

**NOMINATION HEARINGS OF THE
115TH CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION**

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

**COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
UNITED STATES SENATE**

ONE HUNDRED FIFTEENTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

—
JANUARY 3, 2017 TO JANUARY 3, 2018
—

Printed for the use of the Committee on Foreign Relations



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S. HRG. 115-413

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33-623 PDF

WASHINGTON : 2018

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NOMINATION

TUESDAY, MAY 2, 2017

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

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:00 a.m. in Room SD-419, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Bob Corker, chairman of the committee, presiding.

Present: Senators Corker [presiding], Rubio, Flake, Gardner, Young, Barrasso, Portman, Cardin, Menendez, Shaheen, Coons, Murphy, Kaine, Markey, Merkley, and Booker.

OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. BOB CORKER, U.S. SENATOR FROM TENNESSEE

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

We are honored to have so many people here today. I do wonder what is happening back in Iowa with the Governor, two Senators, and so many distinguished individuals here. And we are glad to have all of you here in support of our nominee.

Out of deep respect for Senator Grassley and Senator Ernst, the ranking member and I both will defer our opening comments so that you do not have to sit through those. I know that you would like to say wonderful and glowing things about our nominee, and we know that you have other business that you need to attend to. So what we will do is ask you to please go first. We will then begin the business in the normal way and move to testimony by Governor Branstad.

But if you would begin, the most Honorable Senator Grassley, we would appreciate it. We thank you for honoring us with your presence here today, and we thank you for your service in so many ways. With that, we would love to hear your comments.

STATEMENT OF HON. CHARLES GRASSLEY, U.S. SENATOR FROM IOWA

Senator GRASSLEY. Thank you, Chairman Corker and Ranking Member Cardin and members of the Foreign Relations Committee. It is a privilege for me to be here to introduce the Governor of Iowa, the next ambassador to China.

And I would say that this gentleman has been an ambassador all of his life for Iowa and will make a good ambassador to China. He has been an ambassador for Iowa within the United States of America as he has told other Americans about Iowa, a great place to create jobs, a great place to do business. And he has been an

ambassador for Iowa around the world many, many times with many, many different countries, but especially with China being an ambassador for Iowa's exports.

It is an honor to appear here with Senator Ernst, and it is even a greater privilege to introduce a person that I call a good friend way back when, Terry Branstad, at least to his first years in the Iowa legislature, 1973.

As many of you know, Governor Branstad is the longest serving Governor in U.S. history. He is a lifelong Iowan who has devoted his life to public service, and even when he was not in public service as president of a university, he was still an ambassador for Iowa.

After more than 22 years as my home State chief executive, I am proud to support Governor Branstad's nomination to serve our country as the next U.S. Ambassador to China. His nomination should come as no surprise to the people of Iowa. We have long known and benefited from the relationship Governor Branstad has with the people of China. A sister state relationship going way back to 1983 has grown into a successful trade partnership that has benefited Iowa farmers and businesses.

Perhaps most notably, Governor Branstad enjoys a 30-year friendship with President Xi. Their first meeting took place in 1985 when Xi was then a local provincial official who led an agricultural delegation to Iowa. President Xi visited Iowa again in 2012 when Governor Branstad was back at the helm for a fifth term as Governor of Iowa. Their relationship reflects a genuine good will and mutual respect.

Governor Branstad has never stopped working to expand Iowa's trade, investment, and economic partnerships on the world stage most importantly, including China. He will bring Midwestern humility and level-headed leadership to this very important job representing the people of the United States and the President there in Beijing. He is a workhorse who is unafraid to get in the trenches to get the job done.

If he is confirmed, I am confident that Governor Branstad will bring to bear his tireless commitment to solving problems and always move the ball forward. Although his heart will always be in Iowa and I know he will return to Iowa, I know that Governor Branstad will throw himself into this job of being an ambassador wholeheartedly.

Governor Branstad is uniquely qualified to help strengthen the trade, economic, and cultural, as well as the geopolitical relationships between our two countries. I am pleased that he has now been called to serve as the ambassador. I am very confident that he will represent the United States well and excel just as he has throughout his lifelong career of public service, as well as his public sector leadership.

Without reservations, I support this nomination. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much for that.

And to Senator Ernst, who has brought her unique and distinctive background to the Senate and certainly has made a major impact already, we welcome you and look forward to your comments.

**STATEMENT OF HON. JONI ERNST,
U.S. SENATOR FROM IOWA**

Senator ERNST. Thank you, Chairman Corker and Ranking Member Cardin and the members of the committee.

It is my privilege to be here today, along with our longtime senior Senator, Senator Grassley, to introduce my Governor, my friend, and the longest serving Governor in U.S. history, Terry Branstad.

A native Iowan, Governor Branstad served in the Iowa legislature before serving our State as Governor from 1983 to 1999 and again from 2011 until what I hope will be his swift confirmation as U.S. Ambassador to China.

Having worked alongside the Governor for many years, I know he will exemplify the same leadership, thoughtfulness, and dedication in his role as Ambassador to China on behalf of the United States as he did for the people of Iowa.

Importantly, Governor Branstad also knows China and its leaders well. He first met President Xi Jinping while he was visiting Iowa on an agricultural research trip in 1985. They have kept in touch over the years, and Governor Branstad has since visited China a number of times on behalf of the State of Iowa.

Iowa's extensive trade relationship with China has given Governor Branstad a front seat view of the complexities of our country's broader trade and economic relationship with China and will provide him with the foundation to effectively advocate for U.S. interests.

While our bilateral economic relationship with China is certainly important, I do not have to tell you that our list of bilateral issues with China is long and expands beyond trade and investment, to include issues like North Korea, the South China Sea, human rights, and more. Accordingly, the position of U.S. Ambassador to China is one of the most important ambassadorial positions in the world, and I am confident that President Trump has made an excellent choice in nominating Iowa Governor Terry Branstad for this role. I look forward to him being confirmed by the Senate and bringing the Iowa way to Beijing.

I also want to extend my thanks to the support that has been given to Governor Branstad by his wonderful family, and I know he will introduce Chris and the rest of his family soon. They are truly an asset to Iowa. I know that they are going to be a greater asset for the United States of America.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you both. I know our ranking member would love to thank you for your comments.

Senator CARDIN. Yes.

Governor Branstad, let me just point out that your two Senators are very much respected in this institution and having both of them here to speak on your behalf is impressive. And we thank both of our colleagues for sharing their comments about you.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you both very much.

We will now return to our opening comments. Governor Branstad, it is a pleasure to welcome you here today as our nominee to be the next Ambassador to China. I am glad to see members

of your family here today as well. I wish you all the best as you embark on this exciting new venture.

Beijing is not Des Moines. [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. But I know that your relationship with President Xi spans decades, and I am confident that you fully understand the breadth and depth of the challenges awaiting you in China.

When we met in my office, I appreciated your honesty and candor about managing the complexities and relations with China, and I look forward to expanding on that conversation here today.

As I have said previously, the U.S.-China is one of the most consequential relationships for U.S. national interests. The nature of relations between Washington and Beijing will have a profound impact on the security, prosperity, and stability in the region for the coming years. You will have a unique opportunity to help shape that relationship and move it in a direction that is beneficial for both countries.

But it certainly will be a difficult task as U.S. relations with China have been trending in the wrong direction for several years. China's militarization of the South China Sea, cyber theft of intellectual property, which again—I was at a meeting last night on this very topic. It is just outright theft—outright theft. And it is something that has to end. The discriminatory trade and investment practices in addition are just a few of the areas of rising tension in the relationship between the United States and them.

We can no longer afford to simply manage our differences with China as Beijing continues to challenge U.S. power and disregard international norms. However, we should always seek cooperation in areas where we can work together, including reducing the threat posed by North Korea.

I also believe that we must be clear-eyed about China's long-term goals, which are not necessarily aligned with U.S. national interests. Short-term gains should not come at the expense of long-term U.S. national interests, values, rule of law, international norms, and our alliance commitments, of which we have many in the region.

We must be direct and willing to use our leverage when China challenges U.S. political, security, and economic interests.

Governor Branstad, I look forward to hearing from you about your vision for relations with China and plans to serve as an effective advocate for U.S. national interests.

Again, thank you for being here. I look forward to our ranking member's comments and then your testimony. We appreciate you and your family all being here.

**STATEMENT OF HON. BENJAMIN L. CARDIN,
U.S. SENATOR FROM MARYLAND**

Senator CARDIN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

And, Governor Branstad, once again welcome to our committee, and thank you very much for your career of public service and your willingness to continue to serve our country in a very important position as Ambassador to China.

I also want to share thanks to your family because this is a family sacrifice, and we appreciate the willingness of your family to allow your service to our country.

You have a very distinguished background, a very impressive background. A confirmation hearing gives us an opportunity not only to look at your qualifications but also to review the scope and trajectory of the U.S. relationship with the country that you have been nominated to represent the United States, China. Indeed, as we contemplate how to address the situation in North Korea, we recognize that China plays a critical role in that regard. So as we look at so many of the circumstances around the world, China comes up in our view.

30 years ago, we were debating whether or not China would be a major power. That debate is now settled. But the question of what sort of power China will be remains. Will China help to support peace and stability in Asia or seek to overturn the regular order? Will China become a trade partner committed to the enforcement of international laws, or will we continue to see the flouting of international norms, as Chairman Corker has mentioned? Will China open space for its citizens to express their own views and ideas, or will it continue to brutally repress its own people?

These are questions that you will confront, if confirmed, and while we may not yet know all the answers, I am concerned by some of what we are seeing. For example, we have seen an increasing provocative China in the maritime domains, coercing and intimidating neighbors in the East China Sea and South China Sea and attempting to use the threat of military force to address territorial and regional disputes. And as you and I discussed when we sat together recently in my office, I am deeply concerned by the deterioration of human rights in China and the environment for civil society and independent voices in that country.

When I joined the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on East Asia, President Xi became the President of China. At that time, many of us hoped that China was on the verge of a more progressive or reformist era and that along with growing interaction with the outside world and significant economic development, human rights would, indeed, improve. Yet, the opposite has proven true. President Xi's administration has adopted a slew of laws that violate the most basic human rights of the Chinese people and that presents challenges to U.S. interests and values as well. The community of civil activists in China that thrived in the 1990s and 2000s, partly as a result of the U.S. engagement both diplomatically and economically, have come under assault as never before. When I joined the subcommittee, it was unthinkable that people in the United States or EU would be detained by Chinese authorities inside and outside mainland China. Yet, that is the current reality.

And all the while, we still do not know if the Dalai Lama will be allowed to return to Tibet. We do not know the whereabouts of Panchen Lama. We do not know whether authorities will release the Nobel Laureate, Liu Xiaobo, in 2020, and we do not know if the people of Hong Kong will be able to continue to exercise genuine autonomy. But we do know that President Xi is set to remain in power for at least the next 5 years.

So I am very interested in hearing your thoughts on how, if confirmed, you will stand with civil society and with the Chinese people, including when it comes to labor rights where I must say your

record as Governor in Iowa has raised some concerns, and assure that human rights and universal values are at the heart of U.S. policy with China.

I am also interested in your thoughts as to what we may see by way of cooperation with China on North Korea going forward. I understand what the President has asked of China, but I remain concerned that we have seen this movie before and we really have not seen any change in China's position as it relates to North Korea. Many of us are concerned that they will only go so far, but they are concerned about the stability of the current regime will prevent them from taking the necessary steps to change the equation for North Korea. We welcome your thoughts on that matter.

So let me lastly mention one additional issue. You will take, if confirmed, the oath of office to protect and defend the Constitution of the United States. Before President Trump took the oath of office, many of us urged him to take steps to avoid a constitutional conflict with the Emolument Clause. And he is the only President that has not divested or set up blind trusts for his financial institutions. That is not your doing. Your doing is to represent our country, if confirmed, in China and must take steps to make sure that our Constitution is not violated, that is, that the Trump enterprises are not given favors by the China regime that would violate the Emolument Clause. So we are interested in learning how you intend to make sure that you defend the Constitution and protect against that particular challenge.

So I look forward to your thoughts on how you can elevate the current state of play between the United States and China, your thoughts on how to move the relationship forward especially on human rights, and what you hope to achieve, if confirmed, as our Ambassador to the People's Republic of China. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator Cardin.

With that, your entire written testimony, without objection, will be entered into the record. So do not feel that you have to go through all of it. If you could summarize some comments in about 5 minutes, that would be great. We welcome you here. We thank you for your willingness to serve in this capacity and look forward to your comments.

STATEMENT OF HON. TERRY BRANSTAD OF IOWA, TO BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

Governor BRANSTAD. Thank you. I would like to begin by thanking Iowa's two outstanding Senators, Senator Grassley and Senator Ernst. They are very conscientious, hardworking, and outstanding public servants, and I am proud to have them as friends. And I appreciate their support.

And, Chairman Corker, Ranking Member Cardin, members of the committee, it is indeed an honor to appear before you today as President Trump's nominee to be the United States Ambassador to the People's Republic of China. Never in my wildest dreams would I have thought that a farm boy from a small town of Leland, Iowa would one day have the opportunity to become, with your consent, the ambassador to one of the world's most influential countries and

one of America's leading trading partners. I am thankful to President Trump for his confidence and his trust in me to take this important diplomatic role.

I would not be where I am today if it were not for the people sitting right behind me. My wife of almost 45 years Chris is my constant support and the most understanding person that I know. Thank you, honey. Also, I want to introduce my sons, Eric and Marcus, who have joined me today. I know that my daughter Allison, who is a third grade teacher, and my children's spouses, Adrienne, Jerry, and Nicole, and our seven grandchildren are watching from afar. They have already wished me good luck this morning. Pursuing this opportunity was a family decision, and I am very thankful for their guidance, encouragement, and support especially over the last several months.

If confirmed as ambassador, I will work every day to represent American values to the leadership of China and the Chinese people at large, values that include upholding human rights for all and a free and open market, a rules-based order in the oceans surrounding China, and the importance of a free press.

I look forward to joining the impressive and committed team of public servants and their families from the U.S. State Department and many other U.S. agencies at our embassy in Beijing and the consulates across China. Leading this team of dedicated professionals, who are working as we speak to promote America's interests in China, would be a great honor and responsibility that I would not take lightly.

My relationship with the President of China, Xi Jinping, goes way back, as you have heard, to 1985. As a first-term Governor, I had the opportunity to welcome an agriculture delegation from the Hebei Province of China, Iowa's sister state, to the State of Iowa. Leading that delegation was a young man whose business card read Xi Jinping, Feed Association of Shijiazhuang. During the trip, our sister state director Luca Baroni took our one Chinese visitors on tours of farms and factories and to receptions and dinners with our sister state volunteers. They attended a birthday party, a Mississippi River cruise, and we showed them true Iowa life and hospitality. I even hosted the delegation in the Governor's formal office. A connection was made and a friendship was founded. To this day, President Xi still speaks fondly of Iowa and the hospitality he enjoyed there so many years ago.

If confirmed, I hope to use my unique position as an old friend of President Xi and a trusted confidant of President Trump to positively influence the U.S.-China relationship. As the Governor of Iowa, I saw firsthand the importance of a positive and healthy trade relationship between our two countries. Nearly one out of every two rows of Iowa soybeans last year were sent to China, as well as \$33.5 million worth of pork in 2016. The importance of trade extends beyond agriculture as well. Aviation products, manufactured goods, chemicals, electronics, and many other products and services are exported to China daily and help support and sustain the American economy.

As ambassador, I will continue the work that I have started as Governor to open up the Chinese markets to American businesses of all sorts. This will be good for the American people as it will cre-

ate more jobs and good for the Chinese people as they will have more access to the best-made products that the world has to offer. In keeping with President Trump's mission, I am committed to making sure that the trade relationship between the United States and China puts the American worker first.

Our relationship with China is multifaceted, not solely focused on trade. And I am aware of the critical national security issues that our two countries must work together on as well. As President Trump made clear when he met with President Xi at Mar-a-Lago a few weeks ago, China could play a critical role in convincing North Korea to dismantle its nuclear and missile programs, a strategic policy that would boost the security of America, China, and the entire world.

As Governor, I had the opportunity to visit Taiwan as well. As ambassador, I will be committed to communicating the United States' continued support for our One China policy expressed in the three joint communiqués and the Taiwan Relations Act. We remain committed to our goal to see that this cross-strait issue is peacefully resolved in a manner that is acceptable to both sides of the strait.

I saw firsthand many of the cybersecurity concerns that the United States has in regard to China during my time as Governor when I received a monthly security briefing. The protection of intellectual property and technology security is of utmost importance to our country, and I will continue to make that clear in frank discussions with the Chinese Government.

On the South China Sea, China cannot be allowed to use its artificial islands to coerce its neighbors or limit freedom of navigation or overflight. The United States will uphold freedom of navigation and overflight by continuing to fly, sail, and operate wherever international law allows.

