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NOMINATION OF HON. LINDA THOMAS-GREENFIELD TO BE UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE TO THE UNITED NATIONS

HEARING

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
UNITED STATES SENATE

ONE HUNDRED SEVENTEENTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

JANUARY 27, 2021

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[1] Senator Isakson retired from the Senate on December 31, 2019 for health reasons.
[2] Senator Perdue became a member of the committee on February 26, 2020.

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NOMINATION OF HON. LINDA THOMAS-GREENFIELD TO BE UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE TO THE UNITED NATIONS

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 27, 2021

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

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:05 a.m., in Room SD-G50, Dirksen Senate Office Building, and Videoconference, Hon. James E. Risch, chairman of the committee, presiding.

Present: Senators Risch [presiding], Rubio, Johnson, Romney, Portman, Young, Cruz, Menendez, Cardin, Shaheen, Coons, Murphy, Kaine, Markey, Merkley, and Booker.

Also present: Senator Cassidy.

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

The CHAIRMAN. The Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate will come to order. We had a little bit of trouble with the chairs here. The chairman has promised me he will get the—incoming chairman has promised me things will get better when he becomes chairman. We will hold you to that, Senator Menendez. Thank you.

And good morning, everyone, and we are here for a very important nomination hearing, and that is the nomination of the Honorable Linda Thomas-Greenfield to be the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, and we welcome you. I am assuming that is you down there. That is a long ways down. At least I have got a chair where I can see over the dais. We welcome you and thank you for your willingness to serve and, of course, your family also since they obviously will share in the sacrifices for the job. So thank you for that.

We have two very distinguished members of the United States Senate here to introduce Ambassador Thomas-Greenfield, and one of them is one of our own committee members, Senator Coons. I am going to postpone my opening statement and ask Senator Menendez to do the same until after Senator Coons and Senator Cassidy give their remarks. And so with that, I would welcome Senator Cassidy, if you, as our guest, would take the floor, please.

STATEMENT OF HON. BILL CASSIDY, U.S. SENATOR FROM LOUISIANA

Senator CASSIDY. Thank you, Chairman Risch, and soon-to-be chairman Menendez, and members of the committee. It is a great honor to introduce somebody from my State and my home parish as President Biden's nominee to be the United States representative to the United Nations and the representative of the United States in the Security Council, Ambassador Linda Thomas-Greenfield.

Ambassador Thomas-Greenfield is currently serving on the Biden transition team and was previously the head of the Africa practice for the Albright Stonebridge Group. The ambassador's career has been one of distinguishment as a member of the Diplomatic Corps of the United States. She has held high-level positions in the State Department and has served abroad as well. The last position held was the assistant secretary of state for African affairs. She has vast experience as a Foreign Service officer with numerous publications and is a distinguished fellow in African studies at the Georgetown University. I am proud to say she is a graduate of Louisiana State University, my alma mater, and the University of Wisconsin, which might be Ron Johnson's alma mater.

Ambassador Thomas-Greenfield has dedicated her career to serve our Nation. In addition to her accomplishments as U.S. representative abroad, Ambassador Thomas-Greenfield holds numerous honors and awards, and, in 2016, even had a school named after her, the Linda Thomas-Greenfield Preparatory School, and her career would be an inspiration to any child thinking that her or his trajectory could be unlimited. Her years of service in the United States and abroad, in addition to her accomplishments, shows that she has a willingness to work with all parties towards common goals, which seems to be a prerequisite for the position to which she is as nominated.

And in addition to her impressive career, Ambassador Thomas-Greenfield is married to Lafayette Masteen-Greenfield and is the loving mother—I presume loving—to Lindsay and Lafayette II. She enjoys cooking and I'm told is an expert on Louisiana cuisine.

To represent the United States before the United Nations and the National Security Council, you need a willingness to advance your goals—our goals as a Nation and promote democracy across the globe. Reviewing her passport, it is clear that Ambassador Thomas-Greenfield is eminently qualified to this position. I look forward to the committee and the Senate approving her nomination. Thank you. I yield.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator Cassidy. We appreciate that. Senator Coons?

STATEMENT OF HON. CHRISTOPHER A. COONS, U.S. SENATOR FROM DELAWARE

Senator COONS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, ranking member. It is my honor to join Senator Cassidy in introducing to this committee Ambassador Linda Thomas-Greenfield, President Biden's nominee to represent our Nation at the United Nations in New York.

Our country faces an unprecedented series of crises and challenges both at home and abroad: a global pandemic and economic recession, a reckoning around inequality and injustice, unprecedented levels of displacement and violence around the world, and the existential threat of climate change. And in this moment, I believe our leadership credibility and values are at task and are at test around the world, and our relationships are strained. We need to ask ourselves who we want to be and what example we hope to set for the rest of the world. And as our face at the United Nations, the United States needs a leader who can advance not just our interests, but our values, restore our alliances, rebuild bridges, and develop relationships that will allow U.S. to manage disagreements, unpack complex challenges, and inspire a next generation of leaders. That is why I am so excited to have the honor of joining with Senator Cassidy in introducing Ambassador Thomas-Greenfield. She is no stranger to this committee, the Diplomatic Corps, or the U.S. national security community.

Over the course of her 35 years of service to our Nation under administrations both Republican and Democrat, she has earned this committee's respect and admiration, so much so, she is famously known in places around the world by just three letters, "LTG." She is joined today and has long been supported by her loving family, her husband, Lafayette, her daughter, Lindsay, and her son, Lafayette II, known as "Deuce," and we are grateful for their support for her career and her service.

Ambassador Thomas-Greenfield represents both the promise and progress of America. Raised in the segregated Deep South, graduated from a segregated high school, one of just a few African-American women to attend and graduate from Louisiana State University, she would in 1982 join the Foreign Service after teaching political science at Bucknell to become one of far too few black professional female diplomats in our Foreign Service. Ambassador Thomas-Greenfield has lived the ideals of our Nation, even at a time when it was falling short of our founder—founding ideals, and has spent her career blazing trails. She understands that true patriotism is constituted in pushing your country to be the best version of itself and striving for that more perfect union.

She is the right person at the right time, not just because of her qualifications, her deep global experience of serving U.S. in more than six countries around the world, and as the DG of the State Department, but because of her personal style of diplomacy—called "Gumbo Diplomacy" by her, inspired by her native Louisiana—as a way to reach out and connect with others, and break down barriers to connect with people and solve problems.

I saw firsthand in Liberia when we first met why she has been called the people's ambassador. She has never met someone she cannot turn into a friend. She is also battle tested and tough as nails, having overseen our responses in nations to some of the most complex and grinding crises in the world. She brings a deep experience, a diverse perspective, and a unique and warm personality to the challenges of U.S. foreign policy at a time when we need new thinking. So Ambassador Thomas-Greenfield represents, in my view, the very best of our Nation, and I urge my colleagues to sup-

port her nomination and swift confirmation through the United States Senate. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator Coons. We appreciate that. And, again, we welcome you, Ambassador Thomas-Greenfield. I have just a few remarks, and then I am going to yield to Senator Menendez.

This is a really important position that you have been appointed to. More than an institution, the United Nations is supposed to support the ideals that build upon—that are built upon American core values: the pursuit of peace and prosperity, a commitment to the rule of law, the protection of human rights, and the advancement of fundamental freedoms. Unfortunately, not all member states share our values, and more and more it seems like pursuing these values is becoming more difficult for the United Nations. Increasingly through the malign influence and actions of these members, the U.N. is becoming less of an ideal and more of a challenge.

Despite the fact that the United States is by far the largest donor to the United Nations, the Chinese Communist Party is attempting to reshape the U.N. to serve the needs of the party, and it has had some successes in that regard. Over the last few years, we have seen the Chinese Communist Party ramp up its influence efforts by using the U.N. and its leaders to promote its One Belt One Road Initiative, adding the CCP-specific language into U.N. resolutions and other documents, and by rigging elections in favor to replace—to replace Chinese—or to place Chinese nationals at the head of U.N.-specialized agencies. The result is a U.N. that can be used by the CCP to silence Chinese political dissent, advance its foreign policy aims, promote its own authoritarian values, and even set technical standards and norms that will define the technologies of the future.

The CCP's malign influence across multilateral institutions has become perhaps most visible at the World Health Organization. As the Biden Administration seeks to re-engage with the WHO, it must keep in mind the CCP manipulation of the organization. The CCP continues to hide the origins of COVID-19 by hindering WHO fact-finding missions, promoting the fake theory that COVID-19 originated somewhere other than in Wuhan Province, China, and promoting its unreliable vaccines through COVAX. The United States, alongside its democratic allies and partners, must work to counter the Chinese Government's malign influence at the WHO and across the U.N. systems, and protect the integrity of the world's multilateral institutions. I look forward to hearing how you plan to address this challenge.

On the humanitarian front, we have seen China and Russia work together to hinder global efforts to seek peace and protect human security, including efforts to close lifesaving border crossings into Syria. If confirmed, one of your most important roles will be representing the United States at the Security Council. Unfortunately, the Security Council has failed to make significant progress on some of the most pressing international crises, including the threat posed by Iran's nuclear weapons program and support for terrorism. Failure of the JCPOA and the United Nations Concurrent Resolution 2231 to contain Iran are clear: neither have accomplished their stated goals. We all—everybody in this room knows

that President Biden has indicated he wants to get back into the JCPOA. We all have strong feelings on that. I sincerely hope that as we proceed forward, we can, on a bipartisan basis, do better than we did with the initial JCPOA.

We are right up against many of the sunsets imposed under U.N. Concurrent Resolution 2231. The Conventional Arms Embargo has already passed, and we face the expiration of the Ballistics Missile Embargo in 2023. Most concerning, we face the termination of U.N. involvement in Iran's nuclear program in 4 years, in 2025. The arms embargo needs to be re-imposed, and these other nearsighted sunsets must be extended for the security of the United States and for the rest of the world, and, again, I hope we can work together. I know there is diverse feeling on this committee, but I think this committee has some very important things that can help the Biden Administration as it moves forward to re-engage in Iran, assuming that is the goal that it has.

Let me turn to the elephant in the room, Ms. Greenfield. First of all, thank you for meeting with me yesterday. I thought it was a very productive meeting that we had. I am sorry that you had not read my China report. I suspect that has changed by now. But in any event, you gave a speech on October 20th, I believe, of 2019, which has become quite the buzz in these hallways in recent days, as I explained to you. We are going to give you every opportunity to speak to that today. I think there were some editorials even written overnight that were not very complimentary of that. I can tell you that there is not a person sitting in this room that has not given a speech that they do not wish they had back. I personally I am not going to hold one speech against somebody, but you are going to have to speak to that, and I suspect that you are ready to, so we want to give you every opportunity to do that. We want to hear what you have to say, and I look forward to hearing from you, how you will be supporting U.S. leadership in the U.N., and particularly at the Security Council.

So with that, again, thank you for your willingness to serve. Senator Menendez?

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

Senator MENENDEZ. Well, thank you, Mr. Chairman, and thank you for expediting this hearing of Ambassador Thomas-Greenfield, so I appreciate your continued work in this regard.

Ambassador Thomas-Greenfield, congratulations on your nomination. Welcome to your fourth Senate confirmation hearing. It is deeply reassuring that President Biden nominated you, a diplomat of immense expertise and skill, to be the next U.S. permanent representative to the United Nations. I believe you are superbly qualified to advance U.S. interests at the U.N., and we are deeply grateful for your willingness, and that of your family, to return to serve our country at this critical time. We are at a pivotal time, an opportunity to repair and restore our place in the world, but we have to be honest about the challenges we face, including at the United Nations, in light of the Trump Administration's abandonment of U.S. leadership.

Over the last 4 years, the U.S. has accrued more than $1 billion in peacekeeping arrears, tried to pull out of the World Health Organization in the middle of a pandemic, undermined international protections for women and girls and LGBTI individuals, defunded or cut funding to key agencies, like the U.N. Population Fund and the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, pulled out of the Paris Climate Agreement. Meanwhile, China and other authoritarian countries have filled the vacuum left by our absence. So Ambassador, I hope you will agree that we cannot simply return to business as usual at the U.N. We must actively work to repair and strengthen that which has been undermined, including strong support for human rights and democracy, and, in the wake of the devastating COVID-19 pandemic, restoring U.S. leadership at the World Health Organization and other international health organizations.

As someone who believes in a tough, concerted approach to Iran, it was disheartening to watch the Trump administration alienate our allies with unilateral statements and actions. This self—this isolating self-defeating strategy culminated in a disastrous attempt to extend the U.N. arms embargo on Iran where the U.S. could muster only one—one—other Security Council vote and a failed effort to involve the snap back of sanctions under the JCPOA. So I am very interested to hear how the Biden administration intends to re-engage our allies and hold Iran accountable, both for its nuclear program and its regional aggression.

Among your most difficult tasks will be to regain U.S. leverage and influence in the Security Council, where Russia and China have used their veto powers and ability to bully non-permanent members to stymie the Council's work. They have shielded abusive regimes, like the Government of Burma, which committed genocide against the Rohingya, and the criminal dictatorship of Nicolas Maduro, who has unleashed a campaign of crimes against humanity, resulting in the flight of more than 5.4 million Venezuelans from their country. Russia and China have not been content to simply protect Bashar al-Assad from accountability for his crimes against the Syrian people. Russia has threatened a veto on U.N. Syrian assistance to reduce the border crossings to which assistance can reach rebel-held Syria to only one. This has made it even harder to obtain desperately-needed food, shelter, and medical assistance for innocent civilians. I strongly urge you to do everything possible to keep this vital lifeline open upon your confirmation.

I am also concerned by the way China has sought to increase its role at the United Nations and in other international organizations, not because China does not deserve an appropriate role commensurate with its presence on the world stage, but because of its attempts to pervert and distort the core values that make the U.N.'s work so important. China's efforts to insert Xi Jinping's thoughts into U.N. resolutions has undermined the U.N.'s commitment to human rights. This is the same leader responsible for what the State Department has determined to be acts of genocide committed against 1.8 million Uyghur men, women, and children in internment facilities.

When China has asserted leadership and taken on leadership roles in U.N. bodies, these organizations have ceased to uphold the

values and interests of the broader international community. Bit by bit, step by step, they are instead made to reflect China's unilateral priorities, often at the expense of human rights. And for all the bluster and tough-guy rhetoric, the record of the Trump administration to counter Beijing's efforts has been one of abject failure. Meanwhile, the net effect of the Trump administration's policies towards North Korea has been to gut the U.N. sanctions regime painstakingly put in place to counter North Korean provocations and its nuclear missile programs. Today, thanks to former Secretary Pompeo and President Trump, the sanctions regime is on life support. Last year, North Korea conducted ballistic missile tests, a clear violation of U.N. Security Council resolutions, and the administration did nothing. I look forward to hearing your thoughts on how to address this pressing concern.

As you have witnessed firsthand, the United Nations plays a crucial role in the maintenance of peace and security across Africa. It supports six U.N. peacekeeping missions already, but there are other ongoing conflicts that also demand the urgent involvement of the U.N. I am thinking in particular of Cameroon, Ethiopia, and Mozambique where a failure to properly address crises have already generated large refugee flows and, in some cases, drawn neighboring countries into active conflict. And finally, one area I hope that you and the Biden administration will remain closely engaged on is preventing the United Nations and other affiliated organizations from being used for bias attacks on Israel. Such actions make a negotiated two-state solution more difficult to achieve.

After four tumultuous, exhausting years, the United States needs renewal and engagement with key alliances and institutions. If confirmed, the world will be closely watching how we achieve this at the United Nations, and I look forward to hearing your views how you would achieve that. Thank you very much.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator Menendez. And, Ambassador Greenfield, we will turn to you. I think people's concern about what—we have read not just your speech of October 19th, but the other ones that you have made, which were substantially better in many regards. I think probably the biggest problem with the October 19th speech was the—was the lack of acknowledgement of the malign activities of China. So you are going to have your opportunity today to the back fill that hole, and with that, the floor is yours.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. LINDA THOMAS-GREENFIELD OF LOUISIANA, TO BE THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE UNITED NATIONS

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. I think I am on. Thank you, Chairman Risch, and Ranking Member Menendez, and distinguished members of this committee. I would like to offer special gratitude to Senator Cassidy, who has left us, from my home State of Louisiana, and Senator Coons for their generous introductions.

I am deeply honored to appear before you all as President Biden's nominee to serve as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, and I am so grateful to the President for placing his trust in me. My husband, Lafayette Greenfield, a retired Foreign Service specialist, is here with me today, along with my son Lafayette, who

you have heard we call "Deuce." Our daughter, Lindsay, is serving our country currently in La Paz, Bolivia. I am so proud of them all and so grateful for their love and their support and sacrifice as I take on this important position. I would also like to thank my extended family, and that includes all of the members of the Department of State who have been sending me so many kind messages of support.

When I joined the Foreign Service in 1982, I was not the norm. Many of my colleagues had gone to Ivy League schools, and I had gone to segregated high schools, as you have already heard, and to LSU as a consequence of a lawsuit, not to mention I was joining an organization facing two class action lawsuits that applied to me, one led by black officers in the Foreign Service and the other by women. And yet I had an extraordinary 35-year career that culminated as the assistant secretary of state for African affairs. To me, that represents the progress and the promise of America.

Still, I never expected that I would have the chance to step into the shoes of so many luminaries, leaders like Jeane Kirkpatrick, who was the permanent representative when I first joined the Service; or my own mentor, Ambassador Ed Perkins, the first African-American ambassador to South Africa, a U.N. ambassador, and a giant among diplomats; or the iconic Secretary of State, Madeleine Albright, followed most recently by four other women: Ambassador Susan Rice, Samantha Powers, Nikki Haley, and Kelly Craft, my most recent predecessor.

Like my mentors, role models, and predecessors, I strongly believe diplomacy is an irreplaceable tool in the work of advancing America's interest and building a better world. Throughout my career, from Jamaica to Nigeria, Pakistan to Switzerland, and as ambassador to Liberia, I have learned that effective diplomacy means more than shaking hands and staging photo ops. It means developing real robust relationships. It means finding common ground and managing points of differentiation. It means doing genuine, old-fashioned people-to-people diplomacy. President Biden epitomizes that approach. He believes in considering every diplomatic tool in the toolkit, including bringing stronger language and tougher tactics to the table when needed. You can be assured that will be my approach, too, if I am fortunate enough to be confirmed.

Of all of our diplomatic tools, perhaps our most powerful instrument is the United Nations itself. The U.N. is uniquely poised to take on our shared global challenges from countering terrorism, to promoting the rights of women and girls, to feeding tens of millions living on the brink of famine. As Ralph Bunche put it in his Nobel Peace Prize acceptance speech, "The United Nations is the greatest peace organization ever dedicated to the salvation of mankind's future on Earth," but that is only true if America is leading the way.

When America shows up, when we are consistent and persistent, when we exert our influence in accordance to our values, the United Nations can be an indispensable institution for advancing peace, security, and our collective well-being. If instead we walk away from the table and allow others to fill the void, the global community suffers, and so do American interests. In particular, we know China is working across the U.N. system to drive an authoritarian agenda that stands in opposition to the founding values of

the institution, American values. Their success depends on our continued withdrawal. That will not happen on my watch. From climate change to COVID-19, nonproliferation to mass migration, technological disruptions to human rights violations, today's problems are urgent, they are complex, and they are global. Meeting these challenges means meeting with our fellow nations, especially in the world's most important diplomatic forum.

To that end, before I answer your questions, let me outline three key priorities that will guide my work as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, if confirmed first, our leadership must be rooted in our core values: support for democracy, respect for universal human rights, and the promotion of peace and security. Second, we must have the courage to insist on reforms that make the U.N. efficient and effective. And third, as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, if confirmed, I would seek to develop a strong partnership with this committee, which I have had the great pleasure of working with often throughout my career in the Foreign Service. I want the conversation and the collaboration we begin today to continue throughout my service, and I look forward to answering your questions.

[The prepared statement of Ambassador Thomas-Greenfield follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. LINDA THOMAS-GREENFIELD

Thank you, Chairman Risch and Ranking Member Menendez, and distinguished members of this committee. I'd like to offer special gratitude to Senator Cassidy, from my home state of Louisiana, and Senator Coons, a long-time friend, for their generous introductions.

I am deeply honored to appear before you as President Biden's nominee to serve as U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, and grateful to the President for placing his trust in me.

My husband, Lafayette Greenfield, is here with me today, along with our son Lafayette, whom we all call Deuce. Our daughter, Lindsay, is currently serving in La Paz, Bolivia. I am so proud of them all, and so grateful for their love, support, and sacrifice as I take on this important position. I would also like to thank my extended family. That includes my relatives in Louisiana and all of the members of the foreign service, who have been sending me so many kind messages of support.

When I joined the Foreign Service in 1982, I was not the norm. My colleagues had gone to Ivy League schools—I had gone to a segregated high school, and LSU as a consequence of a lawsuit. Not to mention, I was joining an organization facing two class action lawsuits that applied to me: one led by Black people in the foreign service, the other by women.

And yet, I had an extraordinary 35-year career, that culminated as the Assistant Secretary for African Affairs. To me, that represents the progress, and promise, of America.

Still, I never expected I would have the chance to step into the shoes of so many great luminaries: Leaders like Jeane Kirkpatrick, who was the Permanent Representative when I first joined the service . . . or my own mentor, Ambassador Ed Perkins, the first African American Ambassador to South Africa, a U.N. Ambassador, and a giant among diplomats . . . or the iconic Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, followed most recently by four other women: Ambassadors Susan Rice, Samantha Power, Nikki Haley, and Kelly Craft, my most recent predecessor.

Like my mentors, role models, and predecessors, I strongly believe diplomacy is an irreplaceable tool in the work of advancing American interests and building a better world.

Throughout my career, from Jamaica to Nigeria, Pakistan to Switzerland, I've learned that effective diplomacy means more than shaking hands and staging photo ops.

It means developing real, robust relationships. It means finding common ground and managing points of differentiation. It means doing genuine, old-fashioned, people-to-people diplomacy.

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But that's only true if America is leading the way.

When America shows up—when we are consistent and persistent—when we exert our influence in accordance with our values—the United Nations can be an indispensable institution for advancing peace, security, and our collective well-being.

If instead we walk away from the table, and allow others to fill the void, the global community suffers—and so do American interests.

In particular: We know China is working across the U.N. system to drive an authoritarian agenda that stands in opposition to the founding values of the institution—American values. Their success depends on our continued withdrawal. That will not happen on my watch.

From climate change to COVID-19, non-proliferation to mass migration, technological disruption to human rights violations, today's problems are urgent, complex, and global. Meeting these challenges means meeting with our fellow nations, especially in the world's most important diplomatic forum.

To that end, before I answer your questions, let me outline three key priorities that will guide my work as U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations if confirmed.

First: Our leadership must be rooted in our core values: support for democracy, respect for universal human rights, and the promotion of peace and security.

Second: We must have the courage to insist on reforms that make the U.N. efficient and effective, and the persistence to see reforms through.

And third: As U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, I would seek to develop a strong partnership with this committee, which I have had the great pleasure of working with often throughout my career in the Foreign Service.

I want the conversation and collaboration we begin today to continue throughout my service as Ambassador.

Thank you—I look forward to your questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much. We are going to do questions now, and we are going to do a 5-minute round. And I am going to do it—since the President has designated this as a Cabinet-level position, I will do what I have always done with those, and we will do it on a seniority basis on the committee. I am going to reserve my time, and with that, I am going to yield to Senator Menendez for questions.

Senator MENENDEZ. Well, thank you, Mr. Chairman. Madam Ambassador, you gave a speech in 2019 at Savannah State on U.S. and China trade and investment in Africa that has been brought to my attention as well as too many other members. The chairman has referenced it. Now, I know from your history that you are a strong believer in democracy, good governance, human rights, and anti-corruption efforts, and I know that you fought for those values in Africa. So I think you are pretty much aware of the concerns that some have raised about the speech you gave. I would like to give you an opportunity to speak to the committee about the speech, explain why you agreed to deliver it, and discuss any aspects of the substance that you would like to take a moment to address.

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. Thank you, Senator, for giving me this opportunity. First, let me say that I strongly support Congress' crackdown on the Confucius Institute and the work that

many of the committee have done on this issue. And, yes, Senator Risch, I did read your report last night, so I do have bags under my eyes.

I have a long track record, as you have heard, Senator Menendez, speaking about China's malign influence, about the debt traps, tactics that they have used in Africa and elsewhere. China is a strategic competitor and poses challenges to our security, and to our prosperity, and to our values, and China has engaged in gross human rights violations and has authoritarian ambitions that go against our democratic values. Much of the time that I spent on the continent of Africa was spent making the case to African countries about why they should partner on economic growth with the United States.

As for the speech that I gave at Savannah State University, which is the oldest historically black college and university in Georgia, it has a goal of encouraging young people, particularly young black and brown Americans who are underrepresented in our Foreign Service, to pursue careers and spread American values across the world. So I accepted that speech at a request from the university with the idea in mind that this would give me another opportunity to engage with young people. And part of my visit there was to engage with young people there, to encourage them on foreign affairs careers.

Truthfully, I wish I had not accepted the specific invitation, and I came away from the experience frankly alarmed at the way the Confucius Institute were engaging with the black community in Georgia. It reminded me of what I had seen in Africa, the Chinese Government going after those in need with fewer resources. I gave the speech as a speech on Africa as a way of recommending to Africans how they can address their challenges with China. And, Senator, if I am confirmed, I commit to working with this committee to counter China at the U.N., to fight against all efforts by the Chinese Government to add harmful language to the U.N. resolutions, and to resist China's efforts to overfill key U.N. positions with Chinese citizens.

I also want to note that I have a very strong relationship across the African continent that I hope I can use to work closely with leaders to push back on China's self-interested and parasitic development goals in Africa, and I will urge those leaders to support American values at the United Nations.

Senator MENENDEZ. Thank you. Thank you. Now, I did my own research, and this is not a new view for you. In 2007, over 14 years ago, you expressed concerns over China's rapidly-increasing lending to poor nations in Africa. And you cited then in 2007, before many were even thinking about that, of the subversive concerns that that type of lending was creating in African countries. In 2014, you encouraged African Governments to understand why it is so important in their dealings with the Chinese that issues on human rights and political freedoms and press freedoms be considered. Then in 2013, you warned about China's increasing trade with African countries, saying that the U.S. needed to advocate for American companies and American businesses, and to push for level playing field.

In 2019, while serving as a witness at the House Foreign Affairs Committee hearing on Africa, you warned of China's influence on the continent and stated that decreasing foreign aid would be ceding to China many of our national interests. In 2020, you entered into a joint op-ed in the Foreign Policy Manual in which you argued that the State Department paid too little attention to a rapidly-changing international landscape in which geopolitical competition with a rising China and of resurging Russia was accelerating. This is a long-held view. Am I correct in that?

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. You are correct, sir.

Senator MENENDEZ. Uh-huh. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator Menendez, for that history, and with that, let me say I think that your observation that you were surprised or shocked, I think is how you put it, as to China's influence through these Confucius Institutes on the campus where you gave that speech, some good may come out of this yet in that, you know, this institution, Congress, has prohibited foreign governments from contributing to political campaigns. And yet we allow them to contribute generously in many instances to our institutions of higher learning around the country that are so important to forming people's opinions, young people's opinions, so, when they go forward. So it may be time for this body to consider whether or not it is appropriate to allow foreign governments like this to use that kind of influence in our institutions of higher learning. I think there would be a robust debate on that amongst this body, but certainly the reasons why we do not allow it in politics may very well translate to the education system. So some good may come out of your speech from October 19th of—or excuse me—October 20th, 2019 yet. With that, I will turn it over to Senator Rubio.

Senator RUBIO. Ambassador, thank you for being here, and thanks for your willingness to serve our country again. You know, we are not going to—I hope we are not going to belabor the point. Other members may have questions. But I do think it is important to explore the speech a little further in October of 2019. And I have heard both your statement here today and also the statement from a spokesperson of President Biden about how you regret accepting the invitation in addition to what you witnessed in terms of the predatory behavior when you went down to speak. I am, however, and I hope you can address this, a bit puzzled. I mean, you had a—prior to accepting the speech, you had a 35-year career in the U.S. Foreign Service, so certainly the Confucius Institute was not something you were unaware of, its existence. Going back to 2014, the Association of University Professors had issued a statement expressing deep concern about the Confucius Institute as a threat to academic freedom, that they advocated a China state agenda that—in their recruitment and control of staff, the choice of curriculum, the restrictions on debate and so forth.

In 2018, I believe it was in response to a question from me on the global threats hearing, FBI Director Wray announced the FBI had concerns about the Confucius Institute and were actually looking at—so, I mean, the Confucius Institute and what they are doing in the U.S. as an element of soft power and/or influence has not only been well documented, but also, I would imagine, that in the 35 years of service to our country, it is something you had to

have been aware of. Were you not aware of who the Confucius Institute was and the concerns about them when you accepted that speech?

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. Senator, I am not naive about China's malign influence, and I know very well the activities of the Confucius Institute. I did accept an invitation to speak at Savannah. I had spoken there many times before. I spoke at their commencement address in 2014. I had done a recruitment trip there when I was director general of the Foreign Service. So I accepted the invitation as a—as a response to the university. What I was surprised about, not what—not the Confucius Institute. What I was surprised about when I got there is that they had activities that went into our high schools, into our elementary schools. That I was not aware of.

I did read Senator Portman's report on the impact on education, and I saw reference to that in the report, but I had never seen it in person in the United States. I had seen it in Africa for sure. And, as I said, I truly regret having accepted that invitation and having had my name associated with the Confucius Institute.

Senator RUBIO. If I could, and you will correct me, is it fair to characterize it as follows, and that is you accepted the speech as a favor to an institution that you have a long history of interacting with as opposed to a direct invitation from the Confucius Institute per se?

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. That is exactly the truth, and I work very, very committedly to get out the message about foreign affairs careers across historical black colleges and universities as well as Hispanic universities, because I strongly believe that our Foreign Service should be representative of America, and Savannah gave me the opportunity to do that. And, again, the fact that this was associated with the Confucius Institute was truly a huge mistake on my part, but it was not done as part of a Confucius Institute program. It was done so that I could continue my commitment to engage with historical black colleges and university.

Senator RUBIO. Were you paid to give that——

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. I was paid an honorarium by the university. It was an academic honorarium for my engagements with students.

Senator RUBIO. May I ask, do you consider what is happening with Uyghur Muslims in Xinjiang the—by the—what the Communist Party of China is doing there, do you believe they are guilty of genocide?

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. What they are doing there has been referred to as genocide, and I know that the State Department is reviewing that as we speak. What they are doing is horrific, and I look forward to seeing the results of the review that is being done. But certainly it——

Senator RUBIO. Well, the State Department issued a designation, I believe, on the President's last day. So is it your understanding that it is now being reviewed by the State Department to see that is appropriate?

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. I think the State Department is reviewing that now because all of the procedures were not fol-

lowed. And I think they are looking to make sure that they are followed to ensure that that designation is held.

Senator RUBIO. [Presiding.] Okay. Thank you. Oh, here it is. I apologize. He stepped out and gave me seniority card. I want to—okay. Senator Cardin on virtual?

Senator CARDIN. I am with you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator RUBIO. All right.

Senator CARDIN. Thank you very much. Appreciate it very much. And let me thank our nominee for her incredible service, distinguished service on behalf of our country, and thank you for your willingness to continue in public life, and we thank your family. In regards to the Confucius Centers, I think that has already been covered, but it is interesting that Savannah State, along with several other academic centers, have terminated their relationships with these centers. So I think Chairman Risch's initial points, we see action being taken by academic centers recognizing that the Confucius Centers were used for propaganda. So we are pleased to see that action, and I certainly accept your explanation of accepting an invitation from Savannah State.

I want to go on to some additional issues because I think that issue has been pretty well covered, and that is, we know of the historic discrimination at the United Nations in regards to the State of Israel. When you look at the human rights—United Nations Human Rights Council, the only nation that is on the permanent agenda is Israel, and we know countries like Iran and others that have horrendous human rights records are only covered under general debate. So just share with me your views as to how you will represent the United States in helping one of our closest allies in the world, Israel, in its relationship at the United Nations, including the Human Rights Council.

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. Thank you, Senator, for that question, and I do understand that Savannah State has severed its relationship with the Confucius Institute.

On the issue of Israel, President Biden has been one of Israel's strongest supporters over the last 50 years of his career. You all know that quite well. And the President believes that our ties between—the ties between our two countries are rooted in our strategic interests and our shared values. So if I am confirmed as the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, I look forward to standing with Israel, standing against the unfair targeting of Israel, the relentless resolutions that are proposed against Israel unfairly. And I hope to work closely and look forward, in fact, to working closely with the Israeli embassy, with the Israeli ambassador, to work to bolster Israel's security and to expand economic opportunities for Israelis and Americans alike, and widen the circle of peace. I think it goes without saying that Israel has no closer friend than the United States, and I will reflect that in my actions at the United Nations.

Senator CARDIN. Thank you. And the United Nations is clearly the most important of the international organizations, but we find the international community has done many things at different organizations that discriminate against Israel, so our activity at the United Nations becomes even more important, including supporting

Israel having a more visible role at the United Nations in a positive way. So I thank you for that commitment.

I want to talk a moment about the sustainable development goals. We do not talk enough about that in the Congress or among the American people. It has been a great success at the United Nations in advancing the end of poverty and gender equality and so many different issues. I was particularly pleased about the Sustainable Development Goal Number 16 that deals with good governance, recognizing that a country's efforts to root out corruption very much affect the human rights and quality of life of people that live in that country. I want to get your view as to what role the United States can play in not only supporting the sustainable development goals, but making sure that the indexes that are used for success are actually utilized, and that we galvanize the international community to support the efforts made at the United Nations to deal with these humanitarian issues.

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. Good. Thank you, Senator, and the U.N. plays a key role in the promotion of the sustainable goals. But the United States' role is even more important, and particularly as it relates to good governance, which is Goal Number 16, as you noted. Our voice is the most important voice, and I will tell you that over the past 4 years, the U.S. presence, our leadership, and our voice has been missed on these key issues of good governance. So this is something that I intend to focus a great deal of attention on.

Among the many priorities at the United Nations is to look to how we can make the United Nations more effective in how they address the goals, how they report on their achievements, but also making sure that they actually accomplish what the international community expects as it relates to the sustainable goals.

Senator CARDIN. You have heard already some of our colleagues comment in regards to Iran. Iran is an extremely dangerous country. We have found a very embarrassing vote in the Security Council in regards to the ballistic missile issue. What strategy will you use to engage our traditional allies and to work with China and Russia in order to isolate Iran to make sure that they never become a nuclear weapon state?

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. President Biden has made very clear, both during the campaign and you heard it from Secretary Blinken here when he testified last week, that we will work and make every effort to ensure that the Iranians do not gain access to a nuclear weapon. Unfortunately, over the past 4 years, we have seen a tremendous amount of backtracking since we pulled out of the agreement. And we will be working with our allies and friends, but we also have to work with other members of the Security Council to ensure that we hold Iran accountable. As the ambassador to the United Nations, if I am confirmed, I will work across all of those areas to ensure that we get the support of our allies, but to see where we can find common ground with the Russians and the Chinese to put more pressure on the Iranians to push them back into strict compliance.

Senator CARDIN. Thank you. And, again, thank you for your willingness to serve our country, and thank you for your family's understanding. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator RUBIO. Thank you. Senator Johnson?

Senator JOHNSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Madam Ambassador, welcome. Before I begin, I really do want to point out I think your personal history, your 35-year career, I think serves as an extraordinary example for every American. I really want to commend you on that, and I appreciate that. And I was kind of hoping I would not have to ask a question on the Confucius Institute speech, but I think I have to. In my briefing materials, I heard one of your explanations was that the speech was prepared by a staffer and you didn't really review it carefully, and it is only an 8-page speech double-spaced. Is that an accurate——

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. That is not accurate, sir.

Senator JOHNSON. Okay. So——

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. I generally write all of my own speeches since I left the State Department. I love the fact of having others write my speeches, but after I left the State Department, I did not have a speech writer. I did ask the support staff to provide me with some research with numbers, with statistics, but I write my own speeches. So I do not know where that came from.

Senator JOHNSON. Okay. Good. Well, that actually—I appreciate that.

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. Mm-hmm.

Senator JOHNSON. Obviously, there are things I do not agree with in that speech, but there is an awful lot that I do agree with, you know. We have ignored it, and because of our vacuum of investment, other people come in. But one phrase in here, you say, "We are not in a new cold war." I think all of our eyes have been opened up. We hoped China would have taken a better path and been a benign force, you know, been a friendly competitor as opposed to the malign force they are. What do you think the situation is between China and the United States right now if we are not in a cold war, because it——

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. Now, this——

Senator JOHNSON [continuing]. Based on their threats in Hong Kong, Taiwan, it is looking pretty threatening.

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD [continuing]. China is a strategic adversary, and their actions threaten our security. They threaten our values and they threaten our way of life, and they are threat to their neighbors and they are a threat across the globe, so I have no doubts in my mind about that. As I talk about that in the speech and referring to the cold war, again, I am referring to Africa where Africa was sort of a pawn in the Cold War. And I want—my conversation there was to say that Africans can no longer allow themselves to be a pawn, that this is not a cold war for them. They have to undertake their own—of their futures. So my intent was not to refer to the U.S. and China, but to Africa's relationship with the U.S. and China.

Senator JOHNSON. I do appreciate your quoting the African proverb, "When two elephants fight, it is the grass that suffers." I agree with that. In your written testimony, you were talking about how President Biden believes—considering every diplomatic tool in the toolkit, including bringing stronger language and tougher tactics to the table. It is easy to say. In a very complex world, a little bit

more difficult to follow that. Can you describe what kind of stronger language and tougher tactics we bring the table? Let's start with China.

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. Mm-hmm.

Senator JOHNSON. You know, keeping in mind the fact that when we have drawn bright red lines in the past and then done nothing when those lines are crossed, it is pretty dangerous. So you got "strong language." Can you describe what the stronger language and tougher tactics would be toward, for example, China?

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. Thank you for that question, Senator. The tougher language will be calling the Chinese out whenever we see them crossing lines, particularly as it relates to their aggressive tactics both here in the United States and across the globe, not giving them a pass, but making sure that the U.S. voice is heard clearly on this—on any issue where we have concerns about the Chinese. It also may mean that we have to use other instruments that we have, including the possibility of sanctions, including the possibility of flexing our muscles. None of us want to encourage or support a conflict, and that is not the intent here. The intent here is to encourage the Chinese to change their behavior.

Senator JOHNSON. There was an interesting op-ed written in Wall Street Journal this morning—I was doing a quick call; I do not have it in front of me—talking about what we need to do collectively with Taiwan and the U.S. to develop a defensive posture to deter China from further aggression or potentially invasion of Taiwan. I do not expect you have read that, but what is your viewpoint in terms of what our position needs to be in terms of defense of Taiwan?

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. Now, Taiwan is one of the strongest democracies in the region, and we need to support them as a democracy and stand by them as a democracy, and provide them the security that they need to push against any efforts by the Chinese to compromise their security.

Senator JOHNSON. Does that include weapons sales and a more advanced posture in terms of our own defensive capabilities?

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. You know, I have to leave that to the powers who make those kinds of decisions, but my guess is, yes. That would include providing them with the wherewithal to also support their own security.

Senator JOHNSON. Okay. Again, thank you for your willingness to serve in this capacity.

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. Thank you, sir.

Senator RUBIO. Senator Shaheen?

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you, Mister Chairman, and, Ambassador, thank you for being here this morning, and, more importantly, thank you for your willingness to be considered for this critical nomination at this very important time in the world.

You and I had the opportunity to speak a few weeks ago, which I very much appreciated, and one of the issues we talked about was the importance of empowering women as being a value that we should support in our foreign policy. And one of those aspects of empowering women has to do with women's health and ensuring that women have access to a full range of healthcare. If confirmed,

you will oversee the seat that the U.S. Mission to the U.N. has on the executive board of UNFPA. As you know, that organization serves as the world's principal multilateral provider of family planning and reproductive health services, and the largest global provider of maternal healthcare and humanitarian emergencies. But despite this, the previous administration used unfounded claims to deny U.S. funding for UNFPA. If you are confirmed, will you commit to working with the Office of Management and Budget to expeditiously release the funding Congress appropriated in December for Fiscal Year 2021?

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. Absolutely, Senator.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you. And as you think about this position, will you also commit to working to restore American leadership in addressing values around empowering women and helping to ensure that women have access to a full range of reproductive health services that they need if they are going to play a significant role in—to advance their education, participate in the economy, support their families and communities? All of that is related to women's healthcare.

