

NOMINATIONS

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 14, 2021 (a.m.)

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

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:04 a.m., in Room SD-106, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Robert Menendez, chairman of the committee, presiding.

Present: Senators Menendez [presiding], Cardin, Shaheen, Coons, Murphy, Kaine, Booker, Van Hollen, Risch, Rubio, Johnson, Romney, and Rounds.

Also Present: Senators Toomey, Casey, and Padilla.

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

The CHAIRMAN. This hearing of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee will come to order.

We are here today to consider nominations for three important positions: Mayor Eric Garcetti to be the Ambassador to India, Ambassador Donald Blome to be the Ambassador to Pakistan, and Dr. Amy Gutmann to be the Ambassador to Germany.

Congratulations to the three of you. We appreciate your willingness as well as that of your family to serve the country in this capacity.

We have some of our colleagues here today and we want to recognize them first. I understand that Senators Toomey and Casey will be introducing Dr. Gutmann and Senator Padilla will be introducing Mayor Garcetti.

Let us start with Senator Toomey.

STATEMENT OF HON. PATRICK J. TOOMEY, U.S. SENATOR FROM PENNSYLVANIA

Senator TOOMEY. Thank you very much, Chairman Menendez, Ranking Member Risch, and members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Thank you for allowing me to briefly introduce Dr. Amy Gutmann and express my strong support for her nomination to be our next U.S. Ambassador to Germany.

Dr. Gutmann, thank you for your willingness to serve in such an important leadership role.

As members of this committee likely know, Dr. Gutmann currently serves as the president of the University of Pennsylvania, and before I highlight just a few of her many accomplishments there, I want to acknowledge a different aspect of Penn's history, which I think is relevant to this hearing.

Penn's founder, Benjamin Franklin, was one of the U.S.' most accomplished diplomats. He skillfully navigated the complicated dynamics of 18th century European politics to promote American ideals and protect our nascent democracy abroad.

Of course, much has changed since then. But some of the diplomatic challenges that Franklin faced remain the same today, including faithfully and ardently defending U.S. interest, even in times of disagreements with our allies while maintaining close relationships.

We face this challenge today in our relationship with one of our most important European allies, Germany. We rely on Germany as a major security and trade partner, especially given its role in the European Union, and amidst increasing global threats to the U.S. and Europe, strong U.S. representation to Germany is critical.

I am confident that Dr. Gutmann will rise to meet these and other challenges facing the U.S. and our European allies.

Dr. Gutmann earned Bachelors and doctorate degrees from Harvard University, a Master's degree from London School of Economics. She subsequently spent over 20 years at Princeton University in a myriad of roles, most recently as university provost.

In 2004, Dr. Gutmann became the eighth president of Penn, a position she still holds today, and during her tenure she dramatically grew Penn's endowment, expanded Penn's commitment to science, technology, and medical innovation, and enhanced the university's engagement in the Philadelphia community, among other things.

Dr. Gutmann is a widely respected expert in subjects ranging from ethics to health care to political philosophy, and she has received countless awards and honors, including being named to Fortune World's 50 Greatest Leaders list in 2018.

Her impact at Penn has been recognized, including by the many Penn students who regard her as a committed and passionate leader. These accomplishments, coupled with her commitment to global leadership and experience in academia in the highest levels, have prepared Dr. Gutmann well for the role of Ambassador.

As I conclude, I also want to note the significance of Dr. Gutmann's nomination in the context of her family's history. Her father fled religious persecution in Nazi Germany in the 1930s, and her family's return to Germany in the form of U.S. Ambassador Amy Gutmann will be an extraordinary moment.

I am confident Dr. Gutmann will approach this next mission with the same ingenuity, tenacity, and dedication as she did over the nearly 20 years she has spent at Penn and I look forward to supporting Dr. Gutmann's nomination and I urge my colleagues to do the same.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.
Senator Casey?

**STATEMENT OF HON. ROBERT P. CASEY, JR.,
U.S. SENATOR FROM PENNSYLVANIA**

Senator CASEY. Mr. Chairman, thanks very much for this opportunity.

I want to start by thanking you and the committee for this opportunity to talk about Dr. Gutmann. But if I refer to her as Amy throughout some of my remarks, that is because I have known her for the better part of 15 years, know her character, know her commitment, not only to academic excellence and the excellence personified by those who are graduates of Penn but also for the commitment she has made to the city of Philadelphia and our commonwealth, and now on an even bigger stage her commitment to our country by putting herself forward for this kind of public service.

I wanted to start by talking about her tenure at Penn. Since 2004, Amy has served as the longest tenured president of the university. During her 18 years of commitment to the university, the city of Philadelphia, our Commonwealth—and our commonwealth, President Gutmann transformed the university into a more inclusive, a more innovative, and more impactful academic institution.

In 2006, she led the largest fundraising effort in Penn history to support financial aid for students in need. Other initiatives, like the President's Innovation prize and Engagement prize have offered students opportunities to turn their startup and service ideas into reality. She has also focused on the development of the community around the university through programs like Penn Compact 2022 and the Netter Center for Community Partnerships.

As the leader of Philadelphia's largest private employer, Dr. Gutmann has one of the Commonwealth's most powerful economic engines with an estimated total economic impact of \$21.5 billion dollars annually in the region. While leading the university, she has continued to publish cutting-edge scholarship on the intersection of political science, ethics, education, and philosophy.

In 2019, she published her seventeenth book, and she remains one of the top political theorists in the United States.

Outside of her roles at the university, Amy has long supported Philadelphia in the country through a variety of interdisciplinary roles, including as a board member at Vanguard and chair of the Presidential Commission for the Study of Bioethical Issues.

Her many years of leadership at Penn, applied expertise in political science, and commitment to the community prepare her well to be United States Ambassador to Germany and represent U.S. interests with one of our most important allies.

I do not think I have to explain to the members of the committee the importance of this bilateral relationship, especially now. She is prepared to do this job, and I can testify to her character, her commitment to public service, and her willingness at an important time in our nation's history to serve as U.S. Ambassador to Germany.

I want to thank the committee. I want to thank Dr. Gutmann and her family for this commitment to the country.

Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator Casey.

Timing is everything in life, and Senator Padilla has now made it on time to introduce Mayor Garcetti.

**STATEMENT OF HON. ALEX PADILLA,
U.S. SENATOR FROM CALIFORNIA**

Senator PADILLA. Thank you, Chairman Menendez and Ranking Member Risch. It is my pleasure to be here to introduce Mayor Eric Garcetti from my home city of Los Angeles and the great state of California as President Biden's nominee for Ambassador to India.

Mayor Garcetti's credentials are impressive. He is a graduate of Columbia University, a Rhodes Scholar, and a 12-year veteran of the United States Navy Reserve. Mayor Garcetti was first elected to the Los Angeles City Council in 2001 where we served together for five years.

In 2006, Mayor Garcetti succeeded me as president of the City Council as I launched my campaign for California State Senate, and in 2013 he was elected to serve as mayor of the city of Los Angeles, the second largest city in America.

In his time as mayor, he has led the city through a number of challenges while leveraging the position to exert influence over regional, national, and international organizations.

He served as chair of L.A. Metro, one of the largest public transit agencies in the country. He is the founder of Climate Mayors, a national bipartisan group of more than 400 mayors adopting the Paris Climate Agreement.

He championed Los Angeles' successful bid to host the 2028 Summer Olympics. Mayor Garcetti also chairs C40 Cities, an international network of the world's largest cities taking action on the climate crisis and he led the organization's expansion in India.

In the past year and a half, he has used that network to spur international collaboration in the face of the COVID-19 pandemic and share resources and best practices around the world. His commitment to public service and leadership on issues from climate to human rights will be instrumental to his new role as ambassador to India.

India is a critical partner on the frontlines of many of the world's biggest challenges from COVID to climate change to national security. Our close cooperation will help support global security, fight the climate crisis, and further economic growth.

Mr. Chairman, I urge the committee to support Mayor Garcetti's nomination and I thank you for this opportunity.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator Padilla, and we know you have other important duties, so when you need to please feel free to excuse yourself.

Let me turn to a few brief remarks on these three nominees.

Mayor Garcetti, we welcome your nomination to this post at a critical time in the U.S.-India relationship. With more than 1.3 billion people and the sixth largest economy in the world, India is a vital strategic partner for the United States.

As a member of the Quad alongside the United States, Japan, and Australia, India is playing a greater role in helping maintain a free and open Indo-Pacific.

In September, the Biden administration hosted the first ever in-person Quad Summit here in Washington. When it comes to the bilateral relationship, there is much to discuss. In particular, the shared threat of climate change and India's growing need for electricity presents an opportunity for deeper cooperation. That is why

I introduced the Prioritizing Clean Energy and Climate Cooperation with India Act that would help advance India's climate goals.

In addition, dealing with the coronavirus must also remain a core element of our bilateral engagement. As you know, India was on the frontlines of the pandemic earlier this year when it faced a devastating surge in new cases.

As we deepen our partnership with New Delhi, there will inevitably be areas of friction, including concerns related to India's purchase of Russian military hardware and reports of democratic backsliding and discrimination against religious minorities.

I expect you to be frank with your Indian counterparts, not just on the areas of cooperation but also on these differences, all of which are bipartisan priorities for this committee.

New Delhi will need to address our concerns if it seeks to deepen our partnership even further. Having you in place in India, Mayor Garcetti, will be critical to advance U.S. interests on these issues and many others.

Ambassador Blome, we welcome your nomination at this particularly challenging moment in the U.S.-Pakistan bilateral relationship. As I told this committee last month, the failure of our mission in Afghanistan was due in no small part to years of Pakistani double dealing.

Islamabad offered safe haven to the Taliban even as its militants targeted and killed U.S. troops. We need to have a serious conversation with the Pakistani Government on the path forward, and I am confident that you will deliver a tough message to them, if confirmed.

Beyond Afghanistan, I remain deeply concerned about the growing strength of extremist groups within Pakistan itself. The Government has created an increasingly permissive environment for extremist groups to operate. Pakistan has also become an increasingly dangerous place for religious minorities and I am eager to hear your views on how to strengthen religious freedom in Pakistan.

However, there are other many important equities in the bilateral relationship, such as curbing nuclear proliferation, managing tensions with India, responding to COVID-19. Your experience in Kabul and other hardship posts will be an asset and I look forward to hearing how you will address these challenges in Islamabad.

Dr. Gutmann, welcome and congratulations on your nomination. Your years of experience as the president of a leading university, your academic experience, and your powerful family history will no doubt serve us well.

The importance of having a Senate-confirmed U.S. ambassador in Berlin cannot be overstated. This is a critical time for the transatlantic relationship and, particularly, for the United States and Germany.

With the new German Government we have an opportunity to build on and renew decades of friendship and cooperation. It is no secret that U.S.-German relations suffered under the last administration. I am confident that upon your confirmation you will help return the relationship to one of respect and to a close strategic partnership.

Germany is also a critical ally in our efforts to deter Russian aggression in Europe and prevent a renewed invasion of Ukraine. As Putin continues to try to bully his way through Europe, we need strong U.S. representation and close coordination with allies to stand up for our partners and reject illegitimate efforts to redraw the map of Europe.

The urgency of these challenges underscores why we need our Embassy in Berlin to have a confirmed ambassador in place immediately, and I hope my colleagues will join me in supporting your nomination and moving it swiftly forward.

Let me turn to the ranking member for his opening.

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

Senator RISCH. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, and thank you to all of you for a willingness to serve and for your families who will share in the sacrifices you will make.

I want to turn first to the nomination of Ambassador to Germany. We are entering a new chapter in our relationship with Germany. After 16 years, Angela Merkel is no longer—no longer leads the country and we must build a new relationship with Germany’s first three-party coalition.

This transition comes at a critical point for the European continent. Most worrisome is the prospect of a Russian invasion of Ukraine. Despite Russia’s huge troop presence on Ukraine’s borders, Germany and this administration seem dead set on handing Putin another point of leverage and that is Nord Stream 2. It is no secret I and many other members are firmly opposed to this pipeline, and I will continue efforts to see it and Putin’s influence in NATO are stopped.

A full-fledged effort across the transatlantic alliance is required to deter Russia. Cooperation with Germany on this front must be a priority.

The United States and Europe must also take on the challenge of the Chinese Communist Party together. If confirmed, cooperating with German counterparts to counter Chinese influence will need to be among our top priorities. Chinese influence is a problem all over the world, and as we are going to see here in a minute, it is a real problem right here in the United States.

It is important this committee understands how, Dr. Gutmann, you will handle these issues, given the history of the close and extensive ties between China and the University of Pennsylvania, the institution you ran and directed during your tenure there and still do.

The U.S. Department of Education Data shows that U Penn has received, roughly, \$86 million—let me say that again, \$86 million—in donations and contracts from sources in China since 2014. It is safe to assume the actual amount is much higher, given that universities are only required to report gifts and contracts over \$250,000.

And, Dr. Gutmann, I want to underscore here that this is not unique to U Penn. This is an issue throughout our higher education system, and we have been drafting and discussing and attempting to pass legislation to address this.

We do not allow cash to flow to our politicians to influence them when they execute their duties of office. It just astounds me that, nonetheless, we look the other way as this cash flows into our higher education system.

You told the committee, our staff, you were not aware of most foreign donations and contracts coming into U Penn and do not have a role in any process related to reporting of foreign donations in contracts to the Department of Education.

I want to explore this during the question and answer period. But I think the American public deserves an explanation not only as to the University of Pennsylvania, but we are going to talk about it in the broader context of all higher education.

We need to understand how and why as president you were not aware of the kinds of donations and contracts coming from authoritarian countries like China.

I understand a university is a large operation. However, as captain of the ship, you are in charge of it. I believe that is the attitude that chiefs of mission need to have as well. Today is your opportunity to clear the air on this and we will give you that opportunity.

I have in front of me the large or just a portion of the large number of these contributions that were made to U Penn and we are going to talk about those when we get to the question and answer period.

On the nomination of Ambassador to India, India is a critical U.S. partner in the Indo-Pacific. U.S.-India defense cooperation today is more robust than it has ever been and the fruits of that were evident in U.S. support during India's border crisis with China last year.

India plays a crucial role in the Indian Ocean region and our strategic competition with China. But we cannot ignore the reality of concerns over India's defense relationship with Russia.

We need to ensure our relationship is healthy and strong for the long term so we work together to advance a free and open Indo-Pacific.

We must also work closely with India on counterterrorism. Our withdrawal from Afghanistan led to big shifts in India's security environment. It is a good thing that we have the nominees for both India and Pakistan on this panel so we can address these issues together and thoroughly.

This is also an opportunity for more economic cooperation with India, especially in technology, health, and energy. We do still have economic irritants to address like lack of intellectual property protections and high tariffs.

India's tariffs remain a key challenge for Idaho agricultural companies. The United States also needs to continue to advocate on human rights issues in India. I look forward to hearing your thoughts on these important issues.

On the nomination of ambassador to Pakistan, for more than 20 years the U.S.-Pakistan relationship has been viewed through the lens of the war in Afghanistan. Pakistan has and should continue to play a key role in mitigating the fallout from this administration's catastrophic withdrawal from Afghanistan.

Whether it is humanitarian assistance, human rights, or counterterrorism, it is clear the end of U.S. military involvement in Afghanistan does not signal the end of American interests there.

However, we are also presented with a rare opportunity to reframe a U.S.-Pakistan relationship not solely focused on Afghanistan. For example, as we adopt our relationships with India around competition with China, we must do so with an eye on the balance of power with all players in South and Central Asia.

I look forward to hearing your thoughts on the nature of U.S.-Pakistan relationship, moving forward.

With that, I will yield back. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator Risch.

All right. We will turn to our nominees now. We would ask you to summarize your statement in about five minutes. Your full statement will be included for the record.

And we will start with Ambassador Blome and work our way down the dais.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. DONALD ARMIN BLOME OF ILLINOIS, A CAREER MEMBER OF THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE, CLASS OF MINISTER-COUNSELOR, NOMINATED TO BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF PAKISTAN

Ambassador BLOME. Chairman Menendez, Ranking Member Risch, honorable members of this committee, thank you for considering my nomination to serve as ambassador to the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. I am grateful to this committee for previously confirming me as Ambassador to the Republic of Tunisia.

I would like to start by thanking my family: my wife, Debra, who is here with me today, and my three children, Sarah, Nicholas, and Carl, who could not be here.

Over more than 28 years in the Foreign Service they have served with me and during frequent moves, emergency evacuations, and long periods of separation, and they have also shared with me the honor of serving our country abroad, an honor for which I have always been deeply grateful.

Events in Afghanistan weigh heavily on me, having previously served there as Embassy Kabul's top political officer in 2012 and '13. I worked alongside colleagues in and out of uniform, some of whom gave their lives in the service of our country, some of whom were gravely injured, and many who still bear the invisible wounds of war.

I also engaged with courageous Afghans who put themselves at great risk to build the Afghan state's institutions and stability.

If confirmed, I will prioritize the safe relocation from Afghanistan of any U.S. citizens, lawful permanent residents, Special Immigrant Visa holders, and other Afghans to whom we have a special responsibility, along with their family members.

Mission Pakistan also plays an important role in encouraging an inclusive Afghan Government that respects and promotes the human rights of all individuals, including women and girls, members of minority groups, and ensuring that Afghanistan never again becomes a safe haven for international terrorism.

If confirmed, I will press Pakistan to target all terrorist groups without distinction. I will also work with my colleagues to decrease tensions between India and Pakistan. I have been encouraged by the continued ceasefire along the Line of Control.

Strong partnerships with India and Pakistan are not mutually exclusive. We need productive ties with both. Pakistan and India should decide the pace, scope, and character of their bilateral interactions.

I will also promote U.S. commercial interests in Pakistan. I will encourage Pakistan to promote more transparent investments through sustainable financing with a focus on the environmental and social impacts of investment projects.

Pakistan is a partner in the COVID-19 pandemic. In May of 2020, Pakistan donated 100,000 face masks and 25,000 protective suits to the United States to safeguard our health care workers in the early stages of the pandemic.

The United States has, in turn, donated to Pakistan 26.7 million doses of the Pfizer and Moderna vaccines as well as 200 ventilators.

On climate, Pakistan has signed onto the Global Methane Pledge, announced a moratorium on improving new coal-fired power generation, and committed to having renewables provide 60 percent of electricity generation by 2030 and is implementing a 10-billion-tree planting campaign.

If confirmed as Ambassador, I will never shy away from defending human rights in Pakistan, particularly freedom of religion and expression. Religious minorities in Pakistan have long faced discrimination, including accusations of blasphemy.

These accusations have undermined the rule of law, threatened mob rule, and deeply damaged Pakistan's international reputation and have led to many deaths.

If confirmed, I will speak out against violations of human rights and religious freedom. Pakistani journalists and members of civil society face kidnappings, assaults, intimidation, and disappearances. I will advocate for expanded protections for freedom of association and assembly, and will meet with civil society partners regularly.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to close by saying we have an important opportunity to renew and strengthen the bilateral relationship with Pakistan and I want to work with this committee and Congress to do so.

Thank you for considering my nomination and I look forward to answering any questions you might have.

[The prepared statement of Ambassador Blome follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. DONALD ARMIN BLOME

Chairman Menendez, Ranking Member Risch, and honorable members of this committee; thank you for considering my nomination to serve as Ambassador to the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. I am grateful to this committee for previously confirming me as Ambassador to the Republic of Tunisia.

I would like to start by thanking my family, my wife Debra who is here with me today and my three children, Sarah, Nicholas, and Carl, who could not be here. Over more than 28 years in the Foreign Service they have served with me, enduring frequent moves, emergency evacuations, and long periods of separation. They have also shared with me the honor of serving our country abroad, an honor for which I have always been deeply grateful.

The United States' relationship with Pakistan remains extraordinarily consequential for our core interests. Pakistan is pursuing expanded economic linkages with the United States as part of what it calls "geo-economics." We have a shared interest in promoting the role of U.S. business and commercial interests in Pakistan's economy. If confirmed, I will work with Pakistan to resolve market access issues, including concerns with Pakistan's digital economy regulations, intellectual property protections, and contract enforcement. I will encourage Pakistan to promote more transparent investments through sustainable financing, with a focus on the environmental and social impacts of investment projects.

Events in Afghanistan weigh heavily on me, having previously served there as Embassy Kabul's top political officer in 2012 and 2013. I worked alongside colleagues in and out of uniform, some of whom gave their lives in service of our country, some of whom were gravely injured, and many who still bear the invisible wounds of war. I also engaged with courageous Afghans who put themselves at great risk to build the Afghan state's institutions and stability. If confirmed, I will prioritize the safe relocation from Afghanistan of any U.S. citizens, lawful permanent residents, special immigrant visa applicants, and other Afghans to whom we have a special responsibility, along with their family members. Mission Pakistan also plays an important role on encouraging an inclusive Afghan Government that respects and promotes the human rights of all individuals, including women and girls and members of minority groups, and ensuring that Afghanistan never again becomes a safehaven for international terrorism.

On the critical issue of counterterrorism, if confirmed, I will press Pakistan to target all terrorist groups without distinction. The United States and Pakistan are committed to combatting Al-Qa'ida, ISIS-Khorasan, and Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan. If confirmed, I also will engage Pakistan on fighting all other groups—including Lashkar-e-Taiba and Jaish-e-Mohammed.

The region can ill afford another conflict, especially between nuclear-armed states. If confirmed, I will work with my colleagues to decrease tensions between India and Pakistan. I have been encouraged by the continued ceasefire along the Line of Control. Strong U.S. bilateral partnerships with India and Pakistan are not mutually exclusive; we need productive ties with both states. Pakistan and India should decide the pace, scope, and character of their bilateral interactions.

Pakistan is a partner in the COVID-19 pandemic and the climate crisis. In May of 2020, Pakistan donated 100,000 facemasks and 25,000 protective suits to the United States to safeguard our healthcare workers in the early stages of the pandemic. The United States has in turn donated to Pakistan 27.6 million doses of the Pfizer and Moderna vaccines, as well as 200 ventilators, and 1,200 pulse oximeters. On climate, Pakistan has signed onto the Global Methane Pledge, announced a moratorium on approving new coal-fired power generation, committed to having renewables provide 60 percent of electricity generation by 2030, and is implementing a 10 billion tree planting campaign.

If confirmed as Ambassador, I will never shy away from defending human rights in Pakistan, particularly freedom of religion and expression. Religious minorities in Pakistan have long faced societal and legal discrimination, as well as accusations of blasphemy. These accusations have undermined the rule of law, threatened mob rule, deeply damaged Pakistan's international reputation, and led to murderous violence and many deaths. If confirmed, I will speak out against these abuses and violations of human rights and religious freedom. I will urge the Pakistani Government to cease harassment of journalists and members of civil society, who have faced kidnappings, assaults, intimidation, and disappearances, and hold perpetrators of these actions accountable. I will advocate for expanded protections for freedom of association and assembly and will meet with civil society partners regularly.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to close by saying that we have an important opportunity to renew and strengthen the bilateral relationship with Pakistan, and I want to work with this committee and Congress to do so. Thank you for considering my nomination and I look forward to answering any questions you might have.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.
Mayor Garcetti?

**STATEMENT OF THE HON. ERIC M. GARCETTI OF CALIFORNIA,
NOMINATED TO BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND
PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO
THE REPUBLIC OF INDIA**

Mr. GARCETTI. Thank you very much, Chairman Menendez, Ranking Member Risch, to all members of this committee. I am honored to appear before you today as President Biden's nominee to be Ambassador from the United States to the Republic of India, and let me start by thanking the President and Secretary Blinken for their trust and for this amazing opportunity to serve our nation.

Few nations are more vital to the future of American security and prosperity than India. If confirmed, I look forward to building on the work of my predecessors to elevate our partnership to new heights.

My parents, Gil and Sukey Garcetti, are here today, the children and grandchildren of immigrants from Mexico and Russia, two public servants who first brought me to India as a teenager and who taught me how deeply we are connected to everyone in this world.

Two people not with me today in person are always the best part of my day, my wife, Amy Elaine Wakeland, and our incredible and beautiful daughter, Maya. Amy has devoted her entire life to advocating for women and children, and Maya just turned 10 years old yesterday and is watching this hearing with her mother as she gets ready for school, and I just want to say good luck with your science test today, honey. I love you.

In 1990, I visited India as the guest of Ambassador Bill Clark, who served under President H. W. Bush and who was—whose son was my college roommate. Inspired by this trip, I started studying Hindi and Urdu in college, Indian and cultural religious history, and at that time, U.S.-India ties languished in the shadow of Cold War mistrust.

Annual trade stood at a paltry \$2 billion. Defense trade was zero and military interoperability was nonexistent. The very idea of a U.S.-India strategic partnership would have been deemed laughable.

Today, the fundamental nature of that strategic partnership is firmly ingrained here in Washington and in New Delhi. Twenty years ago, President Biden, when he was chair of this esteemed committee, called for a new and ambitious U.S.-India partnership, and thanks to successive administrations, Democratic and Republican, and the bipartisan work of this committee and Congress, that strong new chapter is upon us.

In September, President Biden hosted Prime Minister Modi and their Australian and Japanese counterparts for the first ever in-person Quad Leaders Summit here in Washington to reinforce cooperation among common challenges from COVID to climate. Most notably, an Indian vaccine manufacturer with support from Quad members will produce 1 billion additional vaccine doses for the world.

If confirmed, I will endeavor to advance our ambitious bilateral partnership united by a shared vision of a free and open and inclusive Indo-Pacific region. Even with a pandemic, our bilateral trade this year is expected to break a record and, if confirmed, I intend to champion an ambitious economic partnership with India to re-

duce market barriers, to bolster free trade, and to generate good middle class American jobs.

We all know India is situated in a tough neighborhood. If confirmed, I will extend efforts to strengthen India's capacity to secure its border, to defend its sovereignty, to counter terrorism, and to deter aggression.

We will do that through information sharing, counterterrorism coordination, joint freedom of navigation patrols, and military exercises which I have witnessed personally with my brave Indian counterparts, as well as sales of our best defense technologies in order to fully realize the potential of our major defense partnership.

As an aside, I want to express my condolences to the Indian people and armed forces for the loss of Chief of Defense Staff General Bipin Rawat last week, who was a hero to his nation and a good friend to ours.

If confirmed, I will work to advance partnerships in space, science, and flight as well as other critical and emerging technologies. Senator Padilla mentioned I have chaired C40, which is a global network of mayors from the largest cities of the world to confront global climate change and to share the experience of L.A., which is on track to be fully renewable power by 2035 and, if confirmed, I will work closely with India on a similarly bold approach to promoting green energy through the International Solar Alliance and through the Agenda 2030 Climate and Clean Energy Partnership.

For my friends in India, the bedrock of our relationship are the warm and deep ties between our peoples. They connect our nations and it is embodied best, perhaps, by the 4 million strong Indian-American diaspora, I know, in each of your states strengthens our nation, that serves at the highest level including our vice president, and the nearly 200,000 Indian students and tens of thousands of Indian professionals contribute every single day to the strength of this country.

And, in addition, respect for human rights and strong democratic institutions are key elements of our relationship and values that are enshrined in both of our constitutions and, if confirmed, I will engage regularly and respectfully with the Indian Government on these issues.

Lastly, I acknowledge the weight and honor of responsibility of chief of mission for the welfare of hundreds of U.S. and thousands of locally-employed staff at Embassy Delhi and our four consulates in India, in addition to the 950,000 U.S. citizens who reside in India, and I want to assure this committee there will be no higher priority than their safety and security.

Chairman Menendez, Ranking Member Risch, thank you for the opportunity to share this testimony, and finally, let me say I recognize, I respect, and I relish the role of Congress in advancing our leadership and I cannot wait to regularly engage with you, with your staffs, and with the staff and members of this committee.

If confirmed, I look forward to serving in India as it celebrates 75 years of independence and to shepherding an incredible next chapter in the U.S.-India partnership.

I look forward to your questions.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Garcetti follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF ERIC M. GARCETTI

Chairman Menendez, Ranking Member Risch, and members of the committee, I am honored to appear before you today as President Biden's nominee to be the Ambassador of the United States to the Republic of India. I would like to thank President Biden for his trust and for this amazing opportunity to serve our country.

Few nations are more vital to the future of American security and prosperity than India. If confirmed, I look forward to building on the work of my predecessors to elevate our partnership to new heights.

I have committed my life to service—as a teacher, a naval officer, and a public servant.

All of my work reflects values my parents instilled in me at a young age: to be a proud American with a heart for service who is always engaged with the world. My parents, Gil and Sukey Garcetti, are here today; they first brought me to India as a teenager and taught me how deeply we are connected to people everywhere on this planet—no matter where they live, what language they speak, how much money they have, or how they worship God.

Two people not with me in person today are always the best part of my day: my wife Amy Elaine Wakeland, a woman from Indiana whom I met when we were studying together as Rhodes Scholars who never stops fighting for women and children, and Maya, our beautiful and incredible daughter, who just turned 10 years old yesterday. Maya is watching this hearing with her mother as she gets ready for school. Good luck with your science test, sweetie—Daddy loves you and is so proud of you!

In 1992, the year I graduated from college after studying Hindi and Indian cultural and religious history, U.S.-India ties languished in the shadow of Cold War era mistrust. Annual trade stood at a paltry \$2 billion, defense trade was zero, and military interoperability was non-existent. The very idea of a U.S.-India strategic partnership would have been deemed laughable.

Today, the fundamental nature of that strategic partnership is firmly ingrained in both Washington and New Delhi. 20 years ago President Biden—then chairman of this esteemed committee—called for a new and ambitious vision of U.S.-India ties. Thanks to successive administrations—Democratic and Republican—and the bipartisan work of this Congress, that strong new chapter is upon us.

