

NOMINATIONS

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 2020

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

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 9:50 a.m. in Room SD-106, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. James E. Risch, chairman of the committee, presiding.

Present: Senators Risch [presiding], Rubio, Gardner, Romney, Barrasso, Portman, Cruz, Menendez, Cardin, Shaheen, Murphy, Kaine, and Booker.

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

The CHAIRMAN. As such with that, we will proceed to the hearing from nominees for three different positions. We have Mr. Ashok Pinto to be United States Alternate Executive Director of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development; the Honorable William Todd, a career member of the Senior Executive Service, to be Ambassador to the Islamic Republic of Pakistan; Mr. Ueland to be Under Secretary of State for Civilian Security, Democracy, and Human Rights.

Senator Thune will be here momentarily and is going to make an introduction, but in any event, I think we will proceed and as soon as Senator Thune gets here, we will give him the courtesy of having the floor.

[Chairman Risch's prepared statement follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. JAMES E. RISCH

I welcome each of you to the committee. I thank each of you for your commitment to public service and for your willingness to appear in person in light of current circumstances.

First, we have Mr. Ashok Pinto, to be United States Alternate Executive Director of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD). Mr. Pinto is currently the Senior Advisor to the U.S. Executive Director of the IBRD. He previously served as Counselor to the Under Secretary for International Affairs at the Treasury Department. He has also been a staffer for multiple committees in Congress.

Next we have Ambassador Bill Todd. Ambassador Todd currently serves as Deputy Under Secretary of State for Management. He has previously served as the U.S. Ambassador to Brunei and Cambodia.

Finally, we have Mr. Eric Ueland be Under Secretary of State for Civilian Security, Democracy, and Human Rights (known at the Department as "J"). I'm glad to see this important position being filled, it covers a range of issues from civilian security, to refugees, to trafficking.

Mr. Ueland currently serves in the Bureau of International Organization Affairs at the State Department and recently served as Assistant to the President and Di-

rector of White House Legislative Affairs. He has also worked as director of the Office of U.S. Foreign Assistance Resources at the State Department and as a senior advisor to the Millennium Challenge Corporation. Prior to joining the Executive Branch, he served as staff director of the Senate Budget committee and as chief of staff to former Senate Majority Leader Bill Frist.

With that, I recognize Senator Menendez.

Senator Menendez, any comments?

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

Senator MENENDEZ. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Let me address the three nominees.

Ambassador Todd, I am eager to hear your vision for our relationship with Pakistan as the region goes through a potentially historic transformation with the peace process in Afghanistan. While we hope for forward progress with Pakistan, we must be clear-eyed by the significant challenges in the relationship, including the stubborn presence of terrorist groups in the country, tensions with India, treatment of religious minorities, and concern about Pakistan's growing nuclear stockpile.

I remain deeply concerned about the prevalence of terrorist groups in the country and their impact on the region. Progress has been made but Pakistan must take further action to address this insidious threat especially Lashkar-e-Taiba. For too long, this group has been able to operate in different forms over the years. If Pakistan wants us to take its counterterrorism commitments seriously, it must completely eradicate this group.

In addition, I have grown increasingly concerned about the plight of religious minorities in the country and called upon the Pakistani authorities to respect religious rights of all in the country.

Finally, I do feel compelled to note that your nomination has received some unusual attention for a career nominee. We have received some strong recommendations of support, and at the same time, others have voiced significant opposition based on your performance as a senior management official at State. And while we are not in a position to get to the bottom of all this at this time, I believe it is important for members of the committee to be aware.

Mr. Ueland, my impression is that you are an intelligent person, but that alone is not a qualification to be the Under Secretary for Civilian Security, Democracy, and Human Rights. I am sorry to say that Mr. Ueland's nomination appears to be another case of the Trump administration playing musical chairs with senior positions at the State Department. The President originally nominated Mr. Ueland to be Under Secretary for Management, but that nomination did not move forward because of concerns from then Chairman Corker. In August of 2018, the President nominated Marshall Billingslea to be Under Secretary for Civilian Security, Democracy, and Human Rights, but that nomination failed due to Mr. Billingslea's support for torture. Now Mr. Billingslea is nominated for another Under Secretary position, and you, Mr. Ueland, have taken his place.

There is an element of farce to this, but I for one am not amused. These are serious jobs that require subject-matter expertise and experience. I recognize that you are well versed on budget matters, including a short stint at the State Department, but this is not a

budget job. This is about enhancing our own security by helping others build more just, more humane, and more democratic societies.

These very principles are under assault by autocratic leaders around the world, many of them coddled by President Trump. And as so many in this country and across the globe have witnessed with horror, the President is doing his best to trash them here at home too. We have learned that the President expressed approval of concentration camps in Xinjiang. His administration has intentionally separated migrant children from their parents, denied individuals their right to seek asylum, downplayed human rights abuses in countries like North Korea to the Persian Gulf, coddled a dictator who ordered the brutal murder of journalist and U.S. resident Jamal Khashoggi, actively rolled back reproductive health care at home and abroad, verbally attacked the principle of freedom of the press, assaulted peaceful protesters exercising their First Amendment rights, and undermined the rule of law in countless ways. Sadly, the list goes on and on.

So do you agree with these actions, Mr. Ueland? Is this your vision of America? If you are confirmed, you will be defending these atrocities and advancing others, all indelible stains on our national character.

Finally, I look forward to hearing from Mr. Pinto about he plans to use his position to advocate for the United States and ensure the continuation of the critical work that the World Bank does across the world, especially at a time when COVID-19 has ravaged the globe.

With that, Mr. Chairman, thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Senator Thune, welcome to the United States Senate Foreign Relations distinguished and amiable committee as you can see. We are welcomed to have you. I understand you would like to make an introduction.

**STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN THUNE,
U.S. SENATOR FROM SOUTH DAKOTA**

Senator THUNE. Yes, sir. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I can see you but you are a long ways away.

I want to say, Chairman Risch and Ranking Member Menendez, thank you for the opportunity to introduce Ashok Pinto to the committee as you consider his nomination to serve as the Alternative Executive Director of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. I strongly recommend him to the committee and hope that you will move quickly to confirm his nomination.

Ashok currently serves as senior advisor to the U.S. Executive Director, D.J. Norquist at the World Bank. Before that, Ashok served as counselor to the Under Secretary for International Affairs and counselor to the General Counsel of the Treasury Department.

During my tenure as chairman of the Commerce Committee, Ashok served on my Commerce Committee staff from 2015 to 2018. He led the Commerce Committee's consumer protection and investigation staff during that time. In this role, he helped lead numerous important legislative and investigative initiatives on a wide-

ranging set of issues under the jurisdiction of the committee, from aviation to cybersecurity to data protection matters.

The Commerce Committee is perhaps one of the more bipartisan committees in the Senate even with regard to the investigations conducted by the committee, and I am sure that you will find that many of the Democratic staff on the Commerce Committee enjoyed working with Ashok. Ashok is exceptionally bright and he is a friendly and kind-hearted individual of character who is very well suited for this position.

I wish Ashok and his family well as they embark on this new chapter in his career. Ashok and his wife Preeya have four children and a loving extended family who I am sure are all very proud of him today.

The Senate nominations process is not for the faint of heart, especially these days, and I applaud Ashok for the commitment to—his commitment, I should say, to serve the public. And I again urge this committee to support his nomination. This is a nomination that deserves strong bipartisan support.

I would also, as long as I am here, Mr. Chairman, like to add a word of congratulations to Eric Ueland who is also appearing before you today to testify regarding his nomination to be Under Secretary of State. Many of us have benefited from Eric's wise counsel during his years of service to the Senate and the executive branch.

Mr. Chairman, thank you again. Thanks to Ranking Member Menendez for the opportunity to introduce Ashok to the Foreign Relations Committee. I look forward to working with you to advance this nomination.

Mr. Chairman, thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator Thune. We appreciate you coming up and recommending Mr. Pinto, particularly your description of his kindness. This committee loves kindness.

Mr. Pinto, the floor is yours

STATEMENT OF ASHOK MICHAEL PINTO, OF ILLINOIS, TO BE UNITED STATES ALTERNATE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE INTERNATIONAL BANK FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT FOR A TERM OF TWO YEARS

Mr. PINTO. Chairman Risch, Ranking Member Menendez, and members of the committee, thank you for the opportunity to appear before you today. And thank you, Senator Thune, for that kind introduction and for all you do for the people of South Dakota and our nation. I am extremely grateful to have served on the Commerce Committee under your exemplary leadership.

And I also want to, as a former Senate staffer, recognize and sincerely appreciate the hard work of your staffs in making this hearing possible.

It is the honor of a lifetime to be President Trump's nominee to be Alternate U.S. Executive Director to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, a key component of the World Bank. I am grateful to Secretary Mnuchin, Deputy Secretary Muzinich, and Under Secretary McIntosh for their confidence in recommending me for this position. Also, the encouragement and assistance from my colleagues at the U.S. Treasury Department and the World Bank have been inspiring.

I would not be here today without the love and support of my family: my beloved wife Preeya and our four wonderful children, Seraphina, Lucy, John, and Joseph.

My parents also deserve special thanks for their unwavering support. They came to the United States as graduate students. Now they have been in this country much longer than their formative years in India. My parents instilled in me a spirit of service and an appreciation of other cultures. Because of their countless sacrifices and constant encouragement, my brother Jay, a physician; my sister Susanna, a journalist; and I have had every opportunity to excel in our chosen professions. Only in America.

I have been fortunate to have served in all three branches of government, including both houses of Congress. It is an amazing opportunity to continue my service at the World Bank. There is truly no nobler a goal than to end extreme poverty and foster income growth for the poorest people of every country. Indeed, helping the less fortunate is the objective that unites us in public service. A formative service project in Mexico during high school, as well as trips to India to visit extended family over the years, have made me appreciate the myriad of opportunities I have had and imbued me with a desire to help others.

The world now faces a challenge of an unprecedented scale affecting billions of lives and causing major setbacks in economic development. Millions are at risk of falling into extreme poverty, reversing the steady downward trajectory of the last 3 decades. The World Bank is playing a pivotal role in addressing the COVID-19 global pandemic, particularly by helping the poorest people around the world who are most vulnerable to the virus. We must persist because failure simply is not an option.

With already surging public debt levels, debt service suspension can provide swift and significant relief, allowing governments to channel these resources to support their citizens. The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund have supported a coordinated effort, to which the G20 and the Paris Club have agreed, by bilateral official creditors to suspend debt service payments for the poorest countries that request this assistance. The G7 is committed to implementing this initiative, which includes lending safeguards and debt transparency with significant emerging sovereign creditor and private sector creditor participation as key objectives.

In addition, the World Bank Group under the leadership of President Malpass has committed to deploy up to \$160 billion through the end of its current fiscal year.

At the World Bank, the voice and voting power of the United States stand for independent accountability, budget discipline, and focus on the bank's core mission. While we must react quickly to help those in need, we must not let speed come at the expense of accountability, which includes quality and environmental and social safeguards. U.S. leadership is more important than ever to promote peace, stability, and economic growth.

If I have the privilege to serve as Alternate Executive Director, I will commit myself to focusing on the most vulnerable countries, maintaining comprehensive oversight, and ensuring the integrity and accuracy of World Bank data.

The United States was a leader in the foundation of the World Bank in Bretton Woods 76 years ago. And now, again faced with global adversity, the United States must show unwavering leadership in providing assistance where it is most needed, restoring momentum towards achieving our development goals, and ensuring the long-term sustainability of the World Bank and American leadership therein.

Members of this committee provide valuable input regarding U.S. objectives at the World Bank. If confirmed, I look forward to working closely with you and your staffs.

Again, thank you, and I will gladly answer any questions you may have.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Pinto follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF ASHOK MICHAEL PINTO

Chairman Risch, Ranking Member Menendez, and members of the committee: Thank you for the opportunity to appear before you today. I am extremely grateful to you for your many courtesies. And, as a former Senate staffer, I recognize and sincerely appreciate the hard work of your staffs in making this hearing possible.

It is the honor of a lifetime to be President Trump's nominee to be Alternate U.S. Executive Director to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, a key component of the World Bank Group. I am grateful to Secretary Mnuchin, Deputy Secretary Muzinich, and Under Secretary McIntosh for their confidence in recommending me for this position. Also, the encouragement and assistance from my colleagues at the U.S. Treasury Department and the World Bank have been inspiring.

I would not be here today without the love and support of my family: my wife Preeya, and our four children—Seraphina, Lucy, John, and Joseph. My parents also deserve special thanks for their unwavering support. They came to the United States as graduate students. Now, they have been in this country much longer than their formative years in India, and they celebrated fifty years of marriage in 2019. My parents instilled in me a spirit of service and an appreciation of other cultures. Because of their countless sacrifices and constant encouragement, my brother Jay, a physician, my sister Susanna, a journalist, and I have had every opportunity to excel in our chosen professions. Only in America.

I have been fortunate to have served in all three branches of government, including both houses of Congress. It is an amazing opportunity to continue my service at the World Bank. There is truly no nobler a goal than to end extreme poverty and foster income growth for the poorest people of every country. Indeed, helping the less fortunate is the objective that unites us in public service. A formative service project in Mexico during high school as well as trips to India to visit extended family over the years have made me appreciate the myriad opportunities I have had and imbued me with a desire to help others.

The world now faces a challenge of an unprecedented scale, affecting billions of lives and causing major setbacks in economic development. Reviving the global economy while protecting individual health and safety is a daunting task with no easy answers. Millions are at risk of falling into extreme poverty, reversing the steady downward trajectory of the last three decades and jeopardizing the World Bank's twin aims of ending poverty and building shared prosperity. The World Bank is playing a pivotal role in addressing the COVID-19 global pandemic, particularly by helping the poorest people around the world who are most vulnerable to the virus. The Bank is now supporting COVID-related projects in more than 100 countries, and the work to provide health support, social protection, poverty alleviation, and policy-based financing is ongoing. We must persist because failure simply is not an option.

The COVID-19 pandemic has hit the world's poorest countries the hardest. With already surging public debt levels, debt service suspension can provide swift and significant relief, allowing governments to channel these resources to support their citizens. The World Bank Group and the International Monetary Fund have supported a coordinated effort, to which the G20 and the Paris Club have agreed, by bilateral official creditors to suspend debt service payments for the poorest countries that request this assistance. The G7 is committed to implementing this initiative, which includes lending safeguards and debt transparency with significant emerging sov-

foreign creditor and private sector creditor participation as key objectives. We seek to promote growth through our assistance.

In addition, the World Bank Group under the leadership of President Malpass has committed to deploy up to \$160 billion through the end of its current fiscal year. Of this amount, \$50 billion will be in either grants or highly concessional terms from the International Development Association, which supports the world's poorest countries. Given the large amounts of these funds aimed at economic recovery, the United States will continue to exercise its oversight responsibilities to assure that support provided is free from waste, fraud, abuse, and mismanagement and benefits the intended recipients.

In representing the views of the United States at the institution, the primary goal of the Office of the U.S. Executive Director is to ensure that World Bank programs and initiatives are consistent with advancing U.S. development, foreign policy, national security, and commercial priorities, as well as rigorous standards and safeguards. At the World Bank, the voice and voting power of the United States stand for independent accountability, budget discipline, and focus on the Bank's core mission. While we must react quickly to help those in need, we must not let speed come at the expense of accountability, which includes quality and environmental and social safeguards. U.S. leadership is more important than ever to promote peace, stability, and economic growth.

If I have the privilege to serve as Alternate U.S. Executive Director, I will commit myself to focusing on the most vulnerable countries, maintaining comprehensive oversight, and assuring the integrity and accuracy of World Bank data. I will also make every effort to combat global corruption and fight human trafficking—to which this committee remains steadfastly dedicated.

The United States was a leader in the foundation of the World Bank in Bretton Woods 76 years ago. And now, again faced with global adversity, the United States must show unwavering leadership in providing assistance where it is most needed, restoring momentum towards achieving our development goals, and ensuring the long-term sustainability of the World Bank and American leadership therein.

Members of this committee and other interested members of both the Senate and the House provide valuable input regarding U.S. objectives at the World Bank. If confirmed, I look forward to working closely with you and your staffs on the Bank's COVID-19 response and broader goals. Again, thank you, and I will gladly answer any questions you may have.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Pinto.
Mr. Todd, the floor is yours.

STATEMENT OF HON. WILLIAM E. TODD, OF VIRGINIA, A CAREER MEMBER OF THE SENIOR EXECUTIVE SERVICE, TO BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF PAKISTAN

Mr. TODD. Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member Menendez, honorable members of the committee, I am humbled to appear before you today as the nominee to serve as the next U.S. Ambassador to Pakistan. I am grateful to President Trump and Secretary Pompeo for the trust and confidence they have placed in me through this nomination.

While they cannot be here in person today, I would like to recognize my wonderful family. Words are insufficient to express my love, my admiration, and my appreciation for my wife Ann and my parents, Jack and Marie Todd. I am very grateful for my four children: William, Chris, John, and Caitlyn. As a family, we have shared the excitement, the joys and sometimes the hardships associated with my career, and through it all, we have been richly blessed.

I come before you today as a career member of the Senior Executive Service. During 37 years with the U.S. Government, I have served in some of the most interesting and rewarding positions across six presidential administrations, including having been con-

firmed as a U.S. Ambassador to Cambodia and to Brunei, once in an ambassadorial rank position in Afghanistan as the Coordinating Director of Development and Economic Affairs, and once as Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary for South and Central Asian Affairs, and my current position, Deputy Under Secretary for Management.

Across my career, my highest priority has always been the safety and security of our team. At no other time in recent history has that been so challenged. Since January, I have had the distinct honor to lead much of the Department's mitigation and response to the COVID-19 pandemic, which has included the repatriation of over 100,000 Americans from over 135 countries, including 4,000 Foreign Service officers and 6,000 members of their family.

COVID-19 has also had a profound impact on Pakistan. It has greatly affected Pakistan's health and its economy. If confirmed, I will continue to make the U.S.-Pakistan COVID-19 partnership a priority.

Beyond COVID-19, this is an important and opportune time in the broader complicated U.S.-Pakistan relationship. Over the years, we certainly have had our differences, and many of those differences remain today. Nonetheless, we are also working together on many shared goals. Today our countries recognize that we share a common interest in a durable peace in Afghanistan. Pakistan has played an important role in helping to facilitate the ongoing Afghan peace negotiations in Doha. Looking forward, Pakistan has a more important role to play, supporting efforts that will lead to a political settlement that ends 40 years of war. This is a moment of opportunity for Pakistan to forge a new and better role in the region and, if confirmed, will be one of my highest priorities.

In terms of regional dynamics, although we have a strong relationship with India, it should not come at the expense of Pakistan. I believe that under the right conditions, we can have a strong relationship with both countries. Our hope is that both countries will take the necessary steps to reduce tensions, and as the President has offered, we will facilitate dialogue if both sides agree.

However, to truly reduce tensions, Pakistan must take sustained and irreversible action against terrorism. Pakistan has suffered terribly at the hands of terrorists and has committed publicly to ensure they cannot use their territory to operate. Pakistan has also taken important steps toward fulfilling this commitment, and if confirmed, I will work with the Government of Pakistan to continue further progress on these priorities.

Lastly, there are three other key priorities that I will focus on, if confirmed. First is human rights. Second, trade and investment. And third is youth engagement. These priorities will be challenging to fulfill, but will lead to a better future for Pakistan and a stronger U.S.-Pakistan relationship.

In closing, Mr. Chairman, I would like to reiterate that my highest priority has been and will always be the safety and security of all U.S. citizens. Recently, a U.S. citizen by the name of Tahir Naseem was murdered in a courtroom in Pakistan where he was about to be tried for blasphemy. Frankly, I was shocked, I was saddened, and I was outraged by this event. And if confirmed, I will

engage Pakistani authorities to hold the perpetrators fully accountable.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I look forward to working with you, this committee, and the entire Congress. I would be happy to answer any questions. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Ambassador Todd follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. WILLIAM E. TODD

Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member Menendez, and honorable members of this committee, I am humbled to appear before you today as the nominee to serve as the next U.S. Ambassador to the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. I am grateful to President Trump and Secretary Pompeo for the trust and confidence they have shown in me through this nomination.

While they cannot be here in-person, I would like to recognize my wonderful family, who are watching this hearing virtually. Words are insufficient to express my love, admiration, and appreciation for my wife Ann and my parents Jack and Marie Todd. I am also grateful for my four children, William, Chris, John, and Caitlyn. As a family, we have shared the excitement, joys, and sometimes the hardships associated with this career and lifestyle, and through it all, we have been richly blessed.

I come before you today as a career member of the Senior Executive Service. During my 37 years with the U.S. Government and across six Presidential administrations, I have served in some of the most rewarding positions in government, including having been confirmed twice previously as U.S. Ambassador (Cambodia and Brunei). I served in an Ambassadorial rank position in Afghanistan as the Coordinating Director of Development and Economic Affairs, as Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary for South and Central Asian Affairs, and most recently as Deputy Under Secretary for Management.

Across all of these assignments, my highest priority has always been the safety and security of our team domestically and abroad. At no other time in our nation's recent history has the safety and security of our personnel and American citizens faced such an unprecedented challenge as we have with the COVID-19 pandemic. Since early January of this year, I had the distinct honor to spend most of my time leading and operationalizing much of the Department of State's preparedness, mitigation, and response efforts for the COVID-19 crisis.

It has been an honor and a privilege to be part of the team that facilitated the repatriation of 100,000 American citizens who were overseas when the COVID-19 pandemic occurred. We repatriated American citizens from 135 countries, on over 950 flights. To protect our Foreign Service team serving abroad, we approved the State Department's first ever Global Authorized Departure, bringing home over 4,000 U.S. Embassy American staff and over 6,000 family members from conditions that could have threatened their well-being. We put in place global medevac capabilities and assets to reach any location in the world within 24 hours.

This global COVID-19 pandemic had a profound impact in Pakistan, as it has around the world. The U.S.-Pakistan health partnership helped contribute to better-than-expected COVID-19 outcomes in Pakistan, from training health workers to upgrading emergency operations centers and delivering ventilators, a personal promise by President Trump. Nonetheless, the health impacts are real and the economic fallout for Pakistan is likely to be serious. Beyond the immediate COVID-19 crisis, this is an important time in the broader U.S.-Pakistan relationship. As you know very well, this is a longstanding and important, but always complicated and sometimes contentious relationship. We certainly have our differences, but Pakistan is an essential regional partner, and this is an opportune moment in our relationship to work together on shared goals. Peace in Afghanistan is in both our countries' best interests, and effective U.S.-Pakistani cooperation is essential to achieve that objective.

