.

I am not sure if there are any members presently waiting virtually. If you are, please speak up at this time.

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. I am not hearing any. I do understand that Senator Coons is coming back and there is another member on his way. So let me take advantage of the time to ask one or two questions that I had intended to wait to the end.

Ambassador, Azerbaijan's attack on the Armenian people last fall with Turkey's full support was, in my view, an unspeakable tragedy. The absence of top-level United States diplomacy throughout the war was inexcusable, and we have to prevent it from repeating in the future. I also believe the U.S. must press Azerbaijan to release the prisoner of war numbers that it has, which it is refusing to release them, in violation of international law, and to ensure that the Armenians displaced from their homes in Nagorno-Karabakh get the assistance they need. So if you are confirmed, will you commit to advocating for robust humanitarian assistance, including de-mining funds, to help the Armenians in the South Caucasus who have been displaced from their homes or otherwise affected by Azerbaijan's attack? And secondly, what can we do to revitalize the OSCE Minsk Group and create a more sustainable peace process?

Ambassador NULAND. Absolutely. Mr. Chairman, I think you know that I have worked on Armenia, Azerbaijan, Nagorno-Karabakh issues for some 25 years, and the way things went down last year was absolutely tragic for so many in the region. So as you say, we have to get prisoners released. We have to get humanitarian support back in. We have to ensure the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Armenia and that it can make its own decisions, and we have to talk to our ally, Turkey.

You know, the Secretary has spoken about needing to be clear eyed regarding trends in Turkey. I think we have got a lot of work to do there in our bilateral relationship to make clear our concerns about not only what Turkey is doing outside its country, but also what it is doing inside its country. So I think we have got to get back into the business of strong support for the Caucasus countries, being active diplomatically, getting high-level leadership there, showing support, et cetera, and using all of our economic and humanitarian tools.

The CHAIRMAN. And I hope we will be a strong advocate for getting POWs back. I mean, it is just in violation of international law.

Ambassador NULAND. Absolutely.

The CHAIRMAN. With that, let me turn to Senator Cruz.

Senator CRUZ. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Welcome to both the nominees. Congratulations on your nominations. I have enjoyed conversations with both of you in my office.

Ms. Nuland, I want to turn to a topic that is not going to surprise you, and it is a topic we have discussed at great length, and that is Putin's Nord Stream 2 pipeline. I have deep concerns that the Biden administration is on the verge of squandering what was an enormous bipartisan victory won by this committee, by Congress, and the previous administration last year. Nord Stream 2

was 90 percent complete when Congress passed bipartisan sanctions that I authored, along with Senator Shaheen, that stopped the pipeline in its tracks, immediately stopped the pipeline for a year.

Russia has begun again building the pipeline. It did so in the weeks following Joe Biden's election, and it did so because Russia believes the Biden administration is not going to follow the law, that they are not going to enforce the bipartisan sanctions that have passed now both houses of Congress with the chairman's support, with the support of virtually every member of this committee, passed twice now, sanctions targeting Nord Stream 2. And yet there are voices within the Biden administration that I think are arguing not to enforce the law and enforce the sanctions.

Ms. Nuland, in your judgment, can you assess the damage to American national security and to the energy security of our European allies if the Nord Stream 2 pipeline is completed?

Ambassador NULAND. Senator Cruz, thank you for your leadership on this issue. We did have a robust conversation about this, and we also worked on the energy security together when I was in the European assistant secretary job. Look, this is not just a bad deal for Germany and Europe. It violates their own climate policy, their energy policy to go greener. It deepens their dependence on Russia just at a time when Moscow is rearming around and inside Ukraine and when they are letting Navalny wither in prison. So I want to thank you for the tools you, and this committee, and this Congress have given us. I think we need to use all the tools at our disposal to stop this pipeline before it is finished. We need to press the German Government to do the same.

As I said earlier, I was very pleased to see a strong statement from Chancellor Merkel warning President Putin about his arming in Ukraine. Nothing would send a stronger signal to him than the cancellation of this pipeline, and I think we have got to make that point. And if confirmed, it will be a top early priority of mine.

Senator CRUZ. So if you are confirmed, what steps would you anticipate taking to stop the completion of Nord Stream 2?

Ambassador NULAND. I understand there are sanctions packages in development, some of them based on information that has been provided and circulated from the Congress. I think we have to accelerate the sanctions packages. I also think we have to be much clearer and stronger with our German allies that this is a matter of bipartisan concern across the United States, and it is taking Germany in the wrong direction in terms of its relationship with Russia. And all of us together now need to stand up to an increasingly aggressive Putin. So lots to do.

Senator CRUZ. So I very much agree with you. I also think time is of the essence. The Russians are trying to jam through and finish this pipeline before the administration takes action. As you know, I have tried to work with the administration, using both carrot and stick, to prompt the administration to comply with the law and use the tools that are available. I appreciated Secretary of State Blinken putting out a strong statement on Nord Stream 2. And, as you know, because you were in the room when we negotiated that agreement in my office, that in exchange for that statement, I lifted two holds that I had placed on nominees from this

administration. I very much hope to lift other holds as well, but the agreement that we worked out was designed to be incremental and staged, and in order for the next set of holds to be lifted, we need to see sanctions on the entities responsible for Nord Stream 2.

And the Biden State Department has indicated that those would be forthcoming, but they have not been, and I will say there are reports of ongoing resistance within the administration to doing so. If that resistance manifests in delays that will turn into an unequivocal win for Putin, a loss for Europe, and a loss for America. And so let me urge the administration to honor the commitments that it has made, follow the law, and issue the sanctions that are mandatory under law. We can stop this pipeline. We have stopped this pipeline, and it is only the signals of weakness and a willingness to disregard the law that have enticed Russia into returning once again to building the pipeline. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. I understand Senator Van Hollen is online with us virtually.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. Yes, Mr. Chairman. Thank you, and let me thank both of our witnesses here today. Ambassador Nuland, let me start with you. I was pleased to see President Biden impose sanctions yesterday and today on Russia given Putin's continuing aggression, given their cyberattacks on the United States, including on our democracy and in working to interfere in our elections. And, of course, we see increased aggressive activity in eastern Ukraine from Putin.

Meanwhile, the chairman mentioned in his opening statement a number of actions being taken by one of our allies, Turkey. Under President Erdogan, Turkey has purchased the advanced air defense system, the S400, from Russia. Turkey has violated the airspace of another NATO ally, Greece, and invaded the territorial waters of Cyprus. Under Erdogan, they have attacked our Syrian Kurdish allies who were critical to our fight against ISIS, additional measures taken in Armenia, so this does not sound like a faithful NATO ally to me. Can you talk about how you and the administration propose to deal with the challenges we are facing now under President Erdogan's Turkey?

Ambassador NULAND. Thank you, Senator Van Hollen. I agree with you that this is a very challenging allied relationship that is going to require a whole lot more work. As I said to the chairman, I agree with the Secretary. We have got to be clear eyed and firm about it. It makes zero sense to me that a NATO ally is buying new Russian weapons systems. It is also a matter of bipartisan concern across the United States. We need to continue to press Turkey on this issue, as well as all of the other issues that we have together, and we have got to—you know, including democracy and human rights inside the country, freedom of the press. We have got to get on the same page together with regard to Syria and Libya, and, as we talked about earlier, Nagorno-Karabakh.

And, more broadly, I think we have got to start a conversation in NATO about backsliding on our values among allies. The United State is far from perfect itself as we all know, but it is very important that we all recommit at that table to the things that make us strongest, and, particularly, in the context of a rise of autocracy and illiberalism across the world. NATO allies have to stand for

freedom, democracy, and governments that serve their people. So if confirmed, I look forward to rolling up sleeves, getting back to Ankara, and having these conversations.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. Well, thank you. I was also pleased to see the Biden administration, first of all, reaffirm our ironclad commitment to the security of Israel and, you know, deepen those ties even further. And also I was pleased to see them reaffirm what had been longtime bipartisan support for a two-state solution between Israel and the Palestinians. There are a lot of people who think it is too late for a two-state solution given the changes on the ground in the territories and other factors. Do you believe it is too late, and, if not, what needs to be done to ensure that we preserve the option of a viable two-state solution?

Ambassador NULAND. Thanks, Senator. It remains profoundly in U.S. national interests to support a two-state solution. As you know, Senator, it is going to require willing and ready partners on both sides in the Israeli context where, again, in a government formation period in the Palestinian Authority, there needs to be will as well. And in the meantime, we need to ensure that both Israel and the PA refrain from any unilateral steps that could exacerbate tensions and make it harder to get to a two-state solution.

I think the United States has got to remain a steady partner and continue to say to both Israel and the Palestinian Authority that this is the best path for peace, so. I think that is where we have got to go. And I think it is important that the National Security Council is running almost weekly sessions with Israeli counterparts, particularly in this period of transition in Israel, to keep us connected not only on these issues, but on Iran and other vital issues in the region.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. I appreciate that. Mr. Chairman, I know I have run out of time. I will submit my questions for our other witness, and congratulations to both of you on your nominations.

Senator COONS. Thank you, Senator Van Hollen. Chairman Menendez has gone to the floor to vote. As you both, as seasoned public servants, know, the schedule of the Senate is not entirely predictable, so for those watching and may be surprised that I just popped in—Senator Coons—I am sitting in for a few moments for the chairman as he goes to vote.

Thank you so much, Ambassador Nuland, Ms. Zeya, for your willingness to serve our Nation again and for the support and love that your family and your circle of supporters have offered throughout your decades of service. I look forward to working with both of you to address the many foreign policy challenges facing our country, how to build a bipartisan China strategy, something I am really encouraged about progress being made here by Chairman Menendez and Ranking Member Risch and their staff. There is bipartisan legislation being introduced that will be marked up next week. I am very excited about that and look forward to joining as a sponsor and supporting their work on that; the work to address Iran's nuclear program and other threats regionally from the Islamic Republic, efforts to support stability in the Middle East while avoiding additional long-term entanglements, efforts to push back on and contain the malign influence of the Russian Government. There are so many challenges, I could take all of 5 minutes in sum-

marizing them, and I hope we will get to work closely together on prioritizing human rights, defending democracy, revitalizing the State Department, confronting shortcomings in workforce diversity, and others.

Let me just ask both of you, if I could, about the Global Fragility Act. Ms. Zeya you were kind enough to reference it in your opening remarks. This is a tool provided by Congress on a bipartisan basis, I helped co-author, to address the root causes of extremism and violence in fragile countries. Will you commit to reviewing it, and to promptly selecting the priority countries for the Global Fragility Act, and submitting a revised strategy that takes into account the post-COVID context?

Ms. ZEYA. Yes, absolutely, Senator.

Ambassador NULAND. I think one of the fun things here, if we are both confirmed, is that we would work on these issues together because it will obviously cross the remits of both of our jobs, so looking forward to it.

Senator COONS. It is my hope and expectation we will use this tool to balance assistance around security, democracy, human rights, and to make sure that between diplomacy development and defense, we have got the order right.

The Moscow Bureau of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty is under intense pressure, really under siege by the Kremlin, just one of many recent examples of an authoritarian crackdown on press freedoms around the world. How would you support, if confirmed our RFE/RL's efforts to ensure that Russian citizens have access to unbiased news about their own country, and what actions would you take to support free press around the world? If I might, Ms. Zeya.

Ms. ZEYA. Senator, I think it is critical for, you know, for the United States to take a whole-of-government approach on these issues. So certainly, if confirmed, I would work closely with the undersecretary for public diplomacy as well as USAGM on this critical closing space for civil society and free expression in Russia that is critical to holding the Putin government accountable for their widespread violations of human rights. So I would look to work with partners in government as well as the mission in the field to elevate this issue and act accordingly.

Senator COONS. Thank you. Ambassador Nuland on press freedom broadly?

Ambassador NULAND. Yeah, just to pile on, Senator, and thank you for raising RFE/RL. I agree with you that they are at a critical moment here. Really interestingly, I think one of the reasons the Kremlin is cracking down is because listenership and viewership at RFE/RL has gone up exponentially over the last recent years, and not just in Russia, but also in Belarus and other parts of the world where press is constrained. So one of the things that Moscow understands is reciprocity. If confirmed, I would be interested in looking at whether we are being reciprocally constraining with regard to RT Sputnik and other Russian Government organs. Press freedom is an absolutely essential human right and part of good governance around the world.

I would just lay down a marker here that I am also concerned about press freedom in the NATO space. We have a number of allies backsliding here, and it is very important that we keep that

front of agenda. And we also have a number of American companies that, you know, broadcast freely in these countries, and their ability to do that is being constrained by government. So a lot of work to do.

Senator COONS. I introduced a bipartisan Libya Stabilization Act in the last Congress and recently reintroduced it. This would support a diplomatic resolution to the ongoing grinding conflict in Libya, a country where there are 280,000 IDPs and 570,000 refugees. What additional action should we be taking to ensure that elections actually take place in December of this year and to enable the Government to be successful, and would movement by this committee on a bill like the Libya Stabilization Act be constructive? Ambassador Nuland, if you might.

Ambassador NULAND. Absolutely. We have a sliver of light now in Libya with these elections, agreed, and we have got to ensure that they are free, fair, that they are internationally observed. This is a place where, again, working with allies and partners, Europeans obviously, but countries in the—in the region to support Libya as it goes forward with all of this, we may need more resources to do that. I, you know, if confirmed, look forward to opening up the hood and seeing what we are already doing and working with allies and partners to ensure that the Libyan people feel that support and get this chance that they have suffered so much for.

Senator COONS. Any additional comments before I turn to my colleague, Senator Murphy?

Ms. ZEYA. Senator, I would just add on Libya, endorsing Ambassador Nuland's comments, I think we should also leverage all tools available, including U.N. and U.S. Government sanctions, to bring an end to foreign military intervention, hold violators of human rights accountable, and ultimately support the goal of a sovereign, stable unified Libya.

Senator COONS. Wonderful. Thank you both. Let me now turn to my colleague, Senator Murphy of Connecticut.

Senator MURPHY. Thank you very much, Senator Coons. Welcome to you both. Thank you for your willingness to serve once again. Ms. Zeya, I look forward to building a working relationship with you. To Ambassador Nuland, I am glad to have you back as a partner. I will tell you, your candor and your reputation for candor, we appreciate it here on the Foreign Relations Committee. We often get a lot of spin from administration officials on both sides of the aisle, but I think you are well respected here on both sides of the aisle because of your ability and willingness to talk to us about facts on the ground as they are, not as we wish. So great to see you again.

Speaking of facts on the ground, I wanted to bring us back to the negotiations over Iran's nuclear program, and just note a statement from the Saudi foreign ministry dated yesterday or today in which an official there said we can begin with a nuclear deal and move on to another format that we will discuss all these other issues in a positive manner. Some folks took note of that statement, but it, frankly, likely acknowledges two realities: one, that our partners in the Gulf would like to be at the table when we discuss broader regional security concerns, in particular, Iran's support for terrorist organizations or their ballistic missile program, but also, that it is

much more likely to have that conversation constructively if we get back into the JCPOA and get back on the same page with the P5+1.

And so I wanted to ask you whether you think that the likelihood of getting a comprehensive agreement, where we litigate all of our disputes with Iran, is more likely today than it was in 2013, 2014, and 2015, when we were negotiating the JCPOA.

Ambassador NULAND. Senator Murphy, it is great to see you. Although I am a citizen in Senator Kaine's region at the moment, I grew up in Connecticut, so Connecticut strong. Look, on Iran, I think we have got to pursue all of these problems in tandem. Whether that is a question of a comprehensive agreement, I think there are many players in many different pieces of this. What is most urgent today is that Iran is breaking out again of its nuclear box. It is enriching at 20 percent. It is using these advanced centrifuges. We have got to get them back in the box on the nuclear front. But at the same time, we can and should be countering their malign regional influence by being stronger diplomatically in Syria.

I have concerns that the diplomatic table, the future of Syria's political structure, et cetera, is being run by Russia and Iran, and the United States needs to be more active there. We need to support Lebanon more strongly against malign Iranian influence, and I was glad to see the undersecretary for political affairs, David Hale, make a trip to Lebanon. You have worked a lot on the Yemen issue.

So I believe we can be working on Iran's malign influence at the same time that we are having these conversations about the nuclear problem, and, frankly, the players are different in some of those things. And we have also got to build the basis for people to understand better than they do now what Iran is doing on the missile front. So walk and chew gum would be my answer to your question.

Senator MURPHY. Yeah, so I agree that our goal should be to walk and chew gum at the same time. Do you think we have to be driven by realities on the ground? And I, for instance, do not believe that we are going to be able to make progress in Yemen while we are still outside of the JCPOA. I think while we are still engaged in maximum pressure, the Iranians are likely to use every opportunity they can find to provoke. And so I do think that there is some argument to sequence here, and I will continue to make that argument on this committee.

In the remaining time I have left, I just wanted to turn to the subject that you and I have spent a lot of time working on together, and that is Ukraine. Obviously, you know, we have taken strong steps today to send a strong message to the Russians about the message we need to send regarding the array of Russian forces on the border. But it has always been, I think, our belief that while Russia wants to use that front in order to put pressure on the Ukrainian Government, their longer-term plan is not likely a full military takeover of Ukraine, but to try to politically and economically weaken that country to the point where they ultimately just make the decision to install pro-Russian or a Russia-friendly government again.

And so I would just ask this question. It is still incredibly important for us to view this as a multi-systemic effort that, while we have to have a military answer and support Ukraine in a military way, we also have to be equally focused on supporting their economy, supporting their political reform agenda, because that is maybe the most likely mechanism for Russia to eventually get a state of affairs that aligns with their interests.

Ambassador NULAND. I absolutely agree completely, and, you know, your leadership on Ukraine was essential the last time I was in government, and the fact that you continue to support Ukraine is important. The number one thing Ukraine needs to be a strong, stable, sovereign state is to tackle endemic corruption. The United States has put a huge amount of effort into that, but corruption is also a tool that the Kremlin uses to corrode Ukraine from the inside and by governments, et cetera. So it is in all of our interests to continue to work on those issues.

And the Zelensky government has taken some important steps in recent weeks, but there is a lot more to be done. And we also need to get—support them and getting back into alignment with the IMF and all of those things that you have worked on. And the strong support from the Congress for Ukraine has been important, but they need to take the steps to walk the walk.

Senator MURPHY. Thank you. Thank you to you both. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. My understanding is there are no members seeking recognition on either side of the aisle, and with that, thanks to both nominees for their time today.

The record will remain open until the close of business on Friday, April the 16th. I would urge the nominees to answer questions expeditiously in order for their nominations to be able to move forward to a business meeting.

The CHAIRMAN. And with that, the committee is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 12:47 p.m., the committee was adjourned.]

Additional Material Submitted for the Record

Questions Submitted Prior to the Hearing

RESPONSES TO PRE-HEARING QUESTIONS SUBMITTED TO
HON. VICTORIA NULAND BY COMMITTEE REPUBLICAN STAFF

For the questions below, the following definitions apply:

“Foreign person” includes both:

- 1) a natural person who is not a United States citizen or an alien lawfully admitted for permanent residence to the United States; and
- 2) an entity not organized under the laws of the United States or any jurisdiction within the United States.

“Foreign government” includes any agency or instrumentality of such government.

“ASG” refers to Albright Stonebridge Group, each of its predecessors, successors, divisions, subsidiaries, and affiliates, and all present and former directors, officers, employees, agents, consultants, or other persons acting for or on behalf of any of them.

“BCG” refers to Boston Consulting Group, each of its predecessors, successors, divisions, subsidiaries, and affiliates, and all present and former directors, officers, employees, agents, consultants, or other persons acting for or on behalf of any of them.

Albright Stonebridge Group, where we understand you have served as a Senior Counselor, describes itself on its website in the following way:

ASG is the premier global strategic advisory and commercial diplomacy firm.

We offer perspectives honed at the highest levels of government and business, and insights informed by an unparalleled worldwide network of regional experts and sectoral specialists based in over 40 countries.

Our team offers sound judgment, high-level relationships, and nuanced counsel to deliver a competitive advantage to our clients.

Boston Consulting Group, where we understand you have served as a Senior Counselor, describes itself on its website in the following way:

BCG's diverse, global teams bring deep industry and functional expertise and a range of perspectives to spark change through leading-edge management consulting as well as data science, technology and design, digital ventures, and business purpose.

Services Provided to ASG or BCG Foreign and Foreign-Owned or Controlled Clients

Question. During your time at ASG or BCG, were you ever personally involved in providing services to any of the following:

- Foreign government
Answer. No.
- Entity owned or controlled by a foreign government
Answer. No.
- Foreign person
Answer. Yes.
- Entity owned or controlled by a foreign person
Answer. Yes.

Question. Please provide a list of each government, person, and entity covered by Question 1, including the dates of services provided to each and a description of services provided.

Answer. At ASG, I provided services to two foreign owned companies, one with a foreign CEO:

- ERG International, owned/controlled by Turkish and UK citizen, Sani Erbilgin, from May 2019–October 2019. I provided advice and advocacy for the company's bid to construct a new airport in Sofia, Bulgaria.
- Tilray, Canadian company with a U.S. citizen CEO, from April 2019–March 2020. I provided advice regarding the formation of the company's international advisory board and on the global regulatory landscape for the company's products.

I did not interface with clients at BCG. I provided advice and global strategic context to internal BCG teams.

ASG or BCG Contact or Engagement with Foreign Governments or Entities

Question. During your time at ASG or BCG, did you ever directly contact or engage any of the following on behalf of a client?

- Foreign government
Answer. Yes.
- Entity owned or controlled by a foreign government
Answer. No.
- Foreign political party
Answer. No.
- International organization (including international treaty organizations such as the European Union)
Answer. Yes, the EU.

- Entity of an international organization (including international treaty organizations such as the European Union)

Answer. Yes, the EU.

Question. Please provide a list of the contacts and engagements covered by Question 1, including:

- An identification of 1) each government or entity contacted or engaged with; and 2) each applicable ASG or BCG client;
- The dates of each contact or engagement; and
- A description of each contact or engagement.

Answer. In October or November 2017, I engaged with Ukrainian Presidential Advisor Boris Lozhkin and Central Bank Deputy Ekaterina Rozhkova on behalf of Price Waterhouse Coopers (PWC) in an effort to improve relations between the company and the Central Bank.

In July 2019, I engaged with the Bulgarian Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister on behalf of ERG International's bid to construct the new airport in Sofia.

In September 2019, I engaged with David Arakhamia at the Ukrainian National Investment Council in support of AWS's interest in establishing a presence in Kyiv.

In October and November 2020, I engaged with Sergiy Tsivkach, head of UkraineInvest, in support of Lyft's interest in opening an office Kyiv.

In the summer and fall of 2020, I engaged with staff of EU VP Timmermans and Commissioner Reynders and with OSCE Representative for Media Freedom Harlem Desir in support of Discovery Communications' concerns about media freedom in Poland and the Green Deal agenda.

Question. During your time at ASG or BCG, did you ever direct another employee to contact or engage with any of the following on behalf of a client or did you otherwise supervise an employee's contact or engagement with any of the following on behalf of a client: Foreign government, entity owned or controlled by a foreign government, foreign political party, international organization (including international treaty organizations such as the European Union), or entity of an international organization (including international treaty organizations such as the European Union)

Answer. No. I did not play a supervisory role at either ASG or BCG.

Question. Please provide a list of the contacts and engagements covered by Question 3, including:

- An identification of: each government or entity contacted or engaged with; and each applicable ASG or BCG client;
- The dates of each contact or engagement; and
- A description of each contact or engagement.

Answer. N/A

ASG or BCG Advice, Counsel, or Other Services Provided About How to Contact or Engage with Foreign Governments or Entities

Question. During your time at ASG or BCG, were you ever personally involved in providing advice, counsel, or other services to a client about how to contact or engage with any of the following:

- Foreign government

Answer. Yes.

- Entity owned or controlled by a foreign government

Answer. Yes.

- Foreign political party

Answer. Yes.

- International organization (including international treaty organizations such as the European Union)

Answer. Yes.

- Entity of an international organization (including international treaty organizations such as the European Union)

Answer. Yes.

Question. Please provide a list of the clients covered by Question 1, including:

- An identification of the government or entity with respect to which advice, counsel, or other services was provided;
- A description of the advice, counsel, or other services provided by you; and
- The dates on which the advice, counsel, or other services were provided.

Answer:

In October–November 2017, I advised PWC on issues related to the Central Bank of Ukraine.

In the summer and fall of 2019, I advised ERG International on its strategy in Bulgaria in support of its bid to construct the new airport in Sofia.

From April 2019 until March 2020, I advised AWS on its planned cloud investment in Ukraine.

In November–December 2019, I advised Pfizer on issues regarding its joint venture in Russia.

February–July 2020, I advised iHerb on its strategy in Russia.

Fall and winter of 2020, I advised Lyft on its operations in Belarus and on its plans to open an office in Ukraine, and connected them to UkraineInvest .

In the fall of 2020, I engaged with staff of EU VP Timmermans and EU Commissioner Reynders and with OSCE Representative for Media Freedom Harlem Desir in support of Discovery Communications' concerns about media freedom in Poland.

From April 2019 to present, I have advised Discovery Communications on issues related to its business in Poland, Turkey, Russia, Belarus, Uzbekistan, Spain, the EU, Saudi Arabia, Vietnam and New Zealand.

From July 2019 to the present, I work with the ASG teams advising TPI Composites on issues in India, Turkey, Mexico and Brazil.

ASG or BCG Expertise or Other Services Provided Regarding the Conduct of Business in or with Citizens or Entities of Certain Jurisdictions

Question. During your time at ASG or BCG, were you ever personally involved in providing geopolitical or policy expertise or any other services for a client regarding the conduct of business in, or with a foreign person that is a citizen of, headquartered in, or that maintains a principal place of business in any of the following:

- The Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela
Answer. No.
- The Democratic People's Republic of Korea
Answer. No.
- The Islamic Republic of Iran
Answer. No.
- The People's Republic of China
Answer. No.
- The Republic of Cuba
Answer. No.
- The Russian Federation
Answer. Yes.

Question. Please provide a list of the clients covered by Question 1, including:

- A description of the expertise or other services provided by you; and
- The dates on which the expertise or other services were provided.

Answer. As noted in the answer above, November/December 2019 I advised Pfizer on issues regarding its joint venture in Russia; from February to July 2020, I advised iHerb on its strategy in Russia; and from April 2019 to present, I have advised Discovery Communications on issues related to its business in Russia.

ASG or BCG Contact or Engagement with the U.S. Department of State or Interagency Bodies

Question. During your time at ASG or BCG, did you ever directly contact or engage with any of the following on behalf of a client:

- U.S. Department of State
Answer. Yes.

- Interagency body of the U.S. Government on which the U.S. Department of State is represented (including the Committee on Foreign Investment in the United States)

Answer. No.

Question. Please provide a list of the contacts and engagements covered by Question 1, including:

- An identification of: The entity contacted or engaged with; and each applicable ASG or BCG client;
- The dates of each contact or engagement; and
- A description of each contact or engagement.

Answer. I briefed the U.S. Ambassador to Bulgaria in July 2019 on ERG's bid for the Sofia airport construction.

I sought advice from the Economic and Commercial sections of U.S. Embassy Kyiv on behalf of AWS in 2019 and Lyft in 2020.

I sought advice from the Economic and Commercial sections of U.S. Embassy Minsk in 2019 and U.S. Embassy Tashkent in 2020 on behalf of Discovery.

Question. During your time at ASG or BCG, did you ever direct another employee to contact or engage with any of the following on behalf of a client or otherwise supervise an employee's contact or engagement with any of the following on behalf of a client:

- U.S. Department of State

Answer. No.

- Interagency body of the U.S. Government on which the U.S. Department of State is represented (including the Committee on Foreign Investment in the United States)

Answer. No. I was not in a supervisory role at either ASG or BCG.

Question. Please provide a list of the contacts and engagements covered by Question 3, including:

- An identification of: Each entity contacted or engaged with; and each applicable ASG or BCG client;
- The dates of each contact or engagement; and
- A description of each contact or engagement.

Answer. N/A

ASG or BCG Advice, Counsel, or Other Services Provided About How to Contact or Engage with the U.S. Department of State or Interagency Bodies

Question. During your time at ASG or BCG, were you ever personally involved in providing advice, counsel, or other services to a client about how to contact or engage with any of the following:

- U.S. Department of State

Answer. Yes.

- Interagency body of the U.S. Government on which the U.S. Department of State is represented (including the Committee on Foreign Investment in the United States)

Answer. No.

Question. Please provide a list of the clients covered by the question above, including:

- An identification of the entity with respect to which advice, counsel, or other services was provided;
- A description of the advice, counsel, or other services provided by you; and
- The dates on which the advice, counsel, or other services were provided.

Answer. I advised Discovery in 2019 and 2020 to maintain close contacts with U.S. Embassy Warsaw, the U.S. Mission to the EU, and the State Department regarding its concerns about protecting media freedom in Poland.

In 2020 and 2021, I advised Discovery to remain in close contact with U.S. Embassy Tashkent regarding its IPR issues in Uzbekistan.

Recusal

Question. During your time at ASG or BCG, did you ever recuse yourself from any matters? If so, please describe the nature of and details surrounding any recusal.

Answer. No

Question. If confirmed as Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, how would you plan to recuse yourself from matters that could present conflicts of interest or the appearance of conflicts of interest given your involvement with and benefit from clients for whom you provided services while at ASG or BCG?

Answer. In connection with the nomination process, I have consulted with the Office of Government Ethics and the Office of the Designated Ethics Official of the Department of State to identify any potential conflict of interest. Any conflict of interest will be resolved according to the terms of an ethics agreement I am entering into with the State Department's Designated Agency Ethics Official and that will be provided to this committee. In the event that an actual or potential conflict of interest arises during my appointment, I will consult with the State Department's Designated Agency Ethics Official and take the measures necessary to resolve the conflict.

Questions Submitted After the Hearing

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO HON. VICTORIA NULAND BY SENATOR ROBERT MENENDEZ

Question. Too often, regional bureaus have sidelined DRL and other essential functional bureaus. If confirmed, how will you ensure better consultation and coordination between DRL, other functional bureaus, and the regional bureaus you will lead as P?

Answer. If confirmed, I will emphasize to the regional bureaus under my supervision, as well as to the functional bureaus, that the President's vision of placing human rights and democracy at the heart of the foreign policy of the United States necessitates full inclusion of DRL in the Department's policy-making processes. I intend, if confirmed, to work with the Under Secretary for Civilian Security and Human Rights, and with DRL's leadership, to ensure full policy coordination among regional bureaus and across the Department.

Question. What actions will you take, including with our partners, to address the global forced migration crisis? How specifically will you work to address the root causes of displacement such as new and unresolved conflicts; support populations on the move and those enduring lengthy displacement; and seek innovative solutions to assist low-income countries who host the majority of refugees and displaced people around the world?

