

1 NEAL R. GROSS & CO., INC.

2 RPTS MILLER

3 HFA096000

4

5

6 RESTORING AMERICAN LEADERSHIP IN THE

7 INDO-PACIFIC

8 Wednesday, April 6, 2022

9 House of Representatives,

10 Committee on Foreign Affairs,

11 Washington, D.C.

12

13

14

15 The committee met, pursuant to call, at 10:11 a.m., in Room
16 2172, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Gregory Meeks [chairman
17 of the committee] presiding.

18 Chairman Meeks. The Committee on Foreign Affairs will come
19 to order.

20 And without objection, the chair is authorized to declare
21 a recess of the committee at any point. And all members will
22 have five days to submit statements, extraneous material, and
23 questions for the record, subject to the length limitations in
24 the rules.

25 To insert something into the record, please have your staff
26 email previously mentioned address or contact full committee
27 staff. As a reminder to Members, please keep your video function
28 on at all times, even when you are not recognized by the chair.
29 Members are responsible for muting and unmuting themselves.

30 And consistent with House rules, staff will only mute members
31 as appropriate where they are not under recognition to eliminate
32 background noise.

33 I see that we have a quorum. I now recognize myself for
34 opening remarks.

35 Pursuant to notice, we meet today to examine the Biden
36 administration's Indo-Pacific strategy, the blueprint unveiled
37 on February 11 to ensure a free and open Indo-Pacific and advance
38 broader U.S. policy and strategic interests in the region.

39 As a Pacific power, United States has enjoyed a long history
40 of deep ties to the broader Indo-Pacific. And the Indo-Pacific
41 is home to more than half of the world's population. It is home

42 to two-thirds of the world's economic output and 7 of the 15
43 largest economies.

44 The region boasts 7 of the world's largest armed forces and
45 6 of our key allies. It is the source of half of the world's
46 greenhouse gas emissions. Indo-Pacific is becoming the center
47 of gravity for international relations and will have the
48 disproportionate ability to shake the trajectory of global
49 affairs.

50 It is essential that not only we pursue a strategy that
51 acknowledges the centrality of the Indo-Pacific to core U.S.
52 interests but also reflects the growing importance of the region
53 to global affairs. And throughout history in the Indo-Pacific,
54 though our history in the Indo-Pacific goes back centuries, the
55 shifting geopolitical and strategic environment as well as
56 emerging challenges emanating from the region makes it critical
57 that the United States continues to upgrade and expand our
58 engagement in the region.

59 The United States is far from the only player vying for
60 influence. Revisionist autocratic actors seek to disrupt and
61 displace the current system and set the rules of the road where
62 they become the sole beneficiaries. Russia's premeditated an
63 unprovoked invasion of the Ukraine demonstrates its disdain for
64 the rules-based international order.

65 And China has woefully abdicated its self-proclaimed role

66 as a responsible stakeholder by failing to condemn Russia's
67 illegal war. And in the Indo-Pacific, China routinely coerces
68 our friends and allies, uses military aggression to gain the upper
69 hand in broader maritime and territorial disputes. It steals
70 technology, bends the rules to protect its domestic industry,
71 and commits human rights abuses on a grand scale, whether through
72 its genocide in Xinjiang, its destruction of Hong Kong's autonomy,
73 or its surveillance and repression of its citizens throughout
74 the mainland.

75 As we witness this ongoing assault on democratic norms and
76 the rules-based international order, America must work with our
77 partners and allies to counter the PRC's problematic policies
78 and preserve a free and open Indo-Pacific. An effective approach
79 to the region will allow us to tackle 21st challenges, including
80 the COVID-19 pandemic, climate change, the rise in
81 disinformation, and supply chain disruptions, none of which can
82 tackle effectively alone.

83 The previous administration's America Alone policies set
84 high level and consistent engagement back. And it is critical
85 that we put diplomacy back at the center of our foreign policy
86 to address complex and urgent challenges emanating for the region.

87 This is particularly important given North Korea's nuclear and
88 missile provocations and China's increased economic coercion and
89 aggression and the ongoing crisis in Burma. We must also ensure

90 that we bring our partners in ASEAN and those in the Pacific
91 Islands with us and help them to recover from and build resiliency
92 to deal with the transnational challenges such as climate change
93 and the ongoing pandemic.

94 The Biden administration Indo-Pacific strategy demonstrates
95 that the United States' commitment to build in the capacity of
96 our allies and our partners for a more stable and inclusive region
97 and invokes tangible resources to the region to restore or global
98 leadership.

99 America must commit deeper. America must be more expansive
100 diplomatically and expand our diplomatic ties and engagement in
101 the region. And that is exactly I see that this strategy and
102 plan does.

103 I now yield back the balance of my time and I now recognize
104 the ranking member of this committee, Mr. McCaul of Texas, for
105 his opening remarks.

106 Mr. McCaul. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. And thank you, Madam
107 Secretary. I know you have probably been working day and night
108 and dealing with Congress. I appreciate all your efforts,
109 though. I know it is not an easy job right now.

110 Republican and Democrat administrations are in agreement
111 that this region is America's top foreign policy and national
112 security priority. This region has been a battleground between
113 democracy and tyranny for decades. Today, the Chinese Communist

114 Party is trying to dominate the region and push the U.S. military
115 out through military expansion and debt trap diplomacy.

116 Mr. Chairman, you tell this hearing of restoring American
117 leadership in Indo-Pacific. And so I would like to make two
118 points on American leadership in the Indo-Pacific because the
119 Americans watching might be under the mistaken impression that
120 we may have left. But first, we have been in Indo-Pacific for
121 over 120 years since the end of the Spanish-American war.

122 Second, American's legacy in the Indo-Pacific is freedom
123 and prosperity. In the Second World War, my dad's war, and other
124 conflicts, Americans sacrificed their lives to keep this region
125 free. And the results speak for themselves, an independent
126 Philippines, thriving democracies in Japan, Korea, and Taiwan,
127 and a strong ASEAN.