As Secretary Pompeo said when he visited Islamabad in 2018, we have an "opportunity to reset the relationship between our two countries across a broad spectrum—economic, business, commercial—the work that we all know that we need to do to try to develop a peaceful resolution in Afghanistan that benefits certainly Afghanistan, but also the United States and Pakistan." Today, our countries recognize that we share a common interest in a durable peace in Afghanistan. Pakistan played a critical role in creating the conditions that brought Afghan leaders and the Taliban to the historic start of Afghan Peace Negotiations. They have an even more important role to play in supporting efforts toward a negotiated political settlement

that ends 40 years of war. This is a moment of opportunity for Pakistan to continue to forge a new and better role in the region and if confirmed will be one of my highest priorities.

In terms of regional dynamics, although we have a strong relationship with India, that does not need to come at the expense of Pakistan. I believe that under the right conditions, we can have a strong relationship with both countries. Our hope is that both countries will take the necessary steps to reduce tensions, and as President Trump has offered, we are prepared to facilitate dialogue if both sides request it.

To truly reduce regional tensions, and rebuild a strong relationship with the United States, Pakistan must take sustained and irreversible action against terrorism. Pakistan has suffered terribly itself at the hands of terrorists and has committed publicly to ensure terrorists cannot use Pakistani territory to operate. Pakistan has taken important steps toward fulfilling that commitment but needs to continue that work. If confirmed, I will work with Pakistan to advance our shared interest in eliminating terrorism from its territory and advancing security in the region.

If confirmed, I will actively engage Pakistan on these issues, as well as strategic stability and non-proliferation, carrying a clear message on the threat that nuclear weapons pose to the United States, the region, and our allies and partners. Pakistan needs to demonstrate it is prepared to live up to international commitments on weapons of mass destruction.

Lastly, there are three other key priorities that I will focus on if confirmed. My first goal will be advancing human rights, particularly freedom of religion and expression. I was shocked and heartbroken that U.S. citizen Tahir Naseem was killed in a Pakistani courtroom in which he was facing an accusation of blasphemy. I grieve with the family of Mr. Naseem, and if confirmed, will engage Pakistani authorities on full accountability for the perpetrators. I am also concerned about increasing restrictions on civil society, including the growing harassment and disappearances of journalists without accountability, which undermines the exercise of the right of peaceful assembly and freedoms of expression and association.

Second, given Pakistan has the fifth largest population in the world, we need increased bilateral trade and investment. The President sees this potential and has personally called for a substantial expansion of our trade and investment relationship, which benefits both countries.

Third, with over 64 percent of Pakistanis being 30 years old or younger, we should expand youth engagement. Making progress on youth engagement, trade and investment, and human rights will be challenging, but necessary for a better future for Pakistan, and a stronger U.S.-Pakistan relationship. As the President has said repeatedly, "There is tremendous potential between our country and Pakistan." The choices that are made now will build a legacy for generations to come. In closing Mr. Chairman, I look forward to working with you, this committee, and the entire U.S. Congress. If confirmed, I will dedicate all of my energy and experience to advancing U.S. foreign policy objectives in Pakistan, and to strengthening the relationship between our two countries. Thank you very much for considering my nomination. I would be happy to answer any of your questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Mr. Todd.
Mr. Ueland?

STATEMENT OF HON. ERIC M. UELAND, OF OREGON, TO BE AN UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE, CIVILIAN SECURITY, DEMOCRACY, AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Mr. UELAND. Mr. Chairman, Senator Menendez, and members of the committee, thank you for the privilege of appearing today as President Trump's nominee for Under Secretary of State for Civilian Security, Democracy, and Human rights, the J family.

I am grateful to both President Trump and Secretary Pompeo for their confidence and hope to earn your support and Senate confirmation.

I would also like to thank my family whose support allows me the opportunity to continue my public service.

The role of the Under Secretary is to promote the ideals of the American people and contribute to their safety and security, and this is done best when the Under Secretary leads. And leadership

at J takes many forms, starting with a strong public voice. Whether it is calling out the Chinese Communist Party's behavior in Hong Kong, its efforts to erase the identity of the Tibetan people, and its sweeping human rights abuses in Xinjiang or spotlighting the illegitimate Maduro regime's continued denial of the Venezuelan people's democracy and their freedom or the regime in Iran, the world's leading state sponsor of terrorism inflicting shocking human rights abuses on its own people, spreading the vile poison of anti-Semitism around the globe, for all these and more, we must confront abuses, amplify the voices of the suffering and lead the international community in standing up to perpetrators.

If confirmed, I will deploy, as appropriate, tools from the entire suite of J family implements, including sanctions, designations, and determinations. I will highlight a large collection of public reporting on trafficking in persons, human rights, religious freedom, child soldiers, atrocities, terrorism, and narcotics. I will do all this to shed light on the actions of malign actors, promote accountability, and drive change.

Leadership at J is also about working to effectively alleviate suffering and provide lifesaving aid around the globe. The United States is the world's largest donor of humanitarian assistance. While assisting the vulnerable and distressed, we must also address causes of conflict and instability. So, for example, the United States leads the response to the challenge in Rakhine State, we press the Burmese Government to create conditions for the safe, secure, and voluntary return of Rohingya refugees, including by respecting human rights and holding accountable the perpetrators of atrocities.

J should approach humanitarian challenges in a holistic manner and protect against fragility growing into larger problems for us and our partners in the future.

Leadership at J also means broadening and deepening our international partnerships to curb opioid and drug flows to the United States, dismantle terrorist networks, end human trafficking, and disrupt transnational criminal organizations. The J family uses training and expertise to build the global partnerships which protect our citizens here at home, and we all know that ensuring the United States as the international partner of choice both influence foreign governments and reinforces our global leadership in an era of renewed great power competition.

Leadership too means setting agendas. For example, the Trump administration has put protecting freedom of religion or belief at the forefront, hosting two unprecedented ministerials to advance religious freedom and launching the International Religious Freedom Alliance.

If confirmed, I would utilize my skills working with multiple stakeholders to support this agenda and other priorities, expanding our coalition of likeminded nations.

Leading J does also mean careful stewardship of public funds. As the world leader in humanitarian and security partnerships, U.S. resources must be used effectively, efficiently, and responsibly. Ongoing evaluation of our programs will ensure we are accomplishing our goals and reflecting our values.

If confirmed, I will seek to ensure our programs are assessed by realistic, measurable outcomes. And with our international coalitions, I would continue to promote the President's burden sharing objectives.

Finally, leadership means directing highly capable public servants to accomplish the President's foreign policy agenda. I will put my management skills to work on issues which the J family handles, listening to and learning from incredibly distinguished public servants working in the J family to harness their passion for the work they do on behalf of the President and the nation.

Mr. Chairman, Senator Menendez, and members of the committee, I appreciate the chance to be here today, and if confirmed, I look forward to working with the committee. Thank you for your courtesy this morning, and I welcome any questions you may have.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Ueland follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. ERIC M. UELAND

Chairman Risch, Ranking Member Menendez, and distinguished members of the committee, it is my honor and privilege to appear before you today as President Donald J. Trump's nominee for Under Secretary of State for Civilian Security, Democracy, and Human Rights. I am humbled by the prospect of serving our great nation in this role and grateful to both President Trump and Secretary Pompeo for their confidence in me to serve in this capacity.

Before I begin today, I would like to take a moment to thank my family. Their selfless support inspires my public service and motivates my working towards a greater good and a better tomorrow.

I have had the honor to serve the American people for many years. Working as a member of the Senate staff, at the Millennium Challenge Corporation, as the Director of the Office of Foreign Assistance at the State Department, and through multiple roles at the White House, I saw first-hand the important work of the nine bureaus and offices for which the Under Secretary is responsible.

Today, I would like to share my vision for how the Under Secretary for Civilian Security, Democracy, and Human Rights, the so-called "J family," can promote U.S. values and support the safety, security, and prosperity of the American people.

Leadership is essential. This takes many forms, to include being willing to speak out and promote accountability for malign actors. For example, we see the Chinese Communist Party rolling back autonomy and liberty in Hong Kong, unlawfully detaining and carrying out sweeping human rights abuses against more than one million Uyghurs, ethnic Kazakhs, Kyrgyz, and other Muslims in Xinjiang, and continuing its decades-long effort to eliminate the unique identity of Tibetans. The illegitimate Maduro regime continues to deny the Venezuelan people the democracy and freedom they deserve, holding hundreds of political prisoners and refusing to create the conditions for free and fair elections. The Islamic Republic of Iran remains the world's leading state-sponsor of terrorism, inflicting shocking human rights abuses on its own people, and spreading the vile poison of anti-Semitism around the globe. We must confront these realities, amplify the voices of those suffering, and lead the international community in standing up to perpetrators.

If confirmed, I would use the entire suite of J family tools. This includes sanctions, designations, determinations, and public reporting on trafficking in persons, human rights, religious freedom, child soldiers, atrocities, terrorism, and narcotics to shed light on the actions of these malign actors and promote accountability.

Leadership is not just speaking out against brutal regimes. It is also seeking to alleviate suffering and providing life-saving aid during times of crisis. Through the generosity of the American people and with support from Congress, the United States is the largest donor of humanitarian assistance and leading the global foreign assistance response to COVID-19. On an annual basis, the State Department provides billions of dollars in humanitarian assistance that benefits tens of millions of people, many of whom are displaced by violence and conflict.

While providing relief and refuge to the vulnerable and distressed has been an important hallmark of American foreign policy, we must address the causes of conflict and instability that often lead to humanitarian crises. For example, while the United States has led the humanitarian response to the challenge in Rakhine State, we also must continue to press the Burmese Government to create conditions for

the safe, secure, and voluntary return of Rohingya refugees—by respecting human rights and holding accountable the perpetrators of atrocities, which is essential to avoiding their recurrence and future crises.

If confirmed, I would seek to ensure the J family approaches these challenges in a holistic manner that prevents state fragility and societal fissures from growing into larger challenges. When crises do occur, I would make certain we provide humanitarian assistance in a manner that is both sustainable and incentivizes burden-sharing by our donor partners.

Leadership also means broadening and deepening our international partnerships in support of U.S. interests. These partnerships are vital to curbing the flow of opioids and other drugs into the United States, dismantling terrorist networks, ending human trafficking, and preventing transnational criminal organizations from operating across borders with impunity. With a proven track record of accomplishment, cutting-edge technology, and commitment to our values, the J family provides the critical tools, training, and expertise necessary to build the global partnerships needed to combat these transnational threats. This international cooperation is more important than ever in an era of great power competition. While our adversaries and competitors make unfulfilled promises and seek vassal states rather than genuine partners, ensuring the United States continues to serve as the partner of choice reinforces our global influence.

If confirmed, I would seek to leverage our counterterrorism, counter narcotics, and antitrafficking partnerships not only to fight immediate threats to our national security, but also to expand American influence with foreign governments unwilling or unable to combat illicit activity or terrorist threats.

Leadership also means agenda-setting. For example, the Trump administration has brought the crucial task of protecting freedom of religion or belief to the forefront of the international agenda, including by hosting two unprecedented Ministerials to Advance Religious Freedom and by launching the International Religious Freedom Alliance. These efforts demonstrate how U.S. leadership can catalyze the international community to address the plight of the marginalized and oppressed, even when the world has seemingly turned away.

If confirmed, I would utilize my previous experience working with a variety of stakeholders to support this agenda and expand our coalition of like-minded nations on this and other issues of vital importance.

Finally, the responsible stewardship of public funds has been a key objective of my career in government. If confirmed as Under Secretary, this would be one of my top priorities. While overseeing approximately \$6 billion in foreign assistance each year, the Under Secretary must ensure that we are building partner capacity rather than dependency when we provide foreign assistance. As I mentioned, we are a leader in humanitarian and security partnerships, and with that comes the tremendous responsibility to ensure that U.S. resources are used effectively and efficiently. This means we need to commit to the ongoing evaluation of our programs to ensure we are achieving their original intent.

If confirmed, I would seek to ensure our programs are implemented by capable partners, and assessed by realistic, measurable outcomes. Simultaneously, through our expanded coalitions, I would continue to promote the President's burden-sharing objectives that not only encourages our partners to do more with their money but enables us to do more with ours.

Chairman Risch, Ranking Member Menendez, and members of the committee, I want to thank you for the opportunity to meet with you today and, if confirmed, I look forward to working with each member of the committee to advance our shared goals. I welcome any questions you may have.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Mr. Todd.

Mr. Ueland? I am sorry.

Mr. UELAND. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. You are very welcome, but you only get one bite of the apple here.

We are going to do a round of questions now, and I want to start, Mr. Todd, with you.

First of all, we know historically whenever things—there is upheaval in Afghanistan, we see a flood going into Pakistan particularly into the western provinces in Pakistan. It has caused us no end of grief during the time we have been engaged in Afghanistan.

What are your thoughts? What do you see in that regard? How do you see that playing out? However this peace process goes, whichever direction it goes, there is going to be movement across the border to the east out of Afghanistan. What are your thoughts on that? How do you see that playing out? How are the Pakistanis going to handle this?

Ambassador TODD. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Right now, Pakistan has generously taken care of millions of Afghan refugees over the last several years. We have very active programs in country right now, both bilaterally and through various international organizations.

We believe that if the peace and reconciliation process goes as planned, over a period of time some of those refugees will want to go back. Currently the U.S. position is that it has to be conditions-based, that there needs to be basically safety and security first. It has to be voluntary, second. And third, that whatever is the mechanism, it should live up to the international norms of migration. And if I am confirmed, I assure you I will work with the refugees, civil society, and the Government of Pakistan to make sure it happens in the proper way.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Senator Menendez?

Senator MENENDEZ. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Todd, I am dismayed that you are appearing at this hearing without having complied with the request by Chairman Engel and I, outstanding since February, to be interviewed on retaliation against career public servants. While I put the onus of the responsibility on the State Department, the failure to comply with a congressional request on critical oversight matters is also a reflection on you, one that I hope you can correct.

So I would like to ask you for a firm commitment on the record. Do you commit to appear for a transcribed interview regarding political retaliation, as was requested to you since last February?

Ambassador TODD. Thank you, Mr. Senator.

Yesterday, I had a very good and fulsome discussion about this with your team. To be candid with you, I am a 37-year career employee. In my entire career, I have never had the opportunity to be told that as a requirement of doing something I must do a voluntary transcribed interview.

Over the last several months, I have made multiple attempts to brief the committee, provide any answers for any questions that the committee has asked, and provide any information that the committee has asked.

Senator MENENDEZ. Well, you are not answering my question. So your answer is no, you will not sit for a—you know, this is not something that can be covered in a courtesy meeting with my staff or Chairman Engel's staff. There are other members of the State Department, career people as well, who have sat for a transcribed interview, and I do not understand your reticence to do so.

Ambassador TODD. Well, again, Mr. Senator, I gave your team the reasons, but just to reduce it to very practical levels, for me to do a transcribed interview, I am going to have to hire an attorney. That attorney is going to cost \$25,000 or \$30,000. I am a career employee. You know how much I make.

Also, I would rather—

Senator MENENDEZ. I have to be honest with you. For you to raise the issue of private counsel for the first time more than 6 months after the initial request and following no response by the Department, it is hard to see that as a real obstacle. The Department has historically agreed to make witnesses available voluntarily for transcribed interviews. Dozens of officials have been interviewed for past requests, including for the Benghazi committee among others, and did so with agency counsel and no out-of-pocket costs.

Ambassador TODD. Sir, I have made multiple attempts to meet with your committee. I have offered probably two or three times a month for the last 6 months. I have been unable to get a meeting.

Senator MENENDEZ. You will be able to get a meeting if you want to be willing to submit to a transcription. For some reason, whatever it is that you have to say, you do not want to say in a transcribed proceeding. So I am not going to play rope a dope with you anymore. Your answer is not based upon the positions that you have taken here.

Ambassador TODD. Sir, I would like to come up and answer any questions you have voluntarily. That has been my position for 6 months.

Senator MENENDEZ. But not in a transcribed proceeding.

Ambassador TODD. I believe it is unnecessary. I am not an attorney. I do not have—

Senator MENENDEZ. A transcribed proceeding only creates a record of what you have to say. So I do not understand what the reticence is. If you are willing to say whatever it is as the answer to questions, whether they are transcribed or not, it should be the same answer—right—unless somehow you would deceive us in an un-transcribed process but in a transcribed process, you would tell us the truth.

So let me move on. I clearly have your answer by virtue of your unwillingness to do this.

Let me ask you with reference to the potential assignment you may have—I do not know if you are going to get there—how will you use your tools at your disposal to encourage Pakistan to take real action against Lashkar-e-Taiba and its leadership?

Ambassador TODD. Thank you, Mr. Senator. That is an important question.

LET, as you know, is a terrorist group that has created terror over the last several years. Pakistan has worked hard to prosecute the leadership of LET. The leader of that terrorist group was imprisoned approximately a year ago. Twelve of his subordinates were also imprisoned.

If I am confirmed, I will continue to press Pakistan to take sustained, irreversible action against terrorists. I also will work with them on the terrorist financing aspect of it. And again, if I am confirmed, I look forward to coming and briefing you and the committee.

Senator MENENDEZ. Mr. Chairman, I have a series of questions for Mr. Todd and Mr. Ueland. But in deference to our colleagues, I will wait for a final round.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Barrasso?

Senator BARRASSO. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Pinto, I had a couple questions, if I could.

And first, I want to start talking about an all-of-the-above energy strategy. You know, global philanthropist Bill Gates explains that increasing access to electricity is really critical to lifting the world's poor out of poverty. And worldwide, there are just short of a billion people who are today living without electricity. I know you are well aware of this. They cannot cook or heat their homes safely, cannot do it reliably. Nearly 3 billion people still rely on wood and waste for household energy. People living in poor and developing nations—they want and need a stable energy supply. It is about energy today for them. And they are looking for power generation that provides energy security. It helps create jobs and it improves their lives today.

And I believe traditional fuels are a vital tool to help people escape poverty. Yet, over the past few years, the World Bank has been imposing restrictions on the financing of traditional energy projects. Last year, I led a dozen Senators in a letter urging the World Bank to immediately lift these harmful restrictions. My letter, of course, was to the World Bank President, David Malpass. It was cosigned by Senators Boozman, Capito, Cotton, Cramer, Cruz, Enzi, Hoeven, Johnson, Kennedy, Murkowski, and Thune. Together, we pressed the bank to recommit to an all-of-the-above energy strategy. So to achieve its mission, the World Bank really I believe must embrace, not exclude affordable energy resources. Ultimately, the solution to energy poverty does not lie in limiting options, but in using all available options.

So if confirmed, will you commit to ensuring the World Bank is promoting all forms of energy projects across the globe, including oil, gas, and coal?

Mr. PINTO. Senator, thank you for the question. And I am certainly aware of your interest and your concern regarding this issue, and I appreciated the opportunity to discuss it with your staff.

Yes, I agree with you, and I believe that countries determine what energy mix is most appropriate to meet their needs and that an all-of-the-above approach ensures that the bank can truly make a dent in that nearly 1 billion number of people who lack access to electricity around the world.

Senator BARRASSO. Thank you.

I want to turn to China's predatory lending. Through the Belt and Road initiative, the Chinese Communist Party offers countries the ability to borrow a lot of money for infrastructure projects. The problem is that these countries then accumulate large amounts of debt, debt to China. They are unable to pay it back and while still not achieving the development gains that many are seeking. So they borrow money, go into debt, cannot get done what they want to do, but they are unable to escape the massive debt that is owed to China. They face default or forfeiture of some of their strategic assets, their natural resources. And you have seen this happen around the globe.

So on top of the financial pressure, some countries are now also facing the economic hardships that have been caused by coronavirus. To me, this is a tragic recipe.

What actions do you believe the World Bank should take, and how would you ensure American taxpayers are not bailing out Chinese financial institutions and further enabling China's predatory lending policies?

Mr. PINTO. Senator, thanks also for that question, and I also recognize that is a serious concern.

The World Bank, as I mentioned in my testimony, is convening a debt service suspension initiative, and the importance of that is to make sure that all non-Paris Club creditors, including China, are at the table and are fully participating in that initiative.

I also think that it is important for the bank, as you noted, to reduce its lending to China, to promote graduation on the part of China. That is something that China should aspire to, given that is now a wealthy country with the second largest economy in the world. So we would like to continue to see a downward trajectory in lending to China from the bank, and we would like to see China become a net donor and no longer a net borrower because those resources are scarce.

Senator BARRASSO. Well, Mr. Pinto, just to add to exactly what you said, China is the second largest economy in the world. And as you point out, China still receives below market rates for projects financed with loans from the World Bank.

In December of 2019, the World Bank approved a new plan to provide China with between \$1 billion and \$1.5 billion in low interest loans annually through 2025. This is happening while the Chinese Communist Party, through its Belt and Road Initiative, is engaged in predatory lending practices that we just described. So I just am seriously concerned about the World Bank using American tax dollars to loan money to China while China is engaged in debt trap diplomacy in developing countries across the globe. So I appreciate your attention to that and your commitment to making sure that that declines, and I would like to have that decline at a rapid rate.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator Barrasso. Well said.

Senator Cardin?

Senator CARDIN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

And let me thank all three of our nominees for their willingness to continue to serve our country.

Mr. Ueland, I want to ask you a few questions in regards to the position that you have been nominated to fill. As Senator Menendez pointed out, you have experience in the budget areas. You do not really have broad experience in democracy building or human rights. Clearly we want to use our financial leverage to advance democracy and human rights. So I hope that that experience will help you in dealing with the bureaucracy within the State Department and the executive branch to advance democracy and human rights.

Freedom House recently reported that 25 of the 41 democratic states in the world have seen a decline in democracy, including the United States of America. And we have fewer democratic states today in Central and Eastern Europe than at any time since they have been doing their report, which started in 1995. So we have seen a decline of democracy.