Answer. If confirmed, I will pursue comprehensive strategies for addressing the root causes of migration, including climate change, help rebuild the U.S. Refugee Admissions Program, and stand up for democratic values and human rights. I will also encourage stronger partnerships between humanitarian and development actors, including multilateral development banks, in situations of protracted displacement and fragility, conflict, and violence.

Question. Do you think we are doing enough to counter threats to democracy right now? What more should the United States be doing, and how will you elevate the importance of democracy promotion efforts and a democracy-centered foreign policy within the State Department and abroad given the President and Secretary of State's public commitment to these goals?

Answer. As President Biden said, "The United States will stand up for democracy wherever it is under attack." We know well from our own experience that sustaining democracy requires hard work, careful stewardship, and constant vigilance. If confirmed, I intend to support the Biden Harris administration's commitment to putting the promotion and protection of democracy at the center of U.S. foreign policy. This means working to bolster to democratic resilience at home and abroad, and holding ourselves, our allies, and our partners accountable to promote, respect, and defend human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Question. What shifts must be made in our foreign policy to ensure we are working to hold our allies and adversaries to the same standard on human rights? How will you prioritize this parity in expectations on upholding human rights?

Answer. If confirmed, I will continue the tradition of seeking to report the facts on human rights fully and objectively on every country in the Department's Country Reports on Human Rights Practices, using the standards found in the Universal

Declaration on Human Rights. I also intend to raise human rights issues with allies and adversaries alike, regardless of the other interests we may have in our relationships with other countries.

Question. How will you engage with international counterparts to pursue effective accountability measures to address violations and abuses of human rights around the world? What role do you believe multilateral bodies like the United Nations have in this endeavor?

Answer. The United States is committed to ensuring that the United Nations promotes respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms and holds those countries with the worst human rights records to account. The United States supports U.N. investigatory mechanisms designed to enhance accountability for human rights violations and to end impunity. If confirmed, I will consider all possible tools and actions to promote accountability for those responsible for human rights violations and abuses.

Question. We must be clear-eyed about the nature of President Erdogan's Turkey. Turkey is among the top jailers of journalists and lawyers in the world, which is unbelievable for a member of an alliance founded on democratic values. In addition to its many domestic abuses, Turkey's aggression throughout the region and its refusal to give up the S-400 underscore the fact that Turkey is not a reliable NATO ally. How the U.S. decides to define its relationship with Turkey is critically important to security in the region and our ability to support democratic values abroad. Is there any circumstance under which the U.S. should reconstitute the F35 program with Turkey if it does not get rid of its S-400 system?

Answer. President Biden has promised to call out Turkish behavior that is inconsistent with its commitments as a NATO Ally. Turkey's acquisition of the Russian-made S-400 was incompatible with NATO principles, Turkey's commitments to NATO, and its participation in the F-35 program, and thus resulted in Turkey's suspension and pending removal from the global F-35 Joint Strike Fighter partnership. If confirmed, I will continue to press Turkey to abandon the S-400 system, and I would not support reconstitution of the F-35 program so long as Turkey retains the Russian system.

Question. What is your position on the Cyprus question, in advance of 5+1 talks next month?

Answer. I continue to support a Cypriot-led comprehensive settlement to reunify the island as a bizonal, bicommunal federation, something which would benefit all Cypriots as well as the wider region. The United States has welcomed and should stand ready to assist the U.N. Secretary-General's initiative to convene an informal 5+UN meeting in Geneva. Consistent with the October 2020 U.N. Security Council Presidential Statement, I am deeply concerned by the Turkish Cypriots' unilateral decision, with the support of Turkey, to reopen Varosha. If confirmed, I will urge a reversal of this decision.

Question. Do you commit to the full implementation the Eastern Mediterranean Security and Energy Partnership Act?

Answer. If confirmed, I look forward to working with Congress and colleagues in the interagency to support robust ties between the United States and Greece, Israel, and Cyprus, as envisioned in the legislation. The U.S.-Greece security relationship remains vital to our interests in the Eastern Mediterranean and has grown significantly as bilateral ties have improved, beginning in the Obama-Biden administration. If confirmed, I will work to continue to deepen ties between the United States and Greece and the United States and Cyprus.

Question. Do you commit to consult with, not simply notify, this committee as it relates to U.S. policy on Turkey?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I look forward to continuing close consultations with the Senate Foreign Relations committee regarding U.S. policy toward Turkey.

Question. Last year's NDAA included provisions which would require the Department to be more forthcoming with Congress on the peace process. The Department was required to provide a certification in January to confirm that the Senate has been provided with all relevant documents associated with the February 29th agreement. We have yet to receive this certification. Will you commit to providing this information to Congress upon your confirmation?

Answer. Yes, I understand that the Department is preparing to provide a response regarding section 1217(b) of the William M. (Mac) Thornberry National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2021 (P.L. 116-283) to Congress. If con-

firmed, I am committed to ensuring that the Department provides this response and other required notifications, reports, and certifications promptly.

Question. The law also requires regular consultation with Congress on the peace process. Do you commit to consult with, not simply notify, this committee as it relates to U.S. policy on Afghanistan?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I commit to consult fully with the U.S. policy toward Afghanistan.

Question. The continued spread of COVID-19 in Latin America and the Caribbean is deeply concerning. Despite initial vaccination campaigns in the region, cases are on the rise and many health systems are overwhelmed. The current situation in Brazil is alarming and unrestrained spread only raises risks for new variants. What steps will you take to ensure vaccine access for nations in the Western Hemisphere, as well as other developing nations? What other vaccine-related initiatives will you prioritize?

Answer. If confirmed, I will support the U.S. commitment to leading the global response to the COVID-19 pandemic, including through supporting global vaccine distribution via COVAX. Latin America and the Caribbean are suffering a disproportionate share of global COVID-19 cases and deaths, posing a threat to the United States given our strong economic ties. However, the President's first priority must be to take care of the American people, and given the unpredictability of this virus, we must be prepared for a variety of scenarios. As the United States moves toward having enough vaccine here at home, I will support efforts to pursue options for sharing doses abroad, if confirmed. I will also support efforts to work with partners to expand the global manufacturing of safe and effective COVID-19 vaccines, and their needed supplies, to increase worldwide capacity and availability.

Question. As Colombia works to implement its 2016 peace accord, it is facing an uptick in violence against civil society leaders by irregular armed actors and drug traffickers, including criminal groups that receive safe haven inside Venezuela. Additionally, there are concerns about the role of Russia in the region, including its presence in Venezuela and its disinformation efforts targeting Colombia. What steps will you take to strengthen U.S.-Colombia relations and ensure that the United States helps our Colombian partners consolidate the gains of peace?

Answer. Colombia is a vital strategic partner that shares our democratic values. If confirmed, I will support the efforts the Colombian government and people as they continue to work towards a just and lasting peace and a prosperous future. Through diplomatic engagement and foreign assistance, the United States must work with Colombia to promote sustainable peace and reconciliation by expanding security, state presence, access to justice, and licit economic opportunities throughout the country. If confirmed, I will support efforts to work together with the Colombia government to combat narcotics trafficking and transnational crime, coordinate a regional response to the political and humanitarian crisis in Venezuela, and promote and protect human rights.

Question. President Biden has outlined his strategy for a COVID-19 response, and has committed to making vaccines more widely available here in the United States. Part of what we need to do to safeguard American lives is ensure that other countries—especially poor countries—can do the same. As I've said before, COVID-19 didn't start here, but it came here. Americans are not safe until the world is safe. What do you see as the most important actions the United States can take to lead international efforts to end the COVID-19 pandemic for once and for all?

Answer. To keep U.S. citizens safe, build back the economy, and curb the emergence of variants, the United States is committed to leading the global response to the COVID-19 pandemic, and strengthening global health security and pandemic preparedness to prevent future biological threats. I will support those efforts if confirmed. Under President Biden's direction, the United States has already taken significant steps, including: re-engaging with the WHO; committing to provide the most funding—\$4 billion to COVAX—of any country to accelerate the pace and ambition of global vaccination efforts; and collaborating with our Quad partners (Japan, India, and Australia) to expand the manufacture and supply of safe and effective COVID-19 vaccines.

Question. If confirmed, what will be your role in achieving that goal?

Answer. President Biden and Secretary Blinken have committed to a whole-of-government response to COVID-19 and building longer term global health security. If confirmed, I will work with all the regional bureaus under my supervision, our functional bureaus, the U.S. interagency and the international community—includ-

ing the private sector, civil society, and other partners—to help bring the COVID 19 pandemic to an end and build back better preparedness to prevent, detect, and respond to public health threats both at home and abroad, including through initiatives such as the Global Health Security Agenda (GHSA).

Question. The situation in Ethiopia is alarming. Not only is there conflict in Tigray, ongoing tensions in other parts of the country have the potential to cause sustained violent conflict and political space continues to close. The administration has taken a robust multilateral approach to resolving the Tigray crisis, working through the U.N. and with our African partners to achieve results, which I applaud. It also sent a strong, positive signal of its engagement by dispatching Senator Chris Coons to Addis Ababa. However there is much more to be done to put Ethiopia's democratic transition back on track. 3. Can Ethiopia hold credible elections in June under the current circumstances?

Answer. I share Secretary Blinken's concern that a number of factors could undermine inclusive, free, fair, and credible national and regional elections, including: continued violence, harassment and detention of opposition figures, human rights abuses and violations, growing insecurity, more than 2 million internally displaced, interference with media freedom, and regional and local government interference in political processes. If confirmed, I will pursue sustained engagement to press the Government of Ethiopia to move towards inclusive political dialogue, to ensure a free political environment, and to address ongoing inter-ethnic tensions across the country to help mitigate these risks.

Question. If confirmed, what will you do to encourage the Abiy administration to take meaningful action to open political space, and engage with all political stakeholders?

Answer. The United States strongly supports democratization in Ethiopia. Political space for all Ethiopians is critical for advancing this process and building strong, inclusive institutions. If confirmed, I will work with the newly appointed Special Envoy for the Horn of Africa and the Bureau of African Affairs to press the Ethiopian government to ensure freedoms of assembly and expression, political participation, access to information, including through the internet, and political resolution of inter-ethnic conflict across the country. If confirmed, I will continue to underscore to the Government of Ethiopia the need for broad and inclusive dialogue and for opposition parties and civil society to be able to participate freely in the political process and organize and work without the fear of harassment or intimidation.

Question. What will you do to help resolve the Tigray crisis should Russia and China continue to block U.N. Security Council efforts to address this urgent matter, or the African Union fail to take a more prominent leadership role?

Answer. If confirmed, I plan to work closely with U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. Linda Thomas Greenfield and the newly appointed Special Envoy for the Horn of Africa to use every opportunity to address the crisis across U.N. agencies. The U.N. plays a vital role in delivering humanitarian assistance and in protecting refugees in Ethiopia. As conflict in Ethiopia poses a threat to the broader region, if confirmed, I will work with the African members of the Security Council in New York and the African Union to push for an end to fighting and press for a political settlement, protection of civilians, withdrawal of Eritrean forces, immediate unhindered humanitarian access, restoration of all communications to the region, independent investigations into reported human rights violations, abuses, and atrocities, and accountability for those responsible. I will also work closely with the Special Envoy for the Horn of Africa to build a broad coalition of likeminded countries willing to work together to achieve these objectives and to take the necessary steps to hold all parties accountable to their commitments and their international obligations.

Question. The administration's recent suspension of drone strikes outside select war zones has significant implications for the situation in Somalia, where AMISOM and Somali operations against Al Shabaab have long depended on the support of US drones. The current election crisis in the country, which has been made significantly worse by parliament's ill-conceived attempt to extend the term of President Farmajo, and an earlier withdrawal of US troops under the Trump administration, are additional complicating factors. What is your view on how best to achieve a breakthrough both in the struggle against Al Shabaab, and on the broader democratization and stabilization of Somalia?

Answer. A holistic approach is needed to ensure sustainable gains in countering terrorist violence, achieving stability, and building adequate governance. Such an approach will require not only continued international support to counter al-Shabaab but also robust support to build the capacity of Somali security institu-

tions, promote sustainable development, and improve governance. Engagement with all Somali stakeholders and international partners, including the U.N. and AU, on a pathway forward for Somalia is required. With respect to the current political crisis, it is vital for the peace, stability, prosperity, and governance of Somalia that the Federal Government and Federal Member States reach a consensus on a way forward for the electoral process without delay.

Question. Recent flawed elections in Uganda require a robust USG response that advances of democracy, governance, and human rights in this important African country. I was pleased to see the administration's recent announcement of visa restrictions on Ugandan persons engaged in undermining democracy. But Uganda's status as a security partner in East Africa has complicated the willingness of past administration's to apply meaningful pressure on Kampala for its shortcomings in this area. How can the USG better prioritize democracy and governance in its relationship with Uganda, and ensure that our regional security interests do not crowd out or trump these essential priorities?

Answer. Uganda's positive contributions to regional stability, particularly as the largest troop contributing country to AMISOM and as Africa's largest host of refugees do not give the Government of Uganda a free pass regarding the importance of respecting human rights, democracy, and good governance. If confirmed, I intend to support the Department's efforts to ensure that U.S. policy appropriately reflects the centrality of strong democratic institutions and respect for human rights in our partnership with Uganda.

Question. The Central African Republic (CAR) faces ongoing violence and a humanitarian crisis in the wake of elections that suffered from low participation, and were fraught with irregularities. The U.S. supported an increase to the United Nations peacekeeping force but stability remains elusive, complicated by CAR government-aligned Russian and Rwandan military involvement and an anti-government coalition of militia groups representing roughly two-thirds of the country that are committed to the overthrow of President Touadéra. What steps should the U.S. take to reduce tensions, encourage inclusive political dialogue, build a participatory democracy, and help put the country on a path toward sustainable peace?

Answer. The United States has been a steadfast supporter of the democratic will of all Central Africans and their efforts to build resilient, responsive, and representative democracy. This is the best way to move the country towards peace and away from its repeated crises. If confirmed, I will support efforts to continue working with our partners to encourage an inclusive dialogue between all legitimate actors in the country with the support of neighbors, regional organizations, and the United Nations. If confirmed, I will work with partners and allies to ensure countries providing assistance, military or otherwise, do so in a transparent and coordinated way, and consistent with the U.N. arms embargo.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO HON. VICTORIA NULAND BY SENATOR JAMES E. RISCH

Question. There are several vacant ambassadorial posts in Sub-Saharan Africa without a named nominee to be considered by the Foreign Relations Committee, including such high-priority posts as Sudan, Kenya, and South Africa. Many other posts will become vacant in the coming year with little evidence that candidates are in the pipeline for consideration. As Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, if confirmed, are you committed to working with the White House to ensure that Ambassadorial positions in Sub-Saharan Africa are filled by qualified, experienced nominees in a timely manner?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I am committed to working with the White House to ensure that ambassadorial positions in Sub-Saharan Africa are filled by qualified, experienced nominees in a timely manner.

Question. Under your leadership as Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, if confirmed, what actions will you pursue to ensure that hard to fill posts in Sub-Saharan Africa are sufficiently and consistently staffed?

Answer. I recognize that State's Bureau of African Affairs (AF) is chronically understaffed, both in terms of positions and vacancies. If confirmed, I will review our staffing levels around the world to ensure that staffing is aligned with our most pressing interests. I will explore enhancing incentives to serve at hardship posts, including those in Africa, and will look for other ways to ensure that our vacancies

are filled. I am committed to an inclusive workplace and will support AF's efforts as they work to implement management reforms for recruitment, hiring, and retention.

Question. With 49 countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, there are myriad opportunities and challenges to the security, economic, health and humanitarian interests of the United States. The U.S. Government is presently engaged on a variety of fronts. The White House and Secretary Blinken have repeatedly stated that "Africa is a priority for the Biden administration". In the early days of your tenure as Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, if confirmed, how will you make clear inside the Department, across the administration and externally, that Africa is a priority for the Biden administration?

Answer. If confirmed, I intend to support the Secretary's efforts to engage African countries early and often as partners in pursuing our shared interests and values—from security, global health, climate change, freedom and democracy, and mutual prosperity. If confirmed, I intend to participate in the interagency policy process as the Biden-Harris administration develops a whole of government Africa strategy and consider additional banner initiatives to signal the critical importance of this region. I believe active, consistent engagement of senior officials in Africa will be critical to advance U.S. interests on the continent and a signal of our commitment.

Question. How will you ensure the United States respects and values our African partners, while also representing our values and interests, particularly as it relates to respect for the rule of law, protecting human rights, and advancing democracy?

Answer. I believe we must continue to build partnerships in Africa, investing in civil society and strengthening democratic institutions. If confirmed, I look forward to implementing the Secretary's plan to engage African countries early and often as partners in pursuing our shared interests and values—from security, global health, climate change, freedom and democracy, and mutual prosperity. Senior-level engagement on a consistent basis will be a signal of our commitment.

Question. Sub-Saharan Africa is experiencing a massive "youth bulge." While programs like the Young African Leaders Initiative and its Mandela Washington Fellowship are vital, what can the United States do to expand its reach and effectively engage with Africa's enormous youth population?

Answer. Empowering youth is at the heart of the longstanding U.S.-Africa partnership. If confirmed, I will direct Department of State resources to expand youth engagement initiatives. In addition to the Mandela Washington Fellowship, I intend to leverage YALI's USAID-run Regional Leadership Centers, the online YALI Network, and other public diplomacy and Department programs, including U.S. youth exchange programs like the Pan-Africa Youth Leadership Program, to help identify and dedicate resources for youth and alumni engagement to empower youth leaders in their communities, particularly around issues of entrepreneurship, civic engagement, democracy, governance, and respect for human rights.

Question. What are your views on the role trade and investment could and should play in building stronger ties between the United States and the African continent? How should U.S.-African trade and investment initiatives factor into the U.S. global strategy to counter China, particularly in Africa?

Answer. Strengthening and expanding U.S.-Africa trade and investment is critical to our primary objective of building stronger ties between the United States and the African continent. Stronger trade and investment ties with the United States also offers Africa an alternative to the PRC. If confirmed, I will engage in our commercial and economic diplomacy and use the tools of the DFC, USAID, MCC and Treasury. I will also work with the U.S. private sector, African governments, and international financial institutions to increase trade and investment in Africa and promote U.S. business.

Question. One vital area of Prosper Africa that requires greater emphasis is improving the enabling environment within African partner countries to better attract U.S. business investment. Improvements in anti-corruption initiatives, human rights, the rule of law, and overall good governance would create better conditions for U.S. investment conditions. Such enhancements would also counterbalance efforts by Chinese firms and the Chinese Communist Party to undermine free-market competition in African markets to their advantage. How can the U.S. Government most effectively support efforts to improve the enabling environment for competitive foreign investment by U.S. firms in Africa? What types of partnerships work best, and how can the United States best incentivize reforms and other actions necessary

to foster economic opportunity and expand two-way trade and investment with the African continent?

Answer. A conducive business climate is essential to building sustainable economies. If confirmed, I will deploy the full set of diplomatic and development tools to promote enabling environments in our African partners that foster robust economic growth and respect for human rights and democracy. For example, the Prosper Africa Initiative will help clear impediments to economic growth in Africa, create new export and investment opportunities for U.S. companies, and increase prosperity at home. If confirmed, I will work to provide a meaningful alternative to the People's Republic of China's (PRC) economic approach, and I will help build countries' resilience in order to respond to PRC economic coercion.

Question. What should be guiding principles for increasing two-way trade and investment between the United States and Africa in light of the presence of China, Russia and other malign actors that often operate within several of these countries by their own rules?

Answer. The President is particularly focused on rebuilding the middle class at home by creating new and better jobs, raising wages, and strengthening communities. Increasing two-way trade and investment is critical to building stronger ties between the United States and Africa, and it will benefit the American middle class. The competition with China, Russia, and other malign actors is one of the central challenges that will define the 21st century. If confirmed, I will advance the Department's efforts to ensure that American companies can compete on an even playing field in Africa, which will allow them to provide an attractive alternative based on entrepreneurship and free-market principles, and which will be of benefit to African economies.

Question. How can the Department better leverage the Bureau of African Affairs and encourage better coordination with the Bureau of Near East Affairs on Red Sea Corridor issues?

Answer. A comprehensive and coordinated interagency approach to the Greater Horn of Africa and the Red Sea corridor better serves U.S. national security interests. To this end, Secretary Blinken has appointed a special envoy for the Horn of Africa. If confirmed, I will ensure close coordination between the Bureau of African Affairs and the Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs, the new special envoy for the Horn of Africa, and the special envoy for South Sudan and Sudan on Red Sea Corridor issues, and ask senior leadership to identify and implement mechanisms for further coordination.

Question. President Biden has proposed a \$4 billion plan for Central America. Please describe specifically how this plan will build off of the successes and failures of the U.S. Strategy for Engagement for Central America, and the importance of garnering sustained political will from the individual governments.

Answer. As I understand it, the Root Causes Strategy seeks to build on the lessons learned from the U.S. Strategy for Engagement in Central Americas. Place-based strategies, including targeted security and economic programs, helped Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador reduce violence and increase job growth prior to the COVID-19 pandemic. The Root Causes Strategy seeks to use similar tools and reforms to increase transparency, combat corruption, and create conditions conducive to economic growth a top priority, and to use data to support decisions and technology to increase efficacy. If confirmed, I would work to support a strategy to engage the governments, civil society, and private sectors of countries throughout the region as partners in this endeavor to address the factors that cause people to leave their homes. If confirmed, I will work with these countries, including by bolstering civil society, to build the necessary political will to undertake tough reforms. I am under no illusions that will be easy. It will require a consistent, committed effort from the United States and our partners. *Senator Jim Risch (#11) Question:* There have been more than a dozen failed attempts at negotiating with Maduro in Venezuela. They have occurred in an environment of engagement favored by the Obama administration, and under the pressure of punitive measures implemented by the Trump administration. Describe the conditions that would need to be met for the administration to engage in negotiations with the Maduro regime in Venezuela.

Answer. Only good faith negotiations among Venezuelans can establish the conditions required for free and fair elections. That is the best framework for a political resolution to the political, economic, migratory, and health crises afflicting Venezuela. This was the clearly stated sense of Congress when it passed the bipartisan VERDAD Act in 2019, co-sponsored by nearly twenty Democrats and Republicans,

and it remains true today. As the Act states, “direct, credible negotiations led by the Interim President of Venezuela and members of Venezuela’s democratically elected National Assembly represent the best opportunity to reach a solution to the Venezuelan crisis.” The Venezuelan democratic opposition to Nicolás Maduro has assembled a broad alliance for free and fair elections and has made clear its willingness to establish the conditions for such elections through negotiations, while also relying on coordinated domestic and international pressure to bring Maduro to the negotiating table. If confirmed, I will work with Venezuelan and international partners to press Maduro to commit to participate in credible negotiations with the Venezuelan opposition. If confirmed, I will also work with international partners to press for respect for human rights, restoration of democratic norms, and the delivery of humanitarian assistance in Venezuela.

Question. What is your assessment of what it would take to achieve those conditions?

Answer. If confirmed, I would support diplomatic engagement in order to advance a negotiated, peaceful solution to Venezuela’s political, economic, and humanitarian crises, an approach consistent with the VERDAD Act of 2019. Venezuelans themselves must meet this challenge. Past negotiations have fallen short because Nicolás Maduro and his supporter used negotiations as a tactic to distract the international community and to centralize power. Negotiations can promote a peaceful transition toward free and fair elections if the international community is united in pressuring Maduro to engage in good faith and Venezuela’s democratic forces remain united. Credible negotiations must incorporate the views and reflect the interests of Venezuelan civil society. They need to produce elections that comply with international standards of freedom, fairness, and transparency and allow Venezuelans to restore their democracy and the rule of law. To create the conditions for such a process, Maduro must free political prisoners and allow for the delivery of humanitarian aid. At the same time, the President has made clear that the United States will continue to pursue regime supporters involved in criminal activity and violations of human rights. If confirmed, I would work with partners inside Venezuela and internationally to pressure Maduro and those who support him to commit to a serious process.

Question. Nicaragua is scheduled to hold general elections in November. In October 2020, the Organization of American States adopted a resolution [AG/RES.2962 (L-O/20)] calling for the restoration of democratic institutions and respect for human rights in Nicaragua through free and fair elections. The Ortega regime responded by approving three statutes with the apparent aim of quashing dissent in Nicaragua ahead of the November 2021 elections. If confirmed, do you commit to prioritizing and maintaining policies and programs to create acceptable conditions for free and fair elections in Nicaragua?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to prioritizing and maintaining policies and programs to create acceptable conditions for free and fair elections in Nicaragua. I will support the continued use of the economic and diplomatic tools at our disposal, including targeted sanctions, bilateral and multilateral engagement, and support for democratic processes, to advance free and fair elections. It is not too late for the Ortega regime to make the meaningful reforms by the May OAS deadline, and the United States continues to urge them to do so.

Question. Please describe the long-term implications for Nicaragua and the region if Ortega fraudulently extends his time in office.

Answer. If confirmed, I will press for meaningful electoral reforms by the May OAS deadline toward free and fair elections in November. I understand that the Department is working multilaterally, in coordination with the European Union, Canada, and the UK, as well as our partners in the OAS, to use the tools at our disposal to create the conditions for free and fair elections in November. If Ortega chooses a non-democratic path, and if confirmed, I will join the Department’s efforts to work with those partners to hold accountable those responsible and encourage a return to democracy.

Question. Despite reassurances from Secretary Blinken acknowledging the importance of the Abraham Accords, there are concerns that encouraging additional normalization agreements between Muslim majority countries and Israel isn’t a priority for the Biden administration. Specifically, Senator Risch is concerned with the staffing, resourcing, and messaging the Biden administration has dedicated to this issue thus far. On the staffing front, the previous administration had an empowered agent in the White House to pursue normalization agreements. This has been pushed back down to the State Department, where it currently falls under the purview of the Deputy Assistant Secretary (DAS) for Israel/Palestinian Affairs (IPA). On mes-

saging, we've seen more out of the Department on restarting assistance to the Palestinians than on additional normalization agreements. The Biden admin's interim strategic guidance makes no mention of normalization in its section on the Middle East. Can you share your thoughts on the Abraham Accords and where it, as well as other prospective normalization agreements, rank among your policy priorities?

Answer. President Biden and Secretary Blinken have welcomed the recent normalization agreements between Israel and countries in the Arab and Muslim world. The Department is leading the U.S. Government's efforts, working with the National Security Council and the U.S. Government interagency to deepen existing agreements and urge other countries to normalize relations with Israel. If confirmed, fostering peace in the Middle East will remain a top priority and I will look for opportunities to build on the Abraham Accords and expand cooperation among countries in the region.

Question. Apart from the Abraham Accords, Senator Risch's top priority in the Middle East is Iran policy. He led a letter to President Biden, along with other national security Ranking Members that outlined his position. We've engaged in extensive Iran discussions with Sec Blinken, Wendy Sherman, and have just started consultations with Rob Malley. How would you define this administration's strategic aims with Iran? Where does regional activity fall in our strategic aims? How does engagement with allies and partners fit in to this wider strategy with respect to Iran?

Answer. The President is committed to ensuring Iran never acquires a nuclear weapon and believes diplomacy, in coordination with our allies and regional partners, is the best path to achieve that goal. The administration has fundamental problems with Iran's actions across a series of issues, including its support for terrorism, its ballistic missile program, its destabilizing actions throughout the region, and its abhorrent practice of using wrongfully detained U.S. citizens and foreign nationals as political tools. If confirmed, I will support the Biden-Harris administration's continuing commitment to addressing these challenges using the various tools at its disposal, including sanctions, and working in close coordination with our allies and partners.

Question. The administration has said that regional terrorism and ballistic missiles will be addressed in follow-on agreements. Do you think this is possible? Assuming we grant financial relief as a part of a nuclear negotiation, what leverage would the US have in terms of securing follow-on agreements?

Answer. President Biden has committed to try to achieve a mutual return to compliance with the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA), and then use that as a platform to lengthen and strengthen the constraints on Iran's nuclear program, regional support for terrorism, and other issues of concern. If confirmed, I will work to achieve this vision. If confirmed, I would ensure the framework of U.S. sanctions on Iran remains robust. Many layers of that sanctions architecture would remain in place, even in the event of a U.S. return to the JCPOA. This includes the primary U.S. embargo on Iran and many other U.S. sanctions on Iran. If confirmed, I would work with allies and partners, and use other avenues to place pressure on Iran to address these critical issues.

Question. President Obama argued in favor of granting sanctions relief, stressing "our best analysts expect the bulk of this revenue to go into spending that improves the economy and benefits the lives of the Iranian people" and that "Even a repressive regime like Iran's cannot completely ignore those expectations." Yet, we now know that a majority of the sanctions relief went to Iran's defense industry and proxies. We actually saw an increase in Iran's malign regional activities since the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) was signed in 2015. Do you still believe Iran prioritized the needs of its people over its defense industry and proxies?

Answer. I do not believe that Iran has prioritized the needs of its people, as evidenced by its abysmal human rights record. The U.S. Government maintains a range of tools to counter Iran's destabilizing activities in the region and support for proxy organizations. If confirmed, I will support continuing U.S. efforts to maintain and, where available, impose sanctions on Iranian entities and individuals providing support to designated terrorist groups in the region. I will also support action by the Biden-Harris administration, in coordination with our allies and partners, to both deter and counter Iran's destabilizing activities and to vigorously pursue talks on these critical issues. If confirmed, I am committed to consulting closely with Congress on the path forward.

Question. Russia and China are increasingly encroaching in the Middle East in ways that are contrary to US interests—we see joint R&D, basing, and a growing

cooperation with US partners and allies in the region. Russia's continues to use its support for Bashar al Assad in Syria as a platform to further its influence in the region, while China is trying to make deeper inroads into the Gulf and Israel and thereby advance its Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). The Biden administration has advertised its commitment to de-prioritizing the Middle East North Africa region, in favor of a greater presence in the Indo-Pacific and Europe. Yet Great power competition has historically taken place outside the Indo-Pacific and Europe regions, favoring combat in weak and failed states. The moves made by the Biden administration is occurring against backdrop of recalibrating relationship with Saudi Arabia, de-emphasis on Abraham Accords, and renewed focus on Palestinian issues. How do we compete with Russia and China in the Middle East? How do we remain the partner of choice and strike right balance between human rights and the national interest?

Answer. There is no question that the People's Republic of China's (PRC) and Russia's coercive behavior threatens our collective security, and that these countries are actively working to undercut the rules of the international system and the values we and our allies share. If confirmed, I will press our Middle East partners to be clear-eyed about the risk of doing business with Russia and the PRC, highlighting that partnerships with the United States bring tangible benefits to the people of the region, while protecting human rights. The U.S. also should support investment and economic growth in the region in a transparent manner that respects workers, strengthens labor rights, and serves as a counter to authoritarian business models.