128 But the CCP is undermining this hard-won freedom and
129 prosperity. Chairman Xi and Mr. Putin have formed this as we
130 saw at the Beijing Olympics this unholy alliance of two dictators
131 obsessed with rebuilding their empires. Their recent no-limits
132 partnership endorsed each other's territorial aggression.

133 Putin has made his move. The question is will Chairman Xi
134 make his. Taiwan is the front line, on the front line to maintain
135 a free Indo-Pacific. A CCP controlled Taiwan would be an
136 unprecedented blow to our economic and national security.

137 It would threaten the homeland, weaken our alliances, allow

138 the CCP to hold the world's economy hostage by controlling supply
139 chains, including semiconductors. I believe they control about
140 90 percent of the semiconductors in Taiwan.

141 So I'm glad you are here today. I know you're busy and you
142 have got a lot of other things on your plate and to answer our
143 questions.

144 Just before and during Putin's invasion, the President, the
145 national security advisor, and administration officials at all
146 levels including yourself, Madam Secretary, went above and beyond
147 to engage the CCP. But instead of joining the international
148 community, I believe they double down on their loyalty to Vladimir
149 Putin instead. And rather than condemn Russia, they helped
150 spread Russia's disinformation. Rather than sanction Russia,
151 they helped Russian banks avoid U.S. sanctions.

152 Mr. Chairman, our response to the CCP threat needs less talk
153 and more action. Soon I will be introducing the Taiwan Deterrence
154 Act to stand up a security assistance program for Taiwan. Putin's
155 invasion of the Ukraine has shown us how critical it is to get
156 our allies the weapons they need before an invasion and not after.

157 The invasion of Ukraine is also a reminder that we have the
158 power to lead our allies in punishing and deterring our enemies.

159 We can cripple our adversary's economy. We can use export
160 controls to cut off technology they use to build their military
161 and that they use to murder innocent people.

162 We can restrict the outbound flows of American investments
163 into their brutal regime. Quite frankly, we have had crippling
164 effects on Russia. I think we need to look at China and their
165 quest for aggression.

166 If we truly want the United States to lead in the
167 Indo-Pacific, we need to deal with the CCP from a position of
168 strength. And I would be remiss if I did not mention the Iran
169 nuclear deal and in particular the possibility of lifting the
170 foreign terrorist organization designation on the IRGC. This
171 is a terrorist entity that has blood of over 600 Americans on
172 its hands, and it continues to plan and launch attacks around
173 the world.

174 Delisting this organization is part of a political deal with
175 Iran would undermine our sanctions around the world and it would
176 give a free pass to terrorism. I know this is one of the options
177 on the table, Madam Secretary. But I would urge you to resist
178 that temptation. I think that would be a terrible mistake.

179 So I look forward to our discussion. And with that, I yield
180 back.

181 Chairman Meeks. The gentleman yields back. And I would
182 like to turn to our distinguished chair of the subcommittee of
183 Asia and the Pacific. I yield one minute to Chairman Bera.

184 Mr. Bera. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. It has been a busy year,
185 year and a half in the region, starting with the ongoing pandemic

186 to the coup in Myanmar to the collapse of the Afghan government
187 to now the invasion of Ukraine by Russia. And more recently,
188 we are paying close attention to what's happening in Pakistan
189 and Sri Lanka, real issues there.

190 That said, I think the administration has done a lot that
191 we can be proud of, restoring multilateral coalitions, elevating
192 the Quad to a leader's level, AUKUS, which will really help us
193 with maritime security in the region. And we look forward to
194 building off of all of that without mentioning China as we deal
195 with what we see as an autocratic regime. But I'm optimistic
196 about the region.

197 I think we're putting a lot in place foundationally that
198 will help us address many of those crisis but also will lay a
199 framework for a thriving, peaceful, prosperous 21st century.
200 But it really will take American leadership, American engagement.
201 And I think in a bipartisan way, I have enjoyed working with
202 my ranking member, Mr. Chabot.

203 And we have got to have a long term American strategy for
204 the region. So thank you and I'll yield back.

205 Chairman Meeks. Gentleman yields back. And now I
206 recognize the subcommittee ranking member who I have the pleasure
207 of working with very closely. And I would like to acknowledge
208 how closely both the chair and the subcommittee and the ranking
209 member works together in the spirit of this community.

210 So I yield to Ranking Member Chabot.

211 Mr. Chabot. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. We do enjoy
212 working together in a bipartisan manner for the most part in this
213 committee. And we appreciate that.

214 It's hard to overstate the significance of the Indo-Pacific.
215 Not only is it home to over half the world's population, but
216 it also produces more than a third of the globe's economic
217 activity.

218 Over the upcoming decades, the region will steadily grow
219 in importance, making it absolutely critical that we get our
220 strategy towards it right. While most of the countries in
221 Indo-Pacific are focused on peaceful development, the Chinese
222 Communist Party is seeking regional hegemony, dominance over the
223 rest of us. Bewilderingly, however, powerful voices in this
224 administration seem to think that the CCP is just one conversation
225 away from being a responsible stakeholder or the solution of the
226 crisis in Ukraine.

227 Let me be clear. The CCP is not a potential friend, not
228 a responsible stakeholder, not a misunderstood partner. The
229 Chinese Communist Party is a strategic and ideological adversary.
230 They are our primary challenge in the Indo-Pacific.

231 So I look forward to discussing whether or policy toward
232 the region recognizes that fact. I yield back.

233 Chairman Meeks. The gentleman yields back. It is now my

234 distinct pleasure and honor to introduce our witness. And I want
235 to say first to our witness, thank you. Thank you for your service
236 to our country.

237 Thank you for being available to this committee anytime that
238 we call. You always rise to the occasion. And the House, you've
239 been able to testify a number of our classified briefings and
240 keeping us informed on what has taken place around the world.

241 So I want thank you for your service.

242 The Honorable Wendy Sherman was confirmed by the Senate on
243 April 13, 2021 and sworn in as the twenty-first and first female
244 Deputy Secretary of State on April 14, 2021. Prior to assuming
245 this position, Deputy Secretary Sherman was professor of the
246 Practice of Public Leadership and director of the Center for
247 Public Leadership at the Harvard Kennedy School. From 2011 to
248 2015, Deputy Secretary Sherman served as Under Secretary of State
249 for Political Affairs.