Our values need to be how we conduct our foreign policy—wrapped in our values. How do you intend to stand up to the bureaucracy of the State Department, which has issues that they like to put the human rights or democracy building on the back burner as compared to other issues or the messaging that comes out of sometimes the executive branch that is very vague on our values? And I am putting that gently. Can we count on you to stand up for the important role for which this position was developed in order to promote democracy, to advance human rights, to stand up for American values, and to make sure it is incorporated in all of our foreign policy decisions?

Mr. UELAND. Senator, thank you very much for the question. And I think based on my experience, not only can I confidently say yes, but be able to explain why I have confidence in that answer.

My work here on the Hill and in the executive branch, which certainly has focused at points on financial matters, budget matters, and spending matters, gives me an appreciation of a simple fact that oftentimes resources are policy, and that in order to drive results, the need for appropriate resources to be applied to significant foreign policy challenges is paramount. The work inside the Department to build consensus with folks in the field, as well as regional bureaus, fellow under secretaries, assistant secretaries, and the like is something that I have some familiarity with having served as the Director of F and trying to prioritize our work in such areas as policy and priorities for refugee and migration flows, the work that we have done on humanitarian assistance to coordinate our efforts better both inside the Department of State, as well as with USAID, pioneering and spearheading our effort to ensure that how we follow through on the Trafficking in Persons Report for consequences out in countries that have qualified as tier 3, and suspending programs appropriately but with USAID, attempting to ensure that appropriate programs that need to continue actually do continue because they reflect our values.

Senator, I anticipate that if I have the opportunity to serve, if I am confirmed, I will be working quite intensely inside the Department of State, inside the interagency, with the Office of Management and Budget to ensure that resources match our policy.

Senator CARDIN. So let me ask you one specific question, if I might.

The Elie Wiesel Genocide and Prevention Act that I authored, along with Senator Young, has a strategy for us to try to prevent atrocities from occurring. The Early Warning Task Force is part of that process to determine countries that are at risk of atrocities.

Will you support the public release of countries identified at risk of atrocities so that we can put a spotlight on these countries in order to deal with preventing those atrocities from moving forward?

Mr. UELAND. Senator, thank you very much for that question. You raise an interesting point.

At times, as part of our public diplomacy, it is appropriate to release information and provide a spotlight on potential challenges. If you have more than 4 seconds, I am happy to expand a bit on the fact that, as you know, in the J family, the responsibility for serving as a secretariat for the Atrocity Early Warning Task Force actually resides in the CSO Bureau, and the work that CSO does,

in an effort to ensure that there are early warnings about potential atrocity situations and encourage and work with the interagency in ways to find throughout the Department, as well as perhaps with interagency partners, to intervene, to preempt atrocities from even occurring, is a significant responsibility that occurs in J at CSO. I anticipate—

Senator CARDIN. My time is running out.

Mr. UELAND. I understand, but I just again want to emphasize we have a wide suite of tools. There are moments when private engagement, moments when public engagement is appropriate in dealing with significant instances, including potential atrocities.

Senator CARDIN. I am going to respectfully disagree. I must go on the record. I respectfully disagree with the clarity here. I am the senior Democrat on the Helsinki Commission in the Senate, and naming and shaming has been the way that we have gotten so much progress internationally on advancing human rights. The Global Magnitsky bill. You need to be specific otherwise the issues get lost. So I would just urge you to reflect that if you do not have the courage to identify the bad actors, they will continue to be bad actors.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator Cardin.

Senator Shaheen?

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

And thank you to each of our nominees this morning.

Mr. Ueland, in your opening statement, you talked about a number of the human—the challenges that J faces that you would face if you are confirmed. But I did not hear you discuss the empowerment of women as one of the ways in which we could be addressing some of these challenges because what we know about empowering women is that it contributes to stability in communities and in countries.

So can you talk about how you might support the empowerment of women if you are confirmed in ways that would help advance the human rights agenda that you talked about?

Mr. UELAND. Well, Senator, thank you very much for that question. And I appreciate very much your focus on the empowerment of women, since that is one of about five priority areas that I anticipate spending significant time on, if confirmed as Under Secretary.

The work that the senior advisor in the White House has done, Ivanka Trump, on the issue of WGDP, the work done that I saw and experienced firsthand at Millennium Challenge Corporation about ensuring that women's rights and women's participation in MCC projects as multilateral efforts inside countries to advance their interests and their economic potentiality, the work we do with our foreign assistance that I saw at F to focus on ways to continue to empower women all will be one of those priority areas that I will focus on during my tenure at F in addition to Internet freedom, religious freedom, and trying to pioneer ways to focus on the rights of the elderly and handicapped.

Senator SHAHEEN. To go back to the Global Magnitsky Act that Senator Cardin raised, I have seen reports that during your time at Goldman Sachs, you worked to help the firm lobby against the

Magnitsky Act which, as we know, helps identify and punish the most serious human rights abusers around the world.

So if confirmed, would you seek to uphold the spirit and principles of the Magnitsky Act, and can you give us examples where you think we should be looking at using it to address specific events or individuals who are responsible for oppression?

Mr. UELAND. Thank you very much, Senator, for the question. And as I explained last week to committee staff on the Democratic side, our responsibilities to provide information about what we were doing as lobbyists, including information about what was just occurring up here was what triggered our responsibility to file on what was going on in terms of Senator Cardin's and others' efforts to bring the Magnitsky Act into existence.

It is the law of the land, Senator, and I anticipate, as we discussed last time I was before the committee, taking care that laws be faithfully executed.

As you know, this administration has stepped forward very aggressively to use the Global Magnitsky Act repeatedly and consequentially against individuals who have committed wrongdoing and qualify for sanction under the Global Magnitsky Act.

I am not prepared today to make policy from the table by indicating individuals or situations where there might be qualification for the Magnitsky Act, but if confirmed as Under Secretary, the Under Secretary and institutions in the under secretariat play a significant role in evaluating who might qualify for sanction under the Magnitsky Act, making recommendations to the Secretary about the Magnitsky Act, and then in a public way talking about the use of the Magnitsky Act if ultimately the President decides to go ahead and utilize it.

Senator SHAHEEN. Well, I appreciate that. I hope you will continue to support the use of the act in ways that are important to our national security.

Ambassador Todd, you talked about the role of Pakistan in the negotiations that are currently going on between the Taliban and Afghanistan. What more can we do to urge Pakistan not just to support those negotiations with the Taliban, but to encourage the Government of Afghanistan to be a critical player? I thought the point that some people are looking at those negotiations and seeing four participants that does not include the Government of Afghanistan in any meaningful way—so what could you do as Ambassador to try and move an agenda that actually includes the Afghan Government? Because if we are going to have any kind of long-term peace in Afghanistan, they certainly need to be part of that effort.

Ambassador TODD. Well, thank you, Senator.

As I mentioned in my testimony, Pakistan is playing a very important role in the peace and reconciliation process. They have been very helpful facilitating meetings. They have been helpful reducing tension. They have been very, very helpful in terms of getting the logistics and other things done that have helped us do what we needed to do.

Right now, as you know, in Doha, it is an Afghan-led, Afghan-owned discussion and negotiation. But frankly, it is a long process between where we are today and where we need to go. For Pakistan, I think the most important role moving forward is facilitating

and sustaining peace and reconciliation, which will formally result in a political settlement that will end the 40-year war.

Also, Pakistan needs to continue to put extreme pressure on the various terrorist groups that live and reside inside Pakistan. And if I am confirmed, that will be my highest priority because getting to peace is extremely important not only for Afghanistan, but also for Pakistan. And frankly, no other country, other than Afghanistan, benefits more from peace than Pakistan.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you.

My time is up, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator Shaheen.

Senator Kaine?

Senator Kaine. Thank you, Mr. Chair.

And congratulations to the witnesses for your nominations.

Mr. Ueland, I want to just direct my comments to you.

Mr. UELAND. Yes, sir.

Senator Kaine. I feel sorry for you. You have had a distinguished career and you are nominated for a position that is a really important one. And your opening comments suggest that there is a long agenda of things that we need to attend to that you would like to.

But the reason I feel sorry for you is this. The United States' ability to set an example on human rights issues is deeply compromised by activities of the President, and since he is the person who has the loudest microphone of any American, the work that you do to try to promote human rights around the world is something that is going to be very, very difficult. I mean, I know you will make a good faith effort, should you be confirmed.

But just recent examples. Last night at a rally, the President has continued to repeat things he has done in early rallies, leading crowds and chanting "lock her up" or "lock them up" about political opponents.

At a rally over the weekend, the President spoke to an audience in Minnesota and praised police for firing a rubber bullet at a reporter, Ali Velshi, of MSNBC, peacefully covering a peaceful protest. There is no dispute about that. The President said that was a beautiful example of law and order. Press freedom is part of the portfolio of the State Department sections you will work with.

Saudi Arabia imprisoning women for activism for women's rights, murdering a Virginia journalist, Virginia resident journalist, Jamal Khashoggi, and in a recent interview with an accompanying audio tape, the President basically said I saved his ass about the Crown Prince of Saudi Arabia who the U.S. intelligence largely believes was responsible for the assassination. And he bragged about I got Congress to leave him alone. I got Congress to stop efforts toward accountability.

You talked in your opening about the need to fight for human rights in Iran and we need to, or fight for human rights in other jurisdictions and we need to. But again and again and again, the President is willing to undermine human rights in this country and elsewhere and protect dictators and authoritarians.

One recent example—I think we would all agree that human rights include racial equality. The President for some reason has been on a tear attacking a member of this committee. Senator Booker was in here earlier. In tweets and in speeches and on tele-

vision, the President has been saying that Senator Booker will lead an effort to destroy suburbia. Now, this started a couple of months ago. There are no facts to support it.

I have listened with interest to see if one—and I mean if one—of my Republican colleagues in the Senate would speak up on behalf of a Senate colleague and say that that is a lie, that there is no basis in fact. The President would not say it, but Senator Booker is a valuable colleague. I have not heard one member of the majority of this body speak up on behalf of their colleague to say that this kind of lie, which is rooted in racism, is wrong.

My reading of human history suggests when bad things happen in societies, there are the perpetrators of those things and then there are the resisters of bad. But those ultimately at fault, I have come to conclude, are the bystanders. There are perpetrators and they do bad things, and there are resisters. You stand up against them. But no perpetrators are ever successful—they are never successful—without huge groups of people who are willing to be bystanders and say nothing in the hopes that if they keep their head low, maybe they will not be a target or a subject. And what I see, as I look at our profession that we want to set a human rights example, is those words, though sincere when they are said by many, are dramatically undercut by the current leadership of this country and dramatically undercut by so many who are willing to be bystanders and allow these abuses to pile on one after another. And the examples I have given you are only examples from the last couple of weeks.

Let me ask you two things. If you are confirmed, will you do what you can in your work with the Saudis to get them to better treat U.S. citizens or U.S. residents like the Virginia residents that have been subjected to prison terms and trials for women's rights activism?

Mr. UELAND. Senator, as appropriate, my role as Under Secretary of J in conversations with the Saudi Arabians, as well as with our diplomats—happy to discuss these issues with them directly.

Senator KAINE. And second, there is a U.S. resident who lives in Texas. He is a Belgian Rwandan citizen, Paul Rusesabagina. He received from President George W. Bush I think one of the highest civilian honors a President can give, the Presidential Medal of Freedom for saving lives during the Rwandan genocide. He has also been given an award by a group established by Congress, the Tom Lantos Human Rights Award. He has been involuntarily detained in Rwanda unable to talk with lawyers of his choosing or his family and brought up on charges that suggest he is a political opponent and may be involved in some significant activity, including potential violent activity against the Government. The State Department has repeatedly said that Rwanda trumps up charges against political opponents.

Will you do what you can from the State Department to make sure that Mr. Rusesabagina, while in detention, is treated safely and that any proceeding against him is done in an open and transparent manner so that the world can determine whether any charges against him are valid or not?

Mr. UELAND. Senator, I appreciate that question as well. And while I have received no briefings in relation to the imprisonment of this individual, I anticipate that, in the event of confirmation, working with colleagues in the Department to make sure that our opinions about what is going on there are clearly expressed directly and, if necessary, publicly.

Senator KAINE. Great. Thank you.

Thank you, Mr. Chair.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator Kaine.

Senator Menendez?

Senator MENENDEZ. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Ueland, last year—I am going to ask you a series of questions. I want to understand how you would approach this job, if you are confirmed.

President Trump reportedly said regarding North Korea that, quote, I think Kim Jong-un or Chairman Kim, as some people say, is creating a nation that has great strength economically. I talked to him a lot about it. He is very much into that fact.

Do you agree that Chairman Kim's desire to create a country with, quote, tremendous economic potential deserves praise when his regime has enslaved over 2.6 million of its own people, according to the Global Slavery Index, crushing human potential and systematically human rights, including through starvation, rape, and sexual violence of women in detention, among other gross violations of human rights?

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

I think the President's instinct when it comes to relationships with such countries as North Korea is rooted in a grounding about a strong appreciation of human rights and that one of the strongest ways to advance the cause of human rights is economic improvement in countries. We are often called at J to work in collaboration and cooperation—

Senator MENENDEZ. So we promote economic improvement at the cost—

Mr. UELAND [continuing]. Inside the Department as with other—

Senator MENENDEZ [continuing]. I want to understand. I want to understand how you are going to—

Mr. UELAND. Sure, but in order to understand, Senator—

Senator MENENDEZ [continuing]. I want to understand—I am not going to let you filibuster. I know you learned that at the State Department.

Mr. UELAND. No, sir, I did not learn it at the State Department. I am trying to fully answer your question—

Senator MENENDEZ. Well, then you have learned it here at the Senate.

Mr. UELAND [continuing]. No, sir.

Senator MENENDEZ. We promote economic rights at the cost of all human rights. Is that what you are saying?

Mr. UELAND. No, sir.

Senator MENENDEZ. Because at the end of the day, are you going to speak up about human rights violations in places like North Korea? Yes or no. Yes or no because that is a simple question.

Mr. UELAND. Sir, absolutely. As you know, the J family works hard to—

Senator MENENDEZ. I am asking you what you would do, if you are confirmed. Will you speak up vigorously about violations of human rights in places like North Korea? Yes or no.

Mr. UELAND. And as a confirmed Under Secretary for J, part of our responsibilities include focusing on human rights challenges in countries such as North Korea, which J is already ensuring are brought into a spotlight and explicated before the world.

Senator MENENDEZ. Let me ask you this.

Mr. UELAND. Yes, sir.

Senator MENENDEZ. If you are confirmed, your role will be to serve as one of the United States' leading voices in promoting and advancing internationally recognized human rights and democratic norms. Would you say that promoting respect for press freedom and support for independent media is one of those?

Mr. UELAND. Absolutely, Senator. As I explained to your staff, this is an area of particular interest, and as I mentioned earlier, Internet freedom will be something that I—

Senator MENENDEZ. All right. So if that is the case, in over 600 tweets President Trump has targeted specific news organizations, including one that he normally likes, Fox News, the "New York Times," the "Washington Post," using slurs like fake, phony, nasty, disgraced, failing, calling the press the enemy of the people, do you agree with those statements by the President?

Mr. UELAND. Senator, I have not tracked all 600 tweets, but I do know that part of my advocacy is to ensure that there is as large as possible civil society and as vigorous as possible public square—

Senator MENENDEZ. Well, how do you promote freedom of the press abroad when it is attacked as the enemy of the people here at home? Can you explain that to me?

Mr. UELAND. Senator, it is pretty straightforward. The ability of anybody from the President to the most junior individual in our country to express an opinion about the media is one of our core freedoms and our core opportunities here in the United States and a value that I would look forward to promoting abroad.

Senator MENENDEZ. Secretary Pompeo is going to host a meeting at this year's U.N. General Assembly to remind member states of their commitments under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which includes the right to seek and enjoy asylum that has been codified in U.S. law by the Refugee Act of 1980. I believe that the Trump administration is failing to adhere to U.S. laws that implement this important human rights framework with its asylum ban, its transfer of asylum seekers to Guatemala, and other policies.

Do you agree that access to asylum is an obligation under U.S. law?

Mr. UELAND. Senator, I have not examined either the treaties or the legislation that you have identified to come to a conclusion on that. I am happy to look into that, in the event that I am confirmed.

Senator MENENDEZ. Well, let me ask you this. I am consistently shocked and alarmed by the administration's actions to undermine

basic human rights for the world's most vulnerable groups. When Secretary Pompeo announced the formation of the Commission on Unalienable Rights last year, he stated that a proliferation of human rights claims had called into question which rights are entitled to respect.

In July, at the launch of the commission's report, the Secretary stated that property rights and freedom of religion are foremost rights, and the report itself dismisses LGBT-plus rights, sexual and reproductive health rights as, quote, divisive social and political controversies. He insisted early on that the commission's report would be divorced from policy for which the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor was created.

Yet, commission members are traveling to the U.N. and other locations on the taxpayers' dime presenting their report to other countries, and Secretary Pompeo is pushing the report in town halls and cable traffic.

How do you explain this dichotomy? Precisely what should our country's role be in urging respect for LGBT-plus populations abroad, as well as to reproductive rights and others that we have considered part of the human rights portfolio?

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

The Secretary's charge to the commission was to examine and see if there was a common understanding of first principles that inform our perspective on human rights and the evolution of our understanding of human rights over the past 2-plus centuries, as well as the contribution that we made to international fora when it comes to the question of human rights.

There is absolutely, to your point, no policy that is contemplated or directed as a result of the commission's report, instead a challenge to all of us at the State Department to understand—to see if we can understand how the work that we do every day relates to those fundamental first principles that really calls the United States to action inside the J family.

I do not see an inconsistency at all for standing up for the rights of all around the world, including minorities, including sexual minorities, including LGBT people, I people, and those individuals and push for decriminalization and the work and thought leadership reflected in the Commission on Unalienable Rights.

Senator MENENDEZ. Well, I have to say that I do not get a sense that in one of the most important positions, at least from my perspective as a 28-year practitioner of foreign policy in Congress between the House and the Senate, that you are going to be an advocate for the type of global human rights and democracy norms that we, on a bipartisan level for the most part, have embraced. What I think you are going to do is basically explain away our human rights standing in the world by justifying whatever it is—press is the enemy of people, LGBTQ are divisive issues not to be promoted as human rights. That to me is not who I want see in the person who is going to be—supposed to be, within the State Department other than the Secretary himself, the strongest advocate for human rights and democracy in the world.

Mr. UELAND. Well, Senator, I respect your perspective, and I look forward to proving you wrong.

Senator MENENDEZ. If you get the chance.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. UELAND. I will.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

And thank you to all of our nominees for providing us with the benefit of your testimony and responses.

For the information of the members, the record will remain open until the close of business on Thursday, September 24th, including—

Senator SHAHEEN. Mr. Chairman, can I ask—

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, yes. Senator Shaheen, did you wish to—

Senator SHAHEEN. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, you do. Okay. Have at it.

Senator SHAHEEN. Sorry. Thank you.

This question is for Mr. Pinto. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development tends to work mainly with middle income countries, countries which often have high amounts of poverty that disproportionately affect women and girls. Yet, statistically if women were able to fully participate in economies in those countries, the global GDP would increase by \$12 trillion in the next 5 years.

So can you tell me, if confirmed, what you could do in your position to support and improve the focus of the bank's projects on improving the lives of those women and girls and giving them that opportunity to fully participate in the economies of the countries where they are?

Mr. PINTO. Thanks for the question, Senator Shaheen. You have highlighted a critically important issue that the COVID-19 global pandemic has made glaringly apparent.

Women are badly—well, let me say that the informal economy is particularly hard hit by the global—by the pandemic, and that is in many countries predominantly women. So the bank's hard work to address the challenges that countries face from COVID-19 needs to focus on women. And Executive Director D.J. Norquist has made this a huge priority, and we are partners—if confirmed, we would be partners together in addressing that.

And I would also like to just mention that we have also placed a great emphasis on the We-Fi initiative which supports female entrepreneurs particularly in developing countries and the challenges they face. And so those are just a few of the initiatives that, you know, if confirmed, we would continue to push using the voice and voting power of the United States at the bank.

Senator SHAHEEN. Well, thank you. I would point out that these were issues before the pandemic. I appreciate the focus on what is happening because of the pandemic, but it is clearly a broader concern than that.

We have all seen the reports of China's efforts to put officials in positions of influence in international organizations, whether it is WHO, but the World Bank is on that list. And what happens, given this administration's withdrawal from many international organizations and from a commitment to multilateralism? What kind of opportunity does that open for China to replace American influence and interest in many of those international organizations?

Mr. PINTO. Thanks for that question, Senator. It is something that we take very seriously, and certainly any retreat at the World

Bank of—the United States, as you know, is the largest shareholder. So any retreat of our influence at the bank does allow China to assert greater influence. So we do have a robust engagement at the bank, and that will continue. And if I am confirmed, I will certainly support that. It is certainly something that we take very seriously.

Senator SHAHEEN. Well, thank you. I would hope it is something that you also share with other members of the administration so that the President understands the critical nature of ensuring the United States' continued influence in those international organizations.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator Shaheen.

For the information of members, the record will remain open until the close of business on Thursday, September 24th, including for members to submit questions for the record.

With thanks of the committee to our witnesses, this hearing is now adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 10:58 a.m., the hearing was adjourned.]

Additional Material Submitted for the Record

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO ASHOK MICHAEL PINTO BY SENATOR ROBERT MENENDEZ

Oversight

Question. If confirmed, do you commit that under your leadership, the IBRD will not take any action to support, promote, or participate in any matters related to, or that could be perceived as benefitting, the Trump Organization?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I commit to comply with all relevant laws, regulations, and rules, and to raise concerns that I may have through appropriate channels.

Question. Do you commit to make clear to all employees that retaliation of any kind has no place in federal government and will not be tolerated under your leadership? Do you agree that anyone found to have engaged in retaliation should be held fully accountable, up to and including losing their job?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I commit to comply with all relevant laws, regulations, and rules, and to raise concerns that I may have through appropriate channels.

Question. What will you do to promote, mentor, and support your staff that come from diverse backgrounds and underrepresented groups in the Foreign Service? In the Civil Service?

Answer. Diversity is of particular importance to me as an Indian American and the son of immigrant parents. If confirmed, I will promote, mentor, and support members of the staff from diverse backgrounds and underrepresented groups in the Office of the U.S. Executive Director, including foreign service officers, career civil servants as well as international Bank staff. I also strongly support diversity of viewpoints as part of an open and collaborative office environment.