Despite the challenges of the COVID-19 pandemic, bilateral trade is expected to reach new heights and if confirmed, I intend to champion an ambitious economic partnership with India that reduces market access barriers and bolsters fair trade and creates good jobs for the American middle class.

India is situated in a tough neighborhood. If confirmed, I intend to double-down on our efforts to strengthen India's capacity to secure its borders, defend its sovereignty, and deter aggression—through information sharing, counterterrorism coordination, joint freedom of navigation patrols and military exercises (which I have participated in as a naval officer alongside my Indian counterparts), and sales of our best defense technologies in order to realize the full potential of our Major Defense Partnership.

As Mayor, I have chaired C40—a global network of mayors from the world's largest cities—to confront global climate change and to share the experience of Los Angeles, which is on track to be powered by 100 percent renewable energy by 2035. If confirmed, I will work closely with India to support a similarly bold approach to promoting green energy through the International Solar Alliance and through the Agenda 2030 Climate and Clean Energy Partnership.

The bedrock of our partnership are the human ties that connect our nations, embodied by the four million strong Indian-American diaspora that strengthens our nation and the nearly two hundred thousand Indian students and tens of thousands of Indian professionals who contribute to our economy.

In addition, respect for human rights and strong democratic institutions are key elements of our strategic partnership and values enshrined in our constitutions, and if confirmed, I will engage closely and regularly with the Indian Government on these issues.

I acknowledge the weight and honor of responsibility as Chief of Mission for the welfare of hundreds of U.S. and thousands of locally employed staff in Embassy New Delhi and our four Consulates in India, in addition to the approximately 950,000 U.S. citizens residing in India. If confirmed, there will be no higher priority for me than the security of our Mission team and of U.S. citizens in India.

Chairman Menendez and Ranking Member Risch, thank you for the opportunity to share this testimony. I recognize, respect and relish the role of Congress in advancing our relationship with India and I can't wait to regularly engage with both of you and with all members and their staffs on all matters of mutual concern. If confirmed, I look forward to serving in India as it celebrates 75 years of independence and to shepherding an incredible next chapter in the U.S.-India partnership.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.
Dr. Gutmann?

STATEMENT OF DR. AMY GUTMANN OF PENNSYLVANIA, NOMINATED TO BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

Dr. GUTMANN. Chairman Menendez, Ranking Member Risch, and members of the committee, thank you for the opportunity to appear before you today. I also thank the senators from my home state of Pennsylvania, Senator Casey and Senator Toomey, for their support and friendship.

I would like to introduce my husband of 45 years, Michael W. Doyle, to the committee. His love and his wry wit provide constant sustenance, as do our daughter, Abigail, and son-in-law, Jakub, who regret that they could not be here today.

I am deeply grateful to President Biden and Secretary Blinken for placing their confidence in the daughter of a Jewish-German refugee and a first-generation college graduate to represent our nation to one of our closest and most important European allies.

It would be my honor and duty, if confirmed, to work closely with this committee and Congress as the United States Ambassador to Germany.

My father's journey to the United States made the most profound impression on me. After fleeing Hitler's Germany and saving the lives of his parents and siblings, Kurt Gutmann found a home in the United States.

He instilled in me what it means to lead as an American. Never forget and always stand up against anti-Semitism, racism, and all forms of bigotry and discrimination. Work to advance freedom and democracy, prosperity and the rule of law, national security, and respect for the dignity of all.

"Democracy does not happen by accident," as President Biden has observed. "We have to defend it, fight for it, strengthen it, renew it."

My professional life and scholarship has been devoted to advancing freedom and democracy. As president of the University of Pennsylvania, the largest private employer in Philadelphia and the second largest in Pennsylvania, I expanded educational opportunities while championing civil dialogue and global diplomacy. Innovation and economic growth have soared, generating thousands of jobs while revolutionizing life-saving patient care.

Most recently, Penn research enabled companies in the United States and Germany to produce vaccines that are saving millions of lives in record time.

If confirmed, I will work to further strengthen our bilateral and multilateral relationships with Germany. I highlight just three key priorities here.

First, I will work closely with Congress and many agencies represented by Mission Germany to maximize the benefits of our bilateral relationship. This includes increasing trade and investment, combating climate change, strengthening global health, resisting weaponized energy flows, and countering corruption, terrorism, and malign influence.

Second, I will engage in robust and inclusive public diplomacy to strengthen the foundations of our bilateral relationship. I will engage younger generations of Germans to discuss the United States' role in helping to rebuild a prosperous, unified, and democratic Germany, a story that is an example to the world.

Third, I will advocate to strengthen our transatlantic alliances and European partnerships, central among them NATO and the EU. Partnership with Germany is essential to deterring Russian plans to take further and more significant aggressive moves against Ukraine and to addressing the challenges to our shared security, prosperity, and values posed by the PRC.

An essential foundation for advancing our national interests will be avidly supporting the health, safety, security, and morale of Mission Germany. Our dedicated, hardworking, and unsurpassed public servants and uniformed personnel deserve no less.

Chairman Menendez, Ranking Member Risch, and members of the committee, I am greatly honored to have been nominated to serve as the United States Ambassador to Germany.

If confirmed, I would be excited to begin work during this key juncture in our relations as a new German Government is stepping onto the global stage. I pledge that I will serve the American people with honor and dignity, and I will work to foster an even stronger alliance between the United States and Germany based on our common interests and shared values.

Thank you so much for your consideration. I welcome your questions.

[The prepared statement of Dr. Gutmann follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF DR. AMY GUTMANN

Chairman Menendez, Ranking Member Risch, and members of the committee, thank you for the opportunity to appear before you today. I also want to thank the Senators from my home state of Pennsylvania, Senator Casey and Senator Toomey, for their support and friendship.

I would like to introduce my husband of 45 years, Michael W. Doyle, to the committee. His love and wry wit provide constant sustenance, as do our daughter Abigail and son-in-law Jakub, who regret that they could not be here today.

I am deeply grateful to President Biden and Secretary Blinken for placing their confidence in the daughter of a Jewish German refugee—and a first-generation college graduate—to represent our nation to one of our closest and most important European Allies. More than an honor, it would be my privilege and duty, if confirmed, to work closely with this committee and Congress as the United States Ambassador to Germany.

My father's journey to the United States made the most profound impression on me. After fleeing Hitler's Germany and saving the lives of his parents and siblings, Kurt Gutmann found a home in the United States. He instilled in me what it means to lead as an American. Never forget and always stand up against anti-Semitism, racism, and all forms of hatred, bigotry, and discrimination. Work to advance freedom and democracy, prosperity and the rule of law, national security and respect for the dignity of all. "Democracy doesn't happen by accident," as President Biden has observed. "We have to defend it, fight for it, strengthen it, renew it."

These shared values and interests have formed the foundation of the cooperation between the United States and a democratic Germany for decades.

My professional life has been devoted to advancing freedom and democracy. As President of the University of Pennsylvania, the largest private employer in Philadelphia and the second largest in Pennsylvania, I expanded educational opportunities while championing free speech, civil dialogue, and global diplomacy. Innovation and economic growth have soared, generating thousands of jobs while revolutionizing life-saving patient care. Most recently, Penn research enabled companies in the United States and Germany to produce vaccines based on modified mRNA that are saving millions of lives in record time. My scholarship also has centered on advancing values and interests key to America's global leadership.

If confirmed, I will work to further strengthen our bilateral and multilateral partnerships with Germany. I highlight just three key priorities here.

First, I will work closely with Congress and the many agencies represented by Mission Germany to maximize the benefits of our bilateral relationship. This includes increasing trade and investment, combating climate change, strengthening global health, resisting weaponized energy flows, and countering corruption, terrorism, and malign influence.

Second, I will engage in robust and inclusive public diplomacy to strengthen the foundations of our bilateral relationship. I will engage younger generations of Germans, many with refugee parents like me, to discuss the United States' role in helping to rebuild a prosperous, united, and democratic Germany. That story, rebuilding Germany after the Holocaust to be a champion for democratic principles and human rights, is an example to the world.

Third, I will advocate to strengthen our Transatlantic alliances and European partnerships, central among them NATO and the EU. The stronger and more capable our multilateral partnerships, the more effective we will be in realizing the boundless opportunities in a free and open rule-based order. Partnership with Germany is essential to deterring Russian plans to take further and more significant aggressive moves against Ukraine, and to addressing the challenges to our shared security, prosperity and values posed by the PRC.

An essential foundation for advancing our national interests will be supporting the safety, security, and morale of Mission Germany. This includes the 473 U.S. direct hires, 1,033 family members, and 703 local staff representing nine Cabinet-level and five other independent federal agencies at the Embassy and five consulates, as well as our military service members and all American citizens living in Germany. Whether addressing unexplained health incidents or the physical security of our mission, the health and safety of my team will be my top priority. Our dedicated, hard-working, and unsurpassed public servants and uniformed personnel deserve no less.

Chairman Menendez, Ranking Member Risch, and members of the committee, I am greatly honored to have been nominated to serve as United States Ambassador to a country that is such an important partner with ours, and with which I have such a historically meaningful connection. If confirmed, I would be excited to begin work during this key juncture in our relations, as a new German Government is stepping onto the global stage. I pledge that I will serve the American people with honor and dignity, and I will work to foster an even stronger alliance between the United States and Germany based on our common interests and shared values.

Thank you for your consideration. I welcome your questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. Thank you all for your statements. We will turn to a series of five-minute rounds.

Before I begin that, I have a few questions that are on behalf of the committee as a whole that speak to the importance that this committee places on responsiveness by all officials in the executive branch and that we expect and will be seeking from you. I would ask each of you to provide verbally a yes or no answer to the following questions.

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

[All witnesses answer in the affirmative.]

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

[All witnesses answer in the affirmative.]

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

[All witnesses answer in the affirmative.]

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

[All witnesses answer in the affirmative.]

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much. All of the nominees have responded yes to all questions. The chairman will reserve his time and recognize Senator Risch.

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

Ms. Gutmann, one of my pet peeves is the amount of money that is flowing into institutions of higher education in the United States from China. Most Americans are not aware of this.

I have to tell you, in fact, I worked with the Chairman as we tried to rein this in and we are going to continue to do that, and I want to get your thoughts on this while you are here.

To be honest with you, I was shocked at this number of \$86 million flowing into your institution. I have to tell you, I was also shocked when you indicated you really did not know that much about this. What do you know about that? Do you supervise this at all?

Dr. GUTMANN. Thank you, and please let me put this question into context, first, of your excellent report of November 2020 on transatlantic cooperation on China.

The focus on the PRC's use of American institutions of higher education by having Confucius Institutes at universities to restrict academic freedom, to control faculty hiring, and to threaten our core values is something that I share great concern about.

At a time when Confucius Institutes were proliferating in the United States, I ensured that the University of Pennsylvania did not accept an invitation to have a Confucius Institute—that was in 2009—and have ever since been vigilant against the nefarious influences of the PRC.

Senator RISCH. I think that is to your credit, by the way. I knew that you had declined the invitation to have a Confucius Institute and I think that is really to your credit.

But having said that, the \$86 million is still pretty stunning and I am going to talk about a few of them here when you are done. But go ahead.

Dr. GUTMANN. Thank you for—we are one on this issue. And the second piece of context, which goes directly to your question of the scale of Penn and what I do, as president, take due diligence on, we have 12 schools and six hospitals, and the fundraising over the period you spoke about is over \$5 billion and over my presidency over \$10 billion.

A very small fraction of that comes from China, less—considerably less than 1 percent. What I do make sure of it is—so it is not surprising that I do not know of specific gifts and contracts, most of which are in our Wharton School of Business.

But what I do know and what I make sure of is that no gifts, no contracts, to the University of Pennsylvania, are allowed to threaten academic freedom, are allowed to threaten national secu-

riety. We do no classified research. We get about one gift per three minutes, every few minutes, and one separate different donor every few minutes of every day.

And so it is not surprising that I am not familiar until actually being asked the question by you and your staff of the details of this. I was not familiar with those.

What I am sure of is that the University of Pennsylvania has stood strong against accepting any gifts that would threaten academic freedom, that would threaten national security and, as I said, we do no classified research, and this is aligned also with the concerns expressed in the 2019 staff report by Senators Portman and Carper and the Committee on Homeland Security.

Senator RISCH. Thank so much. I think that is a fair answer, and since it is 1 percent I think that does put it in context for us and that will give us a springboard to go forward here.

I look at these, and I know university presidents. They, certainly, do not deal with the kind of money you do but they look at this list every day to look at those contributions that are coming in and seeing what they can do to advance them some more.

I am surprised you are not at least somewhat more familiar with these. But, I mean, you take things like contributions from the Shanghai Advanced Institute of Finance. I cannot imagine they are giving you money to promote capitalism, but maybe they are.

There is all kinds of these that are anonymous. I mean, million-dollar gifts that says the country of origin is China and it says anonymous, and there is dozens of these on here.

Let me ask you this because my time is up. Do you think if we gave the institutions of higher learning time to extricate their selves from this and to back away from these kinds of influence, particularly when you have a place like China where, clearly, some of this money is coming from slavery? We all know what is going on with the Uighurs and that is money that is being generated, clearly, as a result of slavery.

Do you think that we could wean higher institutions from this cash flow if we gave them time to reconstitute, particularly when, as you noted, it is only 1 percent of what you get? But when you are talking about \$86 million they have got to be getting something for it.

And so it seems to me that we ought to wean the institutions of higher learning from these kind of contributions.

Dr. GUTMANN. Senator, I agree with you that we should make sure that institutions of higher education do not accept gifts from the PRC or any foreign government that would compromise our values.

I should say, for the record, that none of the gifts that the University of Pennsylvania accepted would it accept anonymously. The anonymity is what the Department of Education in its reporting is required by law to do. But every gift under my presidency to the University of Pennsylvania had—was looked at by our legal team and so on and none would be anonymous.

But I do agree with you that we should make sure that institutions of higher education prevent the kind of nefarious influence that the PRC is all too capable of and notorious for.

Senator RISCH. Money always carries influence and that is the difficulty.

My time is up. Thank you, Mr. Chair.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Cardin?

Senator CARDIN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Let me thank all three of our nominees for their willingness to continue to serve and to serve our nation. We thank you very much and we thank your families because we know this is a family commitment. We thank you for all that.

Senator Risch, I think you know that our concerns about the PRC's impact on our academic centers around the nation has been around the entire country. We have had our issues in Maryland, and I appreciate the fact that we need to continue to put a big spotlight on this, and I do congratulate Dr. Gutmann for her leadership at Penn in this area and in so many areas of integrity.

Senator RISCH. And that issue is bipartisan, Senator. I think we can all agree on that.

Senator CARDIN. No question about it. Yes, it is. No question about it.

Ambassador Blome, I want to start, if I might, in regards to Pakistan. You mentioned during your opening statement concern about human rights. We have found significant challenges on protecting basic human rights. Recent actions taken by the Pakistani Government in regards to restrictions on social media platforms is just the latest of the efforts.

Tell me how you plan to use the tools available, if confirmed, to advance the values of human rights that America stands for in your representation in Pakistan.

Ambassador BLOME. Thank you very much, Senator.

If confirmed to this position, I would, certainly, use my position to speak publicly along with my engagements at senior levels of the Pakistani Government to make clear U.S. Government priorities and values with regards to human rights and personal freedoms.

Beyond that, I think it is also very important to work with local groups and individuals who are often courageously leading these fights on the ground and I would look for ways that we can continue to support those groups and strengthen our support for those groups and those voices to make them more effective in leading the movement for change in Pakistan.

Senator CARDIN. And would you send a clear message that the Embassy is open to those who are standing up to defend human rights within Pakistan to have a friendly venue where they will have attentive ears?

Ambassador BLOME. Absolutely, Senator, I would do that, and it, certainly, would be an open door for such groups.

Senator CARDIN. Thank you. I appreciate that.

Mayor Garcetti, I want to talk a little bit about India, if I might. India was just downgraded from the annual report by Freedom House from free to partly free. They recently enacted a Citizenship Amendment Act that is very much aimed against the Muslim population within India.

The same question to you, if you could be a little more specific. India is an incredibly important strategic partner of the United

States but the human rights records there are, certainly, anything but the way we would like to see them.

How do you balance our need to work with India as a strategic partner but making advancements on behalf of human rights?

Mr. GARCETTI. Thank you very much, Senator. There is no question that the U.S.-India relationship should be underpinned by our common commitment to democracy, to human rights, and to civil society.

It is enshrined in our constitutions—the oldest democracy in the world and the largest democracy in the world—and human rights and defense of democracy is a pillar of our foreign policy.

But to answer specifically, if confirmed, I will actively raise these issues. I will raise them with humility. It is a two-way street on these. But I intend to engage directly with civil society.

There are groups that are actively fighting for the human rights of people on the ground in India that will get direct engagement from me. We know that democracies are complicated—we can look at our own and at India's—but it is a cornerstone of our shared values.

And I just want to say, for me, these will not be afterthoughts. My Master's degree was in human rights and international law. I have fought for human rights on four different continents and it will be a core part of what I will pursue with my Indian counterparts, if confirmed.

Senator CARDIN. I believe the Citizenship Amendment was passed just recently. The way it looks like it is going to be implemented it will be very discriminatory against the Muslim population, which is very, very large.

Do we have your commitment that you will be a voice in regards to any discrimination against minority groups such as the Muslim population within India?

Mr. GARCETTI. Absolutely, Mr. Cardin. Thank you, Senator. And I would not only just bring it up, but it would not be something at the end as an obligation. It will be a core piece of what I will be engaging my Indian counterparts, if confirmed, with.

Senator CARDIN. Thank you. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Senator Shaheen?

Senator SHAHEEN. Congratulations to each of our nominees. If confirmed, I look forward to working with you and I know this committee feels the same way.

Mayor Garcetti, I would like to begin with you because I have read with some concern accusations that one of your advisors engaged in a pattern sexual harassment while employed for you and that you did not respond to those allegations in a way that would have stopped the behavior.

And I raise this because I want to give you a chance to respond to those allegations but also because, as we all know, India is an ally, the world's biggest democracy, but it is a democracy where the rights of women and sexual assault and sexual harassment against women has been rampant over the years. They have made some real progress and women are speaking out more, but there is still a great deal of fear and intimidation for women to speak out on issues of harassment.

And so I think it is very important that we model the behavior that we want to see in our allies and so I wanted to give you a chance to respond to those allegations.

Mr. GARCETTI. Thank you, Senator, and I deeply appreciate not only the importance of that question, I understand, but I am very grateful for the opportunity to address it as well.

Simply said, Senator, harassment and discrimination have no place in the workplace, no place in our society, and I have zero tolerance for that, and I also know that words are not enough.

We have to take persistent action to support and protect victims and I have dedicated my professional life to doing just that, whether it was in college setting up the National Student Coalition Against Harassment, whether it is as a naval officer adjudicating cases, or as a mayor, where I have broad-backed policies to be able to centralize complaints and to allow folks to anonymously be able to report and seek justice.

In regards to this specific case, I want to say unequivocally that I never witnessed nor was it brought to my attention the behavior that has been alleged, and I also want to assure you if it had been I would have immediately taken action to stop that.

In India, this will be a priority of mine because it has been a priority my entire life. My wife and I have served, and I know Senator Risch's staff has worked closely, for instance, with the Coalition to Abolish Slavery and Trafficking.

I have on-the-ground experience with standing up law enforcement to go after sexual harassment, sexual assault, civilian teams that roll out on domestic violence and sexual assault calls for police officers to be able to engage and help people extricate themselves.

But I will as ambassador, if confirmed, not have this as one of the issues. It is a core issue of my life and will be if confirmed as ambassador.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you very much.

Mr. GARCETTI. Thank you, Senator.

Senator SHAHEEN. I look forward to your strong stance when you are confirmed.

Mr. GARCETTI. Thank you.

Senator SHAHEEN. Dr. Gutmann, as you are aware, I am sure, the United States and Germany last summer made a joint statement to Ukraine about the importance of taking—of responding to Russia's aggressive behavior in Ukraine and using—taking the opportunity to try to use Nord Stream 2 as a way to use energy to threaten Ukraine and to weaponize energy.

As you are thinking about your role as ambassador, how will you work with Germany, with this new government in Germany, around the Nord Stream 2 issue and around holding Russia accountable for its efforts to weaponize energy?

Dr. GUTMANN. Thank you, Senator, for that important question. I view our opportunity to advance our relationship to Germany as one that is opened up by the new coalition government, Germany being one of our strongest European allies.

I believe Nord Stream 2 is a bad deal—a bad deal for Germany, for Ukraine, terrible for all of Europe and the United States. You have my commitment to focus on a diplomacy that resists all

threats, all human rights violations, especially from Russia and the PRC.

I will call on Germany to meet its 2 percent commitment to NATO. That is an important security measure against Russia. I view the July joint statement as setting not only a commitment and an important floor on our expectations of alliance with our important ally, but it is a floor, not a ceiling, on what we may need to do together.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you very much. I am sure that everyone on this committee would agree with that strong position.

I am out of time, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Senator Coons?

Senator COONS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member. Thank you to all three of today's nominees. I have enjoyed working with you in the past and look forward to this next chapter in your service to our nation.

I am thrilled the Biden administration continues to send to the Senate and this committee such well-qualified nominees. I will just note at the outset, I am gravely concerned that for three such important countries we do not have confirmed ambassadors and it is the middle of December.

I will do everything I can to advance your nominations through this committee and the floor, and hope my colleagues on both sides of the aisle will work with us to achieve that goal.

If I might, Mayor Garcetti, it is great to see you again, and I think your experience leading a global coalition of mayors in combating climate change will serve you well in this new role. Your long experience in foreign relations as well as in leading a critical city of our nation will be important.

Talk to me about how you think we can continue to build on the U.S.-India relationship in terms of public health and how we might strengthen and expand our partnership around vaccine manufacturing while still finding ways to respect American innovation and protect some of the ways in which our inventions or creations, whether it is in copyright, trademark, or elsewhere, could be best protected.

Mr. GARCETTI. Thank you, Senator, and thank you for your friendship and collaboration over the years as well.

I am very excited, if confirmed, about this part of the job. Public health on both sides of the Indo-Pacific are going to be critical and the Quad Leaders Summit, I think, embodied that.

It was not just U.S. and India but also the two other countries that make up the Quad joining together to support the manufacturing capacity of India, to bring a billion more vaccine doses around the world, and vice versa, for us to be able to make sure that we have supply chains that are diversified from a single country.

I think that when it comes to public health we have a very strong record together, whether it is in those supply chains or some of the innovations that we have.

And I would just offer, if confirmed, to my Indian counterparts it is in our mutual interest to co-write rules of law that will allow intellectual property in India, which they develop.

They are not just a country that produces vaccines made elsewhere. They are great innovators in the medical field. They want to protect that intellectual property and we want to as well.

When it comes to emergencies like a COVID pandemic, I think the moves of this administration were the right ones to try to open that up, to try to work with the world community and the private sector to say in crisis moments we can relax those rules in order to save lives.

But for the long term, I think we have great jobs to produce both in India and, most importantly, here in the U.S. from that cooperation.

Senator COONS. Thank you, Mayor, and I look forward to even closer U.S.-India ties both in security and strategy, but also in research and economically and in public health.

Dr. Gutmann, it is great to see you again. I recently led a bipartisan delegation to Berlin. We met with Chancellor Scholz and senior members of the Bundestag. I will be interested to see how their foreign policy of this new coalition government differs from the previous.

What do you think might be the challenges in the Bundestag, given the coalition's statement in maintaining consensus on foreign policy, and how do you think we can learn from the ways in which German advanced manufacturing and, in particular, their workforce skilling practices may show the way in the new economic environment that we face post-pandemic?

Dr. GUTMANN. Thank you, Senator, and thank you for leading the CODEL to Germany and other countries at such an important time.

I was heartened to see that Chancellor Scholz mentioned that there is continuity in German foreign policy. That said, I think there is always more to be done and especially in light, as you mentioned, of the challenges of Russian aggression, of Chinese malign influence, Chinese predatory trade practices, Chinese genocide against Xinjiang, against the Uighurs, and its aggressions against Hong Kong, Tibet, and its threats to Taiwan.

So I see this as an opportunity. I think there will be a challenge with the coalition, no doubt. I think we can address that with strong and respectful diplomacy.

On the trade and investment, Germany, as you know, is our third largest source of foreign direct investment and accounts for over 850,000 jobs for Americans and we, in turn, account for about 700,000 jobs in Germany.

Germany has a model of apprenticeship that I believe we could build on in close partnership with Germany. It already exists in the United States in some states and I think we could do more. It is a great alternative for talented hard-working young people for whom four-year college is not the best.

My father actually was apprenticing at the time he had to flee Nazi Germany, but that apprentice program has grown in the Democratic Republic and I think we could learn and work with Germany on it.

Senator COONS. Thank you very much, Dr. Gutmann. Could I ask forbearance for one more question or should I move on?

The CHAIRMAN. Go right ahead.

Senator COONS. Mr. Chairman, briefly, if I might.

Ambassador Blome, you and the mayor will be nearby in a very tough neighborhood. I will just be interested, briefly, in how you believe we can repair the U.S.-Pakistan relationship while also more successfully engaging them in the counterterrorism mission, going forward.

Ambassador BLOME. Thank you, Senator.

I think it is very important that we find ways to work together to address some of these shared challenges that we are going to face on the counterterrorism front now. We have to be clear eyed about the troubled history that we have had on these issues.

But looking ahead, I think Pakistan has a shared interest in ensuring that Afghanistan does not once again become host to terrorist groups and a contributor to regional instability, and I think we have seen some signs recently in terms of Pakistan's willingness to engage with international partners on issues of Afghanistan's future, including in the extended Troika format recently and the upcoming OIC meeting that is going to be dedicated to that question. I will urge them to continue to work together with international partners on a common set of objectives there.

Senator COONS. Thank you—

Ambassador BLOME. And looking a little bit further ahead, I think there is things that we can do on the trade and investment front to grow the U.S.-Pakistani trade and investment relationship in a way that benefits both our countries in a balanced way. I believe there are significant opportunities there that I would look for.

Senator COONS. Thank you, Ambassador. I look forward to working with you. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Kaine?

Senator KAINE. Thank you, Mr. Chair, and I want to congratulate each of the nominees for the positions. You are all very, very well qualified.

I will begin with you, Ambassador Blome, to just continue the line of thought. In Pakistan, Pakistan, arguably, is China's closest ally in South Asia. How would you see Islamabad balancing ties with the United States and China, particularly as we work more closely together with India on mechanisms like the Quad and the Indo-Pacific?

Ambassador BLOME. Thank you, Senator. I think Pakistan has signaled very clearly an interest in diversifying their relationships. While their relationship with China has been important, recently I think the signal has been very clear that they are interested in a—growing the relationship with the United States, doing business, treating the United States as a key partner for Pakistan's private sector.

We have been Pakistan's largest export market for decades. We enjoy strong people-to-people ties with the people of Pakistan through their diaspora, through civil society, and their stated aspirations of a geoeconomic-driven foreign policy demonstrates their interest in diversifying the relationship beyond Beijing.

If confirmed to this position I would look forward to working on those issues with Pakistan.

Senator COONS. Thank you, Mr. Ambassador.

Mr. Mayor, great to see you again. Congratulations to you and to your family. I have kind of a similar question not about China but actually about Russia. India and Russia have had a long-standing defense tie. Prior to the passage of the CAATSA sanction law in 2016, India had begun to explore purchase of the S-400 air defense system from Russia. That could trigger CAATSA sanctions. There is an executive waiver possibility within the CAATSA sanctions.

But talk to us a little bit about as we are doing more and more together with India in our military relations, a lot of joint exercises—the Indian military does more joint exercise with the United States than any other nation—what is the potential danger to the U.S.-India mil cooperation that the acquisition of the S-400 system would create?

Mr. GARCETTI. Thank you, Senator, and great to see you as well. I do not want to prejudge the Secretary's decision about sanctions or a waiver, and I do want to tell the Chairman, Ranking Member, all the members, I do fully support the law of the land, the implementation of CAATSA as law here, and part of that is the waiver provision, as you mentioned.

If confirmed, though, I would advocate the following: the continued diversification of India's weapon system, the threats to our own weapon systems if that diversification does not occur because we have to protect our data and our systems, and work towards really growing this major defense partnership.

I think it is one of the great success stories of the last few decades, from zero to \$20 billion in procurement, the intelligence sharing that we have, the interoperability, the exercises, the maritime work that we are doing, and I would seek, as somebody who has served alongside my Indian counterparts, to really deepen those people-to-people relationships in the military, the industrial coordination on that, and just be very clear about what the threats are to our system, especially for new weapon systems in the future that would come from outside the United States or, in this case, Russia.

Senator KAINE. And Mr. Mayor, I walked in right at the end of Senator Cardin's questions but I know he was also asking you questions about human rights and I just want to put an exclamation point on that.

We have a sizable Indian diaspora community in Virginia and many Sikhs and others feel like there is often nationalism or religious division that is sort of pushed at times of internal political challenge and they feel victimized by that, and I hope that is a matter that you will take very, very seriously with this important ally.

Dr. Gutmann, congratulations to you. Senator Coons was covering what I wanted to cover. But just in particular, I just want to make sure that Germany sees the same danger in Russia amassing forces on the Ukraine border as the U.S. does.

We had some meetings earlier, Senator Coons and I, at the Halifax Security Forum with EU officials—they were not from Germany but they were EU officials—and it did not make us feel good. They did not seem to feel that the danger of the Russian troops amassing on the border was as significant as we believe it to be.

Germany believes the Nord Stream pipeline is very, very important. But I would have to believe and expect that they would view an incursion into Ukrainian sovereignty, a further incursion by Russia, as sort of an existential challenge in Europe and I hope that they see that threat as seriously as we do.