250 Among her many diplomatic accomplishments, she was awarded
251 the National Security Medal by President Barack Obama. She
252 previously served at the State Department as counselor and special
253 advisor to President Clinton and policy coordinator on North Korea
254 and as Assistant Secretary for Legislative Affairs under
255 Secretary Warren Christopher.

256 So without objection, all the witness' prepared testimony
257 will be made part of the record. And I will now recognize the

258 Honorable Deputy Secretary Sherman to make her testimony. And
259 she will recognized for five minutes to summarize her testimony.

260 Let me just say this early on to Members afterwards because
261 when we get to questions, I know the Deputy Secretary has a hard
262 1:00 p.m. stop. So I am going to be strict with the gavel when
263 we get to the questions and answers to allow as many members as
264 possible to ask questions.

265 Madam Deputy Secretary.

266 STATEMENT OF WENDY SHERMAN, DEPUTY SECRETARY OF STATE, U.S.
267 DEPARTMENT OF STATE

268

269 Ms. Sherman. Thank you very much, Chairman Meeks, Ranking
270 Member McCaul, Subcommittee Chair Bera, and Ranking Mr. Chabot,
271 distinguished members of the committee all. Thank you for
272 inviting me to testify today about the Biden-Harris
273 administration's Indo-Pacific Strategy.

274 Even as we work every day, in lockstep with our Allies and
275 partners, to support Ukraine and the Ukrainian people and to
276 impose severe, coordinated costs and consequences on Russian
277 President Vladimir Putin and his enablers, we are also continuing
278 to advance our foreign policy priorities in every region of the
279 world through sustained diplomatic engagement.

280 The United States is a proud Indo-Pacific nation. Our
281 future is entwined more closely with the Indo-Pacific than with
282 any other part of the world. The Indo-Pacific, as the chairman
283 said, is the fastest-growing region on Earth. And it will be
284 decisive to addressing virtually every priority issue -- from
285 promoting strong economic growth, to combating the climate
286 crisis, to strengthening global health security, to upholding
287 the rules-based international order.

288 Our vision -- a vision we share with our Allies and partners
289 across the region -- is to ensure the Indo-Pacific remains free

290 and open, and becomes more interconnected, prosperous, secure,
291 and resilient.

292 These priorities are all reflected in the five pillars of
293 the Indo-Pacific Strategy released by the White House in February.

294 First, advancing a free and open Indo-Pacific. We have seen
295 increasing challenges to democracy, the rule of law, and human
296 rights in the Indo-Pacific -- all of which threaten stability,
297 transparency, and prosperity. To combat these trends, we are
298 working to build the capacity of Indo-Pacific nations and regional
299 institutions to build strong civil societies, combat corruption,
300 and promote good governance, strengthen democratic systems, and
301 promote human rights and a free and independent press.

302 We are also working to uphold and strengthen the rules-based
303 international order, so that nations in the Indo-Pacific and
304 elsewhere can make decisions free from coercion; ideas and people
305 can flow freely; problems are dealt with openly and according
306 to a transparent set of rules; and the seas and skies are governed
307 according to international law.

308 Second, building connections in the Indo-Pacific and beyond.

309 America's network of alliances and partnerships is one of our
310 greatest strengths. That is why we are prioritizing
311 strengthening our collaboration in a variety of forums --
312 including with ASEAN, at the Pacific Islands Forum, and through
313 the Mekong-U.S. Partnership. We elevated the Quad, created

314 AUKUS, appointed a Special Presidential Envoy to lead our Compacts
315 of Free Association, COFA, negotiations with the Freely
316 Associated States, and reinvigorated trilateral diplomacy with
317 Japan and the Republic of Korea.

318 Third, driving Indo-Pacific prosperity. The Indo-Pacific
319 is home to more than half the global population and 60 percent
320 of the global economy -- which means the prosperity of the American
321 people is linked to the Indo-Pacific. We are proud the United
322 States was selected to host APEC in 2023. As President Biden
323 announced last year, we are working to develop an Indo-Pacific
324 Economic Framework with our Allies and partners. We look forward
325 to continuing to consult with Congress as we refine our economic
326 approach to the region.

327 Fourth, bolstering Indo-Pacific security. Threats to our
328 security are evolving. Members have spoken to that this morning.

329 And our security approach must evolve with them. We are
330 strengthening and deepening our five treaty alliances and other
331 vital partnerships across the Indo-Pacific and working to enhance
332 our capabilities -- as well as those of our Allies and partners
333 -- to keep the peace, defend our interests, deter aggression and
334 other threats, including in the maritime domain.

335 Fifth, building regional resilience. America's security
336 depends on working with our Allies and partners to address shared
337 challenges -- like the COVID-19 pandemic and the climate crisis.

338 In partnership with COVAX, we have donated more than 180 million
339 doses of safe and effective COVID-19 vaccines across the region.

340 We are investing in clean energy and climate resilience across
341 the Indo-Pacific -- creating good jobs in the region and
342 supporting jobs at home, as well.

343 We look forward to working with Congress to ensure our work
344 advancing the Indo-Pacific Strategy continues to be appropriately
345 and fully resourced. I know there are many issues that members
346 already have addressed today, including the PRC. And I will be
347 glad to address your questions and our approach in our questions
348 and answers. Obviously, it is core to what we are doing here.

349 I want to end, though, where I began, which is with Ukraine.

350 What happens in Ukraine will have a bearing on the Indo-Pacific.

351 Indeed, it already is, as countries battered by two years of
352 the COVID-19 pandemic now must contend with rising prices for
353 grain, energy, and fertilizer, all as a direct result of Putin's
354 war of choice. These trends underscore the urgency of our work
355 to build shared prosperity and resilience, including by
356 accelerating the transition to clean energy.