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. Senator, I can commit to you that I will be a leader on this issue in New York. It is an issue that is personally a priority for me, and I will look forward to working with you to advance our goals in this area.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you very much. You talked in your opening statement of a resurging Russia, and one of the things we are seeing right now is mass demonstrations, some of the largest we have seen in recent years. And, of course, Russia has jailed Alexei Navalny upon his return to the country. Russia, of course, is—any time the United States makes a statement about what is happening there with respect to demonstrations, and attacking demonstrators, and repressing democratic activities, they accuse the United States of being behind those activities. As you think about this issue in your role at the U.N., how do you counterbalance that? How do you build the support that we need there to respond to what Russia is doing when they are attacking the U.S. for being behind what is going on in the country?

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. That is the diplomacy of the United Nations. I heard yesterday on the news as I was preparing that President Biden spoke to Vladimir Putin yesterday and that it was a very tough conversation. It is clear to us that Russian actions against the U.S. have been aggressive and they have been adversarial, and we do have to respond aggressively to their actions. At the same time, we have to find a way to work with them in the Security Council on issues where we have common interest. I will look forward to working with them on issues to, for example, address the situation in Iran, but I will not hesitate in my engagements with them to also press them on tough issues, such as their interference in our election, such as their cyberattacks against the United States, and their own human rights violations against their own people, including what happened to Navalny.

Senator SHAHEEN. Well, thank you. I also was very pleased to hear that that was a tough conversation and that President Biden took him on in terms of election interference, the disinformation, the cyber hacking of our government agencies, the bounties that

they have put on our troops in Afghanistan, and a whole range of other aggressive activities, and I hope that that will be a way that we will continue to move forward. As you point out, there are areas where we should work together. I think the New START Treaty is one of those. But we need to take them on when they act aggressively towards the United States, and it is refreshing to have a President who is going to do that. Thank you very much.

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. Thank you, Senator.

Senator RUBIO. Senator Romney. Is he on virtual?

Senator ROMNEY. I am here. Can you see me, Mr. Chairman?

Senator RUBIO. We can hear you.

Senator ROMNEY. Well, good. That is the best part anyway.

Senator RUBIO. There you go.

Senator ROMNEY. Let me first—there we go. Let me begin by saying thank you to the ambassador for her service to our country over many years, and for her willingness and the willingness of her family to support her in this new endeavor to represent our Nation to the world. I was planning on spending some time talking about China and questioning matters that have already been discussed in some depth, and I do believe that, Ambassador, your comments with regards to your perspective on China itself and its intent is very consistent with the views of most of the members on this committee, and appreciate what you have described.

Let me ask a derivative question, which is, how has China's investment strategy in Africa worked out? How has it worked out for the African nations? And I know there are many nations, and you will have various experiences from different nations. But as you look one by one, has it worked out well, one, for the nations themselves, and, number two, for China? Has it—has it fulfilled the purpose that they may have intended in making those investments?

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. Senator, thank you for that question. And the answer to that is that it has not worked for Africans, and it has not worked in the same way that the Chinese would have expected it to work. I have seen over the 35 years of my career an increased amount of activity by the Chinese. But where they have failed, and we constantly see reports that indicate this, is that Africans still prefer, if at all possible, to work with the United States. And we need to take advantage of that sentiment and be more proactive in our engagements on the African continent.

When they have a choice, they choose us. Right now, unfortunately, they don't always have a choice about where they go, so they are in deep debt to the Chinese for many of the projects that the Chinese have provided. They have to deal with their own citizens who are uncomfortable about the presence of the Chinese. As I travel to—through Africa, I hear it on a regular basis. As Chinese are bringing their own workers, they are not engaging with the population, and some of the work that they are doing is substandard and they have to deal with that, including having the futures of their children in debt.

So I—if I am confirmed, one of the areas that I intend to work very aggressively on is engaging with my colleagues across the African continent and trying to address some of the issues that they

are facing in dealing with the Chinese, but also pushing a more proactive engagement by the United States with Africa.

Senator ROMNEY. Thank you, Ambassador. I would note that I asked the question about the experience of Africa in part because of your extensive involvement there. But I would note that China is making the same effort or a similar effort in Latin America, in the Caribbean, particularly in the Pacific. I spoke recently with an individual who was on a flight to Tonga, and he said that there were three westerners on the flight, and the rest of the flight was filled with Chinese who were going to various projects in Tonga. So this is an issue which is—which is worldwide in scope. And, of course, we have a challenge in that China is making an investment not to get a return on investment financially, but to get a return on investment economically, geopolitically, militarily. And they, therefore, have a very different calculation than we do on how we compete with that, I think it is a question that you and the administration are going to want to consider.

In the brief time I have, I would note that I know there is great interest to reverse many of the policies of the Trump administration, but I would hope that in looking at Iran, that before you jettison the maximum pressure campaign that President Trump put in place, that you consider just what the circumstances are in Iran today. I do not know what they are, but I would hope that we would look very carefully with our intelligence agencies to determine what the state of the health of the leaders of Iran is, the people of Iran. What do they feel about the leadership? How open are they to a change in the posture of the nation for nuclearization? What is the level of their economic activity? How much are they hurting? Because I would hate to give them a lifeline just at a point when they might be willing to take a different course, because, obviously, if we go back to the structure of the JCPOA, the timeline for them becoming nuclear is basically expiring and they could become nuclear.

So I would hope that you and other members of the administration take a very careful look before we abandon the course that we are on and perhaps as you set a new course. Thank you, Ambassador. I know my time is up, and I appreciate the chance to have spoken with you again today.

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. Thank you, Senator.

Senator RUBIO. Senator Coons?

Senator COONS. Thank you, Senator Rubio, and thank you to the chair and ranking member. Thank you, Ambassador Thomas-Greenfield, for your willingness to continue your distinguished service to our Nation. I am so excited for the opportunity to work with you in the years ahead and to continue in the areas in which we have been able to partner in the past.

Let me just ask up front since you will be taking the helm, I hope, of our U.S. mission in New York after 4 years of an administration that largely rejected multilateralism. Do you think our owing the United Nations over $1 billion in arrears helps us to establish American leadership, helps us to engage in all the different U.N.-related entities or institutions, or does that hurt us in some ways in achieving our values and securities objectives through the United Nations system?

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. Senator, thank you so much for that question. Working to address these issues will be one of my highest priorities in New York if I am confirmed. Not paying our bills really does diminish our power, and it diminishes our leadership. We need to pay our bills to have a seat at the table, and our leadership is needed at the table. We know that when we cede our leadership, others jump in very quickly to fill the void, and we need to make sure that we are there to push back on those who would have malign intentions at the United Nations so that——

Senator COONS. And, Ambassador, if I—if I might—forgive me. We have very little time.

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. Yes.

Senator COONS. I have got 3 more minutes.

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. Yes.

Senator COONS. Ambassador, if I might, I was encouraged to hear in your opening statement your commitment to reform and transparency. A lot of U.N. funding is dedicated to peacekeeping. We have both visited with and seen peacekeeping missions from Liberia to Sudan across the continent and around the world. Some of them have been incredibly essential and well run. Some of them have been profoundly flawed. I look forward, as a member of the Appropriations Subcommittee that funds our work around the world, to working with you on that reform.

I am concerned about a spike in violence in Darfur and Sudan seeming to head in the wrong direction after UNAMID, the peacekeeping mission, was drawn down. Is that also a topic of concern to you? Could you briefly speak to the path forward in peacekeeping?

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. It is absolutely a concern for us. The U.N.'s responsibility is to provide protection, and hopefully the new U.N. force presence will help to address the issues in Darfur, but it is something that I will be looking very closely at.

Senator COONS. Senator Romney mentioned, and I couldn't agree more, that the United States and China are engaged in a significant strategic competition, not just across the continent of Africa, but across the entire developing world. And as you said, we have both sat with African leaders. My first such conversation was, in fact, in Liberia where they have expressed a desire to work with the United States, but we are not offering the financing, the terms, the engagement that China is. I worked hard to get the Development Finance Corporation stood up and authorized. It has finished its first year of operation. Do you view the DFC as a powerful new tool that allows the United States to deliver private sector financing with U.S. Government partnership in the developing world that can compete with the debt trap diplomacy China is offering by offering financing on more transparent terms that are more sustainable, and that better respect the decision making priorities of our developing nation partners?

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. Senator, the simple answer to that question is absolutely, and I thank you profusely for pushing forward the DFC. I think it is going to be transformative on the continent of Africa and across the globe, and we will see the impact in the future.

Senator COONS. Today is World Holocaust Remembrance Day. One of my pressing concerns at the United Nation has been the isolation of Israel and the ways in which Israel has been singled out and often, I think, mistreated at the United Nations. That has led some to advocate our withdrawal from U.N. entities and fora. You have said when we are not at the table, others rush in. I think that is correct, and we should re-engage. Do you think there is a way we can deepen relations between Israel and the developing world that will take advantage of the opportunity we have for Israel's unique public health and development skills to bridge some of those divides at the United Nations?

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. I will look forward to working with the Israelis and trying to develop a strategy with them for engaging with countries that would appreciate having Israel's expertise to support their own development efforts. I am hopeful that those countries who have recognized Israel under the Abraham Accord will also see some opportunities to be more cooperative in—at the United Nations and more supportive of Israel's presence there.

Senator COONS. As you have referenced, China is aggressive, not just diplomatically and not just economically, but also directly at the United Nations. Chinese nationals now lead 4 of the 15 U.N. specialized agencies. They have made a strategic investment, a coordinated effort to influence global governance. Nowhere is this more important than in intellectual property. China missed 3G and 4G. They have no intention of missing 5G. The last administration's fights around Huawei and ZTE, I thought, were appropriate, and their pressure on China for its IP theft and its mercantilism I supported. I disagreed with some of their tactics, but the broader strategy I thought was important. And the Patent and Trademark Office director, Andrew Janco, mobilized our allies to ensure a Chinese national did not get chosen to lead the World Intellectual Property Organization.

Our contest with China, which is a strategic adversary, as you correctly perceive them to be, includes fights over IP in standard setting boards. Do you intend to raise this as an issue within the Biden administration to advocate for an assertive, a muscular, and an engaged USIP diplomacy as well?

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. Absolutely, and across the board for the United Nations. I will be fighting to ensure that either Americans or like-minded allies are—hold those significant positions.

Senator COONS. Well, thank you for your thoughtful and candid responses and for your long service to our Nation. I hope our committee and the Senate will promptly confirm you and look forward to working together.

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. Thank you, sir.

Senator COONS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator RUBIO. Senator Barrasso is not online, right? Senator Portman, are you on?

[No response.]

Senator RUBIO. Senator Young, virtual?

[No response.]

Senator RUBIO. All right. Well, then we will move on. Senator Murphy is here. Senator Murphy? Go ahead, Senator Murphy. Your mic on, yeah?

Senator MURPHY. All right. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank you very much, Ambassador, for your years of service and your willingness to step up and serve again in this role.

I wanted to first talk about the situation today in Yemen. Secretary Blinken last week committed to ending U.S. support for the military campaign led by Saudi Arabia and Yemen. But in 2015, the Security Council passed a resolution, which essentially at the time endorsed all of the Saudis' demands at the onset of their intervention, and it really has constrained our ability to negotiate an end to the war. That resolution seeks the return of President Hadi. I think everybody who knows anything about this conflict understands that there will have to be some transition away from President Hadi in order to gain a peace deal. It demands that the Houthis withdraw from all the areas that they have seized, and it really only recognizes two parties to the conflict. In other words, it ignores the role of Saudi Arabia, UAE, and Iran.

These are all pretty outdated and unrealistic demands. And so my question is, will you commit to seeking an updated Security Council resolution to replace this one, 2216? And what steps are you contemplating to try to work through the U.N. to bring an end to this conflict as soon as possible?

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. Thank you, sir. And let me just start by saying that the situation in Yemen is horrific. It is one of the worst humanitarian crisis that we are facing right now, and so we need to aggressively move forward to address finding a solution, a negotiated solution, to this situation. Yemen is being used by both the Saudis and the Iranians who have contributed to the war, and so I think it is incumbent on us in New York, if I am confirmed there, to address this issue at the Security Council.

Senator MURPHY. And, again, I would specifically request that you review the existing resolution.

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. I absolutely——

Senator MURPHY. It is unworkable, I think, on its present terms. I want to stay in the region and ask you a specific question with respect to humanitarian access in Syria. In 2020, the U.N. Security Council failed to reauthorize U.N. agencies' continued usage of three of the four border crossings. The final border crossing is essentially up for expiration this year. So I just want to ask whether you will work towards the immediate reauthorization of the crossings that we lost in 2020 and work to reassure that we continue to have access to the remaining crossing. With this sort of limited ability to get relief into Syria, you can imagine the crisis that already exists getting substantially horrifically worse.

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. Senator, thank you for raising that. And you may not be aware because we talk so much about my career in Africa, I spent more than half of my career working on humanitarian affairs. And I will commit to ensuring that we find a way to open up those avenues so that humanitarian assistance can get to the most needy people in Syria.

Senator MURPHY. And lastly, let me turn to the World Health Organization. When we talk about the WHO up here, we tend to

always lead with the same phrase or a version of it—"The WHO is in need of reform. It has to change, but,"—and then we fill in the blanks of all the wonderful things the WHO has done. I would suggest that we flip that presumption. The WHO is a miracle. It has eliminated smallpox. It has saved millions of lives through the vaccination of poor people all across the world. It is a forum through which adversaries and enemies can come together and talk about shared public health challenges. Yes, it is no different than any other international organization in that it does not often work as effectively as we would like, but there is no way for the United States to help rebuild an international anti-pandemic infrastructure without the WHO. And while we should certainly talk about reform, we should also celebrate the unique capabilities that the WHO provides us. And I imagine you share at least part of my analysis, and you believe that there is no way for U.S. to stop the next pandemic without being an active participant in the WHO.

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. I absolutely agree with you. I know that you are aware that the President did rejoin WHO, or stopped our exit from WHO, because we realize how important a role that organization plays around the globe.

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

The CHAIRMAN. [Presiding.] Thank you, Senator Murphy. Unfortunately, human nature is such that people remember your gaffes, no matter how much good that you have done. I have talked with the Dr. Tedros and his group at length, and they acknowledge things that are—were different with the pandemic than, like you say, miraculous things that they have done as far as smallpox, polio, and AIDS are concerned. And certainly the bill that you and I have introduced to try to do the reforms that are needed, I think will be helpful in that regard, and we will go back to being—talking about their miraculous work. So with that, let us turn—Senator Barrasso, are you with us virtually?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. Apparently not. We will turn to Senator Portman, who I am told is with us virtually. Senator Portman, are you there?

Senator PORTMAN. I am, Mr. Chairman, thank you, and, Ambassador Thomas-Greenfield, I enjoyed our conversation. I appreciate your answers to questions today. You and I talked quite a bit about your speech at the Confucius Institute. As I told you, we have done a lot of work on Confucius Institutes here in the Senate, and we have now forwarded to you our report, which I hope you will take a look at, at least the executive summary, to get a sense of what the Confucius Institutes have been up to around the country. And you talked in that speech about their work in Africa. I know this is something that has been discussed already at the hearing. I won't go into great detail. But I think one of the things that is important to talk about is not just their increased diplomatic presence there, but increased exports of things like the mass surveillance and technology exports to the African continent that are being used in China to persecute ethnic and religious minorities, including the Uyghurs. So I would hope that the conversations today would lead you to be an even more forceful advocate for our interests in push-

ing back against what China is doing not, just on the Africa continent you know well, but other democracies across the world.

Let me just ask you the question. Do you believe that the Chinese investment and engagement in Africa is in the best interests of the African nations?

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. Senator, not always, but as I have said earlier, the needs are extraordinary in Africa, and we need to work with the Africans to ensure that there are other avenues, other sources for them to get the things that they require.

Senator PORTMAN. And you and I talked about including in that, improving our diplomatic presence in the region as well as other parts of the world, Latin America and parts of—parts of Asia where there is a fierce competition right now, not just for exports, but for influence that, you know, is ultimately the competition between the great power as to what political systems work best. We believe in democracy. Do you have thoughts on that?

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. I do, and it is not just Africa. I apologize that I have a tendency to focus just on Africa, but I know that this is a much bigger—much, much bigger job. We really need to ramp up, and I spoke about this in the article that Bill Burns and I did for Foreign Affairs, that we have to ramp up our efforts. We have to improve our own diplomatic presence to ensure that we have people on the ground who can counter China all over the world. And it's going to require working with Secretary Blinken, working with this committee, working with funders to ensure that the State Department gets the resources that it needs so that it can be more aggressive in its response to China's aggressive actions across the globe.

Senator PORTMAN. You know, in your role at the United Nations, should you be confirmed, there will be lots of opportunities to take on the issues related to the great powers—China, Russia—and, you know, their efforts in the U.N. to try to promote their interests. There will also be a lot of pressure on you with regard to Israel. And Israel, as the strong ally of the United States in the Middle East and sole democracy in that region, you know, is something that here in the Senate we have strong views on. The Abraham Accords, I believe, were a historic achievement and can help transform the Middle East into a new era of prosperity and peace. Yet the U.N. General Assembly found time in 2020 to condemn Israel 17 times compared, by the way, with six condemnations for the rest of the world in its entirety.

So I wonder if you could talk a little about your commitment to defending Israel from some of these condemnations, and also talk about the BDS issues you and I discussed, the Boycott Divestment and Sanction issues, where there is a double standard being applied often. How would you use your position to advance the progress that was made in the Abraham Accords and to support and strengthen Israel's position?

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. Senator, thank you again. You know, I see the Abraham Accords as offering us an opportunity to work in a different way with the countries who have recognized Israel, and, again, as I mentioned earlier, we need to push those countries to change their approach at the United Nations. If they are going to recognize Israel and the Abraham Accords, they need

to recognize Israel's rights at the United Nations, and I will use my perch, if I am confirmed as the U.N. ambassador, to push them on this effort. I intend to work closely with the Israeli ambassador, with my colleagues across the globe, because this is not just an issue at—in New York, but also pushing our colleagues to address these issues with their countries bilaterally so that we can get a better recognition of Israel in New York.

Senator PORTMAN. Well, thank you. How about BDS in particular? What are your views on——

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. On BDS, exactly. We did talk a bit about that yesterday. I find the actions and the approach that BDS has taken toward Israel unacceptable. It verges on anti-Semitism, and it is important that they not be allowed to have a voice at the United Nations, and I intend to work very strongly against that.

Senator PORTMAN. Senator Booker and I have a bill regarding normalization of relations with Israel. Basically, it would require the State Department to include in their annual report not just human rights abuses, but also examples of Arab Government efforts to undermine people-to-people engagement with Israel. And our notion is to try to spread this Abraham Accord dialogue beyond the countries that have signed up into a broader normalization of relations. That is something you can be very helpful with at the United Nations. Would you be supportive of that?

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. I will.

Senator PORTMAN. Great.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator Portman.

Senator PORTMAN. Good luck to you, and I assume that after the hearing today, you will be successful on the floor, and I look forward to working with you.

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. Thank you, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator Portman. Senator Kaine?

Senator KAINE. Thank you, Mr. Chair. And, Madam Ambassador, I am going to say something I have never said to a nominee for any position. I tried your recipe this weekend and I really liked it. The Ambassador was interviewed about her gumbo recipe, which she has used in diplomatic circles, and she said, I don't have a recipe, but here is how I do it. That led to an article in the food section of the Richmond Times-Dispatch last Thursday, and my wife and I tried it this weekend. And I am so glad it is good because we made such an enormous quantity of it, that we are going to be eating it for the next month. I have never said that before at a hearing. I thought I would start there.

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. It freezes—it freezes well.

Senator KAINE. It does freeze very well. Senator Coons mentioned today's International Holocaust Remembrance Day, which was pursuant to a U.N. resolution in 2007-2008 to educate about the Holocaust, to condemn Holocaust denial, and also to, hopefully through education, forestall future holocausts. Pope Francis gave a—kind of an impromptu talk earlier today saying we would fool ourselves if we thought the Holocaust is only a rearview mirror issue. There are conditions in the world that could lead to it today or in the future. And I wanted to just ask about one of your earlier answers.

Senator Rubio asked you the question about whether you viewed the persecution of the Uyghurs as genocide, and you are right to be careful about words because you are a diplomat. We sometimes on this side of the aisle are not so careful, and you said the designation of the Trump administration of the genocide is being reviewed by the State Department to determine whether it meets the criteria that we use for assigning that term. However, I wanted to make sure that the—your reticence about that was just we want to go through the process and not a reticence about the evidence. I mean, I think the evidence is overwhelming that the Chinese Government is undertaking this massive campaign of surveillance, imprisoning people in re-education camps, separating children from their families, forced sterilizations. And they are doing that in a way that seems intentionally designed, or would reasonably likely, is going to have the effect of trying to destroy this Turkic cultural identity or Muslim religious identity. So your reticence on that answer was not about a disagreement about this evidence, correct? It is just about making sure that we follow the process to do such a designation. Am I right about that?

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. Absolutely, sir. What is happening with the Uyghurs is horrendous, and we have to recognize it for what it is. I lived through an experience and witnessed a genocide in Rwanda, so I know what it looks like and I know what it feels like, and this feels like that. We just have to call it for what it is.

Senator KAINE. Thank you very much for that answer. I appreciate it. The issue of the U.S. participation in the various U.N. organizations is something that I am interested in. Obviously, the Trump administration withdrew from the World Health Organization, the U.N. Human Rights Council, cut funding to the U.N. Population Fund, U.N. Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian refugees, and withdrew from the Global Compact for Migration and also UNESCO. I tend to believe that these institutions, though painfully annoying, often they work better for the U.S. and for the world if the U.S. is there rather than if we are not.

And I had a conversation with the U.N. High Commissioner on Human Rights in Geneva in March 2019, and she pointed out to me the Commission itself is often completely vexing and especially on this anti-Israel bias that they have. But she says the effect of the U.S. pulling away is it gets worse, and other issues that the U.S. puts on the radar screen, like LGBT equality, which would not have been on the human rights radar screen in the U.N. but for the U.S., they then become sort of non-issues when we are not around. So how do we kind of address the reality of these institutions that are often annoying and we do not like what they do, but they get worse if the U.S. isn't there? And how do you, you know, balance that as you—should you be confirmed as U.N. ambassador?

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. First and foremost, we need to be there. President Biden has indicated that we will run to rejoin the Human Rights Council in Geneva because we know, again, when we are at the table, there are fewer resolutions against Israel. We can push back on human rights violators who want to be legitimized by sitting at the table. We can encourage our allies who are like-minded to join the Human Rights Commission, and

we can support their elections, and we can work from inside to make the organization better. If we are on the outside, we have no voice, and that goes across the board, whether it is UNESCO, whether it's funding to UNRRA, whether it is how we deal with the WHO. We need to be at the table to ensure that the reforms that are important that support our values are addressed, and we push back on those who might not support our values.

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

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. We are going to go a little out of order because some of the members have other things going on. So, Senator Cruz, if you would be kind enough to take this time.

Senator CRUZ. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Ms. Thomas-Greenfield, congratulations. Welcome. I for a long time have believed that the single greatest geopolitical threat facing the United States is China, and the communist government in China is a profoundly malign influence. I am also growing increasingly concerned over the last 2 weeks by a pattern among Biden administration nominees of consistently moving towards and embracing the Chinese Communist Party. That pattern became even worse this morning in an article that broke in the Washington Post that described a speech you gave just a little over a year ago, in October of 2019, to a Confucius Institute.

Confucius Institutes are paid for by the Chinese communist government. We have had repeated problems of espionage and propaganda. That is why the Chinese communist government funds Confucius Institutes. Congress has passed bipartisan legislation cracking down on Confucius Institutes, legislation I authored that passed Congress with overwhelming bipartisan support. At the same time that the United States Congress and the United States Government is acting to combat the spying, the espionage, the propaganda coming from Confucius Institutes run and controlled by the Chinese communist government, according to the Washington Post, you were apparently going to a Confucius Institute giving a paid speech and praising China. How do you reconcile those two?

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. Senator, thank you for asking that question again, and I have addressed some of these issues earlier on in this hearing. I went to Savannah State University at the request of Savannah State, a historically black college that I have had a long-term relationship with, to give a speech on Africa, and the U.S. and China policy toward Africa. I got a $1,500 honorarium from the university for spending several days engaging with their students, talking to their students about careers in the Foreign Service, talking about issues related to Africa.

I expressed to this committee early on my strong and, frankly, it was unacceptable, what I saw in terms of what the Confucius Institute was doing in Georgia. I saw them engaging in poor black communities with the poorest of people. It is the same thing that I have seen in Africa, and I was appalled by it. And I have expressed my strong regret for having given that particular speech at Savannah University, and if I had it to do all over again, I would not have accepted.

I have spoken about China for 35 years of my career working across the continent. In 2005, I raised the concern about the Chi-

nese sending back North Korean defectors to certain death. I have raised concerns about how the Chinese engage in Africa and how their malign influences and their efforts have undermined the prosperity of the—of the African people. And I see what they are doing at the United Nations as undermining our values, undermining what we believe in. They are undermining our security, they are undermining our people, and we need to work against that.

So I appreciate you raising that for me again, and I want to say in no uncertain terms that I look forward to working with this body to address these issues. You have taken some incredible steps, such as—and seeing some of the reports that this body has taken related to China, and I support all of those steps. And I will be working aggressively against Chinese malign efforts in New York.

Senator CRUZ. So you have said you were horrified by seeing firsthand what the Confucius Institute was doing. Did you keep the money?

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. I can tell you what I did with the money. I give a tremendous amount of my very meager resources to humanitarian efforts, and——

Senator CRUZ. So you did keep the money, though.

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. I did. I did.

Senator CRUZ. You did not give it back.

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. I did not give it back. It was not from the Confucius Institute. It was from Savannah State University.

Senator CRUZ. You also described—you said you have spoken out against China's abusive practices. Perhaps you have elsewhere, but I can tell you I am holding the speech you gave at the Confucius Institute, and I cannot find a single word of criticism in this speech. This speech is cheerleading for the Chinese Communist Party. You praised the Belt and Road Initiative. You praised their entrapping developing countries in debt bondage, and you say the United States should follow China's model. Is it the role of America's U.N. ambassador to be cheering on the Chinese Communist Party at the expense of the developing world and at the expense of America?

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. Senator, it was not my intention, nor do I think that I cheered on the Chinese Communist Party. What I recommended in that speech is that Africans need to open their eyes on how they deal with the Chinese, and I would like to see the United States Government do more in Africa to compete with——

Senator CRUZ. My final question. Did you have even a word of criticism about the Chinese Communist Party about its murders, about its tortures, about its concentration camps, about its genocide? Did you have even a word of criticism in the speech you gave at the Confucius Institute?

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. I spoke about human rights there. That is the speech, but you don't see my other engagements with students who ask questions that I answered, frankly. And I do not ignore human rights. I talked about the fact that Africans like our values.

Senator CRUZ. But in the speech, did you address human rights?

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. I did say human rights is referred to as something that we promote in the United States——

Senator CRUZ. What did you say about human rights?

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD [continuing]. Are things that are our values.

Senator CRUZ. What did you say?

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. I mean, in my discussions with Africans.

Senator CRUZ. But the speech did not have it——

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. But I appreciate what you are saying. I am not denying this. As I said, I regret this. You know, this is one speech in my 35-year career, and I do regret that speech. But if you had looked at what I have done prior to that, there is no question that I understand. I am not at all naive about what the Chinese are doing, and I have called them out on a regular basis, including today.

Senator CRUZ. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator Cruz. Next, I have Senator Markey on my list. Is Senator Markey with us?

Senator MARKEY. Yeah, I am right here, Mr. Chairman. Yes, thank you. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. My question—my first question goes to the Trump administration's attitudes about climate change and how China and other countries, as a result, were able to lower their own gaze in terms of the constellation of possibilities to be able to deal with the climate crisis and the consequent refugee crisis. So in order to really lead here, the United States has to step up. The United States is going to have to be dealing with this climate crisis and with the partnership ultimately we need with China and other countries, but China and the United States, of course, are going to have to be leading because of the refugee crisis that has been created and will only intensify in the years ahead. Could you speak to that issue of the refugee crisis and the role you believe the United States ambassador to the United Nations should be playing and highlighting and leading on that issue?

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. Senator, I mentioned earlier before you came on that I spent more than half of my career working on refugee and humanitarian issues. And I do intend for that to be one of my many priorities at the United Nations, raising concerns about how we respond, and how we support, and how we provide protection and solution for refugees. And sometimes we tend to think of refugees as having been produced by war and conflict, but there are many refugees who are being produced as a consequence of climatic changes in their countries. We are seeing the Sahara Desert move rapidly southward. [Audio malfunction], and I intend, if I am confirmed as the ambassador, to work very, very closely with other members of the Security Council and at the General Assembly to raise this issue and how we might find solutions.

Senator MARKEY. Yeah, and General Gordon Sullivan, the Army Joint Chiefs of Staff, general, testified before me in 2007, and he was in charge at the time of the incidents in Somalia. He testified that it was a drought that led to a famine that then led to battles between different groups over more scarce resources, and he saw obviously what was happening. And it led to Black Hawk Down to—that he felt responsible for, but he could see more clearly in

retrospect that it was definitely climate related and a national security issue. So I thank you for that.

In terms of—in terms of the COVID-19 vaccine, America's health is global health, and global health is the health of the United States. We are all interrelated on this issue. What role do you believe the United States should be playing in ensuring that there is an equitable distribution of the COVID-19 vaccines to countries regardless of wealth?

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. Thank you again, Senator. I mean, we are dealing with a pandemic. This means that it is a global situation, and so it has to be addressed in a global way. And I know that President Biden has made the decision that we will join the COVAX group and support efforts to provide the vaccine across the globe. We cannot close ourselves off from the world, and so if the world is still dealing with this pandemic, we have to support them.

Senator MARKEY. Okay. Thank you. And under President Trump's watch, North Korea's nuclear weapons and ballistic missile programs grew. Can you give us your view in terms of how you would re-engage with our U.S. allies, how you would ensure that there is more pressure put on China and Russia so that we ensure that North Korea returns to its nuclear non-proliferation obligations?

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. We certainly have to re-engage with our allies. Again, this is not something we can do alone, and this is, I think, one of the biggest failings of the Trump administration is that they did try to go it alone, and our allies were left kind of holding the bag. So re-engaging with South Korea and with Japan, as well as with China and Russia particularly to push for their respect of the sanctions regime in—against North Korea, is going to be really important. And the locus for those discussions will be in New York at the United Nations, in addition at more high-level engagements by the President and the Secretary of State.

Senator MARKEY. Thank you. And I would like to just turn quickly, if I can, to Ethiopia and this battle that has now broken out between the Government and the Liberation Front. It is causing widespread displacement of people inside of Ethiopia and thousands of refugees pouring into neighboring Sudan. The U.N. High Commissioner on Human Rights has raised concerns about reports of mass atrocities on the ground. Can you speak to that issue on what role you believe that the United States and the U.N. should be playing in order to resolve this conflict peacefully?

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. The situation in Ethiopia, Senator, has me very concerned. Three years ago, we were celebrating this country. We were celebrating their new president. We were celebrating the possibilities of their being able to move forward and build prosperity for their people, and now they are in the middle of a war against their own people. It is important that the United Nations take this situation on and look at how we can be responsive. The humanitarian situation is really worrisome, so we need to open up possibilities for humanitarian workers and organizations to get in to see what is happening in the Tigray region, and then we need to have, I think, a very frank and an open discussion

with the president about what is happening—with the prime minister of Ethiopia about what is happening there, and insist that they take every measure to stop what they are doing, to stop the fighting, and bring the situation to a close. It is having a broad impact across the region.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Senator MARKEY. I think your background makes you the perfect person to make sure that the U.S. plays a role in making sure this does not spread further into the Horn of Africa. I think you will be a great representative for our country. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator Markey. We will turn to Senator Young.

Senator YOUNG. Well, thank you, Mr. Chairman. Madam Ambassador, welcome to the committee. Chinese leadership of specialized agencies, its influence peddling to secure leadership positions, and its failure to abide by the basic codes of decency are all problems facing the United States now, today, within the United Nations system. If confirmed, how will you use the power of America's vote and voice on the Security Council to hold China accountable for its behavior within the United Nations and beyond?

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. Senator, thank you for that question. And I see that as my highest priority, if I am confirmed, at the United Nations, and that is to push against Chinese influence in the Security Council. And it will mean working with our allies, and bringing them on board, and getting their support to push back against the Chinese, and, as I said earlier, calling them out every opportunity that we have on their efforts to have greater influence on the United Nations, and to bring a set of values to the United Nations that does not fit the organization that we all support.

Senator YOUNG. So, let us tease that out. I am going to unpack that a little bit. So you will work with partners and allies to apply greater leverage. That makes some sense to me. How will you approach this differently than the previous administration? And you will note that the most recent ambassador to the United Nations was sanctioned by the Chinese Communist party because she was too forceful on these issues. So what will you do differently in this capacity than has been done by the previous administration?

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. I commend Ambassador Craft for her extraordinary work in New York, and I have engaged with her, and look forward to continuing to engage with her, on what she was able to achieve effectively and follow through on her achievements. But I think one of the failings of the administration, and I do not think it was any fault of hers, was that we did not engage our partners. We did not bring our allies in with us. We did not have discussions with them. So we need to—if we are going to succeed, we have to do it hand in hand with like-minded countries. And I intend to aggressively and relentlessly pursue working with those who are like minded, ensure that they understand we are not ignoring them. We want them as partners, and we know that we can only succeed if we have their support.

Senator YOUNG. So, Madam Ambassador, I would note that in the Obama administration, which preceded, of course, the Trump administration, we had the People's Republic of China ripping off

our intellectual property, forcing technology transfer, engaging in human rights abuses, really the same litany of challenges we are still dealing with it. Did they, too, fail to make a—deepening and broadening our alliance system and leveraging that alliance system to bring China into a position of good behavior? Did they fail to make that a high priority?

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. I know having served in the administration that fighting against China was a high priority of the Obama administration. The pivot to Asia was about addressing the situation with China, but how China is behaving now is very, very different than that period, and they have become more aggressive. And so we have to change our approach, and we have to make our approach more strategic, and that is—that is our intention.

Senator YOUNG. I think there was some conversation earlier in response to questions by my colleagues pertaining to the United Nations' budget and our dues. The United States remains the largest funder of the United Nations, correct?

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. That is correct.

Senator YOUNG. Okay. So we are going to maintain a lot of leverage just on account of that fact presumably. Would you agree with that?

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. I do agree with that, but we also have to pay our dues if our influence is going to continue.

Senator YOUNG. So you do not—you do not think that dues can also be one of these instruments that would give U.S. greater leverage within the institution?

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. I do. I do believe that dues are important, and I believe that we need to pay our dues so that we can continue to exert our influence.

Senator YOUNG. Okay. But should those dues be tied to results or behavior of, you know, those within the U.N. system at all? I am just trying to get clarity on your position.

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. Yeah, we really do have to demand reforms in the U.N. system. We have to work within that system to ensure that those reforms are on the table and that we are pushing those reforms forward. We have to encourage the U.N. to be more efficient and more effective. We have to push for whistleblower protections for those who will provide the needed——

Senator YOUNG. I think I am out of time, respectfully, Madam Ambassador. I regret I am out of time. It sounds to me like there is some strategic ambiguity, which I think is smart. So it sounds like you may be willing to use dues as a tool to bring some members of the U.N., the U.N. system, into a position of better behavior and fulfilling their mission, which is kind of what the previous administration attempted to do. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator Young.

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Merkley, are you with us virtually?

Senator MERKLEY. I am indeed.

The CHAIRMAN. The floor is yours.

Senator MERKLEY. Greetings, Madam Ambassador, and thank you for your testimony today. I wanted to start by asking about the Security Council itself. At the same time that China and Russia often stymie action in the Security Council, the Security Council is

increasingly representative of the geopolitical landscape with key powers like India, Germany, and Japan, not included as permanent members. How do you approach the question of the Security Council? How do you consider that perhaps it needs to be reformed? How do you believe it can be made more effective and functional?

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. You know, I think there is general agreement across the board that reforms are needed on the Security Council. What those reforms will be and how they will be implemented, I think, remains to be decided, but, you know, changing the number of members that happened. We moved from 11 to 15 some years ago, and there are efforts to push for more permanent members, and those discussions are ongoing.

Senator MERKLEY. Do you think India, Germany, and Japan should be members?

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. You know, I think there has been some discussions about them being members of the Security Council, and there are some strong arguments for that. But I also know that there are others who disagree within their regions that they should be representative of their—of their region. That, too, is an ongoing discussion.

Senator MERKLEY. Ambassador, President Biden has said that he is going to hold a summit for democracy, which I love that he plans to do this, and I think he is planning to hold it after COVID is in—under control in a way that enables key leaders around the world to come to the United States. Is this something you will be deeply involved in helping to plan, and what do you see as the ways that that summit can really highlight the power of democratic republics working together around the world to address issues?

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. Senator, thank you. That is something I truly support. What we have seen happen over the past few years is some decrease and diminishment in democracies around the world, and we need to boost those democracies up. They need to see the United States as a strong democracy that they have all wanted to emulate. And I think this summit that the President is planning to host will be an opportunity for us to highlight our successes, highlight and talk about some of our failings, and how we have addressed those to ensure that our country continues to thrive.

Senator MERKLEY. Do you think there are any particular issues that should be major themes at that gathering? Should it be consideration of the challenges of forced labor refugees, LGBT rights, and genocide? What would be your priorities for that discussion?

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. I have not had a discussion with the President on exactly the areas that he wants to focus on. I do think that we need to focus on transparent elections and fair elections across the world. We need to talk about how to engage opposition, and we do need to talk about human rights, press freedoms, and all of those values that are important to a democracy.

Senator MERKLEY. Ambassador, perhaps the most important issue facing the world is to prevent our planet from being destroyed by climate chaos, and the United Nations is a place where a lot of discussions can take place and a lot of planning to tackle that. Do you see that as a major role for the United Nations and for your leadership representing America there?

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. I do, sir, and I look forward to working with Secretary Kerry, who is the President's special envoy for climate. That says how—what a high-priority this is for the administration, and my work in the U.N., if I am confirmed, will be to support his efforts.

Senator MERKLEY. Well, thank you because I was going to ask you how you saw that kind of relative responsibility. I picture the two of you working very closely together to help tackle this. I appreciated the President's pledge to aim at a 100-percent clean energy economy, net zero emissions by 2050. I think that is the right goal for humanity if we are going to stop the steady advance of calamities that are stemming from the warming planet. Certainly I see those in my home State, but we see them on an international scale, and including the impact on the availability of food, the disasters involving seashore, greater storms, more powerful storms, forest fires, et cetera.

So are any of those particular issues, like the impact on refugees, ones that are sort of highest on the list for the U.N. to address, or can the U.N. actually take on issues like ending the subsidies for fossil fuel development around the world?

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. The U.N. has focused very steadily on issues related to the environment and climate. As you know, the Secretary General has determined that this is one of his goals. In the month of February, the U.K. Government is chairing the Security Council, and climate is one of the issues that they have on their agenda. And I will tell you that the President and Secretary Kerry intend to host the—a climate conference, probably as soon as—as soon as April. So this will be something that we will focus on at the United Nations, but it is also something we will focus around the globe on.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator Merkley.

Senator MERKLEY. Are we out of time?

The CHAIRMAN. We are.

Senator MERKLEY. Thank you very much, Ambassador.

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator Merkley. Senator Booker, thank you for your usual patience. The floor is yours.

Senator BOOKER. I appreciate that, Chairman, and so good to see you here today.

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. Thank you.

Senator BOOKER. I watched the whole hearing on my television in my office and was really appreciative of the generous spirit on both sides of the aisle and the substance of the questions. I did hear one colleague, though, refer to the Biden administration's nominees as embracing China, I think was that—that was the exact wording, and I found that just patently unfair and untrue. And then I heard one speech being taken in a way that was patently offensive to me at a moment that we just had a siege on the Capitol. And I would actually say that of all the members here, of this committee, there is not one that does not have something in a speech in their past that they regret doing, as this person has said, especially at a time that we see people whipped up to storm our Capitol and the perpetuation of baseless lies that an election that was won by 7 million votes was a fraud.

And so I am particularly galled that, in the spirit of bipartisanship, which we usually have, that you were treated like you were recently about one speech that you had already thoroughly explained to numerous members, and the generosity of some of my friends on the other aisle was pointed to very clearly. You were invited to give a speech by an HBCU. Some of my colleagues might not know this. I have buckets of invitations for speeches where I get speech invitations that I prioritize. If you are a New Jersey university, you got me. If you are one of my alma maters, you got me. But when I get a call from an HBCU, as I would imagine for the nominee, you know the sacred importance of HBCUs. You know that they are the number one producer in America of black generals, number one producer in America of black doctors, number one producer in America of black professors, Ph.D.s, and so forth. In fact, if there is a hope for this country ever to reach equality in all the ranks of all the professions, would you agree with me that the HBCUs are still that hope?