Dr. GUTMANN. As do I, Senator, and if confirmed, I will take the good work of this committee and of Congress and the administration's—what I understand the ongoing high-level discussions going on now to Germany and really underscore how important it is to act strongly in alliance against the aggressions of Russia.

Senator KAINE. Thank you. Thank you, Mr. Chair.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Van Hollen is with us virtually.

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Van Hollen?

Senator VAN HOLLEN. Can you hear—Mr. Chairman, can you hear me okay?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, I can, loud and clear.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. All right. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Congratulations to all of you on your nominations.

Dr. Gutmann, as you mentioned in your opening statement and in response to questions, you are going to be representing the United States with a critical NATO ally, Germany, with the new government and at a time where we are witnessing ongoing Russian aggression, especially threats to the sovereignty of Ukraine.

And so I know that you understand the severity of the situation. I hope the Biden administration and Germany will agree that if Russia takes any offensive actions or invades Ukraine there would be an immediate snap back of the Nord Stream 2 sanctions.

Mayor Garcetti, congratulations to you on your nomination. As you know, India is a critical U.S. partner in the Indo-Pacific region. I want to salute the Biden administration's efforts to further expand the Quad relationship and India's role in it, and as been indicated earlier, we are working with India to try to develop vaccines to address the challenges throughout the developing world.

Maryland has a company, Novavax that has teamed up with the Serum Institute of India and have pledged to provide 1.1 billion doses to COVAX to distribute to the neediest places around the world. That is still going through the final hoops of getting accepted, but I am confident that that is going to happen and I look forward to staying in touch with you about that.

Ambassador Blome, thank you for your service over many years in the Foreign Service and your most recent posting in Tunisia. As we discussed when I met you earlier, I have been concerned with the lack of a real strategy from the administration as it relates to Pakistan.

I am interested in your thoughts on how we can more fully engage both economically, politically, and on security issues at the highest levels. Pakistan, as you know, is an important country at any time. It has an especially important role right now with the withdrawal of U.S. and other forces from Afghanistan and the Taliban takeover of Afghanistan.

There are many who exaggerate the amount of influence that Pakistan has over the Taliban. People forget that Pakistan has waged its own bloody war against the Pakistani Taliban—the

TTP—and as you know, Pakistan has not yet recognized the new government in Kabul—the new Taliban Government.

At the same time, clearly, Pakistan has ties to elements of the Taliban and could play a positive role, potentially, going forward with respect to our demands on the new Taliban Government.

Here is the question. What do you think our strategy should be? What role can Pakistan play in furthering our goals, together with others in the international community, with respect to the goals we have set out in Afghanistan and the demands we have placed on the new government there?

Ambassador BLOME. Thank you, Senator, for that question, a very important one.

I think there are opportunities to work with Pakistan on the agenda that we have set out for Afghanistan, and in particular, I think we can identify a number of areas of common ground that we have with Pakistan in trying to achieve a government that is inclusive in nature inside Afghanistan, one that can help avert humanitarian catastrophe inside the country, stabilize the economy, and ensure that Afghanistan does not, again, become a source of terrorist threats to the United States and our allies.

We have set these out in a number of dialogues that we have had recently in international fora with Pakistan, including those hosted in the extended Troika format and in the upcoming OIC.

I think we have established a basis that we can work with Pakistan on those important strategic issues. We have to find a way to make progress on this and work together on these issues.

Beyond that, again, as we discussed in our meeting, Senator, I think we can also look at ways we can build the relationship with Pakistan on other bases that are important, including the trade and investment ties that I mentioned before.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. Thank you. I would just ask you, if confirmed, to use your influence to arrange a telephone call between President Biden and Prime Minister Kahn. I think this is a self—this is an own goal. This is an unforced error on our part. It would be, I think, an important gesture at this point in time.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Senator Rubio?

Senator RUBIO. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and I will not use, hopefully, my whole time. I know we are pending a vote that has already started.

I guess, Ms. Gutmann, I wanted to—I know Senator Risch has already asked about the money the entities—the Chinese entities gave to the university.

And good morning to all of you. Thank you for all your willingness to serve and be here.

I wanted to ask you more specifically about China and Germany. Germany is China's largest European trading partner, and since 2017, I think, China has been Germany's largest trading partner.

And it is concerning because while other governments have been more forward leaning, for example, on the diplomatic boycott of the Olympics and speaking out about the genocide of the Uighurs, Ger-

many has, obviously, been more resistant and I think the commercial links explain why.

What is, generally, your assessment of how the Germans view China on a global scale and what are your plans or thoughts about getting them to become more engaged?

Dr. GUTMANN. Thank you for that very important question, Senator.

My sense is that there has been a balancing in the German Government between its important economic ties with China and its concerns for human rights and democracy and the threats thereof.

If confirmed, I would lean in on this to emphasize our government's position and our society's position that the ongoing genocide in Xinjiang province against the Uighurs, the threats to fair market practices, cybersecurity threats, and I could go on and on, and will, if confirmed, with the German Government pose economic as well as security threats to Germany, to Europe, to the free world and, of course, to the United States.

I see this as an opportunity with the new government, that there is an opening to help build and reset Germans' position. I will very much urge Germany, in concert with this committee, to join us in boycotting the Olympics, to stand down and speak up against Chinese practices in alliance.

It will be to the betterment of German security and, most important to me, if confirmed, to the interests and the values of the United States.

Senator RUBIO. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. There are a series of votes going on. There is no other member that I know of seeking recognition at this time. The chair has a series of very significant questions, but he is going to submit it—I am going to submit it for the record.

I would expect substantive answers to my questions. I would hate to be the one holding you up for your business meeting.

This record will remain open until the close of business tomorrow. I would ask members to submit their questions. I would ask the nominees to answer those questions expeditiously and substantively so we can consider your nominations before a business meeting.

With the thanks of the committee, this hearing is adjourned.

Senator RISCH. I would like to have this submitted for the record, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the documents that Senator Risch has asked will be included in the record.

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

The CHAIRMAN. And this hearing is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 11:23 a.m., the hearing was adjourned.]

Additional Material Submitted for the Record

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO HON. DONALD ARMIN BLOME BY SENATOR ROBERT MENENDEZ

Question. I am very concerned about directed energy attacks on U.S. Government personnel (so-called Anomalous Health Incidents). Ensuring the safety and security of our personnel abroad falls largely on individual Chiefs of Mission and the re-

sponse of officers at post. It is imperative that any individual who reports a suspected incident be responded to promptly, equitably, and compassionately.

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

Answer. The Biden administration is committed to the health, safety, and security of all U.S. Government personnel and family members serving domestically and overseas. This commitment extends to the handling of anomalous health incidents (AHI). As of October 2021, the Department has received reports of AHIs from every region of the globe. If I am confirmed, you have my commitment that I will work with my colleagues at the Department to address these cases in Mission Pakistan to ensure all employees and their families get any care they need. The safety of our personnel has always been a top priority for the Mission; if confirmed, I will continue to ensure that threats against U.S. personnel are taken seriously.

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

Answer. The Secretary and all of us at the Department and throughout the U.S. Government take reports of anomalous health incidents very seriously. If I am confirmed, you have my commitment that I will follow the Department's protocols on reporting and addressing these incidents through the Health Incident Response Task Force (HIRTF).

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

Answer. If I am confirmed, you have my commitment that I will follow the Department's protocols on reporting and addressing these incidents through the Health Incident Response Task Force (HIRTF). I will ensure that this topic be included in briefings I will receive upon arrival at post if confirmed.

Question. Pakistan played a double-game throughout the war in Afghanistan, claiming to support U.S. counterterrorism efforts while allowing the Taliban and al-Qaeda to operate on their territory.

- Please assess the relationship between the Pakistani ISI and the Taliban. How will you navigate that relationship as ambassador, given our non-recognition of the Taliban regime in Kabul?

Answer. Pakistan repeatedly called for an inclusive political solution to the conflict in Afghanistan, though it has not been willing to take steps that would jeopardize its relationship with the Taliban. The State Department has engaged with the Pakistani Government at senior levels, including Secretary Blinken, Deputy Secretary Sherman, and Special Representative for Afghanistan West, to urge close coordination and alignment with the international community on the way forward in Afghanistan.

If confirmed, I will convey to Pakistan the importance the U.S. administration places on Pakistan's constructive role moving forward. I also will make it clear to Pakistan that a government in Kabul that allows safe passage for those who wish to leave Afghanistan, is inclusive, protects the rights of women and members of minority groups, adheres to its counterterrorism commitments, and ensures humanitarian access would be in the best interests of all countries in the region.

Question. Since the fall of Kabul, the Pakistani Government seems increasingly willing to cut deals with domestic, religiously motivated violent extremist groups, such as the Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan and the Tehreek-e-Labbaik Pakistan.

- What is your assessment of the Pakistani Government's actions since the fall of Kabul when it comes to domestic extremism? Do you believe this is a tactical response to the events in Afghanistan or indicative of a broader shift in how the Government deals with such groups?

Answer. Pakistan has a shared interest in ensuring terrorist organizations operating in Afghanistan and Pakistan do not threaten regional stability. The Government of Pakistan in no way supports the TTP, and in fact our interests align in halting the TTP's activities in the border regions.

Pakistan seeks regional stability and is sensitive to threats from domestic extremists that target the Pakistani state. Pakistan is also concerned about the potential effects that Afghanistan's failed economy could directly have on its neighbors, such as impacts to trade, security, and refugee movements. If confirmed, I will reinforce our shared interest in taking action against the TTP and all other terrorist groups.

Question. Pakistan’s relationship with China is growing stronger through both economic and security partnerships. The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor is the flagship project of the Belt and Road Initiative, with Beijing offering more than \$62 billion in loans for energy and infrastructure projects.

- How do you assess the long-term trend of China-Pakistan relations? What do you see as the main areas of growth in that relationship? What are potential points of tension between the two nations?

Answer. PRC global lending, including to Pakistan, frequently fails to meet international standards of openness, inclusivity, transparency, and governance. Unsustainably high financial obligations that are at odds with those standards risk undermining Pakistan’s economic stability and limit opportunities for Pakistani workers and businesses. China’s close ties with Pakistan do not preclude the United States from also having a productive partnership with Pakistan. Pakistan’s stated aspirations of a “geo-economic”-driven foreign policy demonstrates its interest in diversifying its relationship beyond Beijing. The United States is a key partner for Pakistan’s private sector, and we have been Pakistan’s largest export market for decades. The United States enjoys strong people-to-people ties with Pakistan through the diaspora, civil society, educational exchanges, and beyond. If confirmed, I will continue and expand U.S. Government efforts with the Government of Pakistan, civil society, minority populations, and the private sector to promote robust U.S.-Pakistani economic and financial ties that continues to be open, inclusive, and transparent.

Question. According to a U.S. Commission on International Freedom (USCIRF) report, Pakistan has the second strictest blasphemy laws in the world, after Iran. Worryingly, there has been a surge in blasphemy cases against religious minorities in recent years. The existence of Pakistan’s blasphemy laws have normalized extrajudicial enforcement from violent mobs. In December 2021, a Sri Lankan factory manager was lynched and his body set on fire by a brutal mob in Pakistan over allegations of blasphemy.

- If confirmed, how would you address this troubling trend of violence in Pakistan that is creating an increasingly unsafe environment for religious minorities?

Answer. The U.S. Government strongly opposes blasphemy laws and views their very existence as inconsistent with the right to freedom of religion or belief. Pakistan has allowed application of these laws to lead to egregious arrests of those wrongfully accused, and subjected individuals to years of unjust imprisonment and targeted assassinations. These laws are also too often used by individuals as a pretext to justify violence against those whose religion or ethnicity differs from their own or to settle personal grievances.

I am concerned by the pattern of targeted killings against individuals accused of blasphemy and members of Pakistan’s Ahmadiyya community, including U.S. citizen Tahir Naseem, who was gunned down in open court in Peshawar while on trial for blasphemy in July 2020 and the mob violence against the Sri Lankan businessman you referenced. If confirmed, I will continue U.S. calls for justice for Mr. Naseem and urge Pakistan to reform its blasphemy laws. I also will advocate for the right of members of religious minority groups to practice their faith free from harassment or threat of violence while enjoying the full protection of the rule of law. If confirmed, I will raise this and other cases forcefully and engage and empower civil society groups advocating for reform to the blasphemy laws.

Question. Since 2018, Pakistan has been designated a “Country of Particular Concern” for their gross violations of religious liberty and freedom of belief. However, for the last four years, the State Department’s CPC designation on Pakistan has been accompanied with a waiver on congressionally-mandated U.S. sanctions under the International Religious Freedom Act of 1998.

- Do you believe that granting the waiver the last four years has benefited the United States and advanced our interests in the region? Do you think that Pakistan should continue to receive this waiver?

Answer. If confirmed, I will continue to advocate for the rights of everyone to express their religion or belief in a safe and secure environment. The Pakistani Government has taken significant notice of the “Country of Particular Concern” designation, and we continue to engage at senior levels to advance our position. I will work with the Department to assess the utility of the Presidential waiver based on the effect of our advocacy on religious freedoms, if confirmed.

Question. In January 2021, Pakistan’s Supreme Court released Ahmed Omar Saeed Sheikh who was responsible for the beheading of American journalist Daniel Pearl. Secretary Blinken called the decision “an affront to terrorism victims every-

where.” Sheikh was previously indicted by a U.S. grand jury for the kidnapping and murder of Daniel Pearl and the 1994 kidnapping of a United States citizen in India.

- Do you unequivocally condemn the release of Pearl’s murderer? What steps has the State Department taken since the decision to secure justice for Pearl’s family, and what steps will you take if you are confirmed?

Answer. Securing justice for Daniel Pearl and his family is and will remain a priority of the U.S. Government. Ahmed Omar Saeed Sheikh and his co-conspirators remain under detention as the decision of a Supreme Court panel is being reviewed. If confirmed, I commit to consistently emphasize the importance the United States places on this matter in my engagements with Pakistani leaders and I will urge them to keep detained those responsible for Mr. Pearl’s kidnapping and murder and to pursue a robust review of the judgments that led to their ordered release. Those guilty for this heinous crime must continue to be held accountable.

Question. Pakistan remains a Major Non-NATO Ally, which grants it privileged status for increased U.S. assistance and advanced weapon procurement under the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 and the Arms Export Control Act. Since 2001, Pakistan has received over \$34 billion in U.S. assistance, including military assistance, even after the Taliban took Kabul with the public cheerleading of the Pakistani Government.

- Do you think Pakistan should remain a Major Non-NATO Ally with all the benefits afforded to countries on that list?

Answer. Pakistan remains an important partner with shared regional strategic and counterterrorism interests. Pakistan seeks regional stability and has a shared interest in ensuring Afghanistan does not once again become host to terrorist groups with transnational ambitions and that violence and unrest does not spill across from Afghanistan into Pakistan.

If confirmed, I commit to consider all tools at our disposal and regularly engage with Pakistani officials at the highest levels to convey the U.S. expectation that Pakistan must advance a peaceful, stable, and prosperous South Asia. I commit to consulting closely with this committee on any consideration of a change in MNNA status.

Question. Pakistan has recently signed agreements with both China and Turkey to co-produce unmanned aerial vehicles. In 2020, Pakistan reportedly purchased the CH-4 from China and in 2021, Pakistan signed an agreement with Turkish Aerospace Industries to produce Anka combat drones.

- Please assess Pakistan’s UAV capabilities and partnerships on UAV technology with both China and Turkey.

Answer. Pakistan has an active defense relationship with PRC and Turkey and, like many other countries, seeks to capitalize on UAV technology to meet its defense and security needs. Pakistan prefers U.S. equipment but has pursued defense relationships with China, Turkey, and other countries in part because the United States has limited its security cooperation with Pakistan. If confirmed, I commit to monitoring Pakistan’s UAV partnerships and keeping this committee informed of pertinent developments in Pakistan’s defense and procurement relationships involving advanced technology.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO HON. DONALD ARMIN BLOME BY SENATOR JAMES E. RISCH

Question. In the 2021 Trafficking in Persons Report, Pakistan was identified as Tier 2 Watch List for the second year in a row because of a continued lack of overall adequate resources to address trafficking. How will you work with the Pakistan Government to address these issues if you are confirmed as Ambassador?

Answer. Pakistan’s largest human trafficking problem is bonded labor, particularly in the agriculture and brick-making sectors. Key recommendations in the Department’s 2021 TIP Report included increasing investigations and prosecutions of traffickers, including complicit officials, and increasing efforts to identify and provide sufficient services for trafficking victims. Pakistan has expressed interest in working with the United States to combat human trafficking and has made certain strides in implementing anti-TIP measures. These efforts included finalizing implementation rules for the 2018 Prevention of Trafficking in Persons Act (PTPA), adopting a new five-year national action plan to combat trafficking in persons and migrant smuggling crimes, and referring more potential trafficking victims for care

than in the previous reporting period. Effective implementation of legislation will be an important indicator of Pakistan's commitment to addressing TIP in the coming years.

If confirmed, I will work closely with government officials and civil society. One group worth highlighting is the Pakistan-U.S. Alumni Network (PUAN), the largest network of U.S. Government exchange program alumni in the world, with 32,000 members, which created an interest group with experts in combatting human trafficking. These respected specialists' voices resonate in their communities and help the U.S. Government not only refine its approach but also amplify and communicate key policy concerns.

Question. In the 2020 International Religious Freedom report, Pakistan was identified as having very little societal and governmental respect for religious freedom. What is your assessment of this particular issue and if confirmed, how will you work with the Office of International Religious Freedom to bolster religious freedom in-country?

Answer. Repression of religious freedom in Pakistan is a multi-faceted problem that manifests itself in many ways, including the harsh enforcement of blasphemy laws and persecution of the Ahmadiyya community. The U.S. Government strongly opposes blasphemy laws and views them as inconsistent with the right to freedom of religion or belief. Pakistan has allowed application of these laws to lead to egregious arrests of those wrongfully accused and subjected individuals to years of unjust imprisonment and targeted assassinations. These laws are also too often used by individuals as a pretext to justify violence against those whose religion or ethnicity differs from their own or to settle personal grievances.

If confirmed, I will continue U.S. calls for justice for the murder of Tahir Naseem, a U.S. citizen gunned down in open court in Peshawar while on trial for blasphemy in July 2020, and urge Pakistan to reform its blasphemy laws. I also will advocate for the rights of members of religious minority groups to practice their faith free from harassment or threat of violence while enjoying the full protection of the rule of law. I will raise this and other cases forcefully and engage civil society groups advocating for reform to the blasphemy laws and religious minority rights.

Question. In the 2020 Human Rights Report, Pakistan was identified as having committed severe human rights abuses, including arbitrary or unlawful government interference with privacy; serious restrictions on free expression, the press, and the internet, including violence against journalists, unjustified arrests and disappearances of journalists, censorship, and site blocking; government interference with the rights of peaceful assembly and freedom of association, such as overly restrictive nongovernmental organization laws; severe restrictions of religious freedom, and more.

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

Answer. Press freedom and freedom of expression are integral to all functioning democracies, and if confirmed, I will advocate that Pakistan cease harassment and censorship of its journalists, reform legislation that stifles freedom of expression, commit to ensuring the physical safety of journalists, and emphasize the importance of a free, independent, and diverse press that does not face intimidation and coercion. I will meet with local press with my public affairs team when appropriate.

Another issue of concern is the lack of accountability for enforced disappearances of political and human rights activists. I will press for the Government to transparently, and in consultation with all stakeholders, reinvigorate its investigations into individual cases of disappearances and hold perpetrators accountable.

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

Answer. Strong civil society organizations provide the opportunity for civic engagement upon which a healthy democracy relies. The U.S. Government currently works closely with Pakistani civil society organizations, and if confirmed, I will seek to continue U.S.-funded programs that support civil society development. I will also urge the Government of Pakistan to ensure space for civil society to operate free of intimidation or harassment. I will seek to strengthen the relationship between civil society organizations and the Government of Pakistan, including by regularly meeting with members of Pakistani civil society and, when appropriate, providing a platform to highlight their work.

Question. If confirmed, how will you work with American businesses and social media companies, like Twitter, on the Government's efforts to silence dissent and punish critics on social media?

Answer. Freedom of expression is integral to all functioning democracies, and if confirmed, I will advocate that Pakistan cease harassment and censorship of its critics and emphasize the importance of a free, independent, and diverse press and public sphere free from intimidation and coercion. Relatedly, U.S. firms have relayed their concerns about data localization and local presence requirements in the recently enacted Removal and Blocking of Unlawful Online Content Rules 2021 and other measures of the draft Personal Data Protection Bill which could harm their ability to conduct business in Pakistan. We have repeatedly raised these concerns with Pakistani officials. If confirmed, I would advocate for Pakistan to address those issues before finalizing legislation.

Question. The Office of Multilateral Strategy and Personnel (MSP) in the IO bureau at the State Department is leading a whole-of-government effort to identify, recruit, and install qualified, independent personnel at the UN, including in elections for specialized bodies like the International Telecommunications Union (ITU). There is an American candidate, Doreen Bogdan-Martin, who if elected would be the first American and first woman to lead the ITU. She is in a tough race that will require early, consistent engagement across capitals and within the UN member states.

If confirmed, do you commit to demarching the Pakistan Government and any other counterparts necessary to communicate our support of Doreen?

Answer. Electing Doreen Bogdan-Martin as the next secretary-general of the International Telecommunication Union (ITU) in September 2022 is a top priority for the United States. With almost three decades of experience at the ITU, she is the most qualified candidate for the job. If confirmed, I will continue to urge Pakistan to support her candidacy and to deepen our two countries' cooperation to advance shared goals on critical telecommunications issues.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to aiding the MSP office in efforts to support U.S. desired candidates within the UN system?

Answer. If confirmed, I will coordinate closely with the IO/MSP office and across the broader U.S. interagency as well as with likeminded countries to advance efforts to elect qualified, independent candidates for UN bodies, including the International Telecommunication Union (ITU) and the Human Rights Committee/International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR). In consultation with Congress and the Executive Branch, I will strive to advance U.S. priorities across key multilateral bodies and will work with the rest of the international community to meet our shared commitment to promoting respect for democracy and human rights.

Question. U.S. missions across the globe have been under enormous strain over the past few years due to COVID.

- What is your understanding of morale throughout Mission [Islamabad]?

Answer. While Mission personnel have experienced significant hardship during the COVID-19 pandemic, the Mission is now over 99 percent vaccinated and has energetically pursued our strategic objectives in Pakistan. I understand morale is high, but this will be an issue I will prioritize if confirmed to this position.

Question. How do you intend to improve morale across all of Mission [Islamabad]?

Answer. If confirmed, I will consult closely with Mission staff to understand the complex challenges of Mission Pakistan. I commit to being a responsive Chief of Mission who puts our people first, and I will work to ensure they have the resources and support they need to do their jobs.

Question. How do you intend to create a unified mission and vision across Mission [Pakistan]?

Answer. If confirmed, I plan to closely align Mission Pakistan's efforts with the President's interim National Security Strategy, National Security Council guidance, State and USAID's Joint Strategic Plan, the SCA Joint Regional Strategy, USAID's Country Development and Cooperation Strategy, and the Mission Pakistan Integrated Country Strategy. I intend to run a mission that puts U.S. interests first, in accordance with U.S. law and overarching strategic regional interests. I will stress in particular coordination across interagency elements on the Country Team to ensure a cooperative environment, mutually reinforcing efforts, and clarity of and adherence to our objectives.

Question. Management is a key responsibility for chiefs of mission.

- How would you describe your management style?

Answer. As Ambassador to Tunisia, I use an inclusive, mission-driven approach that prioritizes open communication, a unity of purpose across the Country Team,

and results oriented planning. I consult closely with the White House, Department of State, interagency, and Congress to advance U.S. objectives. I have zero tolerance for misconduct and prioritize mentorship for team members of all ranks and backgrounds. I will fully adhere to the Department's diversity, equity, and inclusion principles.

Question. If confirmed, how do you believe your management style will translate to an Embassy setting, where resources may not be readily available and your diplomatic workforce consists of career employees?

Answer. I have led successful results-oriented missions in a variety of environments. Resources will not always be readily available to support mission objectives, and if confirmed, I will carefully evaluate our capabilities and help the team prioritize goals. At the same time, I will strongly advocate for appropriate resources to match important policy objectives.

Question. As a political appointee rather than career diplomat, do you believe it is incumbent upon new chiefs of mission to integrate themselves into Embassy operations and culture? If yes, how do you intend to do so?

Answer. I am proudly a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, and I understand it is critical that Chiefs of Mission integrate themselves into Embassy operations and culture. I plan to actively participate in Embassy functions and events, being mindful of morale and mentorship development, including among our locally-hired employees.

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

Answer. No. Bullying is never acceptable or constructive, and has no place in Embassy Tunis and, if confirmed, it will not be appropriate or acceptable behavior in Embassy Islamabad and constituent posts. I have zero tolerance for berating team members and will take swift disciplinary action if members of my team engage in this behavior.

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

Answer. The deputy chief of mission is vital leader in all diplomatic missions, playing an important role in every aspect of policy formulation, operations, and management. If confirmed, I will consult closely with and depend heavily on the deputy chief of mission to partner in effective management of the country team and our critical relationship with Pakistani counterparts.

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

Answer. The deputy chief of mission (DCM) plays an integral role in leadership of the mission, including leadership of staff and management of operations. I would be comfortable delegating many leadership responsibilities to the DCM, if confirmed, though accountability for the overall performance and well-being of the mission rests with me.

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

- If confirmed, will you encourage Mission [Islamabad] diplomats to engage in-person with the [Pakistani] people outside of U.S. Embassies and consulates?

Answer. Consistent with security restrictions and COVID-19 protocols, I will encourage Mission Pakistan diplomats to continue and expand engagement with Pakistani contacts outside of our Embassy and consulates, if confirmed.

Question. Public diplomacy is an important aspect of U.S. foreign policy efforts.

- What is the public diplomacy environment like in [Pakistan]? What public diplomacy challenges do U.S. diplomats face?

Answer. Public diplomacy supports our national interests and furthers mission objectives to create a more resilient Pakistan by countering misinformation and extremist messaging, supporting a free media, building human capacity and economic growth through exchanges and outreach, and creating a nationwide network of alumni and partners invested in the future of the U.S.-Pakistan relationship. Pakistan presents one of the most difficult public diplomacy environments for the United States worldwide, due to an unpredictable security environment, difficulties in obtaining Pakistani Government approval to access large parts of the country, negative perceptions of U.S. policy, and persistent media restrictions.

Additionally, the suspension of U.S. security assistance in 2018, tensions with India, and strong Pakistani Government and public support for the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) present unique public messaging and diplomacy challenges on how to demonstrate continued U.S. commitment to the Pakistani people. If confirmed, I am committed to support an extensive range of exchanges, media outreach, grant programs, and broader public engagements.

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

Answer. The messaging guidance provided by the Department is executed, supported, and refined for foreign audiences by public diplomacy teams in our Embassies overseas, in close coordination with their corresponding regional bureaus' public diplomacy offices and the Bureau of Global Public Affairs (GPA). If confirmed, I will support our public diplomacy officers in their crafting of messaging campaigns and subsequent delivery to Pakistani audiences with maximum effect in the local context. Public diplomacy officers at our Embassies and in Washington, as well as monitoring and analyses undertaken by GPA and the Global Engagement Center, help us understand foreign audiences and design approaches that inform, listen to, and build relationships with them. Effective communication between the mission and Washington, as well as with the Government and people of Pakistan will be among my top priorities.

Question. "Anomalous health incidents," commonly referred to as "Havana Syndrome," have been debilitating and sidelining U.S. diplomats around the world for years. They have caused serious, negative consequences for U.S. diplomacy, yet many believe that the Department is not doing enough to care for, protect, and communicate to its personnel.

- If confirmed, do you commit to taking this threat seriously?

Answer. Yes. Secretary Blinken is committed to the health, safety, and security of Department personnel and family members serving domestically and overseas. This commitment extends to the handling of anomalous health incidents (AHI). As of October 2021, the Department has received reports of AHIs from every region of the globe. If I am confirmed, you have my commitment that I will work with my colleagues at the Department to address these cases in Mission Pakistan, to mitigate effects, if possible, and to ensure all employees and their families get any care they need.

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

Answer. If I am confirmed, you have my commitment that I will communicate effectively with my colleagues at Mission Pakistan. My door will remain open and I look forward to convening town halls and other events to demonstrate I value input and concerns of the team.

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

Answer. As the current Chief of Mission to Tunisia, I have already received briefings on the anomalous health incidents.

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

Answer. If I am confirmed, you have my commitment that I will follow the Department's protocols on reporting and addressing these incidents through the Health Incident Response Task Force (HIRTF).

Question. The past occurrences and ongoing threat of anomalous health incidents among Embassy personnel and their families poses a serious challenge to morale. When personnel at post fear for their safety or doubt that their case will be taken seriously if they were affected, the performance of Embassy operations can suffer. Whether or not anomalous health incidents occur at your Embassy, how will you work to restore and preserve morale that may be lost due to the knowledge these attacks have been occurring at posts around the world?

Answer. The Secretary and all of us at the Department and throughout the U.S. Government take reports of anomalous health incidents of our colleagues very seriously. We are committed to ensuring that employees and their families get any care they need. I also commit to sharing information with team members so they and their families might make decisions based on the threat that best suit their needs and well-being.

Question. Many of us are deeply concerned with the counterterror implications of the Biden administration's withdrawal from Afghanistan. According to open-source estimates, the Islamic State will be in a position to conduct external attacks in just 6 months—Al-Qaeda in two short years. What role should Afghanistan's neighbors play in protecting vital U.S. CT interests?