As Governor, I had the opportunity to travel to all of Iowa's 99 counties every year, a feat that is affectionately named for your esteemed colleague as "the full Grassley." As ambassador, I hope to continue this tradition by visiting every province in China. With a country as large and expansive as China, I know there is much life and activity outside of Beijing. I look forward to connecting with the Chinese people and continuing a vibrant exchange of culture and ideas that we began back in 1983 when I signed the sister state proclamation with Governor Jon Xu Wang.

If confirmed, I will work tirelessly to represent America and her citizens to the best of my ability. I will champion American interests in China with as much fervor and dedication as I have championed Iowa's interests during my more than 22 years as Governor. I am humbled to be considered for this position.

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Ranking Member, members of the committee, thank you for this opportunity to appear before you today. I welcome your comments, questions, and continued dialogue. Thank you.

[Governor Branstad's prepared statement follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. TERRY E. BRANSTAD

Chairman Corker, Ranking Member Cardin, and members of the committee, It is an honor to appear before you today as President Trump's nominee to be the United

States Ambassador to the People's Republic of China. Never in my wildest dreams would I have thought that a boy from a small farm in Leland, Iowa, would one day have the opportunity to become, with your consent, the ambassador to one of the world's most influential countries and one of America's largest trading partners. I am thankful to President Trump for his confidence and trust in me to take on this important diplomatic role.

I would not be where I am today if it were not for the people sitting right behind me. My wife of almost 45 years, Chris, is my constant support and the most understanding person I know. I would also like to introduce you to my two sons, Eric and Marcus, who have joined me today. I know my daughter Allison and my children's spouses, Adrienne, Jerry, and Nicole, and our seven grandchildren, are watching from afar. Pursuing this opportunity was a family decision, and I am thankful for their guidance, encouragement, and support, especially over the past few months.

If confirmed, as ambassador, I will work every day to represent American values to the leadership of China and the Chinese people at large; values that include upholding human rights for all, a free and open market, a rules-based order in the oceans surrounding China, and the importance of a free press.

I look forward to joining the impressive and committed team of public servants and their families from the U.S. State Department and many other U.S. Government agencies at our embassy in Beijing and consulates across China. Leading this team of dedicated professionals, who are working as we speak to promote America's interests in China, would be a great honor and a responsibility that I would not take lightly.

My relationship with the President of China, Xi Jinping, goes all of the way back to 1985. As a first term Governor, I had the opportunity to welcome an agriculture delegation from the Hebei Province of China, Iowa's sister state, to Iowa. Leading that delegation was a young man whose business card read Xi Jinping, Feed Association of Shijiazhuang. During the trip, our sister state director Luca Baroni took our new Chinese visitors on tours of farms and factories, and to receptions and dinners with the sister state volunteers. They attended a birthday party, a Mississippi River cruise, and we showed them a true taste of Iowa life. I even hosted the delegation in the Governor's office. A connection was made and a friendship was founded. To this day, President Xi still speaks fondly of Iowa and the hospitality he enjoyed there so many years ago.

If confirmed, I hope to use my unique position as an "old friend" of President Xi and a trusted confidant of President Trump to positively influence the U.S.-China relationship. As the Governor of Iowa, I saw first-hand the importance of a positive and healthy trade relationship between our two countries. Nearly, one out of every two rows of Iowa soybeans is sent to China, as well as \$33.5 million in pork in 2016. The importance of trade extends well beyond agriculture too. Aviation products, manufactured goods, chemicals, electronics, and many other products and services are exported to China daily and help support and sustain the American economy.

As ambassador, I will continue the work I started while Governor to open up the Chinese markets to American businesses of all sorts. This will be good for the American people as it will create more jobs, and good for the Chinese people as they will have more access to the best-made products this world has to offer. In keeping with the President's mission, I am also committed to making sure that the trade relationship between the United States and China puts the American worker first.

Our relationship with China is multi-faceted and not solely focused on trade. I am well aware of the critical national security issues our two countries must work together on as well. As President Trump made clear when he met with President Xi at Mar-a-Lago a few weeks ago, China could play a critical role in convincing North Korea to dismantle its nuclear and missile programs, a strategic policy that boosts the security of America, China, and the entire world.

As Governor, I had the opportunity to visit Taiwan. As ambassador, I will be committed to communicating the United States' continued support of our one China Policy, expressed in the Three Joint Communiqués and the Taiwan Relations Act. We remain committed to our goal to see this cross-Strait issue peacefully resolved in a manner that is acceptable to both sides of the Strait.

I saw first-hand many of the cybersecurity concerns the United States has in regards to China during my time as Governor, when I received my monthly security briefings. The protection of intellectual property and technology security is of the utmost importance to our country, and I will continue to make that clear in frank conversations with the Chinese Government.

On the South China Sea, China cannot be allowed to use its artificial islands to coerce its neighbors or limit freedom of navigation or overflight. The United States will uphold freedom of navigation and overflight by continuing to fly, sail, and operate wherever international law allows.

As Governor, I had the opportunity to travel to all 99 counties in Iowa every year—a feat affectionately named for your esteemed colleague as “the full Grassley.” As ambassador, I hope to continue this tradition by visiting every province in China. With a country as large and expansive as China, I know there is much life and activity outside of Beijing. I look forward to connecting with the Chinese people and continuing a vibrant exchange of culture and ideas that we began in 1983.

If confirmed, I will work tirelessly to represent America and Her citizens to the best of my ability. I will champion American interests in China with as much fervor and dedication as I have championed Iowa’s interests during my more than 22 years as Governor. I am humbled to be considered for this position.

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Ranking Member, and members of the committee, thank you for the opportunity to appear before you today. I welcome your comments, questions, and continued dialogue.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you so much.

I will defer my questions to the ranking member and reserve my time. Senator Cardin?

Senator CARDIN. Well, Governor, let me compliment you on your opening statement. In a very few minutes, you have covered most of the important issues between the U.S.-China relations. And I must tell you the way that you have expressed it I believe expresses what I would hope to hear from our Ambassador-to-be to China. And I think you will find there is strong bipartisan support for the way that you have expressed U.S. interests in these areas.

I particularly appreciate that in the opening part of your statement, you mentioned that you would represent American values and that would include upholding human rights for all. You and I have talked about that. I have made it a practice to ask all nominees for ambassadors representing the United States questions related to their commitment to human rights. But for China, it is particularly important.

We have found that China is moving in the wrong direction, and you pointed that out in some of your comments and in our private discussions. How you conduct your affairs, where you travel, who you allow access to in our embassies, your reaching out to NGOs that have been declared by China to be unwelcome is a real statement about not only our values but universal values.

So can you drill down a little bit more for me how you intend to advance our values on human rights, if confirmed as ambassador?

Governor BRANSTAD. Senator Cardin, thank you very much.

Human rights is very important. It is a bedrock of America’s value system. As Governor, I have always tried to go not only everywhere in the State of Iowa but throughout the world. I went to the old Soviet Union 6 weeks after Chernobyl. I was one of the early Governors to go to China. And yet, I have always tried to recognize my responsibility as an American to represent our values and to espouse those. And it would be my intention as ambassador to bring in and to bring up these difficult issues that the Chinese leadership may not particularly want to talk about but are important.

Consequently, I am not afraid to do that. I have done that throughout my career. I recognize as ambassador it is an even bigger responsibility because I will be representing the whole United States of America, and when Americans or anyone else in the world is not treated fairly, I think I as ambassador need to bring that issue up to the people in power in Beijing.

Senator CARDIN. So if I understand, you would be welcoming to our embassy those who may disagree with the Government of China on their policies on human rights—

Governor BRANSTAD. Yes.

Senator CARDIN [continuing]. Or their political dissent?

Governor BRANSTAD. I would not only be willing to welcome people of all backgrounds to the embassy, but also to travel to other parts of the country to meet with them as well.

So I think it is important. I learned this as Governor, and that is you do not want to just be surrounded by your staff. You want to get out and see the real people in your State and in the country. And as ambassador, I want to get out and see the people in China. I want to learn from those people that do not feel they are being treated fairly as well.

Senator CARDIN. Senator Rubio and I sent a letter to Secretary Tillerson requesting that he place a high priority on human rights in our bilateral relationship with China, mentioning the problems of religious minorities, including the people of Tibet. Would you be willing to take advice from Members of Congress on individual cases and championing them and work with us as we try to raise these issues?

Governor BRANSTAD. Yes, Senator. In fact, as I have gone around and met individually with members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, a number of those have been brought to my attention. And it would be my intent to work with all the members of this committee and others in the Senate on these issues. I believe that is part of the responsibility of the ambassador is to be there on the ground in China and to be an advocate for our interests.

Senator CARDIN. And my last request would be that I have asked staff to keep in touch with our embassies. I appreciate the fact that you mentioned in your opening statement the professionalism of the people that serve in the mission that are critically important. They take direction from the ambassador. I would ask that you respond to our staff, both staffs, as to steps being taken to advance the human rights agenda so that we can work together in regards to elevating the importance of that part of our relationship.

Governor BRANSTAD. I certainly intend to do that. And I do understand that we have a very dedicated professional staff, both the State Department and other agencies, and it is a very large staff that is available at the embassy and the consulates. I intend to work with them. I want to learn from them as much as I can, but I also want to work directly with you and other Members of the United States Senate and your staff.

Senator CARDIN. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Senator Young?

Senator YOUNG. Governor, thanks so much for your willingness to serve. I thank your family for their years of service as well to the State of Iowa. We are fortunate to have someone who has a personal relationship with the President of China who has put themselves forward as well.

I enjoyed our visit together. One of the things we talked about was North Korea. And you have also touched on this very impor-

tant topic in your prepared statement indicating that China could play a critical role in convincing North Korea to dismantle its nuclear missile programs.

What more specifically do you think that China could or should do to push North Korea to take the necessary steps with respect to its missile and nuclear programs?

Governor BRANSTAD. China, as you know, is a neighbor of North Korea. They are a major trading partner with North Korea. They have recently put some restrictions on importing coal from North Korea. I think there are other things they can do diplomatically and economically to send a clear signal that they, as well as the United States and other countries in the world, do not tolerate the expansion of nuclear technology and missiles by the North Korean leadership. It is a threat to all of humankind, and I think it is critically important that we look at all opportunities to work together. I know that this has been discussed by President Trump and President Xi. I would want to do all I can to serve as a key go-between as we explore how we can work together with other nations also in Asia to address this critical situation.

Senator YOUNG. So I am curious whether there is a menu of particular economic or diplomatic things we can do to heighten the pressure as this pressure campaign continues. Perhaps from a process standpoint, you can speak to how you might try and collaborate regionally with the regional bureau there.

Our Secretary of State said publicly within the last couple of days that he does not think that our State Department is doing a good job connecting its State level objectives and initiatives to the broader regional concerns. As ambassador to China, could you speak to that as you talk to some specifics on North Korea, please?

Governor BRANSTAD. Well, I think we need to always look at how we can do better and how we can improve, recognizing that the world is facing a very critical threat from North Korea at this time. And I want to make sure that we are not leaving any stone unturned in trying to look at all the different avenues that are available, both working with China and working with other nations especially in that part of the world.

Senator YOUNG. Well, I will look forward to working with you. If you see a lack of coordination, of course, you would be communicating that, I presume, to the Secretary of State. Hopefully you know you have individuals on this committee which would like to work with you to improve that level of coordination.

Governor BRANSTAD. I recently met with Secretary Tillerson. We had a very constructive meeting. And I intend to work very closely with him and with the other State Department personnel, of which there are some very experienced and capable people at the embassy in Beijing right now.

Senator YOUNG. I will pivot very quickly to the protection of intellectual property. In your prepared statement, you indicated it is of the utmost importance to our country. I think all of us here agree with that. The U.S. leads the world in biomedical research and discovery. However, weak IP protections and a growing array of localization barriers abroad are threatening innovative medicine exports and the many jobs they support here at home, including in my home State of Indiana.

China, in particular, is a serious offender. Beijing has not lived up to the intellectual property commitments that it made to the U.S. and others through the World Trade Organization.

If confirmed, in order to protect America's innovation and jobs, what will you do to push the Chinese to respect IP protections, including in the area of biomedical research?

Governor BRANSTAD. The point you raise is very critical. And we have had some experience with that with regard to plant breeding, and we actually even had Chinese that were stealing knowledge from American companies. And I think a few years ago, we saw a criminal prosecution of that, and it occurred in my State. But I recognize, especially because of our world leadership in medical technology, that is a critical area. But I have heard from many other manufacturers and other businesses about the stealing of intellectual property. That is why we have patents, and that is why we go so far to protect intellectual property rights. In the meetings I have had with business people, not only in my State but as we have done trade missions, this is a critical issue.

And I think as the Chinese have advanced, hopefully they are going to see that there is a danger to them as well in having their intellectual property stolen by other countries. So I think it is critically important that they abide by and support intellectual property rights and that it is not only right for America and protecting our businesses, but it is right for them as well. And I hope that I can convince them that they need to change their policies and they need to be more vigilant and serious about protecting intellectual property rights.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Coons?

Senator COONS. Thank you, Chairman Corker.

I will simply follow up on what Senator Young and Chairman Corker both said previously.

When we had a chance to meet in my office, Governor, I was clear with you that intellectual property is also a significant concern of mine. I am from a State that has a long and proud history of invention and innovation. I was just at the Hagley Museum yesterday, which has the records of the DuPont Company and all of its early inventions. They have a remarkable collection of patent models, which they are actually exploring sharing with the Chinese people across a dozen sites in China.

I would be interested in hearing just some more insight into how you will use your important and long and trusting friendship with President Xi and what I expect will be your growing knowledge of China as you visit every province to really make intellectual property and stopping the theft of America's inventions a key priority in your role as Governor, if confirmed.

Governor BRANSTAD. Well, Senator Coons, the incident that I was mentioned a few minutes ago actually involved DuPont Pioneer. As you know, we share DuPont Pioneer. They have been a wonderful American company, and we think it is critically important that the rights—and I am aware of the fact that they are doing some important business in China.

We also have the World Food Prize in Iowa. And one of the recipients of the World Food Prize is a Chinese gentleman that was involved in rice. And there is an opportunity for DuPont Pioneer—

and they are also going through a potential merger right now. There are opportunities for them to work together for the benefit of not only these great American companies but also Chinese businesses as well.

And I want to do what I can from the background and experience I have had working especially in the agricultural area. And as you have heard, Xi Jinping's first visit to America was an ag delegation, and they were there during spring planting time. They visited the farm of the President of the Iowa Corn Growers, and they visited a turkey farm and they visited others and the Sukup Manufacturing Company that makes bins, grain bins.

But I hope, because of that background and experience and because of the very good way that we treated Xi Jinping and his delegation, hopefully to convince him that we need his collaboration and cooperation in dealing with some of these critical issues where China has not adequately addressed the protection of these important intellectual property rights.

Senator COONS. Thank you, Governor.

I have two other quick questions for you, if I might.

Let me offer that I look forward to working with you and with the Senators from Iowa, as well as my senior Senator from Delaware, to strengthen some of these ties between China and the United States with the goal of relentlessly pressing the importance of a shared commitment to protecting patents and trade secrets and other IP.

You grow a great deal of corn and soybeans. We do too. And we feed them to our chickens, and we would like our chickens to go to China. [Laughter.]

Governor BRANSTAD. And Senator Perdue told me that he may be from Georgia, but he also raises corn and soybeans. So I was encouraged to hear that as well.

Senator COONS. And as long as those corn and soybeans go to chickens and the chickens go to China, we are all going to be happy. [Laughter.]

Senator COONS. I will tell you that we filed a complaint against China in the WTO I think successfully asserting that China is unfairly restricting U.S. chicken imports. More than 10 percent of all chicken grown in the United States is exported. We have not been sustainably successfully able to access one of the most promising markets in the world, which is China. If they are going to join the world community through things like the WTO, they need to play by the rules. And I hope that you will prioritize opening the Chinese market for poultry, whether it is from Georgia, Iowa, or Delaware.

Governor BRANSTAD. Well, first of all, I agree with you wholeheartedly that we need to have a fair and open market for these products just as they have an opportunity to market a lot of products in our country. Poultry is really important. We do sell them a lot of pork, but beef is presently restricted as well. I have also visited with Tom Vilsack who, as you know, has gone now from being Secretary of Agriculture, former Governor of Iowa, to working with the Dairy Export Council. And I think there is opportunity to get more opportunity for dairy there as well.

This is an area, especially when it comes to agriculture products, that I have had a lot of experience in, and I hope that because Xi Jinping has some experience and that background too, that it is an area maybe we can make some connection. I have also had some very frank discussions with Minister Han, who is their ag minister, on these issues.

Senator COONS. I agree. I hope you make great progress on that.

In closing, I will just reference the last topic we discussed, which is Africa. China has become the dominant investor and player in Africa, eclipsing even the United States. And I urge you to compliment them on their significant leadership and pledging to shut down their illegal ivory markets, but also to find ways that we can explore cooperation on the continent of Africa before we completely lose our foothold as a main player, and that you will continue to advocate for our values in China and in how we both engage in Africa.