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. Without a doubt, Senator. Thank you very much.

Senator BOOKER. Yes, and as a person who is the—has two generations before me going to HBCUs, the fact that you accepted an invitation from a black college to give a speech, to me, shows that you have the right priority list, because I will tell you this: our State Department ranks are woefully lacking in African Americans. When I travel the globe and visit embassies, they are woefully lacking. We are now at a period where we have a black Vice President, first woman as well, first woman Treasurer. You are one of the generations of women that are breaking down barriers and showing the way for women and African Americans. I imagine your commitment to continue to do that is the same, yes?

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. Absolutely.

Senator BOOKER. Now, the other thing that just galled me a little bit was the fact that Senator Menendez, my senior senator, who is a friend and mentor to me, read a whole list through your research, Senator Menendez, of examples for, I think, 10 to 20 years of you being a canary in the coal mine making warnings about China, China's activities in Africa. And so to Senator Menendez, who I rarely ever tell him what to do, so I will ask him, could you introduce that litany into the record in a formal way so that it is there forever?

Senator MENENDEZ. I would be happy to.

Senator BOOKER. Thank you very much.

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

Senator BOOKER. So I just want you to know I am celebrating that you are sitting before me right now because I know the challenges we still have in this country. And I watched after George Floyd was savagely murdered, how it was not just all 50 states of America that came out and protested, but we saw other nations, right, at least a dozen other countries because they know that the United States of America, if we can make our values true here, there is hope for the world. Would you agree with that?

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. Yes, sir.

Senator BOOKER. So I have 30 seconds left, and I apologize for using all my time, but I just want you to know for my ancestors and for communities of color all around the world who wonder if this Nation will ever achieve itself, will ever get to a point where we can be a country where we celebrate the richness of our diversity, not just in words, but in positions of leadership where we achieve our potential as past generations saw when they brought hidden figures out of the shadows and sat them together with NASA astronauts and literally defied gravity, you today, sitting in that seat, are a reason to rejoice, and your record is unapproachable in your patriotism to this country under Democratic and Republican administrations. I thank you, I celebrate you, and I will submit my questions for the record in hopes that you will give me that response. I yield to you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. Thank you, Senator Booker.

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. Thank you, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Menendez?

Senator MENENDEZ. Well, thank you, Mr. Chairman. I am always loathe to go after my junior Senator because his oratory flies high and has great substance to it, and I echo everything he had to say. I just want to very briefly, Ambassador. You know after 45, 46 years of public service, I have seen how people can read into whatever they want to read into. But I look at that same speech that has been questioned by our colleague, particularly Senator Cruz, in a way that suggests that it is nefarious. It seems to me what you were saying in that speech about a win-win situation, you were playing a little jiu-jitsu, challenging China to promote values, such as good governance, gender equity, and the rule of law. Am I confused?

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. No, sir. That is exactly my—that was exactly my intention.

Senator MENENDEZ. And it seemed to me a challenge to them when you say, well, why can't China share in those values? That is a challenge to China. And when you criticized Chinese predatory lending, which you have for years, but you also rang the alarm bell if we do not show up, as predatory as their lending may be and you are in dire need, guess what will happen? And so it is a wake-up call. You have been—you have been sounding the alarm for—on this particular element for over a decade, saying, hey, if we do not show up, the rest of the world does not show up, China shows up, guess what is going to happen? Is that a fair statement?

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. That is, sir.

Senator MENENDEZ. And so finally, when you were the director general, I was the chairman at the time, did I not press you very hard for diversity in the State Department?

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. I still have bruises, sir.

[Laughter.]

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. You did press me hard, and I took you seriously, and it is still a commitment that I have, even though I left the director general's job.

Senator MENENDEZ. And I—and I would hope you would show that diversity at the U.N. upon confirmation, but that was the main reason you went to Savannah State University for which you had a relationship, right?

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. Yes.

Senator MENENDEZ. And it was to Savannah State University that invited you to speak. Is it not the case?

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. Yes.

Senator MENENDEZ. And as a matter of fact, it was Savannah State University that provided you the small honorarium. Is it not the case?

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. Yes, sir.

Senator MENENDEZ. And is it not true that Savannah State University closed its Confucius Institute last year?

Ambassador THOMAS-GREENFIELD. It did.

Senator MENENDEZ. I think that is a great record. Let me ask, Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to enter enormous numbers of letters of support for the nominee into the hearing record, and due to COVID precautions, we will email the letters to the committee's clerk.

The CHAIRMAN. They will be entered.

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

Senator MENENDEZ. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator Menendez. Well, thank you so much for your patience being with us today. Certainly been an interesting hearing, and I look forward to working with you over the years to come. And, again, thank you for your willingness to serve and your family's willingness to sacrifice with you.

Before closing, I would like to ask unanimous consent that all responses to my pre-hearing questions be added to the record.

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

The CHAIRMAN. For the information of the members, the record will remain open until the close of business tomorrow, Thursday, January 28th, at 5:00 p.m., including for members to submit questions for the record. We would strongly urge you to respond to those as rapidly as you can, Madam Ambassador.

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

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

Additional Material Submitted for the Record

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED TO HON. LINDA THOMAS-GREENFIELD BY SENATOR JAMES E. RISCH

Question. What is your view of the relationship between the United States and the United Nations (U.N.)?

Answer. The United States has and should continue to build a strong and deep relationship with the United Nations, the foundational institution of the multilateral system. We are members of many of the U.N.'s most important bodies, including the U.N. Security Council, the U.N. General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council, and have historically also been a member of the Human Rights Council. We are the largest contributor of assessed funds, and we provide hundreds of millions of dollars in voluntary contributions. We are a founding member. Since the U.N.'s inception, we have been both one of its strongest champions and strongest critics. If confirmed, I hope to position the United States as a close partner to the

U.N. who is committed to reform, so the U.N. can most effectively and efficiently address the range of 21st century challenges.

Question. U.S.-assessed and voluntary contributions to the U.N., as appropriated under the Contributions to International Organizations (CIO), Contributions for International Peacekeeping Operations (CIPA), and International Organizations and Program (IO&P) accounts, represent only a small fraction of total U.S. contributions to the U.N. system. If confirmed, will you assist in compiling and sharing with Congress a comprehensive report on total U.S. contributions, from all sources, to the U.N. and its specialized agencies and programs?

Answer. If confirmed, I will support the efforts of the State Department's Bureau of International Organization Affairs to meet its statutory responsibility to publish annual reports to Congress on all U.S. Government contributions to international organizations.

Question. Will you ensure that other donors remain apprised of the full depth and breadth of U.S. contributions from all sources?

Answer. Yes, if confirmed, I will work to ensure that other donors remain apprised of the full depth and breadth of U.S. Government contributions from all sources.

Question. Whereas assessed contributions are determined on a scale and provide no discretion to nations, voluntary contributions are provided to advance specific U.S. goals and objectives. Moreover, voluntarily funded agencies, including the World Food Programme (WFP) and the U.N. Children's Fund (UNICEF), must compete for resources and are subject to rigorous transparency and accountability measures. If confirmed, will you seek to ensure that the Secretary General adopts a rigorous performance matrix, transparency requirements, and accountability measures that apply across the U.N. system, including to agencies and programs funded through assessed contributions?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work to achieve a coordinated, government-wide effort to assess the performance of, and promote transparency and accountability at, international organizations in the U.N. system, including those funded through assessed contributions.

Question. Last Congress, I introduced the Multilateral Aid Review Act to assess the value of U.S. taxpayer investments in multilateral entities, including the U.N. and its affiliated agencies. If confirmed, would you support a comprehensive review of U.S. investments in multilateral organizations?

Answer. If confirmed, I look forward to reviewing this issue closely and working with Congress to ensure effective oversight of the U.N. and its affiliated agencies. I am committed to ensuring prudent management of U.S. taxpayer investments in multilateral entities.

Question. There have been efforts to have the United States rejoin the World Tourism Organization. If confirmed, would you support the re-entry of the United States to the World Tourism Organization? What benefits would the United States receive by re-joining this organization?

Answer. If confirmed, I will ensure careful consultation, consideration, and review before any efforts are made to rejoin the World Tourism Organization.

Question. How will you address accusations that the U.N. and western donor countries compel developing countries, particularly in Africa, to liberalize their abortion laws as a condition of receiving aid and ensure that the United States does not exert such pressure?

Answer. I believe these accusations are not based on credible facts and ignore well-established legal frameworks, both international and domestic, which affirm national sovereignty. These false narratives divert our attention and resources from achieving our shared goals on sexual and reproductive health and rights, which include addressing the unmet need for family planning, improving outcomes for safe childbirth and delivery, preventing maternal mortality, and supporting survivors of rape.

Question. Members of the U.N. Security Council have consistently failed to enforce Security Council resolutions, including serial violations of the sanctions regimes on Iran and North Korea. If confirmed, how will you ensure the Security Council upholds its own standards?

Answer. North Korea's nuclear, ballistic missile, and other proliferation-related activities constitute a serious threat to international peace and security and undermine the global nonproliferation regime. President Biden is committed to working

with our allies and partners to counter Iran's destabilizing activities in the region, including its provision of weapons to armed groups and other violent proxies. Security Council Members are obliged—as are all member states—to implement fully the sanctions measures adopted by the Council. The United States has consistently upheld this position in the Council and will continue to work closely with partners to address implementation gaps and call out member states failing to uphold their obligations.

Question. What are your views on the need for management reform at the U.N.?

- How will you work to address barriers to advancing U.N. management reforms, especially those created by the different priorities among member states?
- How will you measure success in implementing management reforms at the U.N.?
- What policies does the U.N. need to implement to maintain fiscal responsibility and accountability within the U.N. system?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work to harness allies and likeminded member states who strongly support U.N. management reform to overcome any barriers that stand in the way of advancing reforms. It must be in the interests of all members to make implementation of this robust agenda and of these essential reforms a single priority in order to make the United Nations the effective, efficient, and responsive organization it needs to be in the 21st century.

If confirmed, I will work to ensure that international organizations within the U.N. system are accountable and responsible for the U.S. taxpayer resources they receive. This includes continuing the longstanding U.S. policy of promoting budget discipline, as well as continuing efforts to ensure that other countries pay their fair share. I will also work to ensure international organizations in the U.N. system adhere to best management and oversight practices in the areas of protecting whistleblowers, addressing sexual exploitation and abuse, promoting zero tolerance for corruption, and ensuring financial and managerial transparency.

Question. While the U.N. has taken steps to improve its efficiency, operational effectiveness, and accountability, the continuing need for reform is obvious to most observers, including strong supporters of the institution. The U.N. Secretary-General has committed to an agenda of reform. The push for reform by the United States is one of the main drivers behind the reform movement's progress to date. In your opinion, what are the top three reforms that the U.N. could undertake over the next two years that will have the greatest impact?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work to advance reforms that will ensure the U.N. is more efficient and effective, including in its achievement of the goals U.N. member states have set for it. Across its 75-year history, the U.N. has negotiated ends to wars, provided life-saving humanitarian assistance, and established a global human rights regime. It has also, however, failed to live up to its founding ideals in the past, minimizing abuses committed by peacekeepers, tolerating instances of corruption, or silencing whistleblowers. The Biden-Harris administration will continue to hold the U.N. accountable to its mission and its member states. This means doing all we can to ensure the U.N. is using resources efficiently and effectively—eliminating waste, demanding zero tolerance for any corruption, strengthening whistleblower protections and transparency and accountability, and ensuring other countries pay their fair share. We will share information on a regular basis about where we see the U.N. making satisfactory progress in these areas and where additional efforts are needed. If confirmed, I will push for reforms that make the U.N. more efficient, effective, accountable, and fit for purpose, so that the institution remains the preeminent body committed to the maintenance of international peace and security.

Question. The United States is the largest donor to the World Food Programme, the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, and other U.N. agencies. Will you continue this pattern of voluntary donations to address some of the world's most pressing issues?

Answer. The U.S. role as the world's largest humanitarian donor has always been an important marker of our leadership and a reflection of the strong bipartisan commitment to our generosity and to leading with our values. If confirmed, I am committed to ensuring the United States continues to play this role and to work with Congress to ensure robust funding for the key international humanitarian organizations, including U.N. agencies.

Question. The United States is not a party to the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (ICC), yet the Court has unfairly targeted the United

States. The Trump administration took a harder line on U.S. involvement in the ICC after the Prosecutor opened an investigation into U.S. service members.

- Do you support the United States becoming a party to the Rome Statue of the ICC?
- Under what circumstances should the United States cooperate with the ICC?

Answer. The United States shares the goals of the ICC in promoting accountability for atrocities. At the same time, the United States has always objected to any attempt by the ICC to investigate U.S. personnel. I understand that the ICC has recently undergone an independent review and that member states may be considering various reforms to help the court better achieve its core mission of punishing and deterring atrocity crimes. I think this is a worthwhile effort. If confirmed, my priority will be to protect U.S. personnel with respect to the ICC. There may be exceptional cases where we consider cooperating with the court as we sometimes have in the past. We will weigh the interests at stake on a case-by-case basis.

Question. Do you believe that the ICC should be investigating alleged actions of U.S. service members and officials in Afghanistan? If yes, please explain.

Answer. The United States shares the goals of the ICC in promoting accountability for atrocities. At the same time, the United States has always objected to any attempt by the ICC to investigate U.S. personnel. We are following the court's work on Afghanistan closely and will vigorously protect U.S. personnel.

Question. Do you believe that the ICC has jurisdiction to investigate or bring to trial U.S. service members, officials, or other U.S. citizens? If yes, please explain.

Answer. The United States shares the goals of the ICC in promoting accountability for atrocities. At the same time, the United States has always objected to any attempt by the ICC to investigate U.S. personnel. We are following the court's work on Afghanistan closely and will vigorously protect U.S. personnel.

Question. Do you believe that the ICC should be investigating a case involving alleged Israeli actions in the Palestinian territories? If yes, please explain.

Answer. We are following closely the court's work on the Palestinian situation. We will continue to uphold President Biden's strong commitment to Israel and its security, including opposing actions that seek to target Israel unfairly. The U.S. has always taken the position that the court's jurisdiction should be reserved for countries that consent to it, or that are referred by the U.N. Security Council. U.S. lawyers have often worked with Israeli lawyers to share expertise on the court and I anticipate that this will continue.

Question. Do you believe that the ICC has jurisdiction to investigate or bring to trial Israeli service members, officials, or other Israeli citizens? If yes, please explain.

Answer. The administration is following closely the court's work on the Palestinian situation. The U.S. has always taken the position that the court's jurisdiction should be reserved for countries that consent to it, or that are referred by the U.N. Security Council. We will continue to uphold President Biden's strong commitment to Israel and its security, including opposing actions that seek to target Israel unfairly.

Question. Do you believe the ICC's reputation has been diminished by recent attempts to prosecute U.S. and Israeli nationals? If no, please explain.

Answer. The United States shares the goals of the ICC in promoting accountability for atrocities. That said, the United States has always objected to any attempt by the ICC to investigate U.S. personnel. The administration is following the court's work on Afghanistan closely and will vigorously protect U.S. personnel from the ICC. We are also following the court's work on the Israeli/Palestinian situation. We understand that the ICC has recently undergone an independent review that truly underscored the need for change and that member states may be considering various reforms to help the court better achieve its core mission of punishing and deterring atrocity crimes. Our priority, though, will be to protect U.S. personnel.

Question. Do you believe that an ICC prosecution of U.S. service members and public servants would deny those U.S. citizens fundamental due process protections to which all Americans are guaranteed under the U.S. Constitution, such as a right to trial by jury? If no, please explain.

Answer. The United States shares the goals of the ICC in promoting accountability for atrocities. At the same time, the United States has always objected to any attempt by the ICC to investigate U.S. personnel. The administration is fol-

lowing the court's work on Afghanistan closely and will vigorously protect U.S. personnel.

Question. Do you believe the United States has an obligation to protect U.S. citizens who have served or are currently serving in Afghanistan against criminal prosecution by the ICC? If yes, as Ambassador to the U.N., what specific actions would you take to ensure that U.S. service members, officials, and citizens are not subject to ICC prosecutions? If no, please explain.

Answer. The United States shares the goals of the ICC in promoting accountability for atrocities. At the same time, the United States has always objected to any attempt by the ICC to investigate U.S. personnel. The administration is following the court's work on Afghanistan closely and if confirmed, I will work to vigorously protect U.S. personnel.

Question. Beyond the ICC, what international accountability mechanisms do you support? Please provide examples of special courts or tribunals which have worked well as well as examples of special court or tribunals which did not work well.

Answer. Since World War II, the United States has played a leading role in promoting accountability for atrocities. We have supported international, hybrid, and domestic criminal tribunals in the former Yugoslavia, Rwanda, Cambodia, the Central African Republic, Lebanon, Guatemala, Kosovo, and elsewhere. We have provided political and financial support for investigative mechanisms. And we have spoken clearly and forcefully, along with our allies, to hold abuses to account. If confirmed, I will ensure that we continue to promote the full range of appropriate, available, and effective accountability mechanism.

Question. Do you support the United States reinstating its financial support for the U.N. Relief Works and Agency (UNRWA)? If so, what reforms would you recommend UNRWA undertake in order to regain support from the United States? If confirmed, will you commit to condition the resumption of U.S. assistance upon education reform within UNRWA, such as ensuring that textbooks have appropriate material, including but not limited to ending the practicing of labeling Israel as the "enemy"?

Answer. President Biden has pledged to restore U.S. economic and humanitarian aid to the Palestinians. UNRWA's Commissioner General has committed to notifying its Advisory Council immediately when violations of the zero-tolerance policy occur and to collaborating with Council members on a range of issues related to education. If confirmed, I will examine his commitments as part of larger discussions around potential resumption of U.S. funding.

Question. As of submission of these questions, there are approximately 26 million refugees globally, including 5 million refugees under the responsibility of UNWRA. Additionally, the United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) employed 17,324 staff across 135 countries in 2020, and UNWRA employed 27,841.

- Why does UNWRA need 10,000 more staff than UNHCR to accomplish the same goal?

Answer. UNRWA's mandate is set by the U.N. General Assembly and is to provide essential services directly to Palestinian refugees in the five regions it covers. Unlike UNHCR, which delivers most services to refugees through sub-partners, UNRWA employees include schoolteachers and health care workers who provide the services directly to beneficiaries.

Question. Do you believe that UNWRA should be absorbed by UNHCR, given UNHCR's efficiency and infrastructure?

Answer. The U.N. General Assembly sets UNRWA's mandate, which is to provide essential services directly to Palestinian refugees in the five regions it covers. Unlike UNHCR, which works to deliver most services to refugees through sub-partners, UNRWA's employees include school teachers and health care workers who provide services directly to beneficiaries. UNHCR's mandate focuses on seeking durable solutions (such as resettlement, repatriation, and local integration) for Palestinian refugees, which cannot be adequately applied in the Palestinian context as these matters are final status issues to be negotiated directly between Israel and the Palestinians.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to work with the appropriate Congressional committees on any consultations for resumption of funds to UNRWA?

Answer. I know Secretary Blinken is committed to working with and consulting Congress, including prior to the possible resumption of funding to UNRWA, a com-

mitment which I share. If confirmed, I will ensure a close focus on management and other reform issues at UNRWA.

Question. How do you plan to monitor the activities of the U.N. Population Fund (UNFPA) and ensure that it is not complicit in China's campaign of coercive abortion and sterilization of Uyghur women?

Answer. If confirmed, I will continue the U.S. Government's due diligence as a member of UNFPA's executive board, including through the board's country program document review mechanism. The U.N. Population Fund (UNFPA) does not condone China's coercive population policies, nor does it operate in Xinjiang.

Question. In 2018, the United States left the U.N. Human Rights Council.

- What is the position of the Biden administration regarding the U.N. Human Rights Council?

Answer. As Secretary Blinken stated in his Senate confirmation testimony, the Biden administration is committed to re-engaging with the Human Rights Council (HRC) and seeking reforms to the HRC, particularly with respect to the Council's membership selection process and its disproportionate focus on Israel. If confirmed, I will work with the administration to ensure the United States prioritizes needed reforms as part of our re-engagement with the HRC.

Question. Will the Biden administration commit to pushing for reforms before rejoining the U.N. Human Rights Council? If so, please describe the reforms.

Answer. If confirmed, I will ensure the United States prioritizes needed reforms as part of our re-engagement with the HRC. When we have had a seat at the table, we have been able to advocate on Israel's behalf, and we have seen changes like a reduction in the number of resolutions targeting Israel. We have also seen that when the United States plays an active and constructive role on the Council, we have been able to engage with our allies and friends to keep off some of the countries with the worst human rights records and to encourage countries with better records to run for seats. U.S. engagement at the Council can be a force for positive change and for calling countries with the worst human rights records to account.

Question. Does the Biden administration believe the Council spends a disproportionate amount of attention on criticizing Israel?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I will continue to uphold President Biden's strong commitment to Israel and oppose efforts to unfairly single out or delegitimize Israel through one-sided resolutions, reports, and other actions across the United Nations, including in the Human Rights Council.

Question. Understanding that the Human Rights Council is "broken" because it allows human rights abusers to obtain seats on the council, do you believe that conditioning U.S. participation on reform is beneficial?

Answer. States that persistently violate human rights do not belong on the U.N. Human Rights Council. I believe the best way for us to raise the quality of engagement with and membership on the Council is to engage in a principled fashion ourselves. The United States is most effective at the Human Rights Council and in other U.N. bodies when we are at the table, in the room, in good financial standing, and use the full weight of our diplomatic might to lead and to pursue appropriate and needed reforms. If confirmed, I will ensure the United States prioritizes needed reforms as part of our re-engagement with the HRC.

Question. There have been credible allegations that the U.N. Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights shared the names of Chinese dissidents who were attending U.N. Human Rights Council sessions with the Chinese Government.

- If confirmed, how will you investigate these allegations?

Answer. President Biden has said he would defend the right of activists, political dissidents, and journalists around the world to speak their minds freely without fear of persecution and violence. If confirmed, I will ask relevant Department officials for a detailed understanding of this issue and will ensure U.S. Government personnel prioritize this matter in engagements with the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights.

Question. What reforms will you seek to ensure that this practice is never again used?

Answer. If confirmed, I will ask relevant Department officials for a detailed understanding of this issue and will ensure U.S. Government personnel prioritize this matter in engagements with the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights.

Question. The United States is the single largest financial contributor to U.N. peacekeeping activities. Congress authorizes and appropriates U.S. contributions, and it has an ongoing interest in ensuring such funding is used as efficiently and effectively as possible.

- Do you believe that any nation, including the United States, should pay more than 25 percent of the U.N. peacekeeping budget?

Answer. The next negotiations among member states on U.N. assessment rates will take place later in 2021, and the Biden administration is already looking at strategies for engagement on this issue. If confirmed, my team and I will do everything we can to make sure that other countries pay their fair share.

Question. What is your position on U.S. repayment of U.N. peacekeeping arrears? As memorialized in the 1999 Helms-Biden agreement, the Late Ambassador Holbrooke, then-President Clinton, then-Secretary General Kofi Anan, and then-Senator Biden all believed that the United States has no obligation to pay, and thus should not pay, the roughly $500 million in "contested arrears" that were explicitly excluded from the $1.6 billion Helms-Biden agreement. However, since then, the U.N. has insisted upon keeping on its books, and the Obama administration sought to pay over Congressional objections. Do you commit not to pay these "contested arrears" per Congressional intent as outlined in the Helms-Biden agreement?

Answer. If confirmed, I would welcome the opportunity to work with Congress to allow the United States to meet our financial obligations, including addressing the substantial level of arrears that have accumulated over the past four years and the 25-percent cap on peacekeeping funding.

Question. Are there any specific steps you believe the U.N. should take to reduce the overall size of the U.N. peacekeeping budget? If so, what are they?

Answer. If confirmed, I am committed to reviewing and assessing all existing peacekeeping missions to ensure they are still necessary for the promotion of international peace and security. For missions that remain necessary, I will work to ensure they are as effective and efficient as possible, while also ensuring they have the necessary resources to fully implement their mandates, including well-trained and well-equipped troops and police.

Question. Are there any specific U.N. peacekeeping missions you would support reducing or terminating in order to reduce U.N. peacekeeping costs? If so, what active and ongoing missions do you believe should be reduced or terminated?

Answer. U.N. peacekeeping operations are among the most effective mechanisms of burden sharing to address the global challenges to international peace and security, but reform is needed to make peacekeeping operations more effective at promoting sustainable political solutions to conflict. If confirmed, I will continue to evaluate missions with a view to making them as efficient and effective as possible, while providing them with the resources necessary to fully implement their mandates.

Question. There have been numerous proposals to expand U.N. support for regional peacekeeping operations-particularly those deployed under the auspices of the African Union-ranging from providing limited logistical support to fully financing training, equipment, deployment, and sustainment costs through the use of assessed U.N. peacekeeping contributions. Whether regional missions would initially be subject to approval by the U.N. Security Council (like the AMISOM mission in Somalia was) is a topic of debate. However, using the U.N. as a financing mechanism for peacekeeping operations that do not fall under the command and control of the UN; lack adequate accountability measures; and place long-term political and financial obligations upon Member states absent Security Council oversight is a matter of serious concern. If confirmed, will you pledge to ensure that any peacekeeping mission funded by U.N. peacekeeping dollars is mandated and overseen by the Security Council?

Answer. If confirmed, I will continue to communicate U.S. support for strengthening strategic AU-UN partnerships to better address collective peace and security threats on the continent; to confirm peace operations are compliant with applicable international human rights law and U.N. conduct and discipline standards; and to encourage regular AU reporting on the scope and resource implications of proposed peace support operations.

Question. The United Nations maintains several particular bodies and departments that focus on the Palestinians. These include the Division on Palestinian Rights (DPR), the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People (CEIRPP), and the United Nations Information System on the Ques-

tion of Palestine (UNISPAL). Will you work to challenge the existence and funding of these departments?

Answer. If confirmed, I will publicly and privately call on member states to oppose the perpetuation of these bodies. More generally, I will continue to uphold President Biden's strong commitment to Israel and its security, including at the U.N. This includes opposing efforts to unfairly single out or delegitimize Israel through one-sided resolutions, reports, and other actions across the United Nations.

Question. The United States lacks a veto over membership decisions in U.N.-specialized agencies that the Palestinians could target for membership. When the Palestinians obtain membership, the United States must cut funding to that organization as required under two laws enacted by a Democratic-led Congress in the early 1990's. U.S. Code Title 22, Section 287e note, states:

> No funds authorized to be appropriated by this Act or any other Act shall be available for the United Nations or any specialized agency thereof which accords the Palestine Liberation Organization the same standing as member states. (Adopted as Public Law 101-246 in 1990.)
>
> The United States shall not make any voluntary or assessed contribution: (1) to any affiliated organization of the United Nations which grants full membership as a state to any organization or group that does not have the internationally recognized attributes of statehood, or (2) to the United Nations, if the United Nations grants full membership as a state in the United Nations to any organization or group that does not have the internationally recognized attributes of statehood, during any period in which such membership is effective. (Adopted as Public Law 103-236 in 1994.)

The language in these provisions is clear and provides no discretion or waiver authority. Will you support their enforcement as U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations?

Answer. If confirmed, I will support implementing these provisions.

Question. Over the past several years, the Palestinian Authority has received votes in various U.N. bodies to upgrade its status. Such attempts undermine the long-held belief that peace between Israel and the Palestinian Authority can only come about as a direct result of direct negotiations.

- What is your plan to stop initiatives like this from even coming before U.N. entities, or the General Assembly, for a vote?

Answer. As a matter of principle, there are no shortcuts to Palestinian statehood outside of direct negotiations between the parties. This includes counterproductive unilateral steps to gain membership in U.N. entities. If confirmed, I am committed to ensuring the United States works to avoid such actions.

Question. How will you address future attempts by the Palestinian Authority to achieve statehood through the United Nations?

Answer. As a matter of principle, there are no shortcuts to Palestinian statehood outside of direct negotiations between the parties. This includes counterproductive unilateral steps to gain membership in U.N. entities. If confirmed, I am committed to ensuring the United States works to avoid such actions.

Question. The United States has long maintained a policy of opposing many one-sided Security Council resolutions that, more often than not, criticize Israel but fail to address other issues such as Palestinian terrorism.

- Do you support the use of an American veto to block one-sided anti-Israel resolutions in the Security Council?

Answer. If confirmed, I will continue to uphold President Biden's strong commitment to Israel and its security. This includes opposing efforts to unfairly single out or delegitimize Israel through one-sided resolutions, reports, and other actions across the United Nations.

Question. What do you believe should be the standard employed in deciding whether to veto or not?

Answer. I believe each decision to employ a veto in the U.N. Security Council should be considered on the basis of U.S. policy interests and how they relate to the issue under consideration.

Question. Do you believe that there is a disproportionate focus on Israel at the U.N.? How would you counter this at the U.N.?

Answer. The U.N. must take steps to address its credibility deficit with regard to the unfair treatment and targeting of Israel. If confirmed, I will oppose efforts

to unfairly single out or delegitimize Israel through one-sided resolutions, reports, and other actions across the United Nations. If confirmed, I also look forward to working with our Israeli diplomatic colleagues to promote the election of Israel to U.N. leadership posts, its inclusion in U.N. working groups, and the selection of qualified Israeli candidates for U.N. positions.

Question. I introduced the STRATEGIC Act to advance a comprehensive U.S. policy for competition with China. The legislation authorizes the Office of United Nations Integrity, which the Trump administration established within the State Department's Bureau of International Organizations. If confirmed, would you support the sustainment of this office?

Answer. The United States is in a position of strength when we are engaged and leading in international institutions, not pulling back and ceding the terrain to China to write the rules and norms that animate international institutions. If confirmed, I will use our re-engagement in the U.N. system to push back against the influence of China and others by promoting U.S. values and interests alongside our allies and partners. I understand the Department of State is currently reviewing policy and resources to ensure we are postured to meet these challenges. Once this review is completed, if confirmed, I look forward to working with Congress to ensure the implementation of an effective plan.

Question. China has focused intensely on securing leadership roles in various U.N. agencies, particularly those overseeing technical standards that will shape the future. In many cases, these leaders have overtly advanced Chinese Communist Party goals instead of acting independently to advance the global good. The United States has had mixed success with elections for heads of international organizations in the past and is taking more robust and coordinated steps to advocate for qualified and independent candidates in U.N. bodies.

Answer. If confirmed, what will be your strategy for engaging with diplomatic partners to support qualified and independent candidates to lead U.N. entities?

Answer. The Biden-Harris administration believes in the independence and integrity of the U.N. and other international organizations, including highly specialized agencies, and agrees with the importance of electing qualified and independent candidates to lead such bodies. If confirmed, I will prioritize robust strategies to work with our allies and partners to secure the election of qualified, independent candidates that share our democratic values.

Question. If confirmed, will you commit to continue to work with Congress on elections and election strategy within the Bureau of International Organizations?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to continue to work with Congress on a strategy regarding elections within the U.N. system, including elections for heads of independent international organizations.

Question. The United States will assume the presidency of the Security Council in March 2021. If confirmed, what will be your biggest priority during the U.S. presidency?

Answer. The UNSC remains the most important diplomatic and multilateral forum to advance U.S. objectives in maintaining international peace and security. Working in close concert with our partners, the United States leverages the convening power of the Security Council to address international crises and prevent conflict. I understand the Department has been in close touch with the UK regarding its February presidency with a view to aligning priorities for the U.S. presidency in March. If confirmed, I will immediately turn to planning for the UNSC presidency and the opportunity to highlight some of the Biden administration's top national security priorities, including but not limited to addressing the COVID-19 pandemic.

Question. The World Health Organization (WHO), as the guardian of the International Health Regulations and as the clearinghouse of global health data and best practices, plays a key role in advancing global health security. Yet, its record for responding to emergencies is remarkably poor. Much like the sudden onset global health emergencies that preceded it, including the 2014-2016 Ebola outbreak in West Africa that you, in your former role at the Department of State helped combat, the WHO was either unwilling or unable to mount an effective emergency response to the COVID-19 outbreak in Wuhan, China. Not only did it fail to use its bully pulpit to press the Chinese Government for access and information during the critical first days of the outbreak, but the WHO provided political cover for China's reckless response; publicly validated disinformation; and condemned travel controls

designed to mitigate the global spread. One year and 2 million lives later, the WHO still struggles to gain access to China to study the origins of the pandemic.

- Do you agree that the WHO is in need of reform?
- If so, what specific reforms are necessary to restore its credibility among the American people and the world?

Answer. In President Biden's January 20 letter to the WHO Director General, he conveyed the U.S. intent to be a constructive partner and work to strengthen and reform the organization. If confirmed, I am committed to supporting the Biden-Harris administration's goal of strengthening and reforming the WHO to ensure that it can deliver on its vital global mission. It will be a high priority to swiftly review and develop options for advancing priority reforms during the initial weeks of the administration. If confirmed, I will work closely with the other member states, including our allies in the G7 and the Americas, who have put forward specific reform proposals, to reform the organization.

Question. Will you seek to build upon and advance the reform agenda put forward by the Trump administration, which had won the support of the G7 prior to the U.S. withdrawal? If not, why not?

Answer. President Biden is committed to strengthening and reforming the World Health Organization to ensure that it can deliver on its vital global mission. It will be a high priority to swiftly review and develop options for advancing priority reforms during the initial weeks of the Biden-Harris administration. If confirmed, I will work closely with our interagency counterparts and partner countries, including the G7, to build support for priority reforms.

Question. Will you seek to leverage U.S. contributions to the WHO to incentive reforms? If not, how will you secure necessary reforms?

Answer. In President Biden's day one letter to the WHO Director General, he conveyed the U.S. intent to be a constructive partner and work to strengthen and reform the organization. If confirmed, I will work closely with the other member states, including our G7 allies and partners in the Americas, who have put forward specific proposals, to reform the organization. It will be a high priority to swiftly review and develop options for advancing priority reforms during the initial weeks of the Biden-Harris administration.

Question. Should the WHO be given authority to enforce state obligations under the International Health Regulations-including for inspections and data transparency-or should enforcement be assigned elsewhere?

- What role, if any, should the U.N. Security Council play in monitoring compliance with state obligations under the International Health Regulations?

Answer. Member state adherence to obligations under the International Health Regulations (IHR) is critically important, and the Biden administration will lead by example and urge other member states to improve their own adherence. The United States will also work with our partners to strengthen the IHR, including by exploring measures to promote greater State Party adherence and transparency.

The United States will work with the U.N. Security Council and partners to strengthen multilateral public health and humanitarian cooperation on the COVID-19 response and a global health security architecture to prevent, detect, report, and respond to future biological threats.

Question. If the Security Council is to play a role, what tools are available to hold permanent members of the Security Council accountable for their own failure(s) to comply?

Answer. The United States will work with our partners to strengthen the International Health Regulations, including by exploring measures to promote greater State Party adherence and transparency.

Question. The WHO's response to the 2014-2016 Ebola emergency in West Africa was so poor that it necessitated the creation of the U.N.'s first-ever emergency health mission, the U.N. Mission for Ebola Emergency Response (UNMEER), which was largely sustained by the United States.

- Should the WHO be given greater emergency response capacity (including through the rapid recruitment and deployment of emergency responders within 24 to 48 hours of an outbreak), or should it focus its energies on strengthening emergency preparedness in partner countries while emergency response is assigned elsewhere?

Answer. The United States will work with other member states to improve the WHO's capacity for emergency response and its ability to support nations in

strengthening public health preparedness. Preparedness and response capacities are closely linked, and both are vital to pandemic readiness.

Question. If emergency response is to be assigned elsewhere, where?

Answer. The United States is committed to strengthening and reforming the WHO, including its capacity for emergency response and its ability to support nations in strengthening public health capacity. The United States is also committed to the complementary role of other U.N. and international partners in complex emergencies.

Question. If confirmed, other than rejoining the WHO, how will you confront and mitigate the increasingly malign influence of China within the WHO organization?

Answer. If confirmed, I will ensure the United States reasserts leadership, including by building support for reforms to the WHO to prevent corruption and increase transparency and good governance. I would also rally the support of allies and partners to call out China's Government on any activity that goes against U.S. and U.N. values.

Question. If confirmed, will you work to ensure that Taiwan is granted full observer status at the WHO and at the World Health Assembly?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I will continue U.S. policy to support Taiwan membership in international organizations where statehood is not a requirement and encourage Taiwan's meaningful participation in organizations, such as the WHO, where its membership is not possible. I will work closely with friends and allies to advance our shared prosperity, security, and values in the Asia-Pacific region, including deepening our ties with Taiwan and support for Taiwan's participation in these organizations.

Question. If confirmed, will you ensure that, by joining COVAX, the vaccines pillar of the WHO-supported Access to COVID-19 Tools (ACT) Accelerator, the United States will not subsidize the distribution of the CoronaVac vaccine, which was developed by the Beijing-based company Sinovac, or similarly substandard Chinese COVID-19 vaccines, which have efficacy rates of just 50 percent?

Answer. I understand the United States intends to join COVAX to support multilateral efforts for global distribution of safe and effective vaccines. A WHO emergency use listing or approval from other stringent regulatory authorities that rigorously review clinical trial data is a necessary step to ensure vaccines procured via COVAX meet specified safety and efficacy standards. The United States will use our influence within the COVAX platform to ensure rigorous safety and efficacy standards are upheld.

Question. If confirmed, will you call upon the WHO to stop its advocacy of self-managed medical abortion in countries where abortion is illegal or restricted?

Answer. The WHO is not advocating for self-managed medical abortion in countries where abortion is illegal or restricted. Sexual and reproductive health care services are essential to women's health and well-being. President Biden has revoked the Mexico City policy, which undermined our efforts to advance gender equality globally by restricting our ability to support women's health and gender-based violence prevention and response programs.

Question. Waste, fraud, and abuse within the U.N. system is never acceptable. Yet, they are particularly egregious when they robs desperate men, women, and children of life-saving assistance while aiding and abetting continued violence, human rights abuses, corruption, and other criminal acts.

- If confirmed, do you commit to use the voice, vote, and influence of the United States to hold the U.N. and each of its specialized agencies and programs to the highest standards of transparency, accountability, and effectiveness?

Answer. Yes, if confirmed, I will maintain U.S. leadership in strongly supporting critical U.N. reform efforts. That includes initiatives designed to advance the coordination, efficiency, effectiveness, transparency, and accountability of humanitarian, development, peacebuilding, and other vital efforts and assistance.

Question. If confirmed, will you demand personal accountability for U.N. managers and implementers responsible for major diversions of humanitarian assistance and other forms of waste, fraud, and abuse?

Answer. Yes.

Question. Will you demand accountability for the leaders of member states and armed groups engaged in the "weaponization" of humanitarian assistance, whereby

access to and assistance for highly vulnerable populations is deliberately denied or manipulated to gain political, military, or other advantage?

Answer. Yes, I will condemn any current and future attempts to deny, interfere with, or weaponize humanitarian assistance, threats against humanitarian workers and facilities, and other violations of international humanitarian law. If confirmed, I will use our humanitarian diplomacy to push for greater accountability, respect for international humanitarian law, and an unequivocal respect for the work undertaken by humanitarian aid workers, as well as humanitarian assets, premises, and the unhindered delivery of humanitarian assistance.

Question. Do you commit to work with Congress to ensure that U.S. contributions to the U.N. and its humanitarian agencies and programs-whether voluntary or assessed-do not aid and abet corruption, repression, genocide, crimes against humanity, trafficking in persons, sexual exploitation and abuse, and other crimes and gross violations of human rights?

Answer. The State Department and the U.S. Agency for International Development engage with U.N. agencies at multiple levels to ensure effective oversight of U.S. taxpayer funding, including through active participation in U.N. executive boards, frequent engagement between staff in the field and at headquarters, as well as coordination with other donors and stakeholders. If confirmed, I will continue to use U.S. Government tools to prevent human rights violations and ensure accountability and integrity of U.S. contributions to the U.N. This includes annual reporting to Congress on human rights, preventing and responding to atrocities, corruption, and U.N. efforts to prevent sexual exploitation and abuse and trafficking in persons. However, if confirmed, my engagement with Congress will not be limited to annual reporting, and I look forward to working collaboratively with Congress to ensure the accountability and integrity of U.S. resources.

Question. If confirmed, will you press each of the U.N. humanitarian agencies, as well as the U.N. Development Program (UNDP), to adopt and utilize secure, cost-effective biometric technologies to identify beneficiaries, combat fraud, and streamline service delivery while rigorously safeguarding privacy and protecting personally identifiable information?

Answer. The United States will continue encouraging U.N. agencies to use secure, cost-effective technologies to make humanitarian and development assistance more effective, efficient, and accountable.