357 We are also deeply concerned about the growing strategic
358 alignment between Russia and the People's Republic of China, as
359 represented in their February 4 joint statement. We have
360 expressed those concerns directly to the PRC, as have our Allies
361 and partners.

362 The strong and coordinated response from the international
363 community -- including nations in Indo-Pacific -- to Russia's
364 flagrant violations of international law and principles like
365 sovereignty and territorial integrity sends a strong signal that
366 such actions will not go ignored.

367 Thank you again for having me. I have been briefed here
368 to ensure time for questions. I look forward to answering those
369 questions. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.[The statement of Ms. Sherman f

370

371 *****COMMITTEE INSERT*****

372 Chairman Meeks. Thank you for your testimony, Madam
373 Secretary.

374 I am now going to recognize members for five minutes each.
375 And pursuant to House rules, all time yielded is for the purpose
376 of questioning our witnesses. I'll recognize members by
377 committee, seniority, alternating between Democrats and
378 Republicans.

379 If you miss your turn, please let our staff know and we'll
380 come back to you. If you seek recognition, you must unmute your
381 microphone and address the chair verbally and identify yourself
382 to let me know who is speaking. I'll start by recognizing myself
383 for five minutes.

384 Madam Secretary, ahead of Russia's invasion of Ukraine,
385 Putin and Xi released a joint statement announcing closer
386 strategic cooperation. And while China has maintained publicly
387 that it did not know about the invasion, it has tried to distance
388 itself from Putin's war, it has refused to condemn Russia and
389 has engaged in disinformation that supports Russia's
390 justifications.

391 So my question, Madam Secretary, is, what is the
392 administration's assessment on whether China actively supported
393 Russia and its invasion of Ukraine? And the President's call
394 with Xi Jinping, he told the PRC that there would be consequences
395 if China is found to be materially supporting Russia's war

396 efforts. Could you tell us what such consequences would entail?

397 Ms. Sherman. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I think
398 when we all saw the manifesto before the Beijing Olympics, we
399 were quite concerned. We were already concerned, but that
400 increased the concern about what this partnership was really
401 about.

402 It's interesting that the PRC has said publicly that this
403 is a partnership, not an alliance as part of Xi Jinping trying
404 to distance himself somewhat from what President Putin has done
405 with his premeditated, unjust, and unprovoked invasion of
406 Ukraine.

407 President Biden has been very direct with President Xi, as
408 has Jake Sullivan with Yang Jiechi, as has Secretary Blinken with
409 Wang Yi, as have I been with the ambassador here in Washington
410 in quite long meetings, that if China in any way, shape, or form
411 provides material support to Putin in this premeditated unjust
412 and unprovoked invasion, there will be consequences.

413 I think one only has to look at the range of sanctions, more
414 to be announced today, against Putin, against the economy, against
415 individuals who are enablers, against elites, against oligarchs.

416 Export controls, designations, sanctions that are not only from
417 the United States but in unprecedented fashion, coordinated with
418 our allies and partners, not just in Europe but throughout the
419 world, gives President Xi, I think, a pretty good understanding

420 of what might come his way should he, in fact, support Putin in
421 any material fashion. This is a very serious matter that we take
422 quite seriously.

423 Chairman Meeks. Thank you. And I concur. One of the
424 things that the administration should be absolutely praised upon
425 is unity between not only as you said our European allies but
426 our allies all over the world.

427 But a key component of our Indo-Pacific strategy in South
428 Asia hinges on developing a more purposeful relationship with
429 India. There are clearly obstacles to overcome and questions
430 on both sides that must be adequately addressed for the promise
431 of this partnership to be fulfilled.

432 But the potential of consequential U.S.-India relationship
433 to me is worth the effort, although I have concerns when I looked
434 at what took place in the abstention that India made in the U.N.

435 So strategy says India is an engine for regional growth and
436 development. And aside from its role in the Quad, how does the
437 administration view India's role within and outside of South Asia,
438 and how are you working through some of the immediate term
439 obstacles like one that I just mentioned?

440 Ms. Sherman. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I quite
441 agree with you that our having a strong relationship with India
442 is critical to our goals and objectives in the Indo-Pacific for
443 our own prosperity, security, and to address all of the challenges

444 in front of us, including local health and the climate crisis.

445 India by 2030 is going to be the largest everything -- the
446 largest democracy in the world, the largest middle class, the
447 largest wealthy class, the largest poor, the most elderly, the
448 most young people, the largest everything. And they are a
449 democracy, not perfect but neither are we, quite frankly.

450 Our relationship is complex. I think it's been quite
451 important as many of you have mentioned that India now engages
452 with us, Australia, and Japan, in the Quad, to try to move forward
453 a set of objectives, particularly around things like global health
454 and climate and ensuring prosperity for the region and economic
455 prosperity. These things are quite important and we have an
456 important defense relationship with India.

457 India has been in a tough place, and I agree with you. I
458 would prefer them to have voted yes on the resolution at the U.N.,
459 and we have said as much to them quite directly. Secretary
460 Blinken talks to External Affairs Secretary Jaishankar on quite
461 a regular basis. I talk with my counterpart, Shringla, who is
462 about to be replaced with a terrific diplomat who will succeed
463 him.

464 So we've been very direct about our concerns. But India
465 has a history of a relationship with Russia. Most of its defense
466 equipment originally was from Russia. They rely on Russia for
467 fertilizer which is critical to their agricultural development.

468 That's not to say we're happy with the choice they've made.

469 And we have pointed out to them that given the sanctions, they're
470 not going to be able to get Russian equipment. They're not going
471 to get to be able to repair their equipment or their weapons.

472 And indeed, we have built a very strong defense relationship
473 with Russia, very important to our defense community and our
474 defense sales, our joint cooperation with India. So they are
475 a strategic partner for us and quite critical that we continue
476 to develop this relationship. And they are a critical member
477 of the Quad.