Governor BRANSTAD. I appreciate your bringing that issue up, and I think they have made a commitment now to stop this illegal trade in ivory. And I think that is critically important.

Before I came back as Governor, I was president of a medical school. And I actually went to Africa. We have a number of doctors and medical people that volunteer and even our medical students from Des Moines University to provide health care in Africa. I think it is critically important that we work together. I will be glad to compliment them on what they are doing in Africa. I think we need to look at opportunities to collaborate wherever we can.

I am appreciative of the Americans that donate their services and time to help improve drinking water and to help improve conditions for people in Africa.

Senator COONS. Thank you very much for your testimony, Governor. I look forward to supporting your nomination.

Governor BRANSTAD. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Governor, I expected you to be able to talk fluently about pork and chicken and soybeans. I did not know our city fellow from Delaware could do that. So I have learned a lot today. [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Gardner?

Senator GARDNER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

And thank you, Governor, for your time today. And while Chris counts his chickens, I would like to end China's beef on U.S. beef. [Laughter.]

Senator GARDNER. Thank you.

Governor BRANSTAD. I am with you.

Senator GARDNER. Thank you for that. I think we are close, but we obviously need a little bit more help to make sure that this market is open freely and fairly to U.S. agriculture, particularly beef producers.

You and I had great conversations about North Korea. I know with Mr. Young and Mr. Cardin and others, you have talked about North Korea and the role that China plays, the particularly important role that China plays as it relates to North Korea's nuclear behavior.

This Congress worked to change the doctrine of strategic patience which had allowed the North Korean regime to proliferate,

to launch a number of missiles, to test a number of nuclear weapons. And I think it is important that we look at the North Korea Sanctions Act that this Congress passed unanimously as a way forward to make sure that we are deterring aggression and, indeed, inducing behavior with North Korea and others around the region to put more pressure on the Kim Jong-un regime to denuclearize peacefully the North Korean Government and North Korean regime.

In those conversations, though, I think one thing that we have to consider is whether or not China is going to, in full faith, carry out its commitment under United Nations resolutions 2270 and 2321. While right now we see them taking actions that they have not taken in recent years. Will that continue or will they slip back into what China does and that is a policy of its own doctrine of patience as it relates to North Korea?

What do you plan to do if China fails to uphold either the United Nations resolutions or indeed to fails to use its influence over North Korea's regime?

Governor BRANSTAD. Well, Senator Gardner, as you have pointed out, they have not abided by these United Nations resolutions. And I think what is happening right now with North Korea is an example of why that needs to change. This is a very serious situation, and I do not think China wants to have a flood of refugees from North Korea going into their country. I also think that they recognize, as other nations in Asia recognize, that this nuclear obsession that the leadership of North Korea has with guided missiles and everything is a very serious threat to humankind and that we need to all look at ways we can work together. I hope that my longtime relationship with the leader of China—and I can convey to him that we sincerely want to work with them and we want to work with other nations as well because this is one of the most important and serious threats facing us all at this time.

Senator GARDNER. Do you believe there is a role for U.S. secondary sanctions on Chinese entities should China fail to live up to its commitments?

Governor BRANSTAD. I think there may well be. Obviously, that decision will be made by the administration and by the leadership here in Washington, D.C. But I think just as recently I think the Secretary of Commerce—they recently levied a big fine on some Chinese entities that illegally provided national security information to rogue nations. And that was I think the largest penalty of that sort that has happened to date. So I am hopeful that is an indication that we are taking these threats real seriously and that we intend to hold companies, whether they are government-owned or controlled entities or otherwise, accountable.

Senator GARDNER. Thank you.

And I think even when it comes to cybersecurity issues and cyber attacks against the United States, many of the North Korean efforts against U.S.-based companies have gone through China or traveled through China. And so we have a number of cyber sanctions at our disposal as well, and I would encourage the usage of those sanctions as necessary.

When it comes to cybersecurity, I appreciate your statement when you talked about the protection of intellectual property

rights. There is a company in Colorado who did business with China, sold a particular type of pump to a company in China. Months later, the company from China wrote back to this company in Colorado with an email asking some questions about the engineering schematics of the pump, but the new name of the company in China was exactly the same name as the company in Colorado.

So in those conversations you are having with the Chinese Government, some experts believe that over 10 percent of China's GDP can be attributed to the theft of intellectual property. How will you assert both cybersecurity issues, as well as intellectual property rights, and make sure that they are living up to their obligations?

Governor BRANSTAD. The example you cite of the Colorado company—I have heard that from Iowa companies as well of where they have worked in cooperation with a Chinese company and then they see their product being exactly copied. And this is a clear violation of intellectual property rights. And this is the kind of thing that I think we have to very vigorously object to and do everything we can to stop. And we also need to convince the Chinese that with their economy, frankly this theft of property will also come back to bite them as well and that the sooner that they get serious about this, the better it is going to be not just for improving the relationship with the United States and other countries, but also for them in protecting their own intellectual property rights in the future.

Senator GARDNER. Thank you, Governor. And I know my time has expired, but we will continue our conversations on important issues like the South China Sea as well and Taiwan and the important relationship with our ally Taiwan.

But I just want to end with this. I hope that this position, upon your confirmation—you will use it to really work with Congress in a way that I think has been neglected over the past several years, that you will have a relationship with members of this committee and the Congress in a way that really builds upon this critically important relationship with China and the United States. And I think there is an opportunity here to do things as ambassador that truly do need to be done between one of the most consequential relationships that the world has to offer. Thank you.

Governor BRANSTAD. Well, thank you. I intend to do that. As Governor, I had been co-chair at the Governors Council.

The CHAIRMAN. We know you are going to work with us.

Governor BRANSTAD. Okay. Thank you. [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Markey?

Senator MARKEY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Welcome, Governor.

You and I had a good conversation about fentanyl in my office. If people were dying from fentanyl across the country at the same rate that they are in the United States—in the State of Massachusetts, 75,000 people would have died from a fentanyl overdose in 2016. 75,000 people.

The precursor chemicals for fentanyl come from China, and they come from China into Mexico for the most part and then they are transported up into the United States.

So this is still relatively early in this epidemic because people are dying at a very small fraction right now in the country as they are

in Massachusetts and New Hampshire and other States. But it is coming. It is a preview of coming attractions.

So could you talk a little bit about your commitment to raise the profile of this issue at the very highest level to make sure that the Chinese Government understands that we expect them to crack down hard on these fentanyl exporters?

Governor BRANSTAD. Well, Senator Markey, for the last 2 years, the National Governors Association has been actively discussing these issues. And I agree with you. This is a dangerous poison. Basically it is a less costly narcotic than heroin, and it is becoming a huge problem in many States, not just in your State but I think in Ohio, as well in other States in New England. It is going our direction as well. So we are concerned about it.

If we can stop it at its source in China, we need to do that. And that is an issue that I intend to pursue very aggressively because it is human lives that are being lost needlessly, and this is a poison that needs to be prevented from going onto the world marketplace.

Senator MARKEY. Thank you. And again, this has to be elevated to the same level as nuclear nonproliferation, copyright, trade. It has to be the same exact level because people are dying at the same level.

Governor BRANSTAD. There has not been enough public attention about this yet.

Senator MARKEY. This is just absolutely a crisis in our country. We would be losing two Korean War levels of Americans every single year to fentanyl. Two Korean War levels. So we cannot allow that to happen. We have to put the protections in place. And the Chinese can be key in the same way that the Chinese are the key in any negotiations with North Korea.

The President says if China is not going to solve North Korea, we will. Well, we have very few options beyond preemptive military strikes without China. And so it is going to require China to play a big role.

But over the last year from the first quarter of 2016 to the first quarter of 2017, there has been a 37 percent increase in trade between North Korea and China, notwithstanding U.N. resolutions and their commitments to have tougher sanctions.

So can you talk about what you believe has to be the conversation that goes on between the United States and China for them to drastically increase the implementations of the enforcement of the sanctions which would bring the North Koreans to the table? The Chinese have wanted us to have direct talks with the North Koreans for years. I agree with that. But it has to be partnered with crippling economic sanctions by China on the North Koreans, and that is not happening. So can you talk about your view of that?

Governor BRANSTAD. I would hope that recent events have convinced China that they need to take this much more seriously. It happens to be that the leader of North Korea's half brother was living in China when he was brutally murdered at the airport in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. So if nothing else is a signal, that sure ought to be.

The other thing is, obviously, the threatening actions, and I think recently the China Daily kind of sent a message to the North Koreans that this nuclear mission and missiles that they are shoot-

ing off is counterproductive. And I hope that they will use that as a reason to tighten down on sanctions and get serious about working with us and other countries in dealing with this. This is a very important and critical time to deal with that in light of the actions of just the last few months.

Senator MARKEY. Yes. We do not need a second Korean War for sure.

Governor BRANSTAD. No, we do not. We need their help. And I do not think they want a world with this either. They do not want a bunch of refugees from North Korea pouring into China. I have been to Harbin, which is north of North Korea. It is an agriculture region of China. And we need their cooperation. We need their assistance in peacefully dealing with this and changing this dangerous direction of North Korea at this time.

Senator MARKEY. Thank you, Governor.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Senator Portman?

Senator PORTMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

And, Governor, good to see you. Thanks for coming by to visit. 24 years as Governor—

Governor BRANSTAD. I probably will not serve out the full 24 years if you confirm me. [Laughter.]

Governor BRANSTAD. Twenty-three sessions.

Senator PORTMAN. You are doing a great job, and you have shown today that you have got a grasp of what is going on over in China and I appreciate that. It is a tough job. You know, I knew Sandy Rand pretty well and was over there with him a number of times, and he was kind of a China expert. I know you are going into this with your eyes wide open.

But despite your relationship with President Xi going back to his days as head of a livestock association, they are tough negotiators. When I was U.S. Trade Representative, I had the opportunity to negotiate with them quite a bit. We do have a better relationship now at the presidential level I believe than we have had in a long time. But we have got so many issues.

I was over there on a congressional delegation a couple weeks ago and had the opportunity to meet with Premier Li, as well as Chairman of the National People's Congress Jong, and talked about the issues that have been raised today, including North Korea, including the South China Sea, including a level playing field on trade, IP, intellectual property issues, as well as their overcapacity and their dumping in the United States.

We also talked about an issue that my colleague from Massachusetts, Ed Markey, just raised which is fentanyl. And one point I made to them is there is information that fentanyl is also leaking into their society. In other words, it is not just a question of stopping the laboratories in China where some evil scientist is creating poison that is coming into our communities.

And by the way, the new push is directly fentanyl, 90 percent pure, being mailed to America to Des Moines and to Cincinnati and to Columbus, and it comes by the mail and people are ordering it over the Web.

It is killing more people this year by far than it killed last year. So this is getting worse, not better. And Massachusetts has been hit hard. So has Ohio. But I really believe from talking to experts around the country this is the new wave. It is a synthetic form of heroin, as you know. But it is 30 to 50 times more powerful than heroin. And not only are there more overdoses, but there are more deaths as a percent of every overdose because it is so deadly.

So they have a responsibility to work with us on this. We need to do more here obviously on the demand side, and we need to do more in terms of stopping it through the mail, which many members of this committee are on our legislation called the STOP Act. But I would like today to hear from you on this just to assure us that you are going to press on this issue.

They have 170,000 chemical plants in China, and these are legitimate plants. I understand that. But they got a lot of pharmaceutical and chemical plants that are illegitimate. And with their control over their economy, I believe they can do much more to be able to stop this poison from coming into our country. And again, as you said with regard to intellectual property—and this relates to some of the other issues, including Korea—they should have an interest in this.

So could you just confirm to us today that you will press on this issue and specifically talk to them about not just shutting down some of these plants, which they have to do, but actually make sure they schedule more of these precursors so that they become illegal and that they do more to shut down the fentanyl production in China?

Governor BRANSTAD. Senator, I want to do everything I can to work with you and Senator Markey and others that are very concerned about this issue. I think it is really a life and death issue. I also think, in addition to shutting down the plants, they need to punish the people that are doing this. And I want to press that because it is such an important thing to saving human lives and preventing this poison from—and as you say, it is a danger in their country as well. We know it is a very severe, growing danger here, but it is something that has no place. And I want to do everything I can. I will be looking for advice and counsel on what can be the most effective way.

But I am not bashful about bringing up tough issues in negotiations. You have had great experience in negotiating trade deals, and I, at a much lower level, have worked on that for decades. But this is an issue that really comes to protecting human life. And it is something that we have got to take very seriously, and I intend to raise this as a top issue, along with the others that we have talked about here today.

Senator PORTMAN. Well, thanks for that commitment.

By the way, most of it is coming from China according to the experts. So this is obviously that they can be much more responsible about.

With regard to trade, there are so many issues. Let me just touch on one quickly. Back in 2000, Chinese production of steel was roughly the same as the United States, and that is 100 million tons a year. Since 2000, they have gone to 1.2 billion tons per year of steel production. So a net importer of steel became the biggest ex-

porter of steel in the world. And in that process through this overcapacity that they have developed, they have been selling steel below its cost in the United States of America. It is one of the reasons we have lost over 12,000 steel jobs here in this country during that time period. 12,000. And I raised it with them, of course, when I was over there.

More importantly, I think we need to have an ambassador who understands this issue and will be sure that with regard to their dumping or their subsidization, which is also going on, they understand that we are not going to put up with it anymore. There is an absolute necessity to have trade that is level. And as you said, I have negotiated with them in the past on trade. You know, this is one of their responsibilities as a member of the WTO and a responsible, mature trading partner now, obviously.

So any thoughts quickly on steel and the dumping of steel and your commitment to press on that issue?

Governor BRANSTAD. Back in 1993, I helped to track a steel company to Iowa called IPSCO Steel from Canada. And they have been sold to SSAB. And I have been working with SSAB. I have been active among the Governors on pressing for action on dealing with the dumping issue and the unfair competition in steel. So this is a critical issue, one that I am familiar with because we have got a company SSAB in Montpelier, Iowa between Davenport and Muscatine that has been negatively affected by this. So I want to do everything I can to make sure that we stop the unfair and illegal activities that we have seen from China in the steel industry.

Senator PORTMAN. Thank you, Governor.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

I do want to highlight that I doubt there is any country in the world with which we have so many issues. It is most important for our two countries to manage the relationship properly. But I am uplifted by the fact that you have had so many personal experiences with many of these issues as a Governor, and you know how important they are to rural people. All of us have had family or friends who have died, I am sure, from fentanyl. We know of the job losses that have taken place. We know of the outright theft. I mean, it is just like going and robbing a bank directly with what they do with intellectual property. And I do hope with the relationship you have, you will be a constant force for dealing with the multiple violations of international norms that take place with China.

Governor BRANSTAD. Well, Senator, I appreciate your counsel on this important issue. This is one thing about being the chief executive, being the Governor. The buck stops with you. I was Governor during the farm crisis in the 1980s. I have gone on trade missions all over the world. I have dealt with a lot of issues. And I think that background and experience is going to be helpful to me in this role. I know I have a lot to learn about foreign policy on a lot of these issues, and I have been trying to get up to speed as best I can.

But I am not bashful about bringing these issues up. And just the fact that the leader of China calls us an old friend does not mean that I am going to be at all reluctant or bashful about bring-

ing up issues where we think they have not been fair and where Americans or anybody has been treated unfairly, be it human rights or intellectual property rights.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Menendez?

Senator MENENDEZ. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Governor, thank you for your service and congratulations on your nomination.

Governor BRANSTAD. Thank you.

Senator MENENDEZ. China is probably one of the most complex posts that anybody could ever be offered.

So I am still in the process of trying to understand the President's world view and understand how he determines alliances and partnerships. So since obviously you have had some discussion with him about this role, do you believe China is an adversary or an ally of the United States?

Governor BRANSTAD. That is a tough question. I think both are potential. But I think we need to do everything we can to try to make them an ally, and we need to look at ways that we can work together.

I know from the food perspective, the Chinese are very concerned about food security, and they have had some real issues on food security. And I have been in China and talked to them about how we—our country—that are blessed with a safe, secure food supply—and it is not only great quality, but it is among the cheapest in the world. —

Senator MENENDEZ. So our aspiration is for them to be an ally. But if you were to describe our relationship with them now, what would you say that is?

Governor BRANSTAD. It is mixed. I think that there are a lot of areas of—but I think we have got to always strive to try to break the barriers. I was one of the first Governors to go there after they began to open up and move to a more market-driven economy. And I think what I want to do is try to stress on them because of the change that has taken place over the last 30-some years, they have benefited greatly. But they also have an obligation as a growing power now to also play by the rules and do the things that are expected of countries that are world leaders.

Senator MENENDEZ. I appreciate that.

Now, for months, before taking office, the President excoriated China for manipulating its currency to the detriment of American workers, insisting that he would put American workers and the labor force first. But things seem to have changed. Can you clarify for me? Do you believe that China manipulated its currency in the past?