Question. Whether in peacekeeping, humanitarian, stabilization, or development operations, or even within its own offices, the U.N. has had a pernicious record of sexual exploitation and abuse record for decades. If confirmed, how will you enforce the organization's "zero tolerance" policies?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work closely with international partners to maintain pressure on the U.N., its implementing partners, and member states to conduct credible and timely investigations and pursue accountability at all levels for sexual exploitation and abuse. I will press the U.N. to strengthen transparency in sexual exploitation and abuse reporting and investigations and for the Secretary-General to take decisive action to hold personnel and organizations responsible under the zero-tolerance policy.

Question. The United States remains the most generous contributor of humanitarian assistance in the world, yet needs are rapidly outpacing the ability to respond. If confirmed, how will you improve burden sharing across the U.N. system, particularly in response to humanitarian emergencies?

Answer. If confirmed, I will continue to hold the U.N. accountable to its mission and its member states. This means doing all we can to ensure the U.N. is using resources efficiently and effectively and encouraging other countries pay their fair share. If confirmed, I will also work with U.N. partners to pursue a greater diversity of donors, exploring non-traditional partnerships, including with emerging donors and private sector actors, and pressing the U.N. member states to recognize that more timely and reliable humanitarian assistance will advance stability and shared peace-and-security goals. The United States will continue to lead the international response to humanitarian emergencies and provide its expertise and capabilities to those in need, but the international community's response must be proportional.

Question. Each of the past three U.S. presidents has supported efforts to reform U.S. international food aid, so humanitarian resources can be stretched to feed more people in need, more quickly and at lower expense. These reforms would buttress the World Food Programme's own efforts to empower beneficiaries and catalyze

early economic recovery following a disaster through the delivery of market-based assistance. Do you support food aid reform? If so, what form would that take?

Answer. I support a food aid program that makes most efficient and effective use of America's resources. We are accountable to the American people to be good stewards of our resources and have a responsibility as the largest provider of humanitarian food aid globally to use our seat at the table to demand accountability. If confirmed, I will support the President in his vision for the best way to accomplish this. However, food aid reform alone is insufficient to address the problem of the world's growing need. I believe we must not lose focus on addressing and eliminating the root causes of global food insecurity through long-term economic development, peacebuilding, and working to combat climate change.

Question. Around the world, political dissidents, activists, journalists, and human rights advocates have been victims of repression, torture, detention, abuse, and arbitrary killing, for simply exercising their right to freedom of expression. What would you do to bolster and reiterate the U.S. Government's commitment at the U.N. to protect and advocate for those on the frontlines, including civil society organizations?

Answer. The United States fully stands for the protection of freedom of expression, assembly, and the rights of journalists, human rights advocates, and members of civil society to exercise these freedoms free from the fear of abuse, torture, and arbitrary detention, so that they may operate in safety around the globe. We are deeply concerned by the flagrant human rights abuses against innocent activists peacefully exercising for their democratic rights.

Answer. If confirmed, I will review all options towards the protection of political dissidents, journalists, and human rights advocates to raise the profile of protecting human rights activists wherever their rights are threatened.

Question. Everyone should be able to practice their faith however they choose, including in places like China, India, and Uzbekistan.

- How does international religious freedom factor into your priorities as U.S. Representative to the U.N.?

Answer. If confirmed, advancing international religious freedom will be a priority for me as U.S. Representative to the United Nations. The right to freedom of religion or belief is enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. If confirmed, I will work closely with State Department colleagues, including the Office of International Religious Freedom, and Congress to ensure we are highlighting all relevant religious freedom equities at the U.N. and working with our partners to advance and protect freedom of religion or belief for all.

Question. What do you believe is the role of the U.S. Government in advocating on behalf of religious minorities at the U.N.?

Answer. The U.S. Government has long maintained a leadership role in protecting and defending the rights of members of religious minority groups and other vulnerable populations, through advocacy at the United Nations and across our bilateral relationships. The world is safer and more prosperous when the human rights of every individual are fully protected. As such, advancing human rights for all is a centerpiece of the Biden administration's approach to foreign policy. If confirmed, I will proactively engage on the protection of the rights of members of religious minority groups globally.

Question. 2020 marked the 20th anniversary of the adoption of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security. How will you continue to build on this important resolution and the subsequent work of the U.S. Government to prioritize women in peacekeeping and security efforts?

Answer. The United States is a strong advocate of U.N. Security Council Resolution 1325. I am dedicated to advancing the Women, Peace, and Security (WPS) agenda, including through the WPS Act of 2017, the 2019 U.S. WPS Strategy, and State's WPS Implementation Plan, in which we track, measure, and report on our efforts to Congress. If confirmed, I will work to strengthen language pertaining to WPS in U.N. Security Council resolutions and particularly in mandates for U.N. special political missions and peacekeeping missions, as well as across General Assembly resolutions, and push back against countries trying to limit WPS references. These efforts help to integrate our broader WPS goals into specific regional agendas, which is critical for effective implementation.

Question. Internet freedom around the globe is waning as authoritarian states continue to suppress dissent, silence critics, and oppress populations through censor-

ship online and repeated or prolonged internet shutdowns. Current programmatic efforts in Asia, Central Asia, and the Middle East aim to combat this issue. Do you believe that internet shutdowns are a threat to human rights? How will you prioritize internet freedom at the U.N.?

Answer. With the support of Congress, the State Department has built a range of programmatic activities and policy initiatives that promote and protect the ability of individuals to exercise their human rights online. I am deeply concerned by the growing use of government-imposed internet shutdowns, among other censorship tactics, that restrict the rights of individuals online and contribute to the global decline of internet freedom. If confirmed, I will prioritize the promotion of internet freedom through programmatic support, coordination with the U.S. private sector, and bilateral and multilateral diplomacy at the United Nations.

Question. In a report requested by the U.N. Human Rights Council, the Commission of Inquiry on Burundi said in September 2020 that there had been "little" in the way of "positive changes" since President Evariste Ndayishimiye "assumed office" in June 2020, and concerns remain about human rights abuses committed both domestically against Burundian citizens and through Burundi's engagements in the region.

- What are your views on the human rights situation in Burundi? Do you believe the United States is in a position to reset its relationship with Ndayishimiye's government, given the seeming continuation of human rights abuses from the former Nkurunziza government?

Answer. If confirmed, I will need to assess the human rights situation in Burundi as well as the U.S. approach toward the new administration under President Ndayishimiye, including its approach to accountability and the role of justice and reconciliation in the political dialogue.

Question. How would you evaluate the performance of Burundian troops in the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM)? How can the United States better monitor their human rights record in Somalia? Are there opportunities to build stronger human rights reporting mechanisms for AMISOM, including to mechanisms to better monitor the human rights record of Burundian troops in Somalia? Will you commit to push for greater capabilities of AMISOM to monitor the human rights performance of Burundi and other peacekeeper-contributing countries under this mission? What can the U.N. do regarding the AMISOM mission to decrease dependency on Burundian troops in Somalia?

Answer. If confirmed, I will review the human rights record of the Burundian contingent in AMISOM. I believe that having accurate and timely reporting on performance issues and abuses committed by peacekeepers is critical to the role of the U.N. Security Council in monitoring peacekeeping missions. The U.N.'s Human Rights Due Diligence Policy requires that support to non-UN security forces is provided in a manner consistent with respect for human rights. I will approach the AMISOM mandate with this in mind.

Question. The Anglophone conflict in Cameroon is one of the world's most neglected yet intensely brutal conflicts.

- Will you commit to prioritize efforts to push the U.N. Security Council to hold regular, formal briefings and discussions on the Anglophone crisis in Cameroon, including formally adding the issue to its agenda? If so, how do you propose to engage member states that have worked to block previous efforts to prioritize and regularize the Anglophone crisis within the U.N. Security Council?

Answer. I am concerned about continued violence in Cameroon and condemn recent deadly attacks against civilians in the Anglophone regions. An end to violence and accountability for its perpetrators are needed. It is important children attend school and aid can be delivered. Political dialogue is needed to resolve this conflict and to improve respect for human rights. If confirmed, I will review the tools we have in the United Nations to press for a resolution of this conflict and to hold accountable those responsible for human rights violations and abuses.

Question. Do you agree that the U.N. has a vital role in supporting inclusive, internationally-mediated dialogue among the many actors in the Anglophone Crisis to find a lasting and sustainable solution to the crisis, addressing root causes and underlying grievances? If yes, what precisely should that role be, and how will you push for that within the U.N.?

Answer. I am concerned about continued violence in Cameroon and condemn recent deadly attacks against civilians in the Anglophone regions. An end to violence and accountability for its perpetrators are needed. It is important children attend

school and aid can be delivered. Political dialogue is needed to resolve this conflict and to improve respect for human rights. If confirmed, I will review the tools we have in United Nationsto press for a resolution of this conflict and to hold accountable those responsible for human rights violations and abuses.

Question. The Cameroonian Government has consistently failed to investigate and prosecute perpetrators of atrocities committed against its civilians. It has proven unable to hold high-ranking government and military officials responsible for these crimes. How will you engage other like-minded countries in the U.N. to pursue accountability for atrocities committed in Cameroon, both by government and armed group actors?

Answer. If confirmed, I will review the tools we have in the United Nations to press for a resolution of this conflict and to hold accountable those responsible for human rights violations and abuses. I will also seek opportunities to engage with like-minded countries who share a desire to bring this conflict to an end and ensure those responsible for human rights violations and abuses are held accountable.

Question. How can the United States more effectively encourage France to use its significant leverage in Cameroon to encourage the Government to engage in meaningful dialogue to end the Anglophone conflict?

Answer. If confirmed, I will review the different tools we have to press for a resolution of this conflict, including through discussions with French Government officials and with P3 counterparts.

Question. The Central African Republic (CAR), which never fully recovered from the rebellion and state collapse of 2013, has seen a renewed rebel surge against the Government of President Faustin Archange Touadera, headed by former President and U.N. sanctions désignée Francois Bozize. Touadera was re-elected in December 2020, but low voter turnout and the inability of many voters to participate due to security threats underscore challenges to his legitimacy. The multitude of foreign actors, including the United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic (MINUSCA), Russia, Rwanda and France, active in CAR, make the conflict and worsening humanitarian situation ever more complex.

- How will you ensure that MINUSCA and other security actors protect civilians from violence? Specifically, will you support efforts to ensure MINUSCA has the proper personnel and capacity to respond to the complex dynamics of the conflict in CAR?

Answer. If confirmed, I will review MINUSCA's operations and resourcing to ensure it is equipped to respond to continued instability and threats to civilians in the Central African Republic. I will also ensure that any requests for additional troops or resources receive appropriate attention and consideration by the U.N. Security Council.

Question. If confirmed, how will you rally the U.N. Security Council and U.N. member states to respond to these ongoing humanitarian challenges, address resource management concerns, and protect aid workers in CAR?

Answer. I share Secretary Blinken's concerns about the humanitarian crisis and the ongoing conflict in CAR. If confirmed, I will review available options to address these challenges and engage with our African and European partners and with other U.N. member states to urge international actors engaging in CAR to do so with utmost transparency and coordination and in ways that positively address Central Africans' desires for good governance, stability, and accountability.

Question. Following presidential and legislative elections, Russia informed the U.N. that it plans to withdraw 300 "military instructors" sent to CAR to "help" the country "strengthen its defensive capacities" leading up to the December 27, 2020, elections. Russia's dominant presence in CAR is alarming on several fronts-not only as it relates to the Central African country's internal and regional security, but also to vital U.S. national security interests. Will you commit to closely monitor Russia's presence in CAR and corresponding activity at the U.N., particularly as it relates to internal and regional security arrangements and the arms embargo?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I will closely monitor Russian activities in CAR and seek to counter actions that undermine CAR's stability.

Question. Russia and France are engaged in an intense rivalry for power and influence in CAR. What policies should the United States pursue to ensure that the increasing competition for influence between Russia and France does not have long-

term detrimental effects on a country already facing a dire humanitarian situation and overcoming decades of civil conflict?

Answer. Like Secretary Blinken, I believe that diplomatic and security engagement with U.S. partners in Africa can advance our interests and values, while highlighting the dangers associated with dealing with countries like Russia. If confirmed, I will work with U.N. member states to urge international actors engaging in CAR to do so with utmost transparency and coordination, and in ways that meet Central Africans' desires for good governance, stability, and accountability.

Question. How can the United States best protect its interests in CAR and the broader region while also ensuring that other members of the U.N. Security Council are prioritizing the MINUSCA mission over their own foreign military operations in the country?

Answer. I share Secretary Blinken's belief that enhancing our alliances and partnerships in Africa through diplomatic, development, and security initiatives will enable us to better protect and secure U.S. interests. If confirmed, I will work with other members of the U.N. Security Council to assess how we can better address the challenges in the Central African Republic.

Question. How does the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO) contribute to the peace and security of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)? How effective is MONUSCO's current mandate and what changes might you propose should you be confirmed? What should the United States, our European allies, and the U.N. peacekeeping mission (MONUSCO) be doing to support a peace process and an end to the conflict in Eastern Congo?

Answer. The U.N. plays a critical role in the stabilization of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), particularly in eastern DRC, where armed group violence remains widespread. The U.N. Organization Stabilization Mission in the DRC (MONUSCO) mandate, last renewed in December 2020, prioritizes the protection of civilians, enabling humanitarian access, support stabilization efforts, and strengthen state institutions. MONUSCO plans to withdraw from Tanganyika and the Kasai provinces by 2022 as part of a responsible, conditions-based transition and allow for more resources to focus on North Kivu, South Kivu, and Ituri provinces. If confirmed, I will prioritize reforms to make the U.N. efficient and effective to bring sustainable peace to this restive region.

Question. How does United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA) contribute to the peace and security of Mali?

- How effective is MINUSMA's current mandate and what changes might you propose should you be confirmed?

Answer. MINUSMA provides an essential level of security without which Mali and the Sahel region would be substantially destabilized. It is the only source of stability and a de facto state presence in many parts of northern and central Mali, enabling humanitarian access and some protection for the population. At the urging of the United States, the current mandate for MINUSMA, adopted in June 2020, includes benchmarks to increase pressure on signatory parties to implement the Algiers Accord and tasks the mission to develop a long-term roadmap for peace and security in Mali. If confirmed, I will continue to closely monitor this mandate and seek whatever changes are required to enable the mission to most effectively contribute to peace and security in Mali.

Question. What can and should the United States and other U.N. Security Council member states do to hold accountable those who attack MINUSMA peacekeepers?

Answer. Attacks against peacekeepers may constitute war crimes under international law and may meet designation criteria for U.N. sanctions. The United States works with other U.N. Security Council members, the U.N., and the Malian authorities in seeking accountability for these attacks, including investigations, and in supporting stronger requirements for peacekeeper safety and security in the mission mandate. If confirmed, I will continue to support strong efforts to bring those responsible for these attacks to justice and to use our platform at the U.N. Security Council to pressure Mali's transition government to take similar measures.

Question. How can the U.N. better protect peacekeepers in Mali without negatively affecting MINUSMA's mandate and the mission's ability engage with local populations?

Answer. The U.N. Security Council has taken several steps to improve peacekeeper safety and security in the MINUSMA mandate, including enhancing the mission's intelligence and analysis capabilities, providing training and equipment to

counter explosive devices, improving mission logistics, stepping up camp protection, strengthening casualty and medical evacuation procedures, introducing long-term rotation schemes for critical capabilities, and deploying properly trained and equipped troops. If confirmed, I will continue to monitor the safety and security of peacekeepers closely and will not hesitate to push for additional measures as necessary to respond to the evolving security situation.

Question. Rwanda has recently worked alongside Russia to support the Touadéra government in CAR to combat armed group offensives on major cities surrounding the December 2020 electoral process. It has also taken on a role as a top contributor of personnel to U.N. peacekeeping missions in the sub-Saharan Africa region (including UNMISS, MINUSCA, UNISFA and UNAMID), and is involved in the ongoing armed conflict in Eastern Congo. What is your assessment of Rwanda's contributions to regional security in Central Africa? What is your assessment of Rwanda's security and financial interests in Central Africa, and how do those interests correspond to its activities in the region? What actions will you pursue in the U.N. to engage with Rwanda and engage other partners on Rwanda's activities in the Central Africa region?

Answer. Rwanda consistently ranks among the top four largest troop contributors to peacekeeping missions globally. If confirmed, I will support U.N. efforts to engage regional stakeholders, including Rwanda, to end instability in Central Africa, including through the U.N. sanctions committees on CAR and the DRC, while respecting state sovereignty and humanitarian law.

Question. The United Nations Support Office in Somalia (UNSOS) and AMISOM's mandate is up for renewal in February 2021.

- In your view, how can the United States engage in the mandate renewal process, including with the penholder (the United Kingdom), to have frank discussions about what we hope to achieve through UNSOS/AMISOM and how to push the Government of Somalia to make progress?

Answer. The United States regularly holds frank discussions with the United Kingdom, Somalia, the African Union, the European Union, the AMISOM troop contributing countries, and other key stakeholders on AMISOM and how to make progress in Somalia. If confirmed, I will work closely with my counterparts on a mandate that maximizes AMISOM's ability to address the al-Shabaab threat, contribute to Somali stability, and build Somali capacity and political will to take over greater responsibility for its own security.

Question. UN Special Representative Jim Swan commented in November 2020, following Somalia's decision to forgo direct universal suffrage elections for a selection process similar to that of 2016, that "we urge Somali leaders to prepare consensually a roadmap with clear timelines and benchmarks to ensure one-person-one-vote elections take place in 2024/25." To what extent do you feel, in reviewing the mandate for AMISOM, that consideration should to be given to how the U.N. could play a bigger role in supporting and making preparations for universal suffrage elections in the future?

Answer. The U.N. plays a critical role in assisting Somalia with stabilization and democratic development reforms. Among the U.N. elements operating in Somalia, the U.N. Assistance Mission in Somalia (UNSOM) is mandated with advising and assisting Somalia on political reforms and is best suited to lead U.N. efforts in preparing the country for universal suffrage in the future. If confirmed, I will work to ensure that support for democratic and electoral reforms, including supporting preparations for universal suffrage elections, remain at the core of UNSOM's responsibilities when UNSOM's mandate comes up for renewal in August 2021.

Question. The United States voted with other members of the Security Council in December to end the mandate of the United Nations African Union Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID), despite warnings that Sudan's Government had not yet demonstrated its ability to protect civilians in Darfur. Now, just weeks after UNAMID's mandate ended, more than 230 people have reportedly been killed and thousands displaced in two deadly incidents of inter-communal violence, and the U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights notes "severe gaps in protection by State authorities, as well as a lack of accountability for violations."

- What, in your view, should the United Nations Integrated Assistance Mission in Sudan's (UNITAM) role be in helping to address these issues?

Answer. If confirmed, I will focus on the stand-up of the U.N. Integrated Transition Assistance Mission in Sudan (UNITAMS), including ensuring that the mission

has the resources to fulfil its mandate, and review options for addressing inter-ethnic violence in Darfur.

Question. What is your view of the request by Sudan's transitional government to lift the U.N. arms embargo on Darfur? What changes if any should be made to the U.N. sanctions regime established pursuant to resolution 1591 (2005)?

Answer. While there has been progress in resolving conflict in Sudan after the fall of the Bashir regime, the security situation remains precarious. The U.N. Panel of Experts for Sudan recently reported ongoing security issues in Darfur and the possibility of renewed conflict. Weapons and fighters continue to flow into and out of Darfur from other regional conflicts. The implementation of the October 2020 Juba Peace Agreement is behind schedule. There is currently limited government capacity for protecting civilians in Darfur. If confirmed, I will continue to evaluate the conditions in Darfur to see what changes, if any, should be made to the U.N. sanctions regime.

Question. How does the United Nations Interim Security Force for Abyei (UNISFA) contribute to the peace and security of Sudan and South Sudan? How effective is UNISFA's current mandate, and what changes might you propose should you be confirmed?

Answer. UNISFA has previously been effective at preventing tensions over the status of Abyei or other border areas from spilling over into conflict between Sudan and South Sudan. If confirmed, I will review UNISFA's current mandate and whether additional changes are needed.

Question. One of the key lessons from the Brahimi Report was that if a peace operation is to be part of implementing a peace agreement, it should have a role in the process and a seat at the table. However, in South Sudan, the United Nations Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS) does not. Should UNMISS's political strategy be reexamined and, if so, how? How would you go about building support within the Council for a more robust role for the mission? Should UNMISS have a greater role in disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR) and/or security sector reform (SSR)?

Answer. If confirmed, I will continue to evaluate missions, including the U.N. Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS), with a view to making them as efficient and effective as possible and ensuring that they play an important role in the implementation of peace agreements. Disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration and/or Security Sector Reform are essential building blocks for the peace process in South Sudan. If confirmed, I will evaluate the role of UNMISS in these areas.

Question. Russian malign activity in Africa is of increasing concern, particularly given credible reports of elections interference across the continent and deployment of Russian mercenaries, including through the Wagner Group, in Northern Mozambique, and nontransparent transfers of weapons and training through Russian security sector support to the Touadera administration in CAR. If confirmed, how will you engage within the U.N. Security Council to counter the influence of Russia in Africa and to ensure that the United States is at the table to identify and support the best non-predatory solution to fill critical security gaps on the continent?

Answer. Diplomatic and security engagement with U.S. partners in Africa can advance our interests and values, while highlighting the dangers associated with Russia. If confirmed, I will work to enhance our alliances and partnerships in Africa through diplomatic, development, and security initiatives that will enable us to better protect and secure U.S. interests in Africa.

Question. Last year, Beijing implemented the "National Security Law" in Hong Kong, which effectively put Hong Kong's legal system and law enforcement under Beijing's control and severely undermined China's international treaty obligations to respect Hong Kong's autonomy and the rights protected in the Basic Law.

- How will the administration address these violations of international law, including at the U.N.?

Answer. Beijing's assault on freedom and autonomy in Hong Kong are at odds with its international obligations and commitments. I am alarmed about the PRC's continuing crackdown on Hong Kong over the last few years—including the imposition of the National Security Law, the arrests of pro-democracy activists, and the disqualification of pan-Democratic lawmakers within the Legislative Council. President Biden has denounced these moves to undermine Hong Kong's freedoms and autonomy as guaranteed in the Basic Law. If confirmed, I look forward to working with our allies and partners, including at the U.N., to speak out for human rights

and fundamental freedoms, and hold the PRC accountable for its assault on Hong Kong's autonomy.

Question. Will you commit to continue imposing costs on Beijing for its actions in Hong Kong?

Answer. If confirmed, I look forward to working with our allies and partners, including at the U.N., to speak out for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and hold the PRC accountable for its assault on Hong Kong's autonomy.

Question. Millions of Uyghurs and other ethnic Muslims have been detained, disappeared, or put into forced labor situations. This includes family members of U.S.-based Uyghurs, who have been advocating for the release of their family members and highlighting the horrific abuses in Xinjiang and across China.

- If confirmed, will you advocate for the immediate and unconditional release of these individuals at the U.N.?

Answer. Uyghurs, and members of other ethnic and religious minority groups in Xinjiang have suffered unspeakable oppression at the hands of China's authoritarian government, including mass detentions in camps, torture, and forced sterilizations, among other abuses. If confirmed, I will commit to advocating for their immediate and unconditional release.

Question. If confirmed, will you commit to raising this issue, and specific cases, with the Chinese Government immediately?

Answer. If confirmed, I will commit to raising our concerns about the China's oppression in Xinjiang directly with China's officials, including specific cases.

Question. Several countries have forcibly returned Uyghurs fleeing persecution and abhorrent human rights abuses by the Chinese Communist Party. How will you and interagency partners work with other nations to discourage, and eventually end, this practice?

Answer. In Xinjiang, the China's Government is engaged in gross human rights violations and abuses that shock the conscience. It is deeply troubling when other countries forcibly return individuals fleeing such persecution to China. If confirmed, I will workto urge other governments to refrain from forcibly returning asylum seekers to China and to press PRC authorities to end these atrocities.

Question. On January 19, 2021, Secretary of State Mike Pompeo determined that "since at least March 2017, the People's Republic of China (PRC), under the direction and control of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), has committed crimes against humanity against the predominantly Muslim Uyghurs and other members of ethnic and religious minority groups in Xinjiang." He went on to determine that "the PRC, under the direction and control of the CCP, has committed genocide against the predominantly Muslim Uyghurs and other ethnic and religious minority groups in Xinjiang." During your testimony on January 27, you indicated that the State Department is currently reviewing this genocide determination due to process issues.

- In your view, In your view, were Secretary Pompeo's determinations of January 19 correct? Please explain.

Answer. Secretary Blinken and I have made clear that genocide has been committed against the Uyghurs in Xinjiang. China's Government has also committed crimes against humanity against Uyghurs and members of other ethnic and religious minority groups, including imprisonment, torture, enforced sterilization, and persecution. These atrocities shock the conscience and must be met with serious consequences. If confirmed, I will work with our allies and partners to promote accountability and call on Beijing to immediately end these atrocities and to respect the human rights of Uyghurs and all others across China.

Question. Can you explain what process issues you were referring to in your testimony?

- If confirmed, do you pledge to support the determinations Secretary Pompeo made on January 19?

Answer. As I made clear in my testimony, I have witnessed a genocide in Rwanda, so I know what it looks like. And that is why Secretary Blinken and I have made clear that genocide has been committed against the Uyghurs in Xinjiang. China's Government has also committed crimes against humanity against Uyghurs and members of other ethnic and religious minority groups, including imprisonment, torture, enforced sterilization, and persecution. These atrocities shock the conscience and must be met with serious consequences. If confirmed, I will work with our allies

and partners to promote accountability and call on Beijing to immediately end these atrocities and to respect the human rights of Uyghurs and all others across China.

Question. Competition with the People's Republic of China (PRC) requires the United States to adapt skillfully to the information environment of the 21st century. If confirmed, how will you coordinate and advance U.S. public diplomacy and messaging efforts at the U.N. to promote the value of partnership with the United States, highlight the risks and costs of enmeshment with the PRC, and counter CCP propaganda and disinformation?

Answer. It is clear China is behaving very differently than it has in the past—it is more aggressive, including at the United Nations. It is clear we must change our approach to publicly engage more strategically. If confirmed, I will use my position in New York to re-engage with our allies and partners and call out China's activities that undermine the norms and values of the U.N. If confirmed, I will rally support to define an affirmative, democratic vision for the global information space and take every opportunity to call out China's efforts to assert values that are inconsistent with U.S. and U.N. values.

Question. The PRC is actively trying to reshape international institutions in its favor, including the United Nations. If confirmed, how will you work with our democratic allies and partners to build resiliency to attempts by the CCP to undermine the integrity of multilateral institutions, and do you commit to monitoring such attempts?

Answer. In the U.N., the China's Government drives an authoritarian agenda that stands in opposition to U.S. and U.N. values, including on human rights. If confirmed, re-engaging with our allies and partners to push back against Beijing's attempts to reshape the U.N. will be a top priority of mine. This will include rallying the support of our allies and partners to call out China's Government every time it asserts a set of values that is inconsistent with U.S. and U.N. values. If confirmed, I will work with our allies and partners to secure the election of candidates that share our democratic values and advocate for reform in the U.N. system that will prevent corruption and increase transparency and good governance.

Question. In addition to the PRC actively trying to reshape existing international institutions in favor of CCP interests, it is also setting up alternate multilateral institutions under its leadership, such as the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank. If confirmed, what will you do to ensure that the United Nations and U.N.-affiliated organizations are not challenged by illiberal multilateral institutions set up by the CCP?

Answer. China's Government engages in conduct around the world to make the United States and its allies more dependent on China and China less beholden to the international system that has provided peace and stability since the end of World War II. If confirmed, I will work closely with our allies and partners to address these challenges from a position of strength, re-engage and lead in international institutions, and push back against attempts to rewrite the rules and norms that animate those institutions. The PRC Government's failure to uphold its past international commitments is a significant factor in how we will develop our approach to China. We are clear-eyed and will keep these past shortcomings in mind as we deal with Beijing going forward.

Question. One area where the CCP has exerted great influence in the United Nations is in keeping Taiwan completely cut out of the United Nations (even as an observer), and out of U.N.-affiliated organizations. If confirmed, do you commit to continue to advocate for Taiwan's meaningful participation in the U.N. and relevant U.N.-affiliated organizations?

Answer. Yes.

Question. The PRC has greatly increased its financial and troop contributions to U.N. peacekeeping missions around the world. Unfortunately, there have been reports of unprofessional behavior and mistreatment by PRC troops, evidence of the PRC choosing missions where it has economic interests, and strategic concerns about the PRC using U.N. peacekeeping as a pathway to improve military readiness and laying the groundwork for PRC overseas military base planning. If confirmed, how will you ensure that PRC participation in U.N. peacekeeping does not undermine the interests and goals of the original peacekeeping mission?

Answer. It is clear China is behaving very differently than it has in the past—it is more aggressive, including at the U.N. If confirmed, I will push back on malign influence within the U.N. system and campaign for reforms that make the U.N. more efficient, effective, accountable, and fit for purpose so that the institution re-

mains the preeminent body committed to the maintenance of international peace and security.

Question. At the beginning of the coronavirus pandemic, the Chinese Communist Party intentionally suppressed information about the virus's origins and spread disinformation about the virus across nearly every continent. This is just one example of how harmful CCP disinformation can be to the world.

- What can the United States do to combat CCP disinformation, including at the U.N.?

Answer. The United States will work alongside allies and partners to address Beijing's increased willingness to use disinformation, propaganda, and other coercive and corrupting activities in the information space. If confirmed, I will push back on the CCP's attempts to write the rules of the information age to define an affirmative, democratic vision for the global information space, including support for media freedom.

Question. How can the United States work with allies and partners who have shown great resiliency to CCP disinformation, such as Taiwan, to tackle this shared challenge?

Answer. The United States must work alongside allies and partners to address Beijing's willingness to use disinformation, propaganda, and other coercive and corrupting activities in the information space. If confirmed, I will rally support to define an affirmative, democratic vision for the global information space and take every opportunity to call out China's efforts to assert values that are inconsistent with U.S. and U.N. values.

Question. You gave a speech to the Confucius Institute at Savannah State University in October 2019. The opening remarks of your speech indicate you were aware that you would be speaking to a Confucius Institute in advance of the engagement. Is that correct? Did you know in advance that you would be speaking to a Confucius Institute?

Answer. Yes, I became aware that the Confucius Institute was involved in the event at Savannah State University after I had accepted the invitation to speak and my participation had been publicly announced.

Question. If so, why did you agree to speak at the Confucius Institute?

Answer. Because of my strong personal relationship with Savannah State University, including several prior visits to speak at the university, and my desire to use my visit as an opportunity to engage young students of color to encourage them to consider serving their country, I decided not to cancel my participation after I learned of the Confucius Institute's involvement.

Question. Did you suggest another academic speaking forum at Savannah State University to avoid the Confucius Institute? If yes, why was that option not exercised? If no, why not?

Answer. I did not suggest other speaking fora for the event because, at the time, I felt doing so would be improperly officious. In retrospect, I should have done so and been clear with the University that I would only be willing to speak at a different venue.

Question. At the time you gave the speech, how would you describe your views about the operation of Confucius Institutes at educational institutions in the United States? In your testimony, you say that you were "alarmed" by your experience with the Confucius Institute. Please describe the activities or information you learned about the Confucius Institute's operations that alarmed you and how they affect your view of the Confucius Institute today.

Answer. I was aware of the existence of Confucius Institutes in American educational institutions before speaking at Savannah State University, but not fully cognizant of their reach or their malign purpose. After speaking at Savannah State University, I became alarmed because I witnessed employees of the Institute not only engaging with college students, but also with middle and high school students. Witnessing their work in Savannah, I was reminded of what I viewed as the predatory behavior of the China's Government in African nations in which officials from China sought out the most vulnerable or minority populations in a country and attempted to influence their thinking and exert undue influence on them to the detriment of those nations.

Question. If your experience at the Confucius Institute at Savannah State University was alarming, why did you not return the honorarium you received?

Answer. I received a small honorarium for spending three days at Savannah State University, of which my speech as part of a panel at the Institute was twenty minutes. In retrospect, after witnessing the Confucius Institute's malign activities, I should have done more to express my alarm, including by returning the honorarium (although I would have worked diligently to avoid offense to my colleagues at the University, whom I respect and admire).

Question. If you were to give a speech on the same topic today, are there aspects of Chinese malign behavior you would highlight? Please explain your answer in detail.

Answer. Were I to give a speech today on China's malign influence activities, I would speak directly about the work of Confucius Institutes, thanks in part to the important work of many members of Congress who have joined in bipartisan efforts to raise awareness about the activities of China's Government through these Institutes. I would note that the Institutes often provide students, especially vulnerable ones, with an inaccurate picture of government actions and policies in China that run counter to U.S. interests. I would also speak more expansively about the predatory development work that I witnessed China's Government undertake in Africa and China's debt-trap diplomacy. Most importantly, I would have been clearer in my language that African nations should be clear-eyed in choosing their strategic partners, and that the United States is a unique and powerful ally that will endeavor to spread democracy and uphold human rights, and that will work hand-in-hand with African nations to help them develop into thriving and prosperous nations.

Question. In your Oct. 2019 Savannah State speech, you wrote, "In the U.S.-China-Africa relationship, win-win-win cooperation is possible and common development can be achieved." China has sought to insert the phrase "win-win" and other phrases commonly used by the Chinese Communist Party into United Nations documents to legitimize its views on issues such as human rights, which run contrary to the U.N. Charter and other treaties and conventions. If confirmed, will you commit to use the voice and vote of the United States to prevent the insertion of "win-win" and other phrases commonly used in Chinese Communist Party documents, statements, and propaganda into U.N. resolutions and other documents?

Answer. Yes.

Question. In your view, does the "One Belt, One Road" initiative challenge vital or important U.S. interests? If so, which interests? If you do not agree, please explain. In your view, has the PRC Government influence in Africa, including through "One Belt, One Road," exacerbated corruption on the continent? Please explain your position.

Answer. We need to compete with China's economic statecraft through the Belt and Road Initiative. In Africa, the Biden administration will meet this challenge by ensuring that American companies can compete on an even playing field, providing a meaningful alternative to China's economic approach, promoting entrepreneurship, transparency, good governance, internationally recognized environmental, social and labor standards, and fair practices. We will push back on corrupt or coercive practices that damage our interests and that of our African partners, including impingement on state sovereignty or control over resources and the abusive use of new security technology.

Question. China has sought to legitimize "One Belt, One Road" within the U.N. system, casting it as a "global good," when really it is China's own initiative intended to advance its own interests. U.N. General Secretary Antonio Guterres has helped advance this legitimacy campaign. China even created a U.N. fund that would enable "One Belt, One Road" projects.

- If confirmed, will you use the voice and vote of the United States to prevent China from inserting language on "One Belt, One Road" into U.N. documents and statements, as they tried to do in the 2019 U.N. Security Council resolution to extend the U.N. special political mission in Afghanistan?

Answer. Competition with China is one of the central challenges of the 21st century—and we need to compete with PRC economic statecraft. The Biden-Harris administration will provide an alternative vision that promotes democratic governance, transparency, and internationally recognized environmental, social and labor standards in it global health and development work, including its funding of infrastructure projects. If confirmed, I will take actions that directly counter PRC influence across the U.N. system and improve the institution's effectiveness and transparency, including by fighting against PRC efforts to add Chinese Communist Party language to U.N. documents and statements.

Question. China created a U.N. fund outside normal U.N. processes and organizations in order to facilitate OBOR as a preferred instrument of the U.N. PRC nationals working for the U.N. have taken other steps to legitimize OBOR, including via the U.N.'s Department of Economic and Social Affairs. If confirmed, will you use the voice and vote of the United States to ensure the funding of infrastructure, development, and other issues goes through normal U.N. channels?

Answer. We will distinguish our approach to development from China's by ensuring that economic viability, as well as social and environmental safeguards, are built into the projects we support. If confirmed, I will work with our allies and partners to secure the election of candidates who share our democratic values. If confirmed, I will also work with allies and partners to advocate for the highest environmental, social, and labor standards to promote development investments that are both beneficial and sustainable over the long term.

Question. If confirmed, how will you approach the challenge of North Korea's nuclear weapons and ballistic missile programs? Do you believe that the stated goal of U.S. policy should continue to be denuclearization? In your view, what is the role of the U.N. in this challenge?

Answer. The United States will continue to work closely with all countries to ensure the full implementation of all U.N. Security Council sanctions resolutions concerning North Korea. When effectively implemented, U.N. sanctions make it harder for the DPRK to acquire the technology, know-how, and funds to develop its nuclear and ballistic missile programs. If confirmed, I will work with others in the Biden administration to review the current sanctions regime and align its sanctions approach with its broader strategy and diplomatic approach for North Korea.

Question. China is not enforcing U.N. Security Council resolutions with respect to North Korea. It still has 20,000 DPRK workers inside its borders; it is aware of dozens of money launderers, bank representatives, and others who support the North's weapons programs, yet has not expelled them; and its Navy and Coast Guard turn a blind eye to the North's smuggling activities. If confirmed, what will you do to press China to enforce U.N. Security Council resolutions?

- The PRC Government's implementation of DPRK sanctions measures has unfortunately waned in recent years. While the DPRK's decision to close its borders in response to COVID-19 has made it difficult for countries to repatriate DPRK workers, China's failure to implement the U.N. Security Council resolutions is unacceptable.

Answer. If confirmed, I will continue to call on all U.N. member states, including China, to fully implement all relevant the U.N. Security Council resolutions relating to North Korea. This administration, working in consultation with our allies, will review all options to enhance Beijing's commitment to implementing its U.N. sanctions obligations.

Question. In addition to jailing U.S. embassy employees, Turkey is the second-worst jailer of journalists in the world, falling only behind China. If confirmed, how do you plan to make clear to Turkey, including through the mechanisms available to us at the U.N. and its constituent organizations, that these violations of democratic freedoms are fundamentally incompatible with the Euro-Atlantic community Turkey purports to be a member of? What consequences should Turkey face if it does not change course?

Answer. The Biden administration will return human rights and the rule of law to our bilateral agenda. It will continue to both publicly and privately urge Turkey to respect human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the rights to freedom of expression, peaceful assembly, fair trials, and association that are important to any healthy democracy. In addition to ensuring proper focus on media freedom and freedom of expression in our own assistance and public affairs programming and diplomatic engagement, if confirmed, I will work with colleagues across the Biden administration and with our international partners to defend and advance fundamental freedoms.

Question. The Turkish-controlled area of Northern Cyprus has recently elected a nationalist president who has strong relations with Turkish President Erdogan. Since its invasion of Cyprus in 1974, Turkey has militarized Northern Cyprus, stationing thousands of troops in the territory.

- What role should the U.N. take in Cyprus to prevent further Turkish military buildup?

Answer. I was pleased to see the unanimous renewal of the U.N. Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) on Friday, January 29, extending the mission's impor-

tant work in preventing a resurgence of fighting between the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities, supervising ceasefire lines, maintaining a buffer zone, and supporting the good offices of the Secretary-General for six months. If confirmed, I will work with my team to review additional steps the U.N. could take on Cyprus.

Question. Is the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP), created in 1964, still fit for purpose for the today's dynamics on the island of Cyprus?

Answer. I was pleased to see the unanimous renewal of the U.N. Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) on Friday, January 29, extending the mission's important work in preventing a resurgence of fighting between the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities, supervising ceasefire lines, maintaining a buffer zone, and supporting the good offices of the Secretary-General for six months. If confirmed, I will work with my team to review additional steps the U.N. could take on Cyprus. The United States welcomes and stands ready to assist the U.N. Secretary-General's efforts to convene an informal 5+U.N. meeting at the earliest opportunity and facilitate a relaunching of political discussions.

Question. What changes should be made to alter the island's dynamics and apply pressure on both sides to negotiate a settlement? In a move that will likely damage efforts to negotiate a settlement to the Cypriot divide, the new Northern Cypriot administration reopened Varosha, a beach abandoned for over four decades that served as a buffer between the two sides. The Republic of Cyprus has called the move illegal and provocative. What is the U.N.'s role in preventing further actions that destabilize the fragile peace and harm settlement negotiations?

Answer. The United States supports a Cypriot-led comprehensive settlement to reunify the island as a bizonal, bicommunal federation, which would benefit all Cypriots, as well as the wider region. The U.S. welcomes and stands ready to assist the U.N. Secretary-General's efforts to convene an informal 5+UN meeting at the earliest opportunity and facilitate a relaunching of political discussions. Consistent with the October 2020 U.N. Security Council Presidential Statement, I am deeply concerned by the Turkish Cypriots' unilateral decision, with the support of Turkey, to reopen Varosha. If confirmed, I will urge a reversal of this decision.

Question. During the two-month war between Armenia and Azerbaijan over the Nagorno-Karabakh region, both sides were documented as having committed human rights violations. Verified videos showed the decapitation of captives, the desecration of bodies, and extrajudicial executions. While Russia brokered a ceasefire, a long-term peace agreement was not reached. Do you believe that there is a role for the U.N. to play in Nagorno-Karabakh? If so, what kind of role might be most useful?