Question. Lebanon is moving quickly towards financial collapse. Despite the August 4 port explosion, political elites lack the will to execute necessary reforms and unlock IMF, World Bank funds that will save the country from collapse. According to many, Lebanese political players are interpreting US outreach to Iran as a precursor to sanctions relief and an excuse not to implement reforms. Can you outline your thoughts on appropriate Lebanon policy? What role do sanctions play in that policy?

Answer. Lebanon needs to execute significant reforms in cooperation with the IMF to address its economic challenges. Lebanon can never be truly stable and will never prosper if corruption remains rampant, and Hizballah continues to operate with impunity. If confirmed, I would seek to use all available tools to push Lebanese officials to implement the reforms necessary to root out corruption and terrorism and unlock critical support from international financial institutions.

Question. Secretary Blinken has been vocal on the importance of renewing and maintains cross-border humanitarian assistance, which we agree with, but when discussing Syria policy or strategy, we return to the same mantra of UNSCR 2254, progress on which remains stalled. What changes would you propose for Syria policy? How can the administration accelerate progress under UNSCR 2254?

Answer. If confirmed, I will join the Biden-Harris administration in continuing to engage diplomatically to press for an end to the Syrian people's suffering and to encourage all possible efforts to advance the legitimate political track in keeping with UNSCR 2254, and will advocate for accountability for the most serious crimes committed against the Syrian people, including war crimes and crimes against humanity. The United States seeks a nationwide ceasefire, unhindered aid access through all possible routes, the release of those arbitrarily detained, and free and fair elections under U.N. auspices. If confirmed, I will support the use of a variety of tools to ensure the Assad regime and its supporters do not profit from the conflict or any post-conflict reconstruction, and will consult closely with our partners and allies on the best way forward in Syria.

Question. What role does the Caesar Syria Civilian Protection Act play in US policy? Do you feel it can be used as an effective tool to containing Russian influence in Syria, and preventing US partners and allies from normalizing relations with Bashar al Assad?

Answer. The Caesar Syria Civilian Protection Act is an important tool to limit the ability of Assad and his enablers to profit from the ongoing conflict and post-conflict reconstruction. If confirmed, I will use it and all available tools to stop those responsible for grave human rights abuses against the Syrian people, and will coordinate with our allies and partners on policies toward Syria, including in preventing normalizing relations with Assad, in order to push for meaningful progress on our shared political objectives.

Question. In light of the rocket attack on Erbil by an Iranian proxy group in February, and the continuing presence of ISIS forces in remote areas of the Kurdistan

Region of Iraq, what steps is the Biden administration prepared to take to reaffirm America's commitment to the territorial integrity and safety of the Kurdistan Regional Government?

Answer. If confirmed, I will support the United States' top priorities of ensuring the enduring defeat of ISIS and increasing the capacity of the Iraqi Security Forces (ISF), including Peshmerga forces. I understand that the administration is in constant contact with Kurdistan Regional Government leaders to address security concerns, and the United States provides assistance to support the continued development and professionalization of the ISF, increasing their ability to respond to threats and conduct counter-terrorism operations, as well as defend Iraq—its people and borders—while upholding the rule of law. If confirmed, I will support U.S. continued efforts with Iraq on our shared vision of a secure, stable, democratic, and prosperous Iraq that can stand on its own and defend its autonomy against malign regional influence.

Question. In light of the threats posed to the Kurdish people of Syria by ISIS, the Assad Government, Assad's backers in Moscow and Tehran, and the Government of Turkey, what are the Biden administration's policies on the U.S.-Syrian Kurd security and diplomatic relationship, and the appropriate Kurdish role in Syria's political roadmap under UNSCR 2254?

Answer. Stability in Syria and the greater region can only be achieved through a political process that represents the will of all Syrians. The Syrian Democratic Forces remain a capable and committed military partner in the fight against ISIS. The United States also supports the ongoing Intra Kurdish Dialogue and looks forward to its continued progress. The dialogue complements renewed U.S. efforts to stabilize areas of northeast Syria liberated from ISIS and to promote greater transparency and inclusivity in local governance, and if confirmed I will work to support it.

Question. In your opinion, does the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons threaten the integrity of U.S. alliances, especially regarding extended deterrence commitments?

Answer. The Biden-Harris administration does not believe that progress toward nuclear disarmament can be decoupled from the prevailing security threats in today's world. If confirmed, I will support the administration's view that the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW) is incompatible with U.S. extended deterrence relationships that are still necessary for international peace and security, and may reinforce divisions that hinder the international community's ability to work together to address pressing proliferation and security challenges. U.S. allies covered by extended nuclear deterrence—which includes all NATO Allies, plus Australia, Japan, and the Republic of Korea—share the administration's view that the TPNW is incompatible with our extended nuclear deterrence arrangements.

Question. In December 2020, NATO re-affirmed the Allie's longstanding position that, "as long as nuclear weapons exist, NATO will remain a nuclear alliance." In your view, do you believe that this principle requires the United States to deploy nuclear weapons in NATO countries?

Answer. The United States is fully committed to its Article 5 obligations. If confirmed, I will strongly support U.S. continued coordination with Allies in support of NATO's deterrence and defense posture, including U.S. nuclear weapons forward-deployed in Europe.

Question. How can we get NATO allies to invest more in their own defense?

Answer. This is an issue I have spared no effort on since my days as NATO Ambassador, and if confirmed, one I will continue to pursue vigorously. At the 2014 Wales Summit, Allies agreed to increase their defense spending for the mutual benefit of the Alliance. If confirmed, I will work to ensure Allies continue to share the responsibility of our collective security against new and existing threats and appeal to them to do more. If confirmed, I will also ensure that the burden-sharing conversation at NATO also focuses on capabilities, readiness, and force generation. I look forward to consulting with NATO Allies, as well as with Congress, on the best strategy to ensure NATO has the capabilities, readiness, and forces it requires to maintain a credible defense and deterrence posture, as well as fulfill NATO missions and operations.

Question. Why does Japan spend only about 1 percent of its GDP on defense? Given increasing threats from China, is this acceptable and sustainable? If confirmed, how would you approach discussions regarding defense spending with the Japanese Government?

Answer. Japan has become one of our strongest allies in maintaining peace and security in the Indo-Pacific region and around the world. The Government of Japan has increased its defense budget every year since 2012. The U.S. Japan Alliance advances our shared vision for a free and open Indo-Pacific and beyond. If confirmed, I will work with Japan to bolster its national defense capabilities to further strengthen the alliance and regional security.

Question. Taiwan is set to increase its defense spending to about 2.4 percent of GDP for this year. However, some senior U.S. defense officials have indicated that is still an insufficient amount for Taiwan to be able to ensure resilient defense in the face of an increasing Chinese threat. Do you agree with those concerns? If confirmed, how would you approach discussions regarding defense spending with the Taiwanese Government?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to maintaining the U.S. rock-solid commitment to Taiwan. The United States will continue to make available to Taiwan the defense articles and services necessary to enable Taiwan to maintain a sufficient self-defense capability, consistent with the Taiwan Relations Act and our “one China” policy. At the same time, Taiwan needs to maintain robust defense budgets. The United States sold nearly \$30 billion worth of arms to Taiwan since 2009, but arms sales alone cannot ensure Taiwan’s ability to defend itself. Our expanding security cooperation seeks to encourage Taiwan to prioritize cost-effective, mobile, resilient, and asymmetric capabilities, including an effective civil defense force for defense in depth.

Question. How can we resolve the current impasse with Turkey over the S-400?

Answer. One of President Biden’s top priorities with respect to Turkey is urging it not to retain the S-400 and to refrain from additional Russian arms purchases. If confirmed, I will support efforts to persuade Turkey to forego the S-400. The CAATSA sanctions announced in December 2020 impose real costs on Turkey for acquiring the S-400 and advance our global efforts to deter and disrupt purchases of Russian weaponry, which bring Russia revenue, access, and influence. Turkey’s suspension and pending removal from the F-35 partnership represents an additional significant cost. If confirmed, I look forward to working with Congress to review the impact of the sanctions imposed in response to the S-400 acquisition and to determine whether additional measures are required or warranted.

Question. What is your understanding of how China has expanded and modernized its nuclear forces?

Answer. I understand that during this decade, the People’s Republic of China (PRC) is likely to more than double the size of its nuclear stockpile. This rapid expansion includes new delivery systems as Beijing works to establish a nuclear triad, which will include a long-range stealth bomber, new road-mobile ICBMs, multiple-warhead silo-based ICBMs, and a growing fleet of ballistic missile submarines. The PRC also appears to be working on hypersonic-glide vehicles, air-launched ballistic missiles, and low-yield nuclear weapons that will fit into this nuclear triad. The PRC is also making additional advances towards developing a launch-on-warning posture.

Question. In your view, do these capabilities pose an increasing threat to the United States and its allies?

Answer. Yes. The People’s Republic of China’s (PRC) ongoing rapid expansion of its nuclear arsenal presages a more dangerous future, with a considerably larger number of sophisticated nuclear delivery systems able to reach the United States and our allies and partners than in the past. This larger nuclear arsenal will buttress a broader PRC military build-up and its increasingly assertive and threatening behavior to U.S. allies and partners.

Question. How can we bring China to the negotiating table for arms control?

Answer. If confirmed, I will support U.S. efforts to pursue arms control to reduce the dangers from the People’s Republic of China’s (PRC) growing nuclear arsenal. To date, the PRC has failed to meaningfully engage on these issues. If confirmed, I will support efforts to work with U.S. allies and partners to press Beijing to engage meaningfully with the United States on arms control to reduce global nuclear risks.

Question. Do you believe that China’s professed no first use policy is credible?

Answer. There is ambiguity over the conditions under which Beijing would act outside of its professed no first use policy. Some People’s Liberation Army (PLA) officers have written publicly of the need to spell out conditions under which China

might need to use nuclear weapons first. There has been no indication that national leaders are willing to attach such nuances and caveats publicly. However, ongoing PRC advances in their nuclear arsenal, from an exploration of low-yield warheads to the development of a launch on warning posture, raise questions regarding PRC intent and undermine their claims to seek a minimum nuclear deterrent backed by a no-first use policy.

Question. Until now, analysts have estimated that the growth of the Chinese arsenal would be constrained by the lack of fissile material. However, recent reports indicate that Chinese plans to reprocess plutonium will greatly increase its stocks of weapons-grade material. Do you see this as threatening to the U.S. and its allies? Why do you believe China is pursuing these activities?

Answer. Yes, this would be threatening to the United States and its allies. China's ongoing rapid expansion of its nuclear arsenal presages a more dangerous future, with a considerably larger number of sophisticated nuclear delivery systems able to reach the United States and our allies and partners than in the past. Precisely because Beijing is the least transparent member of the P5 nuclear weapon states, accurate assessments of its nuclear trajectory and intentions are difficult. I would defer to the intelligence community for specific assessments. In general, the United States has a longstanding position that seeks to limit the further development of sensitive fuel cycle technologies, including enrichment and reprocessing, beyond those facilities already in existence.

Question. What is your understanding of how Russia has expanded and modernized its nuclear forces?

Answer. Russia's strategic forces are undergoing a comprehensive modernization in their force structure, operations, and planning. If confirmed, I will support the Biden-Harris administration's intention to engage Russia in comprehensive negotiations that address the full range of systems that threaten international security, including Russian novel strategic systems and non-strategic nuclear weapons.

Question. In your view, do these capabilities pose an increasing threat to the United States and its allies?

Answer. The United States monitors Russian nuclear policy, strategy, doctrine, and current and projected nuclear forces. If confirmed, I would work to sustain a safe, secure, and effective strategic deterrent and ensure that our extended deterrence commitment to our allies remains strong and credible. If confirmed I would also support efforts to use the time provided by the five-year extension of the New START Treaty to pursue with Russia, in consultation with Congress and U.S. allies and partners, arms control measures that address all Russian nuclear weapons, including novel strategic systems and nonstrategic nuclear weapons.

Question. After the United State ratified the New START Treaty, Russia refused to engage in follow-on negotiations regarding its non-strategic nuclear weapons, and other arms control issues. The United States recently agreed to a five-year extension to the New START Treaty. Given Russia's refusal to negotiate in the latter years of the Obama administration, do you expect Russia to behave differently this time, and to be willing to engage in arms control negotiations in the next few years? Why or why not?

Answer. President Biden and President Putin have agreed to explore strategic stability discussions on a range of arms control and emerging security issues. The administration is in the process of establishing the terms of these discussions and, if confirmed, I commit to consulting with Congress and allies on the path forward. While Russian intentions regarding possible negotiations remain unclear, the United States must enter any talks on future arms control from a position of strength.

Question. How should we account for Russian non-strategic nuclear weapons and exotic delivery systems in future arms control agreements?

Answer. If confirmed, I will support an approach in which the United States uses the time provided by a five-year extension of the New START Treaty to pursue with Russia, in consultation with Congress and U.S. allies and partners, arms control that addresses all Russian nuclear weapons, including novel strategic systems and nonstrategic nuclear weapons.

Question. Would Russia view a U.S. no first use or sole purpose policy as credible? Would such a policy affect the confidence of U.S. allies in extended deterrence?

Answer. President Biden is committed to maintaining a strong, credible deterrent to defend the United States and our allies, while also taking steps to reduce the

role of nuclear weapons. The Biden-Harris administration is undertaking a review of nuclear policy that will certainly include declaratory policy and, if confirmed, I will ensure we consult with Congress and our allies on any policies or actions in this area.

Question. The Countering America's Adversaries through Sanctions Act (CAATSA) and other U.S. legislation and policy tools have failed to deter Russia from attacking our democratic systems, especially through means of cyberattacks. How can we deter Russia from conducting cyberattacks?

Answer. Russia is a full-scope cyber actor that will remain a major threat to U.S. Government, military, diplomatic, commercial, and critical infrastructure networks. If confirmed, I will support efforts to combat Russian cyber threats through a whole-of-government approach that leverages the full range of U.S. Government capabilities—diplomatic, economic, law enforcement, intelligence, and military. If confirmed, I will work with the Department to communicate to the Russian Government when its behavior is unacceptable, coordinate with interagency partners to impose costs in response to destabilizing activity, and build international coalitions to actively deter malign Russian activities—including those carried out through cyberspace.

Question. If confirmed, how will you balance the International Organizations bureau within the Political Affairs family regarding decision-making?

Answer. The Bureau of International Organization Affairs (IO) is the State Department's gateway to advancing U.S. foreign policy priorities across the multilateral system. The IO Bureau was an invaluable partner when I served as Assistant Secretary for European and Eurasian Affairs, and if confirmed, I will rely heavily on the IO Bureau's U.N. system and international organizations expertise to advance U.S. interests and address global challenges. IO is also central to our efforts to protect international organizations from Chinese domination and efforts to flood the staff with their nationals.

Question. There is growing concern about the aggressive efforts of the Chinese Communist Party to stack U.N. agencies with Chinese nationals and secure leadership positions in order to exert undue influence in International Organizations. Do you share this concern?

Answer. I do. The PRC engages in conduct to reshape the international system to accommodate and more closely align with its ideology. Its actions undermine the foundations of the international system that has provided peace and stability since the end of World War II. At the U.N., the PRC drives an authoritarian agenda that stands in opposition to the values of the United States and the U.N. itself, including on human rights, labor rights, transparency, and poor economic practices. If confirmed, I will work to stop the PRC's efforts to harm international organizations and their transparency, efficiency, and influence.

Question. Do you believe the United States should craft a comprehensive strategy to ensure the open and transparent processes for the selection and promotion of Directors, Secretary Generals, and Director Generals of all international organizations, including the U.N. and its specialized bodies?

Answer. I believe in the independence and integrity of the U.N. and other international organizations, including specialized agencies, and agree with the importance of having qualified, independent candidates in key positions. If confirmed, I will prioritize robust strategies that include working with our allies and partners to select or elect qualified, independent candidates that support democratic values through a transparent and fair process.

Question. What do you believe is the most appropriate level of funding to the United Nations? Should the U.S. leverage our contributions to promote necessary reform within U.N. specialized bodies and committees?

Answer. The most appropriate funding level for the U.N. is the one that enables the U.N. to fulfill its mission effectively and efficiently, as determined by the U.N. General Assembly in accordance with its established procedures. If confirmed, I will work with the U.S. Mission to the United Nations and the other IO missions to U.N. organizations to promote reforms that ensure that the U.N. and U.N. specialized agencies are transparent, accountable, and well-managed.

Question. The United States has accrued peacekeeping arrears due to incongruence between U.S. law and U.N. assessment levels. How will you advocate for the lowering of U.S. peacekeeping assessments to 25 percent during the scales of assessment negotiations?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work with the U.S. Mission to the United Nations and the Bureau of International Organization Affairs on a strategy to advance U.S. interests in reaching agreement in the U.N. General Assembly to lower the U.S. peacekeeping assessment rate, thereby reducing or eliminating future peacekeeping arrears.

Question. Do you support paying the backlog of U.S. arrears, including the pre-Helms-Biden agreement arrears, or will you honor the bipartisan agreement negotiated in the current President's name?

Answer. If confirmed, I will consult closely with Congress on the issue of whether to pay the "contested" arrears that are subject to the Helms-Biden agreement. As indicated in the President's FY 2022 budget request, the Department is seeking funds and authority from Congress to enable payment of peacekeeping arrears that accrued over the past four years. These arrears are not subject to the Helms-Biden agreement.

Question. Given the potential conflict with U.S. policy that U.N. membership would cause, what actions would the Biden administration take if the Palestinian Authority submitted a new application for membership to the U.N. or attempt to accede to any new U.N. body?

Answer. I believe that efforts by the Palestinians to join international entities are premature and counterproductive. There are no shortcuts to Palestinian statehood outside direct negotiations between the parties, a process I would support, if confirmed.

Question. Do you support establishing an office of U.N. Integrity within the Political Affairs family to counter malign influence within the U.N. system and to promote free and fair elections within the U.N. system?

Answer. The IO bureau has taken steps in recent years to strengthen its capacities to counter malign influence and I would support building on those efforts, if confirmed. I look forward to working with Congress to ensure the State Department is organized and resourced effectively to strengthen the U.N. system and ensure the transparency, effectiveness, and integrity of multilateral institutions. If confirmed, I will work with partners and allies to elect qualified and independent candidates to lead the U.N. and other international organizations bodies, including highly specialized agencies.

Question. In 2014, your phone call with then-Ambassador to Ukraine Geoff Pyatt was leaked, and, among other things, it revealed less than flattering opinions about the European Union. At the time, how did you address this comment with your European Union colleagues?

Answer. I made immediate contact with senior partners in the EU and key Allied capitals to make clear that this phone call was leaked by the Russians to try to drive wedges between us, and that my comments in no way reflected my larger view of the EU, but reflected only a short term, tactical frustration that the EU had chosen not to send an envoy to help negotiate a transitional Ukrainian Government. In fact, I was seeking more EU collaboration on Ukraine. I also apologized for the crude language I used. I went on from that incident to have very productive and collaborative relations with EU diplomats and Allied partners for the next three years on Ukraine, energy security, Russia relations, the Balkans, Cyprus settlement talks and a host of other issues.

Question. Do you believe this statement will present issues in your job as Under Secretary and impede your ability to work well with the political directors of European Foreign Ministries? How will you fulfill President Biden's intent to strengthen our relationship with our allies, including the European Union as a bloc?

Answer. As noted, I went on from that incident to have very productive and collaborative relations with the EU and Allied partners on a wide variety of issues. If confirmed, I look forward to building on that experience to support the President and Secretary's efforts to repair, revitalize, and raise the level of ambition in the U.S. relationship with the European Union. U.S.-EU cooperation will be critical to our ability to control the pandemic, fight climate change, address the challenge posed by China, secure a digital future that favors free societies, and manage other global issues. If confirmed, I will work closely with my EU and other European counterparts to deepen cooperation on these issues on the basis of our shared values.

Question. Which nations do you believe the U.S. should work most closely with to counter China's growing malign influence and actions around the world? Which countries do you see as most aligned with U.S. goals and values vis-a-vis China?

Answer. If confirmed, I will put alliances and partnerships at the center of our foreign policy to advance shared norms and values that underpin peace and security and compete with the People's Republic of China (PRC) from a position of strength. This includes working closely with our Indo-Pacific and NATO and EU Allies, within groupings like the Quad and the G7, and with other likeminded partners to preserve our democracies, protect the integrity of the U.N. system, strengthen our vital security partnerships, and secure the technologies of the future.

Question. What are your views on the recently agreed EU-China Comprehensive Agreement on Investment? Should the U.S. be engaging with the European Parliament to stop its ratification?

Answer. If confirmed, I look forward to early consultations with our EU and European partners on shared concerns about China, including those related to trade and investment. Ultimately, the onus will be on China to show that its pledges on forced labor, state-owned enterprises, and subsidies in its new agreement with the EU are not just cheap talk, and the Chinese Government will need to follow through. If confirmed, I will seek to engage with European counterparts, including members of the European Parliament, on how to advance our shared economic interests and counter China's aggressive and coercive actions, as well as on China's failures to uphold its past international commitments.

Question. Many European countries have pledged to keep unsafe telecoms companies out of their networks. What do you view as the next priority areas for cooperation between the U.S. and EU?

Answer. If confirmed, I will support continued collaboration with European Allies and partners to build a vibrant and diverse supply chain of trustworthy telecommunications equipment and services. This includes support for open, interoperable approaches like Open RAN (radio access network) technologies that promise to increase vendor diversity and market competition and have the potential to lower costs and improve security. The United States encourages others to join us in our support of trustworthy vendor diversity, open networks, and transparent standards. National measures must be crafted to fully exclude untrustworthy and high-risk suppliers, regardless of national origin, from providing equipment and software in 5G networks.

Question. To what extent do you believe that there is an emerging Russia-China axis? Some suggest that the U.S. should try to drive wedges between the two nations to destroy any emerging axis. Do you agree with that analysis?

Answer. I believe the alignment between Russia and China on many issues amplifies the challenges that both countries pose to the United States. China and Russia cooperate in certain areas, touting their relationship as a "comprehensive strategic partnership," but remain competitors in others. Beijing and Moscow share the same goal of undermining U.S. leadership and reshaping the international rules-based order, particularly in the defense, democracy, and human rights realms. They complement these efforts with their military capabilities, technological innovation, and disinformation campaigns. If confirmed, I will ensure the United States is vigilant in imposing costs on coercive and reckless behavior that undermines the rules-based order.

Question. In an article last year in Foreign Affairs, you said the U.S. should "resist Putin's attempts to cut off his population from the outside world and speak directly to the Russian people." As Putin's tightens the screws on his people, not least through the "foreign agents" law, independent media is being suppressed, and RFE/RL is on the brink of withdrawing from the country altogether. How do you propose we resist Putin's attempts to cut off his population from the outside world? What actions do you believe the U.S. should take?

Answer. The United States is committed to maintaining ties with the Russian people despite the Russian Government's efforts to increase government control over its population using new and existing legislation and regulations adopted under the guise of regulating "foreign influence." If confirmed, I will ensure the United States continues to promote the courageous work of Russia's independent media, civil society organizations, and democratic elements of the society and call out the Russian Government for abusing the fundamental freedoms of the Russian people and will join with partners and allies to amplify that message. If confirmed, I will work to enhance people-to-people ties, seek ways to ensure continued communication with the Russian people, and draw attention to Russia's increasing repression.

Question. In the same article, you wrote "U.S. and allied sanctions, although initially painful, have grown leaky or impotent with overuse and no longer impress the

Kremlin” and the “U.S. and European leaders should be clearer about their conditions for rolling back or removing sanctions.” What do you believe the role of sanctions should be in the creation and execution of U.S. foreign policy?

Answer. Sanctions remain an important tool in our broader arsenal of instruments for countering Russian malign behavior and signaling to Russian leaders that their actions will have costs, as most recently demonstrated by the President’s April 15 executive order. If confirmed, I will work with allies and partners to enhance coordination and amplify the effect of U.S. sanctions actions, as well as the imposition of new sanctions if warranted.

Question. With respect to Russia, how do you believe the sanctions imposed on that country since 2014 have affected the Russia’s economy and foreign policy decision making?

Answer. U.S. and allied sanctions impose costs on Russia for its destabilizing activities. Russia might well have sought to take even more territory in Ukraine and elsewhere had tough sectoral sanctions not been imposed. Economically, sanctions have sharply curtailed new foreign investment in Russia. Moscow now has few opportunities to achieve sustained growth absent significant structural reforms to improve competitiveness and the business environment, which the Kremlin shows little willingness to undertake. The economic role of the state has steadily expanded, growing from roughly 35 percent of GDP in 2000 to 60-70 percent today. This is detrimental to Russia’s long-term interests and growth.

Question. Given the wide range of Russian malign behavior, how can the U.S. (including Congress) and Europe do a better job of being clearer about the policy aims of sanctions and any conditions needed for rolling back or removing sanctions with respect to Russia?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to consulting with Allies and Partners, as well as with Congress, to examine all options for how to calibrate sanctions actions to best meet U.S. and allied policy aims.

Question. Do you believe that the imposition of more sanctions on Russia would accomplish U.S. policy goals? What are other measures besides economic sanctions that could be effective tools with respect to U.S. foreign policy vis-a-vis Russia?

Answer. I do, if they are properly targeted and maintained. I see value to using other tools as well including multilateral visa bans and international pressure campaigns. If confirmed, I will support the Biden-Harris administration’s commitment to using all available tools, including but not limited to sanctions, to stop Russian malign influence, and will also continue to seek ways to engage the Russian people.

Question. What outreach to every day Russians do you intend to do as Under Secretary for Political Affairs?

Answer. As the Russian Government increases its suppression of freedom of expression and peaceful assembly in Russia, it is even more critical for us to engage with everyday Russians through public statements, broadcast and digital media, and the remaining educational and people-to-people programs that the Kremlin still allows. And even as we focus on responding to the Russian Government’s aggression, as the President has stated, “the Russian people, like the American people, are invested in a peaceful and secure future for our world.” We need to nurture these inclinations, and Mission Russia has been able to adopt a wide range of new virtual tools and hybrid engagements for this purpose. If confirmed, I am committed to continuing and finding new ways to expand our outreach to the Russian people.

Question. As Assistant Secretary of State for Europe and Eurasian Affairs between 2013 and 2017, you were responsible for U.S. policy on Turkey during the 2016 coup attempt and as Turkey descended into the authoritarianism under President Erdogan we see today. What did you and the State Department do in those years to try to prevent Turkey from purchasing the S-400 missile defense system from Russia?

Answer. As Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs, I oversaw the successful effort in coordination with our NATO Allies to convince the Government of Turkey to overturn its 2013 decision to move forward with a Chinese air defense system. I consistently and repeatedly pushed for Turkey to choose a NATO-interoperable air defense system, emphasizing that PATRIOT would be the best choice for Turkey. I also worked within the U.S. interagency to address Turkey’s concerns about the PATRIOT. More broadly, I successfully pushed other NATO Allies to reduce their dependence on legacy Russian military equipment and procure NATO interoperable military equipment.

Question. Is there anything you think the U.S. should have done differently in the aftermath of the 2016 coup attempt?

Answer. Following the devastating July 2016 coup attempt in Turkey in which more than 250 people lost their lives, the United States promptly condemned the coup and extended its heartfelt sympathy to the Turkish people. Since then, we have supported Turkey's efforts to bring perpetrators of the attempted coup to justice in evidence-based prosecutions. However, I am concerned by the significant expansion of scope of the prosecution for attempted coup-related activities to include opposition politicians, the media, and others whose views differ from the Government's.

Question. How should the U.S., the European Union, and NATO deal with an increasingly authoritarian Turkey whose decisions are problematic for its people, its allies, and its larger neighborhood?

Answer. I share the concerns about the Turkish Government's curbs on freedom of expression, association, and peaceful assembly that erode the foundations of a democratic society. It is in our shared interest to keep Turkey anchored to the Transatlantic community. If confirmed, I commit to press Turkey to do more to bolster the rule of law, protect human rights, support fundamental freedoms, uphold the rules-based international order, and stand united with the Transatlantic community in addressing global challenges from Iran, Russia, and China.

Question. Do you believe that the U.S. should try to drive a wedge between Russia and Turkey?

Answer. Russia attempts to interfere in domestic processes and drive wedges between the United States and its Allies, including Turkey, using manipulative energy tactics, weapons sales, corrupt business deals, and disinformation. Turkish-Russian relations are transactional and frequently divided by strategic rivalries. For example, Russia and Turkey are often on the opposite side of regional conflicts (e.g., Syria and Libya). At the same time, Turkey is heavily dependent upon Russian energy supplies and Russian tourists, construction sector projects, and Russian agricultural purchases are important for the Turkish economy. If confirmed, I will work to prevent Russian influence from weakening a key NATO Ally.

Question. Recently, Senator Menendez and I re-introduced the Ukraine Security Partnership Act, which aims to support Ukraine in its fight against Russian-backed separatists in the east and push the country to continue necessary reforms of its military and defense sectors. In the bill, we propose placing of conditions on Foreign Military Financing and International Military Education and Training (IMET). With your experience working on Ukraine policy, what is your view on Ukraine's historical response to conditionality? Do you believe that increasing conditionality on a portion of military support for the country would provide incentive for further reforms?

Answer. Reform conditionality on security assistance to Ukraine has been an important driver of positive change in the armed forces, including in ensuring U.S. support is properly used. If confirmed, I will work with Congress to provide robust security assistance to Ukraine, including lethal defensive weapons, and to support continued reforms in Ukraine. The Department will oversee the execution of \$115 million in FME, \$3 million in IMET, and \$6 million in Nonproliferation, Anti-terrorism, Demining, and Related Programs (NADR) funds that Congress appropriated for FY 2021. If confirmed, I will also coordinate with the Department of Defense in the execution of \$275 million that Congress appropriated for the Ukraine Security Assistance Initiative (USAI) in FY 2021, including certifying that Ukraine has taken substantial actions to make defense reforms before the final tranche of \$150 million in USAI funding is released. I will continue to urge the implementation of defense reforms, for which Ukraine has made moderate strides. If confirmed, I also look forward to consulting with Congress as we engage the Ukrainian Government on these issues to ensure we have the right mix of incentives for Ukraine to continue its reforms.

Question. Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy was overwhelmingly elected in 2019 on an anti-corruption platform. After a few promising reforms, Zelenskyy and his government have stalled and even backslid on democratic and market-based economic reforms. The U.S. gives a huge amount of money to support Ukraine's transition, yet much of the country remains under the influence of oligarchs. What do you see as the current priorities for reform in Ukraine, and what pressure or leverage can the U.S. use to ensure Ukraine continues down its previously positive path?