Governor BRANSTAD. I think they have. I think that has changed somewhat in recent months or in the last year or so. But I think that is obviously a great concern because if they are able to manipulate their currency and make their goods cheaper to export and ours more expensive to import, that is one of the challenges that we are facing. So, yes, that is an issue that we need to continue to monitor, and that is one of many things that I think we need to continue to be vigilant in terms of reviewing the situation and seeing if indeed that has changed or not.

Senator MENENDEZ. Well, I appreciate your directness on that because I too believe they have been a currency manipulator. They are not right now. And the question is how do we avoid them—get them to understand that that is not a good proposition for China or certainly for the United States and workers. So I hope that you will spend some time and attention to that as you unfold your issues there.

I am concerned, as is the President, about North Korea, and some of my colleagues have talked about that. But despite some strong rhetoric from China because of its deep economic ties and its border, China from my perspective continues to enable North Korea's leaders to pursue destabilizing nuclear weapons.

So the question is we seem to have a lot of hope in President Xi as it relates to helping us with North Korea, and I do hope that that unfolds. But the question is, if it does not, should we not consider giving China greater consequences so that they understand their calculus is wrong? For example, the sanctions that Senator Gardner and I authored would permit sanctions against Chinese banks for which North Korea operates a great deal. Should we not consider that as a possibility if we cannot get China to do diplomatically what we hope for them to do in North Korea to change their calculus?

Governor BRANSTAD. I think we should keep all these options open. Obviously, as ambassador, I will not be decision-maker on them.

Senator MENENDEZ. You will be a key adviser to the President.

Governor BRANSTAD. Well, that is right. And I will not hesitate to give my advice and what I am able to learn on the ground over there. And I do think all options should be open and that we ought to do everything we can to convince them to be much more aggressive in dealing with the threats from North Korea. If that does not happen, then I think we need to look at what can we do to try to apply more pressure to convince them that it is in their interests, and there will be consequences if they do not.

Senator MENENDEZ. I appreciate that.

Finally, as the co-chair of the Taiwan Caucus with Senator Inhofe, I do hope that we will continue to promote the Taiwan Relations Act as the law of the land, as the essence of our relationship with Taiwan. I understand the One China policy, but Taiwan is also very important to us, and I hope that you will keep the perspective of the Taiwan Relations Act as a focus in your engagement with China as it relates to Taiwan.

Governor BRANSTAD. Senator Menendez, I want to assure you I will. I also have been to Taiwan. The State of Iowa does have a sister state with Taiwan. And I recognize the importance of both the One China policy but of also supporting and enforcing the Taiwan Relations Act.

Senator MENENDEZ. Thank you. I appreciate your directness.

Governor BRANSTAD. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Senator BARRASSO?

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

Governor, congratulations on the nomination. Thanks for coming to visit with me in my office. I saw you right before the break, and

I was heading to China and wanted to just tell you that people are looking forward to you as our ambassador.

Governor BRANSTAD. Well, the Chinese people have been very nice to me and have taken a lot of pictures of me for what that is worth. [Laughter.]

Governor BRANSTAD. But I would be interested in finding out how your trip went. And I think you were intending to go to Tibet as well?

Senator BARRASSO. As well, yes. It was very productive, very fruitful, talked about some of the issues that have just been raised but also issues of trade. Senator Portman, who is our former U.S. Trade Rep, brought up a number of issues. I brought up a number as well.

One was on soda ash. Many U.S. industries experience a wide variety of concerns surrounding China's trade policies and practices. As we have discussed in this committee, soda ash continues to face unfair trade practices from China, from other countries. The United States is the most competitive supplier of soda ash in the world due to the abundance of a raw material called trona in the United States. And Wyoming, specifically the Green River Basin, is the world's largest area for naturally occurring trona. So soda ash is a key manufacturing component of glass, detergents, soaps, chemicals. China is seeking to capture the global market share from the United States soda ash producers, and they do it through unfair trade practices. China has given its own synthetic soda ash producers a significant rebate on the China's value-added tax.

So if confirmed, will you continue to work to highlight and eliminate market distorting subsidies like the value-added tax rebate on soda ash exports that harm U.S. workers and U.S. producers?

Governor BRANSTAD. The answer is yes. I look at this very much like the steel issue where they are being unfair and where they are providing unfair subsidies. This is the kind of thing that we have to strenuously object to and do everything we can to try to correct.

Senator BARRASSO. I appreciate it. And we did raise it with the Premier when we were there in Beijing.

And then with regard to beef—and I know Senator Gardner asked a bit about that—the United States produces the highest quality beef in the world. While China lifted its ban on U.S. beef last September, some technical barriers have prevented the U.S. beef from actually gaining access to the Chinese market.

In April, I signed a letter on this critical issue to President Trump, along with 38 other Senators, including members of this committee, bipartisan members of this committee. Senator Kaine signed it, as well as Senators Risch and Gardner and Young and Paul and Portman. The letter urged the administration to discuss opening the Chinese market to U.S. beef with the President of China during his visit to the United States. And it is vital that we work to ensure that U.S. beef is traded fairly and trade barriers are eliminated there as well.

Governor BRANSTAD. I agree wholeheartedly. I want to be able to serve beef, American beef, specifically Iowa premium beef—[Laughter.]

Governor Branstad:—at the embassy and at the ambassador's residence. I do not think it is fair that right now we have to serve Australian beef or Argentinean beef.

And this issue goes back to mad cow disease 13 years ago. And as you have said, they have announced they are going to do it, but it has still not been done. And that is one of the areas that I feel very strongly about. In fact, the trade mission I went on in November to both China and Japan, we did have a great press conference and beef tasting in Tokyo. I was on the early stages of opening that Japanese market many years ago to American beef. And that now is really flourishing, and we need the same access in China. Mad cow disease has not been in this country for, I think, 13 years. And besides that, the mad cow came from Canada.

Senator BARRASSO. One final question and it has to do with human rights and economic issues, Governor. China is the United States' largest trading partner, in terms of great potential economic opportunities for businesses in the United States, but China continues to engage in what I believe are serious human rights abuses, including political and religious repression. So as Ambassador to China, can you just spend a little bit of time discussing how you are going to balance engaging China on the economic front while also demonstrating our Nation's concerns about China's human rights violations?

Governor BRANSTAD. We are a Nation that has always stood for human rights for all people in the world, and I think it is critically important the Ambassador for the United States of America make that point and make that along with the other issues that we deal with in China. I am Catholic. I want to go to a Catholic church in China. I respect other people's religions as well, and I do not think religious people should be persecuted. So I think it is very important that we protect all human rights, including freedom of speech and freedom of religion.

Senator BARRASSO. Thank you very much, Governor.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

I reserved some time on the front end. I did not ask any questions.

I was just thinking about all the myriad of questions you have been asked about China that affect all of our lives on a daily basis. But between human rights violations, non-freedom of press, what they do with U.S. journalists and others, the monopoly laws they have there which are intended to hurt U.S. companies—and they do—the national security laws that do the same, the cyber theft that we have hit on several times, violation of international norms in the South China Sea, redrawing thousands of years of history there, their knowingly not complying with the U.N. Security Council resolutions on North Korea, allowing companies to violate that and doing so themselves, the dumping that takes place with China's manufactured goods, the subsidizing that takes place, if that is not occurring, and just what we talked about with fentanyl and other kinds of things—can you share with us some things that give you hope about the Premier's sincerity, if you will, in really wanting to reform the country so that it comes into more universal and international norms? I mean, what are the things that give you

hope of China's willingness to actually do so? And additionally, in Africa and in other places, they basically cause countries there to be debt-laden by doing things with all Chinese workers that solely benefit China, please give me some optimism based on your relationship.

Governor BRANSTAD. Well, my relationship goes way back to 1983 and 1984. Here is the thing. China, as you know, is a very closed communist system. It started when Henry Kissinger and then President Nixon went there and it began to open up. My predecessor, Robert Ray, went to China and kind of laid the groundwork. I signed the sister state. I went there in 1984. I have seen a big change. And we were hopeful that when they adopted these economic reforms, it would lead to more political reforms.

I think our disappointment in recent years is—and frankly my disappointment since President Xi became the leader of China—and he has done some things to crack down on corruption and to try to clean up some of the bad practices of some of the members of his party. But he has not done what I had hoped would happen and that is become more open and more willing to accept freedom of press and stop the repression of minorities. Those are the kind of issues that I hope to bring up with him.

We go back a long ways. We are considered old friends. But I think he has got to recognize that some of the things that are being done in China today are very much against what I think is the right policies for a world leader. And I think he aspires to be a great leader for his country, but I want to—as an old friend, I would tell him where I think they are falling short and the kind of things that need to be addressed, including these human rights, intellectual property rights, and other things. So I hope that I can be an effective spokesman for America and for challenging some of the policies that we think are really going in the wrong direction.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Senator Kaine?

Senator Kaine. Thank you, Mr. Chair. That was a good question. I have been wondering the same thing.

And I appreciate, Governor Branstad, your service, and I am very happy to support you in this position. As we described, I have got good Democratic friends in Iowa that give you high marks, at least as high as they are going to give somebody on the other side of the aisle.

Governor BRANSTAD. Well, they keep reelecting me.

Senator Kaine. And I am struck by that too. You know, I come from the only State where they just give you one term. I am the only State where they call the Governor Your Excellency." So they talk about you nice, but they want you to leave pretty quickly. [Laughter.]

Senator Kaine. So 22 years is remarkable.

And you have had a pretty amazing track record. As I think about Iowa from having visited my friends, there are many things that I think about, but the thing I think about the most—ag and forestry is the number one part of the Virginia economy, and you guys lead with that.

What you have done over the years of your tenure with others to improve the lot of family farms through the creation of alter-

native energy options for farmers so that together with farming for food, they could grow corn and use it to produce ethanol or have a wind tower that they could use to supplement income, I mean, I would just love to hear from 1983 to today, that has just been revolutionary.

Governor BRANSTAD. Well, thank you for bringing that up because I am very proud of where we have come from. In 1983, we were almost totally dependent on imported energy, fuel, oil that came from the Middle East, and most of our electricity was generated by coal. Today Iowa leads the Nation. And my very first year as Governor, we signed a renewable electric portfolio law that has been copied, I think, by 23 other States, and we now produce 35.8 percent of our electricity by wind. We have two big projects that have been announced. Mid-American Energy is investing another \$3.6 billion in wind turbines, and Alliant—those are our two big utilities—another billion dollars. We will be over 40 percent—the first State to do that—by the year 2020.

And, of course, we lead the Nation in ethanol. We produce more ethanol than we consume in gasoline. We are moving from E10 to E15. We also have a number of E85 pumps in the State. We also lead the Nation in biodiesel.

Senator KAINÉ. But not corn-based biodiesel.

Governor BRANSTAD. Soybean-based biodiesel. It is almost all from soybeans. Some of it comes from animal fat. But it is either animal fat or soybeans.

Senator KAINÉ. If there is one place in the United States that demonstrates that fighting greenhouse gas emissions and promoting economic growth are not inconsistent goals, it is Iowa.

Governor BRANSTAD. And it has created a lot of jobs, and it has also created income, as you mentioned, for farmers. So this is another alternative to farmers. If you have a wind turbine on your farm, that generates income. It also generates property tax for that local government.

Senator KAINÉ. I was looking at the website for the Iowa Corn Growers Association, and they talk about the four E's. They talk about economy, environment, energy security, without sacrificing engine performance.

Governor BRANSTAD. The new high performance engines—they should use 30 or 40 percent ethanol. And we can clearly produce enough corn to do that and still keep the price of food relatively low.

Senator KAINÉ. Then here is an area of hope that I see, kind of to follow up on Senator Corker's question. And the United States and China are the largest emitters of greenhouse gas in the world, and they were the first two nations to sign the Paris Climate Accord. And as Governor of Iowa, you go there with a story. They are dealing with major environmental challenges. You go there with a story which is we can battle greenhouse gas and do it in a way that does not hobble the economy. If we are smart, if we are careful, if we are strategic about it, we can do it in a way that is good for the environment and good for the economy.

The one thing I would just ask—and this is kind of in line with some of your earlier testimony. This is not your decision to make, but it would be your advice to give. I think it would be a massive

mistake for the United States to pull out of the Paris Climate Accord. The U.S. and China were first in, and they are setting leadership for the rest of the world. And if the U.S. were to pull out of it, the effect on the world, the effect on what China might do I think could be significant. And you are the best person in the United States with a story to tell about how you can battle greenhouse gas emissions and also promote the environment at the same time.

The Iowa Corn Growers Association website lists how ethanol was so much better with respect to both greenhouse gas emissions and use of water than production of gasoline. You are an ambassador of the United States to China, but I also think you can be an ambassador for the clean energy economy of tomorrow to the Nation and the world that most needs that advice right now.

Governor BRANSTAD. Well, Senator Kaine, thank you for your advice. My oldest son Eric actually chaired the bipartisan Renewable Energy Coalition that worked with all the candidates of both parties before the Iowa caucuses to educate them on renewable energy. In fact, he brought then candidate Trump to one of the ethanol plants at Gowrie, Iowa. And we got tremendous response from both parties and I think did a lot to educate the presidential candidates on the importance of renewable energy.

So I think we still have more work to do especially on wind energy. When candidate Trump came to the Iowa State Fair, I pointed out we have a wind turbine right there at the Iowa State Fair. Also, Secretary Perry, who is the former Governor of Texas—they are also a big wind energy State.

Senator Kaine. Absolutely. They had the renewable energy portfolio early.

Governor BRANSTAD. That is right.

Senator Kaine. When President Bush was Governor.

Governor BRANSTAD. They followed our lead. They are one of the, I think, 23 States that copied basically a law I signed in 1983. So I agree with you.

Also, I would say there is a company called HZ. It is a Chinese company that has a couple of wind turbines near Nevada, Iowa. They are a subsidiary of Chem China. I have called on them, and frankly we think there is, as you pointed out, opportunity for collaboration on this in a way that can benefit air quality and the whole world.

Senator Kaine. Excellent. I look forward to working with you. Thank you.

Thank you, Mr. Chair.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Rubio?

Senator RUBIO. Thank you.

Thank you, Governor. Congratulations.

As you know, I spent some time in Iowa over the last year and a half, and we too went to the fair and my kids enjoyed it very much. They wanted to know why we did not go this year. [Laughter.]

Governor BRANSTAD. You are always welcome. [Laughter.]

Senator RUBIO. Well, I asked them what did you learn at the fair, and the one thing that one of my kids said is we learned that you can fry anything. [Laughter.]

Governor BRANSTAD. Even butter. [Laughter.]

Senator RUBIO. So anyway, I appreciate it.

And I appreciate your acknowledgement today that an economic opening towards a totalitarian state in and of itself will not guarantee a political opening. It will allow them to control the pace and the scope of that opening for economic purposes, but it does not translate to political opening. I think China is a perfect example of it.

As I shared with you, I think this is the most—you know, when they write the book about the 21st century, there will be a chapter in there about Russia. There will be a chapter or two there about Islamic terrorism. But I think that book is going to be dominated by chapter after chapter documenting the relationship between the United States and China. And how that relationship goes in very many ways is going to determine the direction of the 21st century.

There is a sense I think among the Chinese people and many in their government that our goal is to contain them or to keep them down. And that certainly is not the case. On the contrary, I think we would love to have a partner on the global stage of their scope and magnitude to confront some of these challenges that we face. What we are not going to do, I believe—and it is important to communicate this—is we are not going to accept some sort of sphere of influence where they dominate the region at the expense of our allies and alliances in the region.

And we are also going to continue to raise the human rights issue because it does play out, as we have seen in international forums. China is a consistent vetoer of anything at the Security Council that takes on the issue of human rights. And I think that reflects the way that government operates at home. And it is always important to have a distinction between the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people. They are not the same thing.

One of the things that we have talked about—what is very important both in their culture and in their politics—is the ability to save face, in essence, to not be publicly embarrassed on a topic. And therefore, as you have expressed and others, the best way to raise issues with the Russian leadership is in a private forum.

And I would ask, given your time and interaction with the current President of China, can you tell us of any instance where you raised a difficult issue or pressed him on something, on an issue that perhaps was not aligned with the interests of the Chinese Communist Party. Is there such an instance that you know where you raised an issue?

Governor BRANSTAD. That is a good question. And I think your observation is absolutely right on about how we need to try to find ways to partner with them.

Obviously, my role as Governor is different than my role is going to be as ambassador. As Governor, I was not as aggressive at bringing up the human rights issues and things like that because I felt—

Senator RUBIO. You were dealing with economic issues.

Governor BRANSTAD [continuing]. Yes. It was economic issues.

But certainly we made great progress over the years in opening China for things like soybeans. I mean, we are at the point where last year—when my staff told me it was 48 percent of our soybeans

went to China—it had been one-third that had gone to China, and now it is up to 48 percent last year. But there are also things that have gone the other way. DDGs, which is a byproduct from ethanol—they have now put a tariff on that that has really dramatically reduced our exports of that. So I have seen areas where we have made progress. I have also seen areas where we have lost ground.

I think I just have to be vigilant in going after those things where we think they are being unfair.