Question. Do you commit to respond promptly to all requests for information by members of this committee?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I commit to respond promptly to all requests for information by members of this committee, in accordance with U.S. laws and regulations.

Question. Do you commit to appear before this committee upon request?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I commit to appear before this committee upon request, in accordance with U.S. laws and regulations.

Question. Do you commit to report to appropriate authorities, including the FBI, Inspector General, and Congress, any credible allegations of foreign interference in U.S. elections?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I commit to comply with all relevant laws, regulations, and rules, and to raise concerns that I may have through appropriate channels.

Question. Do you commit to report to appropriate authorities, including the FBI, Inspector General, and Congress, any attempts by foreign or private individuals to improperly influence U.S. foreign policy, particularly if you have reason to believe those efforts are adverse to U.S. interests?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I commit to comply with all relevant laws, regulations, and rules, and to raise concerns that I may have through appropriate channels.

Question. If you become aware of any suspected waste, fraud, or abuse in your office, do you commit to report it to the Inspector General or other appropriate channels?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I commit to comply with all relevant laws, regulations, and rules, and to raise concerns that I may have through appropriate channels.

Democracy/Human Rights

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

Answer. At the World Bank, I have consistently worked to promote human rights and democracy. Specifically, I have underscored U.S. support for the Bank's oversight components, including Integrity, the Compliance Advisor Ombudsman (CAO), Group Internal Audit, the Independent Evaluation Group, and the Inspection Panel (IPN). I have also supported recent reforms that strengthen CAO and IPN. Through each of these complementary functions, the Bank seeks to uphold the highest human rights and democratic standards in Bank projects and operations. Emphasizing independent accountability, transparency, and respect for the individual ensures that human rights are paramount. In addition, focusing on the world's poorest and most vulnerable people advances human rights by providing better health care, education, sanitation, and sources of energy. Throughout my career, I have worked to promote oversight, transparency, and accountability in U.S. Government programs. If confirmed, I will use the voice and voting power of the United States to make sure that the Board of Executive Directors upholds the highest standards of human rights and democracy in all projects it approves.

Question. What issues are the most pressing challenges to democracy or democratic development? These challenges might include obstacles to participatory and accountable governance and institutions, rule of law, authentic political competition, civil society, human rights and press freedom. Please be as specific as possible.

Answer. The World Bank's twin goals are to end extreme poverty and promote shared prosperity. Democracy is a closely interconnected element of these development goals. The Bank's work to promote justice and the rule of law is of crucial importance in delivering favorable development outcomes. Among the most pressing challenges are strengthening public institutions, eradicating corruption and encouraging private sector job creation—all of which foster democratic development and prosperity. The COVID-19 global pandemic presents the most pressing challenge to democracy of our lifetime, causing tens of millions of people to fall into extreme poverty and reversing years' worth of progress in this area. If confirmed, I will work to ensure that the Bank's COVID-19 assistance is narrowly tailored to meet these objectives and is free from waste, fraud, and abuse.

Question. What steps will you take—if confirmed—to support democracy abroad? What do you hope to accomplish through these actions? What are the potential impediments to addressing the specific obstacles you have identified?

Answer. As previously stated, working to meet the Bank's twin goals is the best way to support democracy in the countries it supports. The ultimate goal of Bank projects is to foster economic growth and capacity of public institutions such that a particular country is on the path to graduating from needing Bank loans and then the funds can be used in other countries in need. Attracting private sector investment and fighting corruption—both exacerbated by COVID-19—will facilitate progress in these areas.

Question. How will you utilize U.S. Government assistance resources at your disposal, to support democracy and governance, and what will you prioritize in processes to administer such assistance?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work to support projects that come before the Board of Executive Directors with the highest standards of governance and the best devel-

opment outcomes. Furthermore, I will prioritize projects that support the citizens of the world's poorest countries.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to meet with civil society members, human rights and other non-governmental organizations in the U.S. and with local human rights NGOs, and other members of civil society? What steps will you take to proactively address efforts to restrict or penalize NGOs and civil society via legal or regulatory measures?

Answer. The Office of the U.S. Executive Director maintains an open dialogue with a broad range of civil society organizations (CSOs), all of whom provide valuable insights about the efficacy of Bank programs and their effects on local communities. They are our eyes and ears on the ground and are an important outside accountability mechanism. If confirmed, I expect to continue this practice as well as to support the ability of these organizations to operate without restrictions in the countries in which they operate. In particular, I will continue to work with CSOs to gain critical information regarding the implementation of the Bank's COVID-19 support.

Question. Will you and your teams actively engage on the right of labor groups to organize, including for independent trade unions?

Answer. Well-functioning labor markets in countries in which the World Bank provides support are essential to boost economic growth and promote the well-being of workers. If confirmed, I will work to support all elements that help all workers prosper.

Question. Will you commit to using your position, if confirmed, to defend the human rights and dignity of all people, no matter their sexual orientation or gender identity? What specifically will you commit to do to help LGBTQ people?

Answer. LGBTQ people are entitled to the same protections as all other people, which the United States works to uphold. For example, the U.S. Executive Director objected to the recent Tanzania Secondary Education Quality Improvement Project (SEQUIP) due to insufficient protections for pregnant girls and LGBTQ people, among other concerns. If confirmed, I will use the voice and voting power of the United States to defend human dignity without exceptions or limitations.

COVID-19

Question. COVID-19 has decimated economies around the globe—especially in the developing world. Does the World Bank have sufficient resources to respond to the COVID-19 pandemic? Should the United States support mobilization of additional resources, and if so, through what mechanisms?

Answer. In aiming to assist one billion people impacted by COVID-19, the World Bank Group has committed to deploy up to \$160 billion over the 15 months since the pandemic started earlier this year. Of this amount, \$50 billion will be in either grants or highly concessional terms from the International Development Association (IDA), which supports the world's poorest countries. This level of assistance would not be possible absent the support of Congress for the 2018 International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and International Finance Corporation capital increase—to which the United States was the largest contributor at \$1.2 billion—and the IDA19 replenishment of \$3 billion. Bilateral debt service suspension is also helping governments provide critical assistance to the world's most vulnerable people.

Question. The U.S. commitment to IDA-19 is about 9% lower than the U.S. commitment to IDA-18 and more than 20% lower than the U.S. commitment to IDA-17. Why is the administration cutting U.S. commitments to IDA, especially at a time when the Bank will need it to recover after COVID-19? How does a smaller U.S. contribution to IDA shape U.S. influence at the World Bank, particularly as other donor countries such as China have increased their contributions?

Answer. As previously mentioned, the United States was the largest contributor to the Bank's recent capital increase. In fact, the U.S. contribution of \$1.2 billion was nearly double that of the next-largest contributor. The U.S. contribution to the IDA-19 replenishment makes the United States the third-largest donor. The United States maintains significant influence at the World Bank given its status as a founding member and the largest shareholder. The Bank sought an increased contribution from China due to the size of its economy and the need for it to pay its fair share and make progress towards graduation.

Question. In response to the COVID-19 crisis, the World Bank Group has pledged to make billions of dollars in grants and financial support available to help developing countries respond to the health, social, and economic impacts of Covid-19.

These relief packages are unprecedented in scale and speed of distribution. Although these packages will provide necessary support to developing economies around the world, the rate at which these funds are dispersed creates the risk for gaps in human rights and environmental due diligence. How will you ensure that World Bank Group abides by its due diligence standards during this time? How will you ensure that the measures designed to address the COVID-19 crisis incorporate community feedback?

Answer. World Bank assistance to countries attempting to recover from the COVID-19 global pandemic now reaches more than 100 countries and will total up to \$160 billion. Comprehensive oversight is more important than ever. If confirmed, I will use the voice and voting power of the United States at the World Bank to promote the work of its oversight components, ensure the implementation of necessary reforms—including enhanced stakeholder feedback—and support projects with the highest standards designed for strong development outcomes.

Question. A major disappointment of the World Bank Group's initial COVID-19 financial package is that no funds have gone to support communities who have been harmed by pre-COVID projects, including by projects found to be out of compliance with the World Bank Group's environmental and social policies. It is disappointing because negative project impacts, including damage to water sources, labor violations, and displacement, can make individuals more vulnerable and thus less able to deal with the effects of the pandemic. How will you ensure that the World Bank Group includes initiatives to address the vulnerabilities of project-affected people in its COVID response?

Answer. Comprehensive oversight of World Bank projects is the best way to make sure that adequate measures are in place to protect vulnerable people. Negative project impacts damage the Bank's reputation and hinder its ability to assist vulnerable populations. The Bank needs to admit when it makes mistakes and to remedy them; it exists to help, not hurt, people. If confirmed, I will use the voice and voting power of the United States to continue to support the important work of the Bank's oversight components. Only through constant attention and support can focus on environmental and social policies to protect vulnerable people be maintained.

Economic Statecraft

Question. I have been working on legislation that would reinvigorate the tools of our Economic Statecraft. How does participation in the World Bank affect U.S. security interests and leadership role in the global economy?

Answer. In representing the views of the United States at the institution, the primary goal of the Office of the U.S. Executive Director is to ensure that World Bank programs and initiatives not only enhance development for its client countries but also are consistent with advancing U.S. foreign policy, national security, and commercial priorities, as well as upholding America's rigorous standards and safeguards. At the World Bank, the voice and voting power of the United States stand for independent accountability, budget discipline, and focus on the Bank's core mission. Robust engagement and leadership at the World Bank help to achieve these objectives.

Question. China has emerged as a major creditor in recent years, but the terms of its lending are opaque. Does the World Bank have sufficient access to the information needed to assess the financing needs of developing countries and emerging markets? Would any World Bank assistance be used to pay off China debt in certain countries?

Answer. Accurate data is essential to inform policy decisions and manage risk. There are, however, significant data gaps. For example, much more information is needed about public debt related to state-owned enterprises. There is also significant room for improvement in data quality, which will go a long way to address debt vulnerabilities in low-income developing countries. Debt transparency and public disclosure of debt data are key elements of the Debt Service Suspension Initiative (DSSI), spearheaded by the Bank and International Monetary Fund, which aims to help the world's poorest countries assist their citizens during the pandemic by allowing them to postpone debt payments to use that money for COVID healthcare, social support, etc. Providing additional granularity and facilitating creditor and debtor debt data reconciliation are integral steps in assessing the financing needs of developing countries. To support the DSSI and promote improved debt transparency, the Bank has released data on the public and publicly guaranteed debt stocks and projected debt service due, for the 68 DSSI eligible countries, by creditor type. This data is publicly available on the Bank's web site: <https://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/debt/brief/covid-19-debt-service-suspension-initiative>.

Only China's full participation in the World Bank's DSSI will ensure that DSSI relief from the United States and other bilateral creditors does not "bleed" to China. Although China, as a member of the G20, claims to support this initiative, more work is necessary to ensure full participation, and the G7 recently took steps to do so, again. Bank assistance should not be used to pay off such debt.

Environmental and Social Safeguards and Due Diligence

Question. As a substantial shareholder across the multilateral development banks (MDBs), the United States has long played a critical role in shaping the banks' priorities and promoting investments that fulfill a development mandate and reduce global poverty. Our Government has led efforts to ensure that these public institutions have strong social and environmental safeguards, provide the public with access to information regarding their investments, and uphold robust accountability frameworks. How will you continue and build on this tradition of leadership to advance the values of transparency, accountability, and strong standards that the U.S. Government has championed across MDBs, including at the World Bank Group?

Answer. As previously stated, the voice and voting power of the United States at the World Bank stand for independent accountability, budget discipline, and focus on the Bank's core mission. While we must react quickly to help those in need, we must not let speed come at the expense of accountability, which includes quality and environmental and social safeguards. This is particularly important as the world responds to the COVID-19 global pandemic. U.S. leadership is more important than ever to promote peace, stability, and economic growth. Indeed, the United States has taken a leadership role in supporting the recent reforms instituted within the Compliance Advisor Ombudsman and Inspection Panel components of the World Bank Group. If confirmed, I will work to uphold this tradition of leadership.

Accountability and Remedy

Question. In 1993, Congress leveraged U.S. support for the World Bank to catalyze the creation of the Inspection Panel—an independent accountability mechanism that can investigate allegations by communities of the Bank's failure to follow its own policies and procedures. On March 5, 2020, the World Bank Group Board of Directors approved a set of sweeping changes to the Panel's toolkit and the World Bank's accountability framework. While some of these reforms are long overdue—such as the creation of a dispute resolution function that exists at almost every other development finance institution—they were largely created without robust public consultation and will only prove effective if properly implemented. How will you work to ensure that these historic changes are operationalized in a way that reflects community voices and does not compromise the independence and effectiveness of World Bank accountability?

Answer. The World Bank's Board of Executive Directors recently established the World Bank Accountability Mechanism and approved an updated Resolution for the World Bank Inspection Panel. This action was the result of a three-year review process designed to improve the Bank's accountability framework, which received input from a broad range of stakeholders, including civil society organizations. If confirmed, I will work to ensure that the newly established dispute resolution function provides an adequate option to communities who feel that Bank projects have negatively impacted them. This engagement will lead up to the Board's review in three years of these enhancements to assess their effectiveness, efficiency, and operational and development impact.

Question. Even with the best risk management, harm to communities may still occur. In such cases, meaningful redress can enable people to productively move forward, which furthers the World Bank Group's development mandate and strengthens its institutional legitimacy. The World Bank Group's accountability mechanisms, the Inspection Panel and the Compliance Advisor Ombudsman, are important tools for strengthening accountability at the World Bank Group and addressing community grievances. However, even in the event of confirmed harm, which can include environmental damage and lost livelihoods, remedial measures identified through an accountability process often go unimplemented due to a lack of readily available resources. A remedy fund would help ensure that resources would be available to remediate negative impacts after an accountability mechanism process. Will you promote and support efforts to create a remedy fund at the World Bank Group to ensure that negative project impacts can be effectively remediated?

Answer. The World Bank's efforts to address fragility, conflict and violence are part of its twin goals to reduce extreme poverty and promote shared prosperity. Indeed, the Bank estimates that by 2030, FCV countries will be home to up to two-thirds of the world's extreme poor. Operating in FCV countries involves greater risk.

As part of the International Finance Corporation's goal of promoting private sector investment and job creation, it also encourages those private enterprises to have appropriate risk mechanisms in place. If confirmed, I would work closely with all relevant stakeholders and consider ideas to strengthen the provision of remedies to individuals or communities.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO ASHOK MICHAEL PINTO BY SENATOR TODD YOUNG

Question. The COVID-19 pandemic has resulted in an unprecedented retreat by international lenders from the developing world, leaving international financial institutions often the last option standing as governments struggle to cope with the economic and human cost of the pandemic. Does the World Bank have sufficient resources to respond to the COVID-19 pandemic? Should the United States support mobilization of additional resources, and if so, through what mechanisms?

Answer. In aiming to assist one billion people impacted by COVID-19, the World Bank Group has committed to deploy up to \$160 billion over the 15 months since the pandemic started earlier this year. Of this amount, \$50 billion will be in either grants or highly concessional terms from the International Development Association (IDA), which supports the world's poorest countries. This level of assistance would not be possible absent the support of Congress for the 2018 International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and International Finance Corporation capital increase—to which the United States was the largest contributor at \$1.2 billion—and the IDA19 replenishment of \$3 billion. Bilateral debt service suspension can also help governments provide critical assistance to the world's most vulnerable people.

Question. Developing countries face a variety of financing needs, including funding the immediate public health response, broad budgetary support, and liquidity support. How should the international financial institutions prioritize their financial assistance? How should World Bank lending be allocated across countries?

Answer. World Bank support must prioritize saving lives, protecting the poor and most vulnerable people from economic and social impacts, preserving jobs and fostering business growth and job creation, and strengthening institutions for a resilient recovery. The World Bank should continue to make assisting the world's poorest countries its primary objective, including through bilateral debt service suspension, which can provide swift and significant relief, allowing governments to channel these resources to support their citizens during the COVID-19 global pandemic. Continued emphasis on graduation strategy is also a key element in prioritizing financial assistance. Countries such as China that have succeeded in developing need to become net contributors to the Bank, not borrowers of resources that are needed elsewhere.

Question. What reasons are there for the World Bank to continue to lend to dynamic large emerging market economies such as China, which often have their own active aid programs? Do you believe that the World Bank should stop lending to China?

Answer. China is the world's second largest economy. The Bank should accelerate the pace of its reduction in lending to China, so that it can lend more to developing countries with greater needs and less ability to finance them. The United States has been the largest advocate of reducing lending to China and other countries above the graduation threshold, and this was agreed as part of the capital increase package. Congress has enacted several restrictions on MDB lending to China and the U.S. Executive Directors forcefully adhere to those restrictions. If there is continued World Bank lending to China, it should be aimed at it graduating from all Bank loans, especially given that it has its own development banks. Any continued loans should be targeted to China's most vulnerable groups, state-owned enterprise (SOE) reform, financial sector reform, and global public goods that create value beyond its borders—projects that remediate damage that China does to the rest of the world from which we all can benefit. Reducing state involvement in the private sector, encouraging greater competition, and fostering a more level playing field are key objectives on which Bank lending must be based. In fiscal year 2020, the United States did not support any projects that involved lending to China.

Question. China has emerged as a major creditor in recent years, but the terms of its lending are opaque. Does the World Bank have sufficient access to the information needed to assess the financing needs of developing countries and emerging markets?

Answer. Accurate data is essential to inform policy decisions and manage risk. There are, however, significant data gaps. For example, much more information is needed about public debt related to state-owned enterprises. [DA5]There is also significant room for improvement in data quality, which will go a long way to address debt vulnerabilities in low-income developing countries. Debt transparency and public disclosure of debt data are key elements of the Debt Service Suspension Initiative (DSSI), spearheaded by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, which aims to help the world's poorest countries assist their citizens. Providing additional granularity and facilitating creditor and debtor debt data reconciliation are integral steps in assessing the financing needs of developing countries. To support the DSSI and promote improved debt transparency, the Bank has released data on the public and publicly guaranteed debt stocks and projected debt service due, for the 68 DSSI eligible countries, by creditor type. This data is publicly available on the Bank's web site: <https://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/debt/brief/covid-19-debt-service-suspension-initiative>.

Question. We have spent a lot of time on this committee discussing the perils of Chinese debt trap financing. Has World Bank assistance been used to pay off Chinese debt in certain countries—such as those that participate in the Belt and Road Initiative? Should the World Bank be used for such activities?

Answer. No. Only China's full participation in the World Bank's Debt Service Suspension Initiative (DSSI) will ensure that DSSI relief from the United States and other bilateral creditors does not "bleed" to China. Although China, as a member of the G20, claims to support this initiative, more work is necessary to ensure full participation, and the recent G7 Finance Minister's statement makes that point clearly. Bank assistance should not be used to pay off such debt.

Question. What do you see as the key reform priorities at the World Bank?

Answer. At the World Bank, independent accountability, budget discipline, and focus on the Bank's core mission are key reform priorities. If confirmed, I would use the substantial experience I have gained throughout my career in promoting comprehensive oversight at the Bank. The capital increase package includes comprehensive and transformative reforms that World Bank Group will implement to promote stronger global economic growth and sustainable poverty reduction. These reforms include focusing development resources on needier countries with less access to other sources of finance, incentivizing countries to mobilize other resources for financing their development, and creating a more financially-disciplined World Bank Group. In addition, renewed focus on graduation, transparency in the procurement process, and modernization of its policy on information and communications technologies are vital.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO ASHOK MICHAEL PINTO BY SENATOR BENJAMIN L. CARDIN

Human Rights

Question. What are your most meaningful achievements to date in your career to promote human rights and democracy? What has been the impact of your actions?

Answer. At the World Bank, I have consistently worked to promote human rights and democracy. Specifically, I have underscored U.S. support for the Bank's oversight components, including Integrity, Compliance Advisor Ombudsman, Group Internal Audit, Independent Evaluation Group, and Inspection Panel. Through each of these complementary functions, the Bank seeks to uphold the highest human rights and democratic standards in Bank projects and operations. Emphasizing independent accountability, transparency, and respect for the individual ensures that human rights are paramount. Indeed, I have focused on comprehensive oversight, transparency, and accountability throughout my career. In addition, focusing on the world's poorest and most vulnerable people advances human rights by providing better health care, education, sanitation, and energy. If confirmed, I will use the voice and voting power of the United States to make sure that the Board upholds the highest standards of human rights and democracy in the projects it approves.

Diversity

- Research from private industry demonstrates that, when managed well, diversity makes business teams better both in terms of creativity and in terms of productivity. What will you do to promote, mentor, and support your staff that come from diverse backgrounds and underrepresented groups?

Answer. Diversity is of particular importance to me as an Indian American and the son of immigrant parents. If confirmed, I will continue to promote, mentor, and support members of the staff from diverse backgrounds and underrepresented groups in the Office of the U.S. Executive Director. I also strongly support diversity of viewpoints as part of an open and collaborative office environment.

Question. What steps will you take to ensure each of the supervisors at the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development are fostering an environment that is diverse and inclusive?

Answer. At the World Bank, the Office of the U.S. Executive Director is a leader in diversity and inclusion initiatives. For example, the United States is a member of the Gender Working Group, which seeks to ensure the Board of Executive Directors is both gender aware and representative in the way it carries out its governance of the World Bank Group. Promoting these issues is more important than ever given the global pandemic. The Gender Working Group also seeks to identify ways to make the Board more inclusive, through diversity of voices and experience as well as gender balance. The United States has one of the most diverse offices of any Board member. If confirmed, I would work to continue that track record.

Conflicts of Interest

Question. Do you commit to bring to the committee's attention any change in policy or U.S. actions that you suspect may be influenced by any of the President's business or financial interests, or the business or financial interests of any senior White House staff?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I commit to comply with all relevant Federal ethics laws, regulations and rules, and to raise concerns that I may have through appropriate channels.

Question. Do you commit to inform the committee if you have any reason to suspect that a foreign government, head of state, or foreign-controlled entity is taking any action in order to benefit any of the President's business or financial interests, or the interests of senior White House staff?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I commit to comply with all relevant Federal ethics laws, regulations and rules, and to raise concerns that I may have through appropriate channels.

Question. Do you or do any members of your immediate family have any financial interests in any foreign country?