Answer. The United States, as a Co-Chair of the OSCE Minsk Group, along with Russia and France, remains committed to helping Armenia and Azerbaijan negotiate a lasting peaceful resolution to the conflict. The Minsk Group Co-Chair-led process offers the best chance for lasting peace. The U.N. and individual member states should support Minsk Group Co-Chair efforts to help the sides negotiate a comprehensive and sustainable settlement of all remaining core substantive issues of the conflict. U.N. member states and U.N. institutions should take concrete steps to improve the humanitarian situation in Nagorno-Karabakh and other areas affected by the conflict in a coordinated way.

Question. The U.S. relationship with Russia is at its lowest point in decades. Many of the traditional channels of dialogue have been slowly severed. At the same time, Russia has positioned itself at the center of many of the world's current conflicts, including Syria, Nagorno-Karabakh, Ukraine, and Libya. Over the past ten years, public sparring matches between U.S. and Russian officials have become increasingly common. In this position, how do you plan to confront Russia's malign international activities?

- How will you work with the Europeans, who have differing perspectives on Russia, to ensure that U.S. allies at the U.N. maintain a united view of the Russian threat and a united response?

Answer. President Biden has made clear the United States will act firmly in defense of its national interests in response to Russia's actions that harm us or our allies. Russia has used military force and other forms of coercion and intimidation in pursuit of a geopolitical agenda that is inimical to the rule of law and U.S. national interests. If confirmed, I will work in coordination with U.N. member states to confront Russia for its malign activities and hold it to account for its illegal and aggressive actions. The Biden administration is prepared to engage Moscow, both to increase the lines of communication that mitigate the risk of miscalculation between us and to advance U.S. interests.

Strengthening and revitalizing the Transatlantic alliance is a key priority for the Biden-Harris administration. If confirmed, I look forward to facilitating deeper cooperation with European and other partners to develop common approaches to the challenge of confronting Russia and to advance other priorities.

Question. Many have expressed grave concerns about Russia's human rights violations in Crimea, including a crackdown on the Crimean Tatar community. If confirmed, what additional actions will you take to hold Russian authorities accountable for their human rights abuses in Crimea?

Answer. Russia's abuses in Crimea, which include harassment, arrest, and mistreatment of civil society activists, independent journalists, and religious minorities, as well as severe restrictions on the fundamental freedoms of expression, association and assembly, and religion and beliefs, must end immediately. If confirmed, I will work with allies and partners and urge U.N. member states to oppose Russia's occupation and attempted annexation of the Crimean Peninsula. I will also call on Russia to cease its human rights abuses in Crimea, including by advocating for broader support of the annual United Nations General Assembly human rights resolution on Crimea and pushing back against Russia's attempts to justify its occupation through disinformation at the UN.

Question. The people of Belarus have peacefully protested the results of the August 9th fraudulent presidential election for nearly six months, and, in response, the Government of Alyaksandr Lukashenka has used violence and political repression to keep his grip on power. The European Union, Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States have implemented coordinated sanctions on those government officials responsible. If confirmed, what will you do within the U.N. system to press for the release of political prisoners, including jailed journalists and opposition leaders, the freedom of journalists to operate in Belarus, and the resignation of Lukashenka?

- Will you continue to call for access by the U.N. Special Rapporteur for the Situation of Human Rights in Belarus?

Answer. The United States fully stands with the Belarusian people, and we support the sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity of the Republic of Belarus. I am deeply concerned by the flagrant human rights abuses that have been committed by the authorities in Minsk against peaceful protesters demanding election transparency and accountability. I am also deeply troubled by Russia's willingness to intervene, including its insertion of journalists from Russian state-controlled media into Belarusian state-controlled outlets, replacing Belarusian journalists and Belarusian technical personnel.

I understand that the USUN Mission has been working with Estonia and other U.N. Security Council members to keep a focus on the democratic aspirations of the Belarusian people and on human rights abuses committed by the Lukashenka regime.

If confirmed, I will review all options and renew our calls for Belarusian authorities to grant U.N. Special Rapporteur for the Situation of Human Rights in Belarus Anais Marin access to the country, in order to conduct a full inquiry.

Question. What more can be done within the U.N. to bring peace and democracy to Belarus?

Answer. The United States has been inspired by the Belarusian people, especially Belarusian women, peacefully demonstrating for the right to choose their own leadership. President Biden has already strongly condemned the Lukashenka regime for its violent and repressive tactics against opposition figures, journalists, and peaceful protesters and has called for dialogue between all stakeholders, the release of all political prisoners, and new elections. If confirmed, I will continue to highlight the issue at the U.N., including our continued calls in the U.N. Security Council for Belarusian authorities to afford U.N. Special Rapporteur for the Human Rights Situation in Belarus Anais Marin access to Belarus in accordance with her mandate.

Question. How will you work with UNSC members that have been engaged during the crisis, such as Estonia and Norway, to work toward a resolution?

Answer. The Biden administration will continue to evaluate the situation on the ground to determine appropriate next steps to support the Belarusian people and their right to choose their own leaders via free and fair elections. The United States will continue working with Estonia and other Security Council members and focus on the democratic aspirations of the Belarusian people and on human rights abuses committed by the Lukashenka regime. For example, the United States co-sponsored U.N. Arria-Formula meetings on human rights in Belarus in September 2020 and media freedom in Belarus in January 2021 to continue to spotlight the issue. If con-

firmed, I will also continue coordinating with likeminded partners on sanctions for those responsible for violence.

Question. In his responses to Questions for the Record, Secretary of State-designate Antony Blinken stated that, "The most effective way to address the pressing global challenges we face-including China but also COVID-19 and climate change-is alongside partners who share our values and interests. The [Biden] administration recognizes the challenges that China poses to our democracy and Europe's liberal democracies and views the time as ripe for greater cooperation on the full range of challenges that China poses, including to democracy, and in the technology, trade, and investment realms." How do you plan to work with allies—particularly our allies France and the United Kingdom on the Security Council—to stand up to China both within the U.N. system and around the world?

Answer. The United States is committed to confronting the challenges posed to liberal democracies and the international rules-based system by China. We will address these challenges from a position of strength in which we work closely with our allies and partners. We will not just mend our alliances; we will modernize them for the world we face. The United States will re-engage and lead in international institutions and push back against attempts to rewrite the rules and norms that animate those institutions. China's failure to uphold its past international commitments is a significant factor in how we will develop our approach to China. If confirmed, I will be clear-eyed and will keep these past shortcomings in mind as we deal with Beijing going forward.

Question. Progress implementing U.N. Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 2254 has been uneven at best. The Constitutional Committee's work is routinely met with Syrian regime obstruction; parties have been unable to achieve a nation-wide ceasefire; and the Assad regime continues to cling to power despite calls for free and fair elections.

- Please provide your views on the United States' role in Syria and accelerating progress on UNSCR 2254.

Answer. The United States remains an important leader on Syria policy. The Biden-Harris administration will support the work of the U.N. Special Envoy for Syria in facilitating a political settlement to the conflict consistent with UNSCR 2254 with high level diplomacy, coordinate with our allies and partners, and advocate through the U.N. Security Council. We will use the tools at our disposal, including economic pressure, to push for meaningful reform and accountability, while maintaining our counterterrorism efforts. If confirmed, I will help restore U.S. leadership in providing humanitarian aid, and support a political settlement that addressed the underlying causes of the conflict.

Question. U.S. Syria policy is broadly governed by UNSCR 2254 and associated sanctions regimes. Does Bashar al Assad's expanded military control change alter the prospects of a political settlement under UNSCR 2254?

Answer. While the Assad regime controls most of Syria, its authority is weak, and some of the most economically productive territory—namely the northeast—remains outside of its control. The Biden-Harris administration will renew U.S. efforts to promote a political settlement to end Syria's horrific civil war, in close consultation with allies, partners, and the U.N., and by making sure U.S. diplomats are back at the table.

Question. Do we need a new construct or UNSCR for Syria policy?

Answer. The Biden-Harris administration will renew U.S. efforts to promote a political settlement to end Syria's horrific civil war, in close consultation with our allies, partners, and the U.N., and by making sure U.S. diplomats are back at the table. The administration intends to use the tools at its disposal, including economic pressure, to push for meaningful reform and accountability, and will continue to support the U.N.'s role in negotiating a political settlement consistent with UNSCR 2254. A political settlement must address the underlying causes that led to nearly a decade of civil war.

Question. What is the linkage between U.S. troop levels in Syria; countering the Islamic State; blunting Iranian designs; influencing Turkey's and Russia's calculus in Syria; and associated impacts on political UNSCR 2254 discussions?

Answer. Preventing an ISIS resurgence in Iraq and Syria, as well as addressing the threats posed by its affiliates and networks beyond the Middle East, demands revitalized U.S. engagement, along with our partners and allies in the Global Coalition to Defeat ISIS. Accordingly, President Biden has expressed support for maintaining U.S. forces in northeast Syria to prevent the group's resurgence. The Biden-

Harris administration will be open to dialogue with Russia on Syria as long as it contributes to protecting civilians and to credibly moving the conflict toward a political solution. We will also continue to deconflict military operations with Russia, so that pressure is sustained on ISIS remnants in Syria. Turkey's concerns with respect to U.S. Syrian Kurdish partners in the fight against ISIS have not changed. We will consult with Ankara and seek areas for cooperation on Syria. The Biden-Harris administration will support the work of the U.N. Special Envoy for Syria with high level diplomacy, coordinate with our allies and partners, and advocate through the United Nations Security Council. If confirmed, I will support the work of the constitutional committee that is called for by United Nations Security Council Resolution 2254 and renew U.S. efforts to promote a political settlement to end Syria's terrible civil war.

Question. What relative effect would a U.S. troop withdrawal have on U.S. influence over future negotiations?

Answer. There is no military solution to end the war in Syria. The only path forwarded is a negotiated political settlement.

Question. Russia's permanent representative to the U.N. has stated that they will not support a continuation of cross-border operations from Turkey into Syria when the mandate is up for renewal later this year. As I am sure you are aware, this is extremely dangerous as millions of Syrians rely on cross border operations for food, water, and humanitarian assistance. What is your strategic plan to keep the last remaining border crossing open? How will you engage diplomatically with Russia and our on-the-ground partners?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work to open up avenues fort humanitarian assistance to get to the neediest people in Syria. The Biden-Harris administration will renew U.S. efforts to promote a political settlement to end Syria's terrible civil war, in close consultation with allies, partners, and the U.N. and by making sure U.S. diplomats are back at the table. We will restore U.S. leadership in providing humanitarian aid. Syria is a humanitarian catastrophe, and we must do more to aid vulnerable Syrians displaced within Syria, as well as refugees who fled abroad.

Question. A recent U.N. expert report on Libya accused the warring parties and their international backers-the United Arab Emirates, Russia and Egypt on one side and Turkey and Qatar on the other-of violating the arms embargo with total impunity.

- How do you plan to address reported violations of the U.N. arms embargo?

Answer. The United States opposes all foreign military intervention in Libya and strongly supports the October 23 Libyan ceasefire agreement. This includes the immediate withdrawal of all foreign forces, proxies, and mercenaries. If confirmed, I will publicly urge the international community to honor commitments made in the Berlin Process and call on all external parties in both public and private engagements to honor the U.N. arms embargo, investigate any lines of external financing prolonging the conflict, and support the U.N. political process.

Question. How do you impose costs on arms embargo violators without harming U.S. objectives in other areas?

Answer. The United States, at the highest levels, engages stakeholders on all sides of the conflict—both Libyan and international—to encourage restraint and advance a U.N.-facilitated political solution that respects the sovereignty of the Libyan people and protects the shared interests of the United States, our allies, and partners. The United States closely engages in the Berlin Process, which provides a forum to press Russia, Turkey, the UAE, and other foreign actors to adhere to their commitments to uphold the arms embargo. If confirmed, I will continue to support the U.N.-facilitated process and will be looking for ways the United States can best leverage our influence over external actors in Libya to promote adherence to the Libya arms embargo.

Question. The war in Yemen is entering its seventh year. How effective does the Biden administration think the international approach has been since 2015? How can the United States promote a more effective engagement to end the war? What changes are needed to do this?

- Do you believe UNSCR 2216 properly reflects the current context in Yemen? Will the Biden administration seek to modify this UNSCR?

Answer. I commit to working with partners in the region, U.N. Security Council members, the U.N. Special Envoy for Yemen, and Congress to see how we can best re-energize the peace process. To that end, the President has committed to revitalize diplomacy, working with the United Nations and others, to end the war in Yemen.

UNSCR 2216 condemns in the strongest terms the Houthis' unilateral actions and disregard of the demands of UNSCR 2201, reminding us that the Houthis' actions are ultimately responsible for the start of the conflict; establishes a targeted UNSC arms embargo for Yemen; and reaffirms the support of the Council for President Hadi as the head of the legitimate government of Yemen. That said, given the challenges the international community has faced in securing a political resolution to the prolonged conflict in Yemen, the United States is prepared to consider all proposals to revitalize diplomatic efforts to end the conflict and humanitarian crisis in Yemen.

Question. How do you plan to support the work of the Special Envoy of the Secretary General for Yemen, Martin Griffiths? What specific tools is the Biden administration prepared to use to advance Special Envoy Griffiths' efforts to reach a political resolution to the conflict?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to working with U.N. Security Council members, the U.N. Special Envoy, and Congress to see how we can best re-energize the peace process. As for the U.N. process, we look forward to redoubling U.S. efforts to support U.N. Special Envoy Martin Griffiths in his work.

Our hope is that by engaging with our partners in the region, we can apply the appropriate leverage we need to bring the Republic of Yemen Government and the Houthis back to the table. We believe a renewed commitment to U.S. diplomacy and expanded humanitarian access can help create conditions for the parties to reach a compromise. Given the challenges the international community has faced in securing a political resolution to the prolonged conflict in Yemen, the United States will consider all proposals to revitalize diplomatic efforts to end the conflict and humanitarian crisis in Yemen.

Question. The Biden administration has indicated it intends to open a review of the designation of the Houthis as a Foreign Terrorist Organization (FTO). While the designation of the Houthi movement is under review, can you commit to using all available tools under the law to ensure that the designation does not impair humanitarian access, and to working with the U.N. to that effect? Will you commit to pressure other countries to increase financial pledges to the U.N.'s humanitarian response plan for Yemen? How can the United States most effectively use its position on the Security Council to bolster the U.N.'s humanitarian response in Yemen?

Answer. We share bipartisan Congressional concerns about the effects of the previous administration's decision to designate Ansarallah as a foreign terrorist organization and a specially designated global terrorist. The administration takes seriously the warnings from the United Nations and international humanitarian organizations that these designations could lead to a wide-scale famine, and recognizing the potential impacts of the designations on the situation in Yemen, the Department of State has initiated a review of this decision.

While this review is ongoing, the Department is making the strongest possible efforts to reduce impediments to the delivery of humanitarian aid and the import of essential goods and has engaged in extensive outreach to our partner nations, donor nations, and the wider humanitarian community in conjunction with the Department of the Treasury and Department of Justice.

Pledges to this past year's humanitarian response plan for Yemen were dismally low. If confirmed, I commit to re-energizing efforts and outreach to partners not only to fulfill their pledges but to commit more, knowing that these funds are necessary to keep Yemen from sliding into humanitarian catastrophe.

The administration intends to fully re-engage in multilateral discussions to end the war in Yemen, especially through the U.N. Security Council and our support of UNSE Griffiths.

Question. How can the U.N. provide leverage in negotiations between the Taliban and the Government of Afghanistan? What are your views on the U.N. delisting the Taliban? What is the role of the U.N. in safeguarding the gains made over the past 20 years for Afghanistan's women, minorities, and youth?

Answer. The United States will support the peace process with a robust and regional diplomatic effort, including continuing to engage the United Nations to help advance negotiations between the Islamic Republic and Taliban negotiating teams. If confirmed, I will join the administration in closely reviewing what the United States has negotiated regarding Afghanistan. This review will cover all elements of the U.S.-Taliban Agreement, including diplomatic engagement with the United Nations Security Council on potential sanctions relief. Through the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA), the United Nations leads and coordinates international efforts to support peace and stability in Afghanistan, including the protection and promotion of human rights, women's and girls' empowerment,

and meaningful participation and engagement of women in decision-making processes.

Question. The United Nations Interim Force for Lebanon (UNIFIL) has received criticism for failing to curb the flow of lethal assistance to Hezbollah. Further, the local populace and Hezbollah routinely interdict UNIFIL patrols along the Blue Line and prevent UNIFIL from accomplishing its directed missions. Despite the discovery of tunnels in 2018, the Lebanese Armed Forces refused to investigate these incursions. During 2020 negotiations to renew UNIFIL's mandate, the Trump administration successfully lobbied for a reduction in UNIFIL's authorized troop levels.

- Please provide your detailed views on the effectiveness of UNIFIL in upholding UNSCR 1701, the maritime component, the trilateral mechanism, and views on associated troop and funding levels.

Answer. The President is committed to working with our allies and partners to counter Iran's destabilizing activities in the region, including its provision of weapons to the violent groups it backs. The United States will redouble our efforts regarding enforcement of United Nations Security Council arms embargoes such as those relating to Lebanon and Yemen. If confirmed, I will ask my team to review the U.N. Interim Force in Lebanon's (UNIFIL) performance and mandate against its troop and funding levels.

Question. What are your recommendations to improve UNIFIL's execution of its mandate?

Answer. The President is committed to working with our allies and partners to counter Iran's destabilizing activities in the region, including its provision of weapons to the violent groups it backs. The United States will redouble its efforts regarding enforcement of other United Nations Security Council arms embargoes such as those relating to Lebanon and Yemen. If confirmed, I will ask my team to review the U.N. Interim Force in Lebanon's (UNIFIL) performance and provide me additional recommendations to enhance the mission's execution of its mandate.

Question. How do you balance troop-contributing nations' aversion to mandate revision and making UNIFIL more mission effective?

Answer. Periodic mission mandate review and renewal is essential to ensuring that the U.N. Security Council retains oversight and control over missions and their mandates. If confirmed, I am committed to working with the Secretariat and member states to improve performance in U.N. peacekeeping, which will further increase the efficiency of missions and ensure that U.S. taxpayer dollars are being put to good use. If confirmed, I will ask my team to review the U.N. Interim Force in Lebanon's (UNIFIL) performance and provide me additional recommendations to enhance the mission's execution of its mandate.

Question. What are your views on revising UNIFIL's mandate to include private property?

Answer. If confirmed, I will ask my team to review the U.N. Interim Force in Lebanon's (UNIFIL) performance and provide me additional recommendations to enhance the mission's execution of its mandate.

Question. The United Nations Investigative Team to Promote Accountability for Crimes Committed by Da'esh/ISIL (UNITAD) is charged with preserving and documenting war crimes committed by the Islamic State.

- Given the scope of the Islamic State's crimes, is UNITAD effectively resourced to accomplish it mission?

Answer. UNITAD's core funding from U.N. assessed contributions is complemented by a voluntary trust fund, to which the United States has provided almost $9 million. I understand that, to overcome challenges posed by COVID-19 and the security environment in Iraq, UNITAD has developed innovative uses of technology, remote interviewing, and storage for remote and in-person work. If confirmed, I will review this work and opportunity to strengthen it to ensure the broadest possible use in national courts, and complements Iraqi and third-country investigations.

Question. What is UNITAD's role in broader Iraqi reconciliation efforts post-Islamic State?

Answer. The U.N. Investigative Team to Promote Accountability for Crimes Committed by Da'esh/ISIL (UNITAD), at the request of the Government of Iraq and with the assistance of the international community, seeks to ensure that ISIS members are held accountable for their crimes in Iraq. I understand that UNITAD works to

be impartial, independent, and credible, consistent with the U.N. Charter, best practices, and relevant international law, including international human rights law.

Question. What challenges does the Iraqi judicial system present for UNITAD's mission and how do we overcome those challenges?

Answer. Iraq's judiciary is weak and susceptible to political influence, coercion, and threats of violence. I understand that UNITAD operates with the consent of the Iraqi Government and is mandated to support investigations and prosecutions in the Iraqi judiciary. This helps build Iraq's capacity for fair trials free of outside influence, as do State Department programs to improve due process, implement reforms, and safeguard human rights in Iraq's judiciary.

Question. What would you tout as UNITAD's accomplishments? Its shortcomings?

Answer. I understand UNITAD is impartial and independent and operates consistent with the U.N. Charter, best practices, and relevant international law, including international human rights law, and engages with all communities affected by ISIS's crimes, ensuring the experiences of Iraq's religious and ethnic communities are addressed. UNITAD's expanded cooperation with the Iraqi Government will contribute to successful prosecutions of ISIS members. I understand that COVID-19 and the security environment in Iraq have complicated UNITAD's work to collect, preserve, and store evidence of potential war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide.

Question. In September 2020, the U.N. Independent International Fact Finding Mission on Venezuela cited evidence of unlawful executions, forced disappearances, arbitrary detentions and torture in the country since 2014, including evidence that Nicolas Maduro and senior members of his regime ordered or contributed to what amounted to crimes against humanity in Venezuela. In December 2020, the General Secretariat of the OAS raised concerns about the failure of the chief prosecutor of the International Criminal Court (ICC) to act upon the allegations of the September 2020 U.N. report.

- Do you support the ICC opening a formal investigation into the allegations raised in the September 2020 report by the U.N. Independent International Fact Finding Mission on Venezuela?

Answer. The reports of the OAS General Secretariat and the U.N. Fact Finding Mission documented human rights abuses, including extrajudicial killings and torture. The ICC Prosecutor stated on December 14, 2020, that there is a reasonable basis to believe that Maduro regime authorities committed crimes against humanity. The ICC Prosecutor expects to determine in 2021 whether to open a full investigation. While we continue to have strong concerns about the Court's activities in Afghanistan and Israel, and remain committed to protecting U.S. personnel, there may be exceptional cases where we consider cooperating with the court as we sometimes have in the past. We will have to weigh the interests at stake on a case-by-case basis.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to use the voice and vote of the United States at the United Nations to bring perpetrators of human rights abuses in Venezuela to justice?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I will seek to work with partners to rebuild multilateral pressure on the Maduro regime, call for the release of political prisoners, and consider all appropriate tools, including sanctions, to promote accountability for those responsible for human rights abuses and corruption.

Question. Guatemala, El Salvador, and Honduras have signed Asylum Cooperative Agreements (ACAs) with the United States, which, in part, aims to allow migrants to seek protection within the region by facilitating cooperation between the U.S. and host nation governments or international organizations to expand their systems for offering humanitarian protections. If confirmed, what steps would you take to support cooperation between the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the Governments of El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras to enhance their refugee settlement capacity?

Answer. The United States will continue to support UNHCR and other international organization partners to work with the Governments of El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras to develop their asylum systems, while recognizing this is a long-term endeavor and must be approached incrementally to yield sustainable results. We will continue contributing to UNHCR's support of the Comprehensive Regional Protection and Solutions Framework (MIRPS), including efforts to protect and assist internally displaced persons in these countries. We will prioritize efforts to support Governments in the region to address the root causes of displacement

and to protect and assist those displaced by violence, persecution, poverty, and natural disasters.

Question. In April 2018, the Ortega regime's violent crackdown of protests left at least 325 people dead; over 2,000 injured; hundreds illegally detained, tortured, and disappeared; and more than 80,000 exiled in neighboring countries. The 2019 State Department's Report on Human Rights in Nicaragua cited "numerous reports that the Government or its agents committed arbitrary or unlawful killings" during the repression. In December 2018, the Interdisciplinary Group of Independent Experts established by the Inter-American Commission of Human Rights issued a report confirming that the actions taken by the Government of Nicaragua "must be considered crimes against humanity." The Office of the U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights describes Nicaragua as suffering from a "climate of widespread terror." If confirmed, would you support the creation of a U.N. Independent Fact Finding Mission on Nicaragua to investigate allegations of crimes against humanity committed by the Ortega regime?

Answer. The United States has condemned the ongoing campaign of repression and human rights abuses perpetrated by the Ortega regime and has raised serious concerns in light of the findings by independent experts and the OAS High Level Commission investigation on Nicaragua. If confirmed, I would advocate the use of the broad set of available U.N. policy tools to address the worsening crisis and the U.S. Government's human rights concerns in Nicaragua.

Question. Nicaragua is expected to hold general elections in November. In October 2020, the Organization of American States adopted a resolution (AG/RES.2962 (L-O/20)) calling for the restoration of democratic institutions and respect for human rights in Nicaragua through free and fair elections. The resolution listed a series of concrete measures that must be included in any meaningful electoral reforms ahead of the November elections. If confirmed, do you commit to seek U.N. support for the implementation by Nicaragua of the measures contained in OAS Resolution AG/RES.2962 (L-O/20)?

Answer. Nicaraguans seek free and fair elections in their country, as do likeminded members of the international community. We urge the Ortega regime to take concrete actions now to restore democracy by supporting the reforms necessary to allow the conditions for free and fair elections; ceasing repression against Nicaraguans calling for democracy; and fully and unconditionally releasing arbitrarily detained persons. If confirmed, I will work to garner increased international support for coordinated diplomatic pressure, including through U.N. mechanisms, to advance the objectives of the October OAS Resolution on restoring democracy and respect for human rights in Nicaragua.

Question. A group of Cuban doctors have filed a federal lawsuit against the Pan American Health Organization (PAHO) alleging that the PAHO organized and unduly profited from Cuba's "Mais Medicos" program in Brazil between 2013 and 2018, which they charge violated the Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act. The PAHO has generally played a positive role in Latin America, but it is deeply troubling for an organization that receives tens of millions of U.S. taxpayer dollars every year to have allegedly participated in and profited from forced labor, much less ignore U.S. laws with respect to Cuba with impunity.

- What steps would you take to hold the PAHO accountable for its actions related to the Mais Medicos program between 2013 and 2018?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to reviewing the issue and the U.S. Government's current policy approach to determine if any adjustments are necessary. The United States has engaged with PAHO leadership to increase PAHO's transparency and accountability and protect U.S. interests. PAHO has been a key international partner in the fight against COVID-19, providing PCR tests, PPE, and training to the region. If confirmed, I look forward to continued engagement with PAHO to strengthen health care systems in the Americas and combat COVID-19 and to increase transparency and accountability, including with respect to the investigation of allegations related to the Mais Medicos program

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to work to push the PAHO to implement necessary governance changes to ensure increased oversight of future projects or programs such as Mais Medicos?

Answer. The United States has engaged with PAHO leadership to increase PAHO's transparency and accountability and protect U.S. interests. The United States, with support from multilateral partners, proposed governance reforms. PAHO's Directing Council approved the reform proposal in September 2020 by consensus. PAHO has been a key international partner in the fight against COVID-19,

providing PCR tests, PPE, and hundreds of trainings to the region. We look forward to continued engagement with PAHO to strengthen health care systems in the Americas and combat COVID-19.

Question. In response to pressure from the Trump administration, the PAHO retained an outside law firm to conduct an "administrative review" of its actions related to the Mais Medicos program between 2013 and 2018. However, the review has turned out to be an opaque process and the Department claims to have no oversight role on the process.

- Do you believe such a review offers any possibility of accountability by the PAHO to either the victims or to U.S. taxpayers, whose money funds a significant portion of PAHO's activities?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to reviewing the issue and the U.S. Government's current policy approach to determine if any adjustments are necessary. The United States has engaged with PAHO leadership to increase PAHO's transparency and accountability and protect U.S. interests. PAHO has been a key international partner in the fight against COVID-19 providing PCR tests, PPE, and hundreds of trainings to the region. We look forward to continued engagement with PAHO to strengthen health care systems in the Americas and combat COVID-19.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to inform the Committee about the administrative review process and its results?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to reviewing the issue and the U.S. Government's current policy approach to determine if any adjustments are necessary. I look forward to consulting with Congress on this important issue.

Question. On November 23, 2020, then-President-elect Joe Biden announced that he intended to appoint former Secretary of State John Kerry to be a "Special Presidential Envoy for Climate." The announcement stated that Secretary Kerry: will fight climate change full-time as Special Presidential Envoy for Climate and will sit on the National Security Council. This marks the first time that the NSC will include an official dedicated to climate change, reflecting the president-elect's commitment to addressing climate change as an urgent national security issue.

- What is the chain of command for this new position and to whom will the officeholder report?

Answer. Special Presidential Envoy for Climate Kerry reports directly to President Biden and will sit on the National Security Council. If confirmed, I plan to work closely with Special Presidential Envoy Kerry and his team to advance our climate work in the United Nations. The Envoy's team will be housed at the State Department. I understand that his climate diplomacy work will be closely coordinated with the Department's, including the U.S. Mission to the United Nations, and with the Biden-Harris administration's broader diplomatic engagement.

Question. What will the role of the U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. be with respect to this position?

Answer. If confirmed, I plan to work closely with Special Presidential Envoy Kerry and his team to advance our climate work in the United Nations. The Envoy's team will be housed at the State Department. I understand that his climate diplomacy work will be closely coordinated with the Department's, including the U.S. Mission to the United Nations, and with the Biden-Harris administration's broader diplomatic engagement.

Question. Does the use of special envoys have the potential to create confusion within the State Department and within the U.S. Mission to the U.N. in terms of overlapping authorities and unclear organizational charts? If so, how would you avoid such confusion? If not, why not?

Answer. Not at all. I view this as an opportunity to advance U.S. diplomacy. Having someone uniquely experienced in international climate change policy and diplomacy is exactly why Secretary of State Blinken is so enthusiastic about this partnership. I am confident that this deep bench of experience and talent is the right way to address this profoundly important issue, which the President has identified as one of four crises that will define his presidency. This is an all-hands-on-deck moment, and everyone is working together to get the job done. If confirmed, I look forward to being part of these efforts.

Question. Do you commit to ensuring that there is no duplication of effort among Mr. Kerry's staff and the U.S. Mission to the U.N.?

Answer. Yes. I am confident that everyone will work together to get the job done. There is a clear delineation between the role of the Special Presidential Envoy for

Climate and that of the U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. If confirmed, I know we will maintain open lines of communication to ensure we work together as efficiently and effectively as possible and our teams will do the same.

Question. Please describe your position in the Cabinet. To whom will you directly report-the President? The Secretary of State? Special Envoy Kerry with respect to climate matters?

Answer. If confirmed, as a member of the Biden Cabinet, I would report to the President but would work in lockstep with the Secretary of State to ensure U.S. leadership at the United Nations reinforces his global efforts to advance U.S. national interests.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED TO HON. LINDA THOMAS-GREENFIELD BY SENATOR ROBERT MENENDEZ

Question. Under the Trump administration, the United States consistently advocated for removing references to sexual and reproductive health care from U.N. documents, including at critical spaces for women's rights like the Commission on the Status of Women. The United States previously supported many agreements, including signing the International Conference on Population and Development Programme of Action and Beijing Platform for Action which support comprehensive sexual and reproductive health and rights and bodily autonomy. Can you commit that the United States will resume its support for sexual and reproductive health and rights in U.N. negotiations?

Answer. Yes. The United States supports women's and girls' sexual and reproductive health and reproductive rights, and our stance in U.N. negotiations will reflect that support. This is part of our broader commitment to promoting women's health and advancing gender equality in the United States and throughout the world.

Question. Under the Trump administration, the United States consistently advocated for removing references to sexual and reproductive health care from U.N. documents, including at critical spaces for women's rights like the Commission on the Status of Women. The United States previously supported many agreements, including signing the International Conference on Population and Development Programme of Action and Beijing Platform for Action which support comprehensive sexual and reproductive health and rights and bodily autonomy. Will you commit to ensuring that the United States' engagement in the U.N. incorporates gender throughout, and that the United States will become a leader in closing this gap not as an isolated issue, but as one that is core to global economic policy and growth?

Answer. Yes. The United States supports women's and girls' sexual and reproductive health and reproductive rights. Keeping women and girls healthy, including through access to sexual and reproductive health care, enhances their ability to advance their education and contribute to the economic prosperity of their families, communities, and nations, and ultimately to peace and security. If confirmed, when engaging with my counterparts at the U.N., I commit to ensuring that gender issues are incorporated throughout as we consider how the policies and programs under discussion will affect women and girls.

Question. The U.N. Population Fund (UNFPA) is the United Nations' sexual and reproductive health agency. UNFPA supports reproductive health care for women and youth in more than 150 countries which are home to more than 80 per cent of the world's population. In 2018, UNFPA began a concentrated effort to achieve three zeros by 2030 -- zero unmet need for contraception, zero preventable maternal deaths, and zero gender-based violence and harmful practices, such as child marriage and female genital mutilation. U.S. partnership is essential to meeting these goals. UNFPA also provides reproductive health and family planning assistance to women and girls in humanitarian settings including war and natural disasters. If you are confirmed, how do you envision working with the U.N. Population Fund and what is your plan for supporting both UNFPA's core work as well as its important assistance to women and girls in humanitarian settings?

Answer. The United States is committed to working closely with UNFPA as a partner both for its core mission and addressing humanitarian situations globally. If confirmed, I am committed to working to restore funding to UNFPA and ensuring robust engagement with the agency. Voluntary access to contraceptives, prevention of gender-based violence, and programming that is responsive to women's health, in-

cluding their sexual and reproductive health, will be critical components in U.S. global health, development, and humanitarian assistance.

Question. You have worked in many countries where women and girls face extremely high rates of sexual and gender-based violence, where rape has been used as a weapon of war, and where survivors face stigma in their own communities. Since the outbreak of COVID-19, emerging data and reports from those on the front lines have shown that all types of violence against women and girls, particularly domestic violence, has intensified. How can the United States better lead to prevent these types of violence and support survivors?

Answer. Preventing and responding to gender-based violence (GBV) globally is a cornerstone of the U.S. Government's commitment to advancing human rights and promoting gender equality. I share your concern about the increased incidence of GBV coinciding with social isolation and the loss of traditional social protection mechanisms during the COVID-19 pandemic. If confirmed, I fully commit to prioritizing this issue to strengthen GBV prevention and provide needed support to survivors, and to ensuring that the U.S. will work with international partners, including relevant U.N. agencies, to put a focus on GBV prevention and response.

Question. Under the Trump administration, civil society advocates from other countries were routinely denied visas to attend U.N. meetings, including feminist leaders and women's human rights defenders who intended to participate in the annual Commission on the Status of Women. Do you commit to working with the State Department and U.N. to ensure that visa applications from civil society representatives to come to the United States for access to U.N. negotiations are given priority review and fairly evaluated in accordance with all applicable laws?

Answer. The United States values and supports the participation of human rights defenders and civil society activists at U.N. meetings, and if confirmed I commit to pursuing robust engagement with civil society, including women human rights defenders, and to ensure applicants seeking to attend U.N. negotiations can request expedited visa appointments and generally receive priority processing in accordance with local conditions and our obligations under the U.N. Headquarters Agreement.

Question. A Report of the High-Level Independent Panel on U.N. Peace Operations stated, "Engaging with host countries and local communities must increasingly be regarded as core to mission success. By shifting from merely consulting with local people to actively including them in their work, missions are able to monitor and respond to how local people experience the impact of peace operations." However, the gap between civil society and Member States at the U.N. and between civil society and the U.N. headquarters has increased, especially in recent years. As U.N. Ambassador, what steps will you take to be more inclusive of civil society, including women- and youth-led groups, and actively engage with NGOs in general and the NGO Working Group to the Security Council in particular? Will you appoint and reinstate an NGO liaison/focal point (which existed prior to the last administration)? Will you reinstitute periodic meetings with NGOs?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work with civil society, including women- and youth-led groups, and will actively engage with NGOs, including the NGO Working Group to the Security Council. The Committee on Non-Governmental Organizations has become increasingly politicized, making accreditation for human rights organizations that are critical of certain member states very difficult. The committee includes some restrictive governments and reflects the global trend toward restricting civic space. If confirmed, I will encourage likeminded countries to run to increase the number of members who are committed to protecting civic space and civil society. If confirmed, I will ensure NGOs are able to liaise effectively with the U.S. Mission to the U.N.

Question. The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) recently reported that the eradication of poverty will remain out of reach for many countries unless the global community immediately prioritizes efforts to reduce fragility. By 2030, more than half of the world's people living in poverty will likely be living in countries affected by high levels of violence. Yet, only a fraction of spending goes toward preventing and reducing violent conflict and building sustainable peace. In your role as U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, how will you work to advocate for U.S. policies and funding to address the causes of violent conflict and fragility and increase global leadership to resolve protracted conflicts?

Answer. If confirmed, preventing violent conflict and addressing fragility will be one of my top priorities. I will work with the U.N. and member states to more proactively address the drivers of conflict and improve coordination on humanitarian, development, and peacekeeping efforts in the U.N. Security Council, the

U.N. General Assembly, and across the U.N. system. I will work to ensure that climate change is understood as a source of fragility and a driver of conflict, and I will ensure that the United States not only re-engages in critical U.N. debates on climate and security, but returns to a leading role in combatting climate change worldwide. I will leverage the tools in the Global Fragility Act of 2019 to address fragility. I will also work to prioritize the meaningful participation of women in conflict resolution, as countries with higher rates of gender inequality are more vulnerable to conflict. If confirmed, I will also use my position as a member of the President's Cabinet to support and promote such efforts.

Question. The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) recently reported that the eradication of poverty will remain out of reach for many countries unless the global community immediately prioritizes efforts to reduce fragility. By 2030, more than half of the world's people living in poverty will likely be living in countries affected by high levels of violence. Yet, only a fraction of spending goes toward preventing and reducing violent conflict and building sustainable peace. How will you use your role to ensure proven, cost-effective methods, such as peacebuilding and conflict prevention, are prioritized in funding, policy, and programming at the U.N.?

Answer. A revitalized approach to working with the U.N. must include tackling the pressing challenges of reducing violent conflict and building sustainable peace. And to this end, we must advance a full range of preventive diplomacy efforts in response to emerging crises, recognizing that early diplomatic interventions are ultimately the most cost-effective-for the United Nations, and thus, for the United States. I appreciate the bipartisan Congressional support behind the Global Fragility Act (GFA), which provides a critical tool for enhancing U.S. conflict prevention and peacebuilding efforts. These kinds of investments can help address fragility, which directly benefits our national security. The GFA offers the United States an opportunity to work with the U.N. to renew and refocus attention on the U.N.-World Bank Pathways for Peace report and the U.N. Secretary-General's Sustaining Peace agenda.

Question. There are some 95,000 U.N. Peacekeepers deployed to 13 missions around the world. These missions are paid through assessed contributions from U.N. Member States who do not contribute troops. During the Trump administration, however, the United States did not pay its share of the U.N. peacekeeping budget on time or in full. Today, the U.S. is over $900 million in arrears to U.N. Peacekeeping-a significant amount that is contributing to an ongoing liquidity crisis at the U.N. Much of these arrears are due to Congress refusing to appropriate an amount equal to the U.S. obligation through an arbitrary 25% cap, but some of this shortfall can be covered through executive action. Will the Biden administration commit to paying U.S. arrears to U.N. Peacekeeping while working with Congress to address the cap and end the need for foreign military-led peacekeeping interventions?

Answer. If confirmed, I would welcome the opportunity to work with Congress to meet our financial obligations, including addressing the substantial level of arrears that have accumulated over the past four years and the cap on peacekeeping funding. I will also work to ensure that peacekeeping missions are more efficient and more effective at achieving their mandates.

Question. The Trump administration vacated America's seat on the U.N. Human Rights Council in June 2018, before the U.S. term ended. Does the Biden administration intend to run for election to join the Human Rights Council at the next opportunity?

Answer. U.S. leadership on human rights is an important component to ensuring a values-based and transparent international system that defends individual rights and freedoms while strengthening democracy and rule of law. President Biden has committed to seek to re-engage at the Human Rights Council and will quickly review whether the United States will seek election.

Question. The U.S. must avoid legitimizing and empowering illiberal governments in multilateral fora and bilateral engagement. Governments such as Egypt, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, and Qatar exploit U.S. support for their counterterror practices, which undermines the U.N.,s ability to stand up for peace and human rights. Will the Biden administration commit to work with democratic allies to counter the rise of authoritarianism and reject close relationships with governments that exhibit autocratic tendencies?

Answer. As President Biden has said, "I will defend the right of activists, political dissidents, and journalists around the world to speak their minds freely without fear

of persecution and violence." The Biden administration is committed to working with democratic allies to counter the rise of authoritarianism. We intend to elevate human rights issues across our foreign policy, including in our relationships with partners. Our efforts to counter terrorism cannot be separated from our work to stand up for human rights and our values; the promotion and protection of human rights is at the center of all our foreign policy priorities.

Question. Many countries in the Middle East are mired in protracted conflicts, humanitarian crises, or struggling with displacement. This includes Yemen, Syria, the Palestinian Territories, and Lebanon. What policies or initiatives will the United States take to help shift dynamics and set the ground for longer term development and positive changes in the Middle East?