Answer. Pakistan seeks regional stability and has a shared interest in ensuring Afghanistan does not once again become host to terrorist groups with transnational ambitions. Pakistan is also concerned about the potential effects that Afghanistan's failed economy could directly have on its neighbors, such as impacts to trade, security, and refugee movements.

Pakistan has publicly emphasized the importance of the Taliban adhering to its commitments not to allow Afghanistan to become a safe haven for terrorists to launch attacks against the United States and our allies. If confirmed, I intend to work actively with the Pakistani Government to ensure it plays a constructive role in monitoring and mitigating the threat of terrorist activity emanating from Afghanistan. I also will urge the Pakistani Government to hold the Taliban accountable in preventing terrorist groups, such as al-Qaeda and ISIS-K, from using Afghanistan as a base for external operations that could threaten the United States or our allies.

Question. Faced with a rising China, the U.S. and India have significantly expanded strategic cooperation in recent years. While necessary, this cooperation may impact the balance of power in South Asia. In light of the existing nuclear programs maintained by both India and Pakistan, any mismatch—whether it be perceived or otherwise—in the balance of power has significant implications for U.S. national security interests. If confirmed, what steps would you take to maintain stability in the South Asia region and mitigate a balance of power contest between India and Pakistan?

Answer. The Department remains concerned by the growth of nuclear and missile capabilities in Asia. Pakistan has a shared interest in avoiding a costly arms race with its neighbors. If confirmed, I will urge the Pakistani Government to exercise restraint regarding its weapons capabilities. I also will work with my counterpart in Mission India to urge all parties to maintain peace and stability, including along the Line of Control, and refrain from actions or statements that could impact regional stability. I also will support a security assistance posture in which all proposals continue to be rigorously vetted to ensure they enhance our national security and foreign policy objectives, including contributing to regional stability.

Question. Despite attempts to make inroads into Pakistan, Chinese investments have yet to yield the promised returns for Pakistan. Chinese Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) is on the decline and there is reportedly growing frustration inside Pakistan about the cost of Chinese projects. In recent months, projects under CPEC have stalled over reported disagreements between Pakistan and China. This presents a potential opportunity for the US. How would you characterize China's relationship with Pakistan? Are there tools at our disposal we can use to prevent Chinese predatory practices in Pakistan? Should the US provide technical assistance to Pakistan to safeguard against predatory deals with China?

Answer. CPEC is Beijing's single largest project in the PRC's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), largely made of loans by PRC state-owned banks. Pakistan and the PRC remain politically and institutionally committed to CPEC, and Pakistani leaders from across the political spectrum continue to characterize it as vital to Pakistan's economic growth and prosperity. The Pakistani public has supported the long-standing relations with the PRC, with minor exceptions, such as Baloch separatists opposed to CPEC projects in their region.

Pakistan and the PRC have strong bilateral political ties dating back to the 1960s, with the PRC typically backing Pakistani positions in UN bodies and attempts to insulate it from punitive actions. Pakistan, in return, tends to behave reciprocally; for example, Pakistan avoids criticism of the PRC's human rights abuses including genocide and crimes against humanity in Xinjiang, which it dismisses as an internal matter.

PRC global lending, including to Pakistan, however, frequently fails to meet international standards of openness, inclusivity, transparency, and governance.

Unsustainably high financial obligations that are at odds with those standards risk undermining Pakistan's economic stability and limit opportunities for Pakistani workers and businesses, and underscore potential dissonance in the Pakistan-PRC economic relationship.

Pakistan's strong ties with China do not preclude the United States from also having a productive partnership with Pakistan. Pakistan's stated aspirations of a "geo-economic"-driven foreign policy demonstrates its interest in diversifying its relationship beyond Beijing. The United States is a key partner for Pakistan's private sector, and we have been Pakistan's largest export market for decades. The United States enjoys strong people-to-people ties with Pakistan through the diaspora, civil society, educational exchanges, and beyond. Expanding upon these ties will be a key priority for me if I am confirmed.

In our assistance in Pakistan, the United States emphasizes that our approach to development underscores the importance of economic independence and sustainable development, as well as quality and transparent investments. If confirmed, I stand ready to work with Pakistan on the next chapter of its infrastructure development.

Question. Many contend that Pakistan prioritizes counterterrorism inside of its own borders over countering violent extremism. What programs would you pursue to encourage Pakistan to counter violent extremism?

Answer. The USAID Mission in Pakistan prioritizes countering violent extremism as part of its development objective to promote inter-religious tolerance and create peaceful communities in key areas within Pakistan, namely areas bordering Afghanistan, Karachi, Northern Sindh, and Southern Punjab. Our public affairs section also implements a range of programming preventing and countering violent extremism throughout Pakistan. If confirmed, I plan to support programming that encourages Pakistan to prevent and counter violent extremism in addition to U.S. efforts that are focused on the threat of counterterrorism.

Question. Despite the end of the military mission in Afghanistan, the United States has vital national security interests there to include counterterrorism, preventing a humanitarian catastrophe and the continued evacuation of Americans and at-risk Afghans. What role does Pakistan play or should play in each of these areas? Please provide an answer for each.

Answer. Pakistan has a shared interest in ensuring Afghanistan does not become a safe haven for terrorist groups to launch attacks from or create conflict that spills over into Pakistan or neighboring countries. If confirmed, I commit to engaging with Pakistani officials in any way that supports our core counterterrorism objectives in the region. Pakistan is also deeply concerned about preventing further economic instability and humanitarian need in Afghanistan. Hosting and inviting the United States as an observer to the December Organization of Islamic Cooperation ministerial, for example, demonstrates Pakistan's desire to work with the U.S. and international stakeholders to address the humanitarian crisis in Afghanistan.

The Pakistani Government has convened multiple meetings, including through the Troika Plus format, to work with regional and international stakeholders to chart a way forward in Afghanistan. If confirmed, I commit to working with the Pakistani Government on our mutual interests to prevent further violence and stabilize the Afghan economy, as well as mitigate the human cost of the further humanitarian crisis in Afghanistan. Pakistan has been helpful in supporting the evacuation and relocation of U.S. citizens, lawful permanent residents, special immigrant visa applicants, and other Afghans to whom the United States has a special commitment. If confirmed, I will seek to continue that cooperation.

Question. What leverage does Pakistan have with the Taliban?

Answer. Pakistan repeatedly called for an inclusive political solution to the conflict in Afghanistan, though it has stopped short of taking steps that would jeopardize its longstanding relationship with the Taliban. The State Department has engaged with the Pakistani Government at senior levels, including Secretary Blinken, Deputy Secretary Sherman, and Special Representative for Afghanistan West, to urge close coordination and alignment with the international community on the way forward in Afghanistan.

If confirmed, I will convey to Pakistan the importance the U.S. administration places on Pakistan's constructive role moving forward. I also will make it clear to Pakistan that a government in Kabul that allows safe passage for those who wish to leave Afghanistan, is inclusive, protects the rights of women and members of minority groups, adheres to its counterterrorism commitments, and ensures humanitarian access would be in the best interests of all countries in the region.

Question. Pakistan, fearing for a humanitarian disaster in Afghanistan on its border, continues to advocate for increased humanitarian assistance and foreign assistance to Afghanistan. What is the practical level of assistance the United States should provide to Afghanistan? What restrictions should accompany U.S. assistance?

Answer. I remain deeply concerned by the deteriorating humanitarian situation in Afghanistan. The United States should direct assistance to independent organizations, such as UN agencies and NGOs, to directly help Afghan people in need. None of our humanitarian assistance is directed to sanctioned individuals and entities.

Since mid-August, the United States has announced more than \$208 million in additional humanitarian assistance for the people of Afghanistan. This funding brings our humanitarian assistance inside Afghanistan and in the region to nearly \$474 million in Fiscal Year 2021.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO HON. DONALD ARMIN BLOME BY SENATOR MARCO RUBIO

Question. The United States has maintained a high level of cooperation with the Pakistani Government and military in order to ensure our ability to supply the American and allied forces in Afghanistan. We maintained this cooperation even as Pakistan has grown closer to Chinese Communist Party in recent years. Now that the U.S. no longer has a mission in Afghanistan to support, I believe it is valid to question whether we should continue this cooperation.

- How do you envision the future of U.S.-Pakistani security relations moving forward?

Answer. The United States and Pakistan have a shared interest in regional stability, including ensuring Afghanistan does not once again become host to terrorist groups. If confirmed, I will ensure that any security cooperation with Pakistan enhances our national security and foreign policy objectives. I will make sure that engagement with Pakistan is focused on supporting a partnership aimed at combatting mutual threats in line with specific administration priorities. Those priorities include counterterrorism, border security, and maritime cooperation, and in the short-term, securing continued assistance in evacuating American citizens and others at risk from Afghanistan.

Question. If confirmed, will you advocate for limiting security assistance to the Pakistani military? If not, why?

Answer. If confirmed, I will ensure that any security assistance proposals considered for Pakistan continue to be rigorously vetted to ensure they enhance our national security and further specific foreign policy objectives.

Question. As a major partner in China's Belt and Road Initiative, Pakistan has increasingly moved into China's sphere of influence. Bilateral trade between Pakistan and China hit "record levels" in 2021. Lijian Zhao, spokesman for the Chinese Foreign Ministry even praised Pakistan's declining to participate in the President's democracy summit last week.

- Should the U.S.-Pakistan relationship adjust to account for Pakistan's increasingly warm relations with the Chinese Communist Party? If so, what role will you play in this adjustment, if confirmed?

Answer. China's close ties with Pakistan do not preclude the United States from also having a productive partnership with Pakistan, in furtherance of U.S. national security and strategic regional goals. The Pakistani people have an interest in working with and growing Pakistan's long-standing relationship with the United States. The United States is a key partner for Pakistan's private sector, and we have been Pakistan's largest export market for decades. We have partnered with Pakistan in the energy sector for over 60 years. The United States enjoys strong people-to-people ties with Pakistan through the diaspora, civil society, educational exchanges, and beyond. Strong cooperation in fighting COVID-19 in Pakistan is grounded in a health relationship that dates back decades. Additionally, Pakistan's stated aspirations of a "geo-economic" driven foreign policy demonstrates its interest in diversifying its relationship beyond Beijing. If confirmed, I will stand strongly in support of strengthening democratic institutions in Pakistan. I will also continue U.S. support for civil society development, focused on boosting democratic resilience and increasing media literacy, while partnering with the Pakistani Government in addressing pressing regional security and political concerns.

Question. If confirmed, will you advocate for de-listing Pakistan as a Major Non-NATO Ally (MNNA) given that they continue to build relations with our most significant global competitor? If not, why not?

Answer. Pakistan remains an important partner with shared strategic interests. Pakistan seeks regional stability and has a shared interest in ensuring Afghanistan does not once again become host to terrorist groups with transnational ambitions.

If confirmed, I commit to consider all tools at our disposal and regularly engage with Pakistani officials at the highest levels to convey the U.S. expectation that Pakistan must advance a peaceful, stable, and prosperous South Asia. I commit to consulting closely with this committee on any consideration of a change in MNNA status.

Question. Last week, the Taliban's Pakistan affiliate, the Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP), announced that it is ending its ceasefire with the Pakistani Government and will resume attacks against Pakistani civilians.

- What is your assessment of the TTP's ability to carry out renewed attacks on the Pakistani military and civilians?

Answer. The Pakistani people have suffered at the hands of terrorists, including the TTP. TTP cells began to conduct attacks killing Pakistani security officers immediately after the TTP announced the end of the ceasefire with the Government of Pakistan. Our interests align with the Pakistani Government's in degrading the TTP's ability to conduct attacks inside or outside Pakistan. Pakistan has acted against terrorist groups like the TTP that it considers a threat to its own interests, but the threat of further attacks remains present.

If confirmed, I will reinforce our shared interest with the Pakistani Government in taking action against the TTP and all other terrorist groups.

Question. If confirmed, what would you do in response to a TTP attack that killed or injured Americans living in Pakistan?

Answer. The protection of U.S. citizens overseas is among the highest priorities of the U.S. Department of State and our Embassies and consulates abroad. If confirmed, I will work to support the Pakistani Government in taking action against the TTP and other terrorist groups while ensuring the perpetrators of any attacks against American interests or citizens are brought to justice.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO HON. DONALD ARMIN BLOME BY SENATOR TODD YOUNG

Question. Some in Pakistan have been longtime supporters of the Taliban, and we understand Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence Agency is helping support the Taliban. What is your assessment of Pakistan's relationship with the Taliban?

Answer. Pakistan has not formally recognized the so-called "caretaker government" that the Taliban announced on September 7 and has publicly stated it would not unilaterally do so without consultations with other countries. Prior to the Taliban's takeover of Kabul, Pakistan repeatedly called for a political solution to the conflict in Afghanistan, and since August 15, Pakistan has continued to stress the need for an inclusive political settlement in Afghanistan and has pressed the Taliban leadership to assure education and employment rights for women and girls. Pakistan has, however, clearly sought to maintain its longstanding relationship with the Taliban and has not taken steps that would jeopardize that relationship. Pakistan moreover is among the strongest voices arguing for direct engagement of the Taliban on humanitarian issues to avert a major crisis in Afghanistan this winter. If confirmed, I would continue to urge Pakistan to stay aligned with the international community on the way forward in Afghanistan. Pakistan seeks regional stability and desire to work with the United States to ensure transnational terrorist groups do not receive harbor in or otherwise operate from Afghan territory.

Question. If confirmed, how would you engage with the Government of Pakistan on the issue of Afghanistan and the Taliban in particular?

Answer. If confirmed, I will make it clear to Pakistan that it is in the best interests of all countries in the region that leadership in Kabul must: allow safe passage for those who wish to leave Afghanistan, include minorities; protect the rights of women and members of minority groups; adhere to counterterrorism commitments; and ensure humanitarian access. Senior Pakistani officials have continued to stress the need for an inclusive political settlement and the protection of women's educational and employment rights in Afghanistan.

The State Department has engaged with the Pakistani Government at senior levels to urge close coordination and alignment with the international community on the way forward in Afghanistan.

Question. What do you see are the consequences of Pakistan’s direct support to the Taliban for U.S. development and security assistance with Pakistan?

Answer. The United States has substantially reduced civilian assistance to Pakistan and is focused on results-oriented bilateral cooperation. I would seek to employ targeted civilian assistance to Pakistan to advance U.S. interests and national security objectives, including countering PRC influence, increasing trade and investment, strengthening governance, promoting human rights, and combatting the COVID-19 pandemic and other critical health threats. If confirmed, I will ensure that any security assistance considered for Pakistan advances our national security and foreign policy objectives. I will make sure that security assistance to Pakistan is focused on partnering to help combat mutual threats in line with specific administration priorities. This includes counterterrorism, border security, and maritime cooperation.

Question. What is your assessment of the potential for further conflict in the Kashmir region or elsewhere between India and Pakistan? What should the United States do to reduce this potential?

Answer. The potential for armed conflict between Pakistan and India is a serious risk. Many previous Indo-Pak crises have been sparked by terrorist attacks, and terrorist groups remain active in the region. If confirmed, I will urge Pakistan to uphold the Indian-Pakistani commitment in February 2021 to observe all agreements pertaining to a ceasefire on the Line of Control. I also will work with my counterpart in Mission India to urge all parties to maintain peace and stability along the Line of Control, refrain from actions or statements that could impact regional stability, and to support confidence-building measures that will reduce tensions between the two states. I also will press Pakistan to continue to take action against terrorist leaders and groups seeking to destabilize the region.

Question. If confirmed, how would you work with U.S. representatives in India and with the Government of Pakistan to pursue greater rapprochement between India and Pakistan?

Answer. Longstanding U.S. policy is that the pace, scope, and character of any dialogue on bilateral disputes is for India and Pakistan to determine. If confirmed, I will urge Pakistan to uphold the February 2021 Indian-Pakistani commitment to observe the ceasefire on the Line of Control. I will also work with my counterpart in Mission India to urge all parties to maintain peace and stability along the Line of Control and refrain from actions or statements that could negatively impact regional stability. This includes preventing acts of terrorism and taking action against terrorist groups that agitate tensions. We must also work with both countries to support confidence-building measures that will reduce bilateral tensions.

Question. On December 9, the Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesperson applauded Pakistan’s decision to not attend the Democracy Summit, calling Pakistan “a real iron brother.” China likes to use that term “iron brother” when referring to Pakistan, and in this case it seems framed as if Pakistan is aligning with China against the United States and our push for democratic values throughout the world. How would you characterize the relationship between China and Pakistan?

Answer. China’s close ties with Pakistan date back to the sixties. Those ties do not preclude the United States from also having a productive partnership with Pakistan. The Pakistani people have an interest in working with and growing Pakistan’s relationship with the United States. The United States is a key partner for Pakistan’s private sector, and we have been Pakistan’s largest export market for decades. The United States enjoys strong people-to-people ties with Pakistan through the diaspora, civil society, educational exchanges, and beyond. Additionally, Pakistan’s stated aspirations of a “geo-economics” driven foreign policy demonstrates its interest in diversifying its relationship beyond Beijing.

Question. Do you feel Pakistan’s young democracy can withstand pressure from authoritarian China seeking to undermine its institutions?

Answer. Pakistan has a tradition of vibrant parliamentary politics and a large, active civil society. More work needs to be done to ensure all Pakistanis are able to safely exercise their human rights and other fundamental freedoms, such as freedoms of press and of expression, key to robust democratic participation. If confirmed, I will stand strongly in support of strengthening democratic institutions in Pakistan.

I believe the Pakistani people have a strong interest in doing business and growing Pakistan's relationship with the United States. The United States is a key partner for Pakistan's private sector, and we have been Pakistan's largest export market for decades. The United States enjoys strong people-to-people ties with Pakistan through the diaspora, civil society, educational exchanges, and beyond. If confirmed, I will continue and expand U.S. Government efforts on these issues with the Government of Pakistan, civil society, minority populations, and the private sector.

Question. What can the United States do to support Pakistan's democracy and counter Chinese misinformation?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work with Pakistani leaders to strengthen Pakistan's democratic institutions by advocating for greater transparency and accountability, as well as for recognition of its citizens' human rights and fundamental freedoms, including freedom of expression and freedom of the press. If confirmed, I will stand strongly in support of strengthening democratic institutions in Pakistan. I will also continue U.S. support for civil society development, focused on boosting democratic resilience and increasing media literacy, while partnering with the Pakistani Government in addressing regional security and political concerns.

Question. China has long made Pakistan its poster child for its Belt and Road debt financing scheme, with quick money through opaque terms under the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor. Beijing is now Pakistan's largest creditor, and many of the loans have failed to provide the promised boost to Pakistan's development, only raising costs for the people of Pakistan. Probably the best proof we have that there is trouble brewing has been the recent press reports coming out of China stating there is no debt crisis in Pakistan. How do you view Chinese lending to Pakistan? Has it led to genuine development for the people of Pakistan?

Answer. PRC global lending, including to Pakistan, frequently fails to meet international standards for openness, inclusivity, transparency, and governance. Unsustainably high financial obligations that are at odds with those standards risk undermining Pakistan's economic stability and limit opportunities for Pakistani workers and businesses. If confirmed, in my engagements and activities in Pakistan, I would emphasize that the U.S. approach to development underscores the importance of economic independence, fair competition, and sustainable development, as well as quality and transparent investments.

Question. As Chinese lending to Pakistan has waned in the past year as more Pakistanis recognized the costs and risks, are there opportunities to pursue more fundamental development and economic reforms?

Answer. Pakistan's stated aspirations of a "geo-economics"-driven foreign policy demonstrates interest in diversifying its relationship beyond China. If confirmed, I stand ready to work with Pakistan on introducing economic reforms to improve the business and investment climate.

Question. What do you assess is the appetite within Pakistan to make difficult economic reforms to ensure genuine development?

Answer. Pakistan remains a challenging environment for foreign investors. Weak rule of law, opaque decision making, disproportionate taxation, limited enforcement of intellectual property rights, and overly burdensome regulation are all problems regularly encountered by foreign investors. I believe there is recognition in Pakistan that enacting reforms to improve its business climate is needed. I commend Pakistan's recent commitments to implement macroeconomic reforms as outlined in Pakistan's IMF program, which will increase central bank autonomy and help get the country's macroeconomic situation on a more sustainable path. If confirmed, I will encourage Pakistan to continue to address its investment climate, security, regulatory, and fiscal challenges to address U.S. businesses' concerns.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO HON. ERIC M. GARCETTI BY SENATOR ROBERT MENENDEZ

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

Answer. I share your concerns about Anomalous Health Incidents (AHIs) and agree these incidents must be taken seriously. If confirmed, my top priority will be the health, safety, and security of Department personnel and family members serving in Mission India. I understand the interagency community is actively examining a range of hypotheses but has made no determination about the cause of these Anomalous Health Incidents or whether they can be attributed to a foreign actor. AHIs have been a top priority for Secretary Blinken, who set clear goals for the Health Incident Response Task Force to strengthen the Department's communication with our workforce, provide care for affected employees and family members, and better protect against these events in the future as we continue to work closely with the interagency to find the cause of these AHIs.

If confirmed, I look forward to coordinating with colleagues at Mission India and in Washington to safeguard Mission personnel and ensure prompt treatment should any incidents occur.

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

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, you have my commitment that I will follow the Department's protocols on reporting and addressing these incidents through the Health Incident Response Task Force (HIRTF) and ensure any affected individuals receive prompt access to the medical care they require.

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

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I will prioritize meeting with RSO and medical staff to ensure the safety of Mission India's personnel, which will be my responsibility as Chief of Mission.

Question. Despite efforts by New Delhi to reduce its overall dependence on Russian arms, I remain deeply concerned about the S-400 sale and Russia-India defense ties. Both Indian and Russian officials have now said that deliveries of the S-400 have already begun. The presence of the S-400 systems, and the Russian personnel who will presumably have to be present to monitor, train and service them, could compromise U.S. technology should India seek to purchase advanced fighter aircraft from the United States. Do you commit to trying to dissuade India from accepting the S-400 and other Russian military hardware? How do we convince our Indian friends that Vladimir Putin is not a good long-term security partner?

Answer. If confirmed, I will continue to press India to continue to diversify away from Russian arms purchases. Since 1990, India has taken considerable steps to diversify its defense supplier base away from Russia and expand indigenous production. If confirmed, I will work with the Department of Defense to accelerate this trend, including by highlighting U.S. reliability and maintenance support, bolstering interoperability, and increasing offers of advanced U.S. platforms and co-development opportunities. I will also work to ensure U.S. technologies are safeguarded, if confirmed. If confirmed, I will underscore that closer cooperation with Russia does not align with the strategic interests and values shared by the United States and India.

Question. Helping India reduce its carbon emissions is critical in the global fight against climate change. The Biden administration took a good first step earlier this year by launching the U.S.-India Climate and Clean Energy Agenda 2030 Partnership. How will you bolster and promote the U.S.-India climate partnership once in New Delhi?

Answer. Deepening climate and clean energy cooperation with India is a top priority for the Biden-Harris administration. Recently, the U.S. Development Finance Corporation announced a \$500 million investment to support U.S. firm First Solar's efforts to expand solar panel manufacturing in India. If confirmed, I pledge to form a close relationship with key Indian interlocutors to deepen climate cooperation and will work closely with Special Presidential Envoy for Climate Kerry to seize clean energy opportunities, including solar, civil nuclear, wind, and hydrogen. Advancing our new bilateral cooperation mechanisms—the Climate Ambition and Finance Mobilization Dialogue (CAFMD) and the Strategic Clean Energy Partnership (SCEP)—will be one of my key priorities.

Question. India is central to dealing with the China challenge, given its size, strategic location, and democratic orientation. India has the opportunity to play a decisive role in the Indo-Pacific but needs help improving some of its capabilities. How

can we deepen U.S.-India security and defense ties? What capabilities does India need to be able to play a greater role in the Quad?

Answer. U.S.-India security cooperation has been underpinned by growing interoperability and information sharing, sales of U.S. platforms, and complex multi-service exercises. If confirmed, I will work to accelerate these lines of effort, including in the critical area of maritime security. I will also explore opportunities to expand security cooperation among India and other like-minded partners, including Quad partners, while recognizing that the Quad's primary function is not security related. I will encourage India's continued robust, multi-level Quad engagement across multiple ministries and seek opportunities to provide U.S. support and assistance, as appropriate, to facilitate India's efforts, if confirmed.

Question. As the world's largest democracy, India has a responsibility to protect the fundamental rights of their citizens. The Government's track record on this issue is poor to say the least. The Indian Government under Prime Minister Modi's Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) has veered toward illiberalism through its approach to press and media freedoms, its abuse of India's anti-terrorism law, and its intolerance toward opposition voices. Much of the logic of the U.S.-India partnership is based on India as a democracy, sharing in our values, not just a counterweight to China. Will you communicate to our friends in New Delhi that a closer partnership with the United States demands a principled commitment to democracy? How will you communicate this U.S. commitment to the Indian Government?

Answer. As I have demonstrated throughout my career, respect for human rights is a core priority of mine. If confirmed, I will engage the Indian Government closely on our shared democratic values, underscoring the importance the United States places on the recognition and protection of human rights. If confirmed, I will also closely engage Indian civil society for their expertise on these issues and to hear their concerns.

Question. How will you ensure that U.S. prioritization of human rights and democracy is not lost in the focus on our security relationship with India?

Answer. The U.S.-India strategic partnership is multi-dimensional, and human rights and democratic values must play a role in every part of our partnership, including our security relationship. If confirmed, I will continue the work of Mission India to encourage the Indian Government to maintain the respect for human rights as an important dimension of our security relationship.

Question. Democracies have a responsibility to protect the fundamental rights of their citizens, including religious minorities. Mobilization of Hindu nationalist elements against Muslim and other minority communities have weakened Indian democracy. Authorities often fail to investigate or hold perpetrators accountable for attacks and crimes against Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, and members of other minorities are regularly met with impunity. The National Register of Citizens for Assam (NRC) and the Citizenship Act of 2019 both have been implemented to prevent Muslims from obtaining or strip Muslims of Indian citizenship, while the Unlawful Activities Prevention Act has been used to detain and prosecute members of the Sikh community. How will you promote religious tolerance and freedom as ambassador, particularly given that individuals affiliated with the BJP are often responsible for many of these abhorrent policies? How will you follow up on issues outlined in the USCIRF report?

Answer. The Biden administration is dedicated to protecting and promoting the right of freedom of religion or belief. If confirmed, I will engage with members of diverse religious communities in India to demonstrate the importance of freedom of religion or belief as a core priority of the Biden administration and listen to their perspectives on religious freedom in India. I will also raise concerns regarding religious freedom directly with senior Indian Government officials and encourage the Indian Government to uphold its commitments to protect religious freedom for all.

Question. India is not a signatory to the Hague Abduction Convention, nor are there any bilateral agreements in force between India and the United States concerning International Parental Child Abduction (IPCA). According to the State Department's 2021 report on international child abductions, India does not adhere to any protocols with respect to IPCA and continues to demonstrate a pattern of non-compliance. Indian authorities regularly fail to work with the Department of State toward the resolution of pending abduction cases. In January 2020, the Department of State proposed the formation of a U.S.-India Joint Committee on IPCA as a bilateral forum to facilitate cooperation on addressing IPCA issues. The Government of India has not yet agreed to participate in the Joint Committee. Will you commit to

personally urging the Government of India to agree to the Joint Committee on IPCA and to accede to the Hague Abduction Convention?

Answer. International Parental Child Abduction (IPCA) is a top priority for the State Department and our leading consular challenge with India. If confirmed, I will partner with the Bureau of Consular Affairs to press the Government of India to resolve pending IPCA cases, improve cooperation with the United States on IPCA including via dedicated bilateral conversations between our experts on consular issues, and encourage India's accession to the Hague Convention on the Civil Aspects of International Child Abduction to regularize cooperation. I welcome partnering with Congress to encourage the Indian Government to make progress on this challenging issue impacting our most vulnerable citizens.

Question. The majority of child abduction cases in India from U.S. residents, including with my constituents in New Jersey, have not been resolved. Will you do everything in your power to ensure that internationally abducted children of U.S. residents be returned to their habitual country of residence, including by personally raising these matters with Indian officials?

Answer. Yes, if confirmed, I commit to personally raising IPCA with Indian officials. As a parent myself, I recognize the pain of parents separated from their children as a result of international parental child abduction.

Question. India has proposed intermediary guidelines and data localization measures across many critical sectors which would restrict, and in some cases preclude, the ability of U.S. companies to do business in India. Ambassador Tai recently met with her Indian counterpart under the Trade Policy Forum (TPF) and both sides have committed to establish an action plan in 2022. How will you use the TPF, in addition to other U.S.-India economic dialogues, to raise this issue as well as other important IP and digital issues?

Answer. Reducing tariff and non-tariff barriers for U.S. companies seeking to do business in India is essential to increasing bilateral trade and creating resilient supply chains. If confirmed, I plan to work closely with my USTR colleagues to implement any TPF action plans and pledge to raise U.S. trade and economic concerns directly with senior Indian leaders, including these important concerns regarding the intermediary guidelines and data localization. I also plan to advocate for closer consultations with U.S. and Indian businesses on data-related legislation and regulations, if confirmed.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO HON. ERIC M. GARCETTI BY SENATOR JAMES E. RISCH

Question. In the 2021 Trafficking in Persons Report, India was identified as Tier 2 due to lack of overall inadequate anti-trafficking efforts, including high acquittal rate for traffickers and fewer convictions for traffickers. How will you work with the Indian Government to address these issues if you are confirmed as Ambassador?