Answer. I maintain one bank account in the United Kingdom from my study abroad program in Oxford more than 25 years ago. The balance is substantially below the minimum for the financial disclosure statement. I do not have any other foreign financial interests.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED TO HON. WILLIAM E. TODD BY SENATOR ROBERT MENENDEZ

Question. How will a diminished U.S. presence in Afghanistan impact our interests in Pakistan? If we indeed draw down to zero troops in Afghanistan by next year, what is your vision for our relationship with Pakistan?

Answer. Pakistan's continued and constructive engagement in a successful Afghan peace process, leading to a durable, negotiated political settlement, is a necessary condition for stronger U.S.-Pakistani ties. The United States will continue to hold the Taliban to all of their commitments under the U.S.-Taliban agreement. While reaching a negotiated political settlement that includes a comprehensive ceasefire will be challenging, I understand that the Department believes this milestone could enable a more robust and multi-faceted U.S.-Pakistan relationship, including through expanded trade and commercial ties.

Question. I understand that Pakistan has taken important steps to support the peace process in Afghanistan and bring the Taliban to the table.

Answer. Yes. Pakistan has taken certain helpful steps to advance the Afghan peace process, including the release of a senior Taliban negotiator, which assisted in bringing the Taliban to the negotiating table. Notably, Pakistan also helped to facilitate the release of a U.S. hostage in Afghanistan in November 2019.

Question. How would you characterize Pakistan's commitment to the peace process in Afghanistan?

Answer. Besides Afghanistan, no country would benefit more from peace in Afghanistan than Pakistan. President Trump and Prime Minister Khan have agreed that a negotiated political settlement in Afghanistan offers the best way to end more than 40 years of war in Afghanistan. Pakistan has played an important role in creating the conditions that brought Afghan leaders and the Taliban to the historic start of Afghan Peace Negotiations, including through the release of a senior Taliban negotiator and facilitating the release of two Western hostages. Helping to facilitate Afghanistan Peace Negotiations that conclude in a political settlement is an opportunity for Pakistan to forge a more constructive role in the region.

Question. What more should Pakistan be doing that they are not currently doing to support the peace process in Afghanistan?

Answer. Pakistan has played an important role in creating the conditions that brought Afghan leaders and the Taliban to the historic start of Afghanistan Peace Negotiations. If confirmed, I will work closely with Ambassador Khalilzad to press Pakistan to continue to engage constructively throughout the process, including by using its influence with all parties, including the Taliban, in support of a durable negotiated political settlement.

Question. Religious minorities in Pakistan including Ahmadi Muslims, Sikhs, Hindus, and Christians have long faced societal and legal discrimination in addition to violence at the hands of extremist groups. Members of these groups increasingly face accusations of blasphemy, which is punishable by death.

- Do I have your commitment to meet with representatives of Pakistan's religious minority communities if confirmed?

Answer. As my previous experience as Ambassador to Cambodia shows, I am committed to engaging robustly with civil society, including representatives of religious communities. I understand that our Embassy in Pakistan meets regularly with representatives of religious minority groups in Pakistan. If confirmed, I would ensure that this robust engagement continues; I commit to meeting with representatives of these communities myself and directing my staff to do the same.

Question. I am deeply concerned by the ongoing persecution of Ahmadi Muslims in Pakistan, which is demonstrated by the Government of Pakistan's refusal to acknowledge them as Muslims and resulting prosecution of Ahmadi Muslims who describe themselves as Muslims.

- Will you urge the Government of Pakistan to abide by its international commitments on respecting religious freedom?

Answer. Pakistan is designated by the Department as a Country of Particular Concern (CPC) for having engaged in or tolerated particularly severe violations of religious freedom, including the discrimination and violence against Ahmadi Muslims which you note. The Department's International Religious Freedom Report addresses these issues, and the Department speaks out about them and opposes laws that impede individuals' freedom of religion or belief, such as blasphemy, apostasy, and anti-conversion laws. The right to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion is reflected in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as well as the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights to which Pakistan is a party. As such, the Department urges all countries, including Pakistan, to protect this right in practice. If confirmed, I would prioritize engagement with all parties to support improved respect for religious freedom.

Question. If confirmed, what specific steps will you take to help protect Ahmadi Muslims and ensure that they can experience their full human and civil rights? What will your strategy be for engaging with the Government of Pakistan on this issue?

Answer. The Department regularly raises with the Government of Pakistan the importance of upholding human rights, including those of Ahmadi Muslims, both bilaterally and in the context of our annual Human Rights report and International Religious Freedom report. If confirmed, I will continue to make this a priority, and would emphasize that Pakistan needs to address systemic discrimination and violence against the Ahmadiyya community among critical actions required to be removed from the Country of Particular Concern (CPC) list. In addition, if confirmed, I would engage the Government of Pakistan on ensuring citizens' basic rights to practice their religion freely, and to pursue legal reforms that better protect religious freedom, including reforming blasphemy laws that are disproportionately used against religious minorities and Ahmadi Muslims.

Question. What measures will you take, or encourage the administration to take, to ensure that extremists in Pakistan who incite violence against Ahmadi Mus-

lims—and Pakistani politicians who openly support them—face appropriate U.S. sanctions including but not limited to travel bans?

Answer. Existing regulations, including the Immigration and Nationalization Act and Presidential Proclamation 8697, provide appropriate tools that the Department applies to prevent travel to the United States by foreign government officials who have participated in or are responsible for particularly severe violations of religious freedom. As Ambassador, I will encourage consular officers to continue to apply these regulations appropriately to anyone involved in inciting violence against religious minorities in Pakistan, including Ahmadi Muslims.

Question. On April 13th the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom (USCIRF) issued a statement highlighting reports of Hindus and Christians being denied food aid, which is especially critical given the economic and health consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic.

- If confirmed, how will you engage with the Government of Pakistan on ensuring that Hindus, Christians, and other religious minorities have access to the COVID-19 assistance it distributes?

Answer. As stated in my testimony, the U.S.-Pakistan COVID-19 partnership is one of my highest priorities, and part of that is ensuring Pakistan distributes COVID-19 assistance fairly, equitably, and to those most in need. I understand from civil society and human rights NGOs and Pakistani media that some minority communities are having difficulty accessing assistance. I also know that vulnerable communities frequently face the brunt of the impact from COVID-19.

There have been credible reports of two incidents in which private Muslim charities in Karachi either denied aid to Hindus or refused to accept aid across Sunni-Shia sectarian lines. The first group changed its stance after public backlash.

If confirmed, I will strongly encourage Pakistani officials and aid organizations to protect their minority communities and ensure they are afforded the same assistance that all citizens receive amid this pandemic.

Question. How will you ensure that U.S. assistance, including COVID-19 assistance, reaches religious minorities in Pakistan?

Answer. I understand State and USAID make every effort to ensure religious minority groups, such as Ahmadis, Christians, Parsis, Hindus, and Sikhs, are being supported through our programming, and if confirmed, I commit to do the same. USAID collaborates with local organizations that are former small grant recipients in Karachi, southern Punjab, and northern Sindh on addressing the challenges of getting relief items to minority communities. For example, USAID partner organization Thar Education Alliance is conducting COVID-19 awareness sessions in southern Pakistan, primarily with the Hindu community, about the importance of social distancing and adopting precautionary measures. Another USAID partner, Bargad, is collaborating with the Punjab provincial government's Human Rights and Minorities Affairs Department to ensure minorities are not excluded or discriminated against during the pandemic. USAID collaboration on the Pakistani Government's Ehsaas cash transfer program includes initiatives working on outreach and access to more marginalized populations (including religious minorities). This is an important priority of mine, and one I will pay close attention to if confirmed.

Question. Organizations that implement U.S. assistance programs have faced significant bureaucratic obstacles to legal registration in Pakistan.

- Do I have your commitment to advocate for American aid implementers that seek to register in Pakistan?

Answer. U.S. implementers are conducting important development work in Pakistan, and if confirmed I pledge to support them. But the situation in Pakistan is troubling. In late 2017, at least 20 international nongovernmental organizations (INGOs), nine of which are U.S.-based, reportedly received notification that their registration applications were rejected and that they were to cease operations within 60 days. In August 2018, at least 21 additional INGOs received similar notifications. Following diplomatic engagement by the international community, which I would continue, the Government created an appeals process that allowed INGOs to operate while their rejections are appealed. Yet the appeals process remains opaque and lengthy.

Pakistan's security institutions have long been suspicious of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), international and domestic, and their work in areas Pakistan's military deems sensitive, including religious freedom, human rights, and media freedom. There are also credible reports that authorities regularly intimidate and harass NGOs.

There are signs the operational environment is slightly improving, however. In February 2020, nine INGOs which were previously rejected were invited to re-apply. The Ministry of Finance's Economic Affairs Division and the Ministry of Interior recently eased INGO restrictions for INGOs implementing COVID-19 relief programs. Although this is a welcome effort, I will continue to raise this issue if confirmed.

Question. A constructive and positive work culture is critical at our Embassies around the world. This is especially important in Pakistan, which is a difficult operating environment for our diplomats.

- How would you describe your management style?

Answer. I am a hands-on leader who leads by example, but am sensitive to staff's needs and morale. Above all, I value honesty, integrity, and seek trusted relationships with my staff. I prioritize diversity in the work place and am a vigorous supporter of the State Department's affinity groups and Women's Executive Leadership Program. Throughout my tenure in government, I have been pro-active in ensuring professional development for both junior and senior staff, and have promoted several programs, including the Pickering and Rangel Graduate Fellowship Program and Pathways Internships, to cultivate a strong and diverse workforce. Questions for the Record submitted to

Question. If confirmed, do I have your commitment to remain engaged with this committee on maintaining the morale of the Embassy staff and a positive work culture in Islamabad?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work to maintain the morale and positive work culture in Islamabad and will work with the committee on this important issue.

Question. How would you characterize your support of career State employees during your tenure, and how would you seek out their expertise and support them at the Embassy if confirmed?

Answer. It is my highest priority to recruit, retain and develop the best and brightest for the Department of State, and coach its future leaders. I am deeply committed to improving and developing all levels of the Foreign and Civil Service, from Ambassadors to entry level officers. As the acting director general, I directed many Department of State mentoring programs and executive leadership programs, and over my career have mentored numerous members of the foreign service and civil service. As the Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary in SCA, I was responsible for the executive leadership of the day-to-day operations of the Bureau, including its nine embassies.

I seek out the expertise of career State employees, being one myself, and will continue to support them, including in their development. Throughout my career, I have promoted a "one team one mission" philosophy, and if confirmed, I would do the same for Embassy Islamabad and its constituent consulates.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit that under your leadership, the U.S. Embassy will not take any action to support, promote, or participate in any matters related to, or that could be perceived as benefitting, the Trump Organization?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to complying with all relevant federal ethics laws, regulations, and rules and to raise any concerns that I may have through appropriate channels.

Question. Do you commit to make clear to all employees that retaliation of any kind has no place in federal government and will not be tolerated under your leadership? Do you agree that anyone found to have engaged in retaliation should be held fully accountable, up to and including losing their job?

Answer. Yes, I commit to making clear that prohibited personnel practices have no place in the federal government and will not be tolerated. I agree that those found to have engaged in retaliation should be subject to accountability and discipline consistent with applicable laws, regulations, and Department policy.

Question. What will you do to promote, mentor, and support your staff that come from diverse backgrounds and underrepresented groups in the Foreign Service? In the Civil Service?

Answer. If confirmed, I will make a priority of encouraging the recruitment and professional development of a diverse staff that represents the United States. Working with my staff, I will encourage the recruitment of a diverse, qualified group of applicants for each job opening, and I will work to expand our mentoring program for new officers to include entry-level specialists and eligible family member employees.

Question. Do you commit to respond promptly to all requests for information by members of this committee?

Answer. Yes. I will provide timely responses organized through the Department of State's Bureau of Legislative Affairs and conducted in accordance with long-standing Department and Executive Branch practice.

Question. Do you commit to appear before this committee upon request?

Answer. Yes, with the understanding that my appearances would be organized through the Department of State's Bureau of Legislative Affairs and conducted in accordance with long-standing Department and Executive Branch practice.

Question. Do you commit to report to appropriate authorities, including the FBI, Inspector General, and Congress, any credible allegations of foreign interference in U.S. elections?

Answer. I commit to comply with all relevant federal ethics laws, regulations, and rules, and to raise any concerns that I may have through appropriate channels.

Question. Do you commit to report to appropriate authorities, including the FBI, Inspector General, and Congress, any attempts by foreign or private individuals to improperly influence U.S. foreign policy, particularly if you have reason to believe those efforts are adverse to U.S. interests?

Answer. I commit to comply with all relevant federal ethics laws, regulations, and rules, and to raise any concerns that I may have through appropriate channels.

Question. If you become aware of any suspected waste, fraud, or abuse in the Department, do you commit to report it to the Inspector General or other appropriate channels?

Answer. I commit to comply with all relevant federal ethics laws, regulations, and rules, and to raise any concerns that I may have through appropriate channels.

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

- What issues are the most pressing challenges to democracy or democratic development in Pakistan? These challenges might include obstacles to participatory and accountable governance and institutions, rule of law, authentic political competition, civil society, human rights and press freedom. Please be as specific as possible.

Answer. As noted in my testimony, a key priority for me, if confirmed as U.S. Ambassador to Pakistan, will be to advance human rights, for which I have a strong track record in my career. While serving as Ambassador to Cambodia during highly contentious national elections and ensuing months of political crisis, including Cambodia's worst civil upheaval in 15 years, I reached out to government and opposition leaders to promote peace and non-violence. Security forces largely acted with restraint, even when confronted with violence. I also created an NGO Advisory Council comprised of leading members of Cambodia's human rights community. This pioneering and inclusive approach gave me the opportunity to create a more cohesive and effective voice for human rights, democracy, and good governance in Cambodia.

I am concerned about impingements on religious freedom in Pakistan, threats to media freedom, and restrictions on civil society, in addition to the growing harassment and disappearances of journalists, activists, and civil society advocates. These restrictions undermine the right of peaceful assembly and the freedoms of expression and association which are vital for any democracy. Regarding media freedom in particular, I am concerned that media and content restrictions, as well as the lack of accountability for attacks against journalists, undermine the exercise of freedoms of expression, peaceful assembly, and association, and damage both Pakistan's democracy and image.

Question. What steps will you take—if confirmed—to support democracy in Pakistan? What do you hope to accomplish through these actions? What are the potential impediments to addressing the specific obstacles you have identified?

Answer. Inadequate protections of individual freedoms, inequitable application of the rule of law, corruption and impunity, weak civilian government, and increasing restrictions on civil society all remain challenges for Pakistan's democratic development. These challenges, particularly in regard to human rights and religious freedom, remain sensitive subjects in Pakistan, and when raised by outsiders often arouse negative public sentiments. Nevertheless, these issues are ones for which the Department advocates both regionally and globally, including citizens' ability to worship freely and the importance of a vibrant press and informed citizenry.

If confirmed, I would continue to closely engage Pakistani officials (civilian and military) on upholding the rule of law and the rights afforded to Pakistanis by their constitution and under its international obligations, and on strengthening Pakistan's civilian democratic institutions. I also will work alongside the Government of Pakistan in fully implementing our assistance programs as authorized by Congress, including on issues of democratic governance like strengthening the rule of law, encouraging good governance, building respect for human rights, and supporting democratic and accountable processes in the country.

Question. How will you utilize U.S. Government assistance resources at your disposal, including the Democracy Commission Small Grants program and other sources of State Department and USAID funding, to support democracy and governance, and what will you prioritize in processes to administer such assistance?

Answer. The State Department and USAID believe that Pakistan's continued democratic development is important for the country's long-term stability and prosperity. If confirmed, I will engage the Government of Pakistan and civil society on democracy and governance challenges, and ensure continued emphasis on democracy and governance assistance programs. I plan to prioritize assistance that strengthens the rule of law, builds respect for human rights, and supports democratic, accountable processes in the country.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to meet with civil society members, human rights and other non-governmental organizations in the U.S. and with local human rights NGOs, and other members of civil society in Pakistan? What steps will you take to pro-actively address efforts to restrict or penalize NGOs and civil society via legal or regulatory measures?

Answer. As my previous experience as Ambassador to Cambodia shows, I am committed to engaging robustly with a wide slate of human rights, civil society, and other non-governmental organizations (NGOs) both in the United States and my postings abroad. If confirmed as Ambassador to Pakistan, I will meet regularly with such groups and will stress to the Pakistani Government the importance of a vibrant civil society to any democracy.

I understand the Department still has concerns regarding the operating environment for civil society in Pakistan, including a burdensome registration process for international NGOs and the restricted ability of domestic NGOs, including those working on important human rights and humanitarian issues, to receive any foreign funding. If confirmed, I will continue to stress to the Pakistani Government the importance of a vibrant civil society to any democracy, and the value of allowing civil society organizations to help deliver vital assistance to Pakistan's most vulnerable communities, including women, children, and religious minorities.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to meet with democratically oriented political opposition figures and parties? What steps will you take to encourage genuine political competition? Will you advocate for access and inclusivity for women, minorities and youth within political parties?

Answer. If confirmed, I will meet with democratically-oriented parties from across the political spectrum, and ensure that Embassy staff maintain our tradition of broad engagement. As noted, I will also urge the Pakistani Government to uphold the rule of law and the democratic freedoms, including the freedom to participate in the political process, afforded to the citizens of Pakistan as enumerated in the Pakistani constitution.

I understand that protection of the rights and freedoms of vulnerable communities, including women and minorities, is an essential part of the Department's work globally and within Pakistan. I share this focus and, if confirmed, will advocate for the rights of these groups in Pakistan and their ability to participate in the political process.

Question. Will you and your embassy team actively engage with Pakistan on freedom of the press and address any government efforts designed to control or undermine press freedom through legal, regulatory or other measures? Will you commit to meeting regularly with independent, local press in Pakistan?

Answer. Yes, if confirmed the embassy team and I will continue to engage the Pakistani Government on issues of press freedom, and I commit to meeting regularly with independent, local press in Pakistan to understand dynamics in the media environment. The Department has received a growing number of reports of restrictions on media outlets and civil society in Pakistan and of detentions of journalists. The Government of Pakistan has used threats (such as withdrawing advertising funds or imposing regulatory sanctions) to incentivize more favorable media coverage, has censored media by cutting live broadcasts of coverage it does not find

favorable, and limited the public's access to broadcasters to punish media for straying from government guidelines.

If confirmed, I will continue to emphasize to the Government of Pakistan that a vibrant press and informed citizenry are essential for any free nation. I will also express that the Department is concerned that media and content restrictions as well as the lack of accountability for attacks against journalists undermine freedoms of expression, peaceful assembly and association, and damage Pakistan's image.

Question. Will you and your embassy team actively engage with civil society and government counterparts on countering disinformation and propaganda disseminated by foreign state or non-state actors in the country?

Answer. Yes, if confirmed the embassy team and I will continue to actively engage with civil society and Pakistani Government counterparts on countering disinformation and propaganda disseminated by foreign state or non-state actors in the country.

Question. Will you and your embassy teams actively engage with Pakistan on the right of labor groups to organize, including for independent trade unions?

Answer. I understand that the Department continues to have concerns regarding the operating environment for civil society and labor groups in Pakistan. Challenges posed by widespread forced and bonded labor, despite laws prohibiting the practice, create additional obstacles to the development of organized labor groups. According to the 2019 Pakistan Human Rights Report, the Pakistani Government "routinely interferes with the rights of peaceful assembly and freedom of association" and Pakistani police often use force to break up labor protests and arrest union organizers. The report notes that labor law enforcement also remains weak due largely to resource constraints and lack of political will. If confirmed, my embassy team and I will continue to stress to the Pakistani Government the importance of enforcing laws prohibiting forced or bonded labor as well as the development of a vibrant civil society as critical to any democracy, and the value of allowing civil society organizations to advocate for labor rights and unions. Such advocacy can help improve Pakistan's labor policies, rendering the Government more attuned and responsive to the needs of a large and vulnerable working population and more attractive to international business.

Question. Will you commit to using your position, if confirmed, to defend the human rights and dignity of all people in Pakistan, no matter their sexual orientation or gender identity? What challenges do the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer (LGBTQ) people face in Pakistan? What specifically will you commit to do to help LGBTQ people in Pakistan?

Answer. If confirmed, I would advocate for the human rights and fundamental freedoms of all people in Pakistan without discrimination based on their race, religion, gender identity, age, ability, or sexual orientation.

I understand that, as documented in the Department's Human Rights Report for Pakistan, there remain criminal provisions in Pakistan against consensual same-sex sexual conduct. In addition, violence and discrimination against lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) persons in Pakistan continues, and police generally take insufficient action when receiving reports of such violence or discrimination. If confirmed, I would meet with advocates from these communities to determine how to best advocate for their interests. I also will ensure that the U.S. Embassy continues to effectively implement programs that provide emergency support for LGBTQ persons or assistance for relevant civil society organizations.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO HON. WILLIAM E. TODD BY SENATOR TODD YOUNG

Question. The Trump administration's 2018 National Security Strategy warned, "The prospect for an Indo-Pakistani military conflict that could lead to a nuclear exchange remains a key concern. . . ." I am particularly worried about a conflict growing on the border between India and China and potential nuclear implications there. How can the United States manage nuclear competition in South Asia?

Answer. I am concerned by the current levels of increased tension between India and Pakistan and the challenges that accompany their growing nuclear stockpiles, particularly tactical nuclear weapons that are designed for use on the battlefield. These systems lower the threshold for nuclear use and pose an increased risk that a conventional conflict between India and Pakistan could escalate to a nuclear ex-

change. If confirmed, I will encourage dialogue and confidence-building between both countries and urge a reduction in tensions to improve prospects for lasting peace, stability, and prosperity in the region. In addition, I would reinforce what the President and Secretary Pompeo have emphasized to their Pakistani and Indian counterparts on the importance of dialogue and the need to reduce bilateral tensions, including along the Line of Control (LoC).

Regarding the current India-China border tensions, the onus remains on China to deescalate and return to the status quo along the Line of Actual Control (LAC). We support both countries utilizing bilateral channels to arrive at a peaceful resolution through dialogue. Beijing's provocative actions along the LAC are part of a broader pattern of aggressive behavior across the region.