478 Chairman Meeks. Thank you. My time has expired. Now I'll
479 recognize Mr. McCaul for five minutes.

480 Mr. McCaul. Thank you, Mr. Chair. And Madam Chair, thanks
481 so much for taking the time.

482 First of all, this committee marked up yesterday a war crimes
483 bill to hold Putin accountable, defining it for what it is. I
484 want to thank the chairman for working with me. And we'll be
485 on the floor today, and it will pass to send a message to Putin
486 and the world that these are horrific war crimes.

487 And after Bucha, my God, the images that came out of there,
488 horrific. And I'm quoting President Zelensky after he gave his
489 tour of Bucha. And he says, quote, if we had already got what
490 we needed, all these planes, tanks, artillery, anti-missile,
491 anti-ship weapons, we could've saved thousands of people. I do

492 not blame you. I blame only the Russian military. But you could
493 have helped, Zelensky said in his speech.

494 I agree with him. I think we waited too long to get these
495 weapons in. I know you can't discuss the S-300 in this open
496 environment and the anti-aircraft, anti-missile capability and
497 systems. But I hope we are making progress because that is what
498 they really need right now.

499 Shifting to Taiwan, I had breakfast with the Taiwanese
500 ambassador this morning. And just like Ukraine, we're worried
501 that Chairman Xi, after the chairman of this committee mentioned,
502 this unholy alliance at the Beijing Olympics standing hand in
503 hand together denouncing aggression from the West.

504 The same issue arises. Is Taiwan able to defend herself?
505 I think the answer is no right now, and I am worried about that.
506 I don't want to make the same mistake of waiting till after
507 invasion because that's going to be too late.

508 And so I would like to just very quickly go through all the
509 foreign military sales that the chairman and I have signed off
510 on and the dates of notification going back to July of 2019 all
511 the way to August of 2021. This includes Stinger missiles,
512 aircraft. It includes torpedoes, Patriot systems, these high
513 mobility artillery rocket systems, these Standoff Land Attack
514 Missile-Expanded Response missiles, the harpoons which are very
515 effective against anti-ship, field information communication

516 systems, and the self-propelled howitzer system.

517 Her biggest complaint to us is that while we have notified
518 and signed off on these systems, they have yet to be delivered
519 to Taiwan. Can you provide some clarity to this and what is the
520 cause of the backlog? Because if Chairman Xi is on the same
521 timetable here, I'm concerned about what could happen.

522 Ms. Sherman. Thank you very much. First of all, kudos to
523 the committee, to you and the chairman on your not just
524 acknowledgment but condemnation of the war crimes that have been
525 committed.

526 Secondly, I want to share with this committee that the White
527 House has just announced the following sanctions in addition to
528 everything else we've done: full blocking sanctions on Sberbank,
529 Russia's largest financial institution, and Alfa-Bank, Russia's
530 largest private bank, prohibition of new investment in the Russian
531 Federation, full blocking sanctions on critical major Russian
532 state owned enterprises, full blocking sanctions on Putin's adult
533 children, Lavrov's wife and daughter, and members of Russia's
534 security council and many more.

535 So we have taken very decisive and very tough action today
536 as you all did yesterday in your mark up. The acts in Bucha are
537 so horrifying. And I think we all appreciate that there is
538 probably more horror to come. So thank you very much for what
539 you did in the committee.

540 And I also want to add, Congressman McCaul, that between
541 the United States and allies and partners, for every Russian tank
542 in Ukraine, there are or soon will be in Ukraine more than ten
543 anti-tank systems for every Russian tank. So we have heard what
544 President Zelensky has called for. And we are working day and
545 night to offer whatever we possibly can along with our partners
546 and allies. And if I were him, I would want everything and I
547 would want it yesterday. So I certainly understand.

548 On Taiwan, terribly important as you point out. The United
549 States sold more than 30 billion dollars' worth of arms to Taiwan
550 since 2009. And thank you for outlining the authority of this
551 committee.

552 We have more than 400 foreign military sale cases in
553 implementation in Taiwan. We are looking at the entire defense
554 trade enterprise to see where efficiencies can be made and how
555 delivery timelines of defense articles can be improved. We are
556 outlining defense trade priorities to Taiwan and to industry to
557 increase transparency and predictability, expediting third party
558 transfers, reviewing possibilities for arm sale exports from
559 other countries, pushing for the conclusion of defense agreements
560 related to defense trade, and looking at opportunities to improve
561 Taiwan's indigenous industrial defense capability.

562 So since 2017, the U.S. has authorized with your actions
563 over 18 billion dollars in foreign military sales for Taiwan.

564 In addition, direct commercial sales authorizations for end use
565 by the Taiwan authority during this period has totaled 2.3 billion
566 dollars.

567 So I certainly understand that President Tsai wants to see
568 everything delivered as quickly as possible. And we are doing
569 that. We are also urging Taiwan to focus on capabilities that
570 would deter the PRC from taking Taiwan by force. This means a
571 focus on capabilities that are cost efficient, mobile, lethal,
572 resilient, and capable of operating and surviving in a contested
573 environment.

574 Mr. McCaul. Just these asymmetrical weapons are vitally
575 important. This is a backlog, and it's real. I would urge you
576 to get those out.

577 In closing, RIMPAC, she also requested the Rim of Pacific
578 Exercises. I would hope the administration would maybe consider
579 Taiwan being a part of that.

580 Chairman Meeks. The gentleman's time has expired. And at
581 that point, I allowed myself to go a little over, allowed Mr.
582 McCaul go a little bit over. But I'm not going to allow anyone
583 else to go a little bit over.

584 (Simultaneous speaking.)

585 Chairman Meeks. And so make sure I'd ask my members and
586 the witness to be mindful of the time. I now recognized
587 Representative Ami Bera of California who's the chair of the

588 subcommittee of the Asian Pacific for five minutes.

589 Mr. Bera. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I'll watch the clock.

590 I'm going to focus on other parts of the Indo-Pacific. But by
591 no means is that to express that I don't wake up every morning
592 with sadness about the tragedy that we're seeing take place in
593 Ukraine and with concern of the lessons that China and others
594 may take out of this or the concerns of the security of the people
595 of Taiwan.