Answer. As Mayor of Los Angeles, I have worked with the local community and law enforcement to combat trafficking and reintegrate survivors in their communities. If confirmed, I will engage relevant Indian Government ministries on the importance of both of our countries working together to combat human trafficking. As a bulk of anti-trafficking efforts in India take place at the state and local level, I will strongly work with the Mission to engage state governments on the importance of anti-trafficking efforts, as well, including through leveraging projects funded through our foreign affairs assistance.

Question. In the 2020 International Religious Freedom report, it was clear that India has significant religious freedom issues. What is your assessment of this particular issue and if confirmed, how will you work with the Office of International Religious Freedom to bolster religious freedom in-country?

Answer. As diverse and pluralistic democracies, the United States and India share a common identity underscored by the importance of religious freedom in our constitutions. Nonetheless, both of our countries face challenges related to religious freedom, and, if confirmed, I will engage closely with India's religious minorities to learn more about their perspective on these challenges. I will also raise concerns regarding religious freedom directly with senior Indian Government officials. If confirmed, I look forward to coordinating closely with Ambassador-at-Large Hussain and will greatly value the Office of International Religious Freedom's expertise on our engagement on religious freedom issues in India.

Question. In the 2020 Human Rights Report, India was identified as having serious human rights abuses and issues including tolerance of violations of religious freedom, forced and compulsory child labor, restrictions on freedom of the press and expression including threats of violence against journalists, impunity for officials, and more. If confirmed, what steps will you take to address these instances with the host government?

Answer. I have fought for human rights throughout my public service career and believe human rights are a core priority of our foreign policy. If confirmed, I will ensure human rights are central to my engagements with senior Indian leaders by regularly raising human rights concerns and having frank, open discussions to explore how both of our democracies can better protect and respect human rights. I will also engage closely with members of civil society across India to better understand their concerns and underscore U.S. support for their important work.

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

Answer. I understand that Mission India has a robust relationship with numerous Indian civil society organizations specializing in many important areas, such as freedom of expression, gender equality, LGBTQI+ rights, and anti-trafficking efforts, among many others. I understand the important information that Mission India learns from its engagement with civil society informs State Department policy and our Congressional reporting. If confirmed, I will prioritize the robust enhancement and prioritization of these engagements with a diverse array of civil society organizations across India and look forward to meeting with civil society organizations personally.

Question. Please detail your planned engagement with the Indian Government regarding the protection of religious minorities, including Muslims?

Answer. Freedom of religion is protected under the Indian Constitution and religious pluralism is central to India's cultural identity. If confirmed, I plan to regularly meet religious leaders and organizations across many of India's religious communities, including India's diverse Muslim community, to demonstrate the United States' commitment to religious freedom and learn from the perspectives of India's religious minority communities. If confirmed, I pledge to raise religious freedom concerns with Indian officials and encourage the Indian Government to uphold our shared values of pluralism and tolerance.

Question. India is currently in the first year of a two-year term on the Security Council to further their long-standing goal of becoming a permanent member. There are a number of issues that the U.S. and India do not agree on, including the Syria Humanitarian Assistance Cross Border mechanism. This past summer, the mechanism was renewed for one more year but not without significant obstacles to do so including a no vote by India. If confirmed, do you commit to engaging with the Indian Government on this important issue and communicating the U.S. position that this mechanism is a vital lifeline for millions of Syrians that must be renewed?

Answer. The United States fully supports the Syrian Humanitarian Assistance Cross Border Mechanism. If confirmed, I will work with our Indian partners to encourage their support for this important initiative.

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

Answer. If confirmed, I will work closely with our Indian partners and coordinate with my colleagues in the IO Bureau and others across the U.S. interagency to continue our support and advocate for Doreen Bogdan-Martin. I will also seek to deepen bilateral cooperation to advance shared priorities on critical telecommunications issues, if confirmed.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to aiding the MSP office in efforts to support U.S.-desired candidates within the U.N. system?

Answer. If confirmed, I will closely coordinate with my colleagues in the MSP office in the IO Bureau, U.S. interagency, and like-minded countries to advance efforts to elect qualified, independent U.S.-desired candidates for U.N. bodies.

Question. Do you commit to pressing India on tech protection/mitigation if it moves forward the S-400 transaction?

Answer. Yes. The protection of U.S. defense technologies is critical, and if confirmed, I will work closely with the Department of Defense on this matter.

Question. Do you commit to ensuring India takes appropriate technology protection/mitigation if the administration decides to issue a CAATSA waiver for India?

Answer. If confirmed, I will strongly encourage the Indian Government to refrain from major new purchases of Russian military equipment that could risk mandatory sanctions under CAATSA Section 231. I cannot prejudge whether a specific transaction would result in sanctions, and the Secretary of State has not made any determination regarding the significance of any transaction involving India. Technology protection talks are a regular feature of our engagement with the Government of India, and if confirmed, I will continue to support technology protection/mitigation.

Question. The U.S. and India have concluded a few agreements on co-development of technology, including the co-development of UAVs. What other opportunities are there for co-development with India? What challenges still remain to our technology cooperation with India?

Answer. The U.S.-India Defense Technology and Trade Initiative (DTTI) is our primary mechanism for pursuing defense co-development opportunities with India. DTTI continues to explore several potential projects, including for lightweight small arms. If confirmed, I will work closely with the Department of Defense and private sector to explore new opportunities for U.S.-India defense industrial collaboration and co-development.

Question. Do you commit to pressing India to be more helpful to the United States on Diego Garcia issues?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I will coordinate with the Department of Defense and like-minded countries to engage the Government of India as appropriate.

Question. How do you balance our defense interests with human rights and other values-based concerns?

Answer. No single issue defines the U.S.-India partnership and even close partners can have differences. If confirmed, I plan to engage on the full spectrum of issues in our comprehensive strategic partnership, including human rights.

Question. How do we build on the progress made in the wake of last year's Chinese border attacks? How can we provide more relevant and timely support to India?

Answer. The United States fully supports India's efforts to safeguard its sovereignty. If confirmed, I will ensure that the Department continues its efforts to strengthen and deepen the United States' strategic partnership with India, including in defense and security cooperation. I will support direct dialogue, a reduction in tensions, and a peaceful resolution to the border dispute, if confirmed.

Question. Do you commit to updating Congress, particularly the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, on the status of U.S. nuclear civil cooperation with India?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to updating Congress, including the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, on U.S.-India civil nuclear cooperation, including progress on the construction of U.S. nuclear power plants.

Question. There are six nuclear power plant projects being discussed with India. What is the status of these six projects?

Answer. I understand the United States continues to work with the Government of India and Westinghouse Electric Company (WEC) to support the construction of six AP1000 reactors at Kovvada in southern India. I understand negotiations have been delayed because of a multitude of factors. If confirmed, I will continue advocacy efforts on behalf of WEC.

Question. How would you describe the China-India relationship?

Answer. I understand India is deeply concerned about the People's Republic of China's economic coercion in the Indo-Pacific, its close relationship with Pakistan, and its aggression and destabilizing behavior along the Line of Actual Control.

Question. What do you foresee happening along the China-India border in the short- or medium-term?

Answer. The United States was encouraged by India and People's Republic of China's agreement on the limited disengagement of front-line troops in February 2021.

If confirmed, I will continue to support direct dialogue, a reduction in tensions, and a peaceful resolution to the border dispute.

Question. How should the U.S. respond or support allies and partners when they face political and economic coercion from China?

Answer. The United States supports a free and open Indo-Pacific region where every nation can prosper without fear of coercion. Our relationship with the People's Republic of China is cooperative when it can be, competitive when it should be, and adversarial when it must be. I believe it is critical for the United States to stand by allies and partners when facing political and economic coercion, including consulting them closely on the elements of support they require.

Question. What risks does the close Pakistan-China relationship present to India?

Answer. India remains very concerned about military cooperation between the People's Republic of China and Pakistan and the potential for coordinated aggression on two fronts, including an increase in cross-border terrorism and negative impacts on regional stability. If confirmed, I will work with our Indian partners on how the United States can best support regional stability and security.

Question. How does our withdrawal from Afghanistan change India's security environment and shift India's security priorities?

Answer. I understand India is concerned about potential terrorist threats emanating from Afghanistan and Pakistan, and the political situation in Afghanistan has created more uncertainty and instability in South Asia. If confirmed, I will work to deepen our counterterrorism partnership with India and consult Indian officials closely on matters related to Afghanistan, recognizing India's significant investments in Afghanistan over the past two decades.

Question. Describe your concerns in the short- and medium-term about the India-Pakistan relationship.

Answer. I welcome the sustained ceasefire along the Line of Control but remain concerned about the potential for an outbreak of violence sparked by extremist groups seeking to undermine regional stability. If confirmed, I will coordinate closely with my counterpart in Islamabad on these concerns.

Question. What will you do to support U.S.-India cooperation on counterterrorism?

Answer. The U.S.-India Counterterrorism Joint Working Group and Homeland Security Dialogue remain the primary mechanisms to deepen counterterrorism cooperation with India. I understand the United States and India enjoy a growing intelligence sharing partnership. If confirmed, I will work to accelerate these efforts.

Question. India has been particularly concerned about U.S. sanctions in Burma and how they might negatively affect Indian businesses in Burma. How would you balance these interests?

Answer. The United States is working closely with India to address the political and humanitarian crisis in Burma. We share an overall objective to end the violence, support Burma's path to democracy, and reach a peaceful resolution that respects the will of the people of Burma. If confirmed, I plan to coordinate closely with my colleagues in the Bureau of East Asian Pacific Affairs and my counterpart in Rangoon to expand coordination with India on Burma.

Question. Do you commit to working closely with the U.S. Ambassadors in Bangladesh and Sri Lanka?

Answer. Yes.

Question. What would be your primary goals on the economic front in India?

Answer. If confirmed, my primary economic goal is to strengthen the bilateral trade and investment relationship with India. Greater economic exchange will create well-paying jobs in both of our countries to the benefit of both of our populations.

Question. What are the key asks we should be making of India in terms of economic reform?

Answer. I understand India has made progress in strengthening its market economy through structural economic reforms such as adopting the Goods and Services Tax (GST) and Insolvency and Bankruptcy Code, consolidating numerous and often contradictory labor laws, improving the ease of doing business through trade facilitation, and expanding and improving infrastructure. If confirmed, I would suggest efforts to reform the economy should include increasing regulatory transparency and certainty through more uniform application of public notification and public com-

ment requirements for legislation, regulations, and draft rules to better incorporate input from stakeholders—such as workers, domestic and international companies, and non-governmental organizations. It is particularly important for India to consult with stakeholders in developing regulations that will continue to foster innovation and growth in digital trade and the technology sector. If confirmed, I would work with Indian officials to encourage sound regulatory policies, reduce trade barriers between our countries and improve market access for U.S. companies.

Question. India has a strategic energy agreement with the U.S. and has made lofty climate goals. Yet India's energy sector is still in its transition phase, and in the interim energy sources such as natural gas will become increasingly important for India. Do you commit to ensuring the Biden administration's focus on climate does not unfairly prejudice Indian energy goals and needs?

Answer. India has long advocated for a “just transition,” and I understand and agree with the importance of climate solutions that are fair and equitable. There are hundreds of millions of Indians living in poverty, who have done almost nothing to contribute to global warming yet will be most exposed to its negative effects. I understand USAID has several multi-million-dollar programs that are focusing on climate adaption and resilience, and, if confirmed, I look forward to engaging with our development specialists in Mission India. We recognize the complex environment within which India, as a huge and diverse developing nation, is transitioning its economy to a carbonless future. If confirmed, I look forward to working with India to support its target of having 500 GW of non-fossil power generation capacity installed by 2030 and its 2070 net-zero goal.

Question. Do you commit to working with India on natural gas, especially based on your experience in Los Angeles using natural gas as a transition fuel, as you indicated in your meeting with SFRC staff? If so, how will you advance this priority should you be confirmed?

Answer. If confirmed, my primary goal on climate matters is to support the Indian Government's goal of reaching 500 gigawatts of non-fossil energy by 2030. While India may need to build natural gas infrastructure as it transitions away from coal and, if confirmed, I am open to exploring working with India in this regard, I would want to make sure that there was a strong developmental impact and ensure that infrastructure is constructed in such a way to be compatible with next-generation fuels, such as green hydrogen.

Question. USTR is expected to travel to India this month. What should our trade priorities with India be? What deliverable would you like to see come out of this meeting?

Answer. USTR Tai visited India in late November to re-launch the U.S.-India Trade Policy Forum with Indian Minister of Commerce and Industry Piyush Goyal. By all accounts, the meeting was productive and will lay the groundwork for future enhancements to our trade relationship. I understand that both sides agreed that regular engagement under the Trade Policy Forum would help in addressing outstanding bilateral trade concerns and allow the two countries to explore important, emerging trade policy issues. I understand there was consensus to finalize work on several market access issues for U.S. and Indian agricultural items, and both sides discussed important economic matters related to medical devices, digital services, and electronic payment services.

Question. What are some opportunities we have with India on supply chain issues? What are going to be the challenges of looking to India as a source for non-PRC supply chains given some of the difficulties of investing and doing business there?

Answer. India shares our interest in secure and resilient supply chains. It has a major opportunity to expand manufacturing in areas like semiconductors, consumer electronics, and batteries, but this will require additional steps by the Indian Government to complete its ongoing infrastructure buildout to reduce logistics costs and promote greater predictability and transparency in the business environment. If confirmed, I will urge the Indian Government to address ease of doing business concerns while undertaking advocacy for U.S. firms.

Question. How will the Biden administration cooperate with India on 5G, digital security, and other emerging technology issues? Please be specific.

Answer. High technology cooperation with India is an important priority for the Biden administration. I understand the NSC Senior Director for Technology recently traveled to New Delhi to discuss potential ideas for cooperation, including on semiconductors, quantum computing, and artificial intelligence. I also understand the

Quad has launched a new working group on critical and emerging technologies. If confirmed, I will fully support these efforts and work to identify new areas for technological cooperation.

Question. India has imposed new restrictions on U.S. tech companies, such as requiring them to hire representatives to redress formal grievances from the Indian Government. India has threatened to jail employees of these companies. It's tightening content rules, etc. Is there anything you think that can be done about this?

Answer. If confirmed, I intend to engage on these concerns as some of India's policies in the digital and e-commerce space are problematic for U.S. companies and could set negative precedents for other countries. If confirmed, I plan to continue to raise these concerns with Indian officials at the appropriate ministries. I will also continue engagement with Indian and U.S. businesses and civil society regarding their concerns over these regulations, such as their impact on freedom of expression, if confirmed.

Question. What are your views on the purpose of the DFC?

Answer. I believe that the DFC is one of our most important foreign policy tools and is absolutely critical to supporting the American private sector abroad. This is especially true in a country like India, which has a growing and increasingly vibrant private sector, but remains an investment climate that can be challenging. DFC can be the actor that bridges that gap by encouraging companies to invest in projects they might not invest in otherwise. It is also sustainable for the American taxpayer: DFC/OPIC have consistently earned money for our Treasury. I know that DFC already has a significant portfolio in India, and, if confirmed, I would work to deepen and expand its work in India.

Question. DFC is investing significantly in India's solar industry. Will you prioritize working with the DFC as appropriate to ensure solar projects in India do not rely on PRC forced labor? Will you work with DFC to avoid purchasing solar equipment from the PRC for these projects?

Answer. I understand that DFC recently announced board approval for the First Solar project, which will provide \$500 million in financing for a 3.3 gigawatt solar facility near Chennai. This would be the largest debt investment in DFC's history. First Solar uses a unique manufacturing process that does not rely on technologies used by solar supply chains that are associated with forced labor in Xinjiang. If confirmed, I commit to working with DFC and other U.S. Government agencies to encourage a diversification of solar supply chains outside the People's Republic of China.

Question. Will you commit to leveraging the economic corps and other parts of the U.S. Mission to identify other types of energy projects in India, not just in the solar industry?

Answer. Yes.

Question. What are some of the other main areas development finance can make an impact in India?

Answer. Development finance can make an impact in India in a range of sectors. In India, we have development finance programs directly through DFC, and also indirectly through the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank, and other multilateral institutions. I understand there are ongoing projects in affordable housing, renewable energy, sustainable agriculture, and transportation.

Question. What is your understanding of morale throughout Mission India?

Answer. While I cannot yet comment on the morale of Mission India, I do look forward to working closely with our dedicated diplomats as Chief of Mission, if confirmed. If confirmed, maintaining high morale throughout Embassy Delhi and our four Consulates will be a key priority of mine.

Question. How do you intend to improve morale across all of Mission India?

Answer. As Mayor of Los Angeles and throughout my public service career, I have learned the importance of engaging directly with my teams to learn from their perspectives. If confirmed, I look forward to engaging closely with the Mission India team immediately upon my arrival for their recommendations on how I can maintain high morale throughout the Mission.

Question. How do you intend to create a unified mission and vision across Mission India?

Answer. If confirmed, I intend to closely consult leadership at the White House, Department of State, and my team in Mission India to ensure our mission and vi-

sion across Mission India advances the strategic priorities of the Biden administration and the well-being of the peoples of the United States and India in line with our strategic frameworks.

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

Answer. I believe that an organization works best when all employees feel valued and respected. I consider myself a caring and collaborative manager with an open-door policy. I work hard and expect the same of others, but I always underscore the importance of making the workplace welcoming and enjoyable. I am not a micro-manager, but I do want to understand every aspect of the organization to best value the individual and collective contributions of my team.

Question. If confirmed, how do you believe your management style will translate to an Embassy setting, where resources may not be readily available and your diplomatic workforce consists of career employees?

Answer. I have been proud to lead the city of Los Angeles which has more than 50,000 employees, many of whom are City workers for their entire careers. Our career workforce is dedicated to public service, and I work to empower them with the tools they need to succeed. I am used to motivating and directing a dispersed and diverse workforce that comes from multiple agencies and is located in multiple geographical areas, similar to the context of the U.S. Mission to India. I also believe that part of my job and part of our collective responsibility is to be more efficient and more cost effective. I feel that managing the City of Los Angeles through the COVID economic crisis has prepared me well for the management and organizational challenges facing me in Mission India, if confirmed.

Question. As a political appointee rather than career diplomat, do you believe it is incumbent upon new chiefs of mission to integrate themselves into Embassy operations and culture? If yes, how do you intend to do so?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I look forward to consulting my team across Mission India on day one to gain a strong understanding of Embassy operations and culture and learn how I contribute and strengthen both as Chief of Mission.

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

Answer. I do not believe this behavior is ever acceptable or constructive, whether in public or private. If confirmed, I pledge to conduct myself in a way that honors the American public and the Biden administration.

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

Answer. I understand no relationship is more vital at a diplomatic mission than the one between an ambassador and his/her deputy chief of mission (DCM). If confirmed, I intend to have a close working relationship with my DCM on all issues, including policy, Mission morale and welfare, and Mission maintenance.

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

Answer. If confirmed, I will greatly value the expertise of my DCM on all issues and look forward to working closely together in advancing U.S. foreign policy and the welfare of Mission India although I have not yet specifically delineated such responsibilities.

Question. It is imperative that U.S. diplomats get outside of posts abroad to meet with local actors, including host government officials, non-government organizations, and everyday citizens. If confirmed, will you encourage Mission India diplomats to engage in-person with the Indian people outside of U.S. Embassies and consulates?

Answer. Yes, if confirmed, this will be an important priority across all of Mission India. If confirmed, I also will look forward to meeting in-person with people of all backgrounds both in New Delhi and across India.

Question. Public diplomacy is an important aspect of U.S. foreign policy efforts. What is the public diplomacy environment like in India? What public diplomacy challenges do U.S. diplomats face?

Answer. India has a vibrant cultural and media environment shaped by its world-famous film industries, literary, dance, music, and artistic traditions, and dynamic television and press outlets. I understand that many cities in India, like Los Angeles, are filled with millions of highly resourceful and talented youths who are highly engaged with American social media platforms, such as Facebook, Instagram,

WhatsApp, and YouTube. Our countries are linked by robust people-to-people networks, driven by student scholarship and exchange programs, along with workers and diaspora communities in the United States, and increasing receptivity to U.S. attitudes and messages. I would imagine one of India's greatest strengths can be a challenge for public diplomacy outreach: configuring our outreach for a very large and populous country with widespread ethnic, linguistic, and cultural diversity. If confirmed, I look forward to closely working with our public diplomacy experts in Mission India on these matters.

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

Answer. If confirmed, I would greatly value the expertise of our Public Affairs Section in tailoring public diplomacy messages for diverse Indian audiences. I would expect that our Public Affairs Section would work in tandem with the Bureau of Global Public Affairs, the Bureau of South and Central Asian Affairs, and functional bureaus across the Department of State to ensure the Mission is well-connected with the messaging priorities of the Biden administration and leverage the additional analytical resources provided by the Department in Washington.

Question. "Anomalous health incidents," commonly referred to as "Havana Syndrome," have been debilitating and sidelining U.S. diplomats around the world for years. They have caused serious, negative consequences for U.S. diplomacy, yet many believe that the Department is not doing enough to care for, protect, and communicate to its personnel. If confirmed, do you commit to taking this threat seriously?

Answer. I share your concerns about Anomalous Health Incidents (AHIs). If confirmed, my top priority will be the health and welfare of Mission India personnel and their families. I understand the interagency community is actively examining a range of hypotheses but has made no determination about the cause of these Anomalous Health Incidents or whether they can be attributed to a foreign actor. AHIs have been a top priority for Secretary Blinken, who set clear goals for the Health Incident Response Task Force to strengthen the Department's communication with our workforce, provide care for affected employees and family members, and better protect against these events in the future as we continue to work closely with the interagency to find the cause of these AHIs.

If confirmed, I commit to taking this issue seriously and look forward to receiving further briefings on this issue and coordinating with colleagues in New Delhi and in Washington to safeguard Mission personnel and ensure prompt treatment should any incidents occur.

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

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I will share with information I can within the bounds of privacy and security concerns with my team and Mission India personnel.

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

Answer. If confirmed, I look forward to receiving further briefings on these incidents before departure for New Delhi as this will be an important priority for me.

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

Answer. If I am confirmed, you have my commitment that I will follow the Department's protocols on reporting and addressing these incidents through the Health Incident Response Task Force (HIRTF) by maintaining detailed records of the incident.

Question. The past occurrences and ongoing threat of anomalous health incidents among Embassy personnel and their families poses a serious challenge to morale. When personnel at post fear for their safety or doubt that their case will be taken seriously if they were affected, the performance of Embassy operations can suffer. Whether or not anomalous health incidents occur at your Embassy, how will you work to restore and preserve morale that may be lost due to the knowledge these attacks have been occurring at posts around the world?

Answer. If confirmed, I will closely listen to the concerns among U.S. and locally employed staff across Mission India regarding these anomalous health incidents and work closely with Department stakeholders such as the Bureau of Medical Services to ensure these concerns are addressed.

Question. Please provide an update on the status of U.S. civil nuclear cooperation with India.

Answer. I understand Department and interagency officials continue to discuss areas of civil nuclear cooperation with Indian authorities although several important projects, such as the installation of nuclear power plants, have stalled because of nuclear liability concerns from the Indian Government. If confirmed, I will work to advance progress on civil-nuclear cooperation.

Question. We understand there are six nuclear power plant projects being discussed with India. What is the status of these six projects?

Answer. The United States continues to work with the Government of India and Westinghouse Electric Company (WEC) to support the construction of six AP1000 reactors at Kovvada in southern India. I understand negotiations have been delayed because of a multitude of factors. If confirmed, I will continue advocacy efforts on behalf of WEC.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO HON. ERIC M. GARCETTI BY SENATOR MARCO RUBIO

Question. In recent years, the U.S.-India relationship has blossomed. Since the 2017 clashes near Doklam in Bhutan, we have seen a renewed willingness in India to align strategically with the United States to counter an increasingly revisionist China. If confirmed, how will you strengthen this relationship and U.S.-India defense coordination?

Answer. As evidenced by the 2+2 Ministerial Dialogue and the multitude of senior-level engagements, U.S.-India defense and security cooperation is a central pillar of the overall strategic partnership. As Major Defense Partners, U.S.-India security cooperation in recent years has been underpinned by growing interoperability and information sharing, sales of U.S. platforms, and complex multi-service exercises. If confirmed, I will work with the Department of Defense to accelerate these efforts, including in the critical area of maritime security.

Question. Specifically, if you are confirmed, how would you advise the United States to support India in maintaining the security of its northern border?

Answer. The United States fully supports India's efforts to safeguard its sovereignty. If confirmed, I will work closely with my colleagues at the Department of Defense to ensure we can meet India's military requests for assistance, including those related to information sharing, spares/munitions, and cold weather gear. I will also support bilateral dialogue and efforts to reduce tensions along the border.

Question. During Vladimir Putin's visit to India to announce the shipments of the SD-400s, India and Russia also signed 28 agreements to expand their bilateral trade. As you know, India historically sought close ties with the Soviet Union in order to balance against its tense, and sometimes hostile, relations with China. But in recent years, instead of the Sino-Soviet split that existed during the Cold War, Russia and China are increasingly aligned. How do you reconcile India's growing cooperation with the members of the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue with its warm relations towards Russia?

Answer. India has long sought a multitude of international partners to maintain flexibility and autonomy in its foreign policy. While this will continue to be a tenet of Indian foreign policy, India is also committed to deepening cooperation with partners who share its vision for a free and open Indo-Pacific, particularly the United States. If confirmed, I plan to pursue opportunities to highlight to the Indian Government and people that partnerships with the United States and like-minded partners best further India's security and strategic interests in the Indo-Pacific.

Question. In your opinion, can India continue to be a reliable partner to counter the Chinese Communist Party if it continues to maintain warm relations with Russia, one of the CCP's partners in undermining U.S. interests?

Answer. The U.S.-India Comprehensive Global Strategic Partnership stands on its own merits. If confirmed, I pledge to deepen our partnership across all areas, mini-

mize areas of divergence, and ensure our two democracies continue to stand as two central pillars of a free and open Indo-Pacific that protects democratic values.

Question. If confirmed, what would you recommend the Biden administration do with regard to the Indian-Russian relationship?

Answer. India has a long-standing relationship with Russia, going back to the Cold War. While I believe India and Russia's interests are diverging, it will take time for the relationship to fully reflect these changes. If confirmed, I will urge India to continue its policies of relying less on Russia as a defense supplier and refrain from major new purchases of Russian military equipment and underscore that closer cooperation with Russia does not align with the strategic interests and values shared by the United States and India.

Question. If confirmed, how would you press the Indian Government to fulfill its defense needs from companies in the United States, Japan, or Australia, rather than from Russia?

Answer. Since 1990, India has taken considerable steps to diversify its defense supplier base away from Russia and expand indigenous production. If confirmed, I will work with the Department of Defense to accelerate this trend, including by highlighting U.S. reliability and maintenance support, bolstering interoperability, working with like-minded partners, and increasing offers of advanced U.S. platforms and co-development opportunities.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO HON. ERIC M. GARCETTI BY SENATOR TODD YOUNG

Question. Do you agree that our competition with China should be the primary, driving factor in our strategic decision making with regard to our relationship with India?

Answer. U.S.-India ties have deepened significantly over the last two decades. While the United States and India coordinate closely on shared concerns regarding the People's Republic of China, our broad strategic partnership is deeply rooted in a range of strategic priorities, including burgeoning economic and energy ties and a shared commitment to tackling global challenges like climate change and the COVID-19 pandemic. The September 24 summit between President Biden and Prime Minister Modi, and frequent meetings between senior officials from both of our countries, underscores the high-level U.S. commitment to our strategic partnership with India in numerous areas of strategic importance.

If confirmed, I intend to coordinate closely with India on our mutual concerns regarding the People's Republic of China in addition to our other shared strategic priorities.

Question. India has a long, established relationship with Russia that predates our current Countering America's Adversaries Through Sanctions Act (CAATSA) sanctions policy. What are your views on India's defense relationship with Russia?

Answer. Despite a legacy defense relationship dating to the Cold War, India has over the past three decades taken steps to diversify its foreign defense suppliers, turning to Israel, France, and increasingly the United States. India is also focused on bolstering its domestic defense industry through co-development projects and indigenous production. Since 2005, U.S. defense sales to India have increased from near zero to more than \$21 billion. The United States and India have also concluded four major defense enabling agreements and regularly hold complex multi-service exercises. If confirmed, I will work to increase bilateral defense cooperation and urge India to continue diversifying from Russian arms including by highlighting U.S. reliability and maintenance support, bolstering interoperability, and increasing offers of advanced U.S. platforms and co-development opportunities. If confirmed, I will underscore that closer cooperation with Russia does not align with the strategic interests and values shared by the United States and India.

Question. How do you believe India would respond to U.S. sanctions over the S-400 or any of its other defense deals with Russia, which include fighters, warships, and submarines?

Answer. Historically, India has responded negatively to unilateral sanctions. If confirmed, I will continue to press India to continue to diversify away from Russian arms purchases that could be subject to mandatory CAATSA sanctions. I cannot pre-judge sanctions decisions for any specific transaction prior to the Secretary of State's determination of significance.

Question. Do you worry that sanctions could push India away from the United States?

Answer. Any potential sanctions would risk undermining the broader, extremely positive trajectory of the U.S.-India strategic partnership.

Question. If confirmed, how would you seek to strengthen our relationship with India to ensure that they remain a strong partner in the region and beyond?

Answer. The United States and India are bound by our shared vision for a free and open Indo-Pacific, growing defense and security ties, common goals for clean energy and climate, and robust people-to-people and economic linkages. If confirmed, I plan to build upon these strengths and the work of my predecessors to ensure the U.S.-India Comprehensive Global Strategic Partnership remains on a strong and positive trajectory.

Question. How would you hope to coordinate actions and unity around a Quad strategy with all of the other players, including for example U.S. representatives in Tokyo, Canberra, the NSC and State Bureaus?