Answer. There are no military solutions to the conflicts, humanitarian crises, and displacement in the Middle East. The only path forward is a negotiated political settlement in each instance that advances the universal rights and dignity of the region's people.

The Biden administration intends to restore credible engagement with the Palestinians, cease U.S. military support for the Saudi-led coalition in Yemen, and press for transparent and accountable governance in Lebanon. In Syria and Yemen, we will support the U.N. special envoys with high-level diplomacy; coordinate with our allies and partners on humanitarian, development, and stabilization assistance; and engage in advocacy at the U.N. Security Council.

Question. How is the United States planning to regain a leadership role in diplomacy aimed at addressing these issues?

Answer. The United States must pursue a diplomacy-first approach in the region that reasserts our values and is enabled by civilian tools. With U.S. diplomats back at the table, we will assert U.S. leadership across the Middle East. If confirmed, I will work closely with our allies and partners supporting the U.N. Special Envoys leading political processes to address conflicts in Syria and Yemen while maintaining current counterterrorism efforts. Whether in the Middle East or elsewhere around the globe, I will work tirelessly to advance diplomatic solutions to international crises and leverage the full weight of the U.N. Security Council to that end.

In addition, the Biden administration intends to assert U.S. leadership consistent with our values by reengaging the U.N. Human Rights Council, the World Health Organization, and other multilateral forums.

Question. Following the Trump administration's slashing funds to UNRWA, the agency's funding crisis has become acute. In November of last year, the agency announced it was not able to pay the salaries of their 28,000 employees, most of whom are themselves Palestinian refugees. Is it your belief that, to the extent allowed by U.S. law, the United States should restore U.S. contributions to the United Nations Relief and Works Agency?

Answer. President Biden plans to follow through on his pledge to restore U.S. economic and humanitarian aid to the Palestinians. UNRWA's mandate is set by the U.N. General Assembly and it provides essential services directly to Palestinian refugees in the five regions it covers. Unlike UNHCR, which works to deliver most services to refugees through sub-partners and those partners' many employees in the field, UNRWA and its employees provide the services directly to beneficiaries. As stated in my confirmation hearing, I am committed to working with and consulting Congress on these issues. If confirmed, I look forward to engaging with UNRWA on meaningful and sustainable reforms to their operations.

Question. Many argue it is essential to re-establishing U.S. credibility and the international consensus regarding Iran's dangerous activities—both nuclear and conventional—for the United States to come back into compliance with the JCPOA alongside Iran. Do you believe that the Trump administration's purported use of the "snapback" mechanism helped or hurt our ability to counter Iran's nuclear activities and other dangerous behavior?

Answer. The snapback mechanism was designed to provide leverage to help ensure Iran performed its commitments under the JCPOA. The Trump administration invoked snapback in a way that was never contemplated by the deal, namely after unilaterally exiting it. Virtually none of our allies or partners recognized this invocation of snapback. The Biden administration believes that the United States will be in a stronger position to counter the full range of threats posed by Iran, including its nuclear program, by working in close concert with our allies.

Question. The UNSC has held a number of closed door meetings on Ethiopia's Tigray crisis, but to date has not taken significant action to address the conflict or

its humanitarian consequences. If confirmed, will you commit to pressing U.N. Security Council and other U.N. organs to more publicly engage on the Tigray crisis and conflict in other parts of Ethiopia, with an eye towards advancing political dialogue, protecting civilians from violence, and supporting humanitarian relief?

Answer. I am deeply concerned by the situation in Ethiopia. Ethiopia's successful transition to a more democratic, inclusive, and prosperous society is critical to U.S. interests. It will be important that the U.N. Security Council stay engaged on Ethiopia-most immediately with regard to the crisis in Tigray, but also with an eye to instability in other regions as the country navigates a challenging but critically important project of democratic renewal. As conflict in Ethiopia poses a threat to the broader region, if confirmed, I will work with the three African members of the U.N. Security Council in New York and other member states to push for an end to violence and to press for constructive dialogue, immediate and unimpeded humanitarian access, the protection of refugee populations, the withdrawal of foreign troops, the restoration of all communications to the Tigray region, and accountability for atrocities committed by all parties.

Question. What specific steps do you anticipate taking to do so?

Answer. It is important that the U.N. plays an active role and considers the many ways in which it might help bring an end to the crises in Tigray. If confirmed, I will work to open possibilities for humanitarian workers, organizations, and critical assistance to reach the Tigray region. If confirmed, I will urge the U.N. and member-states to engage on the crisis so as to prevent further violence, establish immediate unimpeded humanitarian access, ensure accountability for atrocities committed by all parties, verify the withdrawal of foreign troops, and prevent a regionalization of the conflict. We must encourage constructive dialogue toward a resolution of governance and security matters in Tigray. But the U.N. system and Security Council member-states must also be conscious of the wider national transition in which this crisis has unfolded and the remaining challenges ahead. We must clearly signal our support for the democratic aspirations of all Ethiopians as the country continues on a critically-important path of political and economic renewal.

Question. Sudan-Ethiopia border tensions have escalated in recent weeks, and there is potential that hostilities between these two states could destabilize the broader sub-region. The U.N. has yet to fully engage on this matter. What role should the U.N. play in addressing this conflict, and what action do you plan to take to support more focused U.N. engagement?

Answer. As Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, I saw firsthand the dire impact of violence and instability in Africa, particularly on innocent civilians whose lives and livelihoods were completely upended. I also saw how critical a role the U.N.—through the Security Council, special political missions, peacekeeping missions, and numerous functional agencies, funds, and programs—can play in addressing threats to international peace and security. If confirmed, I will work diligently to ensure the U.N. deploys its resources and capabilities to fully address conflict situations to address such insecurity.

Question. The Central African Republic (CAR) recently conducted an election fraught with violence and the Government faces an armed rebellion. What is your view on recent calls to increase the number of U.N. peacekeepers on the ground to help maintain stability?

Answer. I extend my deepest condolences to the families and loved ones of the victims of this violence, including those of the seven Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic (MINUSCA) peacekeepers killed since December 25. Those responsible must be held accountable. In principle, I share the long-held U.S. Government view that a peacekeeping mission should have the resources it needs to carry out Security Council-mandated tasks.

Question. Is the involvement of Russian and non-UN Rwandan actors in the security arena helpful to maintaining peace and security in CAR? Is their presence in any way a violation of the U.N. arms embargo? What role will you take if confirmed in ensuring there is transparency and accountability for foreign military actors on the ground in CAR?

Answer. The CAR Government did request the additional Russian and Rwandan troops, but those countries notified the UNSC after deploying. A lack of coordination from bilateral troops, especially from Russia, has threatened the safety of peacekeepers and humanitarians, and makes it more difficult for MINUSCA to carry out its mission. If confirmed, I will work with our partners and allies to ensure countries providing assistance, military or otherwise, do so in a transparent and coordinated way, consistent with the U.N. arms embargo. All aid should support Central

Africans' desires for good governance, stability, and accountability; military aid must support security sector reform per the U.N. embargo.

Question. The Democratic Republic of the Congo has had a long-standing U.N. peacekeeping operation in place to address persistent conflict, particularly in the eastern region. Has security in eastern Congo improved enough to justify a drawdown of U.N. peacekeepers?

Answer. The U.N. Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO) plans to withdraw from Tanganyika and the Kasai provinces by 2022 as part of a responsible, conditions-based transition. The demobilization of armed groups in both regions after the 2019 DRC transfer of power improved security and warrants a shift from peacekeeping to peacebuilding. However, MONUSCO still has a key role to play in North Kivu, South Kivu, and Ituri provinces, where armed group violence remains high. Shifting resources from Tanganyika and the Kasai provinces will allow MONUSCO to focus on the North and South Kivu and Ituri provinces. There are currently no plans to reduce the overall level of peacekeepers. If confirmed, I will monitor and evaluate the situation.

Question. AMISOM, the U.N. mission in Somalia, is entering its 14th year. However, Al-Shabaab is still a deadly threat, and the overall stabilization of Somalia remains an elusive goal. What role is the U.N. best suited to play in facilitating the implementation of the Somalia Transition Plan, and in advancing Somalia's overall stability?

Answer. If confirmed, I look forward to reviewing AMISOM's U.N. Security Council mandate to ensure that it advances a sustainable, holistic approach, appropriately geared toward developing competent and self-sufficient Somali security institutions. While military operations will remain critical, addressing the drivers of Somalia's persistent instability will require the Somalis and the international community, including AMISOM and the U.N., to utilize a broader range of tools in the coming years. The U.N. is well suited to continue providing vital logistical support and expert advice on governance, institutional reform, peacebuilding, policing, and the rule of law, as it does through the U.N. Support Office in Somalia and U.N. Assistance Mission in Somalia.

Question. What actions will you take if confirmed to help ensure the U.N. plays an impactful role in supporting the development of an integrated functioning Somalia?

Answer. The U.N. plays a vital role advancing stabilization efforts and humanitarian relief in Somalia. The logistical support and expert advice on governance, reform, peacebuilding, policing, and the rule of law it provides through the U.N. Support Office in Somalia and U.N. Assistance Mission in Somalia are critical for sustaining security operations; developing self-sufficient, capable, and enduring Somali institutions; and advancing reconciliation. If confirmed, I look forward to reviewing U.N. activities in Somalia to ensure they have the resources and mandates necessary to advance our stabilization goals.

Question. While not a party to the Rome Statute, the United States has welcomed its work to protect human rights and to hold accountable those responsible for egregious human rights abuses, even when we have disagreed with the International Criminal Court (ICC) on specific cases. This working relationship has been severely damaged by the Trump administration, which went as far as imposing sanctions on some staff of the ICC. Will you work with the Secretary of State to remove sanctions against Chief Prosecutor Fatou Bensouda and the Head of the Jurisdiction Complementarity and Cooperation Division, Phakiso Mochochoko?

Answer. The United States shares the goals of the ICC in promoting accountability for the worst crimes known to humanity. While we disagree with the ICC's actions relating to the Afghanistan and Israeli/Palestinian situations, if confirmed, I will support the administration as it takes a hard look at the sanctions and determines next steps.

Question. 2019 saw the highest number of attacks on aid workers in the past decade. From Syria to Ethiopia to South Sudan to Niger and beyond, those who have dedicated their lives and careers to serving those in need are increasingly under attack. Will you commit to pushing the U.N. Security Council to condemn all acts of violence against humanitarian workers and facilities and insist on independent investigations to promote accountability?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I will condemn attacks and threats against humanitarian workers and facilities and I will use our humanitarian diplomacy to push for greater accountability, respect for international humanitarian law, and an unequivo-

cal respect for the work undertaken by humanitarian aid workers, as well as humanitarian assets, premises, and the unhindered delivery of humanitarian assistance.

Question. If confirmed, how do you plan to lead U.S. engagement with the Global Compact on Refugees? What commitments will the U.S. make to the Global Refugee Forum? Will the U.S. join the Global Compact on Migration?

Answer. If confirmed, I will commit to proactively leading U.S. engagement in the Global Compact on Refugees by ensuring high-level participation at the December 2021 High-Level Officials Meeting. I commit to review and develop commitments that are commensurate with our global humanitarian leadership role. As part of the U.S. commitment to work together with global partners to address pressing shared challenges, the United States intends to join the international community in implementing the Global Compact on Migration. I am committed to working together with other countries to realize the Compact's vision of a cooperative framework that respects national sovereignty and protects human rights.

Question. The mandate of the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) is set to be renewed in the coming days. Do you support the renewal of UNFICYP's mandate?

Answer. I was pleased to see the unanimous renewal of the U.N. Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) on Friday, January 29, extending the mission's important work in preventing a resurgence of fighting between the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities, supervising ceasefire lines, maintaining a buffer zone, and supporting the good offices of the Secretary-General for six months.

Question. In the January 8 report of the Secretary-General on his mission of good offices in Cyprus, Secretary-General Gutteres expressed his interest in convening an informal 5+1 meeting this year to "pave the way for a resumption of negotiations to achieve a lasting settlement to the Cyprus problem within a foreseeable horizon." Turkey and the new Turkish-Cypriot leader have taken steps to undermine renewed talks by insisting on a two-state solution rather than a reunified Cyprus as per U.N. Resolutions and U.S. policy. How do you plan to counter these steps?

Answer. The United States supports a Cypriot-led comprehensive settlement to reunify the island as a bizonal, bicommunal federation, which would benefit all Cypriots as well as the wider region. We welcome and stand ready to assist the U.N. Secretary-General's efforts to convene an informal 5+1 meeting at the earliest opportunity and facilitate a relaunching of political discussions after years of stagnation. We hope that all involved participants will approach the 5+1 meeting in the spirit of openness, flexibility, and compromise. The responsibility for finding a solution lies first and foremost with the Cypriots themselves.

Question. Turkey and the new Turkish-Cypriot leader acted in violation of U.N. Security Council Resolutions on Cyprus by moving to reopen Varosha. How do you plan to counter that clear violation of U.N. Security Council Resolutions?

Answer. The United States is deeply concerned by the unilateral decision by Turkish Cypriots, with the support of Turkey, to reopen Varosha and urges a reversal of this decision. The United States stands by the U.N. Security Council President's statement unanimously approved in October 2020. We see the reopening of Varosha as inconsistent with U.N. Security Council Resolutions 550 and 789, provocative, and counterproductive to the resumption of settlement talks. The United States supports efforts to de-escalate tensions in the Eastern Mediterranean and calls for dialogue and respect for international law.

Question. As the intra-Afghan talks move forward and the U.S., and our other allies and partners, reassess their troop presences in Afghanistan, what role do you believe the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA) will play in promoting peace and development in Afghanistan going forward? What do you view as the main challenges facing UNAMA in this changing environment, and how will you work to address them if confirmed?

Answer. The mandate of the U.N. Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA), which the U.N. Security Council most recently and unanimously renewed in September 2020 for a one-year period, authorizes UNAMA to support peace and stability in Afghanistan. Within its mandate, UNAMA leads and coordinates crucial international efforts to support peace, elections, human rights, regional cooperation, anti-corruption efforts, rule of law, and humanitarian assistance. UNAMA staff are deployed in challenging security and health environments, and, if confirmed, I will

work to ensure adequate support for UNAMA to fulfill its mandate in support of a durable and just political settlement and permanent and comprehensive ceasefire.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED TO HON. LINDA THOMAS-GREENFIELD BY SENATOR MARCO RUBIO

Question. In your opinion, what is the greatest challenge before the United Nations? Why?

Answer. The greatest challenge facing the U.N. remains whether the institution can be sufficiently agile and flexible to effectively respond to the complex challenges of the 21st century. Across its 75-year history, the U.N. has negotiated ends to wars, provided life-saving humanitarian assistance, and established a global human rights regime. It has also, at times, failed to live up to its founding ideals in the past, minimizing abuses committed by peacekeepers, tolerating instances of corruption, or silencing whistleblowers. If confirmed, I will push for reforms to the U.N. in order to make it more efficient, effective, accountable, and fit for purpose so that the institution remains the preeminent body committed to the maintenance of international peace and security.

Question. The United States is the single largest financial contributor to the U.N. Do you believe that the U.S. should be using our influence to push for critical reforms? Will you recommend, when necessary, that the U.S. withhold funding when U.S. dollars are going to corrupt institutions within the U.N.?

Answer. The Biden-Harris administration will continue to hold the U.N. accountable to its mission and its member states. This means doing all we can to ensure the U.N. is using resources efficiently and effectively. As the largest donor to the U.N., I believe the United States should insist on fiscal transparency and accountability for the use of member states' funds. If confirmed, I will press hard on these issues with allies and the U.N.

Question. Do you believe the U.N. Human Rights Council is a broken institution in need of reform?

Answer. We recognize that the Human Rights Council is flawed and in need of reform—including to address its membership and its anti-Israel bias, and the Biden-Harris administration is committed to seeking reform. In order to do so, I believe the United States must show up and engage with the Council directly and, if confirmed, I will support doing so. U.S. engagement at the Council can be a force for positive change and for calling countries with the worst human rights records to account.

Question. Do you believe a body that hosts some of the world's worst violators of human rights as members can fulfill its mandate to address human rights issues around the world?

Answer. As Secretary Blinken stated in his Senate confirmation testimony, the Biden administration is committed to seeking reforms of the Human Rights Council (HRC), particularly with respect to the Council's membership selection process and its disproportionate focus on Israel. When we participate at the Council, we have been able to reduce the focus on Israel. We can also credibly encourage our allies, who are likeminded, to join the Council and run for election which has helped keep some violators off of the Council in the past. If confirmed, I will work with the administration to ensure the United States prioritizes needed reforms as part of our re-engagement with the HRC.

Question. What reforms would you push on the U.N. Human Rights Council?

Answer. If confirmed, I will ensure the United States prioritizes needed reforms as part of our re-engagement with the HRC. When we have had a seat at the table, we were able to advocate more effectively on Israel's behalf, and saw changes as a result, including a reduction in the number of resolutions targeting Israel. In addition, when the United States plays an active and constructive role on the Council, we have been able to engage with our allies and friends to keep off some of the countries with the worst human rights records and to encourage countries with better records to run for seats. U.S. engagement at the Council can be a force for positive change and for calling the world's worst human rights violators to account.

Question. The United Nations Peace and Development Trust Fund was established in 2016, following a pledge from China, and it has become a slush fund for

Beijing's activities. What is your strategy to investigate how these dollars are being used and fight Chinese Government corruption within the U.N. system?

Answer. If confirmed, pushing back against China's attempts to reshape international institutions will be a top priority of mine. This will include advocating for reforms in the U.N. system that will prevent corruption and increase transparency and good governance. USUN is currently reviewing specific policies and strategies and if confirmed, I look forward to working with Congress to address this issue head on.

Question. How would you characterize the nature of the Chinese Communist Party?

Answer. The Chinese Communist Party is illiberal, authoritarian, and increasingly aggressive in its actions globally.

Question. What are the global ambitions of the Chinese Communist Party and please describe how they are using the United Nations to advance those ambitions? How do they challenge U.S. interests?

Answer. China's Government engages in conduct around the world to make the United States and its allies more dependent on China, and China less beholden to the international system that has provided peace and stability since the end of World War II. In the U.N., China's Government drives an authoritarian agenda that stands in opposition to the values of the United States and the U.N., including on human rights, labor rights and transparency. China's actions hurt U.S. workers, blunt our technological innovation, and the transparency, efficiency, values, and influence of international organizations.

Question. How will you plan to work with our allies and partners within the U.N. to counter Chinese malign activities?

Answer. If confirmed, re-engaging with our allies and partners will be a top priority of mine, including countering China's activities in the U.N. that are against our interests and those of our allies, and corrode the strength and integrity of international institutions. This will include rallying our allies' and partners' support to push back against China's Government and call China out when it asserts values inconsistent with U.S. and U.N. values. If confirmed, I will use my position in New York to rebuild alliances and partnerships to tackle these issues .

Question. Do you believe that the Chinese Government and Communist Party is committing crimes against humanity and genocide against Uyghurs and other Muslim minorities in Xinjiang?

Answer. Secretary Blinken and I have made clear that genocide has been committed against the Uyghurs in Xinjiang. China's Government has also committed crimes against humanity against Uyghurs and members of other ethnic and religious minority groups, including imprisonment, torture, enforced sterilization, and persecution. These atrocities shock the conscience and must be met with serious consequences. If confirmed, I will work with our allies and partners to promote accountability and call on Beijing to immediately end these atrocities and to respect the human rights of Uyghurs and all others across China.

Question. Do you commit to put forth a plan to hold Beijing accountable at the U.N. that includes working with responsible nations to investigate collect evidence, and prosecute those responsible for these crimes and abuses?

Answer. If confirmed, I will speak out consistently and jointly with allies and partners to condemn these atrocities, and will consider all appropriate tools and actions to promote accountability for those responsible and deter future abuses.

Question. China currently heads 4 of the 15 specialized U.N. agencies. Will you do everything in your power to work with democratic Member States to support candidates from nations that uphold the rule of law and international norms to fill these types of posts?

Answer. If confirmed, I will fight to ensure well-qualified and independent candidates who are committed to the foundational values of the United States and the U.N., as well as the integrity, transparency, and efficiency of the U.N., are selected to hold these and other important positions across the U.N. system.

Question. Will you make the restoration of Taiwan's observer status at the World Health Organization a priority?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I will continue U.S. policy to support Taiwan's membership in international organizations, where statehood is not a requirement, and encourage Taiwan's meaningful participation in organizations, where its member-

ship is not possible. We will work closely with friends and allies to advance our shared prosperity, security, and values in the Asia Pacific region.

Question. Do you believe that it is in the interest of global health security for Taiwan to be invited to participate in WHO related meetings?

Answer. If confirmed, I will continue to work with likeminded partners to promote Taiwan's meaningful and substantive participation in the work of the WHO. Taiwan has made substantial contributions to global public health, especially during the COVID-19 pandemic. If confirmed, I will continue U.S. policy to support Taiwan membership in international organizations, where statehood is not a requirement, and encourage Taiwan's meaningful participation in organizations, where its membership is not possible.

Question. A perennial issue of U.N. reform is the question of the composition and expansion of the five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council, which have remained the same since the U.N.'s inception, aside from the replacement of the Republic of China with the People's Republic of China in 1971. Our closest treaty ally in Asia, Japan, has sought a permanent seat on the Security Council for decades, and India, an important partner and the world's largest democracy, has also sought this status in recent years. The United States has long supported Japan's candidacy, and both President Obama and President Trump supported India's candidacy as well. If confirmed, will you look for bold and creative way to promote the candidacies of Japan and India for permanent membership on the U.N. Security Council?

Answer. The issue of whether and how to reform the U.N. Security Council is, indeed, a perennial one. The Biden administration desires a Security Council that is representative and effective at advancing the best interests of the United States and the U.N.? The administration will review reform proposals and work closely with our Allies and partners at the U.N. to ensure that any UNSC reforms are undertaken in such a way as to enhance the efficiency of the Council, promote U.S. values, and leave unaltered the veto power.

Question. During your confirmation hearing, you made several strong statements about the dangers of the Chinese Communist Party in the U.N. and the need to push back on Beijing's corrosive influence. Reviewing your Savannah State University speech, which parts of the speech no longer represent your views? Why did your views change?

Answer. During my 35 years of service as a U.S. diplomat, I have developed a long track record of speaking out about China's malign influence and about the debt-trap tactics China's Government uses in Africa and elsewhere. For years, I have viewed China as a strategic competitor to the United States and have believed that the activities of China's Government pose challenges to our security, prosperity, and values. I also have been very clear publicly that I believe China has engaged in gross human rights violations and it's authoritarian system is counter to our democratic values. Indeed, much of the time I spent on the continent of Africa was spent making the case to African countries that they should partner with the United States, instead of China, in their pursuit of economic growth. I have worked diligently for decades to help African nations consider how they can best prosper economically and transform into robust democracies, and that the two are not mutually exclusive, but reinforcing.While these views have been long- and strongly-held, I acknowledge that in my October 2019 speech at Savannah State University I could have been more assertive in how I described China's official activities on the African continent as predatory in nature. I also could have made clearer that while I understood the dilemma of African nations searching for development partners, their relationships with the China's Government were almost certainly not likely to be beneficial for them over the long term and that the United States was a far more reliable partner.

Question. In your testimony and answers to questions in a hearing in the House Foreign Affairs Committee in March 2019, you described the United States and the PRC as not being in competition in Africa, owing to different capabilities in infrastructure construction and administrative governance. Yet, the financing of those projects and the role of international financial institutions in supporting African countries gives the United States a direct stake in those PRC-built infrastructure projects because we may be asked to provide debt relief or forgiveness if the projects are not commercially viable. What is the appropriate way for the United States to address this moral problem for African countries so that we do not support the spread of the CCP's corrosive influence on good governance in African countries and undermine the rule of law?

Answer. China is a strategic competitor and poses challenges to our security, our prosperity, and our values. African publics continue to prefer the United States to China, and democratic values to authoritarianism. If confirmed, I will work closely with leaders to push back on China's development goals in Africa. I will urge those leaders to support our shared values at the United Nations. We will also meet this challenge by ensuring U.S. companies can compete on an even playing field, providing a meaningful alternative to China's economic approach, promoting entrepreneurship and fair practices.

Question. Do you believe China uses its economic and political influence to get countries to side with China on issues of priority to the CCP such as Taiwan, Hong Kong, etc. at the U.N. or elsewhere?

Answer. China's Government uses coercive and corrupting tools- including economic and political influence—to undermine and interfere in democracies and to promote its own interests. The United States is committed to working with allies and partners to call out and counter this influence at the U.N. and in international organizations.

Question. Do you believe that the Chinese Communist Party is actively hostile to the idea of the rule of law as well as the transparency and electoral accountability necessary for good governance?

Answer. China's Government uses coercive and corrupting tools- including economic and political influence—to undermine and interfere in democracies and to promote its own interests. The United States is committed to working with allies and partners to call out and counter this influence at the U.N. and in international organizations.

Question. Do you believe the United States and the PRC have any common objectives and shared values in Africa or anywhere else in the world?

Answer. The Chinese Communist Party is illiberal, authoritarian, and increasingly assertive. Its values are often at odds with our own. China has been growing more authoritarian at home and more assertive abroad. Beijing is now challenging the security, prosperity, and values of the United States and our allies in significant ways. We are committed to meeting this challenge in Africa and in other places in the world where China's ambitions are at odds with U.S. interests and values.

Question. Do you believe that the PRC is exporting its tools of authoritarianism in Africa and around the world? How should the United States respond to such attempts to export PRC tools of authoritarianism around the world?

Answer. The PRC's use of information operations and other coercive and corrupting efforts to undermine and interfere in democracies are a concern for the United States and its allies. African publics continue to prefer the United States to China, and democratic values to authoritarianism. We will capitalize on this soft power—engaging with youth, encouraging education opportunities, and promoting U.S. business to outcompete China and remain the partner of choice. The Biden-Harris administration will provide an alternative vision that promotes democratic governance and transparency in our global health and development work. We will place democracy and human rights to the center of U.S. foreign policy and counter Beijing's aggressive and coercive actions.

Question. In January 2018, the story broke that the Chinese Government's gift of a headquarters building and computer network for the African Union in Addis Ababa contained a back door to facilitate the transfer of data to servers in Shanghai. Is this an example of "China's increased engagement with African leadership" that you cited in your 2019 speech at the Confucius Institute at Savannah State University?

Answer. China is our most serious competitor, and competition with China is one of the central challenges that will define the 21st century. China's use of coercive and corrupting efforts to undermine and interfere in democracies is a concern for the United States and our allies. If confirmed, I will examine this issue closely alongside interagency partners, and I will push back on corrupt or coercive practices that damage our interests and that of our African partners, including impingement on state sovereignty or control over resources and the abusive use of new security technology.

Question. In Djibouti, Beijing pays $20 million a year to lease the land for its military base, where it has already stationed over 1,000 troops, with space to expand hat number tenfold. Do you think this is something that the U.S. should be concerned about? Why or why not

Answer. China is a strategic competitor, and their actions can threaten our security. If confirmed, I will work with my colleagues to review the U.S. response over the last few years to China's activities in Djibouti.

Question. As early as 2007, experts like Yitzhak Shichor were warning that "China's predominant role in Sudan's economy, military as well as foreign affairs, could be termed neo-colonialism with Chinese characteristics." The PRC had already become Sudan's top oil producer, exporter, and importer by 2007. It had absorbed Sudan's entire oil industry and repurposed it to serve Beijing's interests. Do you believe it is the interest of the U.S. or African Governments to have African nations' natural resources controlled by PRC state owned companies?

Answer. I have a very strong relationships across the African continent that, if confirmed, I can use to work closely with leaders to push back on China's self-interested development goals in Africa. Sudan's new civilian-led transitional government, which came to power in 2019, appears eager to work with U.S. and other Western companies.

Question. Given your long tenure as Assistant Secretary for African Affairs, you are no doubt aware of the numerous complaints voiced around the continent that PRC investment creates jobs mostly for imported Chinese workers, even when those jobs involve simple manual labor. Africans benefit far less, especially the poorest with the fewest opportunities, but corrupt local officials still get their cut. Do you believe this well-established pattern of Chinese investment in Africa contributes to corruption and deprives Africans of job opportunities?

Answer. I have very strong relationships across the African continent that, if confirmed, I can use to work closely with leaders to push back on China's self-interested development goals in Africa. Much of my time in Africa was spent making the case to African countries about why they should partner on economic growth with the United States. I have found African publics continue to prefer the United States to China, and democratic values to authoritarianism. If confirmed, I will actively engage with our African partners at the United Nations to push back on China's corrupt or coercive practices that damage both our interests and those of our African partners.

Question. The Taiwan Assurance Act, which was enacted as part of the FY2020 Omnibus spending bill, established that it is U.S. policy to advocate for Taiwan's membership and/or meaningful participation in international organizations. If confirmed, will you commit to robust efforts to increase Taiwan's international participation and to counter Beijing's attempts to isolate Taiwan in international organizations and beyond?

Answer. If confirmed, I will continue U.S. policy to support Taiwan's membership in international organizations where statehood is not a requirement and encourage Taiwan's meaningful participation in organizations where its membership is not possible.

Question. If confirmed, will you commit to pressing for Taiwan's inclusion or meaningful participation in multilateral meetings convened by the United States in whole or in part, in which Taiwan's participation would be beneficial based on its relevant accomplishments and substantive expertise, excluding all considerations about "political sensitivities" for the PRC?

Answer. If confirmed, I will advocate for Taiwan's membership in international organizations where statehood is not a requirement. Where membership is not possible, I will work with our allies and partners to push for Taiwan's meaningful participation in multilateral meetings, especially those that focus on public health, safety, and security.

Question. In October 2018, Vice President Pence said in a speech entitled the Trump administration's Policy toward China that "America will always believe that Taiwan's embrace of democracy shows a better path for all the Chinese people." In October 2019, Vice President Pence gave another speech on China in which he repeated this line about the importance of Taiwan as a democratic role model. His statement was very well received by our friends in Taiwan, who sadly get far too little international recognition for all that they have accomplished. Do you agree with Pence's statement? If confirmed, will you commit to use your platform at the U.N. to promote Taiwan as a model of democratic success that China and others should emulate?

Answer. Taiwan is a leading democracy and a critical partner. We believe the global community would benefit from its increased participation in international organizations. We will continue to support Taiwan's membership in international or-

ganizations where statehood is not a requirement and encourage Taiwan's meaningful participation in international organizations where its membership is not possible as important policy priorities.

Question. In July 2016, The Permanent Court of Arbitration in The Hague, constituted under Annex VII to the 1982 United Nations Convention on Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), ruled in favor of the Philippines and against China in a case that considered China's claims to the South China Sea. The ruling was an unequivocal rebuke of China's claims. It concluded that there was no legal basis for China to claim historic rights to resources within the sea falling within the parameters of its so-called "nine-dash line." The tribunal found no evidence that China had historically exercised exclusive control over the waters or their resources. It further concluded that China had violated the Philippines' sovereign rights by obstructing fishing and oil exploration, constructing artificial islands and by encouraging Chinese fishermen to fish in the exclusive economic zone of the Philippines. What lessons are there to learn about China and international law from this debacle? If confirmed, what will you do to enforce this ruling going forward?

Answer. The Philippines clearly and convincingly won the case it took to an arbitral tribunal under the Law of the Sea Convention, thoroughly repudiating PRC maritime claims in the South China Sea as a matter of international law. In bringing this proceeding, Manila acted to peacefully vindicate its treaty-based legal rights in accordance with the dispute resolution mechanisms set out in that treaty. Beijing continues to promote its unlawful claims in areas that the tribunal found to be in the Philippines' exclusive economic zone and continental shelf. This is not acceptable. It is incumbent on Beijing to demonstrate in word and deed that it respects international law. We will continue to work with the international community to uphold international law, including the freedoms of navigation and overflight and other lawful uses of the sea.

Question. If confirmed, will you use your position at the United Nations to speak up on behalf of Hong Kong activists who are being targeted by CCP and Hong Kong officials for their peaceful activism in support of Hong Kong's long-cherished freedom and autonomy?

Answer. If confirmed, I look forward to working with our allies and partners at the U.N. to advance respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. I am deeply concerned about China's crackdown on Hong Kong over the past few years—including the arrests and imprisonment of pro-democracy activists and the imposition of the National Security Law. Beijing's assault on freedom and autonomy in Hong Kong is at odds with its international obligations and commitments. If confirmed, I will speak out in support of the automomy and right of the people in Hong Kong.

Question. Do you believe that Chinese policies are threatening the survival of Tibetan civilization, which has long been distinct from that of China?

Answer. The unique cultural, linguistic, and religious traditions of Tibetans are under threat from the Chinese Government's relentless assault. The Biden-Harris administration will stand up for Tibet, including by helping Tibetans to preserve their unique identity. If confirmed, I will work with our partners and allies to press Beijing to grant Tibetans meaningful autonomy, respect their human rights, and preserve Tibet's environment as well as its rich historical, cultural, and religious traditions.

Question. If confirmed, will you regularly raise human rights concerns with regard to Tibet?

Answer. If confirmed, I will regularly raise human rights concerns regarding Tibet, including those related to religious freedom, with my Chinese counterparts and work closely with our partners and allies on this issue. The Biden-Harris administration is committed to using all available tools to promote accountability for those responsible for human rights abuses in Tibet and elsewhere in China.

Question. If confirmed, will you oppose any efforts to prevent the participation of the Dalai Lama, or any of his representatives, in nongovernmental fora hosted by or otherwise organized under the auspices of any body of the United Nations?

Answer. The Biden administration will stand up for Tibetans. If confirmed, I will oppose all efforts by the Chinese Government to prevent the Dalai Lama and his representatives from participating in nongovernmental fora organized or hosted by United Nations bodies.

Question. If confirmed, will you advocate for the creation of a special rapporteur or working group for Tibet for the purposes of monitoring human rights violations in Tibet?

Answer. If confirmed, I am committed to working with the U.S. Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues, our allies, and partners, including in international organizations, to push for meaningful autonomy for Tibetans, respect for human rights, and the preservation of Tibet's environment as well as its unique cultural, linguistic, and religious traditions.

Question. In your statement to the committee, you said "When America shows up-when we are consistent and persistent-when we exert our influence in accordance with our values-the United Nations can be an indispensable institution for advancing peace, security, and our collective well-being." In 2014, Zhao Houlin was elected Secretary-General of the International Telecommunication Union (ITU) where he has pushed a model of international governance that privileges state sovereignty above the freedoms recognized in the U.N. Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as well as the free flow of information. Would you say that the United States was showing up and participating in a persistent and consistent fashion in the United Nations at this time?

Answer. The United States has consistently participated in the activities of the International Telecommunication Union to ensure our interests are addressed in its core mission and mandate. We have continually stood as a bulwark against calls for a more assertive governance role for the organization, including in the area of internet governance, for which the United States has been a stalwart champion of the multi-stakeholder model for more than two decades.

Question. In 2015, Liu Fang began her first term leading the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) where she has continued to exclude Taiwan and the management of the Taipei Flight Information Region, which provided 1.85 million navigation services to aircraft carrying more than 72 million passengers in 2019. Do you believe the United States was showing up, and participating in, a persistent and consistent fashion in the United Nations at this time?

Answer. I support Taiwan's meaningful participation in the U.N. system, and particularly in organizations like ICAO, from where Taiwan can both benefit and has a role to play in global aviation safety and security discussions.

Question. In 2018, Liu Fang was reappointed at the head of ICAO where she has continued to exclude Taiwan and the management of the Taipei Flight Information Region, which provided 1.85 million navigation services to aircraft carrying more than 72 million passengers in 2019. ICAO create a free speech controversy blocking advocates of Taiwan's participation in international organizations that addressed technical rather than political issues. Would you say that the United States was showing up and participating in a persistent and consistent fashion in the United Nations at this time?

Answer. I support Taiwan's meaningful participation at ICAO where Taiwan—which has a major aviation sector—can benefit from technical discussions on aviation safety and security and can contribute information from its own aviation experiences. If confirmed, I will continue to press for Taiwan's meaningful participation and access to major events.

Question. In 2020, the U.S. Government led a worldwide effort to ensure that the PRC candidate for the World Intellectual Property Organization was not successful in their bid and rallied nations in support of the Singaporean candidate who ended up winning the seat. Would you say that the United States was showing up and participating in a persistent and consistent fashion in the United Nations at this time?

Answer. The World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) 2020 election is a good example of the power of U.S. diplomacy, in coordination with partners and allies, to support a qualified and independent candidate to lead an UN/international body.

Question. Would you agree that the United States can still fail even when we are actively participating if we are not working to counter malign influences in the U.N. system that are seeking to undermine the international rules-based system?

Answer. We know when the United States is actively participating in the U.N. system, we are better able to exert our influence and uphold our values and work with our allies and partners to counter efforts to undermine a values- and rules-based international system. At the same time, it is clear China is behaving differently than it has in the past—it is more aggressive, including at the United Na-

tions. We must engage actively but also change our approach to engage more strategically to defend the values and integrity of the U.N. system. If confirmed, that will be my intention.

Question. If our past approaches to operating in the U.N. were insufficient to prevent the malign influence of the Chinese Communist Party from undermining the integrity and mission of the U.N. and its subordinate organizations, then we need to find a different approach to U.S. engagement at the U.N. What are the features of a better approach to protecting the U.N.'s integrity and ensuring that U.N. officials are accountable to the mission of the organization?

Answer. Protecting the U.N.'s integrity requires the United States first demonstrates commitment to the U.N. system by our leadership and engagement. We must also take actions that directly counter China's influence and improve the U.N.'s effectiveness and transparency, such as fighting against China's efforts to add harmful language to U.N. documents, identifying and placing qualified and independent candidates of integrity in U.N. positions, and demanding and pushing strong reforms, including improving transparency and whistleblower protections. If confirmed, I look forward to working with Congress to do so.

Question. If confirmed, what's your strategy to uphold and support U.S. law with regard to Cuba policy, specifically Libertad Act?

Answer. Support for democracy and human rights, as well as empowering the Cuban people to determine their own future, will be at the core of our Cuba policy. We recognize the various views in Congress on Cuba policy and share the goal of a democratically elected government in Cuba. We will consult with Congress regarding Cuba policy.

Question. If confirmed, would you commit to highlight human rights abuses against pro-democracy activists like UNPACU, the Ladies in White, and others in Cuba?

Answer. We are committed to making human rights a core pillar of U.S. foreign policy. Human rights defenders around the globe continue to look to the United States for support against authoritarian regimes. Support for democracy and human rights will be at the core of our efforts with regard to Cuba.

Question. Will you commit to use your voice at the U.N. to denounce the Cuban regime's documented human trafficking and exploitation of Cuban doctors, nurses, and other medical professionals through the so-called 'foreign medical missions'?

Answer. If confirmed, I will seek to defend the human rights of the Cuban people. Through multilateral engagement we will bolster awareness and urge member countries to seek transparency on contractual agreements between the Cuban Government and the medical professionals. The Cuban Government should uphold its international obligations as party to the U.N. Trafficking in Persons Protocol and ILO Conventions 29 (Forced Labour) and 105 (Abolition of Forced Labour) to address and combat human trafficking and protect internationally recognized worker rights.

Question. If confirmed, will you commit to support international efforts to investigate and hold those individuals accountable for their crimes against the Venezuelan people?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed I will seek to work with partners and allies across the globe to rebuild multilateral pressure on the Maduro regime, call for the release of political prisoners, promote accountability, and implement appropriate sanctions against Venezuelan officials credibly accused of corruption or human rights abuses.

Question. If confirmed, will you commit to issuing a statement that recognizes Interim President Juan Guaidθ and the National Assembly of Venezuela as the legitimate President of Venezuela?

Answer. President Biden was clear throughout the campaign and during the transition that he believes Maduro is a dictator and the National Assembly elected in 2015 and headed by Juan Guaidθ was the country's sole remaining democratic institution. The United States continues to recognize Juan Guaidθ as the Interim President of Venezuela.

Question. Do you believe that Israel is and should forever remain a Jewish State?

Answer. President Biden is committed to upholding Israel's future as a Jewish and democratic state, and he continues to believe the two-state solution is the best way to ensure that Israel remains both Jewish and democratic. In service of this vision, the Biden-Harris administration will engage robustly on the Israeli-Pales-

tinian conflict and look for opportunities for the type of diplomatic progress that can protect Israel's long-term security.

Question. If confirmed, will you work to fight anti-Israel bias at the U.N. and in U.N. related agencies and organizations?