596 But a lot happening in the region. And Madam Deputy
597 Secretary, we've had a chance to talk about what's unfolding in
598 Myanmar. And I try to look for a path forward and how we can
599 get to a cease fire. And I just don't see a clear direction.

600 If you could give us an update on what you're seeing there,
601 it seems like the junta is really digging in as well as the
602 resistance. And I've talked to ambassadors in the region and
603 others and appreciate ASEAN's leadership here. But what would
604 you like to see out of Congress and what can we do working with
605 our ASEAN colleagues?

606 Ms. Sherman. [Audio malfunction] -- horrifying tragedy.

607 Indeed, Secretary Blinken recently looking back all the way to
608 2017 named what has happened to the Rohingya in Burma as genocide.

609 So we did that because we believe that accountability of the
610 past is critical for accountability for the present. And shining
611 a light on the crimes of Burma's military in the past also speaks

612 to what they're doing in the present.

613 The work with ASEAN and the travels that you all have made
614 to countries in Southeast Asia who were part of ASEAN to urge
615 them to follow through on the five-point consensus in a way that
616 is real and inclusive. There have been forays to the capitol,
617 but often to meet with junta leadership, not to meet with
618 democratic opposition.

619 And so I would urge you to continue to press countries in
620 ASEAN to move forward in a very pressing kind of way. Cambodia
621 is the current chair. They have mixed ambitions here, and they
622 need to be encouraged to say the least by other members of ASEAN
623 to take the action that is necessary.

624 Both myself and Counselor Derek Chollet have tried to put
625 a special focus on this. Derek has traveled maybe three times
626 to the region. I have gone twice myself because we want to make
627 sure that this does not last forever and that the world does not
628 forget what is happening here.

629 Mr. Bera. Let me touch on another subject that doesn't get
630 as much coverage but is no less important. You touched on it
631 in your open, the second island chain, the Pacific Islands, and
632 the importance of getting COFA completed. I'm glad to hear there
633 will be a special envoy focused on this.

634 If you can give us an update, and then obviously we're
635 watching the Solomon Islands very closely. And again, the South

636 China Sea is much more complicated today than maybe had we resolved
637 some of this back in 2014. But we don't want to see that happen
638 in the Pacific Ocean. If you could give us update on COFA.

639 Ms. Sherman. Right. The Pacific Islands are incredibly
640 important. The Secretary even after the start of Putin's
641 premeditated, unjust, and unprovoked invasion of Ukraine, went
642 to Australia and to Fiji and went to Fiji for a meeting of Pacific
643 Island nations.

644 All of these islands are under tremendous stress, not only
645 economically and in terms of COVID, but they are barely above
646 sea level. And so when we look at the climate crisis, these
647 islands are quite, quite at risk.

648 We were very glad to just name as a Special Presidential
649 Envoy a very seasoned foreign service officer, Ambassador Joe
650 Yun, to be the Special Presidential Envoy for the COFA
651 negotiations, and he will go forward. It's not that the folks
652 who were doing this before weren't capable. They were. But we
653 felt that we needed to raise the level of attention and our concern
654 about this. In addition, we have an Our Ocean Conference coming
655 up just in a few days to focus, co-hosted by the United States
656 in Palau to bring attention to these global issues.

657 Mindful I have five seconds left. Let me say on the Solomon
658 Islands that we are very concerned about the relationship with
659 the PRC. We will be taking some action shortly to remind the

660 Solomon Islands how important --

661 Chairman Meeks. The gentleman's time has expired. And I
662 will recognize Representative Chris Smith of New Jersey who is
663 the ranking member on the subcommittee of Africa, Global Health,
664 and Global Human Rights for five minutes.

665 Mr. Smith. Thank you very much. Deputy Secretary Sherman,
666 thank you for testifying and for your work at the State Department.

667 Let me just ask you if I could. I just left a major
668 conference of the OSCE. I'm the Special Representative for Human
669 Trafficking. And so I gave speech. That's why I was late.

670 But the UNHCR representative made a very powerful statement
671 about the fact that we're not doing enough. He says it's not
672 big enough and it's not effective enough to help the many, maybe
673 millions, but certainly tens of thousands of unaccompanied minors
674 and women who are vulnerable to the traffickers. And it's getting
675 worse by the day.

676 And I hoping you can take back the importance of scaling
677 up the efforts among governments and NGOs because it is a crisis
678 with few precedents. And we're going to find out later all those
679 women and children who are trafficked. People are holding up
680 signs, this way if you want to get to a hotel. Next thing you
681 know, they disappear.

682 So please scale that up. That was the message from the
683 UNHCR. And my message was similar, but he had some very

684 actionable information about that.

685 Secondly, if I could, on March 8, I chaired a hearing of
686 the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission on war crimes against Putin
687 to bring an action against him. And David Crane, as you know,
688 the special prosecutor for Sierra Leone, he talked about four
689 options that are available to us.

690 One is the ICC, but he notes that using this takes the United
691 States pretty much out of the picture because we are not
692 signatories to that. We signed it originally but not ratified
693 it.

694 But he had a second possibility that he stressed very, very
695 hard and that is that the U.N. General Assembly has the authority
696 where there's no veto power by the Security Council, by Russia
697 and China or China. And he said these hybrid tribunals like he
698 headed up, they put Charles Taylor behind bars for 50 years, could
699 also be done. And the key is to indict Putin now, right now.

700 So people around him will know that they too could still
701 be indicted. But every time we have done tribunals, the
702 indictments come long after the hostilities have largely ceased.

703 So it is accountability, but it has no chilling effect on the
704 ongoing commission of those crimes.

705 And finally, if you could, I am concerned by reports that
706 our embassy in Guatemala, the apparent intervention and the
707 selection of the country's Prosecutor General and the continued

708 heavy had by Ambassador, now Assistant Secretary Todd Robinson
709 in violation of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations.

710 The current Prosecutor General Consuelo Porras has been very
711 cooperative with regards to our anti-narcotics efforts. Last
712 year, she extradited 63 Guatemalans to the U.S., including 54
713 drug dealers. DEA, Drug Enforcement Agency, has praised her for
714 that.