I think there have been some good things that Xi Jinping has done to crack down on corruption within his own party and his own government. Some people say, well, part of that is just about getting rid of his enemies. But I think some of it has really been about addressing the severe problem they do have with corruption.

Senator RUBIO. And, Governor, I guess my point, because my time is about to expire, is there is no shortage of human rights abuses. You mentioned your Catholic faith as I have as well. Bishop Su, an 85-year-old Catholic bishop who has disappeared and we presume imprisoned by the Government there.

What I hope to acquire from you today is a commitment that on these cases, whether it is publicly or privately, that these are issues that you will raise with the Government of China, whether it is an American or some other case, because this is really important for the human rights community to feel like their Ambassador to China is someone who is going to raise these issues even if it makes our host, in this case the Chinese Communist Party, uncomfortable.

And in light of that, to meet with them in China when they are willing to meet with you, the willingness to meet with some of their exiles that are here in the United States to hear their concerns, this is a very important commitment. It is a very important part of this job, and I think it is really important for those interested in human rights globally and in China to know that they are going to have an ambassador willing to raise these issues both in those private forums and meet with them publicly as opposed to allow them to be marginalized.

Governor BRANSTAD. Well, I will do that. Just to assure you, my first trip to the old Soviet Union was in 1986. It was just shortly after Chernobyl. And I actually smuggled Natan Sharansky's book in to the American embassy to give to his mother.

My wife and I met with a group of refuseniks. I am sure that the woman that they had as our escort, the Soviet person, was a KGB agent. We slipped out of her presence, and we met with a group of refuseniks to find out what was really happening in what was called Leningrad at the time, now St. Petersburg.

So I am not bashful about meeting with dissidents or people that feel they are being discriminated or treated unfairly. I have a history of being willing to do that in my previous role. As ambassador, I think it is even more important because of our country's commitment to human rights. And I look forward to working with you and ideas that you and others have about people that are not being treated fairly and being able to at least bring those issues up in a private setting because, as you said, saving face is important in their culture. But it is also I think important that we confront

them with those areas where we feel that they are not abiding by basic human dignity.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Cardin?

Senator CARDIN. Well, Governor, first I want to applaud your participation here today. You have done very well in giving us the confidence of your knowledge of the areas and the way that you go about trying to reach strategic decisions as to how to advance U.S. interests. So I thank you for that.

I want to put a dose of reality on North Korea for one moment because I am concerned with some of the exchanges not necessarily your response but the realities of the circumstances in North Korea as it relates to American values and as it relates to North Korea's continued desire to violate international commitments on nuclear proliferation and missile proliferation.

The challenge is that there really is not a military option for a first strike by the United States. Unlike the circumstances we found in Iran with their nuclear proliferation, a military option would have been terrible but it was doable. In North Korea, a military option would involve the risks of millions of lives. That is the reality. So we really are faced with changing the calculation in North Korea so that they take action to eliminate this threat, which requires China.

So that then brings us to the point that China and the United States have some common interests. China does not want to see this blow up as you point out. They do not want all those immigrants or migrants coming in from North Korea. That is absolutely correct. But they also do not want to see a democratic country on their border. North Korea looks at nuclear weapons as their ability for maintaining their regime because it would be difficult for us to take them out.

So how do you deal with China that is not interested in bringing down the North Korean regime, wants to maintain a communist country on their border? How do we work with them and the fear that they have that America's interest is to try to bring down the North Korean regime? How do you balance all that and get North Korea to understand that they can maintain their regime security without nuclear weapons?

Governor BRANSTAD. That is a very perceptive question that you have asked, Senator Cardin. And that is right. There is no way that China is going to want to see a regime change that has a democratic united Korea under South Korean rule on their border.

By the same token, I think we also recognize that Seoul is very close. I mean, I have been to Seoul several times, South Korea. I have been to the DMZ. There is, I think, 20 million people in Seoul whose lives are in jeopardy if we were to try to attack North Korea. That is certainly not something we want to put those people's lives in jeopardy.

So that is why working with the Chinese and convincing the Chinese that they are the ones that have the potential to really influence the regime in North Korea more than anyone else and that the change that needs to take place there does not need to be a threat to the system, but needs to stop this nuclear proliferation and the building of a guidance system for missiles to attack the United States and Japan and other countries in the world.

It is probably the most pressing issue that we have right now. And I want to do whatever I can to try to be a go-between between our two countries that can help convince the leadership in China that it is in their interest and our interest to work together to stop this dangerous direction that is coming out of North Korea. Their leadership is critically important to doing that, and it needs to be done in a way that they do not feel it threatens them but also that it will provide security to the other nations in that part of the world.

Senator CARDIN. We want to give you the strongest possible hand in making that case. So please feel comfortable to give us advice as to how the Congress can weigh in to make your case the strongest possible for China to help us in changing the calculations in North Korea.

Governor BRANSTAD. I want to do anything and everything that I can. I am open to listening to suggestions or ideas that any member of this committee or any Member of the Senate has. I want to work closely with the administration and everybody else. But I see this as probably the biggest challenge that I have ever had in my entire life, and I want to do anything and everything that I can to try to find an acceptable solution for the benefit of the entire human race.

Senator CARDIN. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Just to follow up before we close out, I think most people believe that no amount of economic pressure—no amount of economic pressure—will keep North Korea from developing a deliverable nuclear weapon to the United States. Kim Jong-un views that as his ticket to die as an old man in his bed down the road, his ticket to not being taken out. So it is a strategy that most people believe has problems because of a strong desire to have the weapon.

But at the same time, China's lack of willingness to play the role that has to be played has got to change. At least we have to attempt as a world community to put severe economic pressures on his country to stop it. I do hope that China is willing to step up to that. I think they do a lot of head fakes and act as if they are going to do things and then never follow through. But I do think something severe is going to happen in the region if they do not. And I think it is totally dependent upon them.

We would love to work with you. You know, the administration is trying to do what they can to bring the world community in to help bear pressure to raise the level of concern and awareness. But I do hope that you will work with us in whatever way you deem appropriate to help bring pressure to bear. I do hope that the pendulum has swung and that China now views North Korea as a liability and not an asset. I hope that you are going to do everything you can to ensure that that is the case.

But I do believe that from the standpoint of global encounters that can get out of control and millions of people be ravaged in the process, this is the one that is most evident to us today. So I hope none of that happens. I hope as a world community, we will come together. But I do think that in many ways is your most important responsibility as you take on this post.

You have had an outstanding hearing. I think your on-the-ground experiences with China will serve our Nation well. I think your understanding of what drives the thinking within China will serve our Nation well. I thank you for your willingness to give up a very comfortable place—apparently issues of reelection are not a problem. [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. And go to a post that is much more temporary and yet in many ways far more meaningful from the standpoint of our security and the world's security. So thank you.

We will leave the record open until the close of business Thursday. I am sure you will want to answer those questions promptly and will.

Governor BRANSTAD. Will do.

Senator CARDIN. I thank your family for their willingness for you to be so far away for so many years.

And we look forward to your confirmation and working with you. Thank you so much.

Governor BRANSTAD. Well, thank you, Chairman Corker, Ranking Member Cardin, all the members of your committee. It has been an honor and a privilege to get the benefit of your counsel and advice, and I look forward to continuing to work with you, if I get the confirmation and the opportunity to serve our country as the Ambassador to China. Thank you very much.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

The meeting is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 11:50 a.m., the hearing was adjourned.]

Additional Material Submitted for the Record

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED TO HON. TERRY BRANSTAD BY SENATOR MARCO RUBIO

Question 1. Will you commit to periodically appearing at hearings of the Congressional-Executive Commission on China? Will you commit to encouraging administration officials who serve as executive branch commissioners to attend CECC hearings?

Answer. The Congressional-Executive Commission on China serves as a valuable platform for experts, activists, and civil society leaders to provide unfiltered information on China's human rights environment. If confirmed, I look forward to engaging with the CECC, and invite its members to travel to China to investigate conditions on the ground.

Question 2. Will you commit to urging all visiting Cabinet members and Members of Congress to raise individual human rights cases or issues in China-with specific and meaningful asks-with their Chinese counterparts?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed as ambassador, I will work tirelessly to press the Chinese Government on human rights cases and will encourage others to do so as well.

Question 3. Will you commit to meeting monthly or quarterly with civil society groups in China to show support for their work? Will you also push back on the Chinese Government's efforts to limit U.S. Government contact with these civil society groups and will you challenge senior Chinese leaders and parts of the security apparatus, particularly China's Public Security Bureau (PSB), on the harassment or denied registration of U.S.-based NGOs?

Answer. As I said during my hearing I hope not only to meet with civil society while in Beijing, but also as I travel throughout China.

Question 4. Will you commit to meeting in the United States with exiled dissidents and exiled critics of the Chinese Government who cannot travel to China to ensure you have fullest possible perspective on both the human rights situation

in China, and on what the U.S. Government can do to effect positive change? If confirmed, will you commit to having the first of such meetings prior to departing for post?

Answer. If confirmed, I am committed to supporting and meeting with civil society organizations and rights activists both in the United States and China.

Question 5. Will you commit to using existing authority in the International Religious Freedom Act to communicate to U.S. State Department the names of Chinese Government officials who are involved and complicit in egregious violations of religious freedom, and who should also be denied entry to the U.S. given that China has been designated a Country of Particular Concern since 1999?

Answer. If confirmed, I will commit to raising our serious concerns over China's repression of religious freedom. I will remain in close contact with relevant bureaus in the State Department on this important issue and I appreciate Congress having provided the tools in the International Religious Freedom Act to use, as appropriate, in order to promote religious freedom for all in China.

Question 6. Will you commit to robust engagement on implementation of the Global Magnitsky Act? Specifically, if confirmed, would you dedicate embassy staff resources to compiling names and information regarding Chinese Government officials who should be denied visas under the Global Magnitsky Act as a result of their involvement in grave human rights violations?

Answer. If confirmed, I will ensure that embassy and consular staff devote adequate resources and take appropriate action to implement the Act.

Question 7. Will you commit to visibly marking the Tiananmen anniversary each year, using the occasion to assess the human rights situation in China and reminding the authorities of the need for accountability for abuses committed in 1989?

Answer. If confirmed, I will ensure we do not fail to commemorate the Tiananmen anniversary.

Question 8. Earlier this year, I met the wives of Jiang Tianyong and Tang Jingling, two human rights lawyers who were disbarred for their work to defend human rights, and who are now being unjustly held by Chinese authorities. In the case of Mr. Jiang, his exact whereabouts remain unknown. The wives of Mr. Jiang and Mr. Tang have asked U.S. officials to raise the cases of their husbands with the Chinese Government in the hopes that they can see them again. I've publicly urged Secretary of State Rex Tillerson to advocate on their behalf. Would you be willing to meet with the wives of these two men? Do you commit to raising their cases at the highest levels of the Chinese Government?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I commit to raising human rights cases and issues regularly with senior Chinese officials. I also commit to meeting with the family members of activists. I am troubled by the human rights environment in China, including the crackdown on lawyers such as Jiang Tianyong and Tang Jingling, and the harassment of their family members.

Question 9. What do you believe is America's role in ensuring that Beijing honors the promises it made at the time of the handover and what do you intend to do to limit mainland interference in Hong Kong especially as we approach the 20th anniversary of the handover?

- Would you support visa bans on Chinese or Hong Kong officials found to be involved in the recent and future abductions, disappearances, and detentions of booksellers or other Hong Kong residents?

Answer. If confirmed, I will firmly support the principle of "one country, two systems," as well as the goal of achieving universal suffrage in Hong Kong in accordance with the Basic Law and the aspirations of the Hong Kong people. I will seek to support Hong Kong's highly developed rule of law, independent judiciary, and respect for individual rights, which have been keys to its continued success, stability, and global competitiveness.

If confirmed, I also will speak out on the value of Hong Kong's high degree of autonomy in my engagements with the Chinese Government, and support reinforcing that autonomy through government-to-government cooperation that treats Hong Kong as a special and distinct entity. The disappearances and detentions of booksellers and other Hong Kong residents raise serious questions about China's commitment to "one country, two systems" and its respect for the protection of universal human rights and fundamental freedoms. If confirmed, I will raise this issue with the Chinese Government.

Question 10. Global health, international aviation security, and transnational crime are all matters of global importance that requires cooperation from stakeholders from all around the world. Congress has passed bills requiring the State De-

partment to support Taiwan's meaningful participation in international organizations, such as the World Health Organization (WHO), the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), and the International Criminal Police Organization (INTERPOL).

- If confirmed as Ambassador to China, would you support Taiwan's meaningful participation in international organizations? How so?
- How do you see the Trump administration's approach to the one-China policy?

Answer. If confirmed, I will support Taiwan's membership in international organizations that do not require statehood. In organizations that require statehood for membership, I will support Taiwan's meaningful participation. This includes ICAO, INTERPOL, WHO, and the more than 60 international organizations in which Taiwan participates.

I am committed to supporting Taiwan as it seeks to expand its already significant contributions to addressing global challenges. I believe the United States has a deep and abiding interest in cross-Strait peace and stability. The benefits that stable cross-Strait ties have brought to China and Taiwan, the United States, and the region have been important. China and Taiwan should understand the value of stable cross-Strait ties and work to establish a basis for continued peace and stability.

Question 11. 11: Will you commit to explaining to Chinese authorities that the United States will recognize and freely interact with the person chosen independently by Tibetans to succeed the current Dalai Lama, as a way of showing now that the U.S. will not accept a Chinese Government-controlled selection process, and of encouraging Tibetans to pursue reincarnation in accordance with traditional practices?

- It has long been the policy of the U.S. Government, provided by the Tibetan Policy Act, to promote a dialogue between the envoys of the Dalai Lama and the Chinese Government toward a solution on the Tibet issue that guarantees the respect of the "distinct identity" of the Tibetan people, who continue to suffer under China's oppressive rule. The dialogue is now at a standstill and, as we have seen, the lack of substantive progress toward a genuine resolution continues to be a thorny issue in U.S.-China relations. Would you personally commit to pressing the Chinese leadership for a resolution of the Tibetan issue through a speedy resumption of dialogue with the Tibetan side, without preconditions?
- China requires American visitors to get a special permit to visit much of Tibet. American diplomats, journalists and NGOs have a difficult time visiting the region as do Tibetan Americans. Will you commit to ensuring that the Chinese authorities provide access to Tibet for American officials, journalists and citizens, just as Chinese citizens get access to the United States? Will you commit to pressing the Chinese authorities to allow for the opening of a U.S. consulate in Lhasa?

Answer. I share your concerns about the lack of respect for human rights and rule of law in Tibet. If confirmed, I will urge Chinese authorities to engage in meaningful and direct dialogue with the Dalai Lama and his representatives without preconditions to lower tensions and resolve differences. I will also call on China to provide meaningful autonomy for Tibetans and cease restrictions on Tibetan religious, linguistic, and cultural practices. I will engage the Chinese Government regarding interference in Tibetan religious matters, particularly the selection and education of the reincarnate lamas who lead the faith.

If confirmed, I will continue to raise concerns about the lack of regular access to the Tibetan Autonomous Region (TAR) for Mission China personnel, journalists, academics, and others. China's refusal to grant regular consular access to Americans in the Tibetan Autonomous Region represents a failure by the Chinese Government to live up to their international obligations. If confirmed, I will also continue to press the Chinese Government to allow for the option to open a U.S. Consulate in Lhasa.

Question 12. Human rights groups have raised concerns that China's Counterterrorism Law, adopted in December 2015, has further empowered Chinese officials to punish peaceful activities and target ethnic minorities, including Uyghurs, who are predominantly Muslim. Chinese authorities have long conflated Uyghurs' ordinary religious activities as extremism and terrorism. In addition, rights advocates have raised concerns that new Xinjiang Party chief Chen Quanguo is applying repressive security mechanisms in the region that he previously used in Tibet.

- How will you seek to reiterate the United States' commitment to preventing restrictions on peaceful religious activities and other fundamental freedoms in the name of counterterrorism? What are your thoughts U.S. cooperation with Chi-

nese law enforcement on counterterrorism given that many of these same entities routinely engage in grave human rights standards?

Answer. I am concerned by the human rights situation in Xinjiang, in particular the systematic human rights abuses committed against Uyghurs there and the imposition of conditions akin to martial law. If confirmed, I will engage the Chinese Government regarding universal human rights and fundamental freedoms, including religious freedom and the rights of individuals who belong to ethnic minority groups to maintain their indigenous languages, customs, and religious traditions.

I fully support the U.S. efforts to increase coordination with other countries in the common fight against international terrorism. However, we must be careful to focus on true terrorist threats. The United States should not support human rights abuses in any event, including when conducted in the name of "internal security." If confirmed, I will press China to understand the differences between human rights abuses and countering terrorism.