Answer. The U.N. must take steps to address its credibility deficit with regard to the unfair treatment and targeting of Israel. If confirmed, I will continue the U.S. work in opposing efforts to unfairly single out or delegitimize Israel through one-sided resolutions, reports, and other actions across the United Nations, including the Security Council, the General Assembly, the Human Rights Council, and other bodies. If confirmed, I also look forward to working with our Israeli diplomatic colleagues to promote the election of Israel to U.N. leadership posts, its inclusion in U.N. working groups, and the selection of qualified Israeli candidates for U.N. positions.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED TO HON. LINDA THOMAS-GREENFIELD 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. I have worked on issues of human rights and democracy throughout my career. The most impactful such experience was during my time as Ambassador to Liberia. I was able to bring nearly 25 years of experience in Africa and around the globe to help Liberia establish its fledgling democracy and work to respect human rights after more than a decade of civil war. Collaborating almost daily with the President of Liberia, the only woman to be elected in Africa, I worked to assist the Government in building strong electoral systems to ensure free and fair elections and to establish a court system that respected and protected basic human rights. Under my leadership, the U.S. military trained the Army of Liberia to respect civilian rule and human rights. We rebuilt institutions including the Election Commission that carried out the first ever peaceful transfer of power in Liberia from one elected official to an opposition party. We also supported education programs that focused on providing opportunities for girls. We showed the best of U.S. values to a country that had been broken by civil war. The current President of Liberia was elected in a free and fair election, and while he is struggling in his leadership, the institutions we helped build continue to function well.

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. As the former Director General of the Foreign Service, I prioritized diversity and committed my team to identifying gaps and ongoing challenges to ensure we have a workforce representative of the United States. President Biden has made clear his expectation that all members of his Cabinet prioritize diversity, equity, and inclusion in the federal workforce. If confirmed, in my new role, I will set the expectation for leadership of our missions to espouse a culture of inclusion and provide professional development opportunities in a fair and transparent manner. If confirmed, I commit to fostering an inclusive workplace in which every employee is treated with dignity and respect and feels empowered to serve the American people. I will outline my expectations of building and supporting diverse and inclusive teams and I will hold my team accountable. Throughout my career, I have explored ways to increase retention of diversity through flexibility in assignments and professional development opportunities. If confirmed, I commit our Mission in New York and all our missions supporting international organizations to a culture of inclusion. If confirmed, I will consult with the USUN Diversity & Inclusion Council and work closely with them to foster a culture that promotes diversity, equity, and inclusion.

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

Answer. If confirmed, I will endeavor to work with my senior management team to reflect the diversity of our great nation by striving to promote equal opportunity for our officers, including women and those from historically marginalized groups.

Question. The ability of the U.N. Security Council to respond to events is largely dependent on permanent members' cooperation. For example, in recent years, Russia (and occasionally China) have vetoed the renewal of Security Council resolutions authorizing cross-border humanitarian assistance into Syria. There has been significant disagreement on Council action related to Iran's nuclear program, humanitarian assistance to Syria, and the COVID-19 pandemic. Where do you see potential breakthroughs that might reverse recent Council inaction?

Answer. While U.N. Security Council members have been unsuccessful in collectively responding to a number of major threats to international peace and security in recent years, the Security Council has advanced a number of key resolutions that imposed sanctions on North Korea, addressed threats posed by foreign terrorist fighters, and underpinned political efforts to mediate crises in South Sudan, Yemen, Libya, and elsewhere. My team and I will continue to build on these efforts and seek out new opportunities for progress, especially on critical priorities, including the climate crisis and global pandemic response. We will not hesitate to press the Security Council, including China and Russia, if they seek to obstruct action on these priority areas. I fully understand the importance of maintaining cross- border humanitarian aid into Syria and will do everything I can in the Council to engage with all Council members on this in advance of the July renewal.

Question. What role might the U.N. Security Council play in our own Hemisphere? Might there be options to address human rights and democracy issues in Venezuela or Nicaragua, for example?

Answer. The United States engages with the U.N. Security Council to promote peace, democracy, and the protection of human rights around the world, including in the Western Hemisphere. Through its oversight over the U.N.'s special political missions, the Security Council is working to further the peace process in Colombia and to promote political stabilization in Haiti. We will continue to look for opportunities in the Security Council to address human rights and democracy issues in the region, including in Venezuela, Cuba, and Nicaragua.

Question. Do you foresee reforms of the U.N. Security Council while you are in office? How can the United States limit the ability of deepening ties between China and Russia to reduce its influence on the Security Council?

Answer. A U.S. reinvestment in multilateralism is the best way to reduce the influence of China and Russia across the U.N. system, including in the Security Council. That is a commitment that President Biden has made and, if confirmed, I will pursue.

Question. How can the United States more effectively counter the spread of authoritarian norms and standards within the U.N. system?

Answer. When the United States shows up, when we are consistent and persistent in exerting our influence according to our values, the U.N. system can be an indispensable institution for advancing peace, security, and our collective prosperity. We know that China is working across the U.N. system to drive an authoritarian agenda in opposition to the founding democratic values of the institutions. Its success depends on our continued withdrawal. If confirmed, I will fight all efforts by China's Government to spread its authoritarian agenda by directly opposing its actions, such as its attempts to spread harmful language into U.N. resolutions, and by reasserting U.S. leadership across the U.N. system by advancing strong reform alongside our allies and partners.

Question. Under the Trump administration, the U.S. consistently sought to remove the term "sexual and reproductive health and rights" from international documents, including those related to essential services in the COVID-19 pandemic. These attempts weakened international commitments to provide access to comprehensive reproductive health care services and put the lives of individuals across the world at great risk. If confirmed, how will you ensure that the United States reasserts its commitments to sexual and reproductive health and rights?

Answer. The United States supports women's and girls' sexual and reproductive health and reproductive rights, and our stance in U.N. negotiations will reflect that support. The United States remains the world's largest funder of family planning, child and maternal heath, and other forms of health assistance that support women across their lifetimes. If confirmed, I look forward to revitalizing our engagement with U.N. agencies and collaborative partnerships with member states which leverages our strengths on these shared priorities.

Question. Do you commit to promoting access to comprehensive reproductive health services at the United Nations?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I will support women's and girls' sexual and reproductive health and reproductive rights, and our stance in U.N. negotiations will reflect that support. This is part of our broader commitment to promoting women's health and advancing gender equality in the United States and throughout the world.

Question. In October, the Trump administration joined the so-called Geneva Consensus Declaration, a statement that was neither negotiated nor a consensus signed by over 30 countries under the guise of promoting women's health. The statement actually undermines access to comprehensive reproductive health services and LGBTQ rights and is in opposition to the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which forms the basis for the characterization of abortion and same-sex marriage as human rights under international law. Will you commit to pulling U.S. support from this statement?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I will work with the State Department to ensure that the United States withdraws its support for the so-called Geneva Consensus Declaration as soon as possible as President Biden has already directed.

Question. How will you work in partnership with other countries and the U.N. to advance women's health and human rights, including sexual and reproductive health and LGBTQ rights?

Answer. If confirmed, I pledge to work closely with partner nations, civil society, and U.N. agencies to advance women's and girls' health and human rights, including sexual and reproductive health and reproductive rights, and to advance the human rights of LGBTQI persons. Keeping women and girls healthy, including through access to sexual and reproductive health care, enhances their ability to advance their education and contribute to the economic prosperity of their families, communities, and nations, and ultimately to peace and security. Advancing the human rights of women, girls, and LGBTQI individuals is also essential to ensure just and equitable societies where all people can fully contribute. If confirmed, I look forward to working with the U.N. LGBTI Core Group and re-establishing U.S. leadership on this issue at the United Nations.

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 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. 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. My investment portfolio includes stocks in companies with a presence overseas and mutual funds, including foreign stock funds, which may hold interests in companies with a presence overseas, but which are exempt from the conflict of interest laws. I am committed to ensuring that my official actions will not give rise to a conflict of interest. I will divest any investments the State Department's Ethics Office deems necessary to avoid a conflict of interest.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED TO HON. LINDA THOMAS-GREENFIELD BY SENATOR JOHN BARRASSO

Question. The U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations must vigorously defend and advocate for American values, ideals and standards. How will you challenge the actions of the United Nations that run contrary to U.S. standards, values, and interests?

Answer. If confirmed, I will be both a defender of and advocate for U.S. standards, values, and interests. The United Nations is an imperfect institution and must be held to the highest standards. That includes transparency in its operations and accountability for its performance. I have prioritized these crucial standards through-

out my career in the Foreign Service and if confirmed, will take that experience and determination to New York.

Question. Do you pledge to do everything in your power to preserve and protect American sovereignty within the United Nations?

Answer. If confirmed, I pledge to do everything in my power to preserve and protect U.S. sovereignty within the United Nations. I believe that U.S. sovereignty is not threatened by our participation in the U.N. system. I also believe, however, U.S. values and interests are best advanced through robust and meaningful participation—and leadership—across the U.N. system.

Question. What specific actions would you take if you determine a program or agency at the U.N. is failing to live up to U.S. values and standards?

Answer. Performance and conduct of the U.N. and its agencies and organizations must be a continual focus in order to ensure the U.N. remains true to its intended purpose and responsive to member states. As the U.N.'s largest financial contributor, the United States has a central role to play in holding the U.N. accountable. If confirmed, I will underscore to U.N. leadership that the United States has high expectations for U.N. performance and conduct and insist on transparency and rigorous evaluation of its activities.

Question. The United States is the largest financial contributor to the United Nations. It is important that the funding is used appropriately and in the best interest of our nation. Are you committed to safeguarding U.S. taxpayer dollars at the United Nations?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I commit to ensuring prudent management of U.S. taxpayer investments in the U.N. and its subsidiary bodies.

Question. What initiatives will you pursue at the United Nations to provide taxpayers greater transparency of U.S. funding?

Answer. If confirmed, I will pursue initiatives to increase financial transparency, so the U.S. Congress and taxpayers can see clearly how U.S. funds at the United Nations are being spent.

Question. The United Nations has failed to seriously implement budgetary discipline. What efforts will you take to limit the growth of the U.N. regular budget and ensure the U.N. makes more efficient use of its existing resources?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work with my counterparts in the U.N. General Assembly to advance the objective of budget discipline and ensure existing resources are directed to the highest priorities in order to advance the interests of the U.S.

Question. Why are the financial burdens at the United Nations not shared more equitably and in accordance with current economic realities? What is your strategy to address it?

Answer. The next negotiations among member states on U.N. assessment rates will take place later in 2021, and USUN and the State Department are already looking at strategies for engagement on this issue. If confirmed, my team and I will do everything we can to make sure that other countries pay their fair share.

Question. Currently, the United States is the largest financial contributor to the U.N. peacekeeping budget. This fall, United Nations General Assembly will adopt a new scale of assessment. Under U.S. law, the U.S. contribution to United Nations peacekeeping is capped at 25 percent. As part of the Helms Biden agreement, the United Nations adopted a formula for the peacekeeping scale of assessment that was projected to gradually reduce the U.S. assessment to 25 percent. The U.S. assessment today is around 28 percent. What is your strategy to convince member states to adopt a maximum peacekeeping assessment of 25 percent?

Answer. If confirmed, my team and I will do everything we can to make sure that other countries pay their fair share.

Question. As a permanent member of the U.N. Security Council, our nation plays a major role in establishing, renewing, and funding U.N. peacekeeping missions. The United States must push for United Nations Peacekeeping missions to have mandates that are realistic, tailored, and achievable. It is also important that each missions have an exit strategy that specifies what success looks like and how to achieve it. How will you address United Nations peacekeeping missions that are not working and lack the underlying political conditions for a resolution?

Answer. U.N. peacekeeping operations are among the most effective mechanisms of burden sharing to address the global challenges to international peace and security, but reform is needed to make peacekeeping operations more effective and to

promote sustainable political solutions to conflict. If confirmed, I will continue to evaluate missions with a view to making them as efficient and effective as possible, while providing missions with the necessary resources to fully implement their mandates.

Question. Do you believe all future U.N. peacekeeping missions must have a periodic mandate renewal to ensure adequate oversight and review?

Answer. Yes, I believe periodic mission mandate review and renewal is essential to ensuring the U.N. Security Council retains oversight and control over missions and their mandates. The process of mandate renewal forces regular review and assessment of missions and helps ensure that mandates reflect the best practices.

Question. In recent years, there have been several reports describing the sexual exploitation and abuse by U.N. peacekeepers. It is outrageous that United Nations peacekeepers are inflicting terrible atrocities against the very people they were sent to protect. As the largest contributor to the U.N. peacekeeping missions, our country must demand action be taken to prevent future exploitation of these vulnerable populations and ensure individuals are held accountable for their crimes. Why hasn't the United Nations been able to solve this terrible problem?

Answer. The U.N. has taken significant steps to prevent and respond to sexual exploitation and abuse by peacekeepers, but the U.N. only has responsibility for administrative accountability. Criminal accountability, if applicable, lies with member states, many of which do not have national laws that allow for criminal accountability for certain crimes committed outside their borders, particularly by U.N. personnel, including the United States. If confirmed, I will press the U.N. Secretary-General to strengthen transparency and take decisive action to hold member states responsible for their obligations under the zero-tolerance policy. I am committed to pressing member states for credible investigations and accountability at all levels.

Question. What new, additional measures would you take to ensure the United Nations holds troop-contributing countries and peacekeepers accountable for sexual exploitation and abuse?

Answer. The U.N. has strengthened its policies, trainings, and procedures to prevent and respond to sexual exploitation and abuse, but this issue requires constant vigilance and leadership to ensure such policies and procedures are being fully implemented. If confirmed, I will work closely with international partners to maintain pressure on the U.N. to increase transparency on the status of investigations and accountability measures taken and to fully implement U.N. Security Council resolution 2272, including strong actions like repatriating units and individual peacekeepers when appropriate. Similarly, I am committed to pressing member states to investigate SEA allegations in a timely manner and to hold perpetrators to account.

Question. The Biden administration has expressed concerns about China's efforts to intimidate Taiwan. It has also expressed support for deepening ties between the United States and Taiwan. In January, then President elect Biden stated, "the United States should continue strengthening our ties with Taiwan and other like-minded democracies." During your nomination hearing, you stated, "Taiwan is one of the strongest democracies in the region and we need to support them as a democracy and stand by them as a democracy and provide them the security that they need to push against any efforts by the Chinese to compromise their security." What would be your top priorities in supporting Taiwan and pushing against any effort by the Chinese Government to compromise their security?

Answer. The Biden administration's support for Taiwan is rock solid, and we will continue to deepen our ties with Taiwan in the face of PRC efforts to constrain its international space. Taiwan is a leading democracy, as well as a major economy, a security partner, and a technology powerhouse. The administration will continue to support Taiwan's membership in international organizations where statehood is not a requirement and encourage Taiwan's meaningful participation in organizations where membership is not possible. We will also continue to make available to Taiwan the defense articles and services necessary to enable it to maintain a sufficient self-defense capability, consistent with the Taiwan Relations Act and our One-China policy.

Question. Earlier this month, U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Kelly Crafty had planned to lead a delegation to Taiwan to talk about enhancing Taiwan's role in multilateral institutions. The trip was canceled along with all other international travel as part of the transition to the incoming Biden administration. If confirmed, would you lead a delegation to Taiwan to carry forward this important work?

Answer. If confirmed, I will continue U.S. policy to support Taiwan's meaningful participation in the United Nations and related organizations and will work closely with friends and allies on this issue. I cannot speak to specific travel or meeting arrangements at this time. If confirmed, I will be open to any meeting, if doing so would advance U.S. interests and foreign policy objectives.

Question. On October 18, 2020, the international arms embargo on Iran, the world's leading state sponsor of terrorism, was officially lifted. Repeated efforts by the United States to persuade the international community to extend the embargo failed. Do you support the United Nations Security Council reinstating the international arms embargo on Iran?

Answer. The President is committed to working with our allies and partners to counter Iran's destabilizing activities in the region, including its provision of weapons to armed groups and other violent partners and proxies. The administration will continue to dissuade countries from providing arms to Iran and fueling Iran's efforts to undermine the stability of its neighbors in the region. It will also redouble our efforts regarding enforcement of existing United Nations Security Council arms embargoes, such as those relating to Lebanon and Yemen.

Question. In October 2020, China and Russia were elected to the U.N. Human Rights Council. The United Nations should be condemning the human rights violations of Russia and China not electing them to this body. The Biden campaign said "We will rejoin the U.N. Human Rights Council and work to ensure that body truly lives up to its values." At your nomination hearing, you discussed the U.N. Human Rights Council stating, "We can push back on human rights violators who want to be legitimized by sitting at the table." You also stated, "We can work from the inside to make the organization better." What specific reforms would you pursue at the U.N. Human Rights Council to make it better and ensure it truly lives up to our values?

Answer. The United States is committed to seeking reforms of the U.N. Human Rights Council, particularly with respect to the Council's disproportionate focus on Israel and its problematic membership. We have seen that when we play an active and constructive role, we can advocate more effectively on Israel's behalf and engage with our allies and friends to keep some of the countries with the worst human rights records off the Council and to encourage countries with better records to run for seats. When we were on the Council, the U.S. was also able to help reduce the number of resolutions focused on Israel. If confirmed, I will ensure the United States prioritizes these specific reforms.

Question. In December 2016, the United States abstained at the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) on a one-sided resolution that sought to impose solutions to the final status issues on the parties. Over 340 members of the U.S. House of Representatives and 79 U.S. Senators supported resolutions objecting to the UNSC resolution and the United States' abstention. What are your thoughts on UNSCR 2334? How would you recommend the U.S. respond to international efforts to implement the resolution?

Answer. If confirmed, I look forward to standing with Israel and working against the unfair targeting of Israel at the U.N. and the relentless train of one-sided resolutions, reports, and other actions across the United Nations. I will work closely with the Israeli Mission to the U.N. and Israel's permanent representative to help bolster Israel's security and widen the circle of peace. Israel has no closer friend than the United States, and I will reflect that in my actions at the United Nations.

Question. Israel has continually been subjected to one-sided resolutions and political investigations at the United Nations. If confirmed, what actions will you take to fight the anti-Israel bias at the United Nations?

Answer. The U.N. must take steps to address its credibility deficit with regard to the unfair treatment and targeting of Israel. If confirmed, I will continue the U.S. work in opposing efforts to unfairly single out or delegitimize Israel through one-sided resolutions, reports, and other actions across the United Nations, including the Security Council, the General Assembly, the Human Rights Council, and other bodies. If confirmed, I also look forward to working with our Israeli diplomatic colleagues to promote the election of Israel to U.N. leadership posts, its inclusion in U.N. working groups, and the selection of qualified Israeli candidates for U.N. positions.

Question. How would you handle Palestinian efforts in the United Nations system to seek recognition as a state outside of the peace process with Israel?

Answer. I believe Palestinian efforts to join international entities are premature and counterproductive. There are no shortcuts to Palestinian statehood outside direct negotiations with Israel.

If confirmed, I will continue to make clear, both with the parties and with international partners, that the only realistic path forward to end this conflict is through direct negotiations aimed at achieving a comprehensive and lasting peace.

If confirmed, I will support the enforcement of Congressional provisions related to this matter regarding Palestinian attempts to gain membership as a state in U.N. bodies.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED TO HON. LINDA THOMAS-GREENFIELD BY SENATOR JEANNE SHAHEEN

Question. During the hearing, you discussed the Uyghur genocide determination. Is it the State Department's position that what occurred to the Uyghur population in Xinjiang province constitutes genocide? Is this policy under review?

Answer. Secretary Blinken and I have made clear that genocide has been committed against the Uyghurs in Xinjiang. China's Government has also committed crimes against humanity against Uyghurs and members of other ethnic and religious minority groups, including imprisonment, torture, enforced sterilization, and persecution. These atrocities shock the conscience and must be met with serious consequences. If confirmed, I will work with our allies and partners to promote accountability and call on Beijing to immediately end these atrocities and to respect the human rights of Uyghurs and all others across China.

Question. Do you agree with the longstanding 1978 State Department legal opinion on Israeli Civilian Settlements in the West Bank? How do you view the Obama administration's decision to abstain from U.N. Security Council Resolution 2334?

Answer. The United States has a national interest in the maintenance of peace, stability, and respect for international law. The administration will oppose any unilateral actions—including incitement to violence, settlement approval and construction, or annexation of the West Bank—that make a two-state outcome to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict more difficult. If confirmed, I will continue to uphold President Biden's strong commitment to Israel and its security at the United Nations. This includes opposing efforts to unfairly single out or delegitimize Israel through one-sided resolutions, reports, and other actions at the United Nations.

Question. How will the United States work with the United Nations Relief and Works Agency? How soon can the Biden administration restore funds to UNRWA and what steps must be taken to begin this process?

Answer. President Biden plans to follow through on his pledge to restore U.S. economic and humanitarian aid to the Palestinians. UNRWA's mandate is set by the U.N. General Assembly and it provides essential services directly to Palestinian refugees in the five regions it covers. Unlike UNHCR, which works to deliver most services to refugees through sub-partners and those partners' many employees in the field, UNRWA and its employees provide the services directly to beneficiaries. As stated in my confirmation hearing, I am committed to working with and consulting Congress on these issues. If confirmed, I look forward to engaging with UNRWA on meaningful and sustainable reforms to their operations.

Question. President Trump's decision to formally end the participation of the United States in the JCPOA culminated in his administration asserting at the United Nations that it had triggered the "snapback" mechanism of the anti-nuclear agreement which they no longer participated in or abided by. Do you believe that the Trump administration's purported use of the "snapback" mechanism helped or hurt our ability to counter Iran's nuclear activities and other dangerous behavior? Do you regard the "snapback" mechanism as having been duly triggered—thus resulting in the re-imposition of multilateral sanctions on Iran that were suspended under the JCPOA?

Answer. The U.N. sanctions snapback mechanism was designed to provide leverage to help ensure Iran performed its nuclear commitments under the JCPOA. The Trump administration invoked snapback in a way that was never contemplated by the deal, namely after unilaterally exiting it. Virtually none of our allies or partners recognized this invocation of snapback. The Biden administration believes that the United States will be in a stronger position to counter the full range of threats

posed by Iran, including its nuclear program, by working in close concert with our allies.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED TO HON. LINDA THOMAS-GREENFIELD BY SENATOR TED CRUZ

Question. The Chinese Communist party spends billions of dollars every year to influence what Americans see, hear, and ultimately think, including through the financing and control of Confucius Institutes. In 2019 you gave a speech at a Confucius Institute at Savannah State University for which you received $1,500. You have also said the money was an "honorarium from the university." Please describe how you know that the money came from the university, and more specifically that it did not come from the Confucius Institute.

Answer. I received a check for $1500 from the University.

Question. How much money from the Government of the People's Republic of China or the Chinese Communist Party has been given to Savannah State?

Answer. I do not know the answer to this question. I did not discuss this with the University.

Question. Please describe any interactions you had with any staff attached to the Savannah State Confucius Institute.

Answer. Other than serving on a panel and giving remarks to an audience that included Confucius Institute staff, I did not knowingly have any direct contact with anyone who was identified as with the Institute.

Question. Please describe any other compensation, gifts, or reimbursements you received for your trip to Savannah State? Did the Confucius Institute in any way pay for or contribute to your expenses related to travel, rooming, or board?

Answer. The University paid for my trip and accommodations for two days. The University professor who invited me picked me up from the airport and dropped me at the airport.

Question. Have you received any additional money, gifts, or compensation from any entity controlled by or linked to the Government of the People's Republic of China or the Chinese Communist Party?

Answer. I have never knowingly received any compensation, money or gifts from any entity controlled by or linked to the Government of the People's Republic of China or the Chinese Communist Party. Except in my role as a U.S. diplomat for 35 years, this was the first and only occasion that I came into contact with the Confucius Institute.

Question. On January 19, 2021, the U.S. State Department announced a determination that the activities of the Chinese Communist Party in Xinjiang, and specifically atrocities against the region's Uyghur minorities, constituted a genocide. Secretary of State Blinken has said that he considers that determination to be correct. During your hearing, you indicated that you were not ready to conclude the Chinese activities constituted a "genocide" and that the State Department was conducting an internal review "because all of the procedures were not followed" by the Trump administration in making the determination.

This answer is not tenable. There is no formal set of procedures for the State Department to follow in issuing a genocide determination. According to the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum "[n]o formal policy exists or has existed to guide how or when the U.S. Government decides whether genocide has occurred" and to the extent there is a process, "the process is neither written down nor applied uniformly, there has been no formal decision to adopt a process as a matter of policy." Please describe which procedures you believe were not followed by the Trump administration in making its Jan 19 determination.

Answer. As I made clear in my testimony, I have witnessed a genocide in Rwanda, so I know what it looks like. And that is why Secretary Blinken and I have made clear that genocide has been committed against the Uyghurs in Xinjiang. China's Government has also committed crimes against humanity against Uyghurs and members of other ethnic and religious minority groups, including imprisonment, torture, enforced sterilization, and persecution. These atrocities shock the conscience and must be met with serious consequences. If confirmed, I will work with our allies and partners to promote accountability and call on Beijing to immediately end these atrocities and to respect the human rights of Uyghurs and all others across China.

Question. Do you believe that the activities of the Government of China in Xinjiang constitute a "genocide"? If not, why not?

Answer. Secretary Blinken and I have made clear that genocide has been committed against the Uyghurs in Xinjiang. China's Government has also committed crimes against humanity against Uyghurs and members of other ethnic and religious minority groups, including imprisonment, torture, enforced sterilization, and persecution. These atrocities shock the conscience and must be met with serious consequences. If confirmed, I will work with our allies and partners to promote accountability and call on Beijing to immediately end these atrocities and to respect the human rights of Uyghurs and all others across China.

Question. The Obama-Biden administration's approach to the Israeli-Arab conflict was justified on the basis of a theory of regional relations in which the Israeli-Palestinian conflict prevented broader Israeli-Arab rapprochement. That approach culminated in December 2016, when the Obama administration maneuvered the United Nations Security Council into passing UNSCR 2334, which among other things denied Israel's sovereignty over the Golan Heights and part of its capital Jerusalem.

I believed that the Obama-Biden administration's approach was deeply misguided, and I urged the Trump administration to reverse it and to render UNSCR 2334 null and void, because the resolution was poor on its merits and because I believed that restoring the U.S.-Israel relationship could serve as the basis for regional peace. They did so, including by recognizing Israel's sovereignty over the Golan Heights, by recognizing Jerusalem as Israel's capital, by moving our embassy to Jerusalem, by seeking to end discriminatory approaches that distinguished legally and for the purposes of aid and trade between different Israeli communities, and by taking several other steps. I believe that approach has been vindicated by among other things the success of the Abraham Accords.

In December 2017, the United States ambassador to the U.N. repudiated resolution 2334, stating that "given the chance to vote again on Resolution 2334, I can say with complete confidence that the United States would vote 'no.' We would exercise our veto power." Do you commit to opposing or vetoing any measure similar to Resolution 2334?

Answer. If confirmed, I look forward to standing with Israel and working against the unfair targeting of Israel at the UN and the relentless train of one-sided resolutions, reports, and other actions across the United Nations. Singling Israel out is neither just nor conducive to peace. I will work closely with the Israeli Mission to the UN and Israeli permanent representative to help bolster Israel's security and widen the circle of peace. Israel has no closer friend than the United States and if confirmed, I will reflect that in my actions at the United Nations.

Question. Do you commit to preserving the Trump administration's recognition of the Golan Heights as sovereign Israeli territory?

Answer. In considering the U.S. position on the Golan Heights, we will give great weight to Israel's security. As long as Bashar al-Assad is in control of Syria, it would be irresponsible to urge Israel to part with the Golan Heights. A dangerous combination of Iranian troops, Iranian-linked militias, Assad's forces, and jihadists poses a serious security threat to Israel across the border with Syria. Control of the strategic Golan Heights provides Israel an added measure of security from the turmoil next door.

Question. Do you believe that:

- Israel has sovereignty over the Golan Heights?
- Israel has sovereignty over Jerusalem, including the Old City of Jerusalem?
- Israel is in illegal occupation of any part of Jerusalem?
- Israel is in illegal occupation of the Old City of Jerusalem?

Answer. In considering the U.S. position on the Golan Heights, the administration gives great weight to Israel's security. As long as Bashar al-Assad is in control of Syria, it would be irresponsible to urge Israel to part with the Golan Heights. Control of the strategic Golan Heights provides Israel an added measure of security from the turmoil next door.

Jerusalem is the capital of Israel, and President Biden has been absolutely clear that he will not move the U.S. embassy in Jerusalem back to Tel Aviv. We pledge to handle all issues related to Jerusalem with the care and sensitivity that they deserve.

Question. UNSCR 2231 ended a long-standing international arms embargo against Iran, described across the previous six resolutions terminated by paragraph

7(a) of the resolution. After an effort to extend that embargo, the Trump administration took two measures. First, it invoked the "snapback mechanism" described in paragraphs 10-15 of UNSCR 2231, reversing the termination of those resolutions. Second, the Trump administration implemented EO 13949, "Blocking Property of Certain Persons with Respect to Conventional Arms Activities of Iran," which authorizes sanctions for transfers to and from Iran of arms or related material or military equipment. As a result, the U.S. established a baseline deterrent against major arms sales to Iran. Multi-billion dollar arms agreements publicly described and anticipated by Russia, China, and Iran have not occurred. Please describe how you envision continuing to implement an arms embargo against Iran, either through EO 13949 or a similar mechanism.

Answer. The President is committed to working with our allies and partners to counter Iran's destabilizing activities in the region, including its provision of weapons to violent proxies. We will continue working to dissuade countries from providing arms to Iran and fueling Iran's efforts to undermine neighbors in the region, including through the use of sanctions. We also will redouble our efforts regarding enforcement of other United Nations Security Council arms embargoes related to Iran, such as those relating to Lebanon and Yemen.

Question. Are you prepared to impose sanctions on Russian or Chinese entities, under whatever authorities are necessary, to prevent them from arming Iran?

Answer. The President is committed to working with our allies and partners to counter Iran's destabilizing activities in the region. We cannot prejudge any future sanctions decisions and will assess any information regarding the proliferation of arms to, or from, Iran as it becomes available. However, we are prepared to leverage our applicable authorities, including sanctions, against any actor who supports Iran's weapons programs of concern or enables Iran's ongoing provision of weapons to armed groups and other violent partners and proxies. We also will redouble our efforts regarding enforcement of other United Nations Security Council arms embargoes related to Iran, such as those relating to Lebanon and Yemen.

Question. The Biden administration has taken a vocal stance toward the United States reentering the Iran nuclear deal based on Iran's compliance to the JCPOA. We now know that while and since the JCPOA was negotiated, Iran concealed nuclear materials, activities, and sites. In addition to the intelligence provided by the Nuclear Archive seized by Israel, the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) in the summer of 2020 confirmed that Iran was stonewalling the Agency on several outstanding questions related to potential nuclear-weapons related activity. These issues were concealed during implementation of the JCPOA, and I am deeply concerned that the U.S. would return to compliance with the JCPOA in the absence of Iran resolving the IAEA's concerns. Would you oppose the United States returning to compliance with the JCPOA in the absence of Iran resolving the IAEA's concerns?

Answer. The Biden administration has an unshakable commitment to preventing Iran from acquiring a nuclear weapon. We have full confidence in IAEA Director General Grossi and his inspectors as they verify Iran's actions on the ground. Iran must cooperate fully with the IAEA's inspectors, and it must comply with its obligations under its safeguard agreements with the IAEA.

Question. The United States Congress has been and remains committed to maintaining America's embargo on Cuba. The Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity (LIBERTAD) Act of 1996 (P.L. 104-114) codifies the U.S. embargo on Cuba. The executive branch is prevented from lifting the embargo without congressional concurrence through legislation until certain democratic conditions set forth in the law are met. The Cuban regime annually proposes a resolution at the United Nations General Assembly condemning the U.S. for this policy, and calling for the embargo to be lifted. The U.S. has consistently voted against this measure, with the exception of 2016, when the Obama-Biden administration instead abstained from the vote. Long-standing policy of the U.S. to use its voice and vote to oppose this measure was restored under the Trump administration. Do you commit to voting against the annual Cuban-sponsored resolution condemning the United States' Congressionally-mandated trade embargo at the United Nations General Assembly?

Answer. Support for democracy and human rights, as well as empowering the Cuban people to determine their own future, will be at the core of our Cuba policy. If confirmed, I commit to reviewing the U.S. Government's policy approach to Cuba at the United Nations.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED TO HON. LINDA THOMAS-GREENFIELD BY SENATOR CHRISTOPHER A. COONS

Question. What are the current State Department guidelines on vaccinating foreign diplomats in the United States? Does the Department plan to offer foreign diplomats the vaccine?

Answer. I strongly support vaccination of all persons residing in the United States, including foreign diplomatic personnel and their families. The State Department encourages foreign diplomatic personnel and their dependents to participate in vaccination programs offered by the local communities in which they reside.

The State Department has not been allocated vaccines for purposes of vaccinating foreign diplomats. We do allow foreign missions to import COVID-19 vaccines for their diplomatic personnel and their dependents serving in the United States. To ensure proper handling and procedures are followed, foreign missions are encouraged to discuss such plans with the Department's Office of Foreign Missions prior to their government's shipment of such supplies. I will raise this policy for review if confirmed.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED TO HON. LINDA THOMAS-GREENFIELD BY SENATOR TIM KAINE

Question. The Green Climate Fund (GCF) is a critical channel of climate finance for developing countries. It directly supports implementation of the Paris Agreement by providing essential resources for climate mitigation and adaptation. In 2014, the United States pledged $3 billion to the GCF, but only transferred $1 billion before President Trump withdrew support for the Fund. The United States has yet to pledge funding for the first replenishment period of the GCF for the years 2020-2023. Will you support the provision of U.S. funding to the GCF, as a key component of U.S. re-engagement in the global climate community, with $2 billion to fulfill the first pledge? What should the U.S. do to bring our commitments in line with other key contributors who have increased their contributions for the first replenishment?

Answer. President Biden is committed to ensuring that the United States plays a prominent role on climate issues. Resources are essential for ensuring developing countries can reduce their emissions and build resilience against the destabilizing impacts of climate change—both of which have clear benefits not only for the recipient countries, but also for the United States and the rest of the world. The Biden-Harris administration will work closely with Congress on funding for international climate finance provided through a variety of channels, including bilateral assistance programs and assistance to multilateral funds and organizations.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED TO HON. LINDA THOMAS-GREENFIELD BY SENATOR EDWARD J. MARKEY

Question. As you know during the Trump administration the State Department unilaterally withheld a portion of U.S. funding directed towards the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR). As a result, because of U.S. caused funding shortfalls, the OHCHR was almost forced to suspend activities related to member state compliance with the Convention Against Torture and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, two treaties to which the United States is party. This provided an opening to other member states, particularly China, who are working to increase their own profile at the U.N. and use it to weaken the organization's human rights pillar. Will the United States promptly release funding for the Office of the High Commissioner and run for a seat on the Human Rights Council? And within the OHCHR, will the Biden administration specifically recognize and offer financial support to the "Free and Equal" campaign and their LGBTI rights focused work?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work to ensure robust funding to OHCHR. President Biden has committed that the United States will re-engage with the Human Rights Council. The Biden-Harris administration believes that, when it works well, the Human Rights Council plays an important role in shining a spotlight on the world's worst human rights violators and can serve as a beacon for those fighting against

injustice and tyranny. If confirmed, I will also work to support LGBTQI human rights, including the U.N. "Free and Equal" campaign.

Question. In late February, the Joint Commission of the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) with Iran will meet in Vienna, Austria to discuss continued implementation of the agreement. Will the United States declare itself to be a Participant State to the JCPOA at that meeting?

Answer. It will take time for the United States to return to JCPOA. It is too early to say if the United States will join the Joint Commission meeting in February as a participant in the deal. If Iran returns to full performance of its commitments, the United States would do the same in order to provide a diplomatic foundation for follow-on discussions.

Question. Please describe the scope of existing U.S. and multilateral sanctions and exports regimes that can counter Iran's proliferation of ballistic missile technology and its trade in conventional arms. Additionally, what is the best way for the United States to strengthen those tools?

Answer. The scope of existing U.S. and multilateral sanctions and export regimes that can counter Iran's proliferation of ballistic missile technology and its trade in conventional arms is extensive and includes a range of multilateral and U.S. unilateral sanctions, export control measures, participation in multilateral regimes; and other regional and country-specific measures. The Biden administration is committed to countering the threat posed by Iran. We commit to reviewing ways to strengthen tools to address this issue and will work in close coordination with our allies and partners to do so.

Question. The State Department finalized a policy in October 2018 that denies visas to same-sex partners of foreign diplomats who serve on the international staff at the United Nations to bilateral missions in the United States. While there is an exemption for countries that do not offer legal same-sex marriage in their countries but offer reciprocity to U.S. diplomats, it effectively excludes LGBTI diplomats from many countries serving at posts in the United States. Can you commit that that the State Department will review this policy and report back to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on any policy modifications it may make?

Answer. I am willing to review the policy; however, current policy does not exclude LGBTI diplomats from serving in the United States. Rather, it accords the same recognition to same-sex partners of foreign diplomats as it does to the partners of U.S. same-sex diplomatic and consular officers serving abroad in the sending country and allows the Department to advocate for reciprocal treatment for the same-sex spouses of our officers. Limited exceptions are available on a reciprocal basis. The Department has observed minimal impact on foreign officials and international organization personnel. Those who are neither legally married nor eligible for an exception may still accompany their partner to the United States with B-2 visas, similar to non-married, opposite-sex partners.

Question. After the 2015 Obergefell v. Hodges Supreme Court decision, same sex couples followed a process under the Immigration and Naturalization Act that allowed for children born abroad to be granted a U.S. passport and U.S. citizenship. However, the State Department currently interprets Section 301 of the INA to require that both parents have a biological relation to children born overseas, which has had the effect of denying the issuance of U.S. passports to newborns. Can you commit to reverse this policy that creates a deeply unfair standard for LGBTI couples?

Answer. While I would support a review of this matter, the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA) governs our decision-making process in citizenship matters. Under the Department's interpretation of existing law, at least one U.S. citizen parent must have a biological relationship to a child born abroad for the child to acquire U.S. citizenship at birth. Designation as a parent on a foreign birth certificate alone does not fulfill this biological relationship requirement. The Department expanded the interpretation of a "biological" connection in 2014 to include gestational carriers and individuals who are genetically connected to a child. The INA provides alternative paths to acquire U.S. citizenship for certain children born abroad who do not otherwise qualify for U.S. citizenship at birth.

Question. In 2018, the Council established the Independent Investigative Mechanism for Myanmar (IIMM) to lay the groundwork for accountability for the atrocities committed against Rohingya Muslims in Rakhine state in 2017. The IIMM is mandated to "collect, consolidate, preserve and analyze evidence of the most serious international crimes and violations of international law committed in Myanmar"

and prepare files for potential criminal prosecutions. Do you support the work of the IIMM, and what additional resources can the U.S. provide to support them? In your view, is there anything else the United States can do at the U.N. to help set the stage for accountability for the Rohingya?

Answer. I strongly support promoting accountability for atrocities and other human rights abuses in Burma, including through support to multilateral investigative efforts like the Independent Investigative Mechanism for Myanmar (IIMM). To date, the United States has provided strong support to the IIMM, providing it with relevant information from our own documentation work and ensuring it has the support and financial resources it will need for its mandate. If confirmed, I will advocate for continued U.S. support to the IIMM and other efforts to preserve evidence, prosecute those responsible for atrocities and abuses, and provide justice to victims.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED TO LINDA THOMAS-GREENFIELD BY SENATOR JEFF MERKLEY

Question. Will you support U.S. engagement as a member of the U.N. "LGBTI Core Group?" How do you think you can leverage your deep Africa expertise to build bridges between the LGBTI Core Group and African nations?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I pledge that the United States will increase our engagement and leadership within the U.N. LGBTI Core Group in New York, and that we will also engage on LGBTIQ issues across all relevant U.N. fora. While publicly advocating for LGBTQI issues in the African context can be challenging, there are also many opportunities to increase African support for the human rights of LGBTQI persons. In fact, several African nations have supported prior U.N. resolutions on the subject. I have engaged with African leaders on this in the past and if confirmed, I will continue to engage with African counterparts and work to increase support among them for advancing human rights for all, including for LGBTQI persons.

Question. How will you work with the Security Council, the International Organization for Migration, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, and the World Food Program to address the impacts of the coronavirus crisis on the global economy, food supply, and displaced populations?

Answer. The U.S. role as the world's largest humanitarian donor has always been an important marker of our leadership on the world stage and a reflection of the strong bipartisan commitment to generosity, compassion, and leading with our values. Through strong support for our longstanding partnerships, if confirmed, I am committed to working with key international humanitarian organizations and other donors and stakeholders to address the impacts of the coronavirus crisis on the global economy, food systems, and displaced populations. We will also need to work to ensure the safety of humanitarian personnel and unhindered humanitarian access amid crises and to support needed reforms, so that more effective and efficient humanitarian assistance reaches the vulnerable populations most in need.

Question. Will you call for a U.N. Fact Finding Mission to Xinjiang or some other way to get U.N. human rights monitors meaningful access to inspect the situation in Xinjiang and protect Uyghurs and other Muslims?