715 And yet the apparent reason for the animosity against the
716 current Prosecutor General is that she fired a political ally
717 of Todd Robinson, Juan Francisco Sandoval. Ms. Porras has twice
718 offered through official channels to provide the State Department
719 with evidence as to why she fired him, yet the State Department
720 is reportedly refused to receive it.

721 Why has that been the case, and will you accept it now?
722 And hopefully, even if it's in a confidential way, share that
723 information with us about that.

724 Ms. Sherman. Thank you very much, Congressman. And thank
725 you for your many years of advocacy on human rights. You have
726 long been a leader in this arena and very grateful for it.

727 On the human trafficking, I could not agree with you more.

728 It is a terrible, terrible problem and a growing one. We
729 actually had a meeting on this yesterday to see what else we can
730 do.

731 Uzra Zeye, the Under Secretary for this arena is very much

732 focused on it as Julieta Noyes, our new Assistant Secretary for
733 PRM. So please note that we completely join you in this concern
734 and are upping our game and all of our partners and allies in
735 doing so as well.

736 In terms of war crimes, yes, the ICC is one vehicle.
737 Although we are not a signatory, we can provide information.
738 But there are other venues as you point out. The U.N. General
739 Assembly is certainly one, but there are other accountability
740 mechanisms, including the Human Rights Council. So there are
741 many ways that we can increase accountability.

742 And I think the fundamental thing which Secretary Blinken
743 has said again and again is we will hold Putin and his enablers
744 accountable for these actions. We all believe that Bucha is just
745 the beginning of what we are going to see. And even before Bucha,
746 this administration had said that war crimes had been committed
747 in Ukraine. So I know this will be a high priority.

748 On the issue regarding Guatemala, I don't know the details,
749 Congressman. But we'll get back to you on it.

750 Chairman Meeks. The gentleman's time has expired. And
751 I'll recognize Representative Andy Levin of Michigan who's the
752 vice chair of the subcommittee on Asia, Pacific, and Central Asia
753 Non-Proliferation for five minutes. And I'll ask Mr. Malinowski
754 to chair for a few minutes till I can return.

755 Mr. Levin. Thanks so much, Mr. Chairman, for holding this

756 important hearing today. It's great to see the committee
757 continuing to focus on Indo-Pacific as a critical region for U.S.
758 interests. Deputy Secretary Sherman, thank you so much for being
759 here today.

760 I want to focus on the Biden administration's goals for the
761 Indo-Pacific Economic Framework and which countries the
762 administration intends to include to meet the goals involved for
763 us. My understanding of the IPEF is that we would like to bring
764 countries together to counter China's influence in the region,
765 rebuild more robust and reliable supply chains, and promote
766 universal values such as labor rights and environmental
767 protections.

768 Yet countries that might be aligned with the U.S. human
769 rights like Australia and New Zealand previously express
770 consternation about past trade agreements like TPP being framed
771 as countering China and countries that might be more willing to
772 embrace a counter China posture like Vietnam, Malaysia,
773 Indonesia, or India would seem to be improbable partners for an
774 agreement based on strong human rights and climate provisions
775 according to the State Department's annual human rights reports
776 for those countries.

777 So how does the administration plan to reconcile these
778 competing interests and how you prioritize adherence to strong
779 human rights standards, particularly labor rights, and climate

780 protections, when considering participants in the IPEF?

781 Ms. Sherman. Thank you very much, Congressman. There are
782 four pillars to the Indo-Pacific Economic Framework: fair and
783 resilient trade, including labor, environmental, and digital
784 provisions; resilient supply chains; infrastructure, clean
785 energy, and decarbonization; and tax and anti-corruption. We
786 have not made final decisions on membership. The framework will
787 be open and inclusive to those partners that share our ambitions
788 and commitments to high standards.

789 So I think, Congressman, the bottom line here is we are
790 interested in things that will advantage and support American
791 workers in everything that we do and the values of the United
792 States of America. And so the concerns that you have raised are
793 certainly ones that are on our minds as we proceed to fill out
794 this Indo-Pacific Economic Framework.

795 Mr. Levin. All right. Well, thanks. So let's drill down
796 a little on the human rights standards and how they will work
797 in practice in the framework.

798 I feel too often we think of human rights protections as
799 in competition or conflict with our security or economic interests
800 when in reality strong human rights protections can be an
801 essential enabling factor for sustainable security and equitable
802 economic growth, the kind of American values you were talking
803 about. And strong labor protections for workers in each country

804 can ensure that all workers within the framework won't be
805 exploited for cheaper wages or harsher working environments, thus
806 preventing a race to the bottom in helping economic security grow
807 for everyone.

808 So how will the administration's framework build in strong
809 rights protections at the foundation of the agreement? And what
810 will happen if participating countries are found to be in
811 violation of those standards, particularly standards for workers?

812 Ms. Sherman. Thank you very much, Congressman. All of the
813 details of how we are going to fill out the IPEF are not fully
814 resolved yet. But I can assure you that ensuring that this is
815 high standard agreements, understandings, projects, work
816 together will be at the foundation of everything that we do.

817 We are about making sure that there is a free and open and
818 interconnected Indo-Pacific with high standards that ensure the
819 prosperity, security, and stability of the United States of
820 America and our interests in them. And certainly, workers'
821 rights, labor rights, human rights are at the core of that.
822 President Biden said at the beginning administration that human
823 rights would be at the center of our foreign policy, and indeed
824 they are.

825 Mr. Levin. All right. Well, so in the little bit of time
826 I have left, I just want to -- I assume that the framework is
827 going to be non-binding. So I think we really have to figure

828 out ways to have mechanisms to enforce labor standards. I'd
829 certainly encourage us to look to what we did with USMCA as kind
830 of a floor in this regard so that we can really make sure that
831 we are raising the votes for all people and certainly the workers
832 of this country.