Question. Has the administration's suspension of most security-related aid to Pakistan led to any improvements in bilateral relations? What developments might you point to that would indicate Pakistan has responded favorably from the perspective of U.S. policy goals? To what extent, if any, does the reduction of U.S. aid to Pakistan over the past five years risk a loss of U.S. influence there? Does China stand to gain influence in this context?

Answer. The President's 2018 suspension of security assistance allows for narrow, case-by-case exceptions, contingent on positive Pakistani actions, for programs that support vital U.S. national security interests. The suspension has clearly communicated to Pakistan that it must play a more constructive role in the region if it wants a good relationship with the United States, built first and foremost on joint efforts to end the war in Afghanistan and to address the presence of terrorists on its territory that threaten regional stability. If confirmed, I would continue to press this agenda strongly.

Pakistan has taken steps to advance the Afghan peace process, such as the October 2018 release of the Taliban's lead negotiator Mullah Abdul Ghani Baradar for the Doha talks, and facilitation of the Taliban's November 2019 release of Western hostages. In addition, we have seen high-level Pakistani political commitment and genuine progress to address strategic deficiencies in Pakistan's counter terror-financing and anti-money laundering regimes through the Financial Action Task Force (FATF) review process. If confirmed, I will prioritize following through on these commitments.

The China-Pakistan defense relationship is longstanding and has been expanding. If confirmed, I will support defense sales that advance U.S. national security interests, promote U.S. industry, and, when possible, offer an alternative to Chinese platforms.

Question. What is your view of Chinese investment projects underway in Pakistan? Is Chinese investment in the region a net positive or do you foresee negative outcomes? What would you do as Ambassador to facilitate greater U.S. investment in Pakistan?

Answer. China has committed billions of dollars to the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), primarily consisting of massive financing (whether in the form of loans or joint ventures with Pakistani debt commitments) to facilitate PRC-built infrastructure upgrades. The Department has expressed its concerns on CPEC, particularly related to the sustainability of Pakistan's debt to Beijing, CPEC's lack of transparency, reliance on Chinese labor, and inflated project costs benefiting PRC state-owned enterprises at the expense of Pakistan's private sector and Pakistani taxpayers. The Department's position is that any infrastructure projects, including those through CPEC, should apply the highest international standards of openness, inclusivity, transparency, environmental mitigation, and governance. If CPEC's problems remain unaddressed, Pakistan could be deeply burdened by debt and face diminished long-term growth. If confirmed, I would continue advocacy for greater transparency on Beijing's economic activities in Pakistan to seek to ensure that costs are controlled, that debt is sustainable, and that there are long-term employment benefits for Pakistanis, not just PRC-state firms. To help diversify the Pakistani economy away from Beijing, I would also seek to strengthen U.S. trade and investment ties with Pakistan, partnering with U.S. economic agencies, such as the U.S. International Development Finance Corporation, Export-Import Bank, and USAID, and to press Pakistan to ensure a level playing field for U.S. businesses.

Question. Should a negotiated settlement between the United States, the Afghan Government, and the Taliban proceed to its logical conclusion, will a resurgent, legitimized Taliban serve as a strategic victory for the Pakistani Government and military in Afghanistan?

Answer. Besides Afghanistan, no country benefits from peace in Afghanistan more than Pakistan. President Trump and Prime Minister Khan have agreed that a nego-

tiated political settlement in Afghanistan is the best means to bring the conflict to a close, and is an outcome which would avoid further violence and suffering for the Afghan people as well as international partners. While we continue to have concerns with aspects of Pakistan's behavior and relationships with terrorist groups, Pakistan has played a helpful role in advancing the Afghan peace process. The Department has been clear with the Pakistanis that the foundation for stronger U.S.-Pakistan ties will be built on continued and constructive engagement in a successful Afghan peace process, including a durable, negotiated political settlement. Throughout the process, the United States will continue to ensure the Taliban adhere to their obligations as agreed upon in the U.S.-Taliban agreement.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO HON. WILLIAM E. TODD BY SENATOR BENJAMIN L. CARDIN

Question. What are your most meaningful achievements to date in your career to promote human rights and democracy? What has been the impact of your actions?

Answer. As noted in my testimony, a key priority for me if confirmed as U.S. Ambassador to Pakistan will be advancing human rights, and I have a track record of doing so in my career. For example, while serving as Ambassador to Cambodia during highly contentious national elections and ensuing months of political crisis, including Cambodia's worst civil upheaval in 15 years, I reached out to government and opposition leaders to promote dialogue, security force professionalism, and non-violent protest. Security forces ultimately largely acted with restraint, even when confronted with violence including Molotov cocktails. I also created an NGO Advisory Council comprised of leading members of Cambodia's human rights community. This pioneering and inclusive approach gave me the opportunity to create a more cohesive and effective voice for human rights, democracy, and good governance in Cambodia. If confirmed, I will continue to promote human rights and democracy as some of my top goals in Pakistan.

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

Answer. As noted in my written testimony, one of my top goals in Pakistan, if confirmed, would be to advance human rights, particularly freedom of religion and freedom of expression. The killing of U.S. citizen Tahir Naseem in a Pakistani courtroom while on trial for blasphemy was an outrage. If confirmed, I will press Pakistani authorities to ensure the suspects in Mr. Naseem's killing are prosecuted to the full extent of the law. I also will advocate for legal reforms to guarantee religious freedom, including regarding blasphemy laws.

I am also concerned about the increasing restrictions in civil society in Pakistan, including the growing harassment and disappearances of journalists, activists, and civil society advocates. Authorities continue to put burdensome requirements on—and in several instances have expelled—non-governmental organizations. These restrictions undermine the right of peaceful assembly and the freedoms of expression and association, and limit the ability of such actors to help deliver vital assistance to Pakistan's most vulnerable communities.

If confirmed as Ambassador, I would engage closely with federal and provincial authorities in Pakistan, as well as with other stakeholders, on such issues. Already, the Department regularly raises with Pakistan the importance of upholding human rights, both bilaterally and in the context of our annual Human Rights report and International Religious Freedom report. If confirmed, I would continue to make this a priority.

Question. 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 Pakistan in advancing human rights, civil society, and democracy in general?

Answer. Religious freedom, the role of civil society, and media freedom remain sensitive subjects in Pakistan, and when raised by outsiders often arouse negative public sentiments. Nevertheless, these issues are ones for which we advocate both regionally and globally, including the ability to worship freely and the importance of a vibrant press and informed citizenry. If confirmed, I would continue to closely engage Pakistani officials (civilian and military) on upholding the rule of law and

the rights afforded to Pakistanis by their constitution and under its international obligations, and on strengthening Pakistan's civilian democratic institutions.

I understand that these conversations are not easy, whether in public or private settings, but I would continue to press Pakistani counterparts on both the need for, and value of, protection of human rights in ensuring Pakistan is a responsible party in the community of free nations. I would calibrate the venue and audience to achieve maximum effectiveness. I would also ensure that all Embassy staff are empowered to thoroughly and appropriately document human rights abuses in the compilation of Congressionally-mandated reports such as the Human Rights Report, the International Religious Freedom Report, and the Trafficking in Persons Report.

Question. 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 Pakistan? If confirmed, what steps will you take to pro-actively support the Leahy Law and similar efforts, and ensure that provisions of U.S. security assistance and security cooperation activities reinforce human rights?

Answer. As my previous experience as Ambassador to Cambodia shows, I am committed to engaging robustly with a wide slate of human rights, civil society, and non-governmental groups both in the United States and my postings abroad. If confirmed as Ambassador to Pakistan, I will meet regularly with such groups and will stress to the Pakistani Government the importance of a vibrant civil society to any democracy.

If confirmed, I will ensure continued support of our Leahy, Blue Lantern, Golden Sentry, and End Use Checks on provisions of U.S. assistance to Pakistan. In addition, I will ensure that all U.S. security assistance to Pakistan will continue to be vetted in accordance with Leahy provisions, to prevent security force units and members credibly implicated in gross violations of human rights from receiving applicable assistance.

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

Answer. As indicated in my testimony, one of my first goals in Pakistan, if confirmed, will be to advance human rights, including those of political prisoners or persons who are unjustly targeted by Pakistani authorities. As the Department does globally, I will also strongly oppose any laws that curtail human rights and fundamental freedoms and actively engage with the Pakistani Government to ensure the rule of law and due process is equally applied across society, as provided for in Pakistan's constitution and Pakistan's international obligations.

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

Answer. As indicated in my testimony, one of my first goals in Pakistan, if confirmed, will be to advance human rights, particularly freedom of religion and freedom of expression. As the Department does globally, I will strongly oppose any laws that curtail these human rights. Further, I will continue the Department's work in raising with Pakistani interlocutors the values of accountability, fairness, and transparency, which are key attributes to a healthy and well-governed democracy. I will also urge the Pakistani Government to uphold the equal application of the rule of law and the rights afforded to Pakistanis by their constitution and under Pakistan's international obligations.

Question. Research from private industry demonstrates that, when managed well, diversity makes business teams better both in terms of creativity and in terms of productivity. What will you do to promote, mentor, and support your staff that come from diverse backgrounds and underrepresented groups?

Answer. If confirmed, I will make it a priority to encourage the recruitment and professional development of a diverse staff that represents the United States. Working with my staff, I will promote a diverse and respectful workforce, encourage the recruitment of diverse and qualified applicants for each job opening, and expand our mentoring program for junior officers to include entry-level specialists and eligible family member employees.

Question. What steps will you take to ensure each of the supervisors at the Embassy in Pakistan are fostering an environment that is diverse and inclusive?

Answer. If confirmed, I will communicate to Embassy senior staff that I have zero tolerance for discrimination and harassment. In addition, ahead of our annual personnel selection season, I will communicate my expectation that we invite and consider applications from the broadest possible slate of qualified candidates to ensure

that we foster a diverse and inclusive team. I will ask our supervisors to reinforce these principles with their American and Pakistani staff to ensure we set appropriate expectations.

Question. Do you commit to bring to the committee's attention (and the State Department Inspector General) any change in policy or U.S. actions that you suspect may be influenced by any of the President's business or financial interests, or the business or financial interests of any senior White House staff?

Answer. I commit to comply with all relevant federal ethics laws, regulations, and rules, and to raise any concerns that I may have through appropriate channels.

Question. Do you commit to inform the committee if you have any reason to suspect that a foreign government, head of state, or foreign-controlled entity is taking any action in order to benefit any of the President's business or financial interests, or the interests of senior White House staff?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to complying with all relevant federal ethics laws, regulations, and rules and to raise any concerns that I may have through appropriate channels.

Question. Do you or do any members of your immediate family have any financial interests in Pakistan?

Answer. My investment portfolio includes diversified mutual funds, which may hold interests in companies with a presence in Pakistan, but which are exempt from the conflict of interest laws. I am committed to following all applicable ethics laws and regulations and remaining vigilant with regard to my ethics obligations.

Question. How do you believe political corruption impacts democratic governance and the rule of law generally, and in Pakistan specifically?

Answer. As the Department has underscored globally, political corruption erodes the basic principles of democratic governance and the rule of law. I believe that Pakistan's continued democratic development is important for the country's long-term stability and prosperity, and corruption remains a serious challenge to Pakistan's democratic development. If confirmed, I would press the Pakistani Government to promote open and accountable governance, and to implement its international anticorruption commitments in a way that equally applies the law across society.

Question. What is your assessment of corruption trends in Pakistan and efforts to address and reduce it by that government?

Answer. Corruption and impunity remain serious challenges in Pakistan. Both national and provincial government entities have taken actions that indicate a focus on tackling the problem; however, I remain concerned that some anti-corruption efforts are not applied evenly in Pakistan. As noted, if confirmed as Ambassador, I would press the Pakistani Government to promote open and accountable governance, and to implement its international anticorruption commitments in a way that equally applies the law across society.

Question. If confirmed, what steps will you take to strengthen good governance and anticorruption programming in Pakistan?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to continue the Department's work in encouraging Pakistan to uphold the rule of law and the various democratic freedoms afforded to the citizens of Pakistan as enumerated in the Pakistani constitution. I will also work alongside the Government of Pakistan in fully implementing our assistance programs as allocated by Congress, including on issues of democratic governance like strengthening the rule of law, encouraging good governance, building respect for human rights, and supporting democratic and accountable processes in the country. I expect to continue such programming through both USAID and the State Department Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO HON. ERIC M. UELAND BY SENATOR ROBERT MEMENDEZ

Question. It is clear to me that the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor's concerns have been largely ignored by the Political-Military Affairs Bureau in its consideration of proposed arms sales to countries of human rights concern. Consequently, I understand that DRL often censors itself, asking to see sales only to the most egregious human rights abusers to comment upon. Moreover, the recent

Inspector General's report on the May 2019 sales to Saudi Arabia and UAE pointedly noted that human rights considerations were not adequate regarding the sale of 60,000 precision-guided munitions to Saudi Arabia: If confirmed, what specific steps will you take to increase DRL's input to and impact upon PM's arms sales process?

Answer. I understand human rights concerns are one of several factors considered in the arms sales process, together with the implications of such sales for U.S. and regional security, bilateral relations, and U.S. commercial interests. If confirmed, I will ensure that the arms sales process gives appropriate weight to human rights concerns raised by any bureau.

Question. What particular issues and/or regions and countries within DRL's broad mandate would you direct the DRL Assistant Secretary to prioritize?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work with the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor to use a range of tools and work with a range of partners to promote human rights and fundamental freedoms abroad. This includes bilateral and multilateral diplomacy, foreign assistance, public reporting, visa restrictions, and economic sanctions, as appropriate. I will prioritize working for the release of political prisoners as well as promoting accountability for human rights violations and abuses in countries such as the People's Republic of China, Iran, Venezuela, and Nicaragua. If confirmed, I will also prioritize helping partners such as Nigeria with critical challenges in governance and human rights and ensuring DRL's continuing support for nations such as Sudan that are undergoing transition to democratic rule.

Question. How would you help ensure that democracy and human rights issues are adequately prioritized in our relations with other countries?

Answer. The promotion of democratic ideals and human rights is at the core of U.S. foreign policy. If confirmed, I will support the use of a range of tools to promote democracy and human rights abroad. This includes bilateral and multilateral diplomacy, foreign assistance, public reporting, visa restrictions, and economic sanctions, as appropriate, as well as strategic cooperation with like-minded partners. The United States should continue to use its voice and position on the world stage to draw attention to violations and abuses of human rights.

Question. How do you view DRL's role within the broader State Department and its relation to the regional bureaus?

Answer. The Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor (DRL) plays a key role by leading the State Department's efforts to promote human rights, which is in the best interests of the United States. DRL champions American values, including the rule of law and the rights of individuals, which contribute to strong, stable, prosperous, and sovereign states. American security is advanced in the struggle against authoritarianism and terrorism when we stand for the freedoms of religion, speech, association, and the press, and the rights of people to assemble peaceably and to petition their government for a redress of grievances. If confirmed, I will support DRL continuing to play this vital role, including in its relationships with regional bureaus and embassies.

Question. The world is in the midst of a "democratic recession," with evidence of democratic erosion within existing democracies while key non-democracies such as China are arguably becoming both more repressive internally and more influential internationally. How would you direct DRL to respond to these developments?

Answer. If confirmed, I will direct DRL to continue to engage bilaterally and multilaterally to address challenges to democracy, respond to rising autocracy, support emerging democracies, oppose restrictions on the operation of civil society and media, protect human rights defenders, combat corruption, and promote conditions necessary for free and fair elections. I will also support DRL's efforts to foster informed and engaged societies worldwide by bolstering freedom of expression, safety of journalists, and resilience to disinformation.

Question. What implications, if any, do these trends have for DRL policies and programs?

Answer. I believe DRL's programs and other engagements are critical for addressing challenges to democracy, responding to repression within authoritarian countries, and asserting U.S. leadership and influence around the world. If confirmed, I will work to ensure that DRL's diplomatic and programmatic efforts continue to strengthen democratic institutions and processes under duress, and respond to challenges posed by authoritarian regimes. I also will work with others in the Department to ensure that all possible avenues are explored to address such challenges.

Question. Leahy Laws: DRL is responsible for vetting foreign security forces under the “Leahy Laws,” which prohibit assistance to those security forces that have committed a gross violation of human rights: Does DRL have sufficient funds and personnel to conduct an adequate vetting process?

Answer. I understand Congress allocates funds on an annual basis to DRL for human rights vetting which the bureau uses to fund full-time Leahy vetter positions for every region, develop and maintain the global International Vetting and Security Tracking cloud-based vetting system, and provide support to Department regional bureaus and posts to fund additional full-time Leahy vetters.

If confirmed, I will work to ensure our Leahy Law implementation programs continue to be fully resourced.

Question. To what extent do the Leahy Laws benefit or hinder the State Department’s ability to conduct foreign policy?

Answer. The Leahy Laws support the U.S. foreign policy objective of promoting democracy, human rights, and fundamental freedoms. Our national security benefits when partner governments and security forces around the world uphold democratic values, promote and protect human rights, hold human rights violators accountable when necessary, and support fundamental freedoms. If confirmed, I will ensure the Department of State’s continued rigorous implementation of the Leahy Laws.

Question. Are there circumstances under which the Leahy Laws could hamper our pursuit of our national security interests?

Answer. Promoting democracy, human rights, and fundamental freedoms advances our national security interests. Our most valued, dependable, and effective partner governments and security forces around the world uphold democratic values, respect and protect human rights, and hold human rights violators accountable. The United States must continue to create and maintain strong security relationships with such partners through diplomacy, appropriate assistance, and frequent and ongoing cooperation. The Leahy Laws are important tools that aid us in this effort, and, if confirmed, I will support their continued rigorous implementation.

Question. INL has contributed to the U.S. Government’s efforts to shine a light on foreign corrupt practices around the world: Please assess how INL’s anti-corruption programming has contributed to U.S. foreign policy efforts and what more, if any, can INL do to ensure U.S. priorities in this area are achieved.

Answer. Corruption undermines the rule of law, fair conditions for U.S. business competition, and the resilience of U.S. partners to malign foreign influence. INL anti-corruption programs help foreign government partners deploy the modern legislative frameworks, professional capacity, and international cooperation necessary to tackle this pernicious crime, building cooperation with U.S. authorities and stemming graft before its impact reaches U.S. shores. As a result, our foreign partners are increasingly able to deny transnational criminal organizations this key means of facilitating drug trafficking and a range of other criminal activity. If confirmed, I will ensure INL retains combating corruption among its core anti-crime assistance priorities.

Question. Given that the State Department plays a key role in providing foreign policy guidance for our sanctions programs, can you please explain why the administration hasn’t utilized the tools in the Fentanyl Sanctions Act, and can you detail what steps you will take to ensure its implementation?

Answer. The Department continues to coordinate closely with Treasury to combat drug trafficking globally through implementation of sanctions programs such as the Foreign Narcotics Kingpin Designation Act and the Fentanyl Sanctions Act. Such actions promote accountability and make it harder for these criminals to operate with impunity. The Department is also committed to actively working within the Commission on Combatting Synthetic Opioid Trafficking to develop a consensus on a strategic approach to combating the flow of synthetic opioids into the United States. These efforts complement the Department’s bilateral counterdrug programs and other work abroad to stop flows of synthetic opioids into the United States.

Question. There is an ongoing national debate in the United States about the use of force by law enforcement officers at the federal, state, and local levels, and the importance of policing strategies that take into account issues of race and ethnicity. If confirmed, what steps would you take to review programs conducted by the Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs (INL) and ensure that INL overseas training initiatives include standards on the appropriate use of force and address issues of racial and ethnic bias?

Answer. I condemn any misconduct by law enforcement, criminal justice, or government officials. In this context, I fully support the President's Executive Order on Safe Policing for Safe Communities and will support INL's mission to promote criminal justice systems in foreign countries that serve all citizens equally and balance public safety and the rule of law with respect for human rights and individual freedoms. If confirmed, I will also support INL's ongoing efforts to carefully screen its state and local law enforcement partners that participate in foreign assistance programming, and I will ensure INL training and capacity building programs uphold the highest standards of policing and reflect U.S. values.

Question. What do you believe is the future of the U.S.-ICC relationship in meeting the mutual goals of holding perpetrators of atrocity crimes accountable for their actions?

Answer. Since even before the conclusion of the negotiations over the Rome Statute, there have been longstanding, bipartisan objections to the possibility that the ICC could attempt to assert jurisdiction over U.S. personnel. In 2017, when the ICC requested authorization to investigate the "situation in Afghanistan," which includes investigation into the activities of U.S. personnel, U.S. cooperation with the ICC ended. If a permanent solution to U.S. objections is found, cooperation can resume. Regardless, the U.S. commitment to holding perpetrators of atrocity crimes accountable is undeniable and unwavering; no other actor on earth has been as committed or done as much to advance the cause of justice and accountability as we have.

Question. Please comment on how adequately the TIP Office is resourced to carry out its mission. What issues would you direct the TIP Ambassador to prioritize within its broad mission?

Answer. Both the White House and the State Department have demonstrated that combating human trafficking is a priority. I know the Secretary is committed to making sure the TIP Office has the resources it needs to continue the Department's critical work on this front. If confirmed, I look forward to working with Congress and Department colleagues to address any needs while making the most efficient use of the resources the Office already has.

I will also work closely with Ambassador Richmond to continue the excellence of the TIP Report, State's year-round diplomatic engagement and role supporting the President's Interagency Task Force to coordinate interagency anti-trafficking efforts, and our international programming.

Question. Will you support efforts to ensure that the tier rankings accurately reflect efforts to combat human trafficking in each country?

Answer. Combating human trafficking is a priority for this administration and will be a priority of mine at the Department, if confirmed. From my work at the Department and in Congress, I know the Department's Trafficking in Persons Report (TIP Report) to be the gold standard in assessing government efforts to monitor and combat trafficking in persons. If confirmed, I will continue to ensure that the TIP Report tier rankings are based solely on whether a country meets the minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking set forth in the Trafficking Victims Protection Act.

Question. How will you help ensure the TIP report is seen as credible and objective?

Answer. The Trafficking in Persons Report (TIP Report) reflects the U.S. Government's commitment to global leadership on this key human rights and law enforcement issue. If confirmed, I will work closely with Ambassador Richmond and Department of State experts to ensure that the TIP Report is as credible, objective, and accurate as possible, based solely on whether a country meets the minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking set forth in the Trafficking Victims Protection Act. I know the Department has had robust engagement with this committee on the TIP Report, and, if confirmed, I look forward to this continued partnership.