Answer. Ukraine needs to make more progress in combatting corruption, institutionalizing rule of law, deepening economic reforms, and strengthening democratic institutions. If confirmed, I will work with Ukraine to hold accountable corrupt actors who stand in the way of reforms or try to undermine the country's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Question. As Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs, you had responsibility for Europe during years of upheaval in the region: the 2014 Ukraine Revolution of Dignity, the 2014 the 2015 European migration crisis, the Russian meddling in the 2016 presidential election, and the 2016 coup attempt in Turkey, to name a few. Looking back from today, what would you do differently? What should the U.S. have done differently?

Answer. I am proud that the U.S. provided crucial political, economic, and security support to Ukraine during my tenure as Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs, in close collaboration with the EU, NATO, and our democratic allies around the world. I regret that the U.S. was not a direct participant in the Normandy negotiations to implement the Minsk agreements because we might have been able to push the process faster and more effectively. As I testified before the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence in 2017 and 2018, I also believe we should have done more in 2016 to expose and deter Russian election interference in the U.S.

Question. What do you believe you and the U.S. got it right?

Answer. The U.S. provided crucial political, security, and economic support to Ukraine, coordinated closely with Allies and conditioned our assistance on meaningful reform. We assembled a global coalition to censure and sanction Russia for its invasion of Ukraine. We also strengthened deterrence along NATO's Eastern border with Russia, reversed the flow of gas in Europe to help Ukraine when Russia tried to cut it off, collaborated with the EU to bring new non-Russian energy sources to Europe, and provided intensive support to the U.N.-facilitated Cyprus peace talks. We also worked intensively in the Balkans to support good governance and reform, and called out those NATO Allies that were backsliding on their democratic commitments.

Question. There were reports that you supported arming Ukraine with lethal weaponry during your time as Assistant Secretary, a position at odds with key officials in the Obama administration. Do you remain willing to disagree, when appropriate, with the administration to ensure the best policies are put into place?

Answer. If confirmed, I will remain committed, as I always have been, to providing my best counsel in the formulation of administration policy, even if that input is at odds with others. Once the President and Secretary have decided on a policy, I will faithfully implement it to the best of my ability. If confirmed, I would look forward to working with Congress to continue providing the assistance that Ukraine requires to defend itself against Russia's aggression, including lethal weapons, based on a U.S. and Ukrainian assessment of Ukraine's defense requirements. This includes the provision of defensive lethal assistance that has already expanded beyond Javelin missiles, such as armed Mark VI patrol boats this year, for instance.

Question. In the number three spot in the State Department, how do you propose the U.S. reinvigorates the Minsk process and the Normandy Format to pressure Putin to withdraw from Eastern Ukraine? Though not a member of the Normandy Format, what can the U.S. do to support Ukraine and end the war that is in its 7th year?

Answer. If confirmed, I will continue to vigorously oppose Russia's occupation and attempted annexation of Crimea and support diplomatic efforts to end the conflict in eastern Ukraine. Sanctions on Russia will remain in place until Russia ends its occupation of Crimea and aggression in eastern Ukraine. I will continue to support the Minsk agreements as the framework for a diplomatic resolution to the Russia-instigated conflict in eastern Ukraine and, in coordination with our allies and partners, will seek opportunities to leverage U.S. engagement on Ukraine-Russia conflict diplomacy.

Question. Do you view the sanctions in the Protecting Europe's Energy Security Act (PEESA), as amended, as a mandatory or discretionary authority?

Answer. PEESA is U.S. law, and if confirmed, I will uphold the law. PEESA, as amended, is an important tool to stop the Nord Stream 2 pipeline and ensure that Europe has a reliable, diversified energy supply that enhances rather than undermines its collective security. I understand that the Department continues to assess all potential targets involved in the construction of Nord Stream 2, to identify per-

sons that engaged in conduct that meets the specific terms of the statute and is considering designations.

Question. Do you believe that it is possible to prevent the completion of Nord Stream 2, or is it inevitable?

Answer. If confirmed, I am committed to working with allies and partners to prevent the completion of the pipeline and to ensure that Europe has a reliable, diversified energy supply that enhances, rather than undermines, its collective security. The administration has made clear that Nord Stream 2 is a geopolitical, Russian malign influence project that is a threat to Europe's energy security. If confirmed, I will ensure the Department continues work to bring an end to the project.

Question. Do you believe it would be appropriate for the administration to negotiate a deal with Germany (or any foreign power) involving the waiving of mandatory sanctions absent prior consultations with Congress?

Answer. In the spirit of our Transatlantic partnership, the administration is prepared to listen to the concerns of our Allies. That said, to the best of my knowledge, there is no such deal. If confirmed, I will consult early and often with Congress on all sanctions matters. The Department looks forward to continuing to consult with Congress on this matter and others, and if confirmed I would look forward to doing the same.

Question. Do you believe that the State Department should implement the Protecting Europe's Energy Security Act (PEESA), as amended, consistent with congressional intent to stop the completion of the pipeline? Do you commit to ensuring that the State Department adopts an interpretation of PEESA, as amended, consistent with Congress' intent that the sanctions target a broad range of pipe-laying activities, support services, insurance and certification activities, and other conduct that supports or facilitates the construction of the pipeline?

Answer. PEESA is U.S. law, and if confirmed, I will uphold the law. The administration is thankful for the tools that Congress has provided to ensure that Europe has a reliable, diversified energy supply that enhances rather than undermines its collective security. Furthermore, the Department continues to work to bring an end to the pipeline, which it views as a threat to European energy security and as a tool of Russian coercion. If confirmed, I will work with the Department to continue to assess and evaluate evidence available to determine the applicability of PEESA, as amended.

Question. The five post-Soviet Central Asian republics, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan, or C5, have been an afterthought in much of U.S. foreign policy. However, the region sits between Russia and China and has often proven eager for U.S. involvement and investment. Former Secretary Pompeo visited Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan in 2020, and USAID has recently expanded its presence in the region. Over the past few years, the coordination between the United States and EU on development programs in Central Asia has markedly strengthened and both partners have published Central Asia engagement strategies. Will you commit to ensuring that Central Asia is a priority region for engagement by the State Department and to continuing to coordinate the U.S.'s Central Asia engagement with the EU?

Answer. Changes in Central Asia in the last several years have created both new opportunities and new challenges. If confirmed, I will work with the SCA bureau to continue to advance the U.S. Central Asia Strategy by providing strong support for the independence and territorial integrity of the Central Asia countries, encouraging regional cooperation and connectivity, working to reduce terrorist threats, and promoting the rule of law and respect for human rights. If confirmed, I would look forward to working with Congress to sustain U.S. diplomatic support and engagement in the region, including the continued routine contact between EU and U.S. officials overseeing engagement with Central Asia.

Question. In your opinion, what are the immediate priority areas in which the U.S. should engage these nations?

Answer. If confirmed, I will support the U.S. Central Asia Strategy, which lays out six priority policy objectives, including support for the independence and territorial integrity of the Central Asia countries, reduction of terrorism, support for stability in Afghanistan, encouraging regional cooperation and connectivity, promoting rule of law reform and respect for human rights, and furthering regional development. If confirmed, I would look forward to working with Congress to sustain U.S. diplomatic support for these priorities and engagement in the region.

Question. Do you believe that the U.S. should continue to look at the Central Asian nations through an Afghanistan-centric, “War on Terror” lens?

Answer. While promoting regional security will remain critical, the U.S. Central Asia Strategy lays out several priorities beyond preventing terrorism. If confirmed, I will support these priorities, including support for the independence and territorial integrity of the Central Asia countries, regional cooperation and connectivity, promoting rule of law reform and respect for human rights, and fostering economic opportunities for U.S. businesses in the region. If confirmed, I would look forward to working with Congress to sustain U.S. diplomatic support for these priorities and engagement in the region.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO HON. VICTORIA NULAND BY SENATOR BENJAMIN L. CARDIN

Question. The Saudi regime’s human rights abuses are well-documented, and while Crown Prince Mohamed bin Salman has tried to present himself as a “modernizer,” his social reforms have been accompanied by vast crackdowns on independent voices. He has imprisoned women’s rights activists, journalists, and academics, and of course most infamously, our own intelligence services have assessed him to be behind the brutal murder of Washington Post journalist Jamal Khashoggi in the Saudi consulate in Istanbul. The administration is to be applauded for taking the important steps of releasing the Office of the Director of National Intelligence (DNI) report confirming MBS’s complicity in the Khashoggi murder, adopting the “Khashoggi Ban,” and applying sanctions to 76 Saudis behind Khashoggi’s murder. But MBS was not among those, and continues to face no direct consequences for his role. If confirmed, what steps would you take to hold Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman accountable?

Answer. I agree that the Saudi Government must be held accountable for the brutal murder of Jamal Khashoggi, and I support the steps the Biden-Harris administration has taken to elevate the role of human rights within the relationship, address past behavior, and deter future abuses. As you note, the administration followed the law and submitted an unclassified report to Congress on the murder of Jamal Khashoggi; imposed Global Magnitsky sanctions on a former senior Saudi official and the group whose members were involved in the killing, which includes members of the Presidential Guard close to the Crown Prince; and took action pursuant to a new visa restriction policy against 76 Saudi individuals believed to have been engaged in threatening dissidents overseas, including but not limited to the Khashoggi killing. The Department has committed to report on any such extraterritorial activities by any government in its annual Country Reports on Human Rights Practices. If confirmed, I will push to ensure that human rights concerns remain a central element of our bilateral conversations, and that we obey all aspects of U.S. law in this regard.

Question. Since the fraudulent election last August, freedom of expression has been under attack in Belarus. The U.S. has sanctioned some entities and individuals over their roles in the election and the subsequent crackdowns on protesters; yet, the question remains what more the U.S. Government should do to signal its support for the Belarusian people. If confirmed, what measures would you support to hold the Lukashenko regime accountable and support the people of Belarus in their fight for a democratic future?

Answer. I condemn the Lukashenko regime for its violent and repressive tactics against the Belarusian people peacefully protesting for the right to choose their own leaders. If confirmed, I will call for the release of all political prisoners, new elections, and a national dialogue inclusive of the opposition and civil society. I will support coordinated actions with our allies on sanctions and visa bans against individuals and entities involved in human rights abuses and other efforts to undermine democracy. I am committed to finding ways to bolster assistance to support brave Belarusians advocating for democratic change and standing up for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Question. I applaud the Biden administration’s new sanctions designations against the Russian Federation for its malign activities on American soil that undermine U.S. national security. I urge the administration to now follow through with congressionally mandated sanctions against Putin’s Nord Stream 2 pipeline. This pipeline, if completed, would further undermine U.S. national security by increasing the Kremlin’s influence in Europe, exacerbating divisions within Europe,

and stripping Ukraine of its only source of leverage over greater Russian military activity at a time when Putin is substantially increasing his military capabilities along Ukraine's Eastern border. The Protecting Europe's Energy Security Act (PEESA) and the Protecting Europe's Energy Security Clarification Act (PEESCA) impose mandatory sanctions on all entities involved in pipe-laying activities for Nord Stream 2. If confirmed, will you commit to ensuring the imposition of sanctions as required under PEESA and PEESCA?

Answer. If confirmed, I will advocate using to all available tools to stop the completion of the Nord Stream 2 pipeline. I understand that the Department is actively examining entities involved in potentially sanctionable activity and will designate additional persons as appropriate. If confirmed, I will use all tools, to include these authorities as appropriate, to counter Russian malign influence and to work with allies and partners to support Transatlantic energy security goals.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO HON. VICTORIA NULAND BY SENATOR MARCO RUBIO

Question. How would you characterize the nature of the Chinese Communist Party? Do you believe their worldview and value system are compatible with our own?

Answer. The Chinese Communist Party is illiberal, authoritarian, and increasingly aggressive. I believe the Chinese leadership seeks not just to compete with the U.S. but to change the global rules of road to favor autocracy. As such, we are in a fundamental struggle with China, and it will be the challenge of our generation to defend and advance democracy, liberalism, universal human rights, and freedom in the face of Chinese ambitions.

Question. Is there any doubt in your mind that the goal of the Chinese Communist Party is to become the world's predominant political, military, and economic power, and for the United States to decline in relation to it?

Answer. I have no doubt that is China and the CCP's goal.

Question. Do you believe that the U.S. Government's past approach towards the PRC was effective at meeting this challenge?

Answer. The strategic environment has changed significantly in recent years, as has China itself. While there was once a broad consensus that economic liberalization in China would lead to political liberalization, the opposite has happened. China has grown more authoritarian at home and more aggressive abroad. The Chinese Communist Party is illiberal, authoritarian, and intends for China to become a dominant world power. Beijing is working across the spectrum to compete with and challenge the United States. This necessitates a new, tougher U.S. approach, working with allies and partners.

Question. Do you believe that the CCP can be trusted to uphold its commitments? How do you think the United States' approach to diplomacy with China should change because of its long record of broken promises to the international community?

Answer. Beijing has a long track record of failing to honor its international obligations, including in Hong Kong and around the world. As such, the United States must judge Beijing by its actions, not its words, and work with allies and partners to impose costs on China when it violates international norms and agreements.

Question. In 2018, during a Senate Intelligence Committee hearing, you said that Beijing is adapting and improving on Russia's methodology and is now running disinformation campaigns and influence operations in Taiwan, Australia and other neighboring countries. Do you believe China is doing the same in the U.S.?

Answer. Yes.

Question. Given this broad consensus around Confucius Institutes and their role in supporting CCP propaganda, how do you believe the United States should counter Chinese influence operations through programs such as their Confucius Institutes?

Answer. A clear understanding of the organizations and entities that China uses to attempt to influence U.S. policy is important. If confirmed, I commit to review these policies to ensure organizations are properly designated and inform relevant stakeholders within the United States, including state and local governments, universities, and business associations, as appropriate.

Question. If confirmed, how will the State Department under your leadership push for transparency and accountability to ensure we learn what caused the COVID-19 pandemic and how to prevent the next pandemic? Do you commit to follow up on the Department's January 2021 disclosure of new information on activities at the Wuhan Institute of Virology, and share with Congress-and with the public as appropriate-further details on those disclosures, including the names of the researchers who fell sick in the fall of 2019 and the nature of the research they were conducting at the time?

Answer. If confirmed, I am committed to pursuing transparency and accountability as we seek to determine the origins of the COVID-19 pandemic, assess the shortcomings of the global response, and support necessary reforms to prevent future pandemics. I will continue to urge the WHO to ensure the second phase of the study in China is timely, transparent, expert-led, and free from interference. We do not know and cannot know the full origins of the virus and its spread until we have full transparency from the PRC.

Question. Do you concur with Secretary Pompeo's and Secretary Blinken's determination that genocide and crimes against humanity are currently being committed by the CCP against Uyghurs and other Turkic and Muslim communities in Xinjiang? If so, what are the appropriate tools for holding the CCP and its officials accountable for its atrocities?

Answer. I agree with the Secretary of State's determination that the Government of the People's Republic of China (PRC) is committing genocide and crimes against humanity against Uyghurs, who are predominantly Muslim, and members of other ethnic and religious minority groups in Xinjiang. These atrocities shock the conscience and must be met with serious consequences. If confirmed, I will support using all appropriate tools, including those provided for in the Uyghur Human Rights Policy Act, to pressure the PRC to end these atrocities and to promote justice and accountability for the victims.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to ensuring that human rights concerns are integrated into every senior bilateral engagement with the PRC, and that specific prisoner cases are raised at the highest levels, both publicly and privately?

Answer. If confirmed, I will ensure that human rights concerns are at the forefront of our China policy, and I will commit to integrate our human rights concerns into senior bilateral engagements with PRC counterparts. I recognize that advocacy on behalf of individuals who have been abused by PRC authorities should be a critical component of the U.S. Government's approach, and I will engage both publicly and privately to urge the PRC authorities to release unjustly detained individuals unconditionally, consistent with their international human rights commitments.

Question. Do you see the link between China's pervasive, egregious human rights abuses and its failure on so many other fronts to be a responsible global actor?

Answer. Yes. I am clear-eyed about China's failure to uphold key past commitments, including on human rights, and ongoing abuses. I will keep these failures in mind as I deal with my PRC counterparts. If confirmed, I will work closely with our allies and partners to address these challenges from a position of strength, re-engage in international institutions, and push back against attempts to rewrite the rules and procedures of the international system.

Question. If confirmed, will you ensure that the State Department maintains a high degree of pressure on Beijing for its violations of Hong Kong's long-cherished autonomy, and prioritizes this key issue above all other competing interests in Hong Kong?

Answer. Yes. The United States must clearly address Beijing's assault on freedom, democracy, and autonomy in Hong Kong, in violation of its international obligations and commitments. If confirmed, I will work with partners and allies to strengthen a coordinated approach to the crackdown.

Question. If confirmed, will you commit to strengthening the U.S.-Taiwan relationship, including support for the Taiwan Travel Act and supporting and encouraging senior U.S. officials to travel to Taiwan, and senior Taiwanese officials to travel to D.C. to meet their respective counterparts?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to maintaining and strengthening our rock-solid commitment to Taiwan. We must deepen our ties with Taiwan—a leading democracy and a critical economic and security partner, as guided by the Taiwan Relations Act, the three Joint Communiqués, and the Six Assurances provided to Taipei. Consistent with the “one China” policy, I understand that the Biden-Harris administration is looking for opportunities for visits between Washington and Taipei that

advance our unofficial relationship and enable substantive exchanges on issues of mutual concern.

Question. If confirmed, will you commit to a regular and robust arms sales process with Taiwan that does not fluctuate in accordance with U.S.-China relations? *Answer:* Yes, if confirmed, I will ensure that the United States continues to maintain its commitment under the 1979 Taiwan Relations Act to maintain Taiwan's defensive capabilities.

Question. Japan's Deputy Foreign Minister recently called Taiwan the "red line" of the Indo-Pacific region and expressed Japan's hope that President Biden would come to Taiwan's defense if the PRC attacks it. How would you work together with your counterpart in Tokyo to enhance Taiwan's defense and prevent PRC aggression against it?

Answer. The United States and Japan share concerns over Chinese activities that are inconsistent with the international rules-based order, including the use of economic and other forms of coercion, and we oppose any unilateral attempts to change the status quo in the East China Sea. Given Taiwan's strategic location in the East China Sea, its security is closely linked to Japan's. If confirmed, I will work with Japan to promote peace and stability in the region, including in the Taiwan Strait, and help create an environment in which Taiwan and the PRC can reach a peaceful resolution of their differences, consistent with the wishes of the people of Taiwan.

Question. Do you believe we should have a bilateral Free Trade Agreement (FTA) with Taiwan? If confirmed, will you work with Secretary Blinken to urge USTR to prioritize the launch of trade talks with Taiwan?

Answer. I support strengthening the U.S.-Taiwan economic and trade relationship as part of a broader effort to strengthen the U.S. geostrategic position, diversify global supply chains, and benefit U.S. industry.

Question. Mongolia sits between two authoritarian states, the PRC and Russia, both of which have taken aggressive action against neighboring countries. Mongolia also plays an important role in Tibetan Buddhism. If confirmed, will you commit to strengthen U.S. relations with Mongolia and shore up its sovereignty if it comes under pressure from its revisionist neighbors? If President Biden follows through with his campaign promise to assemble a summit of democracies, will you ensure that Mongolia is invited to participate?

Answer. If confirmed, I will engage with my counterparts in Ulaanbaatar and will also push back against the attacks of the Chinese Government on Mongolian language and culture, as well as Tibetan Buddhism. I understand planning for the Summit for Democracy remains in the early stages, and the invitation list is yet to be determined. I understand participating countries will be expected to deliver on both domestic and international commitments that advance democracy, fight corruption, and protect human rights.

Question. If confirmed, what actions will you take to ensure the U.S. promotes free speech in Russia, including by protecting the remaining outlets that count as free and independent press in Russia?

Answer. I am deeply concerned by Russia's intensifying crackdown on freedom of expression, including for members of the media. A prime example of the Russian Government's campaign against independent media is the use of its "foreign agent" law to harass and inhibit the work of USAGM-funded entities in Russia. Another example is the Russian Government's targeting for repression of those who are seeking transparency and accountability from their government. Russia's recent legislative changes further restrict the freedom of expression for members of the media, the political opposition, and civil society. If confirmed, I will press the Russian Government to end its repression of independent media, raise the plight of embattled journalists and outlets in multilateral fora, call out the climate of impunity for violent attacks against journalists, and defend freedom of expression in Russia.

Question. The Biden administration's new Russia sanctions, announced on April 15, did not include any sanctions against the Kremlin's most malign geopolitical project, Nord Stream 2. These sanctions are statutorily required under the Protecting Europe's Energy Security Act (PEESA) and the Protecting Europe's Energy Security Clarification Act (PEESCA). Will you commit, if confirmed, to using your position to ensure full implementation of the law including sanctions to prevent the completion of Nord Stream 2? Do you believe this is in the interest of the security of the United States and our allies and partners?

Answer. If confirmed, I will use all available tools to stop the Nord Stream 2 pipeline from being completed. I understand that the Department continues to examine

entities involved in potentially sanctionable activity, is considering designations, and has made it clear that companies risk sanctions if they are involved in the project.

Question. Do you agree that Iran is the world's leading exporter and supporter of terrorism?

Answer. Iran remains the foremost state sponsor of terrorism. Its support for terrorism threatens international security, our forces, diplomatic personnel, and partners in the region and elsewhere. If confirmed, I will support the Biden-Harris administration's continuing commitment to counter any Iranian threat to U.S. personnel and interests, and will respond to any such threat using all appropriate means.

Question. The Biden administration is making clear its intention to return to the fundamentally flawed JCPOA. Do you support the lifting of sanctions, including terrorism-related sanctions, against Iran in an effort to return to the JCPOA?

Answer. The framework of U.S. sanctions remains robust, and there are many aspects of our sanctions architecture that would remain in place even in the event of a U.S. return to the JCPOA. I understand that the Biden-Harris administration intends to continue to use its considerable leverage—including sanctions that would remain in place, the threat of sanctions re-imposition, and other joint action with our allies and partners—to protect U.S. interests. In the meantime, I understand the administration's intention is to maintain and potentially impose new sanctions on Iranian entities providing financial and material support to designated terrorist groups in the region. If confirmed, I am committed to consulting closely with Congress on the path forward.

Question. Secretary Blinken in his confirmation hearing was asked if it was in America's national security interests to lift terrorism sanctions against Iran, including sanctions on the IRGC, Central Bank of Iran and the National Iranian Oil Company. He answered that it was not in America's interest to lift these sanctions and that he backed "the toughest possible sanctions to deal with Iranian support for terrorism." Do you agree with Secretary Blinken?

Answer. Yes, I agree with Secretary Blinken. The U.S. Government maintains a range of tools to combat Iran's support for terrorism, and if confirmed, I support continuing to use these tools to counter Iran's destabilizing activities.

Question. Do you acknowledge that there are gaps in the JCPOA that must be addressed to truly stop Iran from ever acquiring a nuclear weapon?

Answer. Yes, if confirmed, I will support the Biden-Harris administration's unshakable commitment to preventing Iran from acquiring a nuclear weapon. The administration's intention is to build on the JCPOA with respect to its constraints on and transparency into Iran's nuclear program and to address other issues of concern.

Question. Do you believe that for any Iran policy to be sustainable, it needs to have bipartisan support?

Answer. Yes. A bipartisan approach to Iran is the strongest way to safeguard U.S. interests for the long term.

Question. Do you believe that Iran's Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) is a terrorist organization?

Answer. Yes. Iran is the foremost state sponsor of terrorism and facilitates a wide range of terrorist activity. Iran's support for terrorism threatens U.S. forces, diplomatic personnel, and our partners in the region and elsewhere. The Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) is designated as a Foreign Terrorist Organization in accordance with section 219 of the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA) and as a Specially Designated Global Terrorist under Executive Order 13224.

Question. Do you believe that a credible option to use military force is an important component of U.S. policy to prevent Iran from obtaining nuclear weapons and to deter Iran's regional ambitions?

Answer. Yes.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
 SUBMITTED TO HON. VICTORIA NULAND BY SENATOR ROB PORTMAN

Question. As you know, I am the Co-Chair of the Ukraine Caucus along with Senator Dick Durbin. I am very concerned with the recent buildup of Russian forces on the eastern border of Ukraine and on the Crimean Peninsula as well as the recent rise in attacks on the Line of Contact that has resulted in the death of over 20 brave Ukrainian soldiers. Russia's diplomatic, information, military, and economic aggression throughout Eastern Europe is a stark reminder of the danger revisionist powers pose to the free world. Recent escalations and displays of military strength in the Arctic, the basing of Russian troops in Belarus, and the constant drumbeat of misinformation threaten America's national security. Russia's actions constitute a very different vision, where international relations are singularly focused on Russian interests, where its neighbors play a subservient role to Putin's wishes and desires. These actions by Russia are regressive and incompatible with the aspirations of freedom loving people everywhere. Senator Durbin and I recently led a letter with our fellow members of the Caucus to President Biden expressing our appreciation for his support to Ukraine and encouraging him to provide critical material support in the near and long term to help Ukraine protect from this unwarranted, unprovoked aggression. Over the past 7 years, we have made great strides in our support of Ukraine. I personally feel this is important because not only does this serve as a direct check against the Russians, but also sends a strong signal to our European allies that we will stand and support those nations that seek freedom and democracy. We have done a great deal in Congress, to include:

- Over \$1.6 billion in military aid through the Ukraine Security Assistance Initiative Fund and over \$3 billion in aid overall.
- Provided Island Class patrol boats and anti-ship missiles to defend their coast
- Lethal and non-lethal assistance to include medical support for wounded Ukrainian soldiers.
- In this recent NDAA, one of my initiatives was included to have a Department of State and Defense report to identify capability gaps in the Ukrainian military and develop a strategy to address the shortfalls.

Can I get your commitment to work with me and my Senate Colleagues to find ways to continue our support for Ukraine and other eastern European countries as they work to become democratic countries aligned with our Western ideals?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I will support Ukraine's chosen Euro-Atlantic path, including by pushing for progress on rule of law and economic reforms that strengthen Ukraine's democratic institutions and lead to a brighter future for all Ukrainians. I will bring the same commitment to reform to relations with other eastern European countries, such as Moldova.

Question. Last year, Ukraine received Enhanced Opportunity Partner status from NATO. Ukraine has also been working hard to make much needed military organization and security sector reforms to meet NATO standards. From your perspective, do you see pathway to NATO membership for Ukraine, and how would that impact the security environment in Eastern Europe?

Answer. NATO's Open Door Policy has long served to promote democratic values and common security across Europe, and that door should remain open to Ukraine. In the 2008 Bucharest Summit Declaration, Allies agreed that Georgia and Ukraine would become NATO members, and in 2019 Ukraine was granted Enhanced Opportunities Partner status. Ukraine is now working to implement its Annual National Program (ANP), which is NATO's primary tool for guiding aspirants' reforms towards Euro-Atlantic standards. If confirmed, I will support Ukraine's chosen Euro-Atlantic path, including by pushing for progress on rule of law, economic, and security sector reforms.

Question. Since 2014 Congress has made very strong statements in regards to sanctioning Russia for their invasion of Crimea and backing separatists in the Donbas. While I am supportive of diplomatic efforts to solve the Donbas issue through the Minsk Process, I do not want to do so at the cost of Ukrainian sovereignty or acknowledging the Russian annexation of Crimea as legitimate-which of course, it is not. What are your thoughts on how to best support the peace process and what do you see as a viable way ahead to solve this very complex issue?

Answer. If confirmed, I will continue to vigorously oppose Russia's occupation and attempted annexation of Crimea and support diplomatic efforts to end the conflict in eastern Ukraine. Sanctions on Russia should remain in place until Russia ends its occupation of Crimea and aggression in eastern Ukraine. I will continue to sup-

port the Minsk agreements as the framework for a diplomatic resolution to the Russia-instigated conflict in eastern Ukraine and, in coordination with our Allies and partners, seek opportunities to use U.S. leverage to see Minsk implemented.

Question. Regarding Crimea, do you share my views on the illegitimacy of the Russian claims on what is Ukrainian land? Do you anticipate keeping the sanctions in place?

Answer. Let me be perfectly clear: Crimea is Ukraine. If confirmed, I will continue to oppose vigorously Russia's occupation and attempted annexation of Crimea and support diplomatic efforts to end the conflict in eastern Ukraine. Sanctions on Russia must remain in place until Russia ends its occupation of Crimea and aggression in eastern Ukraine. Successive administrations have been clear that the United States will never recognize Russia's attempted annexation. Russia must end its occupation of Crimea and return the Crimean peninsula to Ukraine.

Question. Combatting corruption has been a central tenant of the Ukrainian government after the Revolution of Dignity. In opinion polls of the Ukrainian public, respondents consistently rank corruption as top concern along with Russia. However, after the March 2020 government reshuffling, the future of anti-corruption measures have been uncertain. How can the United States utilize the tools of the State Department and interagency to assist Ukraine in tackling corruption?

Answer. I am committed to strengthening our bilateral relationship with Ukraine. If confirmed, I will pursue tight interagency coordination to support Ukraine's chosen Euro-Atlantic path, including by pushing for progress on rule of law, corruption and economic reforms that strengthen Ukraine's institutions and lead to a brighter future for all Ukrainians. If confirmed, I will continue working with Ukraine to hold accountable those who stand in the way of reforms or try to undermine the country's sovereignty and territorial integrity. Advancing reforms, particularly anticorruption efforts, is just as important for Ukraine's future as opposing Russia's aggression.

Question. Senator Chris Murphy and I have worked very closely over the last 4 years to strengthen the Global Engagement Center and through our efforts have gotten increased funding and personnel for the Center. Senator Murphy and I recently sent a letter to Secretary Blinken asking that he increase the funding for the GEC to at least \$138 million. The GEC budget was flatlined last year at \$60 million and I am concerned that the Department will not request robust funding this year. I hope that when you are confirmed you will see the value of the GEC and fund it properly to accomplish its critical mission of pushing back against Russian and Chinese disinformation. We have done too much work on a bipartisan basis to allow the GEC to not reach its full potential. Secretary Blinken kept the former director Lea Gabrielle on for a month, and I really appreciated that. Now there has been a gap in leadership at the GEC and I hope that when confirmed you will work the Secretary to bring on a new director quickly. I feel that the disinformation efforts led by China, Russia, and Iran are a very dangerous threat to the freedom and democracy of our allies and we should do all we can to support and help them.

- Can I get your commitment to work with Senator Murphy and me to continue strengthening the capabilities of the GEC as well as increased funding?

Answer. Yes, you have my commitment, if confirmed, to work with you and your colleagues, as well as the Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs, to continue strengthening the Global Engagement Center (GEC) and our full range of public diplomacy programs. The GEC's efforts are an important part of the work we must undertake with allies and partners to counter disinformation, define an affirmative and democratic global information space, and ultimately sustain an information environment in which audiences around the world can freely access, contribute to, make informed judgments about, and trust transparent and truthful communication.