Answer. The Quad is a central pillar of U.S. engagement in Indo-Pacific and a valuable structure to solve common challenges. Our Quad working groups span everything from climate and critical technologies to vaccines and maritime security. If confirmed, I will seek out new opportunities to deepen Quad cooperation with Indian officials engaged on Quad policy and pledge to coordinate closely with my colleagues across the U.S. Government, including in Canberra and Tokyo. I will also work with my Quad Ambassadorial counterparts in New Delhi, as well, if confirmed.

Question. U.S. exporters and investors face non-transparent and often unpredictable regulatory and tariff regimes and some U.S. goods and services have limited access to the market. India has the highest average applied tariff of any G20 country and among the highest bound tariff rates in the World Trade Organization. What would be your priorities for making commerce easier between the United States and India?

Answer. U.S.-India trade and investment has expanded rapidly over the past decade, but I believe that there is great potential to further expand our trade relationship. If confirmed, I would work closely with the U.S. Trade Representative and Department of Commerce to use every tool in our economic toolkit to advance U.S. commercial interests and support President Biden's Foreign Policy for the Middle Class. We need to work intensively to improve market access and reduce regulatory barriers because expanding our commercial relationship will create good, well-paying jobs for Americans and Indians alike.

Question. India's state and territorial governments generally hold greater power than their U.S. state counterparts. U.S. companies face varying business and economic conditions across India and must have a regional strategy to succeed in the country. If confirmed, how would you seek to create a unified business environment for U.S. companies that reduces barriers for entry into the Indian market?

Answer. Just like the United States, India has a federal system of government, and different states have different natural resource endowments, tax regimes, and investments rules. If confirmed, I would advocate for India to develop consistent regulatory policies at a national level that provide a level playing field for U.S. firms. I would also seek to visit as many of India's states and union territories as possible to engage diplomatically at the sub-national level to support U.S. commercial interests. As Indian states compete for U.S. investment, one way to encourage business-friendly policies is to highlight the efforts of those Indian states and sub-national governments that have done a particularly effective job of providing a sound regulatory environment for U.S. investment.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO DR. AMY GUTMANN BY SENATOR ROBERT MENENDEZ

Anomalous Health Incidents

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

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

Answer. Yes. I share your deep concern and compassion for all those affected. If confirmed, there is nothing I will take more seriously than the health and security of the people who will be working with me. HIs have been a top priority for Secretary Blinken, who set clear goals for the Health Incident Response Task Force to strengthen the Department's communication with our workforce, provide care for affected employees and family members, and better protect against these events in the future as we continue to work closely with the interagency to find the cause of these AHIs.

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

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I will do everything possible to ensure that employees who report a possible AHI receive immediate and appropriate attention and care and the incident is reported through appropriate channels.

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

Answer. Yes. Again, if confirmed, there is nothing I will take more seriously than the health and security of the people who will be working with me.

Question. We are clearly at a critical juncture with regard to Russia. There still may be a window to deter Putin from deciding to invade Ukraine. But we must be clear about what awaits Russia if it chooses that unwise path. And, we know that deterrence measures are more impactful when we coordinate with our allies.

- If confirmed, what will be your strategy for engaging Berlin, and building coalitions to deter Kremlin aggression against our allies in Ukraine and elsewhere?

Answer. If confirmed, I will coordinate closely with German officials to pressure Moscow and develop a policy agenda on Ukraine. The United States consults closely with Germany and other Allies and partners to condemn Russia's military build-up and destabilizing efforts in Ukraine. The United States joined Germany in a December 12 G7 statement calling on Russia to de-escalate and abide by its international commitments on transparency of military activities. The United States also joined a December 14 NATO statement that aggression against Ukraine would have massive consequences for Russia. The United States supports France and Germany's efforts to achieve full implementation of the Minsk Agreements via the Normandy Format.

Rebuilding U.S.-German Relations

Question. U.S.-German relations were tested under the last administration. Personal insults and tariff threats overshadowed the importance of a strategic transatlantic partnership that benefits both nations. What is your assessment of the current state of U.S.-German relations and how will you work to ensure that this will be a lasting relationship that can endure through future challenges?

Answer. U.S.-German relations are strong and getting stronger. Germany welcomed the Biden administration's emphasis on transatlantic reengagement and its return to the World Health Organization and the Paris Climate Agreement, and its efforts to achieve Iranian compliance with the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action. If confirmed, I will build on this momentum and on our 76-year friendship to strengthen a strategic transatlantic partnership that benefits both nations. I will respectfully address challenges and cooperate with the new German Government coalition to advance our common interests and shared values.

Question. German partnership in NATO is essential for transatlantic security. I found it reassuring that the new German Government recommitted to nuclear sharing in its coalition agreement, and I appreciate Germany's leadership in NATO's multinational battlegroup Lithuania. As NATO works to update its Strategic Concept in advance of the 2022 Madrid Summit, how can we work with Germany in developing a comprehensive strategy to address hybrid threats and to deter Russia?

Answer. Emphasizing communication and information sharing will be key in developing a comprehensive strategy that is able to meet hybrid threats and deter Russia. The Strategic Concept will also enable us to build a more common threat perception with Germany, who has been and remains a committed NATO Ally. In addition to developing a common strategy, it is also important that we show strength and consensus on existing NATO agreements and policies. Discouraging Germany from joining as an observer to the TPNW meeting is one way to accom-

plish this. Recent events in Ukraine and the evolving situation in Belarus only serve to reinforce the fact that we must develop a common strategy to meet emerging threats.

Question. The new German Government’s coalition agreement commits to working out a “comprehensive China strategy” that considers German values and interests in the systemic rivalry with China. Both within the context of the U.S.-EU Dialogue on China and bilaterally, how can we further engage Germany on building economic and technological resilience, diversifying and securing supply chains, and addressing economic coercion?

Answer. Germany has played a large role in helping shape EU China policy, supporting the U.S.-EU Dialogue on China framework and the U.S.-EU Trade and Technology Council—a forum to coordinate approaches to key global trade, economic and technology issues, and to deepen transatlantic trade and economic relations based on shared democratic values. Germany’s presidency of the G7, starting in January 2022, will be another opportunity to strengthen our cooperation in addressing shared PRC-related concerns. If confirmed, I will engage our German partners to cooperate more closely on tackling the PRC’s economic coercion and take joint action to uphold a rules-based international order.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO DR. AMY GUTMANN BY SENATOR JAMES E. RISCH

Question. In the 2021 Trafficking in Persons Report, Germany was identified as Tier 2 due to lenient sentencing of traffickers, investigating fewer suspected traffickers and remaining without a national victim identification and referral mechanism for all forms of trafficking.

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

Answer. Germany takes human trafficking seriously and is a steadfast partner on the issue. If confirmed, I will engage with U.S. and German authorities to encourage cooperation and regularly raise trafficking in persons at the highest levels of the German Government. I will urge the German Government to take further concrete actions to address the recommendations from this year’s Trafficking in Persons Report. Specifically, I will encourage the Government of Germany to increase efforts to identify victims among vulnerable groups, ensure all victims have access to services, increase awareness of the severity of the crime and the merit of significant sentences for convicted traffickers, and increase efforts to identify victims of labor trafficking.

Answer [updated—1/11/2022]. *If confirmed, I will work with the German Government on increased prosecution and victim protection efforts. I will urge the Government to increase their investigation and prosecution efforts, particularly for labor trafficking, and to raise awareness of the severity of the crime and the merit of significant sentences for convicted traffickers. I will also work with Germany to identify victims among vulnerable groups, including foreign migrants and asylum-seekers; ensure all victims have access to services; increase efforts to identify victims of labor trafficking; and ensure equitable treatment of victims by creating a national identification and referral guideline for all forms of trafficking across all states.*

Question. Other countries in the region struggle with anti-trafficking efforts but progress is being made. How can you work with other regional U.S. Ambassadors to improve counter trafficking measures regionally?

Answer. If confirmed, I will coordinate closely with my fellow U.S. Ambassadors in the region to encourage joint engagement and actions in raising trafficking in persons at the highest levels of government, bilaterally, and at the EU.

Answer [updated—1/11/2022]. *If confirmed, I will coordinate closely with my fellow U.S. Ambassadors in the region to address trafficking in persons at the highest levels of government—bilaterally, and at the EU. I will encourage regional implementation of trafficking-related EU directives and other high-level concrete actions that, if implemented regionally, would improve efforts to combat human trafficking. This includes the adoption of anti-trafficking national action plans for all forms of trafficking, the establishment of independent national rapporteurs, the adoption of robust anti-trafficking laws, and the establishment of national coordination committees for all forms of trafficking.*

Question. In the 2020 International Religious Freedom report, incidents of serious religiously motivated crimes were rampant and on the rise. Societal respect for religious freedom is wavering with a 13 percent rise in crimes since the previous reporting period, amounting to over 2,032 anti-Semitic crimes in Germany. What is your assessment of this particular issue and if confirmed, how will you work with the Office of International Religious Freedom to bolster religious freedom in-country?

- What actions will you take as Ambassador to work with the host government and civil society to improve religious freedom on the ground?

Answer. Germany takes religious freedom seriously. Germany's constitution guarantees freedom of religion, and other laws and policies also contribute to the generally free practice of religion. Unfortunately, there are reports of escalating societal abuses or discrimination based on religious affiliation, belief, or practice, including a significant increase in antisemitic incidents in 2020. Major human rights issues included crimes involving violence motivated by antisemitism and crimes involving violence targeting members of ethnic or religious minority groups motivated by anti-Muslim hatred or other forms of right-wing extremism. The Government took steps to investigate, prosecute, and punish officials in the security services and elsewhere in government who committed human rights abuses. If confirmed, I look forward to working together with the Ambassador at Large for International Religious Freedom, as well as the Department's Special Envoy to Monitor and Combat Anti-Semitism, and to broadly engage civil society to bolster respect for freedom of religion and the rights of members of religious minority groups.

Question. It was noted in the chapter on Germany in the International Religious Freedom report that the U.S. Embassy was developing ways to promote tolerance and communication among religious groups. If confirmed, please explain what you believe some of these might be.

Answer. The United States and Germany are strong allies in advancing religious freedom, diversity, equity, and inclusion. Mission Germany frequently engages with diverse communities in Germany, including the Afro-German community, LGBTQIA activists, Muslim leaders, and Jewish clergy, to promote tolerance and communication. In June 2021, Secretary Blinken and former German Foreign Minister Maas launched a U.S.-Germany bilateral dialogue on Holocaust issues. If confirmed, I look forward to contributing to that dialogue, and I also will encourage Mission Germany to take full advantage of this environment to advance our values and interests with all sectors of the German populace.

Question. In the 2020 Human Rights Report, Germany's human rights issues included violence motivated by islamophobia and anti-Semitism, as well as property restitution issues for Holocaust survivors. If confirmed, what steps will you take to address these instances with the host government?

Answer. The German Government takes its historical responsibility seriously and has been a committed partner on combatting Holocaust denial and revisionism. The United States and Germany signed a Memorandum of Understanding for a new Holocaust Dialogue during Secretary Blinken's June 2021 visit to Berlin.

Germany is also dedicated to fighting currently rising antisemitism and anti-Muslim hatred and has been quick to condemn violence and other acts of racially and ethnically motivated violent extremism. The new April 2021 "Act on Combating Right-Wing Extremism and Hate Crimes" requires social networks to assess and potentially restrict illegal content and to report online hate crimes to the Federal Criminal Police. Online threats will now be treated the same as in-person threats. If confirmed, I will publicly and privately reiterate to the Government the importance of this issue and identify areas where the United States can cooperate with the Government and with Germany's Jewish and Muslim communities to combat antisemitism and anti-Muslim hatred, working in coordination with the Ambassador at Large for International Religious Freedom as well as the Special Envoy to Monitor and Combat Anti-Semitism.

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

Answer. If confirmed, I will work closely with civil society organizations to help us assess human rights issues, develop programs, and advocate for stronger policies and reforms. The U.S. Embassy in Berlin enjoys strong and longstanding relationships with civil society on human rights and democracy issues. I will work to strengthen those relationships to advance our concerted efforts in support of human rights.

Civil society has played an important role in promoting accountability of elected leaders, driving meaningful reform, supporting the rights of members of minority

groups, and supporting access to justice for vulnerable communities. To cite one extremely significant example, civil society organizations and groups play an essential role in fighting against the worldwide rise of antisemitism and anti-Muslim hatred. I will work with the German Government to advocate for creating a safe space for civil society organizations and groups such that members of minority groups do not face intimidation, coercion, or other forms of invidious discrimination.

Question. How will you work with the Special Envoy for Holocaust Issues on restitution issues?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work closely with the Special Envoy for Holocaust Issues to advocate for restitution of or compensation for property confiscated during the Holocaust era or subsequently nationalized during the Communist era, consistent with the Terezin Declaration commitments made at the conclusion of the Prague Holocaust Era Assets Conference in June 2009. Germany has been a reliable partner in addressing restitution and I will ensure that we continue to hold them to account. Germany provided more than \$1 billion in 2020 to Holocaust survivors disproportionately affected by the pandemic due to age and economic status and agreed in 2021 to new pensions for survivors via the Claims Conference.

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

Answer. Electing Doreen Bogdan-Martin as the next Secretary-General of the International Telecommunication Union (ITU) in September 2022 is a top priority for the United States and for me personally. Germany supports Ms. Bogdan-Martin's candidacy for Secretary-General and has also presented a candidate for Director of the ITU Telecommunication Standardization Sector. If confirmed, I will work closely with German officials to urge other ITU members to support Ms. Bogdan-Martin's candidacy and will deepen bilateral cooperation to advance shared goals on critical telecommunications issues.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to aiding the MSP office in efforts to support U.S.-desired candidates within the U.N. system?

Answer. If confirmed, I will coordinate closely with the IO/MSP office, the U.S. interagency, and likeminded countries to advance efforts to elect qualified, independent U.S.-desired candidates for UN bodies, including the International Telecommunication Union (ITU) and the Human Rights Committee, which monitors implementation of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR). In consultation with Congress and the Executive Branch, I will strive to advance U.S. priorities on key multinational bodies, and I will work with the international community to meet our shared commitment to promoting respect for democracy and human rights.

Malign Influence

Question. In your hearing, you mentioned that every foreign gift and contract is reviewed by the legal team at the University of Pennsylvania. What role did you play in seeking, reviewing, or accepting foreign gifts and contracts?

Answer. As President of the University of Pennsylvania, I direct the creation of broad policies and procedures for accepting foreign gifts and contracts that ensure that the gifts and contracts are in compliance with the law and consistent with the interests of the University and the country. In implementing these policies and procedures, I rely on such offices as Development and Alumni Relations, the Division of Finance, the Office of Research Services, and the Office of General Counsel, as well as the various schools and centers within the University, each of which have their own administrative structures.

Answer [updated—1/11/2011]. *The creation of broad policies and procedures for the review of foreign gifts and contracts that I direct as President of the University of Pennsylvania applies to solicitation (seeking) and accepting foreign gifts and contracts as well. Such policies and procedures ensure that the solicitation, reviewing, and acceptance of gifts and contracts are in compliance with the law and consistent with the interests of the University and the country. As noted in my prior response,*

in implementing these policies and procedures, I rely on such University offices as Development and Alumni Relations, the Division of Finance, the Office of Research Services, and the Office of General Counsel, as well as the various schools and centers within the University, each of which have their own administrative structures.

Question. Other than not accepting a Confucius Institute, what actions can you point to as President of the University of Pennsylvania that you took monitor, review, conduct oversight of, or otherwise scrutinize foreign donations and contracts coming into the university? Please be specific.

Answer. Since my appointment as President of the University of Pennsylvania in 2004, I have always directed the University to comply with applicable laws and institutional policies and procedures, including the review of foreign donations and contracts. During my presidency, the University has strengthened and further developed its policies and procedures regarding gift acceptance, export controls, reporting of foreign gifts and contracts, and research oversight.

Regarding foreign donations, the University revised its processes in 2020 so as to apply additional scrutiny regarding prospective gifts. For example, the revised processes noted specifically that “international gifts are of particular concern where there is not adequate transparency,” and that prior to soliciting a gift of \$25,000 or more consideration should be given to whether “the donor is a foreign government, head of state or otherwise under the control of a foreign government.”

With respect to export controls, during my presidency the University has engaged with relevant federal agencies to fully develop strong internal policies and has over time enhanced its efforts to build export control knowledge and capacity throughout Penn’s academic research community. The University is a leader in this field and has sponsored national export control conferences attended by many other research institutions. Penn will next sponsor a national export control conference in May 2022.

Regarding foreign donations and contracts subject to Section 117 of the Higher Education Act, under my presidency the University’s Division of Finance developed a robust compliance program involving multiple University offices as well as the University’s schools and centers. Furthermore, as developed under my presidency, all gifts from, and contracts with, foreign entities and individuals are screened against U.S. restricted party lists prior to the acceptance of any donation or execution of a contract. The University also performs its own due diligence using public sources to determine if prospective donors have engaged in conduct that would create a reputational risk to the University or are proposing a gift inconsistent with the University’s mission.

Finally, the University reaffirmed its policy prohibiting classified research and has remained steadfast in its refusal to compromise academic freedom or national security interests.

Question. As President, did you or did you direct your senior leadership team to take steps to reduce the number and amount of donations and contracts coming from the People’s Republic of China as more information about malign Chinese influence in universities came to light in the last several years?

Answer. The University followed its policies, practices, and the law in reviewing foreign donations and contracts, including donations and contracts originating in the People’s Republic of China, utilizing further processes and screening protocols as described in the response to question #10. As awareness of malign influence increased within the higher education community, Penn instituted additional internal vetting and assessment protocols for heightened scrutiny of donations from foreign donors.

Answer [updated—1/11/2022]. The processes and screening protocols described in my prior response to question #10 resulted in declining certain gifts and contracts originating from the PRC. For example, in September 2018, as a result of the University’s enhanced processes and protocols, Penn removed Huawei, a Chinese telecommunications and consumer electronics manufacturer, and its affiliates from its list of approved contractors eight months before the Bureau of Industry and Security of the U.S. Department of Commerce placed Huawei on the Entity List in May 2019. Additional examples include Penn declining sponsored research in 2015 from Futurewei, a U.S. Huawei controlled entity, to perform research that had been proposed to but not funded by the NSF, and Penn declining postdoctoral funding for electrocatalysis research from the University of Electronic Science and Technology of China in 2019.

Question. Were you aware of the malign Chinese influence in U.S. universities that have come to light in the last several years? If so, what sources did you draw information from?

Answer. Given that malign influence in U.S. universities from the Government of the People's Republic of China has been widely acknowledged in recent years, I have been increasingly concerned and aware of the impact such influence could have on the University of Pennsylvania. My information regarding the malign influence of the PRC has been drawn from research and reports, media sources, conferences, professional associations, and information sharing within the higher education community, and as briefed by senior University administrators. For example, Penn's Division of Public Safety regularly liaisons with the Federal Bureau of Investigation regarding a variety of topics of mutual interest. My service from 2005 to 2009 on the National Security Higher Education Board, which advised the Federal Bureau of Investigation on issues related to higher education, provided further information relevant to the issue of malign influence. My concern and awareness of malign foreign influence, as informed by the resources described above, resulted in my decision in 2009 to decline acceptance of a Confucius Institute at Penn.

Question. Do you believe that universities would be willing to forgo taking donations and contracts from China and other authoritarian countries?

Answer. Although I cannot speak for all universities, I certainly believe that universities would forego donations and contracts that compromise U.S. national security interests and present substantive threats to academic freedom and the free exchange of knowledge and ideas.

Question. How can the U.S. Government and universities work together to reduce the amount of money coming into U.S. universities from authoritarian countries?

Answer. Although I cannot speak for all universities, consideration could be given to the U.S. Government engaging with organizations such as the American Council on Education, the Association of American Universities, the American Association of Public and Land-grant Universities, and the American Association of State Colleges and Universities to discuss appropriate standards and reporting requirements for any receipt of gifts, contracts, or sponsored research from countries with authoritarian regimes and governments.

Question. Do you believe the level of transparency and reporting required by institutes of higher education regarding foreign donations and contracts is sufficient, given the challenges posed to the United States by authoritarian nations like China? Please explain your position.

Answer. Given the recently revised reporting and disclosure requirements of Section 117 of the Higher Education Act, as well as the regulatory requirements for export control compliance and related areas, I believe the present level of transparency and reporting required of institutions of higher education is sufficient, subject to ongoing assessment and review by Congress and federal agencies so as to be appropriately responsive to national security interests and related concerns. To further ensure appropriate transparency and reporting, clarifying guidance from the U.S. Department of Education for Section 117 of the Higher Education Act would be welcomed by many in the higher education community.

Question. Can you please clarify what you meant in the following statement you made during your hearing regarding anonymous donations?: "The anonymity is what the Department of Education in its reporting is required by law to do." It is not my understanding that the Department of Education is required to report foreign donations and contracts to universities as "anonymous." If this is not what you meant to convey, what did you mean?

Answer. Prior to 2020, Section 117 of the Higher Education Act did not require disclosure of the identity of donors or contracting partners to the U.S. Department of Education (U.S. DOE). For that reason, gifts reported by Penn were identified in the report as "anonymous." The donors were known to Penn; they just were not reported because that was not required. In 2020, the regulations were revised to require that names and addresses for reportable foreign gifts and contracts be submitted to the U.S. DOE as part of the Section 117 report, although the names and addresses were now required to be kept confidential by U.S. DOE. The University has complied with the revised regulations.

Question. You mentioned that none of the donations and contracts to the University of Pennsylvania are allowed to threaten academic freedom or national security. Do you think it is in the national security interests of the United States to provide executive education programs to a Chinese Government agency responsible for foreign talent recruitment (the State Administration of Foreign Experts), as the University of Pennsylvania did?

Answer. Academic and educational exchanges with foreign countries, entities, and businesses are an effective way to model American principles, systems, and values; such exchanges between American higher education institutions and foreign countries thereby promote and strengthen our national interests. By engaging with foreign countries and their governments, Penn is not endorsing their beliefs, philosophies, or political systems. Furthermore, as I stated in the December 14, 2021, hearing with the U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, the University of Pennsylvania would not enter into contracts that would threaten national security or academic freedom.

Wharton's executive education program for the State Administration of Foreign Experts Affairs was a two-week leadership program that included a day in Washington, D.C., and/or New York City. The program was sponsored by Mary Kay Cosmetics, China.

Question. Do you think it is in the national security interests of the United States to provide executive education programs to Chinese state-owned enterprises that are under the direct administration of an agency of the Chinese central Government and involved in "One Belt, One Road," such as China Merchants Bank, as the University of Pennsylvania did?

Answer. As one of the world's leading business schools, Penn's Wharton School provides executive education programs and services to businesses and organizations around the world. These programs are grounded in American free-market principles, with content developed and taught by Wharton faculty. As Penn does not engage in classified research, at no time would any such executive education program share information that might compromise the country's national security interests.

Wharton's executive education program for China Merchants Bank was a three-week program that incorporated academic topics from Wharton's MBA program.

Question. Do you think it is in the national security interests of the United States to accept a restricted gift, as the University of Pennsylvania did in 2021, from a source in China to establish an artificial intelligence program at the university, given what we know about China's technology ambitions and policies?

Answer. This question refers to a 2021 gift from a graduate of the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania as noted on the University's Section 117 report. That gift is for the support of an academic program in business analytics based solely in the Wharton School. All of the work in this program is done by Wharton faculty and students and is consistent with principles of academic freedom which requires that the studies and advances made be published and available in the public interest.

Question. According to Department of Education data and your responses to SFRC pre-hearing questions, the University of Pennsylvania provided executive education to 10 Chinese state-owned enterprises between 2014 and 2019. What U.S. interests were served in providing this education?

Answer. As stated above, Penn's Wharton School provides executive education programs and services to businesses and organizations around the world. These programs are grounded in American free-market principles, with content developed and taught by Wharton faculty, and model American principles, systems, and values. As Penn does not engage in classified research, and is steadfast in its commitment to academic freedom, at no time would any such executive education program share information that might compromise the country's national security interests.

Question. Please provide additional information on the \$1 million restricted gift dated May 20, 2021, from China that "supports the development of the Artificial Intelligence Program at the Wharton School." This is listed on the Department of Education's website, but the data provided by the University of Pennsylvania contains a different description, preventing SFRC from corroborating the two data sets.

- Who is the source of this gift?

Answer. A \$1 million gift dated May 20, 2021, is from Mr. Tao Zhang. Mr. Zhang is a 2002 graduate of the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania.

Question. For what purpose is the artificial intelligence program being established?

Answer. The Wharton Artificial Intelligence for Business Initiative, announced by the Wharton School in May 2020, is for teaching and research in the nascent field of artificial intelligence related to business analytics. The Initiative is for the support of students and faculty of the Wharton School and the business community. The Wharton Artificial Intelligence for Business Initiative is part of Analytics at Wharton. A description of Wharton's Artificial Intelligence for Business Initiative

can be found at <https://ai.wharton.upenn.edu/>. A description of Analytics at Wharton can be found at <https://analytics.wharton.upenn.edu>.

Question. Are any individuals from or entities incorporated in the People's Republic of China involved in the activities of the artificial intelligence program?

Answer. The Wharton Artificial Intelligence Program for Business Initiative and Analytics at Wharton are operated by the Wharton School and led by Wharton faculty, and are for the support of students and faculty of the Wharton School and the business community. Penn does not engage in classified research and or engage in programs that contravene Penn policy or compromise national security interests.

Answer [updated—11/1/2022]. Wharton Artificial Intelligence for Business and Analytics at Wharton are operated solely by the Wharton School. I confirm that I am not personally aware of any individuals with ties to the Government of the PRC, or entities incorporated in the PRC, that are involved in the activities of Wharton Artificial Intelligence for Business or Analytics at Wharton. It is worth noting again that the University of Pennsylvania does not engage in classified research or engage in programs that contravene Penn policy or compromise national security interests.

Question. In the first round of pre-hearing questions, you stated that—to the best of your knowledge—the University of Pennsylvania never received a donation from or signed a contract with any part of the Chinese Communist Party, the Government of the People's Republic of China, or from entities under the direct control of the Party or Government. The University of Pennsylvania's Department of Education filings show contracts with a Chinese Government agency and several major state-owned enterprises. Do you stand by the responses in your first round of pre-hearing questions?

Answer. Yes. As stated above, and per my written responses of September 21, 2021, I answered all questions to the best of my personal knowledge. As I noted in the December 14, 2021 U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations hearing, the University has received donations of over \$10 billion during my presidency, with a very small fraction of that amount—less than 1 percent—originating from China. The Wharton School in particular also enters into numerous contracts with corporate entities all around the world. Given the scale and sheer number of donations to the University, and contracts with Wharton, I have very little personal knowledge of the overwhelming majority of specific gifts or contracts. However, as I also noted during the December 14, 2021, U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations hearing, the limited knowledge I now have regarding any University contracts with any Chinese entities was developed during my preparation for the December 14, 2021, hearing, and was subsequent to my September 21, 2021 written responses.

Question. In the information provided to SFRC by the University of Pennsylvania, there is listed approximately \$468,000 in contracts for executive education for Shanghai Yanchong Information Technology Co., Ltd. There is an additional \$369,000 listed for Shenzhen Guoshengyuan Trading Co., Ltd. In an online search, SFRC could not verify either company's name or address. Please provide a description of these entities, including major shareholders.

Answer. The Shanghai Yanchong Information Technology Co., Ltd., is located at 1F, No. 258, Pingyang Road, Minhang District, in Shanghai, China. The company engages in technology development, consultation, transfer, and services in information technology and software development. The University is unaware of major shareholders.

The Shenzhen Guoshengyuan Trading Co., Ltd. is located at Unit 401, Kaiyuan Tower, No. 7001 North Ring Road Futian District, in Shenzhen, China. The company engages in import and export of goods and technologies, economic information consultation, and marketing planning. The University is unaware of major shareholders but understands that the company may be organized under Hao Run Holdings.

Question. What is the Gu Analytics Fund?

Answer. The Roger Gu Analytics Fund was established in 2020 for the purpose of providing financial support for research and programmatic activities of Analytics at the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School. The fund is administered by the Vice Dean of Analytics and the Dean of the Wharton School. A general description of Analytics at Wharton can be found at <https://analytics.wharton.upenn.edu>.

Question. What is the Yun Wang and Beibei Jiang Presidential Professorship?

Answer. The Yun Wang and Beibei Jiang Presidential Professorship was established in 2018 to support recruitment and retention of tenure-track faculty, with

preference for appointments in the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School. The professorship is currently vacant.

Answer [updated—11/1/2022]. I have no personal knowledge of these individuals and thus have no knowledge as to whether either is employed by or has substantial ties to the CCP, the Chinese Government, or any entity under the direct control of the CCP and/or the Chinese Government.

Question. The University of Pennsylvania's 2021 filing lists Nanyang Technological University as paying a \$44,000 contract. Nanyang Technological University is a university in Singapore, but University of Pennsylvania filings list an address in Nanjing, China. Please explain this discrepancy.

Answer. This entry is a coding error. The correct contracting party for this 2020 entry is Nanjing University of Science and Technology in Nanjing, China.

Answer [updated—11/1/2022]. The contract in question is in fact with Nanjing University, China, not Nanjing University of Science and Technology. The \$44,000 contract is for a subscription to Wharton Research Data Services, which is described at <https://wrds-www.wharton.upenn.edu/pages/about/data-vendors/factset/>. I had no involvement in soliciting, concluding, implementing, or overseeing this contract, which was not a donation, and I am not aware of any individuals with ties to the Chinese Government or military that were the beneficiaries of this contract.