Question. The United States has been a leader for decades in promoting human rights and ensuring the protection of human rights defenders across the world. In accordance with this leadership, we've been gratified to see the Department's use of Global Magnitsky designations to hold individuals and entities who commit serious human rights violations or who engage in acts of corruption accountable by freezing their assets and denying their visa requests to the United States: Do you support the use of Global Magnitsky designations and calling out human rights abusers as a tool of foreign policy in order to hold individuals and entities to account?

Answer. Yes, I support the use of Global Magnitsky and calling out abusers as a tool of foreign policy. The Global Magnitsky sanctions program represents the best of the United States' values by taking impactful steps to protect and promote human rights and combat corruption around the world.

Question. Do you agree that there should be additional resources provided to those who review Global Magnitsky designations in order to ensure a more robust sanctions regime that targets the worst human rights abusers?

Answer. Targeted sanctions for human rights abuses and corruption are a proven tool to discourage malign actors, promote accountability, and peacefully address situations that may threaten international peace or security. If confirmed, I will work with State Department colleagues and with the Treasury Department to ensure sufficient resources support the Global Magnitsky sanctions program.

Question. What role do you see the 7031(c) authority playing in upholding human rights abroad?

Answer. I believe that by shining a light on human rights violators and corrupt officials from foreign governments, we take impactful steps to protect and uphold human rights and combat corruption globally. If confirmed, I will continue to support use of available sanctions and visa ineligibility authorities, including 7031(c), which are powerful tools to deter and promote accountability for human rights abuses and corruption.

Question. U.N. human rights mechanisms have been vocal in calling out abuses committed by the Iranian Government in recent months. In one recent report, the U.N. special rapporteur on Iran—a position originally created by the U.N. Human Rights Council in 2011 with strong U.S. backing—noted increasing restrictions on the right to freedom of expression, the right to a fair trial, and the right to freedom of association and assembly. The special rapporteur also found that Christian converts risk arbitrary arrests, detention, and interrogation about their faith and have faced specious charges. The special rapporteur has also been vocal in calling on Iran to release human rights defenders from prison due to the COVID-19 pandemic: Does the administration support these statements?

Answer. Yes. The Iranian regime has violated human rights for 41 years, and, if confirmed, I will ensure the United States continues to press Iran to end these abuses.

I understand the administration shares the Special Rapporteur's concerns regarding the continued repression of members of religious minority groups, including Gonabadi Sufis, Baha'is, and Christian converts, who face severe treatment because of their beliefs, including harsh jail sentences. The United States agrees with her call to release human rights defenders.

The regime's continued restrictions on the rights of freedom of expression and peaceful assembly, particularly during the November 2019 protests, is concerning. If confirmed, I will continue to call for investigations into the November 2019 killing of protestors.

Question. Given that the administration has decided to withhold assessed contributions from the U.N. Human Rights Office, how do you plan to support the work on Iran being carried out by the special rapporteur?

Answer. I understand that it is administration policy for continued cooperation with U.N. special procedures. If confirmed, I will prioritize engagement that maximizes the promotion of U.S. objectives, such as U.S. participation in interactive dialogues with the special rapporteur on Iran during the UNGA Third Committee. I also will support U.S. calls for Iran to allow the special rapporteur access to carry out her mandate through a country visit.

If confirmed, I plan to continue administration policy for the State Department's close coordination with the Office of the U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights, while reviewing our engagement with individual human rights mandates and processes to ensure our funding strategically supports U.S. national interests and administration priorities, and to continue our practice of not supporting mandates that do not advance U.S. interests.

Question. Now that the administration has withdrawn from and defunded the [Human Rights] Council, what is it doing to support the work of this body?

Answer. The United States resigned from its seat as a member of the Human Rights Council on June 19, 2018. We do not participate in Human Rights Council sessions, nor do we engage in the negotiation of resolutions put forward by the Council. We continue to engage on human rights issues in other U.N. fora, such as the General Assembly, and we continue to participate in the Universal Periodic Re-

view process. We also continue to engage with a wide range of special procedures mandate holders, including special rapporteurs, independent experts, and commissions of inquiry that cover human rights issues.

Question. Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues: In 2002, Congress passed the Tibetan Policy Act and institutionalized U.S. political support for Tibet, including formalizing the institution of the position of the Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues. Since the passage of the Tibetan Policy Act of 2002, all Special Coordinators for Tibetan Issues have been at the Under-Secretary level. At a time when the situation in Tibet (and in China) is worsening and when there is no indication of a Chinese desire to resolve the Tibetan issue, the United States should be strengthening its efforts on Tibet, including through elevating officials handling Tibetan issues. At this crucial moment, if the U.S. State Department lowers the position to be held by an Assistant Secretary, it will signal to the Chinese Communist Party a weakening of United States' resolve and commitment to the Tibetan issue. Should you be confirmed as Under Secretary, will you commit to seek to be dual hatted as the United States Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues, just as your J predecessors have done for over 15 years?

Answer. If confirmed, I am committed to engaging on Tibetan issues, and will review this further. I support continued efforts by the Department on Tibetan issues and acting consistent with the Tibetan Policy Act.

Question. What will your priorities be for the CT Bureau?

Answer. If confirmed, counterterrorism would be one of my top priorities. While the United States has made real progress, the threats from ISIS, al-Qa'ida, and Iran and its proxies are far from behind us. I believe the State Department—and in particular, the Counterterrorism Bureau—has been and remains central to any successful counterterrorism strategy and approach. If confirmed, I will work with the Counterterrorism Bureau to fully leverage the Department's diplomatic, foreign assistance, and sanctions tools, among others. While the United States will continue to lead the global campaign to defeat terrorist groups, this is not a battle that we can win on our own. If confirmed, I will also work closely with the Counterterrorism Bureau to ensure our partners are doing their part, and appropriately sharing the burden, which is an administration priority outlined in the 2018 National Counterterrorism Strategy.

Question. Based on your knowledge of the Counterterrorism Bureau's missions and activities, in what areas does it perform well?

Answer. The Bureau of Counterterrorism (CT) is instrumental in the United States' efforts to promote counterterrorism cooperation, strengthen partnerships, and build partners' civilian capacity to counter the full spectrum of terrorism threats. CT's role in implementing the National Strategy to Counterterrorism (2018) has been extremely important to the U.S. Government's counterterrorism successes in recent years. CT has rallied the international community to increase pressure on Iran through terrorist designations and sanctions, as well as enhancing international information sharing that has led to the prosecution of Hizballah facilitators. CT is also helping lead the international coalition to defeat ISIS, as it expands its focus beyond Iraq and Syria to defeat its branches and networks across the Middle East, Asia, and especially Africa.

Question. What counterterrorism policies or activities may need to be reassessed or improved?

Answer. While our partners around the world have taken significant steps in recent years to address the terrorist threats confronting the international community—particularly in countering the rise of ISIS—significant gaps remain. Some countries still lack the basic counterterrorism tools mandated by U.N. Security Council resolutions (UNSCR), including UNSCR 2396 on terrorist travel, which the State Department was instrumental in conceiving and adopting. The State Department can and is assisting countries on the front line to build these capabilities. However, these partners must be equally committed to this effort. If confirmed, one of my top priorities would be working to ensure that our partners are doing their part.

Question. How do you envision CT/CVE informing and supporting the work of the other bureaus and offices you will be leading?

Answer. CVE is an essential aspect of our counterterrorism approach. CVE efforts must include proactive actions to counter efforts to radicalize, recruit, and mobilize terrorists, and to address the specific factors that enable terrorist radicalization and recruitment. The Department and USAID leverage diplomatic, development, and

foreign assistance tools to prevent and counter terrorist radicalization and recruitment, both online and offline, regardless of ideology. The Department has many bureaus and offices that can bring their expertise and programming to bear, in support of CVE. The CT Bureau guides and coordinates the Department's CVE policy, assistance, and programming which is carried out by a range of Department bureaus and offices including those that, if confirmed, I will be leading. If confirmed, I will work to ensure the Department works collaboratively to bring all of its resources to bear on CT and CVE.

Question. How do you see the role of the National Security Council (NSC) in supporting the activities of the Bureau of Counterterrorism?

Answer. The NSC staff plays a critical role in coordinating among inter-agencies' counterterrorism policy, strategy, and approach. The State Department works closely with the NSC staff in this effort. For example, the State Department was integrally involved in the development, drafting and implementation of the NSC-led National Strategy for Counterterrorism. The NSC's interagency Counterterrorism Security Group (CSG), in which the State Department participates, serves as the key venue to coordinate counterterrorism policy, through which CT Bureau and our Chiefs of Mission ensure foreign policy and counterterrorism efforts remain aligned around the world. The CSG, along with the Deputies and Principal Committee, are fora where the Department can ensure their counterterrorism efforts are aligned to broader U.S. foreign policy objectives.

Question. Do you believe that the resources and funding dedicated to U.S. counterterrorism programs at the State Department are adequate?

Answer. The funds Congress provides to the Department allows it to sustain assistance in the highest priority areas and make gains in civilian capabilities with some of our most important partners in Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Iraq, the Philippines, Somalia, Tunisia, and beyond. The State Department has improved the capabilities of key front states to identify, disrupt, prosecute and detain terrorist operatives; prevent terrorist travel; bolster aviation and border security; and address terrorist recruitment and propaganda. The Department has developed a comprehensive program review and budget planning process to ensure that it knows where the threats and needs are, can account for where every dollar is being spent, and evaluate the effectiveness of those programs. If confirmed, I will support the Department's budget request and am confident that it will request resources necessary to execute the President's strategy.

Question. What is being done to win the "hearts and minds" of individuals and groups that may be susceptible to the influences and teachings of radical Islamic fundamentalists?

Answer. CT and USAID have worked to implement a multi-pronged approach to offer alternatives to individuals who may be susceptible to the influences and teachings of radical Islamic fundamentalists. These efforts include promoting messages to counter terrorist propaganda, improving governance and strengthening communities to resist violent extremist incursions, and building a global prevention architecture by bringing together governments, civil society, and the private sector to build resiliency to terrorist ideologies. If confirmed, I will work with host and affected governments where Islamic fundamentalists and other terrorist groups may be propagating problematic influences and teachings to implement this multi-faceted approach.

Question. How does the State Department assess the effectiveness of efforts to counter violent extremism?

Answer. If confirmed, I will support the Department's efforts to conduct regular and comprehensive evaluations of CVE programs. The State Department has a robust system in place for measuring the effectiveness of CVE programs. The CT Bureau employs third-party contractors to perform the majority of CT and CVE evaluative work, ensuring objective and professional results. CT evaluations have wide-ranging impacts, from refining projects and replicating successful approaches, to revising both internal and external processes that have informed program design, implementation, and strategy. The findings and recommendations from these evaluations lead to more effective programs, more productive and analysis-driven processes, and more efficient management and execution.

Question. What lessons has the Department learned?

Answer. Through the decades-long counterterrorism fight, the Department has learned that it is not enough to react to terrorism, we must prevent it as well. Our countering violent extremism (CVE) efforts work to ensure that terrorist groups like

al-Qaida, ISIS, and many others cannot recruit, radicalize, mobilize, reconstitute, or inspire acts of terrorism. The Department's key strength in CVE is its unique ability to support partner governments in their efforts to prevent the rise of terrorism, through bilateral and multilateral diplomatic channels as well as by helping local actors build resilience to terrorist radicalization and recruitment.

If confirmed, I will work to build off of several lessons the Department has learned while implementing CVE programming: First, a comprehensive approach to address the drivers of terrorism is critical to advancing the United States' national security and overall foreign policy goals. Second, if confirmed, we must counter the intolerant ideology that helped to give rise to ISIS and other groups. Third, CVE efforts must be guided by ongoing analysis of the context, drivers, and most effective responses. The range of possible drivers of terrorism can vary significantly from individual psychological factors to community and sectarian divisions and conflicts. Fourth, programming must be community driven. If confirmed, we need to work in neighborhoods and empower locally resonant voices to address the local issues that make some vulnerable to terrorist recruitment.

Question. What are the current and prospective roles of the Counterterrorism Bureau with respect to addressing international cybersecurity concerns?

Answer. The National Counterterrorism Strategy and the National Cyber Strategy highlight terrorists and other adversaries' interest in attacking physical, information, and communication infrastructure. Working with the Office of Coordinator for Cyber Issues, DHS, the FBI, and others, the CT Bureau broadens international awareness of physical and cyber threats and vulnerabilities, promotes U.N. Security Council Resolution 2341 on the protection of critical infrastructure from terrorist attacks, and facilitates exchange of best practices. In 2019, the CT Bureau and DHS/CISA jointly produced "A Guide to Critical Infrastructure Security and Resilience" (CISR) to explain the U.S. approach for domestic and international partners. CT-funded Anti-Terrorism Assistance CISR courses promote cyber and infrastructure security. Our Terrorist Use of the Internet efforts focus on countering terrorist radicalization and recruitment while respecting human rights and the free flow of information. We partner with the Global Internet Forum to Counter Terrorism and others to share information on tactics, recruiting, propaganda, and financing methods with the private sector, thus facilitating Terms of Service enforcement. The CT Bureau also works with the Global Engagement Center to recognize, understand, expose, and counter foreign non-state propaganda and disinformation efforts aimed at undermining U.S. national security interests. If confirmed, I look forward to continuing to support this vital national priority.

Question. Please comment on PRM's response capacity and contingency planning. To what extent does the current level of staffing of the PRM bureau adequately address its fundamental areas of responsibility?

Answer. During my time as Director of F, I was briefed on several internal and external organizational assessments of PRM over the past decade, which repeatedly recommended changes to support response capacity, contingency planning, and the evolving landscape of the work within the Bureau. If confirmed, I will use my management experience to examine these important questions.

Question. How would you describe the Trump administration's foreign policy goals in these areas?

Answer. The President's National Security Strategy (NSS) clearly outlines the U.S. commitment to champion American values by reducing human suffering. The United States continues to lead the world in humanitarian assistance even as we expect others to share the responsibility. The NSS seeks to support displaced people close to their homes to help meet their needs until they can safely and voluntarily return home. I look forward, if confirmed, to being part of State Department efforts to provide protection and achieve durable solutions for the millions of forcibly displaced people across the globe, to strengthen the global humanitarian architecture, and to help ensure respect for international humanitarian laws and norms.

Question. How would you describe the degree of interagency coordination between USAID and the State Department on humanitarian assistance activities?

Answer. The State Department and USAID bureaus primarily responsible for U.S. humanitarian assistance maintain regular and close coordination in field locations where both are implementing programs and between regional and policy offices in Washington. These bureaus are also working together through the Humanitarian Assistance Steering Council (HASC), which I helped establish during my tenure in the Department's Office of Foreign Assistance (F), to advance the administration's goals of optimizing humanitarian assistance programs. This is aligned with the

President's objective to increase the efficiency, effectiveness, and accountability of all federal agencies. If confirmed, I look forward to participating in this forum again.

Question. What are ways that PRM can engage the donor community, increase global burden sharing, and help guard against donor fatigue, particularly in protracted crises?

Answer. No single donor can meet the growing need for humanitarian assistance worldwide. The United States seeks to increase the efficiency and effectiveness of global humanitarian assistance and to expand the share of government-provided humanitarian assistance borne by other nations. This year's U.N. General Assembly side event, hosted by Deputy Secretary Biegun on September 24, 2020, highlighted the United States' humanitarian leadership and called for broadening the humanitarian donor base. Such initiatives help focus attention on the importance of humanitarian assistance and allow us to call for other donors to increase contributions or start contributing. If confirmed, I would ensure that these important efforts continue, as the United States fulfills its role as a leader and catalyst for efficient and effective humanitarian response.

Question. What is your view of the role of the United States in global fora, such as the global compacts on refugees and migration? What do you see as the key drivers for the U.S. withdrawal from participation in the Global Compact on Migration?

Answer. The United States engages in global fora to advance our interests and encourage greater burden sharing among U.N. member states and other stakeholders, including development actors, refugee-hosting countries, and the private sector. The administration values much of what is contained in the Global Compact on Refugees, but I understand that the United States did not support the Global Compact on Migration because it contained goals and objectives that are inconsistent and incompatible with U.S. law and policy.

Question. What do you see as the U.S. role in refugee resettlement? In past years, the United States has sought to ensure that at least 50% of all refugees referred by UNHCR were considered for U.S. resettlement. In your view, is this still a U.S. goal? The U.S. refugee ceiling is historically low and access to asylum has been slashed. Why has the U.S. abandoned its proud tradition as a champion for refugee resettlement? Do you think the United States should continue to slash slots for the resettlement of refugees? Why or why not?

Answer. The President authorized the admission of up to 18,000 refugees for FY 2020. I understand that the agencies responsible for refugee admissions have worked with the national security and intelligence communities to strengthen the U.S. Refugee Admissions Program's security measures, the operational realities of which are reflected in this year's ceiling. In line with the National Security Strategy (NSS), the United States continues to champion American values by reducing human suffering, including through resettlement of the world's most vulnerable refugees. The United States continues to lead the world in humanitarian assistance and seeks to support displaced people close to their homes to help meet their needs until they can safely and voluntarily return home.

Question. Do you agree that the U.S. Refugee Admissions program should be responsive to global resettlement needs without discrimination? Yes or no? With governors and mayors across all 50 states expressing strong support for the Refugee Admissions program, what is the rationale for further cuts reported to be under consideration for FY 2021?

Answer. The United States continues to operate one of the largest refugee resettlement programs in the world. It is consistent with the President's National Security Strategy and our foreign policy goals of providing resettlement to the most in need while assisting refugees as close to home as possible. I understand that the United States is also the single largest donor of international humanitarian assistance, and last year delivered nearly \$9.3 billion in life-saving aid around the world. If confirmed, I commit to working with other donor governments, international organizations, and the private sector to ensure the needs of refugees are met globally. I am neither aware of, nor would be able to comment on, discussions regarding the FY 2021 refugee admissions program.

Question. Rohingya Refugee Crisis: The United Nations Fact Finding Mission, the U.S. Government, and several non-governmental organizations have documented the Burmese military's killing of tens of thousands of Rohingya, cases of summary executions, mass rapes, and burnings of villages, which led to the displacement of over 700,000 to neighboring Bangladesh. As of August 2019, over 900,000 Rohingya re-

side in refugee camps in Bangladesh: As Undersecretary, will you commit to more funds and focus going to these refugees through PRM?

Answer. I understand the United States has led the donor response to the Rohingya/Rakhine State crisis since its escalation in 2017, providing nearly \$966 million in humanitarian assistance to affected populations in Burma and Bangladesh since August 2017. If confirmed, I will commit to continued U.S. leadership in the humanitarian response to the crisis, as well as to support efforts in developing durable solutions. It is important for the international community to continue providing humanitarian assistance to vulnerable populations affected by the Rakhine State crisis, while durable solutions are being pursued, given that conditions in Rakhine State are not yet conducive for voluntary, safe, dignified, and sustainable returns of the Rohingya.

Question. How will you ensure that the basic human rights of the Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh are met, including rights to food, livelihood, health care and education?

Answer. The United States is the single leading contributor of humanitarian assistance in response to the Rakhine State crisis, having provided nearly \$966 million since the escalation of violence in August 2017, of which nearly \$806 million has supported programs in Bangladesh. These programs save lives. They provide protection; emergency shelter; water, sanitation, and hygiene; healthcare; psychosocial support; food and nutritional assistance; non-food items; site management and development; education; and access to livelihood opportunities to approximately one million beneficiaries in Bangladesh. The programs also support the related needs of Bangladeshi host communities, and other vulnerable populations affected by the crisis. If confirmed, I will work with the international community to support efforts of the United Nations and its partners to promote respect for human rights of Rohingya refugees and ensure that all participating share the burden to meet their humanitarian needs as we pursue durable solutions to the crisis.

Question. Additionally, given that the most effective way to permanently resolve the Rohingya refugee crisis is by restoring their citizenship in Burma and ensuring safe, dignified and voluntary repatriation process, how do you propose employing the Department's resources to resolving the Rohingya refugee crisis in a more permanent manner?

Answer. If confirmed, I will support PRM to lead the humanitarian response efforts and work towards developing durable solutions for communities displaced by the Rakhine State crisis, in close coordination with other bureaus and agencies. I understand PRM's role is invaluable in working with U.N. bodies, other international and local humanitarian organizations, like-minded countries, and communities affected by the Rakhine State crisis to provide life-saving humanitarian assistance and protection to those in need. Through diplomatic engagements since the beginning of the crisis, the U.S. Government—with PRM's lead—effectively pressed Bangladesh to take a principled humanitarian approach to addressing the refugee influx. I understand PRM's longstanding relationships with U.N. agencies and international organizations, in both Burma and Bangladesh, led to an effective humanitarian response since the outbreak of violence in August 2017. I also understand PRM works with other bureaus and international actors to work toward durable solutions to the crisis. If confirmed, I would continue these efforts.

Question. What do you see the role of PRM during this process?

Answer. If confirmed, I will support PRM to lead the humanitarian response efforts and work towards developing durable solutions for communities displaced by the Rakhine State crisis, in close coordination with other bureaus and agencies. I understand PRM's role is invaluable in working with U.N. bodies, other international and local humanitarian organizations, like-minded countries, and communities affected by the Rakhine State crisis to provide life-saving humanitarian assistance and protection to those in need. Through diplomatic engagements since the beginning of the crisis, the U.S. Government—with PRM's lead—effectively pressed Bangladesh to take a principled humanitarian approach to addressing the refugee influx. I understand PRM's longstanding relationships with U.N. agencies and international organizations, in both Burma and Bangladesh, led to an effective humanitarian response since the outbreak of violence in August 2017. I also understand PRM works with other bureaus and international actors to work toward durable solutions to the crisis. If confirmed, I would continue these efforts.

Question. Please prioritize what you see as the most critical displaced population challenges and describe U.S. strategy and efforts to address these situations.

Answer. With nearly 80 million forcibly displaced people around the world, including from Burma, Syria, South Sudan, and Venezuela, global needs far exceed the capacity of any single government to fulfill. The President's National Security Strategy prioritizes the alleviation of human suffering and reaffirms U.S. leadership as the largest provider of humanitarian assistance worldwide, even as we expect others to share the responsibility. Through reliable contributions to multilateral humanitarian organizations, the U.S. Government maintains an outsized influence in the humanitarian community, shaping international responses to humanitarian crises, encouraging greater burden sharing, and driving humanitarian reform.