Question. Recently, the ICC's Pre-Trial Chamber ruled that the Office of the Prosecutor could proceed with an illegitimate investigation into alleged crimes occurring in the West Bank, Gaza, and East Jerusalem. As you are aware, both the United States nor Israel are signatories to the Rome Statute, and the ICC is ignoring its mandate that stipulates it only initiate a case where there is the absence of a robust legal and justice system. Neither the United States nor Israel fit this criteria, yet the ICC has decided to proceed with this politically motivated investigation anyway. Senator Cardin and I wrote a letter to Secretary Blinken signed by over 30 Senators commending him on coming out against this statement by the ICC and encouraging him to do everything he can to push back against this effort. We have also authored language together that was included in the Trade Promotion Authority (TPA) law of 2015, which leverages ongoing trade negotiations to discourage prospective U.S.

trade partners from engaging in economic discrimination against Israel. Governments that call upon their own companies to participate in a political boycott of Israel run afoul of clear guidelines in the law.

- On the ICC issue and BDS in general—will you work with me and Congress to push back against efforts to marginalize and discriminate against Israel?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I will work with Congress to push back against efforts to marginalize and discriminate against Israel, including the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanction (BDS) campaign, which unfairly singles out Israel. While the Biden-Harris administration will respect First Amendment rights, I understand that it will not hesitate to voice disapproval of the BDS campaign or to fight efforts to delegitimize Israel on the world stage. If confirmed, I will also support the administration's continued objection to the International Criminal Court's efforts to assert jurisdiction over Israeli personnel.

Question. For the last six years, I was the Chairman of the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations. During that time, I worked in a bipartisan way to uncover the ways China exerts its influence here in the United States. We held several hearings issued bipartisan reports that documented how China stifles speech and academic freedom on college campus through its Confucius Institutes, and how it uses talent recruitment programs (like the Thousand Talents Plan) to steal our taxpayer funded research and Intellectual Property. Based on those findings, we proposed legislative fixes to these issues and I look forward to working with you on them. Last Congress, I introduced the Safeguarding American Innovation Act alongside Senator Carper and group of 19 bipartisan senators (including Chairman Risch) to combat the theft of American taxpayer funded research and intellectual property. Recently, both FBI Director Wray and Attorney General Barr have spoken about this threat, with the FBI opening a new China-related investigation every 10 hours with around 2,500 open counterintelligence investigations across the country. This legislation is designed to get the federal government's house in order to respond to the threat of China's talent recruitment programs. It also ensures that individuals are held accountable for failing to disclose their foreign ties on federal grant applications. Reforms the State Department's vetting process for issuing visas to foreign researchers, and requires more safeguards on sensitive research from our research institutions. One particular section of the legislation would grant the State Department a new authority to deny visas to individuals we know are coming to the United States to steal our research and IP through loopholes in our export control laws. This an authority that career attorneys at the Department have requested across multiple administrations. And we worked closely with those same career attorneys at the State Department to craft the language in our legislation, including with safeguards to ensure that the new authority is not abused.

- Do you agree that government sponsored theft of US intellectual property and technology by the CCP is a serious problem that needs to be addressed?

Answer. Yes. Theft of U.S. intellectual property (IP) from sources within China, including state sponsored entities, spans the entire spectrum of IP, and costs U.S. companies hundreds of millions of dollars a year. If confirmed, I will work with our interagency partners and allies to ensure we are taking the most effective steps to combat all forms of IP theft from the PRC.

Question. I understand that as of last week the administration has entered indirect negotiations with Iran to discuss a return to the 2015 JCPOA. Last month I signed a letter with the other GOP ranking members of national security committees outlining our shared vision for a return to new negotiations. While I understand the need to prioritize the nuclear aspect of the Iranian threat to the region, Iran's support for terror proxies must be addressed in these negotiations. Their support for Hezbollah, Shia-backed militias in Iraq, and the Houthi rebels in Yemen are destabilizing the region with innocent civilians paying the highest price. As we witnessed with the previous JCPOA, the money earned through sanctions relief went not to the Iranian people but directly to support terrorism beyond Iran's borders.

- What is your assessment of the threat posed by Iranian backed proxy networks, and how will you balance that assessment with the need to contain Iran's nuclear program and their conventional ballistic missile program?

Answer. Iran's development and proliferation of ballistic missiles, as well as its support for violent proxies and groups across the region, pose a threat to international security, and remain significant challenges. If confirmed, I commit to work on all aspects of the Iran threat, including its nuclear program, its missile program, and its support for extremist groups across the region.

Question. The Abraham Accords were an historic achievement that will lead to a new era of peace and prosperity between Israel and its neighbors. Last month, I introduced legislation with Senator's Booker, Cardin, Young, Risch, and Kaine that would strengthen and expand these normalization agreements. This legislation requires the Department of State to develop a comprehensive strategy to expand these agreements, as well as require the State to report on Arab countries anti-normalization laws which punish community and people to people engagement with Israelis

- Do I have your commitment to expand and strengthen the Abraham Accords while using all tools at your disposal to push back on the barriers that still prevent the normalization of Israel in the region?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I will work to urge other countries to normalize relations with Israel and support other opportunities to expand cooperation among countries in the region.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO HON. VICTORIA NULAND BY SENATOR TODD YOUNG

Question. If confirmed, what steps would you take or oversee to enhance the level of our diplomacy in Afghanistan and to help ensure that basic human rights—such as the ability of girls to go to school—are preserved?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work to ensure the U.S. stays actively engaged in supporting the peace process, economic development, and promoting human rights, women's rights, and girls' education in Afghanistan, consistent with U.S. policy and values. The results of U.S. investment in the social and economic development of Afghanistan over the past 20 years have been significant, particularly with regards to access to education. In 2001, fewer than 900,000 children—almost all boys—were in school. Today, more than 9.2 million children—40 percent of them girls—are in school. Through robust diplomacy and coordinated assistance, I will work to see these gains further advanced and strengthened.

Question. Pakistan, India, and Iran have different views on what the future of Afghanistan should look like. How should the U.S. engage with those in the region on the path forward for Afghanistan?

Answer. If confirmed, I will seek to put the full weight of our government behind diplomatic efforts to reach a peace agreement between the Afghan Government and the Taliban. All of Afghanistan's neighbors share an interest in a peaceful and stable Afghanistan that can serve as an effective partner in combating terrorism, criminal networks, and narcotics trafficking. I would welcome diplomatic efforts by all countries to encourage the negotiating parties to accelerate the peace process through meaningful negotiations. I would also welcome the U.N. playing a constructive role as a convener and facilitator of discussions. Additionally, I recognize that peace, regional connectivity, and economic growth and development are mutually supportive and indispensable to each other. If confirmed, I will encourage regional and international partners to commit to greater cooperation with Afghanistan in support of regional security and economic growth.

Question. India has moved closer to the United States and the Quad in recent years and away from their traditional "non-alignment posture." They have adopted something they've termed "strategic autonomy." This is clearly a nuanced shift but a shift nonetheless. As the only Quad member that shares a land border with China, and as a place where fighting between China and India has occurred, they are undoubtedly an important partner. How will you help the U.S. to pursue closer relations with India?

Answer. The United States and India share a comprehensive global strategic partnership. The recent Quad leaders' summit marked a new milestone for our collaboration to address a range of security, economic and governance challenges across the Indo-Pacific. Our two nations also enjoy a robust defense and security partnership as evidenced by Defense Secretary Austin's recent visit. If confirmed, I will strive to work with my Indian counterparts to further strengthen our partnership, including our defense and economic cooperation, COVID-19 response, and climate change.

Question. On February 11th Secretary Blinken revoked the Foreign Terrorist Organization and Specially Designated Global Terrorist designations of the Houthis, while retaining the designations of five Houthi individuals as Specially Designated Nationals. I supported this call because of what that designation would have meant for the humanitarian situation on the ground as it would have likely led to a famine

and further devastated those on the ground. However, despite these steps, fighting in Yemen has intensified, and Houthi forces have been emboldened and have advanced on the city of Marib, the last northern city controlled by the internationally-recognized Republic of Yemen Government. I am glad to have a trusted hand with Tim Lenderking serving as Special Envoy but the situation seems increasingly grim. Should the United States do more to counter Iranian weapons smuggling to the Houthis and protect Saudi territory from Houthi missile strikes? If so, how?

Answer. I understand that the Department has been working closely with inter-agency partners to disrupt the Iranian threat network and the smuggling that occurs over land and via sea routes. It is also essential that the U.S. continues to support the Republic of Yemen Government (ROYG) Coast Guard and Border Guard with non-lethal training so they can police their own borders. The Export Control and Related Border Security program builds the capacity of the ROYG to interdict the illicit transfers of arms and mitigate Iran's malign influence. If confirmed, I would support continued work with Saudi Arabia to bolster its defenses against various Houthi capabilities. These efforts will prevent the Houthis from gaining access to further advanced capabilities, and also encourage all parties to reach a ceasefire agreement and subsequently end the war.

Question. What potential incentives can the international community provide the warring parties to reach an immediate cease-fire?

Answer. A ceasefire is just one step in an overall peace process. For a ceasefire to be durable, the warring parties must believe it is in their interest. Toward that end, internationally facilitated incentives should include: a roadmap to an inclusive resolution of the conflict that addresses political grievances, accountability for human rights violations, future reconstruction assistance, and the removal of economic restrictions in support of engagement in negotiations. I understand that Special Envoy Lenderking continues to work in support of U.N. Special Envoy Griffiths' efforts and with the Republic of Yemen Government and Saudi Arabia, with the support of the Sultanate of Oman, and with our European partners, to align these incentives and bring about an end to the conflict. However, I also understand that the Houthis appear intent on continuing their offensive on the city Marib and have been resistant to negotiating the terms of a durable ceasefire. We need more pressure from the international community, to include the U.N., our European partners, and Oman, to encourage the Houthis to engage constructively with the U.N. and other parties if we hope to end the conflict. If confirmed, I look forward to supporting those efforts.

Question. How can the United States influence local actors to create an agreed-upon political framework that maintains national unity while addressing regional concerns?

Answer. The United States must remain committed to a unified, stable Yemen that contributes to wider regional security and economic cooperation. As the conflict continues, the country becomes increasingly fragmented, and local stakeholders will expect to maintain their new-found autonomy in a post-conflict setting. The buy-in of these local stakeholders will be critical for any future political settlement, and ultimately the long-term stability of Yemen. The future of the Yemeni state is for Yemenis to determine. I understand that Special Envoy Lenderking is working in lockstep with U.N. Special Envoy Griffiths to achieve a ceasefire so we can transition to an intra-Yemeni political process that is representative and can be sustained over the long-term.

Question. There have been reports regarding the appointment of a special envoy for Nord Stream 2. Presumably, such a position would coordinate with U.S. partners and allies the imposition of additional, mandatory sanctions on the Nord Stream 2 pipeline, as required under the Protecting Europe's Energy Security Act (PEESA) and the Protecting Europe's Energy Security Clarification Act (PEESCA). It would not be, in my view, to negotiate a deal that allows the Russian pipeline to be completed. If confirmed, would you support the appointment of a special envoy to ensure full implementation of U.S. sanctions laws and make sure Nord Stream 2 is never finished?

Answer. Should the U.S. decide to appoint a Special Envoy for Nord Stream 2, I believe that person's task should be to coordinate and advance increased U.S. pressure consistent with U.S. law to stop the pipeline before it is finished, and to work with European allies toward the same goal.

Question. The Biden administration's new Russia sanctions, announced on April 15, did not include any sanctions against the Kremlin's malign geopolitical project, Nord Stream 2. These sanctions are statutorily required under the Protecting Eu-

rope's Energy Security Act (PEESA) and the Protecting Europe's Energy Security Clarification Act (PEESCA). In your view, why did the Biden administration fail to sanction Nord Stream 2?

Answer. Without being inside the Biden-Harris administration, I can't speak to why certain decisions were or were not made. I understand that the Department continues to actively examine entities involved in potentially sanctionable activity and will designate additional persons as appropriate. If confirmed, I commit to use all available tools to try to stop the pipeline before it is completed.

Question. If confirmed, how would you work with the administration to implement U.S. sanctions laws on the Kremlin's Nord Stream 2 pipeline?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to use all available tools, including bipartisan legislation passed in the NDAA, to try to stop the pipeline before it is completed, and to engage with key European partners and allies to seek their support in that goal.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO HON. VICTORIA NULAND BY SENATOR TED CRUZ

Question. The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) is committing a genocide against the Uyghurs and other minorities in the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region (XUAR) that is ongoing. The Biden administration had sent differing signals about the degree to which administration officials assessed that genocide is indeed ongoing, but on March 22, Secretary Blinken correctly emphasized "the P.R.C. continues to commit genocide and crimes against humanity." Do you agree with the assessment that the Chinese Government is engaged in a genocide against the Uyghurs and other minorities in the XUAR that is ongoing?

Answer. I agree with the Secretary of State's determination that the Government of the People's Republic of China (PRC) is committing genocide and crimes against humanity against Uyghurs, who are predominantly Muslim, and members of other ethnic and religious minority groups in Xinjiang. These crimes include imprisonment, torture, enforced sterilization, and persecution, including through forced labor and draconian restrictions on the freedoms of religion or belief, expression, and movement. These atrocities shock the conscience and must be met with serious consequences.

Question. What role do you see for the State Department in countering that ongoing genocide, and more broadly the human rights atrocities being committed by the Chinese Communist Party?

Answer. I share your deep concern about the ongoing genocide and crimes against humanity against Uyghurs, who are predominantly Muslim, and members of other ethnic and religious groups in Xinjiang. I understand the Department has reinvigorated cooperation with partners and allies and has imposed a number of measures to address these atrocities. If confirmed, I will support ongoing efforts to broaden this international coalition and call for an independent and unhindered investigation. I also will support using all appropriate tools, including those provided for in the Uyghur Human Rights Policy Act, to pressure the PRC to end these atrocities and to promote accountability for those responsible and justice for victims.

Question. The Obama-Biden administration's approach to the Israeli-Arab conflict was justified on the basis of a theory of regional relations in which the Israeli-Palestinian conflict prevented broader Israeli-Arab rapprochement. Among other decisions, that administration implemented discriminatory policies that distinguished between Jewish communities in places Israel controlled before and after 1967. That approach culminated in December 2016, when the Obama administration maneuvered the United Nations Security Council into passing UNSCR 2334, which among other things denied Israel's sovereignty over the Golan Heights and part of its capital Jerusalem, including the Jewish Quarter. The Trump administration systematically worked to hollow out and render UNSCR 2334 null and void. They did so, including by recognizing Israel's sovereignty over the Golan Heights, by recognizing Jerusalem as Israel's capital, by moving our embassy to Jerusalem, by seeking to end discriminatory approaches that distinguished legally and for the purposes of aid and trade between different Israeli communities, and by taking several other steps. Do you believe that Israel has sovereignty over the Golan Heights?

Answer. In considering the U.S. position on the Golan Heights, Israel's security must remain paramount. As long as Bashar al-Assad is in control of Syria, it would be irresponsible to urge Israel to part with the Golan Heights. Control of the stra-

tegic Golan Heights provides Israel an added measure of security from the turmoil next door.

Question. Do you believe that Israel has sovereignty over Jerusalem, including the Old City of Jerusalem?

Answer. Jerusalem is the capital of Israel, and at the same time, it is central to the national visions of both Israelis and Palestinians. I support the USG's longstanding position that Jerusalem is a final status issue to be resolved through direct negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians. As such, all issues related to Jerusalem must be handled with care and sensitivity.

Question. Do you believe that Israel is in illegal occupation of any part of Jerusalem?

Answer. Jerusalem is the capital of Israel, and at the same time, it is central to the national visions of both Israelis and Palestinians. I support the USG's longstanding position that Jerusalem is a final status issue to be resolved through direct negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians. As such, all issues related to Jerusalem must be handled with care and sensitivity.

Question. Do you believe that Israel is in illegal occupation of the Old City of Jerusalem?

Answer. Jerusalem is the capital of Israel, and at the same time, it is central to the national visions of both Israelis and Palestinians. I support the USG's longstanding position that Jerusalem is a final status issue to be resolved through direct negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians. As such, all issues related to Jerusalem must be handled with care and sensitivity.

Question. On January 10, 2021, the State Department designated Ansarallah, sometimes called the Houthis, and Abdul Malik al-Houthi, Abd al-Khaliq Badr al-Din al-Houthi, and Abdullah Yahya al Hakim, three leaders of Ansarallah, as Specially Designated Global Terrorists (SDGTs) pursuant to Executive Order 13224. On February 5, the Biden administration informed Congress of its intention to revoke those sanctions. The issue of humanitarianism was central to the public explanation of the decision: officials at the State Department have justified the delisting of what they described as the "broad" designation of Ansarallah on humanitarian grounds, e.g. that large parts of Yemen's population live under areas controlled by the group. Since then, the Houthis have escalated their violence across the region, bombarding civilians in Yemen and Saudi Arabia. Yemen was already one of the worst humanitarian catastrophes in the world, in large part because the Houthis and their Iranian backers block aid, steal aid, and attack civilians. Please describe the role played by Iran and the Houthis in deepening the humanitarian catastrophe in Yemen.

Answer. Iran continues to provide the Houthis with training, equipment, and monetary support, which assists them in promoting regional instability; threatening our partners, especially Saudi Arabia; and disrupting international shipping through the Bab Al Mandeb. Further, the Houthis use this support to threaten Yemeni civilians, especially at this time in the city of Marib. The Houthis also impede humanitarian access in the areas they control. If confirmed, I am committed to working with our interagency partners to counter Iran's destabilizing activities, and with our partners on the ground to improve humanitarian access and facilitate the provision of critical commodities and humanitarian aid to Yemeni civilians.

Question. Please assess the degree to which the Biden administration's decision to lift terrorism sanctions against the Houthis and their leaders has enhanced the ability to provide humanitarian relief to Yemeni civilians in general.

Answer. As I understand, the revocations were aimed at ensuring that U.S. policies would not impede assistance to those already suffering what has been called the world's worst humanitarian crisis. The Biden-Harris administration heeded concerns from the United Nations, humanitarian groups, and bipartisan members of Congress, among others, that the designations could have had a devastating impact on Yemenis' access to basic commodities like food and fuel, which could increase the risk of famine. The short time that passed between the designations and the revocations limited the impact the designations could have had on humanitarian assistance and commercial imports, including food and other essential supplies.

Question. Please assess the degree to which the Biden administration's decision to lift terrorism sanctions against the Houthis and their leaders has enhanced the ability to provide humanitarian relief to Yemeni civilians in Marib.

Answer. As I understand, the revocations were aimed at ensuring that U.S. policies would not impede assistance to those already suffering what has been called the world's worst humanitarian crisis. This has been especially critical in Marib, where the escalation of hostilities has caused additional needs and secondary displacement. The lifting of sanctions has allowed for the delivery of life-saving food, emergency shelter, water, sanitation and hygiene, and essential non food items, such as blankets and water containers.

Question. The Obama administration was broadly criticized, especially in the context of its Middle East policy, for co-mingling unclassified documents with classified documents. This practice requires that documents be placed in a secure location, unnecessarily limiting access to unclassified documents and stifling public debate. The Biden administration already seems to be repeating such practices: according to an exchange during the State Department press briefing on February 11, a notification describing the lifting of terrorism sanctions on Iran-controlled terrorists in Yemen was unnecessarily transmitted to a Congressional SCIF. Can you commit to ensuring that unclassified information is not unnecessarily comingled with classified information in notifications provided by the State Department to Congress? If not, why not?

Answer. I am committed to working to ensure that information provided to Congress is, to the fullest extent possible, in a format that facilitates its access by authorized personnel, while complying with Executive Order 13526, the Department of State classification guide, and the executive branch rules on the handling and storage of classified information.

Question. The Obama administration was broadly criticized for inaction in response to Iranian human rights atrocities, and critics have suggested that those issues were subsumed beneath the administration's commitment to securing a nuclear deal. The Biden administration, which is rushing to secure another nuclear deal with Iran, has already come under similar criticism. Please describe your assessment of the scope and nature of Iran's human rights record.

Answer. The Iranian Government severely restricts the rights to peaceful assembly, freedom of association, freedom of religion or belief, and freedom of expression. If confirmed, I will be vocal about Iran's human rights violations and abuses, which include arbitrary or unlawful detention of numerous individuals, some of whom have faced torture and/or cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment, and execution after unfair trials. If confirmed, I intend to work with my colleagues to consider all appropriate tools to consider all appropriate tools to promote accountability for those responsible for human rights violations and abuses.

Question. Please describe the degree to which you believe that Iranian human rights concerns should be highlighted vs. considerations related to nuclear negotiations or securing nuclear-related concessions.

Answer. I believe we can and must work to ensure Iran never obtains a nuclear weapon, at the same time we continue to pressure Iran regarding its gross human rights violations and abuses, and use all tools at our disposal to promote accountability for those responsible.

Question. Do you believe that imposing new human rights sanctions against Iran, or enforcing existing ones, would violate the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) or a successor agreement?

Answer. The Iranian Government denies Iranians their human rights, including through severe restrictions on the rights to peaceful assembly, freedom of association, freedom of religion or belief, and freedom of expression. I support continuing to maintain and impose sanctions on Iranian entities perpetrating human rights violations and abuse.

Question. Russia and Germany appear to have assessed that the Biden administration will not respond forcefully to their effort to complete the Nord Stream 2 pipeline. Can you please describe your assessment of the damage to American national security and to the energy security of our European allies, if Nord Stream 2 was completed?

Answer. The Nord Stream 2 pipeline deepens Europe's energy dependence on Russia, threatening European energy security and the security of Ukraine and Central and Eastern European NATO and EU countries, while dividing the continent. It enriches the Kremlin and President Putin's allies at a time when Russia is amassing forces in and around Ukraine and continuing its cyber and disinformation campaigns in the U.S. and globally, among other malign activities.

Question. Could you please describe what steps you would take, if you're confirmed, to ensure that Nord Stream 2 is stopped?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work tirelessly with allies and partners, using all the tools at our disposal, including legislation you have authored, to prevent the completion of the pipeline and to ensure that Europe has a reliable, diversified energy supply that enhances rather than undermines its collective security.

Question. There have been public reports that the State Department is considering the appointment of an envoy to specifically oversee the State Department's efforts around Nord Stream 2. Additional reports suggest that foreign diplomats have expressed hope that the envoy will work for a deal with the Russians or Germans to allow the pipeline to be completed, or at least serve as a short-term substitute for sanctions. The State Department should absolutely spare no effort or resource in blocking Nord Stream 2, and an envoy position would help mobilize action in that regard—but the envoy must be someone who ensures and oversees the immediate application of congressionally mandated sanctions and makes sure Nord Stream 2 is never completed. Appointing an envoy who negotiated terms for completing Nord Stream 2 would be an absolutely unacceptable outcome. This envoy must not be a substitute for sanctions: it must be someone who immediately delivers them. Do you intend to seek the appointment of an envoy who would work on Nord Stream 2 specifically?

Answer. I understand the Biden-Harris administration is considering appointing an envoy to work on Nord Stream 2 and other issues. Particularly until a new Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs is confirmed, I believe an envoy could help give focus and energy to the interagency effort to stop the pipeline, and to diplomacy with key countries.

Question. What responsibilities would such an envoy have?

Answer. I have not been privy to any formal position description if it exists. If named, the envoy, I presume, would work inside the U.S. Government to accelerate and sharpen policy and sanctions options and diplomatically to stop the pipeline, using all available tools, including the legislation you authored.

Question. What role do you envision such an envoy playing?

Answer. Particularly until a new Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs is confirmed, I believe an envoy could help give focus and energy to the interagency effort to stop the pipeline, and to diplomacy with key countries.

Question. The administration regards rejoining the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) or signing a successor agreement a top priority. The JCPOA was classified by the Obama administration as merely "political commitments" rather than an executive agreement or a treaty. In your hearing you noted the importance of securing "bipartisan support [for rejoining the JCPOA or signing a successor agreement] so an agreement is binding." Is it your understanding that any form of international agreement between the United States and foreign nations does not hold any legally binding commitment unless Congress ratifies the agreement as a treaty and passes legislation implementing those commitments?

Answer. I share President Biden's conviction that a bipartisan approach to Iran is the strongest way to safeguard U.S. interests for the long term. The JCPOA was negotiated as a non-binding arrangement in 2015. Numerous other important international arrangements have been done in this way. With respect to international agreements, the Supreme Court has long held that not all such agreements require approval as treaties pursuant to the procedures set out in Article II of the Constitution, and the Congress has recognized this through the enactment of the Case-Zablocki Act, which establishes procedures regarding oversight of legally binding international agreements other than treaties.

Question. Can you commit that, if the administration plans to rejoin the JCPOA or signs any successor agreement, such agreement will be submitted by the administration to Congress for ratification as a treaty?

Answer. I understand that President Biden has pledged to work closely with Congress, and this includes briefing on any plans regarding his administration's future course of action on Iran. The JCPOA was negotiated as a non-binding arrangement in 2015. If confirmed, I will ensure the Department carefully considers the facts and circumstances of any U.S. return to the JCPOA to determine the implications under INARA and would also assess the appropriate form of any future agreement. The Biden-Harris administration has committed to ensuring that the requirements of INARA are satisfied.

Question. The administration continues to emphasize working and coordinating with “allies and partners,” especially in the context of multilateral forums and in addressing major security challenges of our time such as the rise of authoritarian China and the threat of a nuclear Iran. In your view, do the alliances and partnerships of the United States with other nations always produce a net-positive benefit to U.S. foreign policy and homeland defense priorities?

Answer. I believe that alliances and partnerships serve as a force-multiplier for the United States in advancing its foreign policy and homeland defense priorities. While we must always maintain our prerogative to operate unilaterally if it is in our national interest, working with allies and partners to address shared challenges often achieves the best outcomes for the United States. Some of the most significant threats we face today—from the COVID-19 pandemic to climate change—cannot be solved by one country alone. Our ability to shape the behaviors of China, Iran, or others with whom we have serious concerns will only be strengthened with likeminded partners by our side.

Question. In situations where our allies and partners take a differing or less stringent approach to a major foreign policy or homeland defense priority, in your view is it appropriate for the United States to exercise unilateral leadership? In your response, please address the example of differing postures toward China between the United States and the European Union.

Answer. The United States should work with its Allies and partners whenever it can but should always reserve the right to act unilaterally if and when necessary. While European views on China have evolved, the U.S. remains more cautious about the challenges and threats China poses to our security, economic interests and global norms and standards. If confirmed, I look forward to continuing to discuss China with Europeans both at NATO and in the U.S.-EU China Dialogue to align positions more closely.

Question. Do you believe burden sharing in both monetary costs and international commitments between the U.S. and our allies and partners must be addressed before re-engaging or forming new multilateral treaties or forums?

Answer. I believe in appropriate burden-sharing with allies and partners in all shared endeavors and international commitments. The U.S. should have full knowledge of the monetary and other consequences before entering into any international commitments, whether through a treaty or other means. If confirmed, I will work with Congress to ensure that the implications of any such commitments are well understood by both branches of the Government.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO HON. VICTORIA NULAND BY SENATOR BILL HAGERTY

Question. Do you agree with the State Department’s determination that CCP-controlled China is committing genocide and crimes against humanity with respect to Uyghur Muslims in Xinjiang? Secretary of State Antony Blinken has sustained former Secretary of State Mike Pompeo’s determination that CCP-controlled China is engaging in genocide and crimes against humanity with respect to Uyghur Muslims in Xinjiang. The United States, the United Kingdom, and Canada have stated the evidence—including from satellite imagery, and eyewitness testimony, as well as the Chinese Government’s own documents—is overwhelming. China’s extensive program of repression includes severe restrictions on religious freedoms, the used of forced labor, mass detention in internment camps, forced sterilization, and the destruction of Uyghur heritage.

Answer. I agree with the Secretary of State’s determination that the Government of the People’s Republic of China (PRC) is committing genocide and crimes against humanity against Uyghurs, who are predominantly Muslim, and members of other ethnic and religious minority groups in Xinjiang. These crimes include imprisonment, torture, enforced sterilization, and persecution, including through forced labor and draconian restrictions on the freedoms of religion or belief, expression, and movement. These atrocities shock the conscience and must be met with serious consequences.

Question. In your view, should U.S.-based corporations remain silent on the issue of genocide and crimes against humanity in CCP-controlled China?

Answer. No. Uyghurs have suffered unspeakable oppression at the hands of China’s authoritarian government. The People’s Republic of China is engaged in gross

human rights violations that shock the conscience and must be met with serious consequences. The United States must speak out consistently and jointly with allies and partners, impose costs and sanctions on those responsible, and help those persecuted find safe haven in the United States and other countries. I have been heartened by bipartisan Congressional action on Xinjiang and, if confirmed, I look forward to working with Congress on this crucial issue.

Question. If you are confirmed, how will you support the State Department's efforts to compel U.S.-based corporations that conduct substantial business in China to pitch in to immediately stop genocide and crimes against humanity in CCP-controlled China?

Answer. If confirmed, I will support ongoing efforts by the U.S. Department of State, along with the U.S. Department of the Treasury, the U.S. Department of Commerce, and the U.S. Department of Homeland Security to caution businesses about the risks of supply chain links to entities that engage in human rights abuses, including forced labor, in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (Xinjiang) and elsewhere in China. I will also support sanctions imposed on people and organizations complicit in genocide and crimes against humanity against Uyghurs, who are predominantly Muslim, in Xinjiang. I am heartened by bipartisan Congressional action on Xinjiang and, if confirmed, I look forward to working with Congress on this crucial issue.

Questions Submitted Prior to the Hearing

RESPONSES TO PRE-HEARING QUESTIONS SUBMITTED TO UZRA ZEYA BY COMMITTEE REPUBLICAN STAFF

For the questions below, the following definitions apply:

“Foreign person” includes both:

- 1) a natural person who is not a United States citizen or an alien lawfully admitted for permanent residence to the United States; and
- 2) an entity not organized under the laws of the United States or any jurisdiction within the United States.

“Foreign government” includes any agency or instrumentality of such government.

“ASG” refers to Albright Stonebridge Group, each of its predecessors, successors, divisions, subsidiaries, and affiliates, and all present and former directors, officers, employees, agents, consultants, or other persons acting for or on behalf of any of them.

“Zenith Strategies” refers to Zenith Strategies LLC, each of its predecessors, successors, divisions, subsidiaries, and affiliates, and all present and former directors, officers, employees, agents, consultants, or other persons acting for or on behalf of any of them.

Albright Stonebridge Group, where we understand you have served as a Senior Counselor, describes itself on its website in the following way:

ASG is the premier global strategic advisory and commercial diplomacy firm.

We offer perspectives honed at the highest levels of government and business, and insights informed by an unparalleled worldwide network of regional experts and sectoral specialists based in over 40 countries.