Answer. Uyghurs, other Muslims, and members of other religious and ethnic minority groups are suffering unspeakable oppression at the hands of China's Government. China's gross human rights violations and abuses shock the conscience and must be met with serious consequences. If confirmed, I will consider all possible tools and actions to promote accountability for those responsible. I will also work with likeminded allies and partners to call increased attention to the atrocities occurring in Xinjiang and to urge increased access to the region for U.N. human rights monitors, diplomats, journalists, and other independent observers. If confirmed, I am committed to working with allies and partners to call on Beijing to end these atrocities and to respect the human rights of Uyghurs and all others across China.

Question. In recent years China has used aggressive tactics to harass, exclude, and silence activists at the U.N., going as far as having accredited activists blacklisted, having security remove them from U.N. premises, and blocking nongovernmental organizations critical of China from being granted U.N. accreditation. Will you push back against attempts to bully civil society and human rights advocates?

Answer. Yes. Human rights and democracy are central to our foreign policy and the United States is firmly committed to defending and promoting the role of civil society and human rights defenders in the U.N. We robustly support civil society's participation and accreditation to U.N. bodies to raise concerns about specific thematic or country-specific challenges. We advance reforms at the U.N. Economic and Social Council's Committee on NGOs and engage with the U.N. to protect civil society actors from reprisals. If confirmed, I will prioritize strategies to counter efforts to stifle civil society participation and will work with likeminded partners to protect civil society's voice in the U.N.

Question. What steps will you take to press Burma's Government to abide by the provisional measures ordered by the International Court of Justice in January 2020, including to prevent genocide and to preserve evidence of atrocities?

Answer. I strongly support promoting accountability for atrocities and other human rights abuses in Burma to help ensure such atrocities and abuses do not happen again, including through support to appropriate multilateral accountability efforts. The United States has called on Burma to participate fully in the International Court of Justice (ICJ) proceedings and to implement the provisional measures order. If confirmed, I will use all the tools at my disposal to encourage the Burmese Government and military to respect the ICJ's order and pursue justice and greater respect for human rights. Preventing atrocities, addressing the needs of victims and ensuring they have a voice in these efforts, and promoting accountability for those responsible are essential to addressing the Rakhine State/Rohingya crisis.

Question. U.S. diplomats serving at USUN and our appointed delegations to U.N. meetings have often been criticized for being too heavily white and male. If confirmed in this role, what will you do to recruit and retain employees who reflect the diversity and richness of the American people?

Answer. If confirmed, I will set the expectation for leadership of our Missions to actively recruit candidates from underrepresented minorities and to lead a transparent and fair hiring process. In addition, I will hold my team accountable for creating a culture of inclusion by ensuring employees feel their voices are heard and their contributions are valued. We will seek to ensure we earn a reputation for nurturing diverse and inclusive teams at USUN and our U.N. missions abroad. President Biden has sought to ensure U.S. leadership looks like American and, if confirmed, I commit to doing the same for our Mission in New York and to foster a culture of inclusion that will empower all individuals to represent the United States as the face of our great institution.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED TO HON. LINDA THOMAS-GREENFIELD BY SENATOR CORY A. BOOKER

Question. The United Nations has repeatedly identified malign foreign interference and violations of the U.N. arms embargo as the most significant threat to stability in Libya. Blatant disregard for the arms embargo by the United Arab Emirates (UAE), Turkey, and Russia has led directly to civilian deaths and violations of international humanitarian law. Violations of the Libya arms embargo are degrading the credibility and integrity of U.N. arms embargos as a tool.

- Are you concerned about the efficacy of the U.N. and its ability to enforce arms embargos?

Answer. The United States strongly supports the U.N.'s efforts to end the Libyan conflict. In the last several months, strong U.N. mediation has led to a ceasefire agreement, roadmap to elections, and agreement on a mechanism to select an interim executive authority to lead the country through those elections. The new U.N. Special Envoy is well-positioned to build on this progress and conduct the sustained engagement necessary with external actors to end interference and give the Libyan people the space to make their own decisions. The United States opposes all foreign military intervention in Libya and strongly supports the October 23 Libyan ceasefire agreement. This includes the immediate withdrawal of all foreign forces, proxies, and mercenaries. If confirmed, I will urge the international community to honor commitments made in the Berlin Process, and call on all external parties to honor the U.N. arms embargo, investigate any lines of external financing prolonging the conflict, and support the U.N. political process.

Question. What steps will you take to enforce the U.N. arms embargo?

Answer. The United States strongly supports the arms embargo on Libya. If confirmed, we will continue to evaluate appropriate targets for sanctions pursuant to the Libya Sanctions regime, as well as other appropriate sanctions tools, in support of the arms embargo. And I will use the U.S. seat on the U.N. Security Council to call on all external parties to abide by the arms embargo.

Question. Will you impose sanctions on companies and countries that violate the Libyan arms embargo?

Answer. If confirmed, we will continue to evaluate appropriate targets for sanctions pursuant to the Libya Sanctions regime, as well as other appropriate sanctions tools.

Question. What diplomatic action will you pursue with Russia, Turkey, and the UAE so that they halt all transfers of military equipment and personnel to Libya? And how will you hold them accountable for their involvement in civilian deaths?

Answer. The United States fully supports the U.N.-facilitated Libyan ceasefire and its call for the withdrawal of all foreign forces and fighters, as conveyed publicly when Ambassador Mills criticized Russian, Turkish, and Emirati military interference in Libya during a recent briefing to the Security Council. If confirmed, I will continue to send that message in no uncertain terms, both publicly and privately, to those who undermine Libyan sovereignty and violate the U.N. arms embargo by supplying or financing material or armed forces, proxies, and mercenaries in Libya. We will be examining all tools to hold foreign actors, whether adversaries or partners, accountable for their actions in Libya, including for involvement in civilian deaths.

Question. The World Health Organization reported last week that only one of the poorest 29 countries, Guinea, has begun vaccinating for COVID-19. Even then, only 55 people out of a population of 12 million, mostly government officials had been vaccinated with the Russian Sputnik V vaccine. Not only is this vaccine inequality shameful, but it is dangerous. We've seen that COVID-19 mutates, and if it is allowed to spread in countries that cannot procure the vaccine, more variants will emerge that could render our current vaccines ineffective. Are you concerned that vaccine inequality will prolong the pandemic?

Answer. As COVID-19 has shown, infectious disease threats anywhere can pose significant risks to global health, security, and the economy. The United States is committed to the equitable distribution of COVID-19 vaccine. The Biden administration rescinded the withdrawal to WHO and signaled commitment to support the COVAX facility in the first few days of the administration, to support the rapid distribution of vaccine around the world. The administration will also develop a framework for donating surplus vaccines, including through the COVAX facility. The United States will seek to advance broader global health security to save lives, promote economic recovery, and build better resilience against future biological threats.

Question. What is your plan for addressing this vaccine inequality?

Answer. The administration has committed to taking an active role in supporting equitable global vaccine distribution, including by joining the COVAX Facility. On December 22, 2020, Congress appropriated funds to contribute to Gavi, the Vaccine Alliance to support the procurement and distribution of safe and effective COVID-19 vaccines, including through the COVAX Advanced Market Commitment, which facilitates vaccine distribution to 92 low- and middle-income countries. If confirmed, I will support the administration's efforts to urgently develop a framework for donating surplus COVID-19 vaccines to countries in need, once there is sufficient supply in the United States.

Question. Women across the globe have been disproportionately affected by the non-health effects of COVID-19 pandemic. Gender-based violence such as domestic violence, child marriage, and female genital mutilation has increased, and is expected to continue to increase, as a result of the COVID-19 crisis. Women also comprise 70 percent of health care workers globally, yet often are not prioritized for the receipt of personal protective equipment, disproportionately exposing them to contracting COVID-19. Women and girls also perform 3 times the amount of unpaid care work in homes and in their communities as men, a burden that has increased during the COVID-19 crisis as women and girls are disproportionately responsible for caring for sick and elderly family and community members and children who are out of school, limiting the ability of women and girls to perform income generating work, pursue education or skills building, or avoid exposure to COVID-19. How do you plan to ensure that U.S. engagement in the United Nations promotes action to

address gender-based violence, and how will you work to halt and reverse the effects of non-health related impacts of COVID-19 on women and girls?

Answer. Women and girls are disproportionately affected by the COVID-19 pandemic, both in terms of experiencing higher rates of various forms of gender-based violence (GBV), including intimate-partner violence, and bearing a disproportionate economic burden. Preventing and responding to GBV globally is a cornerstone of the U.S. Government's commitment to advancing human rights and promoting gender equality. Human rights are central to this administration, and, if confirmed, I will examine all possible options and tools on how to address GBV, women as drivers of economic recovery, and gender equality in long-term COVID recovery plans. We will work with international partners, including relevant U.N. agencies, to advance these efforts.

Question. Can you talk a little bit about the role you believe the U.N. should play when it comes to the current conflict in Tigray, Ethiopia? As you know, 4.5 million Ethiopians are in need emergency food, 2 million have been displaced, and 60,000 have fled to Sudan as refugees, which is struggling under its own food security concerns. There are reports of emaciated refugees and stunted children unable to access aid. There are also reports that the Ethiopian Government is allowing Eritrean forces to act with impunity inside Ethiopia. We have seen statements from various U.N. offices but what tangible steps should the U.N. Security Council play?

Answer. I am deeply concerned by the situation in Ethiopia. Ethiopia's successful transition to a more democratic, inclusive, and prosperous society is critical to U.S. interests. It will be important that the U.N. Security Council remain engaged in Ethiopia. The U.N. plays a vital role in delivering humanitarian assistance and in protecting refugees in Ethiopia. As conflict in Ethiopia poses a threat to the broader region, if confirmed, I will work with the African members of the Security Council in New York and other member states to push for an end to fighting and press for constructive dialogue, immediate unimpeded humanitarian access, restoration of all communications to the region, and accountability for human rights abuses and violations committed by all parties.

Question. If confirmed, will you call on President Abiy to ensure unrestricted humanitarian access and call on international actors such as Eritrea to halt any efforts that worsen the humanitarian suffering inside Ethiopia?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work with the U.N. to engage Prime Minister Abiy and press to ensure humanitarian access and assistance into the Tigray region. Continued violence is a risk to Ethiopia's stability and regional peace and security.

Question. If confirmed, would you support a U.N. investigation into reports of atrocities and war crimes?

Answer. Independent investigation of reported atrocities is critical for justice and accountability and long-term stability and democracy in Ethiopia. If confirmed, I will work with U.N. agencies to engage on the Tigray crisis and work toward a political solution to bring an end to violence and provide immediate, unimpeded humanitarian access, constructive dialogue, and justice and accountability for human rights abuses and violations committed by all parties.

Question. In December, the U.N. Security Council voted unanimously to end the U.N. peacekeeping mission in Darfur, and replace it with a new political mission in Khartoum to assist in the transition to a civilian government in Sudan. Hundreds have been killed or injured in the latest intercommunal clashes in Darfur and over 100,000 have been displaced. Sudan now bears the responsibility of protecting civilians, but doesn't appear to have the capacity to do so. Does the new mission have sufficient resources to play a real role in building peace in Sudan?

Answer. The U.N. Integrated Transition Assistance Mission in Sudan (UNITAMS), authorized by the U.N. Security Council (UNSC) in June 2020, is mandated to support and assist Sudanese authorities with the political transition, protection and promotion of human rights, and sustainable peace. Due to disagreements in the UNSC over the leadership of UNITAMS and the COVID-19 pandemic, UNITAMS has faced challenges in delivering on its mandate. If confirmed, I will work diligently to help ensure that UNITAMS has the resources it needs to achieve its mandate and support the Sudanese people.

Question. Do you see utility in maintaining the role of the U.N. Panel of Experts for Sudan, and in your view, should their mandate remain focused on Darfur or should it be broadened?

Answer. While there has been progress in resolving conflict after the fall of the Bashir regime in Sudan, the security situation remains precarious. The U.N. Panel

of Experts for Sudan provides independent reporting on violence, violations of international humanitarian law, human rights violations and abuses, and implementation of the Juba Peace Agreement. If confirmed, I will continue to evaluate the conditions in Darfur and the region to see what changes, if any, should be made to the role of the panel.

Question. The Sudanese military said it could protect civilians. What should be done if it cannot?

Answer. For decades, forces of the Bashir regime failed to live up to their commitment to stop human rights abuses and to protect the Sudanese people from insecurity. The United States is encouraged by recent commitments by the civilian leadership of the transitional government to implement reforms. But even with the signing of new peace agreements, violence persists in Darfur and the Two Areas. If confirmed, I will be tireless in helping the U.N. support Sudan in transitioning to democracy, building economic stability, and addressing issues in Darfur.

Question. Russia has repeatedly used its veto at the Security Council to shield its wrongdoings and allies, such as the Assad regime from investigations into war crimes committed. And China blocks consensus on issues related to Burmese complicity in the violence against the Rohingya population. Because of this impasse at the U.N. Security Council, humanitarian crises have only increased and become more prolonged. The U.N. plays a vital role in responding to humanitarian crises, but faces real threats to its purpose and mission from Russia and China. What steps will you take, if confirmed, to respond to Russia at the U.N. Security Council, which frequently utilizes its role there to violate human rights and democratic norms?

Answer. If confirmed, I will continue working with likeminded partners on the Security Council to push back on China and Russia as necessary to ensure that the Security Council delivers on its mandate of maintaining international peace and security. Through leadership and concerted diplomatic efforts, the United States will work to ensure that the U.N. Security Council can exercise its critical mediation, peacekeeping, and sanctions authorities in promoting respect for human rights and democratic norms, as well as bringing attention to humanitarian crises.

Question. How will you work with other member states to call out Russian and Chinese obstruction at the Security Council?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work in close concert with the UK, France, and the "Elected 10" (E10) of the U.N. Security Council to push back on obstruction by Russia and China, including by calling out obstruction, hosting high-profile meetings and discussions on issues of importance, and working with allies and likeminded countries.

Question. China has faced international pressure over its mass detention of ethnic Uyghur (Wee-gur) Muslims in the north-western Xinjiang (Shin-Jang) region under the guise of "re-education." And yet, 37 U.N. Ambassadors from African, Asian, and Latin American countries wrote a letter to the United Nations Human Rights Council, praising Beijing's "remarkable achievements in the field of human rights" and further stating that the internment of the Uyghurs (Wee-gurs) contributed to peace and security in the region. The letter underscored China's efforts to translate its commercial activity and investments in those countries to increase diplomatic heft at the United Nations and other multilateral organizations. What will your approach be to China's actions to influence the votes of U.N. members and subvert the principles and purpose of the United Nations?

Answer. If confirmed, pushing back against China's attempts to reshape the U.N. and international norms, rules, and values will be a top priority of mine, and I will use our re-engagement with the U.N. system to push back against the influence of China and others by working to strengthen the values-based international system on which the U.N. is founded. I will work on these efforts alongside our allies and partners. This will include rallying their support to push back against China and call out instances where it and others work to undercut U.S. and U.N. values, including on human rights, individual freedoms, transparency, and democratic values. If confirmed, I will also engage proactively with other countries to address these challenges.

Question. Last week at now Secretary Blinken's confirmation hearing, I raised the issue of China, as did I think every other Senator. As we all saw, the Trump policy of withdrawal and withholding our dues to the U.N. allowed China's rise. When we forfeit our seat at the U.N., the chair we sat in doesn't magically disappear, someone else will occupy it-and we are increasingly seeing that the someone else is China. Certainly, the opposite of withdrawal and withhold is engage and invest and

that's what needs to happen. It means investing in the State Department and the Bureau of International Organization Affairs, which has been hollowed out, thereby limiting our ability to push back against China's efforts or support our own preferred candidates for U.N. positions. It means international investment, where China pushes one-sided deals but we don't offer any other options. And it means paying our dues, paying back our arrears. China used U.S. funding shortfalls to paint our country as unreliable. This along with China's investments in other nation's economic development has weakened the U.S. ability to counter China and draw attention to human rights abuses. How will you ensure that China doesn't fill any leadership vacuum at the United Nations?

Answer. China's efforts to assert its authoritarian agenda and values within the U.N. system depends on our withdrawal, which I will not allow on my watch. If confirmed, I will ensure that the United States reasserts its leadership in the U.N. system. This will include paying our dues to maximize our influence and exerting that influence to demand reforms and uphold our values. U.S. leadership is essential for the success of the U.N., but to succeed, we will need partners. If confirmed, I will work with allies and partners to prevent China and others from filling a leadership vacuum and subverting the norms and values that animate international institutions.

Question. President Biden has stated a commitment to restoring U.S. credibility and leadership at the U.N. What do you foresee as the greatest obstacles in the way of this objective?

Answer. As the United States re-engages at the U.N., we will have important work to do with our allies, partners, and even our adversaries to make clear the U.S. commitment to multilateralism is unwavering. Today, our leadership, credibility, and values are being tested around the world. Our relationships are strained. When we are absent at the U.N., others quickly fill the void. If confirmed, restoring U.S. principled leadership, promoting active engagement and valuing partnerships will be among my top priorities. I believe that multilateral engagement provides an invaluable platform to defend and advance U.S. interests and values.

Correspondence Supporting the Nomination of Hon. Linda Thomas-Greenfield to be United States Representative to the United Nations

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January 26, 2021

Senator Bob Menendez, Chairman
U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations
423 Dirksen Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510-6225

Senator James E. Risch, Ranking Member
U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations
423 Dirksen Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510-6225

Dear Chairman Menendez and Ranking Member Risch:

On behalf of the U.S. Committee for Refugees and Immigrants (USCRI), we are tremendously honored to submit this letter to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee recommending Ambassador Linda Thomas-Greenfield to serve as the next U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations.

Ambassador Thomas-Greenfield has had a principled and exemplary career in the Foreign Service. She has served our country with honor and distinction: protecting our national interests; promoting democracy and the rule of law abroad; and representing the United States with the courage and conviction that inspires people everywhere.

Ambassador Thomas-Greenfield's long public service has given her the tools to restore our global leadership in an environment of an unprecedented number of global threats. Diplomacy has been called "the tool of first resort" in foreign policy. Ambassador Thomas-Greenfield is a consummate diplomat with a masterful command of foreign affairs, a respect for different cultures, and the extraordinary communication skills needed to build the interpersonal relationships so critical to effective diplomacy.

Ambassador Thomas-Greenfield has had a transformational impact on shaping U.S. foreign policy in Africa and in humanitarian and refugee affairs. While serving as U.S. Ambassador to Liberia from 2008-2012 under the Obama Administration, Ambassador Thomas-Greenfield was a fearless and intrepid diplomat. To give but one example of her character and abilities, Ambassador Thomas-Greenfield travelled to Liberia's most remote villages to show solidarity with the Liberian people in their efforts to rebuild after a devastating civil war. Her impact on Liberia was so meaningful that she was granted honorary Liberian citizenship by President Ellen Sirleaf-Johnson and conferred with the title Dame

Great Band in the Humane Order of African Redemption.

Ambassador Thomas-Greenfield represents the best of what America has to offer to our global community. We are confident she will serve the American people with the dignity, integrity and vision required to meet the challenges of an increasingly imperiled global order.

Sincerely,

Eskinder Negash

Eskinder Negash
President and CEO

Katharine Laud
USCRI Board Chair

cc: Senate Foreign Relations Committee

December 22, 2020

The Honorable James Risch, Chairman
The Honorable Bob Menendez, Ranking Member
United States Senate Committee on Foreign Relations
423 Dirksen Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510-6225

Dear Chairman Risch and Ranking Member Menendez:

I am writing in support of the nomination of Ambassador Linda Thomas-Greenfield to serve as Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations. Ambassador Thomas-Greenfield has been an active partner with the Business Council of International Understanding (BCIU) both in her many years of public service and in her most recent capacity in the private sector. Her deep knowledge of global geopolitical topics, myriad cultures, and sophisticated diplomatic acumen make her uniquely qualified for this important role.

The UN is a vital global institution focused on maintaining international peace and security, protecting human rights, delivering humanitarian aid, promoting sustainable development, and upholding international law. A key public private partnership initiative of the UN is the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), launched in 2015, which seek to make specific gains in health, education, energy, infrastructure, and other sectors. BCIU has focused heavily in recent months to raise attention on the SDG funding gap and engage our corporate members to be key partners in helping to affect positive change. We believe Ambassador Thomas-Greenfield will be able to help garner the support of both the public and private sector to advance progress on SDGs, and achieve a better and more sustainable future for all.

BCIU is a nonprofit organization of experts, educators, and advisors working to expand international trade and commerce, and cultivate sustainable partnerships between businesses and governments around the world. For sixty-five years, we have believed in progress and shaping the future by helping to address some of the world's most complex challenges. Through bespoke, transformative services, BCIU provides ways for its partners to deepen economic cooperation and enhance international understanding.

Thank you for the opportunity to express my views to the Committee, and thank you for your work and contribution to the productive development of foreign policy in the United States. I urge your support, and that of the full Senate, in favor of Ambassador Thomas-Greenfield's nomination.

Sincerely,

Peter Tichansky
President & CEO

1501 Broadway | Suite 2300 | New York, NY 10036 | USA | Tel 1.212.490.0460 | Fax 1.212.697.8526 | www.BCIU.org

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

SUZANNE P. CLARK
PRESIDENT

1615 H STREET, NW
WASHINGTON, DC 20062
SCLARK@USCHAMBER.COM

January 26, 2021

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS:

The U.S. Chamber of Commerce strongly supports the nomination of Ambassador Linda Thomas-Greenfield to be Ambassador of the United States to the United Nations (UN). She is a highly-qualified nominee and, from the perspective of the U.S. business community, is well prepared to tackle the foreign policy challenges facing the United States.

Ambassador Thomas-Greenfield's prior service as Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Director General of the U.S. Foreign Service, and U.S. Ambassador to Liberia represents an invaluable body of experience upon which she can draw in representing U.S. interests before the UN. She possesses a unique understanding of the role that the business community plays in supporting U.S. foreign policy goals, as she demonstrated during her service on the board of the Chamber's U.S.-Africa Business Center.

The work of the U.S. Mission to the UN is important to national security, the advancement of American values around the globe, and U.S. international economic and trade interests. The diplomats who direct the Mission's work play an indispensable role helping our partners around the world build stronger political, legal, and economic systems. This in turn helps these nations to become more reliable trading partners, fostering their prosperity and our own. And, Ambassador Thomas-Greenfield's well-established ability to build coalitions and advance U.S. multilateral interests perfectly prepares her for this significant assignment.

Ambassador Thomas-Greenfield's long record of public service and accomplishment demonstrates that she understands these imperatives. The Chamber appreciates the Committee scheduling the January 27 hearing and urges you to approve her nomination.

Sincerely,

Suzanne P. Clark

Suzanne P. Clark

Ambassador Thomas-Greenfield's Past Comments on China

Linda Thomas-Greenfield – China Comments

LINDA THOMAS-GREENFIELD HAS REGULARLY CALLED ON THE U.S. TO DO MORE IN AFRICA IN ORDER TO COUNTER CHINA'S INFLUENCE

AS COVID-19 SPREAD, THOMAS-GREENFIELD CRITICIZED CHINA FOR FAILING TO DO ENOUGH FOR AFRICA AND SUGGESTED THE TRUMP ADMINISTRATION CEDED INTERNATIONAL LEADERSHIP TO CHINA

Thomas-Greenfield Criticized China For Failing To Do Enough As Covid-19 Spread To The Continent. THOMAS-GREENFIELD: "You mentioned China, sir. China needs to step up to the plate. Reports surfaced in May that China, the continent's biggest creditor, is seriously pondering delaying repayments of some $152 billion worth of African loans. And while we see this as a positive move, it falls far short, and calls for China to forgive Africa debt must be increased. What China has done is simply not enough to deal with the issue." [Hearing on the Impact of Covid in Sub-Saharan Africa, Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, U.S. House of Representatives, 6/15/20]

Thomas-Greenfield Criticized The Trump Administration For Ceding Leadership To China As Covid-19 Spread Across The World. THOMAS-GREENFIELD: "Financial assistance from multilateral organizations and official bilateral creditors, including temporary debt relief, will also be needed. The U.S. can use its leverage in the international financial institutions to encourage support for Africa's recovery and more sustainable debt over the medium to long term. And, in addition, the Secretary of State will be meeting with China, I saw in the press this morning. We should use that opportunity to pressure China to also step up its efforts. And, finally, leadership. U.S. leadership has been missing on the front lines of the global effort to fight COVID-19. And the windows of opportunity are closing for the U.S. to lead on this issue, ceding leadership to no other country but China. President Trump's decision to pull out of the World Health Organization, which has an African as its DG, has rubbed African partners the wrong way" [Hearing on the Impact of Covid in Sub-Saharan Africa, Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, U.S. House of Representatives, 6/15/20]

2020: THOMAS-GREENFIELD CALLED ON THE U.S. TO STEP UP AND GIVE AFRICA MORE OF A REASON TO QUESTION THEIR RELATIONSHIP WITH CHINA WITH RESPECT TO TECHNOLOGY

Discussing 5G Issues, Thomas-Greenfield Called For The U.S. To Step Up As Africans Had Concerns About Sharing Information With The Chinese, And Give Them Reason To Question Their Relationships With China. Thomas-Greenfield: "You know, I think Africans are concerned about giving information over to the Chinese. They are concerned about giving information over to us. So I think this does provide us an opportunity to help Africans have the capacity, technical capacity, to deal with the issues of 5G and begin to question their relationships with China. But we can't just approach it with pointing our fingers at the Africans and telling them, 'Thou shalt not.' We have to approach it in a much more strategic way, with giving them the data and the technology that they need to respond so that they can respond in a way that benefits them but is also in our national interest" [Hearing on the Impact of Covid in Sub-Saharan Africa, Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, U.S. House of Representatives, 6/15/20]

THOMAS-GREENFIELD SAID THE STATE DEPARTMENT HAD A HISTORY OF PAYING "TOO LITTLE ATTENTION" TO A RISING CHINA AND RAISED ALARM OVER DECREASING FOREIGN AID FROM THE U.S.

2020: In A Joint Op-Ed In Foreign Policy, Thomas-Greenfield Argued That The State Department In The Past "Paid Too Little Attention To A Rapidly Changing International Landscape In Which Geopolitical Competition With A Rising China And A Resurging Russia Was Accelerating." "Although the transformation of the State Department into a more expeditionary and agile institution was healthy in many respects, it was also distorting. It was tethered to a fundamentally flawed strategy—one that was too narrowly focused on terrorism and too wrapped up in magical thinking about the United States' supposed power to transform regions and societies. It paid too little attention to a rapidly changing international landscape in which geopolitical competition with a rising China and a resurgent Russia was accelerating and mammoth global challenges, such as climate change, were looming." [Foreign Policy, William J. Burns and Linda Thomas-Greenfield, November/December 2020]

- **Thomas-Greenfield Argued That The State Department Must "Organize Wisely For Geopolitical Competition With China."** "Instead, U.S. diplomacy has to accept the country's diminished, but still pivotal, role in global affairs. It has to apply greater restraint and discipline; it must develop a greater awareness of the United States' position and more humility about the wilting power of the American example. It has to reflect the overriding priority of accelerating domestic renewal and strengthening the American middle class, at a time of heightened focus on racial injustice and economic inequality. And it has to take aim at other crucial priorities. One is to mobilize coalitions to deal with transnational challenges and ensure greater resilience in American society to the inevitable shocks of climate change, cyberthreats, and pandemics. Another is to organize wisely for geopolitical competition with China." [Foreign Policy, William J. Burns and Linda Thomas-Greenfield, November/December 2020]

2019: While Serving As A Witness For A House Foreign Affairs Committee Hearing On Africa, Thomas-Greenfield Warned Of China's Influence On The Continent And Stated That Decreasing Foreign Aid Would Be Ceding To China. BURCHETT: "I am concerned about the investments that China is making. And I am wondering what the U.S. should be doing to counter some of the influence that they are having in Africa? And to what extent are some of these investments a threat to our interests, including our diplomatic development and security objectives? And the followup of that, if the United States were to significantly reduce its foreign aid to Africa, would China, do you all feel like China would seek to fill the gap, and how they would do that?" THOMAS-GREENFIELD: "China, over I would say the past decade, has gone into Africa fast and furiously. They have changed their approach. It has evolved over, over time. Initially, they would go in and do a stadium or some small project and to buy influence. Now they are doing major infrastructural projects. The issue at hand is that all of these infrastructural projects, some of them better than others, are needed on the continent of Africa. Africans need railroads, they need roads, they need refurbished airports and ports. And we have ceded that space to China. And it is important if the U.S. sees its role as competing—and I do not see us as competing with China because I think we have different resources that we bring to the table; we are not going to bring those large projects—I think the better approach for us to take is to work with our African partners to ensure that they have the capacity to strike and negotiate better deals with the Chinese. Because, again, the kind of deals that they are getting with the Chinese, we do not have the wherewithal to do that. But we need to pay attention to what is happening because our influence on the continent is waning in comparison to China. And if we start to decrease our foreign aid the Chinese will come in in some way or another to support these countries. They are not going to come in with the same values that we bring to the table. And in my conversations with African leaders and business people alike, their preference is to have the United States there. And their question to us every day is: Where are you? Why are you not there? And you cannot tell us we cannot engage with the Chinese if you are not prepared to engage with us." [House Foreign Affairs Committee Hearing on U.S.-Africa Relations, 116th Congress, 3/26/19]

THOMAS-GREENFIELD AGREED WITH FORMER SECRETARY OF STATE REX TILLERSON'S CONCERN OVER CHINA'S EXPANDING INFLUENCE IN AFRICA, BUT NOTED HIS LACK OF SPECIFICITY ABOUT COUNTERING IT

2018: Thomas-Greenfield Said Secretary Rex Tillerson Was "Absolutely Correct" That China Was Using Its Influence In Africa To Encourage Dependency. "Hours before embarking on a his first official visit to Africa, U.S. Secretary of State Rex Tillerson said the United States is committed to building on a 'strong foundation of U.S.-Africa relations' and accused China of 'encouraging dependency' in its approach to the continent. In a speech Tuesday outlining the Trump administration's Africa policy, Tillerson said the United States is 'eager' to lower barriers to trade and investment in Africa, whose largest trading partner by far is China…. Former Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Linda Thomas-Greenfield told VOA on Tuesday that Tillerson is 'absolutely correct' on Chinese influence in Africa, but 'he did not say what will done to counter balance that influence.'" [Voice of America, 3/6/18]

THOMAS-GREENFIELD HAS BEEN CRITICAL OF CHINA'S INVESTMENT IN AFRICA AND BELIEVED AFRICANS WOULD SEE THAT THE U.S. OFFERED A BETTER DEAL

Thomas-Greenfield Warned Of The Potential Of China's Investments In Africa Putting Countries In A "Position Of Debt," "Gambling On Their Future." "'The Chinese will always be needed,' she said, 'but Africans need to make sure they are not putting themselves in a position of debt [with reference to easy credit 'One Belt, One Road' infrastructure projects] and gambling on their future.'" [Harvard Belfer Center Seminar on Africa, 3/7/19]

2013: Asked About China's Presence In Africa, Thomas-Greenfield Said African Countries Appreciated Support From The U.S. Because They Knew "Our Own Values On Human Rights Is So Much Better Than What They Are Getting From Outside Of The U.S." THOMAS-GREENFIELD: "The tensions with China, I think we have a good story to tell. When you talk to African leaders across the board, they appreciate the support that they get from us and even when that support comes with criticism because they know that our criticism is constructive, and they know that in the final analysis that what we offer in terms of our own values on human rights is so much better than what they are getting from outside of the U.S. So again, I think—I don't see us as competing. I don't even see the Chinese as being an alternative. As I said, African leaders have to strike the best deal that they can strike for their people. And I think they get it." [Confirmation Hearing for Linda Thomas-Greenfield to be Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Subcommittee on African Affairs of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, 7/24/13]

- **Asked About China's Increasing Trade With African Countries, Thomas-Greenfield Said The U.S. Needed To "Advocate For American Companies And American Businesses" And " Push For A Level Playing Field With African Countries So American Companies Can Feel Comfortable Bidding On Projects In Africa And Investing In Africa."** FLAKE: "But with regard to trade for a minute, if you look at the overall trade between the U.S. and Africa and China and Africa, it's—there's not much difference right now. We're about at 70 billion (dollars) a year. But Chinese trade has increased substantially over the past decade, and we have not. What can we do, aside from AGOA? And I agree we'll work hard to get that reauthoraized and go forward. But what, specifically, can we do, aside from AGOA, to change that direction?" MS. THOMAS-GREENFIELD: "I think there are two things that we can do.

First, on the continent of Africa, we need to advocate for American companies and American businesses. We need to push for a level playing field with African countries so American companies can feel comfortable bidding on projects in Africa and investing in Africa. But the second part of that is also to work with American companies here in the United States to make sure they are aware of the opportunities in Africa to invest, aware of the opportunities to make profits on the continent of Africa. Africa is booming, and we need to make sure that American companies are prepared and knowledgeable about what is available there for them. And I think that AGOA is one part of that. The other part of it is to ensure that we do the kinds of things that my predecessor did. He took a trade mission to Africa. I hope to continue with that kind of initiative and encouraging American companies to look at Africa." [Confirmation Hearing for Linda Thomas-Greenfield to be Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Subcommittee on African Affairs of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, 7/24/13]

2014: Thomas-Greenfield Said She Thought A Lot Of China's Investment In Africa "Does Not Support Our Values Of Good Governance And Transparency And Responsible Management Of Natural Resources." DIAZ-BALART: "You know, they bring in, as you know, Chinese labor and equipment without transferring those skills and technology to the local level. It's also pretty clear that they're not frankly in the business of exporting, you know, Western values like democracy and the rule of law and human rights. So how—are we using and what can we do, what can the United States do to use our considerable influence to counter and contain some of those actions that China is pursuing rather aggressively?" THOMAS-GREENFIELD: "Thank you for that question. And I see this in two aspects. We talk about the fact that some of the problems that we're dealing with in Africa are not just U.S. problems. Interestingly, on South Sudan, we have been working with the Chinese and they have come on board with the special envoys to push for an end to the violence in South Sudan. And so, I see that our work is partially to encourage change on how the Chinese approach Africa and encourage the Chinese economic activities in Africa to compliment what other governments and donors are doing to the best interests of African countries. However, it is our view that a lot of the foreign investment that is going into Africa that the Chinese are providing does not support our values of good governance and transparency and responsible management of natural resources." [FY 2015 Budget Hearing, State, Foreign Operations and Related Programs Subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee, 4/29/14]

- **2014: Thomas-Greenfield Said She Was Encouraging African Governments To "Understand Why It Is So Important To Their Dealing With The Chinese To Have The Chinese Take Into Account Issues That Are Related To Human Rights And Political Freedoms And Press Freedoms."** THOMAS-GREENFIELD: "And we have regular dialogue with African governments to encourage that they also understand why it is so important to their dealing with the Chinese to have the Chinese take into account issues that are related to human rights and political freedoms and press freedoms. When I was in Liberia—and I use that as an example a lot because I know Ms. Lowey knows Liberia quite well—the Chinese provided some very useful development projects to Liberia. And so I encouraged the government to make sure that they were getting the best out of those development projects to ensure that the Chinese use local labor as we would use local labor, and that they abided by the same transparency rules that we abided by." [FY 2015 Budget Hearing, State, Foreign Operations and Related Programs Subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee, 4/29/14]

- **2014: Thomas-Greenfield Said The U.S. Had A "Responsibility To Ensure That There's A Level Playing Field For American Companies That Are Going Into Africa And Competing With Chinese Companies."** THOMAS-GREENFIELD: "Again, it's going to be up to African countries to negotiate the best deals for themselves, but we also have a responsibility to ensure that there's a level playing field for American companies that are going into Africa and competing with Chinese companies. So this is something that we are very conscious of and we continue to work with both governments as well as the Chinese to ensure that their relationships with Africa are not just extractive but they also contribute to their growth. " [FY 2015 Budget Hearing, State, Foreign Operations and Related Programs Subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee, 4/29/14]

2013: Thomas-Greenfield Stated That The U.S. Was "Not Competing With China" Since U.S. Had "Core Values That Promote The Development Of Africa." MODERATOR: "Elias Gebreselassie from the News Business Ethiopia, who's coming to us from the watch party in Addis Ababa, asks: What do you have to say about—say to the charge that the U.S.'s new focus on the African continent is countering the influence of emerging economies like China?" THOMAS-GREENFIELD: "That's a great question. I get asked that question everywhere in Africa. And my answer to that question is: we're not competing with China in Africa. The U.S. has core values that promote the development of Africa, and we have been in Africa since the beginning. And so, our efforts are not in competition with China. Our efforts are in support of the desires of African people. And the needs in Africa are great, so I think African countries can work with the Chinese to work to get what is in their best interest. But they should not see it in their interest a competition between the United States and Africa, because that doesn't exist." [State Department Virtual Press Conference on Africa, 10/2/13]

2007: Thomas-Greenfield Expressed Concern Over China's "Rapidly Increasing Lending To Poor Nations In Africa." GREENFIELD: "The U.S. has already completed compacts with Madagascar, Cape Verde, and Benin, and Mali. Mali's $461 million agreement recognizes the strides that this majority Muslim democracy has made over the last 15

years. With this infusion of aid, Malians will be able to invest in agriculture, light industry, and infrastructure improvements that will enable Mali to better feed its population and be more competitive internationally. This investment is incredible when we consider the context. Earlier this year, the U.S. promised $307 million of assistance to Benin through the Millennium Challenge Account. Twenty-five years ago, that was the approximate total of U.S. spending for all of Africa. Indeed, U.S. Official development assistance to Sub-Saharan Africa $1.4 billion in 2001 to $4.1 billion in 2005. The other major investor in Africa right now is China. We do not see Chinese engagement on the continent as a threat; we believe that we can work with China to support shared goals including poverty reduction and sustainable development. That said, there is concern about China's rapidly increasing lending to poor nations in Africa. Many of these loans are made on non-concessional terms and simply replace debts that had been forgiven under the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) initiative and the Multilateral Debt Initiative (MDRI), programs that were intended to free up resource for critical investments in health, education, and poverty reduction." [Remarks on US Foreign Policy Priorities in Africa for 2007, National Council of International Visitors, Washington DC, 2/15/07]

THOMAS-GREENFIELD TOUTED THE GROWING PRESENCE OF "MADE IN AFRICA" ITEMS IN THE U.S., WHERE MOST CONSUMERS HAD BEEN USED TO SEEING "MADE IN CHINA" PRODUCTS

2015: Noting How Accustomed Americans Are To Seeing "Made In China" On Goods, Thomas-Greenfield Touted The Increasing Presence In The U.S. Of Items Labeled As Being Made In Africa Thanks To The African Growth And Opportunity Act. "The American consumer has long been accustomed to reading labels marked 'Made in China.' However, across the United States, more shoppers are seeing 'Made in Ghana,' 'Made in Tanzania,' and other labels. African products ranging from luxury bags to specialty hot sauces are reaching largely American audiences thanks to the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA). Created in 2000, AGOA permits duty-free entry for nearly 98 percent of all imports from eligible African countries and has become the cornerstone of U.S. trade relations with the region." [Linda Thomas Greenfield, U.S. Department of State DipNote Blog, 8/26/15]

2005: TOUTING THE U.S.' "STRONG" POSITION, THOMAS-GREENFIELD CALLED ON CHINA NOT TO SEND NORTH KOREAN DEFECTORS BACK TO NORTH KOREA

2005: Thomas-Greenfield Said The U.S. Was Taking A "Strong" Position That China Should Not Send North Korean Defectors Back To North Korea. THOMAS-GREENFIELD: "I'm sure we're getting the -- (inaudible) -- in questions today. Yes, we do have an office in Beijing but also UNHDR staff that travels regularly. And what our concern is that, first of all we do not have a clear sense of the numbers of North Koreans that are along the border areas because our access is quite limited. The second issue for us is that we recognize that there may be just a percentage of the North Koreans that are arriving in China that are refugees as per the true definition of a refugee. What we have found however is, and our main position, which is a very strong one, which we have said quite vocally, is that no matter what the situation is in terms of the status of a North Korean when they arrive, whether they are an asylum seeker, or just an economic migrant, as the Chinese government claims that the majority are, or a refugee, the situation changes when they are possibly returned to North Korea. What we fear is that any North Korean that has entered into China, and are forcibly returned to North Korea, will then definitely fit under the category of refugee because they will most probably, if not most definitely, be persecuted for having left in the first place. And so, what our concern is, to ensure us to allow access, to not only monitor the borders, but to even help with the refugee status determination of the group, so that we can have a better sense of how many refugees there are among the North Koreans that are arriving. And, of course, to ask China to please not return any North Koreans to North Korea." [Briefing on Refugee Resettlement Program, Foreign Press Center, 6/16/05]

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