Question. What do you assess are the major trends in the humanitarian area? Similarly, what are the key protection and assistance needs of today's refugees and IDPs? If confirmed, how would you recommend that PRM marshal its resources to address these challenges? What countries or regions should PRM prioritize?

Answer. The COVID-19 pandemic is exacerbating existing protection and assistance needs of refugees, IDPs, and other persons of concern. Political instability continues to contribute to displacement as well. Humanitarian partners are reporting an increase in gender-based violence; xenophobia and stigmatization; and discrimination in access to health, food, water, education, and legal services for vulnerable groups. If confirmed, I would recommend that PRM continues to lead the State Department's humanitarian assistance response in the most effective and efficient manner possible to address humanitarian needs while also using all of the J family tools to prevent and end instability, especially in countries such as Venezuela, the Sahel, South Sudan, Syria, and Yemen, among others.

Question. Please comment on the degree of interagency coordination within the U.S. Government in its humanitarian assistance activities. Do you expect a change in this relationship, particularly in light of proposed restructuring at USAID? What would be your top priority related to coordination within the U.S. Government? With U.N. system entities and private sector organizations?

Answer. I understand that the State Department and USAID are continuing to work together through the Humanitarian Assistance Steering Council (HASC), which I helped establish in 2018 to advance the administration's goals of optimizing humanitarian assistance programs. USAID's Associate Administrator for Relief, Response and Resilience (R3) co-chairs the HASC with the J Under Secretary. USAID's Bureau for Humanitarian Assistance and the Department's Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration are integral parts of the HASC. If confirmed, I look forward to co-chairing this forum to ensure that the HASC is able to achieve its objective of increasing the efficiency and effectiveness of humanitarian aid, including within the U.N., and to promote burden sharing, including from the private sector.

Question. What impact do you think the current debate over budget cuts might have on burden sharing and the percentage of overall assistance the United States is prepared to provide to humanitarian crises worldwide? What are the potential short-term implications of such cuts for implementing partners? How might this impact PRM's role in working with donors and any outreach efforts? What are ways that PRM can engage the donor community, increase global burden sharing, and help guard against donor fatigue, particularly in protracted crises?

Answer. There are more forcibly displaced people in the world than at any time in modern history. At the same time, there is a gap between humanitarian needs and funding provided to humanitarian response. The United States is the largest single donor of humanitarian assistance but cannot meet increasing needs alone. I understand the United States has worked through initiatives like the Grand Bargain to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of global humanitarian assistance, organized several donor conferences for specific responses, and led donor discussions to address these global trends, most recently on the sidelines of UNGA. Such efforts are particularly important in times of constrained budgets worldwide, as donors work together to meet humanitarian need.

Question. In your view, is U.S. humanitarian assistance an effective tool for building good will? How do you think the United States is perceived by its allies in terms of any moral obligation to help respond to humanitarian crises? Please describe any alternative ways to balance the need for aid reform and cost effectiveness with a robust humanitarian response.

Answer. The United States is the single largest humanitarian assistance donor and continues through its principled leadership to catalyze international humanitarian response. Top humanitarian donor nations expressed appreciation for the United States' leadership in this area at the UNGA side-event hosted by the Deputy Secretary on September 24, 2020. Simultaneously, the United States recognizes the

need to ensure humanitarian assistance is effective and efficient. If confirmed, I would use my extensive experience in budget and policymaking, including as former Director of the Office of Foreign Assistance, to support efforts that I understand are underway to promote burden sharing and the efficiency and effectiveness of humanitarian assistance, while ensuring our other strategic policy priorities are also met.

Question. For the past two years, the President's budget request has included deep cuts to humanitarian assistance, including drastic reductions in the Migration and Refugee Assistance account, despite bipartisan support for these life-saving programs. If confirmed, will you seek to maintain robust funding for humanitarian assistance through the MRA account?

Answer. The President's National Security Strategy prioritizes the alleviation of human suffering and reaffirms U.S. leadership as the largest provider of humanitarian assistance. While the United States is the single largest supporter of humanitarian action around the world, we cannot and should not do it alone. If confirmed, I would support U.S. Government requests for the resources needed to continue to fulfill the United States' role in humanitarian assistance and to ensure other countries do their part, while pursuing partnership with and contributions from the private sector and civil society.

Question. Do you support continued participation of the United States in the Global Compact for Refugees? Why or why not?

Answer. I support much of what is contained in the Global Compact on Refugees, including its focus on improving responses to refugee crises by the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) as well as facilitating the work of UNHCR in refugee hosting countries. I support a basis for a predictable response to refugee situations and greater burden sharing among U.N. member states and other stakeholders, including development actors, refugee-hosting communities, and the private sector. The Global Compact on Refugees is not legally binding, and states retain the sovereign right, subject to their international legal obligations, to determine their own immigration laws, policies, and practices.

Question. Yemen continues to experience the worst humanitarian crisis in the world, with nearly 80% of the population reliant on some form of aid. U.N. humanitarian agencies like the World Food Program (WFP), U.N. Children's Fund (UNICEF), and U.N. Population Fund (UNFPA) are playing a central role in the response. For example, WFP alone is working to reach 12 million Yemenis each month with food and nutrition assistance. Unfortunately, these efforts are critically underfunded; the UN's Yemen response plan for 2020 has only received 37% of the funds it requested from member states. Of course, this is happening at a time when the COVID-19 pandemic and climate change have exacerbated food security challenges around the world. This past week, former South Carolina Governor David Beasley, WFP's Executive Director, warned that countries like Yemen could slip into famine and more than 30 million could die of hunger worldwide if his agency does not receive the funding it needs to carry out its operations. The U.S. is the largest contributor to U.N. humanitarian relief operations in the world, but clearly more can be done: How is the administration working to address these funding challenges and ensure that lifesaving aid reaches the Yemeni people?

Answer. The United States has provided nearly \$607 million in FY 2020, with additional funding planned, making the United States the largest donor responding to the crisis in Yemen. We have consistently urged other donors to contribute and were pleased to see Saudi Arabia recently commit pledged funding. Funding alone cannot solve all of Yemen's problems. Houthi authorities routinely interfere in aid operations, including most recently the closure of the Sana'a airport, which prohibited the entry of key supplies to fight COVID-19 and polio. While interference is most egregious in the north, there are also access challenges in the south. We will continue advocating in support of the UN's efforts with all parties to provide unfettered access for aid workers. Ultimately, only a political solution can end the suffering of the Yemeni people.

Question. The U.N. Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA) provides a number of key services, including education, medical care, and food aid, to impoverished Palestinian refugees in the West Bank, Gaza, Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon. In 2018, the Trump administration cut off all U.S. funding to UNRWA, citing a desire to use the withdrawal of aid as leverage to win Palestinian acceptance of the administration's then-nascent peace efforts. Two years later, UNRWA continues to operate at the edge of a financial cliff: while donations from other member states have helped partially fill the gap, the agency is facing new pressures brought about by the pandemic, and is facing the possibility of having to close or

reduce services: Given these realities, what exactly is the administration hoping to accomplish by continuing to withhold funding for UNRWA?

Answer. The administration announced in 2018 that the United States will no longer provide financial contributions to UNRWA. UNRWA's business model remains unsustainable and Palestinians deserve better than a service provision model that operates in permanent crisis mode. The United States works with a range of actors to address the needs of Palestinian refugees.

The United States is leading the world's humanitarian and health assistance response to the COVID-19 pandemic, including by providing \$5 million to support health services in the West Bank. I support continuing to assess how U.S. assistance can best be used to alleviate human suffering while advancing U.S. foreign policy and providing value to U.S. taxpayers.

Question. Neither Israel, nor the Palestinian Authority, nor countries in the region like Jordan have demonstrated the capacity or willingness to absorb these activities, so who will perform them in UNRWA's absence?

Answer. The Department made it clear when providing the final contribution of \$60 million in 2018 that the United States would no longer bear a disproportionate share of UNRWA's costs, and other countries must step up and do their part to advance regional security and stability. UNRWA continues to operate with an unsustainable business model, tied to an expanding community of beneficiaries. The Department continues to work closely with Israel and key regional partners on ways to improve economic and humanitarian conditions. Regarding Gaza, Hamas is primarily responsible for those conditions, having put its own interests above those of Gaza's residents.

Question. One of the key objectives of U.S. policy in Iraq is not only to defeat ISIS but to rebuild the country and address the urgent humanitarian and development needs of the Iraqi people. Such measures are critical to both the long-term stability of Iraq and efforts to prevent ISIS from reconstituting itself. Over the last five years, U.N. agencies have helped millions of displaced return home and initiated an infrastructure program to stabilize areas taken by ISIS and give the local population a sense of progress. In particular, the U.N. Refugee Agency (UNHCR) and U.N. Development Program (UNDP) have helped foster the return of 4.6 million Iraqis; completed 2,373 infrastructure projects, which have provided water and electrical service to millions; employed 35,000 people, including many women, with cash-generating jobs; enabled 39,000 children to go back to school; and rehabilitated tens of thousands of houses, benefitting over 130,000 Iraqis: How does the U.S. plan to work with the U.N. and other partners to ensure that the gains of the last few years are not rolled back?

Answer. The United States has worked closely with UNHCR and UNDP to foster the return of 4.6 million Iraqi IDPs and, based on administration policy, intends to continue support and collaboration with U.N. agencies to implement durable solutions for the 1.3 million Iraqis who remain displaced. Advancing effective durable solutions for IDPs that meet international standards, a necessary measure to achieve Iraqi national stability and security, remains a key U.S. priority.

Question. After nearly a decade of civil war, the humanitarian situation in Syria remains dire. Beginning in 2014, the U.N. Security Council authorized U.N. humanitarian agencies to conduct cross-border relief operations into rebel-controlled areas of Syria, in order to circumvent significant obstacles to access put up by the Assad regime. This program allowed several million Syrians in areas outside of government control to access food, medicine, shelter, and other critical forms of humanitarian aid. Unfortunately, since late last year, the Council has voted twice, with U.S. support, to circumscribe these relief operations, due to strong pressure from Russia and China, including the use by both countries of their veto powers. Currently, only one border crossing into Idlib is permitted for cross-border relief deliveries, out of four that were originally in operation. Secretary-General António Guterres and other senior U.N. officials have repeatedly called on Security Council member states to keep the cross-border relief efforts alive: How is the administration working with U.N. humanitarian agencies and other partners to continue to provide aid to Syrian civilians?

Answer. Deputy Secretary Biegun announced at the U.S.-hosted UNGA event on Humanitarian Leadership on September 24, 2020, an additional \$720 million in humanitarian assistance for the Syrian people, bringing the total U.S. humanitarian commitment since the start of the conflict to over \$12 billion. We are the largest single donor to the response to the Syrian conflict.

I support this continued commitment to ensuring the Syrian people receive the humanitarian relief that they need, including through cross-border assistance. I also support efforts to encourage others to increase humanitarian support to the Syrian people despite the Syrian regime's efforts to starve its population into submission.

Question. Criminalization of LGBTIQI: In countries around the world, there are criminal penalties associated with exercising sexual and reproductive health and rights. LGBTIQI people are criminalized for who they love and are regularly prosecuted or incarcerated for consensual same sex sexual conduct or in places like Indonesia, Chechnya and Egypt. There are also women who are in jail in places like El Salvador and Senegal for having miscarriages or abortions. These are gross human rights violations. As Undersecretary, do you commit to raise concerns about laws that criminalize same-sex relationships and women's personal health decisions in public and private diplomatic settings?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work to protect and defend the human rights and fundamental freedoms of all persons, including women and LGBTI persons. This has long been and remains the foreign policy of the United States.

Consistent with President Trump's remarks at the United Nations General Assembly this year, I will champion ongoing U.S. efforts to support the repeal or elimination of laws that criminalize LGBTI status and/or conduct around the world, and I will advocate for the human rights of women across the globe.

Question. Furthermore, do you commit to instructing DRL to report on LGBTI rights and access to sexual and reproductive health services in the Human Rights Report?

Answer. The Country Reports on Human Rights Practices (HRR) include information on respect for the human rights of LGBTI persons. I understand that the HRR subsection entitled "Reproductive Rights" by the previous administration was renamed "Coercion in Population Control" consistent with the requirement of U.S. law to report "wherever applicable, practices regarding coercion in population control, including coerced abortion and involuntary sterilization." Additional material on maternal mortality, access to contraception, and similar issues is available via hyperlink in the text of each country chapter and in an appendix to the HRR. If confirmed, I will ensure that the State Department continues to comply with statutory reporting requirements and delivers objective, evidence-based, and rigorous human rights reports.

Question. What is your assessment of the scope of risks to women and girls during humanitarian emergencies, such as sexual exploitation, human trafficking, and domestic violence, and the status of efforts to address them? Please discuss the impact of the programs PRM is funding and how they are linked to early recovery efforts.

Answer. Humanitarian crises pose many risks, specifically to women and girls, including all forms of gender-based violence (GBV). The Department of State through its many programs and initiatives works to address these risks by responding to violence against women from the start of a humanitarian emergency, and ensuring survivors receive support. One example of this programming is the Safe from the Start initiative, which demonstrates that with well-trained and dedicated humanitarian workers, a relatively low-cost financial investment can make a significant difference in the protection of women and girls. In addition, PRM ensures implementing partners incorporate GBV risk mitigation into all PRM-funded activities.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit that under your leadership, the U.S. Embassy will not take any action to support, promote, or participate in any matters related to, or that could be perceived as benefitting, the Trump Organization?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to complying with all relevant federal ethics laws, regulations, and rules and to raise any concerns that I may have through appropriate channels.

Question. Do you commit to make clear to all employees that retaliation of any kind has no place in federal government and will not be tolerated under your leadership? Do you agree that anyone found to have engaged in retaliation should be held fully accountable, up to and including losing their job?

Answer. I fully support the Department's policy to vigorously protect employees' rights to engage in protected activities. Retaliating against employees who engage in protected activities is prohibited and those who retaliate will be held accountable. Penalties should be strong enough to deter misconduct, and when misconduct is proved, I fully support appropriate penalties, up to and including separation. If confirmed, I will work to ensure that any employees engaging in retaliation will be held accountable for their actions.

Question. What will you do to promote, mentor, and support your staff that come from diverse backgrounds and underrepresented groups in the Foreign Service? In the Civil Service?

Answer. If confirmed, I will support and promote efforts in the J family to foster a culture of inclusion and representative workforce. To promote and retain the Department's diverse workforce, I will apply best practices of actively encouraging hiring managers to engage in broad outreach to attract the best and most diverse talent and then apply standardized interview procedures to eliminate unconscious bias. Additionally, as the Secretary determines, I will promote the expansion of workplace flexibilities, including telework and alternative work schedules, and Leave Without Pay (LWOP) options. Consistent with appropriate laws, regulations, and directives, I will also look for opportunities to encourage bureaus and offices to be diverse, encourage mentoring and sponsorship relationships, and host conversations about hiring, promotion and mentoring.

Question. Do you commit to respond promptly to all requests for information by members of this committee?

Answer. Yes, with the understanding that any such response would be organized through the Department of State's Bureau of Legislative Affairs and conducted in accordance with long-standing Department and Executive Branch practice.

Question. Do you commit to appear before this committee upon request?

Answer. Yes, with the understanding that any such appearance would be organized through the Department of State's Bureau of Legislative Affairs and conducted in accordance with long-standing Department and Executive Branch practice.

Question. Do you commit to report to appropriate authorities, including the FBI, Inspector General, and Congress, any credible allegations of foreign interference in U.S. elections?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to complying with all relevant laws, regulations, and rules and to raising any concerns that I may have through appropriate channels.

Question. Do you commit to report to appropriate authorities, including the FBI, Inspector General, and Congress, any attempts by foreign or private individuals to improperly influence U.S. foreign policy, particularly if you have reason to believe those efforts are adverse to U.S. interests?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to complying with all relevant federal ethics laws, regulations, and rules and to raise any concerns that I may have through appropriate channels.

Question. If you become aware of any suspected waste, fraud, or abuse in the Department, do you commit to report it to the Inspector General or other appropriate channels?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to complying with all relevant federal ethics laws, regulations, and rules and to raise any concerns that I may have through appropriate channels.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO HON. ERIC M. UELAND BY SENATOR BENJAMIN L. CARDIN

Question. Do you accept the legitimacy of the international human rights regime?

Answer. The United States has been clear about its support for the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and that States should adhere to their international human rights obligations and commitments. If confirmed, I will continue long-standing U.S. efforts to advance human rights around the world and condemn those who violate them.

Question. Secretary Pompeo created the Commission on Unalienable Rights with the stated purpose of reevaluating which human rights the U.S. should prioritize in our foreign policy based on foundational American principles. Might countries like China and Russia not interpret this approach as license to pick and choose rights to respect based on their national ideologies?

Answer. Secretary Pompeo did not ask the Commission to single out "which human rights the U.S. should prioritize in our foreign policy." The Commission explicitly rejected a selective approach in its report, which asserts that "it defies the

intent and structure of the [Universal Declaration of Human Rights] to pick and choose among its rights according to preferences and ideological presuppositions while ignoring other fundamental rights.” Furthermore, the report stresses that the UDHR’s “openness to legitimate pluralism” does not mean that any “claim of cultural specificity ought to be accepted as an excuse for violating human rights.” If confirmed, I look forward to reviewing the Commission report in detail and the challenge the Secretary has placed before the Department to assess how the work we are called to do is grounded in the unalienable rights tradition that the United States, including the Department, have advocated for since our nation’s founding.

Question. Do you agree with Secretary Pompeo’s assertion, made at the launch of the Commission on Unalienable Rights report, that “Many [rights] are worth defending in light of our founding; others aren’t”?

Answer. The United States is committed to preserving and protecting the human rights and fundamental freedoms contained in the instruments to which the United States is a party. The United States takes the assumption of such obligations very seriously, and the United States’ longstanding commitment to protecting the human rights and fundamental freedoms of all people is well-known. The United States stands by our foundational ideal that certain principles are so fundamental as to apply to all human beings, everywhere, at all times.

Question. Do you believe that women’s rights and the rights of LGBTQ individuals are rights worth protecting?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I will work to protect and defend the human rights and fundamental freedoms of all people—including women, girls, and LGBTI persons. This has long been and remains the foreign policy of the United States.

Question. What are your most meaningful achievements to date in your career to promote human rights and democracy? What has been the impact of your actions?

Answer. In 1998, I worked on bringing to passage through the Senate the International Religious Freedom Act, which created the Office of International Religious Freedom at the Department of State. Among its other duties the Office carries out significant responsibilities, including issuing an annual report on international religious freedom issues, advocacy on behalf of religious freedom in countries, and review of countries for potential religious freedom violations that could cause their listing as Countries of Particular Concern. The Act also created an Ambassador at Large for Religious Freedom, and the United States Commission on International Religious Freedom.

Over its existence, the Office has worked doggedly on the issue of religious freedom internationally, under both Republican and Democratic administrations. The level of focus on international religious freedom issues by the U.S. Government, including the Department of State, and the work of the Foreign Service and the Commission on these issues, have been a worthy addition to the range of roles and responsibilities of the U.S. Government in advocating appropriately on behalf of our values around the world.

During my tenure as Director of the Office of Foreign Assistance Resources at the Department of State, at the direction of the Secretary I worked to stand up the Humanitarian Assistance Steering Council (HASC), a cooperative effort between the Department and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) to improve coordination on humanitarian issues between the Department and USAID, optimize the work each does on such matters, clarify and enhance the core competencies each can bring to these challenges, and work to find solutions to what faces refugees and host governments face during a refugee crisis. I was gratified to see that through the efforts of the HASC an understanding between the Department of State and USAID was reached in January 2020 that strengthens what each institution can bring to bear and ensured both know what is expected of them and what they can do in varying circumstances. This will ensure in the future that as humanitarian challenges unfold, the United States will be able to act directly and strongly when it engages on refugee crises.

Question. Research from private industry demonstrates that, when managed well, diversity makes business teams better both in terms of creativity and in terms of productivity. What will you do to promote, mentor, and support your staff that come from diverse backgrounds and underrepresented groups?

Answer. If confirmed, I will support and promote efforts in the J family to foster a culture of inclusion and representative workforce. To promote and retain the Department’s diverse workforce, I will apply best practices of actively encouraging hiring managers to engage in broad outreach to attract the best and most diverse talent and then apply standardized interview procedures to eliminate unconscious bias.

Additionally, as the Secretary determines, I will promote the expansion of workplace flexibilities, including telework and alternative work schedules, and Leave Without Pay (LWOP) options. Consistent with appropriate laws, regulations, and directives, I will also look for opportunities to encourage bureaus and offices to be diverse, encourage mentoring and sponsorship relationships, and host conversations about hiring, promotion and mentoring.

Question. What steps will you take to ensure each of the supervisors at U.S. Department of State are fostering an environment that is diverse and inclusive?

Answer. If confirmed, consistent with applicable Federal laws, regulations, and rules, I will support and promote efforts in the J family to foster a culture of inclusion and representative workforce. If confirmed, I will support efforts the Department has underway to ensure leaders under my direction reflect leadership habits and practices that focus on recruiting, retaining and nurturing talent from a wide variety of backgrounds and perspectives.

Question. Do you commit to bring to the committee's attention and to that of the State Department Inspector General any change in policy or U.S. actions that you suspect may be influenced by any of the President's business or financial interests, or the business or financial interests of any senior White House staff?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to complying with all relevant federal ethics laws, regulations, and rules, and to raise any concerns that I may have through appropriate channels.

Question. Do you commit to inform the committee if you have any reason to suspect that a foreign government, head of state, or foreign-controlled entity is taking any action in order to benefit any of the President's business or financial interests, or the interests of senior White House staff?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to complying with all relevant federal ethics laws, regulations, and rules, and to raise any concerns that I may have through appropriate channels.

Question. Do you or do any members of your immediate family have any financial interests in any foreign country?

Answer. My investment portfolio includes diversified mutual funds, which may hold interests in companies with a presence overseas, but which are exempt from the conflict of interest laws. My investment portfolio also includes security interests, including stocks, in companies, some of which may be based or have a presence overseas. I am committed to following all applicable ethics laws and regulations and remaining vigilant with regard to my ethics obligations.