Our team offers sound judgment, high-level relationships, and nuanced counsel to deliver a competitive advantage to our clients.

In documents sent to this committee by you and by the Office of Government Ethics, you are listed as the owner of Zenith Strategies. In your ethics agreement, you also describe Zenith Strategies as “my consulting business.”

Services Provided to ASG or Zenith Strategies Foreign and Foreign-Owned or Controlled Clients

Question. During your time at ASG or Zenith Strategies, were you ever personally involved in providing services to any of the following?

- Foreign government

Answer. No.

- Entity owned or controlled by a foreign government
No.
- Foreign person
No.
- Entity owned or controlled by a foreign person
No.

Question. Please provide a list of each government, person, and entity covered by Question 1, including the dates of services provided to each and a description of services provided.

Answer. N/A

ASG or Zenith Strategies Contact or Engagement with Foreign Governments or Entities

Question. During your time at ASG or Zenith Strategies, did you ever directly contact or engage any of the following on behalf of a client:

- Foreign government
Answer. Yes.
- Entity owned or controlled by a foreign government
Yes.
- Foreign political party
No.
- International organization (including international treaty organizations such as the European Union)
Yes.
- Entity of an international organization (including international treaty organizations such as the European Union)
Yes.

Question. Please provide a list of the contacts and engagements covered by Question 1, including: a. An identification of:

- Each government or entity contacted or engaged with: Each applicable ASG or Zenith Strategies client, the dates of each contact or engagement, and a description of each contact or engagement.

Answer. I engaged the French government and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) between May and November 2018 on behalf of Albright Stonebridge Group and their clients, Microsoft and Western Digital, on the following occasions:

- May 30, 2018—Meeting with OECD, Office of the Secretary General—ASG
- May 30, 2018—Meeting with French Ministry of Finance—ASG, Microsoft
- May 30, 2018—Dinner with French Ministry of Foreign Affairs official—ASG, Microsoft
- May 31, 2018—Meeting with French National Agency for the Security of Information Systems (ANSSI)—ASG, Microsoft
- May 31, 2018—Meeting with OECD, Center for Tax Policy and Administration—ASG
- May 31, 2018—Meeting with French Ministry of Foreign Affairs—ASG, Microsoft
- June 1, 2018—Meeting with French Ministry of Foreign Affairs—ASG
- June 12, 2018—Meeting with French Embassy, Washington, DC—ASG
- October 3, 2018—Meeting with French Ministry of Foreign Affairs—ASG, Western Digital, Microsoft
- October 4, 2018—Meeting with OECD, Center for Tax Policy and Administration—ASG, Western Digital
- November 10-12, 2018—Attended Paris Peace Forum—ASG, Microsoft

Question. During your time at ASG or Zenith Strategies, did you ever direct another employee to contact or engage with any of the following on behalf of a client or did you otherwise supervise an employee's contact or engagement with any of the following on behalf of a client?

- Foreign government

No.

- Entity owned or controlled by a foreign government

No.

- Foreign political party

No.

- International organization (including international treaty organizations such as the European Union)

No.

- Entity of an international organization (including international treaty organizations such as the European Union)

Answer. No.

Question. Please provide a list of the contacts and engagements covered by Question 3, including:

- An identification of: Each government or entity contacted or engaged with and each applicable ASG or Zenith Strategies client;
- The dates of each contact or engagement; and
- A description of each contact or engagement.

Answer. N/A

ASG or Zenith Strategies Advice, Counsel, or Other Services Provided About How to Contact or Engage with Foreign Governments or Entities

Question. During your time at ASG or Zenith Strategies, were you ever personally involved in providing advice, counsel, or other services to a client about how to contact or engage with any of the following:

- Foreign government

Answer. Yes.

- Entity owned or controlled by a foreign government

Answer. No.

- Foreign political party

Answer. No.

- International organization (including international treaty organizations such as the European Union)

Answer. No.

- Entity of an international organization (including international treaty organizations such as the European Union)

Answer. No.

Question. Please provide a list of the clients covered by Question 1, including:

- An identification of the government or entity with respect to which advice, counsel or other services was provided;
- A description of the advice, counsel, or other services provided by you; and
- The dates on which the advice, counsel, or other services were provided.

Answer. Microsoft—advised how proposals to protect civilians from cyber attacks might be received by the French government in May 25, 2018 meeting and weekly group conference calls from June to November 2018

Western Digital—advised on the cultural and political context for French policy with respect to copyright levies in calls and meetings October 2-4, 2018, and drafted a report on French Copyright Levies and Digital Tax Reform Policy on October 22, 2018.

ASG or Zenith Strategies Expertise or Other Services Provided Regarding the Conduct of Business in or with Citizens or Entities of Certain Jurisdictions

Question. During your time at ASG or Zenith Strategies, were you ever personally involved in providing geopolitical or policy expertise or any other services for a client regarding the conduct of business in, or with a foreign person that is a citizen of, headquartered in, or that maintains a principal place of business in any of the following:

- The Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela

Answer. No.

- The Democratic People's Republic of Korea

Answer. No.

- The Islamic Republic of Iran

Answer. No.

- The People's Republic of China

Answer. No.

- The Republic of Cuba

Answer. No.

- The Russian Federation

Answer. No.

Question. Please provide a list of the clients covered by Question 1, including:

- A description of the expertise or other services provided by you; and
- The dates on which the expertise or other services were provided.

Answer. N/A

ASG or Zenith Strategies Contact or Engagement with the U.S. Department of State or Interagency Bodies

Question. During your time at ASG or Zenith Strategies, did you ever directly contact or engage with any of the following on behalf of a client?

- U.S. Department of State

Answer. No.

- Interagency body of the U.S. Government on which the U.S. Department of State is represented (including the Committee on Foreign Investment in the United States)

Answer. No.

Question. Please provide a list of the contacts and engagements covered by Question 1, including:

- An identification of: The entity contacted or engaged with, each applicable ASG or Zenith Strategies client;
- The dates of each contact or engagement; and
- A description of each contact or engagement.

Answer. N/A

Question. During your time at ASG or Zenith Strategies, did you ever direct another employee to contact or engage with any of the following on behalf of a client or otherwise supervise an employee's contact or engagement with any of the following on behalf of a client?

- U.S. Department of State

Answer. No.

- Interagency body of the U.S. Government on which the U.S. Department of State is represented (including the Committee on Foreign Investment in the United States)

Answer. No.

Question. Please provide a list of the contacts and engagements covered by Question 3, including:

- An identification of: Each entity contacted or engaged with, each applicable ASG or Zenith Strategies client;
- The dates of each contact or engagement; and
- A description of each contact or engagement.

ASG or Zenith Strategies Advice, Counsel, or Other Services Provided About How to Contact or Engage with the U.S. Department of State or Interagency Bodies

Question. During your time at ASG or Zenith Strategies, were you ever personally involved in providing advice, counsel, or other services to a client about how to contact or engage with any of the following:

- U.S. Department of State

Answer. No.

- Interagency body of the U.S. Government on which the U.S. Department of State is represented (including the Committee on Foreign Investment in the United States)

Answer. No.

Question. Please provide a list of the clients covered by Question 1, including:

- An identification of the entity with respect to which advice, counsel, or other services was provided;
- A description of the advice, counsel, or other services provided by you; and
- The dates on which the advice, counsel, or other services were provided.

Answer. N/A

Recusal

Question. During your time at ASG or Zenith Strategies, did you ever recuse yourself from any matters? If so, please describe the nature of and details surrounding any recusal.

Answer. No.

Question. If confirmed as Under Secretary of State for Civilian Security, Democracy, and Human Rights, how would you plan to recuse yourself from matters that could present conflicts of interest or the appearance of conflicts of interest given your involvement with and benefit from clients for whom you provided services while at ASG or Zenith Strategies?

Answer. In connection with the nomination process, I have consulted with the Office of Government Ethics and the Office of the Designated Ethics Official of the Department of State to identify any potential conflict of interest. Any conflict of interest will be resolved according to the terms of an ethics agreement I am entering into with the State Department's Designated Agency Ethics Official and that will be provided to this Committee. In the event that an actual or potential conflict of interest arises during my appointment, I will consult with the State Department's Designated Agency Ethics Official and take the measures necessary to resolve the conflict.

Supplemental Questions

Social Media

Question. Please list all personal social media usernames that you have used over the last five years (including Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, etc.).

Answer. Facebook—Uzra Zeya, Twitter—@UzraZeya, @diplognat, LinkedIn: Uzra Zeya, Instagram: snooklolu

Commitment to the Fight Against Chinese Communist Party Malign Influence Around the World

Question. The Government of the People's Republic of China (as controlled by the Chinese Communist Party) is using aggressive, coercive, and predatory tactics to leverage greater influence around the world to undermine the principles of freedom, democracy, and the rule of law in the international order. Do you commit to combating malign influence, policies, and actions of the Chinese Communist Party and government, including attempts to exert undue influence in democratic societies; subvert the integrity of international organizations; advance anti-competitive economic policies; use emerging technology to undermine security and human rights; coerce U.S. allies and partners; and erode U.S. military advantages?

Answer. Yes.

Questions Submitted After the Hearing

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED TO UZRA ZEYA BY SENATOR ROBERT MENENDEZ

Question. How will the State Department invest more resources into protecting fundamental human rights? How will the State Department help protect civic space around the world to ensure local human rights activists, peacebuilders, and humani-

tarians, particularly women and youth, have the space and resources to prevent violence and promote sustainable peace?

Answer. If confirmed, I intend to consult closely with Department, interagency, and Congressional colleagues to ensure we have systems in place that provide flexibility to reallocate resources as needed. I will also work with bureaus and offices that administer democracy programs to capitalize on emerging opportunities, including by pivoting quickly to support programs tailored for these situations. In all cases, I will work to ensure U.S. efforts empower democratic reformers and activists on the ground. In addition, I intend to work bilaterally and multilaterally with U.S. allies and partners to increase mutually reinforcing efforts and burden-sharing in these areas.

Question. How will you increase support for members of civil society that champion the full inclusion of disabled persons and expansion of disability rights?

Answer. If confirmed, I will support timely appointment of a Senior Advisor or Special Envoy for International Disability Rights and prioritize disability-inclusive programming that recognizes persons with disabilities among the beneficiaries, supports projects to address gaps in their inclusion, and bolsters the work done by civil society to advance the rights of disabled persons. I also will support the full inclusion of persons with disabilities through Department of State training, data collection, programming, and communication about disability rights. An empowered and knowledgeable workforce can best support members of civil society championing the full inclusion of disabled persons and expansion of disability rights.

Question. How will the Biden administration right-size and rebalance what many experts believe are over-militarized interventions to address violent extremism? What steps can you take in this role to restore a more balanced approach to prevention and countering violent extremism?

Answer. Military forces and kinetic tools have played an important role in U.S. and international counterterrorism efforts, but it is clear that balanced, sustainable, whole-of-government and whole-of-society approaches are needed to sustainably defeat terrorism and prevent terrorist radicalization and recruitment. If confirmed, I will promote civilian-led counterterrorism approaches that address underlying grievances that fuel violent extremism and reduce the need for military interventions. I will also work to ensure that U.S. countering violent extremism (CVE) programs—especially prevention work—are prioritized and adequately resourced, and that all U.S. counterterrorism efforts advance the rule of law and respect for human rights.

Question. The J Under Secretary and the bureaus he or she oversees can find themselves disadvantaged when working with the regional bureaus during the policy-making process. Do you agree that this is a challenge and, if so, how would you empower the bureaus under you?

Answer. I agree that siloing between regional and functional bureaus is a longstanding challenge for State Department policymaking. If confirmed, I would leverage my 27-plus years of service in four regional and three functional bureaus to elevate and achieve better integration of J family issues in the full spectrum of U.S. policymaking, including through improved coordination within the State Department, the interagency, and with the 270-plus U.S. diplomatic missions worldwide. I would elevate the voice and expertise of J family bureaus and office by taking a burden-sharing approach with regional and other functional bureaus on addressing challenges that know no borders—from corruption and narcotics to rising autocracy and extremism worldwide.

Question. What steps would you take to attract more individuals - particularly from the Foreign Service - to work in the J family bureaus?

Answer. If confirmed, I will create an inclusive environment that is welcoming to all employees—both foreign and civil service—and of all races, ethnicities, and backgrounds, because diverse teams make strong teams. I will work collaboratively with the new Chief Diversity and Inclusion Officer and the Bureau of Global Talent Management to ensure that J family bureaus and offices are appropriately staffed and attractive to all applicants. I also will focus on retention and advancing a more meaningful professional development and advancement path for all J family team members. This includes increasing training opportunities for all and advocacy for J family Foreign Service Officers in the DCM and Chief of Mission selection processes.

Question. Given President Biden and Secretary Blinken's strong emphasis on re-centering human rights and democracy in U.S. foreign policy, do you believe any changes should be made to the Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor bureau to en-

sure that it can effectively play a much larger role in U.S. foreign policy than it has in the past?

Answer. Democracy and human rights are under increasing threat globally from democratic backsliding and growing authoritarianism. Responding effectively to these challenges requires more than any one bureau or agency acting alone; it requires a whole-of-government approach. If confirmed, I intend to empower the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor while also working with partners across the Department, other U.S. agencies, and Congress to bolster democratic resilience and promote, protect, and defend human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Question. How do you think the U.S. arms transfer process should change to better incorporate human rights and civilian harm concerns, and what changes would you advocate for as Under Secretary?

Answer. The President and Secretary Blinken have said human rights must be at the center of our foreign policy, including arms transfers and other security assistance. If confirmed, I will work to ensure human rights remains key to reviews of potential Foreign Military Sales and State Department-licensed Direct Commercial Sales. If confirmed, I will encourage the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor's continued participation in arms transfer deliberations. I understand the administration has been clear that the United States will insist on adherence to agreements on the use of U.S.-origin defense equipment, compliance with international law, including the law of armed conflict, and respect for human rights, and it will consider appropriate consequences when violations occur.

Question. Do you agree that the U.S. Government should refrain from exporting arms to fragile states or countries at risk of atrocities?

Answer. I understand that, consistent with the Conventional Arms Transfer (CAT) Policy, all arms transfers are subject to comprehensive case-by-case considerations of U.S. interests - including any risk the transfer may contribute to human rights abuses, including acts of gender-based violence, violence against children, violations of international law, including the law of armed conflict, terrorism, mass atrocities, or transnational organized crime. If confirmed, I will work to ensure human rights remains a key focus of CAT policy documents and discussions, and I will promote measures for the mitigation of harm to civilians.

Question. What specific actions will the State Department take under your direction to reassert U.S. peacebuilding and humanitarian leadership and intervention in Syria?

Answer. I fully expect the United States will continue to be a leader in the Syria humanitarian response. On March 29, Secretary Blinken called on the UN Security Council to reauthorize all three international border crossings for humanitarian assistance. If confirmed, I will support efforts to increase multilateral diplomatic engagement at the Security Council and will be in close consultations with our allies, in addition to Russia and China, at the UN to find a formula that keeps humanitarian aid flowing. I understand the administration supports the UN-facilitated, Syrian-led process laid out within the parameters of UNSCR 2254. If confirmed, I will use a variety of tools to push for a sustainable end to the conflict to end the Syrian people's suffering and to bring stability, accountability, and security to the Syrian people.

Question. How specifically will the United States ensure continued principled humanitarian access into and within Syria?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work with partners across the U.S. Government to use a range of tools, including diplomacy, advocacy, multilateral and bilateral engagement with other donors, information-sharing, and financial support, to promote the delivery of humanitarian assistance to those most in need across Syria, whether in areas controlled by the Syrian Government or elsewhere. If confirmed, I intend to do everything I can to realize Secretary Blinken's call to the UN Security Council on March 29 to reauthorize all three border crossings for humanitarian assistance and to urge the international community to allow humanitarian agencies to use the safest, quickest pathway to reach civilians in need.

Question. Since the passage of the Tibetan Policy Act of 2002, all but one of the special coordinators for Tibetan issues have been an individual who served as Undersecretary for Civilian Security, Democracy and Human Rights. If you are designated as the US Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues, will you commit to promoting substantive dialogue without pre-conditions between the Dalai Lama and the Chinese Government that leads to a negotiated agreement on Tibet, as mandated by the Tibetan Policy and Support Act of 2020?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed and designated as Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues, I will work intensively with U.S. allies and partners to press Beijing to return to direct dialogue with the Dalai Lama or his representatives, without pre-conditions, to achieve meaningful autonomy for Tibetans.

Question. The Armenian population of Nagorno-Karabakh continues to face significant challenges following last fall's attack by Azerbaijan. The Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration (PRM) has provided some funding to address this humanitarian situation, but I believe a lot more needs to be done. If confirmed, what will be your plan of action for providing needed assistance to Armenians from Nagorno-Karabakh, including those displaced to Armenia, in both the short and long term?

Answer. If confirmed, I will ensure continued support to address the humanitarian situation of persons displaced by the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. I understand the Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration closely monitors and assesses the situation on the ground with the support of relevant embassies and humanitarian organizations. I understand the administration is deeply committed to working on lasting solutions for all those displaced by the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, including persons now in Armenia. If confirmed, I will support the administration's efforts to seek short-term and long-term solutions to alleviate the humanitarian consequences of the conflict.

Question. What do you view as PRM's role in responding to the situation versus the role of other U.S. Government agencies and offices, such as USAID?

Answer. Pursuant to the legislative authorities of each, I understand the Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration (PRM) has lead responsibility for providing humanitarian assistance, protection, and solutions for refugees, asylum seekers, migrants in situations of vulnerability, and stateless persons, while USAID's Bureau of Humanitarian Assistance (BHA) leads in response to natural and man-made disasters, for internally displaced persons, and providing emergency food assistance to refugees. If confirmed, I intend to ensure complementary efforts that utilize the strengths of the humanitarian expertise of both PRM at State and USAID/BHA.

Question. The United States continues to suffer the devastating impact of our nation's opioid epidemic, with over 90,000 deaths in 2020, a large portion of which are caused by fentanyl overdoses. China continues to be the largest source of illicit fentanyl and fentanyl precursors. How will you prioritize combatting the illicit fentanyl trade and what diplomatic tools will you use to ensure that countries around the world, including China, take steps to place greater controls on fentanyl and fentanyl precursors?

Answer. Transnational criminal organizations (TCOs) manufacture the vast majority of the illicit fentanyl driving the opioid crisis using People's Republic of China (PRC)-sourced chemicals, and traffic the fentanyl into the United States via the southwest border. If confirmed, I intend to continue and strengthen the Department's diplomatic efforts to press the PRC to better regulate its chemical industry to prevent chemical diversion, including through targeted engagement on this issue in the UN Commission on Narcotic Drugs. I also intend to continue efforts to work with Mexico to bring justice to TCOs that contribute to the deaths of thousands of Americans Mexicans each year.

Question. Last year, a United Nations fact-finding mission cited evidence of a systematic campaign of extrajudicial killings, forced disappearances, and torture in Venezuela since 2014. According to the report, the Maduro regime's human rights abuses and torture constitute crimes against humanity. How will you use the tools available to you, including oversight for the various bureaus that have equities in this issue, to ensure accountability for and prevent further crimes against humanity in Venezuela?

Answer. Human rights conditions in Venezuela are horrendous. I understand the United States is committed to supporting justice and accountability measures and programs with our allies and partners that strengthen democratic institutions, transparency, rule of law, inclusion, economic empowerment, and access to information. The United States has employed sanctions and imposed visa restrictions on Venezuelan officials and their family members believed to be responsible for undermining democratic governance, perpetrating human rights abuses, or engaging in corrupt practices. If confirmed, I will continue to support efforts to hold the Maduro regime accountable.

Question. How will you support efforts to mobilize international attention to this issue?

Answer. The Department should continue to regularly engage the international community to raise awareness of human rights violations and abuses in Venezuela and to urge allies and partners to condemn the Maduro regime's human rights record, hold human rights abusers accountable, and call for the peaceful return to democracy and the rule of law. The Department should continue to encourage international bodies, in accordance with their respective mandates, to investigate crimes committed by the regime and its enablers. If confirmed, I will promote increased efforts to mobilize the international community to hold the Maduro regime accountable.

Question. The European movement to ban ritual slaughter by mandating stunning prior to slaughter threatens the existence of religiously observant national Jewish and Muslim communities in Europe. Bans such as those passed in Belgium in 2018 and 2019 make no exception for religious purposes. Most recently, in December 2020, the European Court of Justice dismissed appeals by Jewish and Muslim groups, setting a precedent that may open the door to more such laws. This ruling and the laws it upholds are an infringement on religious freedom and endanger communities sustained by adherence to halal and kosher legal traditions. How will you work to encourage individual European countries to refrain from such legislation and support religious pluralism in Europe?

Answer. Religious freedom extends to the observance and practice of religion or beliefs, including dietary regulations. Slaughter in accordance with religious beliefs is a fundamental practice for members of certain religious groups, including Jews and Muslims. If confirmed, I intend to work with the Governments of Belgium, other European countries, and elsewhere, as well as Jewish, Muslim, and other groups, to ensure laws, such as those intended to protect animal welfare, do not have an undue negative impact on religious freedom.

Question. Atrocities are being perpetrated by armed actors throughout Ethiopia's Tigray region, including extra-judicial executions, sexual violence, forced displacement, and starvation crimes. Other Ethiopian communities outside of Tigray have also been the target of serious human rights abuses in recent months and years. The Ethiopian Human Rights Commission and the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights are set to begin a joint investigation; however it is unclear what level of access and cooperation the organizations will be given to conduct their inquiry. How can the U.S. best ensure that there is accountability for atrocities and other grave human rights abuses across Ethiopia?

Answer. I understand the United States will support the work of a joint investigation mechanism by the Ethiopian Human Rights Commission and the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights as a first step in the accountability process. I understand the Special Envoy for the Horn of Africa will monitor this process closely and work with international partners to press to ensure that the Ethiopian Government provides the promised access necessary for these investigations to proceed and respects their independence. If confirmed, I will work with international partners and organizations, including the UN and AU, to press for credible, independent, and transparent investigations into human rights violations and abuses. These investigations are critical for long-term transitional justice efforts, including criminal accountability, which are also necessary for reconciliation.

Question. Samia Suluhu Hassan has recently assumed the Tanzanian presidency and there is considerable hope she will turn the page on the repressive policies of her predecessor, John Magufuli. However, it remains to be seen whether the new President will pursue a concrete package of much needed political reforms. How can the U.S. best encourage the new administration to urgently improve Tanzania's political climate?

Answer. Although I am encouraged by President Hassan's first steps, including reinstating licenses for previously suspended media outlets, the new Tanzanian leadership is still in its early days and much remains to be seen. I understand the U.S. ambassador to Tanzania has already met with representatives of the new administration and has raised ongoing U.S. human rights concerns. If confirmed, I will support further engagement with the new Tanzanian Government at the highest levels, to both communicate our expectation of improvement on democracy and human rights markers and to explore how the United States can best support strengthening democratic institutions and preventing further democratic backsliding.

Question. Sudan has made significant progress over the last year in moving its political transition forward. Yet deep challenges remain, including persistent violence in Darfur and the still shaky political arrangements between the civilian and

military components of the transitional government. What action should the U.S. take to better support a civilian-led, democratic transition in Sudan?

Answer. Sudan's civilian-led transitional government has made important progress in implementing economic and political reforms, improving human rights protections, and creating a pathway for ending conflict in Darfur and other areas in Sudan. However, more needs to be done to facilitate a transition to democracy as established under Sudan's Constitutional Declaration, to implement the Juba Peace Agreement, to establish peace accords with other armed groups, and to address the root causes of conflict. If confirmed, I will work with the Africa bureau, the Special Envoy for Sudan and South Sudan, and J family bureaus and offices to develop comprehensive strategies to address these issues and support a peaceful democratic transition.

Question. The United States has recently taken actions to address the insurgency in northern Mozambique including terrorist designations of ISIS-Mozambique and its leader, the deployment of a Special Forces training mission, and publicly-acknowledged consideration of an antiterrorism assistance program for the Mozambican police. These actions seem to suggest a security-focused approach to counterterrorism, but I believe that a successful counterterrorism strategy must appropriately balance diplomacy, development, and defense. If confirmed, will you pursue a "3 D's" approach to counterterrorism in Mozambique?

Answer. Yes. A successful response to the threat from ISIS-Mozambique must include more than a focus on security. If confirmed, I will support a strategy that focuses equally on development, diplomacy, and security, along with strategic communications, in coordination with regional partners and D-ISIS coalition members.

Question. The interim government in Mali has announced that a referendum on a new constitution will take place on October 31 of this year, followed by general elections in February of 2022. What role should the U.S. play in helping ensure a restoration of democracy in Mali?

Answer. I believe the United States should continue its support for regional efforts, including those by the Economic Community for West African States (ECOWAS), to broker a restoration of democracy in Mali. The ECOWAS-led effort to push for a civilian-led transition led to the establishment of a transitional government, the recent announcement of the constitutional referendum, and the scheduled series of elections. If confirmed, I will continue the United States' role of coordinating assistance and support with our African and other international partners to continue these positive developments.

Question. What actions will you take if confirmed to support a civilian-led transition in Mali?

Answer. If confirmed, I will support the ECOWAS-brokered transition effort, including by encouraging the transitional government to maintain its course toward a return to constitutional rule. I understand that due to the manner in which the security services overthrew the last democratically elected government, the United States restricts most bilateral assistance that benefits the Government of Mali except for certain specified categories including humanitarian needs and election support. I understand assistance can resume only once a democratically elected government is in place and, if confirmed, I will coordinate actions by other donor and partner states in support of timely democratic elections.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO UZRA ZEYA BY SENATOR JAMES E. RISCH

Question. How will you work to ensure efficient communication and facilitation among bureaus within the J family, the department, and in the interagency?

Answer. Today's challenges are too complex for any one agency, bureau, or individual to undertake alone. Similar to the U.S. Government's efforts on the global stage, the Department's efforts are strengthened when done in partnership with others. If confirmed, I will work tirelessly to facilitate cooperation and ensure efficient communication, not only among the J family of bureaus and offices but across the Department, the interagency, and our branches of government. These efforts will build on my 27-plus years of public service and longstanding efforts to strengthen the Department by empowering staff, incentivizing innovation, and promoting a workforce that is diverse in both its personnel and perspectives.

Question. If confirmed, you will be in a position historically dual-hatted as the Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues. How will you engage with the Tibetan community? Will you commit to hosting the Tibetan administration representative at the State Department?

Answer. If confirmed and designated as the Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues, and consistent with the Tibetan Policy Act of 2002, I will maintain close contact with Tibetan religious, cultural, and political leaders, including by seeking to travel regularly to Tibetan areas of the People's Republic of China and to Tibetan refugee settlements in India and Nepal. This engagement will include hosting the Representative to North America of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the Central Tibetan Administration at the Department of State.

Question. The Atrocity Prevention Task Force is a key tool to understanding and targeting crises around the globe before they become atrocities. This task force lacks structure and a clear mandate. How will you bolster the efforts already in place to ensure this task force can fully mobilize?

Answer. If confirmed, I will support a whole-of-government approach to prevent, mitigate, and respond to atrocities in line with the Elie Wiesel Genocide and Atrocities Prevention Act of 2018. I understand there is collaboration across the J family and interagency to support a White House review of the structure, process, and interagency coordination of the Atrocity Early Warning Task Force. I understand that effort includes examining how best to integrate atrocity prevention across related administration priorities, including the Global Fragility Act and the Women, Peace, and Security Act. If confirmed, I will support these efforts and work closely with interagency partners, Congress, and civil society to improve U.S. atrocity prevention.

Question. The administration has announced a resumption of funding to the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) without securing any reforms. What reforms will you seek to ensure that UNRWA's textbooks and materials will not be anti-Semitic? How many UNRWA beneficiaries have citizenship in another country where they reside?

Answer. I understand the Department has urged reforms in UNRWA and received commitments from the Agency prior to announcing the funding resumption. U.S. resumption of aid allows the Department to ensure UNRWA upholds the highest level of neutrality and a commitment to tolerance in educational materials; if confirmed, I will prioritize further progress in this area.

A significant majority of the 2.2 million registered Palestinian refugees in Jordan hold citizenship. Not all Palestinian refugees seek access to UNRWA services.

Question. How will you ensure there is not overlap between the work of the State Department's Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor and USAID's Bureau of Democracy, Development and Innovations?

Answer. President Biden has made clear in his Interim National Security Strategic Guidance that revitalizing democracy is a priority for U.S. foreign policy. If confirmed, I will work with the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor (DRL) and USAID's Bureau of Democracy, Development and Innovations (DDI) to ensure their close coordination continues in support of this objective. The bureaus have complementary approaches to strengthen democratic institutions, including empowering and protecting local voices and strengthening government bodies. Using a complementary, holistic framework consistent with best practices reinforces prospects for success.

Question. Over the last 15 years, we have seen democratic backsliding around the world from countries in every hemisphere. Where is the democracy promotion toolkit failing? How can we improve our democracy promotion efforts?

Answer. I share your concerns about the 15-year global trend of democratic backsliding. The United States must continue to respond and adapt to growing authoritarianism and new challenges such as the rise of surveillance tools and the use of COVID by some governments to justify repression. If confirmed, I will utilize all of the diplomatic and programmatic tools available to address these trends, in close partnership with other U.S. agencies, Congress, and like-minded international partners. If confirmed, I also intend to ensure that U.S. efforts to promote democracy are driven by data to improve effectiveness, measurability and impact.

Question. Secretary Blinken has announced that the U.S. will be seeking a seat at the U.N. Human Rights Council for next year without securing reforms to the deeply flawed body. He has also indicated that the reforms the U.S. would seek are the same as the previous administration 1) Agenda Item 7 (Israel Bias) and 2) mem-

bership reform. What steps will you take to ensure that true reform is achieved? And if true reform is not achieved, what will the United States do?

Answer. I am committed to seeking reforms of the Human Rights Council, particularly with respect to the Council's disproportionate focus on Israel and to its membership. When the United States plays an active and constructive role on the Council, it can better advocate to protect Israel from unfair bias on the Council. This year, there has been a reduction in the number of resolutions targeting Israel under Agenda Item 7. I believe the United States can also better engage, in consultation with its partners, to keep some of the countries with the worst human rights records off the Council and encourage countries with better records to run for seats. If confirmed, I will ensure the United States continues to prioritize needed reforms as part of our re-engagement with the Council.

Question. Earlier this month, the State Department released its annual Human Rights Report, press reporting indicates that the Department decided to delete paragraphs which listed out abuses, including murder of Iranian citizens. If confirmed, would you work to ensure that instances like this do not occur in the Human Rights report? Do you believe this occurred because of administration's plan to re-open negotiations with Iran?