Question 13. Reports from media and rights advocates in recent years have documented the Chinese state's use of threats against family members of Uyghur-American citizens and residents to prevent them from raising awareness about Uyghur rights issues. Chinese security personnel often treat China-based relatives of vocal Uyghur-Americans as hostages who may be jailed or released depending on how willing Uyghur-Americans are to stop speaking out. This has been true of Rebiya Kadeer. It is also true of the parents of Nury Turkel, who are eligible to come to the U.S. but are reportedly being held under house arrest, harassed, denied essential medical access, and denied the ability to leave China.

- Will you prioritize their immediate departure, including if necessary traveling to Xinjiang to escort them to Guangzhou, where they can acquire their U.S. paperwork, and on to a plane to ensure their safe departure? What steps would you take to urge China to adhere to Article 12 of the ICCPR, which protects the right to liberty of movement, which China has signed but not ratified?

Answer. If confirmed, I will press China to cease harassment of Chinese human rights defenders' family members. I will also push for the prompt lifting of the travel ban in effect for Nury Turkel's parents and the relatives of Rebiya Kadeer. If confirmed, I will also encourage China to honor its international human rights obligations and commitments.

Question 14. Will you also raise the case of Falun Gong practitioner Deng Cuiping (the mother of a Florida constituent) who in February was sentenced to six years in prison after having been charged with "organizing and using a cult to undermine the implementation of the law?"

Answer. Yes. I am concerned about growing restrictions on the exercise of religious freedom in China and the targeted harassment of religious practitioners, including those that practice Falun Gong. If confirmed, I commit to raising these and other cases with senior Chinese officials.

Question 15. Would you consider seeking revisions to the U.S.-China Consular Convention to clarify that Americans detained in China should be allowed to meet with a lawyer and discuss details of their case with U.S. consular officials?

Answer. If confirmed, I will press the Chinese to adhere to their international obligations under the Vienna Convention for Consular Relations and the 1980 U.S.-China Consular Convention. These agreements represent the foundation of consular engagement and outline protections for U.S. citizens overseas. I will fully support the efforts of the Bureau of Consular Affairs and their work to protect our citizens in China.

Question 16. Will you consistently raise with the Chinese Government its obligation to protect North Korean asylum seekers crossing its borders, allow the UN High Commissioner for Refugees to assist them, and stop forcibly repatriating them to North Korea?

Answer. Yes. In light of the documented mistreatment that refouled refugees face at the hands of the North Korean authorities, if confirmed, I will urge Chinese authorities to cease the practice of deportation. I will also urge authorities to accept that China's deportation practices are inconsistent with its obligations under Article 3 of the Convention Against Torture and China's obligations under the 1951 Refugee Convention and its 1967 Protocol.

Question 17. Job creators in America's innovation economy have ongoing concerns about the Chinese Government's consideration and adoption of cybersecurity and technology policies that are counterproductive to U.S. security and economic interests. As China moves toward implementation of its Cybersecurity Law, will you

commit to soliciting input from industry stakeholders on harmful effects that need to be corrected? Will you support a delay in the law's implementation?

Answer. The prosperity and cybersecurity of the United States depend on the ability of our businesses and innovators to develop pioneering products that are interoperable while protecting the legitimate security and privacy needs of consumers.

I share your concerns that China's Cybersecurity Law and other technology-related policies are making it difficult for companies to provide secure, globally competitive products and services to their clients in China.

If confirmed, I will work closely with other U.S. agencies, consult with industry stakeholders, to press China to retract or mitigate any laws and regulations that adversely affect the ability of U.S. business to enter and operate in China and U.S. national security and economic interests.

Question 18. Some have called China's Internet Firewall the Berlin Wall of the 21st Century. What priority would you place on Internet freedom programs in a country like China? In your view did the Obama administration give this issue sufficient attention given its geopolitical implications?

Answer. An open and interoperable internet fosters free expression and innovation. The Chinese Government's censorship of Internet content, including social media and online news, and restrictive regulation of network providers hinders the use of the Internet as an open platform where individuals are free to share information and express their beliefs. This essential character of the Internet is central to driving innovation and supporting modern economies around the world that provide tremendous benefits for their people. If confirmed, I will promote the free flow of information online in China and advocate for a free and open Internet in China. I will urge China to respect its international obligations and commitments regarding human rights and fundamental freedoms, including to the freedoms of expression, association, and assembly, both on and offline.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO HON. TERY BRANSTAD BY SENATOR BENJAMIN L. CARDIN

Question 1. What are the most important actions you have taken in your career to date to promote human rights and democracy? What has been the impact of your actions?

Answer. The hallmark of American leadership in the world has been our vigilant advocacy for human rights and democracy. As governor of Iowa, my role internationally was not focused on the direction or implementation of foreign policy around democratic norms or human rights. However, I have always tried to recognize my responsibility as an American representing our values. In the 1980s, shortly after the Chernobyl incident, I visited the Soviet Union. While there, my wife and I met with Refuseniks in what was then Leningrad, now known as St. Petersburg. These people were seeking democracy. I was not bashful about meeting with dissidents then and I am not hesitant now to meet with people who feel they are being discriminated against or are being treated unfairly.

Over the course of my six terms as governor, I have always valued upholding human rights for all. Treating all people with respect and dignity has been a guiding principle for me throughout time in public service. Our Constitution and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the United Nations sets out the right to freedom of religion. In Iowa, I have long worked to promote and uphold all freedoms guaranteed to Iowans and especially the freedom of religion in our state.

Question 2. What are the most pressing human rights issues in China? What are the most important steps you expect to take—if confirmed—to promote human rights and democracy in China? What do you hope to accomplish through these actions?

Answer. As I said in my testimony, as an old friend, I think I can tell President Xi where they are falling short and the kinds of things that need to be addressed, including human rights. I'm Catholic. I want to go to a Catholic church in China. I want to welcome people of all backgrounds to the U.S. Embassy. I want to travel to other parts of China to meet with them as well. I will represent American values—including human rights—every day of my service.

Question 3. If confirmed, what are the potential obstacles to addressing the specific human rights issues you have identified in your previous response? What challenges will you face in China in advancing human rights, civil society and democracy in general?

Answer. China's growing restrictions on media and access to information make it difficult for Chinese citizens to exercise their rights to freedom of expression. I will uphold the U.S. commitment to be firm in representing our core democratic values and advocating for the human rights of all people.

Question 4. Are you committed to meeting with human rights, civil society and other non-governmental organizations in the U.S. and with local human rights NGOs in China?

Answer. Yes. I am committed to continuing to support those organizations and rights activists in China, and look forward to meeting with them both in the U.S. and China.

Question 5. Will you and your embassy team actively engage with China to address cases of key political prisoners or persons otherwise unjustly targeted by China?

Answer. If confirmed, I am committed to raising individual cases with senior Chinese officials. I will also work with like-minded countries to deliver a consistent message to China on human rights issues of mutual concern.

Question 6. Will you engage with China on matters of human rights, civil rights and governance as part of your bilateral mission?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed I will consistently raise our serious concerns about China's human rights record with senior Chinese officials.

Question 7. If confirmed, do you commit to ensuring that a human rights case or issue is raised in every senior meeting, particularly by visiting Cabinet members, during your tenure?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to regularly raising human rights cases and issues with Chinese authorities. I will not shy away from raising these issues, and will encourage visitors to do so as well.

Question 8. Will you discourage closer cooperation on counterterrorism or law enforcement with China until Beijing's policies and practices are in conformity with international human rights standards?

Answer. The U.S. cooperates with China, including in the area of law enforcement and counterterrorism, only in strict accordance with our laws and values. Our engagement with China's law enforcement agencies provides a venue for us to raise our human rights concern while we still advance cooperation on common interests. However, we have serious differences with the Chinese on many aspects of their law enforcement and counterterrorism policies and if confirmed I will raise these differences with senior Chinese leadership as well.

Emoluments

Question 9. The American people have a right to know whether decision-making is being conducted in the public interest or in President Trump's private financial interest. As I have raised publicly, the decision by China to grant the Trump Organization valuable trademarks just after the president's election is hard to view as anything other than an effort to provide a valuable gift to the president—consistent with the sort of corruption we see throughout the Communist Party in China.

If confirmed, please rest assured that we will be watching closely whether the U.S. Ambassador is put in the position of giving favorable treatment to the Trump Organization or members of the Trump family, or lobbying the Chinese Government on their behalf.

- Given the president's decision not to divest himself or to fully disclose his financial interests, how do you plan, if confirmed as ambassador, to assure that you do not unwittingly support the president in violating the Constitution's Emoluments clause?

Answer. If confirmed, I pledge, as do all U.S. officials, to uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States. I will comply with and seek to uphold all U.S. laws.

Question 10. Do you commit to providing the Congress with information you become aware of that may relate to violations of the Emoluments Clause of the U.S. Constitution?

Answer. Yes.

Question 11. As you know, shortly after President Trump won election, China granted the Trump Organization a number of valuable trademarks that they had been seeking for years. More recently, China granted three trademarks to Ivanka Trump, on the very day that President Xi met with the President.

- What is your understanding of the role of the political leadership of China in influencing bureaucratic decision-making?

Answer. As a private U.S. citizen, I am unable to judge accurately the portion of Chinese decisions that are subject to political considerations rather than merit.

Question 12. Given what we know about how the Chinese Government functions, can it credibly be argued that the timing of these trademark grants was mere coincidence?

Answer. As a private U.S. citizen, I have no direct knowledge of the decision-making process the Chinese Government followed in this instance. I cannot accurately speculate on the motivations of the Chinese Government in this instance.

Question 13. As ambassador, how will you assure that American trademark filers are treated fairly and with integrity, and their applications judged by Chinese officials properly and on the merits?

Answer. If confirmed as ambassador, I will seek a fair and equitable treatment of Americans seeking intellectual-property protections from the Chinese Government and for the general protection and respect of U.S. intellectual property. I will seek for relevant applications by U.S. citizens and organizations be judged on their legal merits.

North Korea

Question 14. China has always been concerned that strong economic pressure on North Korea over its nuclear and missile activities could destabilize Pyongyang and potentially unleash refugee and migrant flows into China or even lead to the collapse of the regime. Yet central to President Trump's approach to North Korea is additional Chinese pressure on Pyongyang.

- What additional steps do you believe China should be taking to put pressure on North Korea?

Answer. As a neighbor of North Korea, China is a major trading partner and they have recently placed some restrictions on coal imports. If confirmed, I will work with the Trump administration to pursue various other diplomatically and economically acceptable avenues to send a clear signal that the world does not tolerate this expansion of nuclear technology and missiles. It is a threat to all mankind and we must look at all opportunities to work together.

Question 15. What are the metrics that the U.S. should use to judge whether China is doing enough?

Answer. If confirmed, I will convey to the Chinese that the United States expects them to use their leverage to compel North Korea to return to serious talks. I am hopeful that China is starting to do more to exercise its leverage on the North Korean regime. For a start, the Chinese Government announced this past February that it will impose an absolute ban on North Korean coal imports through the end of the year. The real test, however, will be implementation.

On April 28, the Secretary asked all UN member nations, including China, to increase North Korea's isolation—through sanctions severing trade relationships that fund weapons programs including coal, and by suspending the flow of North Korean guest workers. If confirmed I will press China to respond positively to these requests.

Question 16. Should we be sanctioning Chinese companies that do business with North Korea?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work with my interagency team at the Embassy and in our Consulates, as well as with colleagues back in Washington, to utilize all tools at our disposal to choke off resources that fund the DPRK's proscribed nuclear and missile programs, including sanctioning Chinese entities if appropriate.

Question 17. Should we press China to cut off energy and food aid to North Korea?

Answer. While the North Korean people have legitimate humanitarian needs, I understand that a significant portion of China's purported aid to North Korea is funneled to support the North Korean's ballistic missile and nuclear weapon development program. If confirmed, I will address this problem with China directly to ensure that any assistance that China and our international partners provide for humanitarian purposes is directed to the North Korean people.

Question 18. The President has suggested that he'd be willing to pull his punches on issues like trade and currency concerns if China helped us on North Korea. Do you agree these issues should be linked?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work with Secretary Tillerson and other U.S. agencies to support his commitment to expand economic opportunities for American businesses by candidly addressing areas of economic friction between our two countries. China shares our goal of a denuclearized Korean peninsula and has been working with the U.S. on UN sanctions and other diplomatic actions to realize this goal.

Question 19. There is a growing concern among our allies that our recent statements on North Korea reify that “all roads lead to and through Beijing.” Are you concerned that by elevating China's role in the North Korea situation you are, perhaps inadvertently, sending a message that East Asia is China's sphere of influence?

Answer. China holds significant influence over North Korea. We need to convince the leadership in China that it is in their best interest and our interest to work together to stop this dangerous direction that is coming out of North Korea. That said, if China is not willing or is unable to achieve that goal, then the United States can and will handle this matter on our own with the backing of our strong regional allies in Northeast Asia.

Question 20. “The Trump administration's policy on China appears to be highly “transactional.” Making policy via twitter and one-liners, the President has hinted at being willing to trade the One China Policy for a trade deal with China, or that we wouldn't press them so hard on trade if they performed on North Korea, and even that the US-Taiwan relationship might be subject to bargain with Beijing.”

- Would you agree with this characterization?

Answer. If confirmed, I would support the administration's reaffirmation to China that the United States remains committed to our One China policy based on the Three Joint Communiqués and the Taiwan Relations Act.

China has a unique role to play in our efforts to push the DPRK to denuclearize, and this administration has made coordination on the DPRK a key aspect of its engagement with China. If confirmed, I would support the administration's efforts to correct long-standing imbalances in our trade relationship with China, so that the peoples of both our countries can benefit from that trade.

The U.S. has many interests with China and we will pursue all of them.

Question 21. What should be the underlying interests that guide the U.S.-China relationship and how do you plan on prioritize them?

Answer. The last several decades of political and economic reforms have brought monumental changes to the way in which China interacts with the outside world. Rather than opposing China's rise, if confirmed, I would echo the administration's overarching goal of bringing China's behavior in line with internationally accepted rules and order.

If confirmed, I would work to improve the relationship the United States has with China, seeking to make positive progress in areas such as economics and trade, law enforcement, and counterterrorism, while at the same time promoting and safeguarding American interests and values.

Question 22. What are the elements of the Trump administration's affirmative agenda for China? Would you agree with the characterization of the U.S.-China policy that Secretary Tillerson presented during his visit to Beijing, namely that ours is a “very positive relationship built on non-confrontation, no conflict, mutual respect, and always searching for win-win solutions?”

Answer. The Trump administration wishes to have a constructive, results-oriented relationship with China. As part of that, the Trump administration wishes to put America first by ensuring that American interests are safeguarded in all aspects of our relationship with China.

If confirmed, I would seek to make progress with China in areas where such progress is possible, while engaging frankly and constructively on areas of disagreement.

Question 23. What do you believe should be the U.S. position on President Xi's proposal that the United States and China should seek to build a “new model of major country relations” based on the principles of “non-conflict, non-confrontation, mutual respect and win-win cooperation?”

Answer. The United States wishes to have a constructive, results-oriented relationship with China, but will continue to defend U.S. interests and raise areas of concern with China where appropriate. If confirmed, I would support these efforts.

South China Sea

Question 24. China claims all the islands, reefs, and rocks in the South China Sea. So does Taiwan. Vietnam claims the Spratlys. Malaysia, the Philippines and Brunei claim some features.

- What should be the U.S. policy toward the South China Sea? Should we get involved in recognition or adjudication of claims?

Answer. The United States has a national interest in freedom of navigation and overflight, respect for international law, unimpeded lawful commerce, and the peaceful resolution of disputes in the South China Sea.

Should I be confirmed, I would uphold the United States' position that competing sovereignty claims should be resolved peacefully without coercion.

Should I be confirmed, I would support the position that maritime claims should be made and pursued in accordance with international law. All maritime claims in the South China Sea should be derived from land features.

Question 25. What should be the US response to China's militarization of the South China Sea? What can the US do to deter further Chinese militarization?

Answer. China's construction of military facilities, coupled with its efforts to enforce sweeping and unlawful maritime claims, raises legitimate concerns about its intentions in the South China Sea.

I support the position that all claimants, including China, must refrain from new construction on, and militarization of, disputed features, and to commit to managing and resolving disputes peacefully.

Should I be confirmed, I look forward to working with the administration to look closely at all of the tools at our disposal to shape China's troubling behavior in the South China Sea.

Should I be confirmed, I would communicate that the United States will continue to demonstrate that it will fly, sail, and operate wherever international law allows, including in the South China Sea.

Question 26. In the past, U.S.-Chinese cooperation on climate change has been a bright spot in the trans-Pacific relationship between two global powers. What is your understanding of how China's domestic and global economic plan for clean energy development and how do you intend to maintain or build the constructive U.S.-China dialogue on these issues?

Answer. China has pledged to generate 20 percent of its total energy from non-fossil sources by 2030. China will need to add around 900 GW of non-fossil capacity between 2015 and 2030, an amount nearly as large as the current total electricity generation capacity in the United States. To meet these goals, China will need to invest heavily in non-fossil fuel energy sources such as renewable and nuclear energy, and they have set wind, solar, nuclear, and hydro installed capacity targets.