Question. Please describe your understanding of how the Chinese Communist Party and PRC Government works in Germany to advance its interests and to counter U.S. and allied interests. Please provide some specific examples.

Answer. German-PRC ties are characterized by cooperation, competition, and systemic rivalry. Bilateral relations remain heavily focused on trade, investment, and major industrial supply chain lines, all of which still depend on China. There is increasing concern in Germany over Beijing's theft of intellectual property, forced technology transfers, lack of market reciprocity, and targeted acquisitions of German companies in sensitive sectors. The PRC Government runs disinformation campaigns globally, including in Germany, using social media and other means. If confirmed, I will work with Germany to track and expose PRC disinformation and influence campaigns, and to inform and educate consumers of media about malicious state actors pushing forward false narratives. The United States counters these campaigns by bringing these activities to light and identifying state actors and/or proxies for who they are.

Question. Please describe your understanding of the nature and extent of malign or undue PRC influence in Germany's institutions of higher education and in academia more generally. What are the biggest challenges in this area, in your view?

Answer. There are 19 Confucius Institutes (CIs) located throughout Germany in each of the Mission's consular districts. Each CI is run in cooperation between a local university, a PRC university, and the PRC Government's international education agency. But these are not merely centers of cultural and linguistic exchange. CIs are being used for non-traditional intelligence collection and influence operations. The PRC often leverages CIs to attempt to curb free speech and enable PRC monitoring of Chinese students and scholars at universities.

Question [updated]. Please describe your understanding of challenges China presents to German universities and academics other than Confucius Institutes

Answer [updated 11/1/2022]. German and Chinese academic institutions are increasingly bound by cooperative agreements—close to 1,500 at last count. This demonstrates a higher risk tolerance of the security threats posed by conducting research in cooperation with the People's Republic of China. As this cooperation increases, so do the pressures for German academics and academic institutions. While many German scholars signed the solidarity agreement in 2021 in response to Chinese sanctions against European lawmakers, academics, and nongovernmental organizations, many others did not, perhaps in fear of retribution or losing support for their research projects. Across numerous fields, the PRC employs foreign talent recruitment programs that use concerning provisions, such as requirements to obfuscate the source of funding, which undermine academic and scientific exchanges and can also skew funding decisions and decrease opportunities for researchers from U.S. and partner nations. If confirmed, I will continue to engage the Germans on the dangers posed by collaboration with the PRC. The German Government and German universities must become our partners in protecting sensitive STEM research and production as they relate to weapons technology, semi-conductor production, and vaccine development among other critical areas.

Question. Please describe your understanding of any steps taken by the German Government to address malign or undue influence in Germany's institutions of higher education.

Answer. The German Government, through public institutes of higher education, has started to push back against the level of influence exerted by Confucius Institutes (CIs). The Universities of Dusseldorf and Hamburg expressed concerns about active Chinese Community Party influence at the CIs and concerns over research freedom and integrity when they suspended their cooperation agreements in 2020. In 2021 two German universities strongly denounced cancellations of public readings at their CIs and dozens of politicians and educators publicly joined in the rejections. The readings were cancelled due to pressure from a Chinese university and Chinese Government officials.

Question [updated]. Would like more detail for this question on issues other than Confucius Institutes.

Answer [updated—1/1/2022]. In response to growing concerns over negative Chinese influence on academic freedom in Germany, the German Rectors' Conference published "guiding questions" on how universities should approach academic cooperation with Chinese institutions. This guidance encourages the balancing of opportunity and risk while remaining aware not to jeopardize Germany's academic principles. Germany also announced this summer a doubling of its funding towards independent China research which would allow universities to extend their work in this field free of funding from the CCP.

Question. What do you think are some of the greatest obstacles to addressing this challenge [malign or undue PRC influence in Germany's institutions of higher education] in Germany?

Answer [updated—1/11/2022]. There is continued demand among young Germans to study Mandarin language and attend cultural programming at Confucius Institutes (CIs). CIs promote fully funded and partially funded exchange programs to China to encourage "non-traditional" exchanges. CIs also often supplement language instruction at German universities at little or no cost to the university itself, which creates an incentive for universities to continue cooperation, especially those that do not already have Chinese language instructors on staff or independent China or Asian studies programs. Germany must develop alternative routes to understand China that are not dependent on PRC Government soft power tools and propaganda, such as CIs.

Question [updated]. PRC influence in universities and academia extends beyond Confucius Institutes. Please describe your thoughts what must be done on other challenges. One example is the lack of transparency around foreign donations to German universities, including donations from China.

Answer [updated—1/11/2022]. There is continued demand among young Germans to study Mandarin language and attend cultural programming at Confucius Institutes (CIs). Many German federal state universities are excluded from Freedom of Information legislation. I would like to see Germany develop alternative routes to understand China that are not dependent on PRC Government soft power tools and propaganda, such as CIs or restrictive cooperative agreements. If confirmed, my Embassy colleagues and I will work closely with the new German Government as it develops a comprehensive China strategy to address the PRC threat to academic freedom and the appropriation of sensitive technology through PRC ties to German research and education institutions.

Question. Other than engaging with your counterparts, what are some concrete ideas you have on cooperating with Germany on malign foreign influence from the PRC, if confirmed?

Answer. Germany is an important partner in upholding the international rules-based system and opposing PRC efforts to undermine international institutions and their foundational values, principles, and rules. If confirmed, I will work closely with German leaders to reinforce the integrity and foundational principles of international organizations, support the U.S.-EU Trade and Technology Council, strengthen investment screening, counter disinformation from the PRC, and call out PRC human rights abuses. Germany's leadership of the G7 starting in January 2022 will be another opportunity to strengthen our cooperation in addressing shared PRC-related concerns alongside G7 partners.

Question. If confirmed, what are the key areas related to China that you will focus on in terms of cooperation with and messaging to Germany?

Answer. Germany is an important partner in upholding the international rules-based system and opposing PRC efforts to undermine international institutions and their foundational values, principles, and rules. If confirmed, I will work closely with German leaders to promote and coordinate a values-driven policy agenda that, as a high priority, addresses our mutual concerns on the PRC's unfair trade practices; offers quality infrastructure development and financing to third-countries; and stands up for human rights in Xinjiang, Tibet, and Hong Kong.

Question. What are areas where you believe the United States and German positions on China are already in alignment?

Answer. The United States and Germany share the view that our relations with the PRC are multifaceted and complex, with cooperative, competitive, and adversarial aspects. Germany has joined the United States on numerous occasions to rebuff the PRC's efforts to reshape and undermine international institutions and values. The United States works closely with Germany to advocate for human rights in China, and if confirmed, I will advocate and coordinate with the German Government on issues of mutual concern, particularly as they relate to Hong Kong, Xinjiang, and Tibet.

Answer [updated—1/11/2022]. The United States and Germany share the view that our relations with the PRC have cooperative, competitive, and adversarial aspects. Germany has joined the United States on numerous occasions to rebuff the PRC's efforts to reshape and undermine international institutions and values. Our countries agree that the PRC's attempts to bully Lithuania are unacceptable. These actions threaten the global rules-based order and target U.S. and European companies. I agree we must strengthen our economic resilience by diversifying our supply chains and resolutely countering all forms of economic blackmail. Together we condemn the genocide and crimes against humanity in Xinjiang, and advocate for human rights in China.

Question. What are areas where the views and policies of the two countries are not in alignment, and what will you do to address these areas, if confirmed?

Answer. The United States and Germany both recognize there are adversarial, competitive, and cooperative aspects to our relationships with the PRC. Engaging consistently with Germany in a focused dialogue on PRC is key to maintaining strategic alignment. Our shared values will be a foundation for charting a common course of action. If confirmed, I will work closely with the Germans so that our countries stand strongly together in challenging areas that require a competitive or adversarial approach to the PRC, such as taking action on human rights abuses by the PRC Government.

Answer [updated—1/11/2022]. As with any close friends, Germany and the United States' approaches occasionally diverge. Differences between the United States and Germany on PRC policy, however, are largely stylistic rather than substantive. In the past, the Germans have taken a more private approach to diplomacy on some PRC issues and have been reticent to publicly admonish the PRC, preferring instead to register concerns privately. However, the German Government has been increasingly vocal in calling out the PRC's troubling actions, including condemning human rights abuses in Xinjiang, Tibet, and Hong Kong and supporting EU human rights sanctions. Working closely with Germany in a focused dialogue on PRC is key to maintaining alignment on key strategic priorities. Our shared values will be a foundation for charting a common course of action. If confirmed, I will work closely with the Germans so that our countries stand strongly together in challenging areas that require a competitive or adversarial approach to the PRC.

Question. What are your views on how the new coalition government in Germany has thus far described its policy on China?

Answer. In line with the EU, Germany sees the PRC as a partner, economic competitor, and systemic rival. The new German Government has made clear that it seeks a values-based foreign policy, with human rights and respect for international law as central pillars. I welcome that Chancellor Scholz's coalition government seeks "close transatlantic coordination on China policy" and cooperation with other like-minded countries to "reduce strategic dependencies." If confirmed, I look forward to coordinating closely with German counterparts on the full range of issues related to the PRC.

Question. What do you find encouraging, and what do you find discouraging about the new coalition government's policy on China?

Answer. PRC-German ties are characterized by cooperation, competition, and systemic rivalry. Bilateral relations remain heavily focused on trade, investment, and

major industrial supply chain lines, all of which still depend on China. However, the new German Government has made human rights and international law central elements of its foreign policy in its coalition agreement. The coalition agreement also includes language on resolving maritime disputes peacefully, preserving the status quo in the Taiwan Strait, and supporting Taiwan's participation in international organizations. If confirmed, I look forward to working with German counterparts to advance these shared goals.

Question. As I alluded to in my opening statement, Chiefs of Mission are at the end of the day responsible or accountable for everything in their Embassy, regardless of their level of direct day-to-day involvement. This is the natural consequence of being in charge. Do you share this view, and is that how you will approach your duties as Chief of Mission? If so, please describe how your leadership and management style reflects this.

Answer. I share this view, and if confirmed this is certainly how I will approach my duties as Chief of Mission. Throughout my career, I have demonstrated an ability to work productively with colleagues of all backgrounds in a constructive manner. I regularly engage with members of my team and always seek to create a space for open dialogue and diversity of thought. I will work hard to foster an environment of respect. I believe in both setting high standards and leading by example. There is nothing more valuable than our team, and I will dedicate myself to their professional development and to helping our employees grow and advance. If confirmed, I am committed to working collaboratively and productively with the Country Team.

Question. Do you support a greater role for Germany in the Indo-Pacific region?

Answer. Yes. Germany is one of our closest partners on a range of global issues and could play a greater role in enhancing security and prosperity in the Indo-Pacific region. The administration welcomed the recently released EU Indo-Pacific strategy and supports European partners taking a greater role in the Indo-Pacific region both bilaterally and through NATO. The administration also welcomed Germany's deployment of the frigate Bayern to join the monitoring of UN sanctions on the DPRK, as well as support for freedom of the seas and a rules-based international order.

Question. What are specific areas where greater German engagement would advance U.S. and shared interests in the region?

Answer. Germany is a key partner in upholding the international rules-based system, and supporting democracy, transparency, and human rights around the world. If confirmed, I will coordinate closely with Germany on a values-driven Indo-Pacific policy that is aligned with U.S. interests. We can best tackle PRC human rights violations and economic coercion when we call out these violations with a unified voice and take concerted actions together. Germany has strong investment screening mechanisms for critical infrastructure and defense. We can also continue to bolster our security cooperation following Germany's December 2021 deployment of a frigate to the Indo-Pacific, which included a transit through the South China Sea and participation in the DPRK sanctions monitoring mission. We should also welcome a role for Germany in voicing its support for international maritime law, particularly in the South China Sea.

Question. Do you commit that you will not advise Secretary Blinken, the President, or any other official to sacrifice other U.S. interests for the sake of an agreement with or promises from China on climate change?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I look forward to working with Germany and other NATO Allies and like-minded partners to strengthen Transatlantic efforts to mitigate the long-term effects of climate change. The United States has made clear to the PRC that climate change is a global crisis we must all face together and that we reject attempts by the PRC to link cooperation on climate change with any other issues.

Question. Do you commit that you yourself will not take any steps to trade other U.S. interests for the sake of an agreement with or promises from China on climate change?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I look forward to working with Germany and other allies and like-minded partners to strengthen transatlantic efforts to mitigate the long-term effects of climate change. The United States has made clear to the PRC that climate change is a global crisis we must all face together and that we reject attempts by the PRC to link cooperation on climate change with any other issues.

I will work with Germany to stand with us against PRC attempts to link climate change with unrelated issues.

Question. Do you commit that you will not encourage the German Government to sacrifice shared transatlantic interests and values for the sake of an agreement with or promises from China on climate change?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I look forward to working with Germany and other allies and like-minded partners to strengthen transatlantic efforts to mitigate the long-term effects of climate change. Shared transatlantic values and interests, including human rights, will remain at the core of our efforts on climate change. The United States has made clear to the PRC that climate change is a global crisis we must all face together and that we reject attempts by the PRC to link cooperation on climate change with any other issues. I will work with Germany to stand with us against PRC attempts to link climate change with unrelated issues.

Question. The administration has declared that Nord Stream 2 is a Russian malign influence project and a bad deal for Europe. The undersea pipeline makes land-fall and drives strong business interests in Germany, putting the country at the center of this issue.

- What role do you believe the U.S. Ambassador should play in negotiations with Germany over security concerns for Europe with regard to Nord Stream 2?

Answer. If confirmed, I believe my role will be to reiterate to Germany that the United States sees Nord Stream 2 as a Russian geopolitical project and a bad deal for Germany and for Europe. I will engage closely with senior German officials, in consultation with relevant U.S. officials, to push for rapid progress on implementation of the July 21 joint statement to ensure Germany continues supporting Ukraine and continues developing options to respond if Russia uses energy as a weapon. I will also make sure the German Government is aware of our views on the broader energy security situation in Europe and the need for a rapid transition out of reliance on Russian natural gas.

Question. Do you believe that Germany's decision to continue construction, and now testing and certification of the pipeline makes other European nations more vulnerable to Russian influence and coercion?

Answer. Nord Stream 2 is a bad deal for the United States and a bad deal for Germany and the rest of Europe. My understanding is that the German regulator has suspended certification procedures for Nord Stream 2 until the Nord Stream 2 AG submission is compliant with the European Union's Third Energy package—including unbundling and third-party access regulations. As part of U.S. engagement with Germany on Nord Stream 2, the July 21 joint statement commits the United States and Germany to work together to advance negotiations on continuing transit of Russian gas through Ukraine beyond 2024.

Answer [updated—1/11/2022]. Nord Stream 2 is a bad deal, and it continues to be viewed primarily a geopolitical project designed to undermine the security of Eastern European partners, particularly Ukraine. The new German Government remains committed to and is making progress on implementing the July 21 "Joint Statement of the United States and Germany on Support for Ukraine, European Energy Security, and our Climate Goals." My understanding is that the German regulator has suspended certification procedures for Nord Stream 2. I believe the new German Government has also made it clear that additional Russian aggression against Ukraine would further call into question the pipeline's future.

Question. Do you believe threatening to prevent the operation of Nord Stream 2 will persuade Russia to withdraw their threat to invade Ukraine?

Answer. Russian officials, in particular President Putin, have a strong, emotional position on Ukraine that is based on their one-sided understanding of Russian history and view of the collapse of the Soviet Union as a tragedy that must be reversed. They have a desire to "take back" Ukraine that is stronger than specific considerations around Nord Stream 2. It seems unlikely that stopping the pipeline alone would cause Russia—and President Putin—to abandon the threat to further invade Ukraine.

Question. Do you agree to work to prevent Nord Stream 2 from becoming operational should Russia further invade Ukraine?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work with senior U.S. and German officials to persuade Germany that it should put a stop to Nord Stream 2 if Russia further invades Ukraine. Senior German officials have publicly said that Russia would face severe political and economic consequences for renewed military action against Ukraine

and I would work to hold them to those statements and work jointly with Germany to develop very strong measures to impose costs on Russia for its malign behavior.

Question. Have you read the July 21, 2021 Joint Statement between Germany and the United States?

Answer. Yes, I have read the Joint Statement between Germany and the United States.

Question. The joint statement states: “This commitment is designed to ensure that Russia will not misuse any pipeline, including Nord Stream 2, to achieve aggressive political ends by using energy as a weapon.”

- What is your understanding of the definition of “use of energy as a weapon”?

Answer. The commitment to work together in the event Russia uses energy as a weapon is at the heart of the July 21 joint statement. It is my understanding that talks between the United States and Germany are currently ongoing on how to define the use of energy as a weapon and how to respond to such a situation. If confirmed, I will work to ensure Germany understands the United States’ position on Russia’s use of its leverage in the European energy market and how to push back effectively. If confirmed, I would ensure the United States negotiating team has my full support in developing this joint approach with Germany.

Question. How would you define whether or not Nord Stream 2 is involved in “the use of energy as a weapon”?

Answer. If confirmed, I would work closely with United States Government energy experts to evaluate implications of the Nord Stream 2 pipeline on European energy security and possible Russian use of energy as a weapon. I would engage at senior levels of the German Government to ensure they understand the United States position on the pipeline and are following through aggressively on the commitment in the July 21 joint statement to ensure there are consequences if Russia uses energy as a weapon, as our two governments decide that term should be defined.

Question. What is your understanding of the German Government’s definition of the “use of energy as a weapon”?

Answer. I am not privy to the details of current diplomatic engagements between Germany and the United States surrounding Nord Stream 2 and Germany’s precise definition of the use of energy as a weapon. If confirmed, I would work hard to develop a joint understanding with Germany on the use of energy as a weapon and potential responses.

Question. How do you believe the German Government would define whether or not Nord Stream 2 is involved in “the use of energy as a weapon”?

Answer. At this point, I am not privy to diplomatic discussions with Germany and do not know exactly how the German Government would define whether Nord Stream 2 is involved in the use of energy as a weapon. If confirmed, I would work closely to impress on Germany the U.S. position that the pipeline is a bad deal and work to ensure rapid implementation of the July 21 joint statement that commits the United States and Germany to work together to respond if Russia uses energy as a weapon, as our two governments decide that term should be defined.

Question. If there is a determination that Russia has used Nord Stream 2 as a weapon, will you support efforts to shut down the pipeline?

Answer. If confirmed, I will continue to implement U.S. policy which states that Nord Stream 2 is a bad deal and undertake every effort to limit the negative impact of an operational pipeline. This administration has been clear in its opposition to Nord Stream 2 and the ideal solution would be for the pipeline to be shut down, if that is possible. If confirmed, I will support ongoing efforts to limit its potential negative impact and to ensure gas continues to flow through Ukraine.

Question. How will you work with the German Government to help them address the situation and aid Poland in finding a solution to this crisis?

Answer. If confirmed, I will coordinate closely with Germany, Allies, and partners to develop a policy agenda on Poland and Belarus based on shared values. Belarus continues to break international law and OSCE commitments. I appreciate Poland’s leadership (along with Latvia and Lithuania) in confronting the challenges created by the Lukashenka regime. The United States recognizes the right of the governments impacted by the actions of Belarus, including Poland, to secure their borders. The United States announced on December 2 a fifth tranche of sanctions in close coordination with the EU, Allies, and partners, holding accountable the Lukashenka regime for hybrid operations and ongoing attacks on democracy and human rights.

Question. How will you ensure that Germany upholds its international and EU obligations to uphold the rights of migrants?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work with Germany to promote close coordination and develop a policy agenda based on shared values. I am deeply concerned by the Lukashenka regime's inhumane actions and strongly condemn its callous exploitation and coercion of vulnerable people, including migrant smuggling across its borders into states of the European Union. By exploiting vulnerable individuals and villainizing democratic countries, the regime in Belarus seeks to pressure its neighbors into ending EU sanctions and other efforts to hold the regime accountable. If confirmed, I will work with German leaders to promote close coordination and develop a policy agenda based on shared values.

Question. How will you work with your fellow U.S. diplomats in other EU countries to encourage their governments to work together to find a solution?

Answer. If confirmed, not only will I work hard to ensure our cooperation continues, I also will look for ways to strengthen our partnership. As long as the regime in Belarus violently represses human rights, holds political prisoners, and undermines the democratic aspirations of the Belarusian people, I will work with Allies and partners to increase pressure and call for accountability. If the regime seeks sanctions relief, the steps are clear: end the ongoing crackdown, release unconditionally all political prisoners, hold accountable perpetrators of abuses, and engage in a genuine, inclusive dialogue with the Belarusian opposition and civil society that will lead to new free and fair presidential elections under international observation.

Question. If confirmed, how will you work with the German Government to ensure they uphold our mutual support for nuclear deterrence?

Answer. I welcome the new German Government's continued commitment to participate in NATO's nuclear mission, as stated in its coalition agreement. The United States strongly discourages NATO Allies, including Germany, from participating as observers in the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW). NATO's stated policy maintains the TPNW is "inconsistent with the Alliance's nuclear deterrence policy, is at odds with the existing non-proliferation and disarmament architecture, risks undermining the NPT, and does not take into account the current security environment." If confirmed, I will continue to reinforce the importance of Germany's support for NATO as a nuclear alliance.

Question. What is your understanding of the German Government's support for a "Sole Purpose" nuclear declaratory policy in the U.S., and additionally, in NATO?

Answer. I am not aware of any public statements German officials have made on the subject. Throughout DOD's ongoing Nuclear Posture Review, the Biden administration has conducted extensive consultations with Allies and partners, including Germany. Feedback from these consultations will help inform the President's decision on declaratory policy. The President has called our extended deterrence guarantees a "sacred obligation" and has repeatedly stressed that our commitment to our treaty allies is ironclad. I am confident that the result will ensure that the United States will have the capabilities needed to deter aggression, assure our Allies, and respond if deterrence fails.

Question. Do you believe that the administration's Nuclear Posture Review and consideration of a transition to a "Sole Purpose" or "Fundamental Purpose" nuclear doctrine sends a message to allies, like Germany, that they should consider policies that would reduce nuclear deterrence?

Answer. Throughout the Nuclear Posture Review, the Biden administration has conducted extensive consultations with Allies and partners, including Germany, to solicit their views. Those viewpoints will help inform the President's policy making. As President Biden has called our extended deterrence guarantees a "sacred obligation" and has repeatedly stressed that our commitment to NATO is ironclad, the President will only choose a declaratory policy which enhances our security and that of our Allies. The President's Interim National Security Strategic Guidance also makes clear "that our extended deterrence commitments to our allies remain strong and credible."

Answer [updated—1/11/2022]. As part of the Nuclear Posture Review (NPR) process, the Biden administration is conducting extensive consultations with U.S. Allies, including Germany, and the views expressed, including concerns about "no-first-use" or "sole purpose," will weigh heavily in the administration's decision making. President Biden has called Article 5 a "sacred obligation" and has repeatedly stressed to all Allies that our commitment to Article 5 is ironclad. The President's Interim National Security Strategy also makes clear "that our extended deterrence commitments

to our allies remain strong and credible.” While I am not part of the NPR review, I am confident it will ensure that the U.S. will have the capabilities needed to deter aggression and respond if deterrence fails. If confirmed, I commit to working closely with Germany to understand how the NPR may impact Germany national defense strategy.

Question. While Germany has made strides toward meeting its NATO defense spending obligation, it still falls far short of 2 percent of its GDP. How will you work with the German Government to ensure they meet their NATO spending obligations as soon as practicable?

Answer. Germany is a steadfast NATO Ally. If confirmed, I will urge Germany to increase defense spending to 2 percent of GDP to meet NATO capability targets and fulfill force contributions pursuant to the Wales Pledge. Ongoing events in Ukraine and the developing situation in Belarus are powerful reminders of why Allies must share the burden of their collective defense. Trustworthy information, intelligence-sharing, and communication will be critical to increasing shared threat perceptions.

Question. While Germany has recently installed its new coalition government, marking an end to the Merkel era. How will you work to establish new relationships with officials in the new Government?

Answer. Germany remains a strong Transatlantic partner and NATO Ally. Our shared values form the foundation for our strong cultural, economic, and security ties. I welcome Germany’s new “traffic light” coalition government comprised of Social Democrats (SPD), Greens, and Free Democrats (FDP). If confirmed, I will seek to continue the rhythm of early and frequent engagement. Secretary Blinken congratulated new Foreign Minister Baerbock by phone shortly after her December 8 swearing-in, and the two held a bilateral meeting two days later at the G7 Foreign Minister Ministerial in Liverpool. President Biden also congratulated Chancellor Scholz and kicked off this new partnership by phone.

Answer [updated—1/11/2022]. If confirmed, I will set meetings with the Chancellor, Foreign Minister, and other key cabinet members for as soon as possible after I arrive in Berlin. I will also make a point to visit all five U.S. consulates early in my tenure and meet with local officials; given that many powers in Germany are held at the local level. Beyond senior government officials, I will make sure to engage with other political, economic, and cultural leaders throughout Germany and ensure the team at U.S. Mission Germany does so as well at appropriate levels. I will convey U.S. positions on key issues such as Ukraine/Russia, Nord Stream 2, and China and will listen carefully to what my German counterparts have to say so we can build an even stronger partnership.

Question. What challenges do you anticipate you will face with the new government?

Answer. I welcome the new coalition’s pro-Transatlantic approach to foreign policy and, if confirmed, will cooperate closely with Chancellor Scholz’s new government. I understand the United States worked closely and productively with the new chancellor in his previous role as vice chancellor and finance minister. Because our two countries are such deep and longstanding friends and democracies, we will continue to work together across different administrations led by different parties—in both our countries. We have major immediate challenges to tackle together, including climate change, the COVID-19 pandemic, countering Russian aggression, and calling out PRC human rights violations and economic coercion.

Question. What are the forefront issues you plan to address when you arrive at post?

Answer. If confirmed, my first priority is the safety and security of my staff and U.S. citizens overseas, and to carry out the policies of the U.S. Government. Externally, Germany and the United States face myriad challenges, on which I will start to work immediately. This includes combatting the COVID-19 pandemic, stepping up our ambition on climate change, and coordinating united responses to Russia and China—including calling out their human rights abuses, economic coercion, corrupt acts, and threats to European security.

Question. U.S. missions across the globe have been under enormous strain over the past few years due to COVID. What is your understanding of morale throughout Mission Germany?

Answer. Strong morale is critical to advancing U.S. policy priorities. Unfortunately, the pandemic and reports of anomalous health incidents have challenged that morale. If confirmed, I will work with my Deputy Chief of Mission to ensure

we maintain an atmosphere where our staff feels safe, heard, and comfortable bringing serious issues to the leadership's attention. I will promptly conduct personal outreach to staff, promote training and professional development, and offer Mission and Department resources. Through clear and open communication, and practicing an open-door policy, I will ensure my team knows their safety and security are my highest priority.

Question. U.S. missions across the globe have been under enormous strain over the past few years due to COVID. How do you intend to improve morale across all of Mission Germany?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work tirelessly to build and preserve morale by supporting my team, maintaining open lines of communication, and leading by example. As a strong believer in an open-door policy, I will make myself accessible to my staff, and I will lead and participate in community-building initiatives. I will treat my team with respect and professionalism and give them the tools they need to succeed. I believe all members of Mission Germany are one talented, hard-working, and dedicated team working for the success of the U.S.-Germany relationship and the interests of the United States and the American people. If confirmed, I will strive to inspire my team through clear and empathetic leadership, support, and communication.

Question. U.S. missions across the globe have been under enormous strain over the past few years due to COVID. How do you intend to create a unified mission and vision across Mission Germany?

Answer. If confirmed, I plan to establish a strong team with a clear understanding of our goals and objectives, maintain open and transparent communications through broad information sharing, and prioritize the safety of the Mission community—both American and local staff. I will treat the team with respect and professionalism and give them the tools to succeed. I believe all members of Mission Germany are one talented, hard-working, and dedicated team working for the success of the U.S.-Germany relationship and the interests of the United States and the American people. If confirmed, I will strive to inspire my team through clear and empathetic leadership, support, and communication.

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

Answer. I have a collaborative and responsive management style. I believe in leading by example, sharing information, empowering my team, keeping an open mind to fresh ideas, and providing clear guidance and timely decisions. I regularly engage with members of my team and seek to create a space for open dialogue and diversity of thought.

Question. Management is a key responsibility for chiefs of mission. If confirmed, how do you believe your management style will translate to an Embassy setting, where resources may not be readily available and your diplomatic workforce consists of career employees?

Answer. As I understand it, the State Department continuously reviews its priorities, organization, and staffing relevant to the needs of each mission. If confirmed, I will ensure that we use our available resources as effectively as possible to advance our top policy priorities. Although I will advocate for critical resources necessary for carrying out our team's mission, I will also always take with the utmost seriousness my responsibility to be a judicious steward of public funds.

Question. Management is a key responsibility for chiefs of mission. As a political appointee rather than career diplomat, do you believe it is incumbent upon new chiefs of mission to integrate themselves into Embassy operations and culture? If yes, how do you intend to do so?

Answer. Yes, if confirmed, one of my first actions as ambassador will be to meet the entire Mission Germany team and to establish a coordination plan with the various sections and agencies. I will strive to create opportunities for regular engagements with the Mission community, ensuring I stay aware of community concerns and the state of morale.

Question. Management is a key responsibility for chiefs of mission. Do you believe it is ever acceptable or constructive to berate subordinates, either in public or private?

Answer. Absolutely not. It is never acceptable or constructive to berate subordinates, either in public or private. Indeed, it is totally counterproductive to our mission and it runs counter to my core values of mutual honor and respect.

Question. Management is a key responsibility for chiefs of mission. How do you envision your relationship with your deputy chief of mission?