Answer. The most recent State Department Country Report on Human Rights Practices for Iran lays out in detail-based on credible sources-Iran's abysmal human rights record. It includes numerous reports of unlawful or arbitrary killings; forced disappearance and torture by government agents; life-threatening prison conditions; hundreds of political prisoners and detainees; serious problems with independence of the judiciary, particularly the revolutionary courts; and severe restrictions on free expression, the press, and the internet. If confirmed, I will not pull any punches in calling out Iran's human rights violations and abuses and will consider all appropriate tools to promote accountability for those responsible for these actions.

Question. The administration has announced that it will host a Summit of Democracies. Can you please provide more details on this proposed summit? What will be the definition of democracy will be used?

Answer. I understand the administration is currently formulating its vision for the Summit of Democracy, which is intended to advance concrete commitments on pressing challenges to established and emerging democracies, including corruption, rising autocracy, and defending human rights at home and abroad. If confirmed, I promise to consult with the committee as details become available, including on definitional issues. I also commit to work with the committee to make the Summit as results-oriented as possible.

Question. We have multiple allies and partners in the Indo-Pacific region with poor human rights records, but who we also cooperate with on economic and security issues that are important to the United States. Some of the allies, like the Philippines, are crucial to overarching U.S. strategy in the Indo-Pacific. In your view, what are the most effective ways to address human rights issues with countries that fall into this category?

Answer. I understand the United States promotes a free, open, and rules-based Indo-Pacific region. Upholding U.S. values, including promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms, is a key pillar of U.S. foreign policy and an enormous contributor to security, prosperity, and stability as well as U.S. influence across the Indo-Pacific region. If confirmed, I will utilize the full range of diplomatic tools to strengthen bilateral and multilateral relationships, to promote our values, to candidly address human security challenges with allies and partners, to support accountable government institutions, to strengthen local civil society capacity to hold their governments accountable, and to counter malign authoritarian influence.

Question. Nicaragua is scheduled to hold general elections in November. In October 2020, the Organization of American States adopted a resolution [AG/RES.2962 (L-O-20)] calling for the restoration of democratic institutions and respect for human rights in Nicaragua through free and fair elections. The Ortega regime responded by approving three statutes with the apparent aim of quashing dissent in Nicaragua ahead of the November 2021 elections. If confirmed, do you commit to prioritizing programs and policies that support the efforts of democratic actors in Nicaragua to be a credible challenger to Ortega ahead of the November 2021 elections.

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to prioritizing and maintaining U.S. efforts to create conditions for free and fair elections in Nicaragua. The United States should continue to use the economic and diplomatic tools at its disposal, including targeted sanctions and bilateral and multilateral engagement, to support the democratic op-

position and advance free and fair elections. It is not too late for the Ortega regime to make the meaningful reforms required before the May Organization of American States deadline.

Question. How can the United States best reconcile its defense commitments to allies and partners, including through arms sales, with its need to adhere to U.S. values?

Answer. As President Biden has said, America's values—defending freedom, championing opportunity, upholding universal rights, respecting the rule of law, and treating every person with dignity—are the grounding wire of our foreign policy and our abiding advantage globally. U.S. diplomacy must be rooted in those values, and our defense commitments, including arms sales, are no exception. If confirmed, I will work to ensure we are mindful of both our values and our interests as we engage allies and partners, and that our partners respect their commitments to the United States in turn.

Question. The Trump administration began initiatives to mitigate civilian casualties caused by the actions of U.S.-supported partner forces. How can we best build off of these efforts?

Answer. Human rights and civilian harm concerns should continue to be a critical consideration for every U.S. arms transfer review. The President and Secretary Blinken have said that human rights must be at the center of our foreign policy, and that includes policy regarding arms transfers and other security assistance.

If confirmed, I will build upon U.S. efforts to assist partners to mitigate risks of civilian casualties and ensure our partner forces are taking steps to comply with international law, including the law of armed conflict, and protect human rights. If confirmed, as programs are re-examined, I intend to make sure they promote these policies with our security partners.

Question. Across Sub-Saharan Africa, democratic gains are under threat as long-serving rulers manipulate constitutional and electoral processes to remain in power while stifling dissent and limiting opposition parties and candidates' activities. In 2020 alone, several African ruling parties and incumbent leaders applied authoritarian tactics that manipulated democratic processes and frameworks, including in Cameroon, Tanzania, Uganda, and Zimbabwe. If confirmed as Under Secretary of State for Civilian Security, Democracy and Human Rights, will reinforcing democratic institutions and norms in Africa be a priority? What is your perspective on balancing competing U.S. priorities in the areas of security, democracy, and human rights in Sub-Saharan Africa, especially when some of our top security partners—including Uganda, Ethiopia, Nigeria, and Mali—periodically or consistently engage in undemocratic practices? In your view, which should take priority in Africa?

Answer. If confirmed, I will prioritize encouraging governments across Africa to support democratic processes, strengthen democratic institutions, and respect the rights to freedom of expression, association, and peaceful assembly. I will also work to ensure that respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms is a pillar of U.S. foreign policy and that the United States takes a holistic approach to security challenges, ensuring that U.S. security and governance approaches are mutually reinforcing.

Question. In the last two years, Sudan and Ethiopia have embarked upon unexpected democratic transitions. While the United States was, and continues to be, eager to support these transitions, rapidly mobilizing adequate resources has been a challenge in both cases. If confirmed, how would you support the Department to respond to rapid democratic transitions and opportunities that emerge unexpectedly?

Answer. Democratic breakthroughs present an excellent opportunity for the U.S. Government to help consolidate democratic progress. Doing so often requires marshaling resources quickly to put in place effective programming. If confirmed, I intend to work closely with Department and USAID counterparts to ensure we have systems in place that provide flexibility to reallocate resources as needed. I will also work with embassies in the field and bureaus and offices that administer democracy programs to capitalize on these opportunities, including by pivoting quickly to support programs tailored for these situations. In all cases, I will work to ensure U.S. efforts empower democratic reformers and activists on the ground.

Question. In Africa, USAID maintains a large democracy and governance portfolio. In recent years, it has been the policy of the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor (DRL) to limit programming to countries in Africa without an active USAID presence. Do you agree with this approach? What benefits could be seen from complimentary efforts by USAID, DRL and other State Department bureaus?

Answer. I understand the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor (DRL) is currently active in over 90 countries in the world, including many where there is a USAID presence. I believe that DRL's focus on empowering local activists and grassroots organizations to hold their government accountable complements USAID's work to build more effective government institutions. If confirmed, I will support DRL's efforts to coordinate closely with U.S. embassies, USAID, and other programming entities to maximize their collective impact.

Question. Since Georgian Dream's 2012 electoral win, democracy and governance in the Caucasian country has steadily declined. The political situation came to a head after the October 2020 parliamentary election culminated in an opposition boycott of parliament and a breakdown of negotiations between the major parties. What more can be done to steer Georgians of all political parties back on a democratic trajectory? Does U.S. assistance to Georgia need to be conditioned on political progress? What would incentivize the major political parties to come to the negotiating table and compromise? Do you believe the U.S. should consider targeted sanctions on individuals or entities that are exacerbating or prolonging the crisis?

Answer. If confirmed, I will call on both sides to deescalate the situation, engage in constructive dialogue, and make compromises to allow Georgia to move forward. I believe U.S. assistance is integral to advancing democratic reforms, boosting economic growth, and helping Georgia resist Russian aggression. I understand the United States also assists Georgian civil society and independent media to raise public awareness and advocate for positive change. Any proposed conditionality should be approached with this in mind. I believe it is important that Georgia continues to make progress on institutionalizing democratic values. If progress continues to wane in these areas, and if confirmed, I would consider the deployment of additional tools to address these issues and would seek consultation with Congress.

Question. Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy was overwhelmingly elected in 2019 on an anti-corruption platform. After a few promising reforms, Zelenskyy and his government have stalled and even backslid on democratic and market-based economic reforms. What do you see as the current priorities for reform in Ukraine, and what pressure or leverage can the U.S. use to ensure Ukraine continues down its previously positive path? While Ukraine's democracy and electoral process is fairly robust and free, the country continues to struggle with entrenched corruption. What further steps can the U.S. take, either through its aid programs or political influence, to help propel forward Ukraine's fight against corruption in all areas of its society? How can we work better with European nations and the EU to leverage our collective support for Ukraine into real reforms? How well do you believe State and USAID coordinate their activities in Ukraine? What would you change to better utilize scarce resources in such a needy country?

Answer. I am committed to revitalizing our bilateral relationship with Ukraine. If confirmed, I will support Ukraine's chosen Euro-Atlantic path, including by pushing for progress on rule of law, anti-corruption, and economic reforms that strengthen Ukraine's institutions and lead to a brighter future for all Ukrainians, in coordination with Allies and partners, including the EU. State and USAID are very well coordinated in Ukraine thanks to Assistance to Europe, Eurasia, and Central Asia (AEECA) appropriations and the role of the Coordinator of U.S. Assistance to Europe and Eurasia. If confirmed, I will promote accountability for those who try to undermine Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial and institutional integrity. I believe advancing reforms is just as important for Ukraine's future as opposing Russia's aggression.

Question. Several high-profile scandals have exposed the Western financial system's difficulty in preventing corruption. In the FY21 NDAA, the U.S. Congress updated its anti-money laundering laws to shift the burden of disclosure from the banks to the corporations and beneficial owners. And the EU has been working on a rule-of-law mechanism to link EU funds to good governance, as well as cracking down on "golden visas." This corruption hurts both the citizens of the countries where the money was stolen and where it is stored. European countries have found themselves at both ends of this corruption cycle. How will the Biden administration collaborate with our democratic allies to tackle corruption in our interconnected financial systems, and what concrete actions will you take? How will State collaborate with the interagency on this goal? With the Treasury Department? How important is it that the United States and its European allies take steps to make our own systems less friendly to kleptocracy and less penetrable by dirty money?

Answer. If confirmed, I will support enhanced coordination with our partners to apply diplomatic pressure, bilaterally and through key multi-stakeholder fora, to

prevent and combat corruption, building upon recent Congressional legislation. I will prioritize foreign assistance to strengthen governments' and civil society's capacity to do so as well. If confirmed, I intend to work with the Department of the Treasury and our other partners to utilize tools, such as the Global Magnitsky sanctions program and visa restrictions, to protect our financial systems and prevent kleptocrats from using their ill-gotten gains in the United States. It is critical that the United States and European allies work in tandem to curb corruption's destabilizing impact.

Question. Several members of the EU's eastern bloc have experienced a rise in corruption, a decline in rule of law, and a strain on democratic institutions. Free and independent media in Poland, Hungary, Romania, and Bulgaria, to name a few, has been reduced and persecuted. Ruling parties have consolidated power in important industries and in the government. The EU has begun the process of implementing rule-of-law conditionality to the disbursement of EU funding as a means to combat this trend. Does the United States have a role to play in EU and EU member states' anti-corruption efforts? If yes, what is that role?

Answer. I am concerned about the rise of corruption and attacks on the rule of law, media, and democratic institutions in a number of European states. I firmly support democratic values, including the rule of law and media freedom, and, if confirmed, will work to advance these values in multilateral fora to include the U.N. Convention against Corruption's Conference of States Parties and the G20 Anticorruption Group. These shared values underpin the United States' relationship with the EU and, I understand, are a topic of frank discussions with member state governments. If confirmed, I intend to use all tools at our disposal to address corruption within Eastern Europe and will encourage our EU partners to establish similar tools.

Question. The Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons (*J/TIP*) authors one of the most important diplomatic tools we have each year, the Trafficking in Persons Report, which countless bodies rely on for crucial information, including Congress. Yet, this report is criticized for undue influence from regional bureaus or other parts of the department. What steps will you take, if confirmed, to ensure that the information and tier rankings in the TIP report accurately reflect anti-trafficking efforts and the real situations on the ground in-country?

Answer. The United States has always been a global leader in the fight against human trafficking. The Trafficking in Persons (TIP) report is one of the most important diplomatic tools and information sources on this issue. If confirmed, I will strive to ensure the TIP Report is as objective and accurate as possible, and that tier rankings are based solely on each country's efforts to combat trafficking, as required by the Trafficking Victims Protection Act.

Question. The Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act (TVPRA) mandates that foreign assistance restrictions placed on countries receiving a "Tier 3" ranking can be waived. The previous administration used this tool, but the rollout was messy due to lack of guidance on what exactly non-trade, non-humanitarian assistance was. Will you continue to recommend to the Secretary that these Tier 3 restrictions be used for appropriate countries? Will you commit to working with Congress on clarifying the scope of non-trade, non-humanitarian assistance?

Answer. I understand the Department considers Tier 3 restrictions and waivers carefully every year. This review informs the Secretary's recommendations to the President, whom the TVPA requires to impose or waive restrictions. If confirmed, I will seek to ensure that the State Department's recommendations to the President on restrictions and waivers are grounded by the facts on the ground in each country and an assessment of what would most effectively lead to improvements in those countries. I will welcome consultation with Congress on how to apply the trade-related exception.

Question. The International Criminal Court has open investigations in Afghanistan and the West Bank and Gaza. How will GCJ plan to engage with this court on these two cases? Do you agree that both cases are squarely outside of the court's jurisdiction?

Answer. I strongly agree with the administration's objection to attempts by the International Criminal Court (ICC) to assert jurisdiction over U.S. and Israeli personnel. The United States and Israel are not States Parties, and the Palestinians do not qualify as a sovereign State. If confirmed, I will work to address U.S. concerns about these cases through engagement with all stakeholders in the ICC process. The Office of Global Criminal Justice provides critical subject-matter expertise, advising the Secretary and other senior leaders formulating U.S. policy on account-

ability for war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide. If confirmed, I intend to ensure engagement with the Court on these cases is part of an administration-wide strategy.

Question. Secretary Blinken has agreed to examine a genocide determination for the Rohingya. Do you agree with this examination and how would you execute it?

Answer. I am appalled by the Burmese military's reign of terror against Rohingya and members of other ethnic and religious minority groups, as well as those related to the devastating military coup. If confirmed, I will support the Secretary in any review process, and ensure the Department remains focused on promoting accountability for those responsible for abuses, seeking justice for victims, advocating for unhindered humanitarian access, supporting the return to Burma's democratic transition, and promoting reforms that will help prevent the recurrence of atrocities and other human rights violations and abuses across Burma.

Question. How will this administration engage with the office of Global Criminal Justice? Given crises like the Rohingya and Syria, engagement from you, if confirmed, alongside GCJ is important to curbing the atrocities being committed against some of the most vulnerable populations.

Answer. The Office of Global Criminal Justice (GCJ) provides policy advice and technical expertise to the Secretary of State and the Under Secretary of State for Civilian Security, Democracy and Human Rights on preventing, mitigating, and responding to atrocities, including war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide. The office also plays a central role in coordinating U.S. policy to promote transitional justice and accountability, which is vital to atrocity prevention and prospects for lasting peace and stability. If confirmed, I will ensure GCJ's expertise is incorporated into U.S. policy formulation on these issues as part of the administration's efforts to promote respect for human rights and the rule of law.

Question. The CCP is actively committing genocide against the Uyghurs and other ethnic Muslims in Xinjiang. However, the IOC has given it the prestige of holding the Winter 2022 Olympics and Paralympics. Do you support China hosting the Winter Games in 2022? What other alternatives would you propose?

Answer. If confirmed, I will support extensive U.S. engagement and coordination with allies and partners to deny the CCP the ability to use the 2022 Winter Olympic Games to obscure China's abysmal human rights record. This would include outreach to the U.S. Olympic and Paralympic Committee, Olympics sponsors, and equipment and apparel suppliers to raise awareness of and promote accountability for the PRC Government's atrocities and human rights abuses, including genocide and crimes against humanity in Xinjiang, as well as forced labor. I will also consult closely with allies and partners to define our common concerns and establish a shared approach to the PRC in advance of and during the 2022 Winter Olympics.

Question. Can you please explain the mandate and operations of the Bureau of Conflict and Stabilization Operations? How does it add value to the work of the Department? How does CSO's work differ from or overlap with USAID's Office of Transitions Initiative?

Answer. I understand the mission of the Bureau of Conflict and Stabilization Operations (CSO) is to anticipate, prevent, and respond to conflicts that undermine U.S. national interests. CSO's work differs from USAID/OTI in that, as part of the State Department, CSO plays a vital role in enhancing the Department's strategies, policies, and programs on conflict prevention and stabilization. Top CSO priorities include implementation of the Elie Wiesel Genocide and Atrocities Prevention Act of 2018 and the Global Fragility Act of 2019, which builds upon the 2018 Stabilization Assistance Review and the Women, Peace, and Security agenda. If confirmed, I welcome Congressional consultation on CSO's mandate and operations.

Question. The Global Fragility Act (GFA) required the formulation of a whole-of-government strategy to identify and address the drivers of violence and conflict in fragile states and regions. Under the previous administration, a broadly accepted strategy was released. Unfortunately, the process for selecting the target countries and regions in which the strategy would be tested was fraught with challenges. Moreover, pilot initiatives brought to light how competing interests—namely between the Bureau of Conflict and Stabilization Operations and U.S. Embassies and USAID Missions—and a lack of appropriate consultation with the field could undermine the future success of GFA initiatives. The Biden administration will now be charged with relaunching the GFA country and region selection process and implementation plans in a manner that reflects these critical lessons learned. If confirmed, how will you approach the GFA selection process for target countries and

regions? What, if anything, within the country/region diagnostic and selection process needs to be changed? Should the Sahel and the Northern Triangle automatically be included as priority regions given the national security interests at stake, or would you recommend reserving judgement and allowing selection to be strictly guided by the data?

Answer. It is my understanding that the White House is leading a renewal of the GFA country and region selection process to evaluate previous recommendations and consider others, followed by Congressional consultation and final approval by the President. I understand the review takes into account the impact on fragility of COVID-19, the global economic crisis, gender inequality, and climate change. I also understand the selection process is based on objective criteria outlined in the GFA, including assessed levels and risks of fragility, violent conflict, atrocities, gender inequality, and resilience; political will and capacity; opportunity for impact; as well as U.S. national security and economic interests. If confirmed, I will support these efforts.

Question. There are also concerns about an apparent lack of senior-level buy-in from the Department of Defense, poor coordination between the Bureau of Conflict and Stabilization Operations (CSO) and other key functional bureaus within the Department of State (such as Counterterrorism and Political Military Affairs), and poor communication with U.S. Embassies and Missions in the field. If confirmed, how would you work across departments and agencies to implement the GFA? How will Embassy and Mission priorities be reflected in selection and implementation plans? Should GFA implementation continue to be run out of CSO, or should leadership be elevated to a higher level, as Congress intended?

Answer. Successful GFA implementation will require fundamental changes in the way the U.S. Government works on issues of fragility and conflict, integrating more closely the work among functional and regional bureaus, different agencies, the field, and Washington. If confirmed, I will work closely with the Under Secretary for Political Affairs to ensure strong partnerships with embassies and missions. I believe elevated senior staff buy-in and CSO's expertise and coordination role are critical to effective implementation of the GFA, which will require ongoing learning, monitoring, and adaptive management to inform policy and programming decisions.

Question. A criticism of the previous administration was its focus on international religious freedom issues. How will you, if confirmed, ensure this administration does not overcorrect on IRF issues and therefore ignore the serious concerns of religious freedom issues globally?

Answer. I am committed to promoting and defending religious freedom, which has long been a key U.S. foreign policy objective I was proud to advance in my prior role as Acting Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor. If confirmed, I will look to leverage the tools of U.S. diplomacy and foreign assistance to advance this universal right, ensuring that efforts to promote respect for religious freedom are fully integrated into broader policies that promote freedom and dignity for all people.

Question. How will you work to empower the office of the Special Envoy to Monitor and Combat Anti-Semitism?

Answer. I am deeply committed to combatting anti-Semitism at home and abroad and share the concerns of Congress about rising anti-Semitism around the world. If confirmed, I will work closely with the Special Envoy to reinforce her or his efforts, elevate the fight against global anti-Semitism in our engagements with foreign interlocutors, and ensure the office of the Special Envoy has the staff and resources it needs to execute its mission effectively.

Question. The Office of Global Women's Issues continue to be a separate office within the S bureau. Under the last administration, there was an effort to align this office within the J family. Will this continue to be an S office, or do you, if confirmed, plan to continue re-alignment of S/GWI under the J family? What steps will you take to integrate global women issue initiatives throughout the J family and the interagency, especially on projects like Women, Peace, and Security, and Women's Global Development and Prosperity Fund (WGDP)?

Answer. I am committed to supporting President Biden's goal of advancing gender equality and the full empowerment of women and girls around the world. The Secretary's Office of Global Women's Issues (S/GWI) plays a pivotal coordination role in ensuring the Department is bringing the full diplomatic toolbox to bear in support of gender equality goals, including through robust collaboration with J family bureaus and offices. If confirmed, I look forward to exploring how the J family can enhance coordination with S/GWI and mobilize its unique resources to support

women and girls as part of a comprehensive U.S. Government gender equality strategy.

Question. The 2020 DEA report on fentanyl flows to the United States identifies the People's Republic of China as the primary source of fentanyl and fentanyl-related substances trafficked to the United States, increasingly through Mexico. Mexican transnational criminal organizations are producing increased quantities of fentanyl and cartels, such as the Sinaloa and the New Generation Jalisco Cartel, are the primary trafficking groups responsible for smuggling fentanyl into the United States from Mexico. If confirmed, what specific actions would you take to ensure the Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs programs are focusing on meaningfully reducing the flow of fentanyl and other synthetic opioids to the United States?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work with the Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs to stop fentanyl trafficking by: reducing diversion and illicit production of synthetic drugs; strengthening the capacity of our partners to detect, interdict, and share information on synthetic drug threats; building capacity to target illicit online sales; shrinking the drug market by reducing global drug demand; and enhancing partnerships with governments, industry, and international organizations. If confirmed, I will work with partners such as Mexico to reduce production and improve interdiction, and I will continue U.S. efforts to press the People's Republic of China to better regulate its chemical industry and synthetic opioid precursors.

Question. On March 1st, the Government Accountability Office (GAO) issued a report with specific recommendations for the Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs (INL) to strengthen risk management for programs under the Merida Initiative (GAO-21-335). If confirmed, do you commit to ensure INL takes swift action to implement the recommendations in this report?

Answer. If confirmed, I will ensure the Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs (INL) swiftly implements Government Accountability Office (GAO) recommendations to strengthen risk management for programs under the Merida Initiative. I understand the Department concurred with GAO's important recommendations, and, for programs under the Merida Initiative, INL is in the process of completing an anti-fraud risk assessment; developing and implementing an anti-fraud strategy; developing and implementing a mandatory fraud awareness training program for staff; and re-evaluating practices for local vetting of non-security personnel.

Question. Please describe your understanding of the relationship between the Government of Cuba, the U.S.-designated Foreign Terrorist Organization Ejercito de Liberacion Nacional (ELN), and the Maduro regime in Venezuela.

Answer. I am deeply concerned by the actions of the Government of Cuba, from its treatment of its own people, to its connection to and substantial support for the brutal Maduro regime. I understand members of the Colombian-origin National Liberation Army (ELN), including senior leadership, traveled to Cuba in 2018 for now-defunct peace negotiations with the Government of Colombia. When negotiations failed, Cuba continued to provide safe haven to ELN leadership. In January 2019, ELN claimed responsibility for a deadly bombing in Colombia. Citing peace protocols signed before the ELN negotiators traveled to Cuba, Cuba has refused to extradite ELN leaders to Colombia. With respect to Venezuela, Maduro and his associates use criminal activities to help maintain their hold on power, fostering a permissive environment for known terrorist groups, including the ELN and its sympathizers.

If confirmed, I will commit to closely reviewing the status of ELN leadership in Cuba and consulting with Congress as the Biden-Harris administration reviews U.S. policy toward Cuba.

Question. There are around 10,000 ISIS fighters at various detention facilities, including 2,000 foreign fighters (FTF) that U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM) characterizes as "hardcore foreign terrorist fighters." Internally Displace Camps (IDP) in Syria, like al Hol, have become areas of systemic ISIS indoctrination of IDPs and refugees. The process of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) of former combatants plays a critical role in transitions from war to peace. Yet, countries around the world with foreign terrorist fighters have failed to make any progress to date. How does the Biden administration plan to address this problem?

Answer. I understand the Department urges countries of origin to repatriate their foreign terrorist fighters (FTFs) and associated family members from detention facilities and camps in northeast Syria, and to rehabilitate, reintegrate and prosecute those individuals as appropriate. I understand the Department does this through in-

tensive diplomatic engagement, including through the Global Coalition to defeat ISIS, by helping to repatriate individuals whose countries of origin are willing to accept them, and helping develop rehabilitation and reintegration protocols and programs. If confirmed, I will urge FTF repatriation and leverage multilateral platforms in those efforts to prevent ISIS from reconstituting capability in Syria and Iraq.

Question. 10 USC 127e authority allows the Secretary of Defense, with the concurrence of the relevant Chief of Mission, to expend up to \$100 million each year to support foreign forces, irregular forces, groups, or individuals engaged in supporting or facilitating authorized ongoing military operations by United States special operations forces to combat terrorism. Despite the important counterterrorism (CT) collaboration between Department of Defense (DoD) and State Department, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee (SFRC) and the House Foreign Affairs Committee (HFAC) lack visibility into this space. Traditionally, SFRC and HFAC have not been afforded any insight into 127e programs and what our Chiefs of Mission are concurring with. Do we have your commitment to return to this committee and brief on areas of DoD and State CT cooperation, particularly the integration between 10 USC 127e and Anti-Terrorism Assistance (ATA) programs?

Answer. I understand the Department of State works closely with the Department of Defense on a broad range of counterterrorism issues, including in the Department of Defense's activities under its Title 10, Section 127e authorities. I recognize that Congress has an important oversight role to play in the U.S. Government's counterterrorism efforts, and if confirmed, I will be committed to engaging with Congress to discuss these and other counterterrorism lines of effort.

Question. The previous administration disbanded the Defense Department's Defeat-ISIS Task Force, leading its then director Christopher Maier to resign in November 2020. Former President Trump similarly moved State Department's Special Envoy to the Global Coalition to Defeat ISIS under the Bureau of Counterterrorism, with Acting John Godfrey serving as that special envoy. Is this the right staffing and organizational structure to prevent an ISIS resurgence?

Answer. I understand that achieving the enduring defeat of ISIS remains a central priority of the administration. I do not believe the dual-hatting of the CT Coordinator and Special Envoy reflects a diminution of the position of the Special Envoy for the Global Coalition to Defeat ISIS. It instead reflects the evolving nature of the ISIS threat to encompass areas outside Iraq and Syria, and a desire to situate the enduring D-ISIS mission within the established CT Bureau architecture. Doing so enables effective leverage of CT Bureau's civilian counterterrorism capacity-building assets and closer coordinate with other bureaus. If confirmed, I will ensure that both roles are prioritized and sustainably resourced.

Question. The Biden administration has launched a review of the February 29 agreement with the Taliban, including the CT assurances and posture issues associated with it. This is an issue with obvious and important CT ramifications given the origins of this war and the terrorist threats that endure. What role do you anticipate your bureau playing in this review? How do you plan on ensuring U.S. CT interests in Afghanistan are addressed?

Answer. I understand the Department of State, including the Bureau of Counterterrorism, is a part of the interagency effort to monitor and disrupt significant terrorist threats not only in Afghanistan but anywhere else they might arise. If confirmed, my focus will be to ensure our counterterrorism efforts maintain consistent pressure on terrorist groups to deny them the time, space, and resources they need to conduct complex, international attacks, including against the U.S. homeland.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO UZRA ZEYA BY SENATOR BENJAMIN L. CARDIN

Question. What are your most meaningful achievements to date in your career to promote human rights and democracy? What has been the impact of your actions?

Answer. My most meaningful achievements in promoting human rights and democracy involve expanding coalitions to advance universal human rights, countering malign influence, and elevating protection for human rights defenders worldwide. In prior State Department leadership roles, I expanded the first public-private partnership (PPP) for LGBT equality to include private sector stakeholders, launched the first global PPP against gender-based violence, and created new regional platforms

to protect journalists under siege. I helped persuade France to cancel a multi-billion dollar defense sale to Russia in the wake of the Crimea invasion, and successfully countered Russian disinformation efforts to interfere with France's 2017 election. I persuaded India to launch its first-ever third-country democracy promotion efforts with the United States, including programs to generate self-employment opportunities for Afghan women and build other nations' capacity to conduct free and fair elections.

Question. The Hong Kong National Security Law, which mainland Chinese authorities have imposed on Hong Kong, has already begun to fundamentally transform the space for democracy and human rights in the city. In your view, what steps should the U.S. Government take to help defend the space for press freedom, free expression, and democracy in Hong Kong?

Answer. If confirmed, I will stand united with our allies and partners against the PRC's assault on Hong Kong's freedoms and its blatant disregard for its international obligations and commitments. I will use all available diplomatic tools at the U.S. Government's disposal, including sanctions, visa restrictions, and other measures, to promote accountability for the egregious actions of authorities in Hong Kong and Beijing, and I will urge our allies and partners to do the same. If confirmed, I will also help those who have been persecuted by the Hong Kong and Beijing authorities find safe haven in the United States and other countries.

Question. Since the February 1 coup by the Burmese military, the space for free expression and association has dramatically constricted as the junta attempts to suppress a sustained and countrywide civil disobedience movement against its rule. More than 700 civilians have been killed, and several thousand are currently detained. The solidarity already shown by the U.S. Government to the protestors is encouraging, but what further specific steps do you envision that this administration can take to ensure maximum support for human rights activists, journalists, and prominent voices of conscience at risk, and to urge the military to peacefully return power to the duly-elected government as soon as possible?

Answer. The United States, under the Biden-Harris administration, has condemned in the strongest possible terms and taken actions against those responsible for the military coup in Burma, the horrific violence against protesters, and the ongoing, unjust detentions of State Counsellor Aung San Suu Kyi, President Win Myint, and other democratically-elected leaders as well as more than 3,000 civil society actors from across ethnic and religious groups. If confirmed, I will use all available U.S. diplomatic tools, including sanctions, visa restrictions, and other measures, to promote accountability and build global coalitions to support the Burmese people's efforts to reestablish and safeguard their path to democracy.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO UZRA ZEYA BY SENATOR MARCO RUBIO

Question. You were listed in the acknowledgements section of a 1990 book titled "Stealth PACs: How Israel's American Lobby Took control of U.S. Middle East Policy," published by your employer at the time, the American Educational Trust. Can you confirm today that you do not share the anti-Israel claims in this book or of the American Educational Trust? Do you believe pro-Israel Americans, and pro-Israel members of Congress, have dual loyalties?

Answer. I categorically reject the anti-Israel claims in this book and espoused by the American Educational Trust. Further, I had nothing to do with the content of the book. My entry-level employment at the American Educational Trust ended some 31 years ago, I have had no contact with the organization since then, and I reject the organization's positions with respect to Israel. I deplore any suggestion that American Jews or members of Congress who advocate for a strong U.S.-Israel relationship have dual loyalties or are disloyal to the United States.