American businesses have some of the best advanced energy and energy efficiency technology and can help China achieve their goals. American businesses are at the forefront of innovation in the clean energy and energy efficiency technologies, and American workers are the best trained in the world. If confirmed, I will support collaboration with China on clean energy and traditional energy projects, including areas like biofuels and carbon capture and sequestration, that promotes U.S. business interests and opportunities.

Question 27. Do you believe climate change is real?

Answer. The risk of climate change does exist. Responses to climate change will require action from everyone, including both the United States and China.

Question 28. Can you explain how you intend to continue to build the credibility of U.S. energy and climate change diplomacy with China, in light of the President's action to eliminate all federal regulation on climate change and to eliminate all U.S. assistance that has nexus whatsoever to climate change or clean energy?

Answer. If confirmed, I will act to protect and advance U.S. national interests in all matters, including climate change and clean energy.

Question 29. How do you intend to project and demonstrate leadership in an area that China wants to work with the U.S. but is also poised to usurp total control and dominance from the U.S.?

Answer. If confirmed, I intend to act to protect and advance U.S. national interests in all matters, including climate change and clean energy, regardless of the actions of other nations, including China.

America, as a leader in global energy, is a critical force in advancing energy efficiency and clean energy efforts around the world. American businesses are at the forefront of innovation in the clean energy and energy efficiency technologies, and American workers are the best trained in the world. If confirmed, I will support col-

laboration with China on clean energy and traditional energy projects, including areas like biofuels and carbon capture and sequestration, that promotes U.S. business interests and opportunities.

Question 30. What is your understanding of the link between Chinese foreign investment in energy resources and development and Chinese projection of their vision of global governance and diplomatic influence?

Answer. Should I be confirmed, I plan to stress the importance of China adhering to existing internationally-accepted best practices in infrastructure development and financing, and to adopting an open and inclusive approach to its overseas infrastructure projects.

Taiwan

Question 31. The United States supports Taiwan's meaningful participation in international organizations. Recognizing Taiwan's capacity and willingness to contribute to important global issues, Congress has passed legislation requiring the State Department to support Taiwan's participation in the World Health Organization (WHO), the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), and the International Criminal Police Organization (INTERPOL).

- If confirmed, are you committed to implementing this policy? If the Chinese Government tries to block Taiwan's international participation, how do you plan to engage Beijing on this issue?

Answer. If confirmed, I will support Taiwan's membership in international organizations that do not require statehood. In organizations that require statehood for membership, I will support Taiwan's meaningful participation. This includes ICAO, INTERPOL, WHO, and the more than 60 international organizations in which Taiwan participates.

I am committed to supporting Taiwan as it seeks to expand its already significant contributions to addressing global challenges.

I believe the United States has a deep and abiding interest in cross-Strait peace and stability. The benefits that stable cross-Strait ties have brought to China and Taiwan, the United States, and the region have been important. China and Taiwan should understand the value of stable cross-Strait ties and work to establish a basis for continued peace and stability.

Labor

Question 32. When the State Department assesses the human rights records of countries each year, it uses seven key measurements, one of which is labor rights. Over the past 3 years, there have been over 5,000 labor strikes in China and China has correctly been criticized for deplorable working conditions.

One way we press other nations on human rights is to set an example. On labor rights, you have not set a good example. As Governor of Iowa, you recently signed legislation that essentially denies public workers in your state collective bargaining rights that they have enjoyed for 45 years.

- What are your views about the role of labor in achieving more democracy? Do you think that you can hold China accountable for its workers' rights record when your own record with respect to collective bargaining is poor? If and when you engage with Chinese officials around their lack of free and independent unions, low wages due to lack of collective bargaining, unsafe working conditions, and failure to meet international labor standards, how will you address their questions around your work to weaken unions in Iowa?

Answer. If confirmed, I will continue pushing China to adopt robust, common sense protections for its workers. I will engage with China on ending practices such as forced labor and labor trafficking, and on updating its laws to conform to international obligations and best practices in labor standards and workplace safety.

Question 33. Are you aware of any organization group or individual supporting the changes to the public sector labor law (Iowa Chapter 20), who has committed or implied financial or political support to Iowa legislators or the Governor? If so, which individual, group or organization pledged or implied such support? What was the nature of the pledged or implied support?

Answer. No.

Question 34. Why was a representative of Americans for Prosperity, a conservative political group that is funded by the billionaire Koch and DeVos families, the only member of the public who joined you for the signing of the bill that undermined public employee bargaining rights?

Answer. In February, I signed House File 291 into law during a bill signing ceremony with members of the Iowa Legislature, staff, and the public.

Trade

Question 35. I hear from U.S. companies across sectors about problems regarding doing business in China. And it's not just American companies that have reported access issues—it's companies around the world. A 2016 European Union Chamber of Commerce in China business confidence survey stated that the business environment in China was becoming "increasingly hostile" and "perpetually tilted in favor of domestic enterprises." These biased policies not only make it hard for our companies to compete within China. They also have the potential to put American workers and companies at a disadvantage to Chinese firms that receive unfair domestic support or subsidies. We need to level this playing field for our workers and our businesses.

- If confirmed, how would you work with your counterparts, including other ambassadors based in Beijing, to address these issues?

Answer. U.S. and other foreign companies continue to report an increasing number of challenges they encounter when doing business in China. If confirmed, I will support efforts by the administration to seek freer and fairer trade with our trading partners, particularly with those such as China with which we have trade deficits. If confirmed, I will also support the administration's desire to see China remove the discriminatory restrictions that it places on U.S. firms already operating in China or seeking access to the Chinese market.

If confirmed, I will work with my counterparts, including other ambassadors based in Beijing, to support efforts to ensure fairness and balance in the business environment in China.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO HON. TERRY BRANSTAD BY SENATOR ROBERT MENEDEZ

South and East China Seas

Question 1. It is a longstanding US policy to not recognize Chinese claims of sovereignty over the South or East China Sea and or any islands therein. Yet we see the country taking aggressive steps to expand its influence and control, even to the point of militarizing the islands and outrageously seizing a U.S. Navy vessel in international waters.

- Would you support a targeted sanctions regime against firms and individuals that facilitate certain investments in the South China Sea or East China Sea, including land reclamation, island-making, construction, supply facilities or civil infrastructure projects in any land that is currently disputed territory between any other nations?

Answer. The United States has a national interest in freedom of navigation and overflight, respect for international law, unimpeded lawful commerce, and the peaceful resolution of disputes in the South China Sea.

If confirmed, I will encourage the administration to look closely at all of the tools at its disposal to shape China's troubling behavior in the South China Sea.

Question 2. Likewise, would you work to build support to prohibit official recognition of the South China Sea or East China Sea as part of China, and to limit certain kinds of assistance to countries that recognize Chinese sovereignty over either Sea?

Answer. If confirmed, I would work to make clear to China that we believe that maritime claims should be made and pursued in accordance with the international law of the sea, as reflected in the Law of the Sea Convention. In accordance with international law, all maritime claims in the South China Sea must be derived from land features.

If confirmed, I would urge China to refrain from new construction on, and militarization of, disputed features, to avoid other actions that would complicate or escalate the disputes, and to commit to managing and resolving disputes peacefully and in accordance with international law.

Question 3. How will you convey these views to your interlocutors in the Chinese Government?

Answer. If confirmed, I will make use of the full array of communications channels available to the ambassador to ensure that the U.S. views reach different levels of the Chinese Government.

North Korea

Question 4. I recognize that some analysts are skeptical about the effect of sanctions on a corrupt country like North Korea. However, as the leading sponsor of legislation that was overwhelmingly passed to impose and tighten sanctions on North Korea, I believe they can have a meaningful impact if rigorously enforced.

- Do you believe China is in fact in compliance with UNSC resolutions?

Answer. The Chinese Government announced this past February that it will impose an absolute ban on North Korean coal imports through the end of the year. The real test, however, will be implementation. If confirmed, I will encourage China to fulfill its obligations under successive U.N. Security Council resolutions. I will reiterate to the Chinese leadership that their willingness to work with us to solve the Asia-Pacific's most acute threat to peace and security will be a benchmark of their commitment to pursue a constructive results-oriented relationship with the United States.

Question 5. What measures can we take to enlist greater PRC support of the existing sanctions regime?

Answer. We need to convince the Chinese that they are the ones that have the potential to really influence the regime, more than anyone else. The change that needs to take place does not need to be a threat to the system, but needs to stop nuclear proliferation. We need to convince the leadership in China that it is in their interest to work with us to stop this dangerous direction that is coming out of North Korea.

Question 6. Will you work to get Chinese support should the UNSC consider imposing additional sanctions on DPRK if needed?

Answer. On April 28, the Secretary asked all U.N. member nations, including China, to increase North Korea's financial isolation—including through new sanctions, severing trade relationships, suspending the flow of guest workers, and banning imports from North Korea, including coal. If confirmed, I will press China to respond positively to these requests.

If confirmed, I will work with my interagency team at the Embassy and in our Consulates, as well as colleagues back in Washington, to utilize all tools at our disposal to choke off revenues that fund the DPRK's proscribed nuclear and missile programs, including sanctioning Chinese entities if appropriate.

Question 7. In the past, then President-elect Trump suggested that the United States would no longer be bound by the One China policy—a policy that is in our national security interests. Moreover, Taiwan's successful democratic experiment is a significant accomplishment for American foreign policy; the country remains a strategic partner of the U.S.

- Are you committed to maintaining the One China policy?

Answer. If confirmed, I would continue to maintain support for our One China Policy, which is based on the three joint communiques and the Taiwan Relations Act. I remain committed to our desire to see this cross-Strait issue peacefully resolved.

Question 8. Where does Taiwan stand in your calculus?

Answer. I believe that our long-standing friendship with the people of Taiwan remains a key element of our Asia policy. Our enduring relationship under the Taiwan Relations Act represents a unique asset for the United States and is an important multiplier of our influence in the region. This friendship is grounded in history, shared values, and our common commitment to democracy, free markets, rule of law, and human rights. As one of Taiwan's strongest partners, I support working side-by-side to increase our mutual economic prosperity, tackle global challenges and ensure effective security to support continued stability and dynamism for Taiwan and the region.

I believe that the United States has a deep and abiding interest in cross-Strait peace and stability. It is important that China and Taiwan understand the importance of these benefits and work to establish a basis for continued peace and stability. The benefits that stable cross-Strait ties have brought to China and Taiwan, the United States, and the region have been enormous.

Question 9 Are you committed to an alliance and partnership we maintained with Taiwan since 1949?

Answer. If confirmed, I would continue to maintain support for our One China Policy, which is based on the three joint communiques and the Taiwan Relations Act. The Taiwan Relations Act spells out that it is the policy of the United States, among other things: to preserve and promote extensive, close, and friendly commer-

cial, cultural, and other relations between the people of the United States and the people of Taiwan, as well as the people on the China mainland and all other peoples of the Western Pacific area; and to declare that peace and stability in the area are in the political, security, and economic interests of the United States, and are matters of international concern.

Our long-standing friendship with the people of Taiwan remains a key element of our Asia policy. Our enduring relationship under the Taiwan Relations Act represents a unique asset for the United States and is an important multiplier of our influence in the region. This friendship is grounded in history, shared values, and our common commitment to democracy, free markets, rule of law, and human rights. As one of Taiwan's strongest partners, I support the United States working side-by-side to increase our mutual economic prosperity, tackle global challenges and ensure effective security to support continued stability and dynamism for Taiwan and the region.

Question 10. I was extremely disappointed by the decision of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) not to issue an invitation to Taiwan to attend the 2016 ICAO Assembly that was held in Montreal, Canada. A similar situation continues with regards to sensible Taiwanese participation in INTERPOL. The vagaries of cross-strait relations should not be allowed to prevent the prudent participation of Taiwan in international bodies, assemblies, and agencies, even if only as an observer.

- What will you do to actively discourage imprudent Chinese efforts to isolate Taiwan even when common sense, international security and safety imperatives argues for Taiwanese engagement?

Answer. If confirmed, I will support Taiwan's membership in international organizations that do not require statehood. In organizations that require statehood for membership, I will support Taiwan's meaningful participation. This includes ICAO, INTERPOL, WHO, and the more than 60 international organizations in which Taiwan participates.

I am committed to supporting Taiwan as it seeks to expand its already significant contributions to addressing global challenges.

I believe the United States has a deep and abiding interest in cross-Strait peace and stability. The benefits that stable cross-Strait ties have brought to China and Taiwan, the United States, and the region have been important. China and Taiwan should understand the value of stable cross-Strait ties and work to establish a basis for continued peace and stability.

Question 11. What can you do to put pressure on the Chinese to reconsider their opposition to Taiwanese participation in future such gatherings and to demonstrate leadership, fairness, and courage by allowing the needful participation of Taiwan in such conferences?

Answer. If confirmed, I will support Taiwan's membership in international organizations that do not require statehood. In organizations that require statehood for membership, I will support Taiwan's meaningful participation. We remain committed to supporting Taiwan as it seeks to expand its already significant contributions to addressing global challenges.

I believe the United States has a deep and abiding interest in cross-Strait peace and stability. The benefits that stable cross-Strait ties have brought to China and Taiwan, the United States, and the region have been important. China and Taiwan should understand the value of stable cross-Strait ties and work to establish a basis for continued peace and stability. If confirmed, I will encourage authorities in Beijing and Taipei to engage in constructive dialogue that seeks a peaceful resolution of differences acceptable to the people of China and Taiwan.

Question 12. I'm the co-chair of the Taiwan Caucus. In that capacity, I've years of experience following the cross-strait relations between the People's Republic of China and Taiwan; this past April marked the 38th anniversary of the enactment of Taiwan Relations Act (TRA), a pivotal event in our shared history and emblematic of our strong bilateral relations. Unfortunately, China is increasingly taking an aggressive approach with its neighbors, including Taiwan. Given these geopolitical developments, it would make sense to ensure that Taiwan can adequately defend itself and possess the means to resist new and increased military threats, from where ever source.

Would you be supportive of being an advocate within the Trump administration to return to a process of regular and normalized arms sales for Taiwan as opposed to the "package" approach that the past couple of administrations have taken?

Answer. I am fully committed to fulfilling our responsibilities under the Taiwan Relations Act (TRA). In accordance with the TRA, we will continue to make avail-

able to Taiwan such defense articles and services in such quantity as may be necessary for Taiwan to maintain a sufficient self-defense capability.

Question 13. During the U.S.-China Summit held on April 6–7, President Trump did not publicly raise the question of the lack of respect for human rights and the rule of law in China and in Tibet. Since 1997, all U.S. Presidents have publicly challenged the sitting Chinese President to negotiate with the Dalai Lama or his representative to find a lasting solution to the Tibetan issue.

- If appointed would you commit to publicly raising with Chinese leaders the grievances of the Tibetan people and the need for them to resume dialogue with the Dalai Lama?
- Do you plan to raise the issue of human rights in Tibet?

Answer. Yes. I remain deeply concerned about the lack of respect for human rights and rule of law in Tibet. If confirmed, I will urge Chinese authorities to engage in meaningful and direct dialogue with the Dalai Lama and his representatives to lower tensions and resolve differences. I will also call on China to provide meaningful autonomy for Tibetans and cease restrictions on Tibetan religious, linguistic, and cultural practices. I will engage the Chinese Government regarding interference in Tibetan religious matters, particularly the selection and education of the reincarnate lamas who lead the faith.

Question 14. How can China contribute more effectively to building international consensus that will hold Russian officials accountable for gross human rights abuses and for violating the territorial integrity of Ukraine?

Answer. If confirmed, I will urge China to condemn Russia's violations of Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial integrity, specifically, Russia's occupation and attempted annexation of Crimea and its aggression in eastern Ukraine.

Question 15. What steps will you take to encourage China's positive engagement on the Syrian conflict?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work with China to coordinate greater cooperation with the United States and the international community towards the defeat of ISIS. If confirmed, I will also continue to urge China to take meaningful steps at the U.N. Security Council and through its bilateral channels to Damascus to facilitate a political process to resolve Syria's future, which will ultimately lead to a resolution of Assad's departure. Last year, China pledged a commitment of \$300 million in new humanitarian assistance—including via the U.N., Red Cross, and other international organizations—to mitigate the humanitarian suffering emanating from Syria and other countries. If confirmed, I will continue to urge China to follow through on that commitment and to continue to increase its support through coordinated, transparent, and multilateral channels in the future.

Question 16. Many foreign countries do not see the U.S. as a leader on climate change and are concerned about the Trump administration's commitment to climate change mitigation. President Xi has appeared to be eager to step into this leadership vacuum. Do you believe the United States risks ceding to China this important mantle?

Answer. Responses to climate change will require action from everyone, including the United States and China.

Question 17. Would you advocate within the administration for renewed commitment to demonstrating American leadership in this area and the need confront the issue of climate change with determination and clearheaded global effort?

Answer. The U.S. international climate change policy is currently under review, including bilateral climate and energy cooperation with countries like China.