Answer. If confirmed, I will strive to establish a strong, positive, and supportive relationship with my Deputy Chief of Mission, one in which we are each other's trusted partners, confidantes, and alter egos in successfully managing and leading the Mission.

Question. Management is a key responsibility for chiefs of mission. If confirmed, what leadership responsibilities do you intend to entrust to your deputy chief of mission?

Answer. If confirmed, I look forward to having a close working relationship with my Deputy Chief of Mission (DCM). I look forward to the DCM being fully engaged and informed on all aspects of policy and Mission management. I would be honored to work with and learn from the DCM, an accomplished career diplomat who has successfully led the Mission as Charge d'Affaires since the departure of the previous ambassador.

Question. It is imperative that U.S. diplomats get outside of posts abroad to meet with local actors, including host government officials, non-government organizations, and everyday citizens. If confirmed, will you encourage Mission Germany diplomats to engage in-person with the German people outside of U.S. Embassies and consulates?

Answer. Yes. I understand and greatly appreciate that U.S. diplomats, including those working at Mission Germany, have done a remarkable job to get outside our Embassy and consulate walls and advance U.S. objectives to accomplish our Mission by meeting local actors in diverse settings and environments. If confirmed, I will encourage the Embassy team to maximize opportunities to advance our interests with all sectors of the German populace. I will also lead by example.

Public Diplomacy: An Important Aspect of U.S. Foreign Policy Efforts

Question. What is the public diplomacy environment like in Germany? What public diplomacy challenges do U.S. diplomats face?

Answer. Public diplomacy is a vital part of our mission. Established in 1952, the U.S.-Germany Fulbright program is one of the oldest, largest, and most innovative Fulbright programs in the world. Germany is an intense, dynamic media environment; while television and major print dailies still hold the broadest audiences and influence, German media has continued its own shift toward digital. The Embassy and Consulates constantly interact with reporters, editors, and editorialists from outlets across the spectrum. The Mission's digital engagement efforts are evolving to continue engaging Germany's current and future opinion leaders, particularly the "digital native" generation who consume news online rather than from TV or print.

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

Answer. Unity of message is important in foreign policy, so when it comes to public messaging on policy issues, Mission Germany should and does depend on guidance from Main State. Using their understanding of the local context, the public diplomacy team in Mission Germany blends amplification of department or administration messaging with effectively tailoring Washington's messages to achieve the greatest impact with local audiences. If confirmed, I will continue to deploy public diplomacy staff and resources to analyze, engage, inform, and influence German audiences in support of U.S. foreign policy goals.

Question. "Anomalous health incidents," commonly referred to as "Havana Syndrome," have been debilitating and sidelining U.S. diplomats around the world for years. They have caused serious, negative consequences for U.S. diplomacy, yet many believe that the Department is not doing enough to care for, protect, and communicate to its personnel.

- If confirmed, do you commit to taking this threat seriously?

Answer. Yes. There is nothing I take more seriously than the health and security of the people who will be working with me. AHIs have been a top priority for Secretary Blinken, who set clear goals for the Health Incident Response Task Force to strengthen the Department's communication with our workforce, provide care for affected employees and family members, and better protect against these events in the future as we continue to work closely with the interagency to find the cause of these AHIs.

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

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I will share what information I can within the bounds of privacy and security concerns with my team and Mission Germany personnel.

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

Answer. I have received an unclassified briefing on anomalous health incidents. If confirmed, I commit to receiving additional, classified briefings on the incidents before I depart for my post.

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

Answer. Yes, if confirmed I will maintain detailed records of the incident and share it with the State Department and others to contribute to the investigation.

Question. The past occurrences and ongoing threat of anomalous health incidents among Embassy personnel and their families poses a serious challenge to morale. When personnel at post fear for their safety or doubt that their case will be taken seriously if they were affected, the performance of Embassy operations can suffer. Whether or not anomalous health incidents occur at your Embassy, how will you work to restore and preserve morale that may be lost due to the knowledge these attacks have been occurring at posts around the world?

Answer. If confirmed, I will take every measure to keep our staff safe and secure and would take any report of an anomalous health incident very seriously. I will do my best to ensure those affected receive the attention they deserve, that incidents are investigated fully, and that we work with the appropriate offices and agencies to ensure required reporting, investigation, potential countermeasures, and provision of medical care. I will also openly share what information I can within the bounds of privacy and security concerns with my team and the Mission community.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO DR. AMY GUTMANN BY SENATOR TODD YOUNG

Question. I am encouraged by recent statements from the new German Government indicating it will reconsider the EU-China Investment Treaty, a recognition of the growing strategic rivalry with China. How can the United States build on our growing consensus with the Government of Germany about the threat that China poses to international security and stability?

Answer. If confirmed, among my highest priorities will be working to counter threats to our international security and stability. Specifically, I will work closely with Germany to rise to threats and challenges posed by the PRC. We also share a positive vision for this vital region. Germany's 2020 Indo-Pacific strategy outlines plans to expand defense cooperation with Indo-Pacific partners and calls for more economic transparency, sustainability, and fair competition. As the United States finalizes our own national Indo-Pacific Strategy, we will seek to bolster the United States' and Germany's strategic and security ties with Indo-Pacific partners; diversify and strengthen our economic ties with the region; and jointly tackle global challenges like climate change and protecting human rights.

Question. If confirmed, what steps would you take to coordinate with Germany on countering Chinese aggression in Germany and Europe more broadly?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work with German officials and civil society to deepen U.S.-German cooperation on addressing China's problematic influence in Europe. I will advocate for the importance of a strong and unified position in countering Chinese aggressive actions. Germany played a leading role in shaping a more assertive China policy in the EU and supports the Trade and Technology Council, and the U.S.-EU Dialogue on China framework. Germany pushed for an EU-level investment-screening mechanism and has increasingly countered the threats the PRC's aggressive actions pose to the rules-based international order. Germany's 2022 G7 presidency will be another opportunity to strengthen our cooperation on shared PRC-related concerns.

Question. In light of the growing threats from Russia and Belarus in the region, how would you characterize U.S.-German military engagement and cooperation?

Answer. Germany is a staunch NATO ally and host to the largest number of U.S. forces permanently based in Europe. As you are aware, on February 19 President Biden ended the active-duty force cap of 25,000 U.S. troops in Germany. The cooperation between our military authorities is close at every level. The United States, Germany, and all NATO Allies are discussing ongoing concerns about Russia's actions in and around Ukraine, and the evolving situation in Belarus. Allies have delivered a unified message, including as recently as December 16 with a public statement on Russian actions and proposals.

Question. Germany has reportedly blocked some Ukrainian requests to NATO for defensive weapons systems, fearing Russia may view it as a provocation. Germany's insistence on continuing with Nordstream 2 also undermined Ukraine's security, and Ukraine now views Germany's commitment to Ukraine territorial integrity with suspicion. How do you assess Germany's relationship with Russia?

Answer. Germany is a vital Ally in deterring Russian aggression. The foreign minister warned Russia of serious economic and political consequences for any further violation of Ukrainian sovereignty and territorial integrity. Germany is concerned certain military support for Ukraine could provoke Russia, and seeks to tamp Russian aggression through the Normandy Format. Despite economic ties to Russia (including Nord Stream 2), Germany strongly condemns Russia's human rights abuses. Given Russia's aggressive actions and threats - including amassing troops at the Ukraine border - Germany's demonstrated willingness to take a strong economic and political stance against Russia is significant and critically important.

Question. If confirmed, what would be your message to the Government of Germany regarding Ukraine's territorial integrity and recent Russian provocations?

Answer. To deter Russia from taking further aggressive moves against Ukraine, our support for Ukraine's territorial integrity must be strong and steadfast. Our actions vis-à-vis Russia will be more forceful and effective if they include our European Allies. If confirmed, I will engage early and at high levels with the new German Government on Russia's troop buildup around Ukraine. I will coordinate closely across the United States Government to ensure we are sharing all appropriate information with Germany. I will work with senior U.S. and German officials as we develop plans to support Ukraine, engage in diplomacy with Russia and Ukraine to find achieve a peaceful resolution, and develop tough economic measures to deter Russian aggression.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO DR. AMY GUTMANN BY SENATOR TED CRUZ

Question. If confirmed, you would be arriving at a delicate point in U.S.-German relations and in Germany's relations with its European neighbors. The German Government's position in favor of Putin's Nord Stream 2 pipeline has badly undermined its relations with European Union countries across the board, and especially to its east. This summer, the Biden administration decided to waive sanctions, administration officials said there was no reason to impose sanctions because there was no way to stop Nord Stream 2's completion. Sec. Blinken testified to Congress that it was a "fait accompli."

Recently, administration officials have completely flipped on their assessments. Recently, NSA Sullivan said that Nord Stream 2 was "leverage for the West, because if Putin wants to see gas flow through that pipeline, he may not want to take the risk of invading Ukraine." Sec. Blinken said on Sunday that Nord Stream 2 "doesn't have any gas flowing through it right now. it's a source of leverage on Russia because to the extent President Putin wants to see gas flowing through that pipeline. it's very unlikely or hard to see that happening if Russia has renewed its aggression on Ukraine."

- Do you assess that Nord Stream 2 can be prevented from coming online?

Answer. Nord Stream 2 is a bad deal for Germany and for Europe. Given that the Nord Stream 2 pipeline was over 90 percent complete when the Biden administration took office, the administration assessed it would not be possible to stop its physical construction. As I understand, the German national regulatory authority must still certify the Nord Stream 2 pipeline before it can achieve full operation. If confirmed, I will work hard to reduce the risks posed by Nord Stream 2 to European energy security and to ensure Germany fully implements the July 21 joint

**Part 2—Section 117 of the Higher Education Act Public Records,
University of Pennsylvania Foreign Funding Disclosure Reports**
**Data Sources: Foreign Gifts and Contracts Reporting System (new data) and
Postsecondary Education Participants System (legacy data)**
**Date Range: University of Pennsylvania public records
(January 1, 2020–October 5, 2021)**

Amount	Receipt Date	Contract Start Date	Contract End Date	Restricted Transaction Description	Institution Owned By Foreign Source	Legacy Data
\$2,000,000	6/23/2020				No	No
\$500,000.00	3/30/2020				No	No
\$2,500,000	6/22/2020				No	No
\$499,977.00	6/23/2020				No	No
\$250,000.00	6/17/2020				No	No
\$125,000.00	6/22/2020				No	No
\$125,000.00	6/23/2020				No	No
\$125,000.00	6/24/2020				No	No
\$125,000.00	6/25/2020				No	No
\$250,000.00	6/29/2020				No	No
\$350,000.00	11/24/2020				No	No
\$350,000.00	8/28/2020				No	No
\$500,000.00	5/6/2021				No	No
\$10,000.00	6/29/2021				No	No
\$250,000	3/30/2021				No	No
\$1,000,000	5/20/2021				No	No
\$40,386.08		8/1/2020	8/31/2020		No	No
\$41,083.00		9/1/2020	9/1/2020		No	No
\$41,626.76		10/1/2020	10/31/2020		No	No
\$42,320.32		11/1/2020	11/1/2020	*	No	No
\$42,773.08		12/1/2020	12/31/2020	**	No	No
\$43,196.72		1/1/2021	1/31/2021		No	No
\$43,411.20		2/1/2021	2/28/2021		No	No
\$43,101.52		3/1/2021	3/31/2021		No	No
\$42,712.88		4/1/2021	4/1/2021		No	No
\$43,589.00		5/1/2021	5/31/2021		No	No
\$43,795.92		6/1/2021	6/1/2021		No	No
\$45,596.10		11/1/2020	11/30/2020		No	No

**Part 2—Section 117 of the Higher Education Act Public Records,
University of Pennsylvania Foreign Funding Disclosure
Reports—Continued**

**Data Sources: Foreign Gifts and Contracts Reporting System (new data) and
Postsecondary Education Participants System (legacy data)**

**Date Range: University of Pennsylvania public records
(January 1, 2020–October 5, 2021)**

Amount	Receipt Date	Contract Start Date	Contract End Date	Restricted Transaction Description	Institution Owned By Foreign Source	Legacy Data
\$45,828.25		12/1/2020	12/31/2020		No	No
\$46,265.70		1/1/2021	1/31/2021		No	No
\$46,239.90		2/1/2021	2/28/2021		No	No
\$46,070.40		3/1/2021	3/31/2021		No	No
\$46,220.70		4/1/2021	4/30/2021		No	No
\$46,597.80		5/1/2021	5/31/2021		No	No
\$46,386.90		6/1/2021	6/30/2021		No	No

* Supports research of type 2 diabetes in the Perelman School of Medicine

** Supports the development of the Artificial Intelligence Program at the Wharton School

University of Pennsylvania Donations and Contracts— Partial List of Entities and Relevancy

- State Administration of Foreign Experts: During its operation, this group was responsible for recruiting foreign talent to the People's Republic of China, including in scientific and technological fields. It has since been eliminated and its duties absorbed by China's Ministry of Science and Technology.
- Shanghai Institute of International Studies: This organization is a government-affiliated think tank.
- Bank of Communications: This company is a bank with significant state investment. According to its website, major shareholders include China's National Social Security Fund (overseen by a government agency that reports to the State Council of the People's Republic of China), and China SAFE Investment Ltd. (the Hong Kong branch of China's sovereign wealth fund).
- China Construction Bank Corporation: This company is a state-owned bank.
- China Everbright Group: This company is a state-owned financial conglomerate. Its major shareholders include state-owned sovereign wealth fund subsidiary Central Huijin Investment Ltd. and China's Ministry of Finance.
- China Merchants Bank: This bank is a subsidiary of China Merchants Group, a state-owned firm under the direct supervision of the State-owned Assets Supervision and Administration Commission of the State Council (SASAC).
- Guanghua School of Management: This is a school in a state educational institution (Beijing University) under the administration of the Ministry of Education. The leadership of the school includes a Party Secretary and two Deputy Party Secretaries.
- Shanghai Advanced Institute of Finance: This institute resides within Shanghai Jiao Tong University. The dean of the Wharton School at the University of Pennsylvania sits on the board, alongside six Chinese government officials. The Chairman of the Board is the Vice Mayor of Shanghai. The institute's governance structure includes a Party Secretary. Shanghai Jiao Tong University itself is administered by China's Ministry of Education and the State Administration for Science, Technology and Industry for National Defense.
- SAIC Motor HK Investment Limited / Shanghai Automotive Industry Corporation: This is a state-owned automotive enterprise. The majority of the members of the board of directors, the board of supervisors, and leadership are members of the Chinese Communist Party. This fact is advertised prominently on the company's website.
- Zhejiang University: This is a state university under the administration of the Ministry of Education. Its leadership includes a Party Secretary and a committee for the Vice Secretary of the Party.

- Beijing Longfor Properties Co., Ltd.: There is evidence of state ties by senior executives of this company.
- China Minsheng Banking Co., Ltd.: This is a mixed ownership bank with evidence of state-tied shareholding. Various senior executives are members of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, All China Youth Federation, All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce, and other groups directed by the Chinese Communist Party. The Vice Chairman of the Board of Supervisors formerly was employed by the United Front Department of the CPC Central Committee.
- Industrial Bank Co., Ltd.: This bank has significant ties to the government of Fujian Province.
- Ping An Bank Co., Ltd.: This is a state tied company. The second largest investor is the Shenzhen municipal government through its investment arm, and the third largest shareholder is a wholly owned subsidiary of the Chinese government's sovereign investment fund. Its fifth largest shareholder is a state finance firm.
- China Zheshang Bank Co., Ltd.: This is a state tied company. The two largest shareholders are state-owned asset supervision and management commissions. Senior executives have held various positions within the Chinese Communist Party.

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Year Reported	Gift/Contract	Donor/Partner	Address	Amount	Purpose
2020	Gift	Chenwei Gu (Mr.)	1 Long Dong Avenue, Tomson Golf Villas Unit #511, Pudong New Area, 201203 Shanghai, China	\$125,000.00	Gu Analytics Fund
2020	Gift	Chenwei Gu (Mr.)	1 Long Dong Avenue, Tomson Golf Villas Unit #511, Pudong New Area, 201203 Shanghai, China	\$125,000.00	Gu Analytics Fund
2020	Gift	Chenwei Gu (Mr.)	1 Long Dong Avenue, Tomson Golf Villas Unit #511, Pudong New Area, 201203 Shanghai, China	\$125,000.00	Gu Analytics Fund
2020	Gift	Chenwei Gu (Mr.)	1 Long Dong Avenue, Tomson Golf Villas Unit #511, Pudong New Area, 201203 Shanghai, China	\$125,000.00	Gu Analytics Fund
2020	Gift	Chenwei Gu (Mr.)	1 Long Dong Avenue, Tomson Golf Villas Unit #511, Pudong New Area, 201203 Shanghai, China	\$125,000.00	Gu Analytics Fund
2020	Gift	Chenwei Gu (Mr.)	1 Long Dong Avenue, Tomson Golf Villas Unit #511, Pudong New Area, 201203 Shanghai, China	\$125,000.00	Gu Analytics Fund
2020	Gift	Chenwei Gu (Mr.)	1 Long Dong Avenue, Tomson Golf Villas Unit #511, Pudong New Area, 201203 Shanghai, China	\$125,000.00	Gu Analytics Fund
2020	Gift	Chenwei Gu (Mr.)	1 Long Dong Avenue, Tomson Golf Villas Unit #511, Pudong New Area, 201203 Shanghai, China	\$100,000.00	Gu Analytics Fund
2020	Gift	Ge Li, Ph.D.	Pudong New Area, 201203 Shanghai, China	\$25,000.00	Annual Fund
2020	Gift	Ge Li, Ph.D.	House 185, No. 1883 Nong, Hua Mu Road, Regency Park, Pudong District, 201204 Shanghai, China	\$1,000,000.00	Penn Wharton China Center
2020	Gift	Hua Medicine	House 185, No. 1883 Nong, Hua Mu Road, Regency Park, Pudong District, 201204 Shanghai, China	\$1,000,000.00	Wharton Annual Fund
2020	Gift	Hua Medicine	c/o Li Chen, 275 Ai Di Sheng Road, Pudong, 201203 Shanghai, China	\$250,000.00	Diabetes Research
2020	Gift	Hua Medicine	c/o Li Chen, 275 Ai Di Sheng Road, Pudong, 201203 Shanghai, China	\$250,000.00	Diabetes Research
2020	Gift	Qun Wu (Mr.)	Jiangsu Yuyue Medical Equipment & Supply Co., Ltd, No. 2, Zhenxin Rd, Yunyang Ind. Park, Danyang City, 212300 Hainan, China	\$200,000.00	MBA Fellowship
2020	Gift	Qun Wu (Mr.)	Jiangsu Yuyue Medical Equipment & Supply Co., Ltd, No. 2, Zhenxin Rd, Yunyang Ind. Park, Danyang City, 212300 Hainan, China	\$200,000.00	Wharton Annual Fund
2020	Gift	Qun Wu (Mr.)	Jiangsu Yuyue Medical Equipment & Supply Co., Ltd, No. 2, Zhenxin Rd, Yunyang Ind. Park, Danyang City, 212300 Hainan, China	\$99,977.00	Wharton Academic Research Building Fund
2020	Gift	Sylvia Chu (Ms.)	Hopson Development Holdings Limited, 23 West Dawang Road, Chaoyang District, 100022 Beijing, China	\$1,250,000.00	Dinan Hall - Wharton
2020	Gift	Sylvia Chu (Ms.)	Hopson Development Holdings Limited, 23 West Dawang Road, Chaoyang District, 100022 Beijing, China	\$750,000.00	Graduate Student Financial Aid
2020	Gift	Sylvia Chu (Ms.)	Hopson Development Holdings Limited, 23 West Dawang Road, Chaoyang District, 100022 Beijing, China	\$500,000.00	Wharton Annual Fund

University of Pennsylvania
Section 117 Reporting Year 2020—page 2 of 2

Year Reported	Gift/Contract	Donor/Partner	Address	Amount	Purpose
2020	Gift	Yun Wang (Mr.)	Room 1702, Building 3, 258 Puming Road, Pudong New Area, 200120 Shanghai, China	\$125,000.00	Wharton Building Fund
2020	Gift	Yun Wang (Mr.)	Room 1702, Building 3, 258 Puming Road, Pudong New Area, 200120 Shanghai, China	\$125,000.00	Yun Wang and Beibei Jiang Presidential Professorship
2020	Gift	Yun Wang (Mr.)	Room 1702, Building 3, 258 Puming Road, Pudong New Area, 200120 Shanghai, China	\$100,000.00	Yun Wang and Beibei Jiang Presidential Professorship
2020	Gift	Yun Wang (Mr.)	Room 1702, Building 3, 258 Puming Road, Pudong New Area, 200120 Shanghai, China	\$175,000.00	Wharton Building Fund
2020	Gift	Yun Wang (Mr.)	Room 1702, Building 3, 258 Puming Road, Pudong New Area, 200120 Shanghai, China	\$175,000.00	Yun Wang and Beibei Jiang Presidential Professorship
			TOTAL GIFTS	\$7,199,977.00	
2020	Contract	E-House (China) Holdings Unlimited	17/F, East Building, Investment Promotion Bureau Plaza, No.333, 200041 Shanghai, China	\$1,206,119.92	Wharton Executive Education
2020	Contract	E-House (China) Holdings Unlimited	17/F, East Building, Investment Promotion Bureau Plaza, No.333, 200041 Shanghai, China	\$1,125,060.00	Wharton Executive Education
2020	Contract	E-House (China) Holdings Unlimited	17/F, East Building, Investment Promotion Bureau Plaza, No.333, 200041 Shanghai, China	\$257,500.00	Wharton Executive Education
2020	Contract	E-House (China) Holdings Unlimited	17/F, East Building, Investment Promotion Bureau Plaza, No.333, 200041 Shanghai, China	\$217,500.00	Wharton Executive Education
2020	Contract	E-House (China) Holdings Unlimited	17/F, East Building, Investment Promotion Bureau Plaza, No.333, 200041 Shanghai, China	\$80,000.00	Wharton Executive Education
2020	Contract	Guangzhou R&F Properties Co., Ltd.	45-54 Floors, Full Center No. 10, Huaxia Road Zhujiang New City, Tian, Guangzhou, China	\$1,163,693.40	Wharton Executive Education
2020	Contract	Nanyang Technological University	22 Hankou Road, 210093 Nanjing, China	\$44,000.00	Wharton Executive Education
2020	Contract	Shanghai Advanced Institute of Finance	211 West Huaihai Road, Shanghai, 200030 Shanghai, China	\$1,820,000.00	Wharton Executive Education
2020	Contract	Shanghai Advanced Institute of Finance (SAIF)	211 West Huaihai Road, Shanghai, 200030 Shanghai, China	\$358,323.23	Wharton Executive Education
2020	Contract	Shanghai Advanced Institute of Finance (SAIF)	211 West Huaihai Road, Shanghai, 200030 Shanghai, China	\$128,495.00	Wharton Executive Education
2020	Contract	Shanghai Automotive Industry Corporation	No. 489, Weihai Road, Jing An District, 200041 Shanghai, China	\$43,730.00	Wharton Executive Education
2020	Contract	Shanghai Automotive Industry Corporation	No. 489, Weihai Road, Jing An District, 200041 Shanghai, China	\$233,230.00	Wharton Executive Education
2020	Contract	Vipshop Co., Ltd.	Fengjill Dai, No.20 Huaihai Street, Lianan District, Guangzhou, Guangdong, China	\$191,567.90	Wharton Executive Education
			TOTAL CONTRACTS	\$7,468,619.45	

University of Pennsylvania
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Year Reported	Gift/Contract	Donor/Partner	Address	Amount	Purpose
2021	Gift	Hua Medicine	c/o Li Chen, 275 Ai Di Sheng Road, Pudong, 201203 Shanghai, China	\$250,000.00	Diabetes Research
2021	Gift	Qun Wu (Mr.)	Jiangsu Yuyue Medical Equipment & Supply Co., Ltd., No. 2, Zhenxin Rd, Yuyang Ind. Park, Danyang City, 212300 Hainan, China	\$100,000.00	Wharton Academic Research Building Fund
2021	Gift	Qun Wu (Mr.)	Jiangsu Yuyue Medical Equipment & Supply Co., Ltd., No. 2, Zhenxin Rd, Yuyang Ind. Park, Danyang City, 212300 Hainan, China	\$200,000.00	MBA Fellowships
2021	Gift	Qun Wu (Mr.)	Jiangsu Yuyue Medical Equipment & Supply Co., Ltd., No. 2, Zhenxin Rd, Yuyang Ind. Park, Danyang City, 212300 Hainan, China	\$200,000.00	Wharton Annual Fund
2021	Gift	Tao Zhang (Mr.)	18 Nassim Hill, #0303, Singapore, 258485, Singapore	\$1,000,000.00	Wharton Data Analytics Research Initiative
2021	Gift	Tao Zhang (Mr.)	18 Nassim Hill, #0303, Singapore, 258485, Singapore	\$10,000.00	Wharton Annual Fund
			TOTAL GIFTS	\$1,760,000.00	
2021	Contract	Shanghai Yanchong Information Technology Co., Ltd.	1618 Yishang Road, Building A, Suite 310, Shanghai, China	\$40,386.08	Wharton Executive Education
2021	Contract	Shanghai Yanchong Information Technology Co., Ltd.	1618 Yishang Road, Building A, Suite 310, Shanghai, China	\$41,083.00	Wharton Executive Education
2021	Contract	Shanghai Yanchong Information Technology Co., Ltd.	1618 Yishang Road, Building A, Suite 310, Shanghai, China	\$41,626.76	Wharton Executive Education
2021	Contract	Shanghai Yanchong Information Technology Co., Ltd.	1618 Yishang Road, Building A, Suite 310, Shanghai, China	\$42,320.32	Wharton Executive Education
2021	Contract	Shanghai Yanchong Information Technology Co., Ltd.	1618 Yishang Road, Building A, Suite 310, Shanghai, China	\$42,773.08	Wharton Executive Education
2021	Contract	Shanghai Yanchong Information Technology Co., Ltd.	1618 Yishang Road, Building A, Suite 310, Shanghai, China	\$43,196.72	Wharton Executive Education
2021	Contract	Shanghai Yanchong Information Technology Co., Ltd.	1618 Yishang Road, Building A, Suite 310, Shanghai, China	\$43,411.20	Wharton Executive Education
2021	Contract	Shanghai Yanchong Information Technology Co., Ltd.	1618 Yishang Road, Building A, Suite 310, Shanghai, China	\$43,101.52	Wharton Executive Education
2021	Contract	Shanghai Yanchong Information Technology Co., Ltd.	1618 Yishang Road, Building A, Suite 310, Shanghai, China	\$42,712.88	Wharton Executive Education
2021	Contract	Shanghai Yanchong Information Technology Co., Ltd.	1618 Yishang Road, Building A, Suite 310, Shanghai, China	\$43,589.00	Wharton Executive Education
2021	Contract	Shanghai Yanchong Information Technology Co., Ltd.	1618 Yishang Road, Building A, Suite 310, Shanghai, China	\$43,795.92	Wharton Executive Education

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Year Reported	Gift/Contract	Donor/Partner	Address	Amount	Purpose
2021	Contract	Shenzhen Guoshengyuan Trading Co., Ltd.	Room 1708, 17th Floor, Kaiyuan Building, 7001 North Ring Road, Futian District, Shenzhen, China	\$45,596.10	Wharton Executive Education
2021	Contract	Shenzhen Guoshengyuan Trading Co., Ltd.	Room 1708, 17th Floor, Kaiyuan Building, 7001 North Ring Road, Futian District, Shenzhen, China	\$45,828.30	Wharton Executive Education
2021	Contract	Shenzhen Guoshengyuan Trading Co., Ltd.	Room 1708, 17th Floor, Kaiyuan Building, 7001 North Ring Road, Futian District, Shenzhen, China	\$46,265.70	Wharton Executive Education
2021	Contract	Shenzhen Guoshengyuan Trading Co., Ltd.	Room 1708, 17th Floor, Kaiyuan Building, 7001 North Ring Road, Futian District, Shenzhen, China	\$46,239.90	Wharton Executive Education
2021	Contract	Shenzhen Guoshengyuan Trading Co., Ltd.	Room 1708, 17th Floor, Kaiyuan Building, 7001 North Ring Road, Futian District, Shenzhen, China	\$46,070.40	Wharton Executive Education
2021	Contract	Shenzhen Guoshengyuan Trading Co., Ltd.	Room 1708, 17th Floor, Kaiyuan Building, 7001 North Ring Road, Futian District, Shenzhen, China	\$46,220.70	Wharton Executive Education
2021	Contract	Shenzhen Guoshengyuan Trading Co., Ltd.	Room 1708, 17th Floor, Kaiyuan Building, 7001 North Ring Road, Futian District, Shenzhen, China	\$46,597.80	Wharton Executive Education
2021	Contract	Shenzhen Guoshengyuan Trading Co., Ltd.	Room 1708, 17th Floor, Kaiyuan Building, 7001 North Ring Road, Futian District, Shenzhen, China	\$46,386.90	Wharton Executive Education
2021	Contract	Zhongcai Longma (Beijing) Education Consulting Co., Ltd.	Building 2, No.A12, Xidawang Road, Chaoyang District, 100012 Beijing, China	\$4,542.90	Wharton Executive Education
2021	Contract	Zhongcai Longma (Beijing) Education Consulting Co., Ltd.	Building 2, No.A12, Xidawang Road, Chaoyang District, 100012 Beijing, China	\$3,689.59	Wharton Executive Education
2021	Contract	Zhongcai Longma (Beijing) Education Consulting Co., Ltd.	Building 2, No.A12, Xidawang Road, Chaoyang District, 100012 Beijing, China	\$554,157.78	Wharton Executive Education
TOTAL CONTRACTS				\$1,399,592.55	