Question. The Washington Report on Middle East Affairs routinely publishes a list of members of Congress who receive donations from pro-Israel Americans. Do you believe there is something untoward about pro-Israel Americans engaging in the political process?

Answer. I strongly support the right of every American, including those who strongly support the U.S.-Israel alliance, to engage in the U.S. political process, and see nothing untoward in this activity. As I noted, my entry-level employment at the American Educational Trust ended some 31 years ago, I have had no contact with

the organization since then, and I categorically reject the organization's positions with respect to Israel. I strongly support the Biden administration's commitment to renewing democracy abroad and at home, and believe the latter is underpinned by the rights of every American to fully exercise their constitutional rights, including freedom of expression, freedom of association, freedom of religion, freedom to petition one's government, and equal protection under the law.

Question. What is your view of the U.S.-Israel relationship?

Answer. I support the United States' unwavering and ironclad commitment to Israel's security. If confirmed, I will support the administration in working to further strengthen all aspects of the U.S.-Israel alliance, including with respect to countering Iranian state-sponsored terrorism, increasing international solidarity against Hizballah and other Iran-supported foreign terrorist organizations, expanding global coalitions against anti-Semitism, building upon Israel's normalization agreements with key Arab Governments, and eliminating anti-Israel bias in the U.N. system, including the U.N. Human Rights Council and the International Criminal Court.

Question. Do you agree that U.S. policy in the region is best advanced when working closely with our ally Israel?

Answer. Yes. President Biden has been one of Israel's strongest supporters over the last fifty years. I understand the U.S.-Israel alliance is deeply personal to him and, indeed, he's met and worked closely with every Israeli Prime Minister since Golda Meir. I understand the President believes the ties between our two countries, rooted in strategic interests and shared values, should transcend domestic politics. In this vein, I understand the administration will not only further strengthen the U.S.-Israel alliance, but also ensure that it enjoys bipartisan backing. If confirmed, I will support the administration's goals to work closely with Israel, to include building on normalization agreements to strengthen cooperation between Israel and its neighbors.

Question. Do you fully support Israel's right to defend itself from terrorist attacks, including taking pre-emptive action to disrupt weapons shipments from Iran to its terrorist proxies?

Answer. Israel has the right to defend itself from terrorist attacks, and I understand the Biden-Harris administration's commitment to Israel's security to be a cornerstone of U.S. foreign policy. I support the administration's policy to continue U.S. security assistance to Israel and uphold Israel's Qualitative Military Edge, which is critical to ensuring Israel has the means to defend itself. If confirmed, I will support action, in coordination with our allies and partners, to deter and counter Iran's destabilizing activities. If confirmed, I will strongly support the administration's goals regarding Israel's security.

Question. Do you support full funding for United States security assistance to Israel as laid out in the current 10-year MOU? Do you support the position of President Biden that conditioning aid to Israel is wrong?

Answer. I understand President Biden's commitment to Israel's security is ironclad. The President played an important role in helping to negotiate the 2016 Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) on security assistance, among the largest aid packages in U.S. history. If confirmed, I will support the administration's pledge to preserve the terms of the MOU without reservation.

Question. What is your view of the Iranian regime and the country's human rights record?

Answer. The Iranian Government has the dubious distinction of being the world's leading state sponsor of terrorism, a destabilizing force in the region, and a longtime and systematic human rights violator. Iran severely restricts the rights to peaceful assembly, freedom of association, freedom of religion or belief, and freedom of expression. If confirmed, I will call out Iran's human rights violations and abuses, which include arbitrary or unlawful detention of numerous individuals, some of whom have faced torture and/or cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment, and execution after unfair trials. I also will work with my colleagues to consider all appropriate tools to promote accountability for human rights violators.

Question. Are you committed to robust human rights programming in Iran, regardless of how such programming may impact nuclear negotiations?

Answer. If confirmed, I will support robust human rights programs in Iran. The Iranian Government denies Iranians the ability to exercise their human rights, including through severe restrictions on the rights to peaceful assembly, freedom of

association, freedom of religion or belief, and freedom of expression. If confirmed, I will support all appropriate diplomatic tools to support the Iranian people so their voices are heard and they can hold their government accountable for its actions.

Question. Since the passage of the Tibetan Policy Act of 2002, all but one of the U.S. Special Coordinators for Tibetan Issues have concurrently held your position. If you are designated the Special Coordinator, will you commit to promoting substantive dialogue without pre-conditions between the Dalai Lama and the Chinese Government that leads to a negotiated agreement on Tibet, as mandated by the Tibetan Policy and Support Act of 2020?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed and designated as Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues, I will work with our allies and partners to press Beijing to return to direct dialogue with the Dalai Lama or his representatives, without preconditions, to achieve meaningful autonomy for Tibetans.

Question. If Beijing continues to refuse to engage in dialogue, as it has done since 2010, will you insist that our dialogue with Beijing on some issues of importance to them be linked to their resumption of dialogue with the Tibetans?

Answer. If confirmed and designated as the Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues, I will work with our allies and partners to press Beijing to return to direct dialogue with the Dalai Lama or his representatives to achieve meaningful autonomy. I will also call upon Beijing to respect the human rights of Tibetans and to preserve Tibet's environment as well as to respect its distinct cultural, linguistic, and religious traditions.

Question. If confirmed, will you stand firm in communicating to Beijing the United States position that we will not under any circumstances accept a Chinese-controlled process to select the Dalai Lama's successor? If the Chinese authorities attempt to force a politically chosen successor on the Tibetan people, will you commit to imposing serious sanctions in response?

Answer. The PRC Government must have no role in the succession process of the Dalai Lama. PRC authorities' interference in the succession of the Panchen Lama 26 years ago, including disappearing the Panchen Lama as a child and attempting to replace him with a PRC Government-chosen successor, remains an outrageous abuse of religious freedom that I denounced as Acting Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor. If confirmed, I am committed to promoting respect for Tibetans' religious freedom and to taking all appropriate measures to promote accountability for PRC Government officials who attempt to interfere in the Dalai Lama's succession, consistent with the Tibetan Policy and Support Act of 2020.

Question. Do you believe that the CCP is committing cultural genocide, also known as cultural erasure, against the Tibetans, whose civilization is distinct from that of China and boasts its own rich language, literature, religious tradition, and culture? Will you commit to undertaking programmatic and policy initiatives that will protect Tibetan culture and language in Tibet and in exile?

Answer. The Chinese Government has been relentless in seeking to suppress the distinct cultural, linguistic, and religious traditions of Tibetans. If confirmed, I will call on Beijing to end these policies and will explore every opportunity, including through policy and program initiatives, to help Tibetans preserve their traditions. This will include working with allies and partners to press Beijing to return to direct dialogue with the Dalai Lama or his representatives, without preconditions, to achieve meaningful autonomy for Tibetans.

Question. Will you commit to regularly raise the case of the Panchen Lama and press for his release? Will you ensure that no U.S. official meets with, or provides a public platform, for the individual that Beijing appointed in his place?

Answer. Yes. I am saddened that Gedhun Choekyi Nyima—the Panchen Lama—remains disappeared since his 1995 forced disappearance by PRC authorities, separated from his community and denied his rightful place as a prominent Tibetan Buddhist leader. If confirmed, I am committed to supporting Tibetans' religious freedom, including their ability to select, educate, and venerate their religious leaders, like the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama, according to their own beliefs and without government interference. I will also call on the PRC Government to publicize verifiable proof of the Tibetan-selected Panchen Lama's whereabouts and wellbeing and allow him to speak for himself.

Question. If confirmed, can you commit that the Biden administration will not provide aid to the PA if Palestinian officials have not ceased payments to those convicted of terrorist acts according to U.S. law?

Answer. I understand that the administration has been clear that all U.S. assistance for the Palestinians, including the recently announced assistance, will be provided consistent with U.S. law.

Question. UNRWA currently only discloses contracts over \$100,000 in its quarterly filings. However, the Annual Statistical Report on U.N. Procurement states that U.N. agencies must disclose all contracts over \$30,000. Will you hold UNRWA accountable for disclosing all contracts over \$30,000?

Answer. I understand UNRWA discloses all of its awards, including those above the \$30,000 threshold, to the United Nations Office for Procurement Services which then reports them together with all other U.N. agencies in the Annual Statistical Report on U.N. Procurement, published on the U.N. Global Market website (UNGM.org). If confirmed, I will seek to ensure UNRWA continues to abide by all relevant U.N. policies and regulations.

Question. If confirmed, will you commit to supporting Cuba democracy programs?

Answer. If confirmed, I am committed to ensuring that support for democracy and human rights is at the core of our efforts to empower the Cuban people to determine their own future. The recently released 2020 Human Rights Report notes the significant human rights abuses perpetrated by Cuban Government officials. If confirmed, I will ensure the U.S. Government continues its steadfast support for and engagement with Cuban human rights defenders, activists, and civil society members to bolster their important work. I also will promote human rights, fundamental freedoms, and democracy, and will facilitate the free flow of information to the Cuban people.

Question. If confirmed, how will you support Cuba's democracy, civil society and human rights defenders in Cuba?

Answer. If confirmed, I will ensure the U.S. Government continues its steadfast support for and engagement with Cuban human rights defenders, activists, and civil society members to bolster their important work. I also will promote human rights, fundamental freedoms, and democracy, and will facilitate the free flow of information to the Cuban people. I will also denounce the Cuban Government's abuses and push for democratic reform. If confirmed, I will consult with Congress about Cuba policy.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO UZRA ZEYA BY SENATOR ROB PORTMAN

Question. North Korea is a topic of personal significance to me. Last year I gave a speech on the Senate floor to honor Otto Warmbier on the third anniversary of his passing, and I remain in contact with Fred and Cindy—Otto's parents who are constituents. How will this administration approach the challenge of North Korea from a national security and human rights perspective?

Answer. If confirmed, I am committed to placing human rights at the center of our foreign policy, including with North Korea, and working with like-minded partners to call out human rights abuses. I am deeply concerned by North Korea's deplorable human rights abuses, including its network of political prison and labor camps, use of forced labor, and severe restrictions of religious freedom, and horrific treatment of unjustly detained Americans like Mr. Warmbier. If confirmed, I will prioritize addressing North Korea's egregious human rights record and promoting respect for human rights in the closed country. I will also prioritize increased coordination with our allies and partners and will use all diplomatic tools at the U.S. Government's disposal to promote accountability for those responsible for the unspeakable abuses that occur in the country.

Question. I am deeply concerned regarding the ongoing reports of atrocities and human rights abuses occurring in the ongoing civil war in Ethiopia. As you are aware, civil wars are a unique threat, as this type of conflict often destabilizes neighboring states, attracts foreign fighters as well as third party proxy support for sides in the conflict. How can we ensure that Ethiopia's fragile transition toward democracy can continue given the current circumstances, and how can the United States ensure accountability for crimes occurring not just in the Tigray region, but all of Ethiopia?

Answer. The President and the Secretary of State have made clear that securing a ceasefire and supporting a political dialogue to defuse the political crisis in Ethiopia, including in Tigray, is an urgent priority, and I understand they plan to ap-

point a special envoy to lead a robust diplomatic effort to advance these goals. If confirmed, I will work closely with the special envoy in this regard. In addition, I will support the work of a joint investigation mechanism by the Ethiopian Human Rights Commission and the Office of the U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights as a first step in the accountability process. Credible, independent, and transparent investigations into human rights violations and abuses are critical for long-term justice, accountability, and reconciliation.

Question. Yesterday, President Biden announced his intention to withdraw all troops from Afghanistan by the 20th anniversary of the September 11th attacks. While the American people are understandably weary after two decades of war, any move to draw down our military presence in Afghanistan should be based on conditions on the ground, not in accordance with an arbitrary date. The Taliban have not upheld their commitments during the peace negotiations process. Before any withdrawal, we must ensure that the Taliban respects the legitimate governing authority of Afghanistan and see a de-association from extremist groups such as Al Qaeda and ISIS. We cannot repeat the mistakes of the past, such as the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Iraq in 2011. That decision led to more military intervention from the United States, not less, while giving rise to new extremist groups that filled the vacuum of instability. Do you share in my concern that a complete withdrawal of all U.S. forces in September without any sign that the Taliban is prepared to become a responsible partner in governing? What are the chances that Afghanistan becomes a failed state and a haven for terrorists who could once again strike the United States Homeland?

Answer. I support the administration's decision to complete a full military withdrawal by September 11, and to focus on diplomatic efforts to facilitate a negotiated settlement between the Taliban and the Afghan Government. If confirmed, I will work to ensure we remain vigilant to the terrorist threat and that U.S. humanitarian assistance preserves gains for Afghan women and civil society and mitigates prospects for state failure. I understand the administration will work with Afghan partners and Allies to counter any reemergence of a terrorist threat and to hold the Taliban to its commitment to ensure al Qaeda does not threaten the United States, our interests, or our allies.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO UZRA ZEYA BY SENATOR TED CRUZ

Question. The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) is committing a genocide against the Uyghurs and other minorities in the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region (XUAR) that is ongoing. The Biden administration had sent differing signals about the degree to which administration officials assessed that genocide is indeed ongoing, but on March 22, Secretary Blinken correctly emphasized "the P.R.C. continues to commit genocide and crimes against humanity." Do you agree with the assessment that the Chinese Government is engaged in a genocide against the Uyghurs and other minorities in the XUAR that is ongoing?

Answer. I agree with the Secretary of State's determination that the Government of the People's Republic of China (PRC) is committing genocide and crimes against humanity against Uyghurs, who are predominantly Muslim, and members of other ethnic and religious minority groups in Xinjiang. These crimes include imprisonment, torture, enforced sterilization, and persecution, including through forced labor and draconian restrictions on the freedoms of religion or belief, expression, and movement. These atrocities shock the conscience and must be met with serious consequences.

Question. What role do you see for the State Department in countering that ongoing genocide, and more broadly the human rights atrocities being committed by the Chinese Communist Party?

Answer. I share your deep concern about the ongoing genocide and crimes against humanity against Uyghurs, who are predominantly Muslim, and members of other ethnic and religious groups in Xinjiang. I understand the Department has reinvigorated cooperation with partners and allies and has imposed a number of measures to address these atrocities. If confirmed, I will support ongoing efforts to broaden this international coalition and call for an independent and unhindered investigation. I also will support using all appropriate tools, including those provided for in the Uyghur Human Rights Policy Act, to pressure the PRC to end these atrocities and to promote accountability for those responsible and justice for victims.

Question. The Obama-Biden administration's approach to the Israeli-Arab conflict was justified on the basis of a theory of regional relations in which the Israeli-Palestinian conflict prevented broader Israeli-Arab rapprochement. Among other decisions, that administration implemented discriminatory policies that distinguished between Jewish communities in places Israel controlled before and after 1967. That approach culminated in December 2016, when the Obama administration maneuvered the United Nations Security Council into passing UNSCR 2334, which among other things denied Israel's sovereignty over the Golan Heights and part of its capital Jerusalem, including the Jewish Quarter. The Trump administration systematically worked to hollow out and render UNSCR 2334 null and void. They did so, including by recognizing Israel's sovereignty over the Golan Heights, by recognizing Jerusalem as Israel's capital, by moving our embassy to Jerusalem, by seeking to end discriminatory approaches that distinguished legally and for the purposes of aid and trade between different Israeli communities, and by taking several other steps. Do you believe that Israel has sovereignty over the Golan Heights?

Answer. In considering the U.S. position on the Golan Heights, I understand the administration gives great weight to Israel's security. The current Syrian regime and its Iranian allies pose a significant risk to Israel. It is apparent that the Golan Heights is critically important to Israel's security. As long as Bashar al-Assad is in control of Syria, it would be irresponsible to urge Israel to part with the Golan Heights. Control of the strategic Golan Heights provides Israel an added measure of security from the turmoil next door.

Question. Do you believe that Israel has sovereignty over Jerusalem, including the Old City of Jerusalem?

Answer. I understand the administration recognizes that Jerusalem is central to the national visions of both Israelis and Palestinians. Jerusalem is the capital of Israel. Jerusalem itself is a final status issue to be resolved through direct negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians. If confirmed, I will support the administration's efforts to handle all issues related to Jerusalem with the care and sensitivity that they deserve.

Question. Do you believe that Israel is in illegal occupation of any part of Jerusalem?

Answer. I understand the administration recognizes that Jerusalem is central to the national visions of both Israelis and Palestinians. Jerusalem is the capital of Israel. Jerusalem itself is a final status issue to be resolved through direct negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians. If confirmed, I will support the administration's efforts to handle all issues related to Jerusalem with the care and sensitivity that they deserve.

Question. Do you believe that Israel is in illegal occupation of the Old City of Jerusalem?

Answer. I understand the administration recognizes that Jerusalem is central to the national visions of both Israelis and Palestinians. Jerusalem is the capital of Israel and its ultimate status is a final status issue which will need to be resolved by the parties in the context of direct negotiations. If confirmed, I will support the administration's efforts to handle all issues related to Jerusalem with the care and sensitivity that they deserve.

Question. On January 10, 2021, the State Department designated Ansarallah, sometimes called the Houthis, and Abdul Malik al-Houthi, Abd al-Khaliq Badr al-Din al-Houthi, and Abdullah Yahya al Hakim, three leaders of Ansarallah, as Specially Designated Global Terrorists (SDGTs) pursuant to Executive Order 13224. On February 5, the Biden administration informed Congress of its intention to revoke those sanctions. The issue of humanitarianism was central to the public explanation of the decision: officials at the State Department have justified the delisting of what they described as the "broad" designation of Ansarallah on humanitarian grounds, e.g. that large parts of Yemen's population live under areas controlled by the group. Since then, the Houthis have escalated their violence across the region, bombarding civilians in Yemen and Saudi Arabia. Yemen was already one of the worst humanitarian catastrophes in the world, in large part because the Houthis and their Iranian backers block aid, steal aid, and attack civilians. Please describe the role played by Iran and the Houthis in deepening the humanitarian catastrophe in Yemen.

Answer. Iran continues to provide the Houthis with training, equipment, and monetary support, which assists them in promoting regional instability; threatening our partners, especially Saudi Arabia; and disrupting international shipping. Further, the Houthis use this support to threaten Yemeni civilians, especially at this

time in the city of Marib. If confirmed, I am committed to working with our inter-agency partners to counter Iran's destabilizing activities.

The Houthis impede humanitarian access in the areas they control. If confirmed, I will support U.S. efforts to work with our partners on the ground to improve humanitarian access and facilitate the provision of critical commodities and humanitarian aid to Yemeni civilians.

Question. Please assess the degree to which the Biden administration's decision to lift terrorism sanctions against the Houthis and their leaders has enhanced the ability to provide humanitarian relief to Yemeni civilians in general.

Answer. As I understand, the revocations were aimed at ensuring that U.S. policies would not impede assistance to those already suffering what has been called the world's worst humanitarian crisis. I understand the administration heeded concerns from the United Nations, humanitarian groups, and bipartisan members of Congress, among others, that the designations could have had a devastating impact on Yemenis' access to basic commodities like food and fuel, which could increase the risk of famine. The short time that passed between the designations and the revocations limited the impact the designations could have had on humanitarian assistance and commercial imports, including food and other essential supplies.

Question. Please assess the degree to which the Biden administration's decision to lift terrorism sanctions against the Houthis and their leaders has enhanced the ability to provide humanitarian relief to Yemeni civilians in Marib.

Answer. As I understand, the revocations were aimed at ensuring that U.S. policies would not impede assistance to those already suffering what has been called the world's worst humanitarian crisis. This has been especially critical in Marib, where the escalation of hostilities has caused additional needs and secondary displacement. The lifting of sanctions has allowed for the delivery of life-saving food, emergency shelter, water, sanitation and hygiene, and essential non-food items, such as blankets and water containers.

Question. The Obama administration was broadly criticized, especially in the context of its Middle East policy, for co-mingling unclassified documents with classified documents. This practice requires that documents be placed in a secure location, unnecessarily limiting access to unclassified documents and stifling public debate. The Biden administration already seems to be repeating such practices: according to an exchange during the State Department press briefing on February 11, a notification describing the lifting of terrorism sanctions on Iran-controlled terrorists in Yemen was unnecessarily transmitted to a Congressional SCIF.

- Can you commit to ensuring that unclassified information is not unnecessarily comingled with classified information in notifications provided by the State Department to Congress? If not, why not?

Answer. I am committed to working to ensure that information provided to Congress is, to the fullest extent possible, in a format that facilitates its access by authorized personnel, while complying with Executive Order 13526, the Department of State classification guide, and the executive branch rules on the handling and storage of classified information.

Question. The Obama administration was broadly criticized for inaction in response to Iranian human rights atrocities, and critics have suggested that those issues were subsumed beneath the administration's commitment to securing a nuclear deal. The Biden administration, which is rushing to secure another nuclear deal with Iran, has already come under similar criticism. Please describe your assessment of the scope and nature of Iran's human rights record.

Answer. The Iranian Government severely restricts the rights to peaceful assembly, freedom of association, freedom of religion or belief, and freedom of expression. If confirmed, I will call out Iran's systematic human rights violations and abuses, which include arbitrary or unlawful detention of numerous individuals, including American citizens. I will work with my colleagues and U.S. allies and partners to consider all appropriate tools to promote accountability for regime officials responsible for human rights violations and abuses, including torture, executions, persecution of religious minorities, and digital repression.

Question. Please describe the degree to which you believe that Iranian human rights concerns should be highlighted vs. considerations related to nuclear negotiations or securing nuclear-related concessions.

Answer. President Biden has been clear that Iran must never obtain a nuclear weapon. Iran's development and proliferation of ballistic missiles pose a threat to international security and remain a significant nonproliferation challenge. The

President has also emphasized that human rights must be at the center of our foreign policy. If confirmed, I will call out Iran's human rights violations and abuses, which I did forcefully in my prior role as Acting Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor. If confirmed, I intend to work with colleagues and U.S. allies and partners to consider all appropriate tools to promote accountability for Iranian regime officials responsible for pervasive human rights violations and abuses.

Question. Do you believe that imposing new human rights sanctions against Iran, or enforcing existing ones, would violate the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) or a successor agreement?

Answer. The Iranian Government denies Iranians the ability to exercise their human rights, including through severe restrictions on the rights to peaceful assembly, freedom of association, freedom of religion or belief, and freedom of expression. I support continuing to maintain and impose sanctions on Iranian individuals and entities perpetrating human rights violations and abuses. Human rights sanctions are independent of JCPOA provisions and remain an invaluable, bipartisan tool to achieve the Biden-Harris administration's commitment to center human rights and democratic values in U.S. foreign policy.

Question. In July 1989, you were hired as director of the American Educational Trust's speakers' bureau, according to the Washington Report on Middle East Affairs, which is published by the organization. The organization and outlet routinely suggest that American Jews who advocate for a strong U.S.-Israel relationship invite hostility and even violence because of their advocacy, that political expenditures and activities by Americans and especially American Jews are unseemly, and that such activities raise questions about their loyalty to the United States. The Washington Report has also lists of members of Congress who receive donations from Americans who politically advocate for a strong U.S.-Israel relationship.

- Do you agree that these sorts of rhetoric and tropes, including accusations that American Jews who advocate for a strong U.S.-Israel relationship are disloyal to the United States, are inappropriate?

Answer. Yes. I deplore any suggestion that American Jews who advocate for a strong U.S.-Israel relationship are disloyal to the United States. My entry-level employment at the American Educational Trust ended some 31 years ago, I have had no contact with the organization since then, and I categorically reject the organization's positions with respect to Israel.

Question. Do you agree that these sorts of rhetoric and tropes, including accusations that American Jews who advocate for a strong U.S.-Israel relationship are disloyal to the United States, are anti-Semitic?

Answer. Yes, I agree that accusations of dual loyalty against American Jews supportive of the U.S.-Israel alliance constitute anti-Semitic speech. I fully endorse the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance's (IHRA) working definition of anti-Semitism, under which certain criticisms leveled against Israel, or Jewish persons as a collective, can be considered anti-Semitic. I strongly support the Biden administration's embrace of the IHRA working definition of anti-Semitism and join the Biden administration in categorically condemning all forms of anti-Semitism. If confirmed, I intend to combat anti-Semitism and intolerance in all forms and will work to expand international coalitions towards this objective.

Question. Do you agree that it is inappropriate to suggest that Americans who believe in a strong U.S.-Israel relationship should be excluded from engaging in political activities, including donating to members of Congress?

Answer. Yes. I categorically reject any suggestions that Americans who believe in a strong U.S.-Israel relationship should be excluded from engaging in political activities, including donating to members of Congress. I strongly support the Biden administration's commitment to renewing democracy abroad and at home, and believe the latter is underpinned by the rights of every American to fully exercise their Constitutional rights, including freedom of expression, freedom of association, freedom of religion, freedom to petition one's government, and equal protection under the law.

Question. Do you believe that a strong U.S.-Israel relationship boosts American national security?

Answer. Yes. I strongly support the Biden-Harris administration's unwavering and ironclad commitment to Israel's security and, if confirmed, will work to further strengthen all aspects of U.S.-Israel partnership. The ties between the United States and Israel are rooted in strategic interests and shared democratic values, and

in this vein, I understand the Biden-Harris administration will seek to further strengthen the U.S.-Israel alliance. If confirmed, I will support the administration's goals to work closely with Israel, to include countering anti-Israel bias in the U.N. system, strengthening international coalitions against anti-Semitism, and building on normalization agreements to strengthen cooperation between Israel and its neighbors.

Question. The term “universal human right” is frequently used throughout the international community, and it was a reference you made consistently throughout the hearing. Please provide in your own words a definition of universal human right.

Answer. The Universal Declaration on Human Rights (UDHR) represents a common understanding, which I share, of universal human rights and freedoms around the globe. The UDHR begins by stating that all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. It sets out, for the first time at the international level, rights and freedoms to be universally protected. To me, many of these rights are inspired by those enshrined in the U.S. Constitution and hold U.N. member states to a common standard. The universality of human rights articulated in the UDHR also counters false arguments put forth by China, Russia, and other autocracies of a U.S. or Western agenda being imposed on the rest of the world.

Question. In your view, is the concept of a “human right” fluid or relative?

Answer. As human rights are universal, they are neither fluid nor relative. As an example, the right to freedom of expression has not changed since it was articulated even though our understanding of the application of the right has been challenged as we adapt to new methods of communication. From time to time, our understanding of rights may expand; for example, where once societies held other human beings in bondage, it is now universally recognized that slavery is a violation of one's human rights. This does not make human rights fluid or relative, but reflects the reality that the understanding and application of human rights standards can evolve in a positive direction alongside societal progress.

Question. Do you believe that certain rights are unalienable?

Answer. In its preamble, the Declaration of Independence states, “We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.” I believe that these unalienable rights and those enshrined in the U.S. Constitution apply to all Americans, cannot be denied by government, and that there is no hierarchy of rights. Similarly, in the context of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, I understand and support the concept of “inalienable” rights that cannot be denied or taken away from people, and which governments have a duty to protect and to refrain from violating.

Question. The Biden administration rejoined the United States to the United Nations Human Rights Council, a body that features some of the worst human rights violators in the world including China, Cuba, Somalia, and Venezuela. In your hearing you argued a lack of U.S. presence at the Council would create a “vacuum” for bad actors to direct policy initiatives. What substantive policy areas does the U.N. Human Rights Council hold jurisdiction over or govern?

Answer. The U.N. Human Rights Council (HRC), while not without flaws, provides a venue to raise human rights violations from around the world. It can play an important role in shining a spotlight on the world's worst human rights violators. For example, the HRC is one of the few places in the U.N. where China has been called out for its abuses in Xinjiang and Hong Kong. HRC engagement allows the United States to keep countries with the worst human rights records off the Council and encourage more rights-respecting nations to run for seats. U.S. engagement decreased unfair HRC bias against Israel.

Question. If we accept the “vacuum argument,” is it your view that United States participation in the U.N. Human Rights Council should include the following (please explain your response for each): Advocate for the removal of well-known human rights violators from the Council; Withhold funding for certain activities or initiatives as a tool to produce changes in behavior from malign actors; Use the voice and vote of the United States at the Council to highlight human rights atrocities, including violations of protecting the right to life, by other nations, including nations who sit on the Council.

Answer. I understand the administration is committed to working with partners to ensure the Human Rights Council shines a spotlight on countries with the worst human rights records and serves as a forum for those fighting injustice and tyranny.

U.S. re-engagement should advocate to keep some of the countries with the worst human rights records off the Council and encourage more rights-respecting nations to run for seats. If confirmed, I will work to ensure the United States continues to seek Council reforms, including elimination of anti-Israel Article Agenda Item 7, and promote all appropriate, available, and effective accountability mechanisms for those who commit atrocities, to include forced abortions and sterilization, rape, torture, and mass killings.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO UZRA ZEYA BY SENATOR BILL HAGERTY

Question. What is your understanding of U.S. law with respect to engagement with Hamas? News media reports indicate the Biden administration has committed to “resetting the U.S. relationship with the Palestinian people and leadership,” including robust engagement and provision of aid. On April 7, the State Department announced its intent to “restart U.S. economic, development, humanitarian assistance for the Palestinian people” by providing \$75 million in aid to the West Bank and Gaza.

Answer. Hamas is designated as a Foreign Terrorist Organization (FTO) in accordance with section 219 of the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA) and as a Specially Designated Global Terrorist under Executive Order 13224. I strongly support the Biden-Harris administration commitment to disrupt and deter terrorist organizations worldwide, including Hamas. I understand U.S. engagement in the West Bank and Gaza and with the Palestinians is consistent with U.S. law and involves no engagement with Hamas, a designated FTO.

Question. What are the implications for U.S. engagement and provision of aid if the Palestinian Legislative Council includes, or is led by, members of Hamas? Under the Palestinian Anti-Terrorism Act of 2006, the United States is prohibited from providing assistance to a Palestinian Authority effectively controlled by Hamas.

Answer. I understand U.S. assistance for the Palestinians is provided consistent with U.S. law. I also understand the Department routinely assesses its foreign assistance programming, and would do so following Palestinian elections or any other significant change related to the Palestinian Authority.

Question. If confirmed, can you commit that the Biden administration will not engage with Hamas officials and will not seek to find technical loopholes to engaging with Hamas officials such as considering them as members of the PLO, which they are not?

Answer. Hamas is designated as a Foreign Terrorist Organization (FTO) in accordance with section 219 of the Immigration and Nationality Act and as a Specially Designated Global Terrorist under Executive Order 13224. I understand U.S. engagement in the West Bank and Gaza and with the Palestinians is consistent with U.S. law and involves no engagement with Hamas, a designated FTO. If confirmed, I will comply with U.S. law and seek to ensure that “J family” bureaus and offices do the same.