Question 18. In the previous administration the United States and China entered into a joint agreement that would see China halt increases in its greenhouse gas emissions by 2030, with a stated goal of peaking earlier than that. However, the Trump administration is taking a different approach. China appears to wish to take a global leadership role on climate change. Do you think that it is in the U.S. interest to see Canada and China uphold their sides of these agreements?

Answer. The U.S. international climate change policy is currently under review, including bilateral climate and energy cooperation with countries like China and Canada. Responses to climate change will require action from everyone, including the United States, Canada, and China.

Question 19. If meeting their obligations is contingent upon us meeting our own commitments, is it in our interest to uphold our side of the agreements?

Answer. The U.S. international climate change policy is currently under review, including bilateral climate and energy cooperation with other countries. Responses to climate change will require action from everyone, including the United States.

The use of the veto power by Russia at the United Nations Security Council has contributed to the UNSC's ineffectual responses to some serious humanitarian and security challenges, Syria and South Sudan come to mind.

Question 20. Do you see China taking a more helpful role in these matters?

Answer. As a permanent member of the Security Council, China has an important role to play in maintaining international peace and security. If confirmed, I will continue to urge China to take meaningful steps at the U.N. Security Council to facilitate a political process to resolve Syria's future which will ultimately lead to the resolution of Assad's departure.

With respect to South Sudan, China and the United States share an interest in political stability and prosperity in that country, and the two countries have engaged in regular diplomatic dialogue for several years. If confirmed, I will continue to engage China constructively on South Sudan to encourage all parties in South Sudan to cease hostilities and engage in a credible, inclusive political process.

Question 21. What will you do to encourage China to contribute more to the mitigation of serious global humanitarian challenges?

Answer. Last year, China pledged a commitment of \$300 million in new humanitarian assistance—including via the U.N., Red Cross, and other international organizations—to mitigate the humanitarian suffering emanating from global hot spots. This is a positive development. If confirmed, I will urge China to follow through on that commitment and to continue to increase its support through coordinated, transparent, and multilateral channels in the future.

Question 22. Counterfeit imports are increasingly threatening the viability of New Jersey and other businesses around the country. Globally, this is a half-trillion dollar problem, and the OECD notes that the United States is world's biggest victim of counterfeit and pirated goods—precisely because our country is the world leader in innovation and branding—the very sources of value that counterfeiters exploit. I sought to draw Customs and Border Protection's attention to this growing issue, recognizing that the agency needs to better screen small packages sent from international business to U.S. consumers, often illegally marked as "gifts" to evade customs duties and detection. As you might imagine, China is the overwhelming source of these counterfeit goods.

- Will you commit to raising this issue with the Chinese Government?

Answer. One of the top trade priorities for the Trump administration is to use all possible sources of leverage to encourage other countries to open their markets to U.S. exports of goods and services, and provide adequate and effective protection and enforcement of U.S. intellectual property (IP) rights. Toward this end, if I am confirmed a key objective for the administration's trade policy will be ensuring that U.S. owners of IP have a full and fair opportunity to use and profit from their IP around the globe.

The Special 301 report issued on April 28 reaffirmed China's place on the Priority Watch List due to widespread infringing activity, including trade secret theft, rampant online piracy, and high volume exports of counterfeit goods to markets around the globe.

If confirmed, I will work closely with the entire U.S. Government, including the U.S. Trade Representative, Departments of Commerce, Treasury, and Homeland Security as well as with international partners to use our available tools to curb illegal IPR-infringing actions in and coming from China protect American jobs, innovation, and U.S. economic prosperity.

Question 23. Weak intellectual property protections and a growing array of localization barriers abroad are threatening innovative exports and the many jobs they support here at home. China in particular is a serious offender, and it has never lived up to many of the intellectual property commitments it made to the United States and other WTO members 15 years ago. IP is a competitiveness and jobs issue for America, and it should be for China if it wants to be a world-class innovator.

- If confirmed, what will you do to ensure that American innovations and jobs receive a level playing field with the Chinese?

Answer. The United States has been a leader in promoting the rule of law, including in the area of intellectual property, which is vital to promoting competition and innovation and benefits all of us as consumers.

If confirmed, I will work closely with the U.S. Trade Representative, Departments of Commerce, Treasury, and Homeland Security as well as with international part-

ners to press China to stop using legal proceedings to disadvantage American companies or gain access to their intellectual property.

Question 24. How we can develop a more comprehensive and results oriented trade strategy, as opposed to lurching forward with a meeting by meeting strategy that only provides limited results?

Answer. As President Trump highlighted in his Trade Policy Agenda earlier this year, the overarching purpose of our trade policy will be to expand trade in a way that is freer and fairer for all Americans. At Mar-A-Lago, Presidents Trump and Xi agreed to create a Comprehensive Economic Dialogue that will provide high-level engagement on economic issue between our two countries.

If confirmed, I will work closely with the co-leads of this dialogue, Secretaries of Commerce and Treasury, as well as with the Secretary of State and USTR, and with other economic departments and agencies on the U.S.-China 100-day economic plan and beyond to correct the imbalances in our economic relationship.

Question 25. Should we be looking at additional areas where the USG can self-initiate investigations, particularly on IP, where China is already found to be a leading infringer?

Answer. The United States continues to engage China on a comprehensive set of IP infringement concerns catalogued in the Special 301 Report.

If confirmed, I will work closely with the U.S. Trade Representative, Departments of Commerce, Treasury, and Homeland Security as well as with international partners to use our available tools to curb illegal IPR-infringing actions in and coming from China actions in order to protect American jobs, innovation, and U.S. economic prosperity

Question 26. In 2016, China was placed on Tier 2 Watch List in the State Department's Trafficking in Persons (TIP) Report for the third consecutive year. The Trafficking Victims Protection Act requires a country that is ranked Tier 2 Watch List for two consecutive years to be downgraded to Tier 3 in the third year, unless the President waives the downgrade based on credible evidence the country has a plan that, if implemented, would constitute making significant efforts to bring itself into compliance with the minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking

- This year's TIP Report is due in June. What factors will you be looking at when making your recommendation on a ranking to the Secretary?
- How do you think the Report should be used with respect to China in order to encourage them to take human trafficking more seriously, and clamp down on exports made with forced labor, some of which come to the U.S. market?

Answer. The State Department is currently assessing China's efforts over the previous reporting period (April 2016—March 2017) to combat trafficking in persons for the 2017 TIP Report. China received a waiver in 2016 from an otherwise required downgrade to Tier 3 because China devoted sufficient resources to a written plan that, if implemented, would constitute significant efforts to meet the minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking. The United States continues to work with China to encourage improvements in their efforts to combat trafficking in persons. If confirmed, I will continue these efforts.

The 2016 TIP report identified several priority areas that China should focus on to be upgraded. The first is increasing efforts to address forced labor, both by ending the use of forced labor in government facilities, such as drug rehabilitation facilities or detention centers. Second, China needs vigorously to investigate and prosecute human traffickers, including officials complicit in trafficking crimes. Third, China should update its legal definition of trafficking so that it is consistent with international law. Fourth, China needs to institute formal procedures systematically to identify and to expand victim protection services. Again, if confirmed, I will encourage China to make progress on all four areas.

Question 27. Some press reports state that China has lent Venezuela over \$60 billion over the past several years, most of it in exchange for future oil production. If Venezuela defaults on its international debts and a new regime takes power and seeks assistance from institutions that serve to help countries rebuild their economies—such as the IMF, World Bank, or Inter-American Development Bank—China, as a major creditor, would have to be part of any solution that would put Venezuela back on a path to economic growth. As you know, the Venezuelan economy is already collapsing, and further deterioration risks sparking even greater flows of refugees toward the United States and could also present a humanitarian crisis.

- What role do you think you will play in serving as an interlocutor with the Chinese to address the looming crisis in Venezuela, a crisis which could have profound security and economic implications for the United States and the entire Western Hemisphere?

Answer. China has significant economic ties with Venezuela, and has lent Venezuela tens of billions of dollars under an oil-for-loans arrangement since 2007. Both countries are important to one other, for oil, financial, and commercial reasons. The United States and China should share an interest in a stable and prosperous Venezuela. If confirmed, I will urge Beijing to apply its substantial economic leverage to work with all parties to achieve the political and economic reforms necessary to bring about a more stable outcome in accordance with the Venezuelan constitution.

Question 28. President Trump promised to fight for American workers in the face of China's unfair trade advantages, including its deplorable record on labor standards. The ambassador to China should be someone who will advocate for the American worker and endeavor to lift labor standards worldwide. As Governor you recently signed two bills, one that sharply curtailed collective bargaining rights and another that reversed the ability of counties to implement minimum wage and paid family leave requirements. Some groups have therefore argued that you cannot be an effective advocate for worker rights in China when you have supported legislation to strip worker rights at home.

- How do you plan to present yourself as a credible advocate for worker rights given your record of supporting efforts to curtail workers' rights to collectively bargain?

Answer. Protections for workers are an integral part of a society based on the rule of law. The United States has repeatedly engaged with China on ending practices such as forced labor and labor trafficking, and on updating Chinese laws to conform to international obligations and best practices in labor standards and workplace safety. If confirmed, I will continue pushing China to adopt robust, common sense protections for its workers.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO HON. TERRY BRANSTAD BY SENATOR CHRISTOPHER A. COONS

Question 1. As you know, your fellow Iowan—Tom Vilsack—established the Strategic Agricultural Innovation Dialogue (SAID) as a bilateral forum to resolve China's trade barriers to U.S. biotech traits. He worked hard to secure China's approval of U.S. biotech applications, and he thought he had secured a commitment from China to reform its regulatory system. Unfortunately, China didn't follow through. Last November, I signed a Senate letter—along with 36 of my colleagues, including Senators Portman, Gardner, and Isakson—to President Obama asking him to prioritize biotech approvals in the December meeting of the Joint Commission on Commerce and Trade (JCCT). Once again, these efforts proved fruitless.

- Will you make approval of these overdue applications a priority in the new 100-day plan the administration is negotiating with China?

Answer. I have a keen understanding of the important role biotech plays to our farmers.

If confirmed, I will work closely with Secretary Perdue as well as other U.S. agencies to press China to expeditiously approve long-standing permits for U.S. biotechnology products. I will also continue to push China for shorter and more efficient timelines for scientific review and approval of biotech products. Biotech approvals are a priority for me, and one I will press hard to resolve, including through mechanisms like the 100-day plan.

Question 2. What will you do to make sure China finally follows through on its commitments? In particular, China has sat on a few U.S. biotech applications, and approval of those applications is long overdue.

Answer. If confirmed, I will work closely with Secretary Perdue as well as other U.S. agencies to press China to expeditiously approve these long-standing permits for U.S. biotechnology products. I will push China for shorter and more efficient timelines for scientific review and approval of biotech products. Through the Comprehensive Economic Dialogue, multilateral engagement, and my own meetings, I will make it my priority to engage intensively with China at the highest levels on this and other pressing economic issues.

Question 3. The former Secretary of Agriculture Tom Vilsack worked tirelessly to press China on commitments it made two years ago on approving new biotechnology traits for import. He expressed disappointment at the lack of progress last November, after the US-China Joint Commission on Commerce and Trade (JCCT) meeting, when there was still no real commitment to approving any of the nine traits then

awaiting approval or to improving their general biotechnology import approval process.

- Will you and your colleagues in the new administration pick up where Secretary Vilsack and President Obama left off on this important trade issue?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work closely with Secretary Perdue as well as other U.S. agencies to press China to expeditiously approve these long-standing permits for U.S. biotechnology products. If confirmed, I will push China for shorter and more efficient timelines for scientific review and approval of biotech products. Through the Comprehensive Economic Dialogue, multilateral engagement, and my own meetings, I will make it my priority to engage intensively with China at the highest levels to approve all the pending applications and adopt a transparent and predictable approval process for biotechnology imports.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO HON TERRY BRANSTAD BY SENATOR CORY A. BOOKER

China in Africa

Question 1. As you know, China has become a major economic player in Africa over the past two decades. Sino-African trade has grown exponentially, and China has become a key provider of contracted services in Africa, notably in the construction and infrastructure sectors. Chinese firms are also directly investing in African firms, property, and other assets, and view Africa as an emergent consumer market with high growth potential.

Meanwhile, the U.S. has conditioned aid on governance or economic reform and human rights performance. How would you compare the approaches of the United States and China to addressing these issues areas and challenges in Africa?

- To what degree do you view China and the United States as rivals in Africa, or as playing complementary, and potentially collaborative roles in Africa?

Answer. China is increasing its engagement in Africa reflecting its growing economic interests. U.S. companies and U.S. corporate culture have a good story to tell in Africa, and when given the choice, African countries prefer American companies because of the values we bring. A number of U.S. initiatives in Africa, such as the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR), Power Africa, and peacekeeping training programs provide critical assistance to the region while enhancing U.S. soft power.

That said, engagement in the region is not a zero-sum game and there is a place for multiple players as long as they are promoting sustainable economic development and political stability. U.S. cooperation with China helps protect the interests of our African partners. The United States and China, for example, supported African Union efforts to establish the Africa Center for Disease Control to strengthen health systems across the continent and address health crises like the 2014 West Africa Ebola crisis.

Question 2. What, if any, scope is there for U.S.-Chinese-African trilateral cooperation with respect to security challenges, socio-economic development, and business and trade in Africa? Should the United States view—and potentially respond to—China's extensive trade and comparatively more limited assistance efforts in Africa, as well as its political outreach efforts in the region?

Answer. There are abundant economic and infrastructure needs in Africa, and China can play a constructive role. If confirmed, I will work to encourage China to engage on the basis of internationally accepted standards and time-tested safeguards for infrastructure investment. The United States and China have enjoyed limited cooperation in areas including promoting peace and security, enhancing African peacekeeping, strengthening health systems, encouraging improved regulatory and investment climates, and combatting wildlife trafficking. If confirmed, I will continue to advocate for U.S.-China cooperation in Africa.

President's Personal Business Interests in China

Question 3. As you know, shortly after President Trump won election China granted the Trump Organization a number of valuable trademarks that they had been seeking for years. More recently, China granted three trademarks to Ivanka Trump, on the very day that President Xi met with the President.

- What is your understanding of the role of the political leadership of China in influencing bureaucratic decision-making?

Answer. As a private U.S. citizen, I am unable to judge accurately the portion of Chinese decisions that are subject to political considerations rather than merit.

Question 4. Given that Chinese courts and bureaucracy serve the will of the ruling Communist Party, can it credibly be argued that the timing of these trademark grants was mere coincidence?

Answer. As a private U.S. citizen, I have no direct knowledge of the decision-making process the Chinese Government followed in this instance. I cannot accurately speculate on the motivations of the Chinese Government in this instance.

Question 5. As ambassador, how will you assure that American trademark filers are treated fairly and with integrity, and their applications judged by Chinese officials properly and on the merits?

Answer. If confirmed as ambassador, I will seek a fair and equitable treatment of Americans seeking intellectual-property protections from the Chinese Government and for the general protection and respect of U.S. intellectual property. I will seek for relevant applications by U.S. citizens and organizations be judged on their legal merits.

Question 6. President Trump has signed an executive order to dismantle President Obama's climate change regulations, potentially undermining the ability of the U.S. to meet its commitments under the Paris climate change agreement.

Meanwhile, the Chinese Foreign Ministry recently renewed China's commitment to the Paris deal, saying it was a landmark agreement that became reality through the hard work of the international community and that no matter how other countries' climate policies change, China's resolve to deal with climate change will not change.

I believe that we risk losing our leadership position in the international community if the Trump administration continues moving in the wrong direction on climate policy and defaulting on our promises under the Paris Agreement.

- Will you use your position as ambassador to advocate for working with China to aggressively reduce carbon emissions?

Answer. If confirmed, I will act to protect and advance U.S. national interests in all matters, including climate change, in China.

Question 7. As ambassador to China, will you commit to pushing Chinese leadership to address these serious issues with their international fishing fleet, including by cracking down on illegal, unreported and unregulated fishing by Chinese vessels and by lowering government subsidies to the fishing industry that are driving unsustainable fishing practices?

Answer. I recognize that combatting illegal, unreported, and unregulated (IUU) fishing is an enormous challenge, and one the United States remains committed to addressing. Should I be confirmed, I will work to strengthen cooperation on measures to combat IUU fishing under bilateral frameworks and in regional fisheries management organizations and relevant international organizations.

The United States and China hold regular bilateral consultations on fisheries management issues, and plan to do so again this year. The United States and China also have a longstanding shiprider agreement under the auspices of the U.S. Coast Guard for IUU patrols in the North Pacific Ocean. These are two examples of effective cooperation between our two countries, and should I be confirmed as ambassador, I would work to assist and accelerate Chinese efforts to combat IUU fishing both domestically and abroad.

The United States and China are working with several other fishing nations to complete negotiation of a legally binding measure to prevent unregulated commercial fishing in the high seas portion of the central Arctic Ocean, and I will continue to push for this important agreement.