833 Thanks. Mr. Chairman, I think my time has expired, so I
834 yield back.

835 Mr. Malinowski.[Presiding.] Thank you. I will now
836 recognize Representative Chabot of Ohio, ranking member of our
837 Asia-Pacific subcommittee. Thank you.

838 Mr. Chabot. Thank you very much, and thanks for being here
839 today. As you may know, I'm one of the co-chairs of the
840 Congressional Taiwan Caucus and one of the founders of that caucus
841 about 20 years ago. And as we all know, Taiwan faces a very
842 serious threat from the Chinese Communist Party and has for some
843 time now.

844 And as the ranking member already talked about, there are
845 currently substantial delays in the delivery of key weapons
846 systems to Taiwan, many of which were approved by Congress and
847 which the United States encouraged Taiwan to buy in the first
848 place. And I don't want to go through all that again. But I
849 know in communicating in various ways with the Taiwanese officials
850 that it is very frustrating, and we need to do something about
851 that.

852 It's very serious. Congress and the administration have
853 to work together on that. We've seen in Ukraine how critical
854 it is that we get the weapons to who has threatened Ukraine --
855 in the case of Russia and Taiwan, in the case of the PRC -- ahead
856 of time, way ahead of time. Hopefully, that will deter the
857 military action from ever happening, just as nuclear weapons have
858 prevented nuclear wars from happening over time.

859 You need to have these things ahead of time. And I'm not
860 promoting nuclear weapons. But we've got them and the Russians
861 have got them, the Chinese, and others. But we need to make sure
862 that we stop whatever the log jam and whatever the delays have
863 been. We've got to get the weaponry to Taiwan. But I'm not going
864 to ask you to respond to that. Let me get to something else.

865 One of the many reasons that the world has condemned Russia's
866 invasion of the Ukraine and almost universally is because it's
867 a clear violation of a state's sovereignty, in violation of the
868 U.N. charter. Now it might be more difficult potentially to build
869 a similar coalition around Taiwan if China would invade because
870 the Chinese Communist Party and the PRC has spent years promoting
871 the lie that Taiwan is part of the PRC which it is absolutely
872 not part of China nor has it ever been.

873 What actions is the administration taking now to build a
874 coalition in support of Taiwan's freedom?

875 Ms. Sherman. Thank you very much, Congressman. For over

876 four decades, for over 40 years, the U.S. One China policy has
877 been guided by the Taiwan Relations Act, the Three Joint
878 Communiques, and the Six Assurances. President Biden himself
879 voted for the Taiwan Relations Act.

880 And I mention it because it has some critical principles
881 to the points you are making. The United States will continue
882 to assist Taiwan in maintaining a sufficient self-defense
883 capability. And I take your opening points about making sure
884 that we get weapons to them to be able to do that.

885 The United States would regard any effort to determine the
886 future of Taiwan both other than peaceful means a threat to the
887 peace and security of the Western Pacific and of grave concern
888 to the United States and that the United States will maintain
889 the capacity to resist any resort to force or other forms of
890 coercions that would jeopardize the security or the social or
891 economic system of the people on Taiwan.

892 That's what the Taiwan Relations Act is all about. Our
893 commitment as you know is rock solid and it is bipartisan. We
894 encourage all U.N. member states to join us in supporting Taiwan's
895 robust and meaningful participation throughout the U.N. system
896 and in the international community.

897 Taiwan's exclusion undermines the important work of the
898 United Nations and specialized agencies and related
899 organizations. When, in fact, countries like Lithuania and

900 Australia are coerced to not recognize Taiwan, not to engage with
901 that economy, with that region, jurisdiction, they, in fact, are
902 really trying to stand with those countries --

903 (Simultaneous speaking.)

904 Mr. Chabot. Let me cut you off there for a second. I'm
905 almost out of time. I wanted to get in one more --

906 Ms. Sherman. Yeah.

907 Mr. Chabot. -- question here. When the U.S. -- both
908 candidates for both parties were opposed to TPP, the
909 administration is now working on the Indo-Pacific Economic
910 Framework. Taiwan is such a strong ally of ours and an important
911 country, and I don't say that by accident, in the region,
912 absolutely should be part of that framework.

913 Will Taiwan be invited to join the Biden administration's
914 Indo-Pacific Economic Framework?

915 (Simultaneous speaking.)

916 Mr. Chabot. If not, why not?

917 Ms. Sherman. As I said, we just haven't made final decisions
918 on membership, and the framework will be open and inclusive to
919 those partners that share our ambitions and commitment to high
920 standards.

921 Mr. Chabot. You absolutely should invite Taiwan.

922 Ms. Sherman. I hear you. I'll take that back.

923 Mr. Chabot. Thank you.

924 Ms. Sherman. Thank you.

925 Mr. Malinowski. [Presiding.] Thank you. The chair now
926 recognizes Representative Susan Wild of Pennsylvania for five
927 minutes.

928 Ms. Wild. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. Deputy
929 Secretary Sherman, good morning.

930 In 2021, the International Trade Union Confederation, the
931 ITUC, once again named the Philippines as one of the ten worst
932 countries in the world for working people. According to the ITUC
933 report, workers and their representatives in the Philippines
934 remained particularly vulnerable to violent attacks,
935 intimidation, and arbitrary arrests. Twenty-eight union
936 representatives were illegally arrested and detained in March
937 and December, and seven union leaders were killed between March
938 2020 and April 2021.

939 And to be clear, these attacks are sanctioned by President
940 Duterte's government which both targets the labor movement
941 directly and allows attacks against labor organizers to occur
942 with impunity. Given the Biden administration's very strong
943 support for the labor movement here at home, does the
944 administration agree that the systemic attacks on the Philippines
945 labor movement are completely unacceptable?

946 Ms. Sherman. Thank you very much, Congresswoman.

947 Counselor Derek Chollet was just in the Philippines and covered

948 a wide range of issues, including our concerns about such actions.

949 And that will always be something of concern to us, absolutely.

950 Ms. Wild. Well, thank you. My next question was going to
951 be whether the administration had taken any explicit steps to
952 raise these concerns at the highest levels of the Philippines
953 government. I assume from that answer that your answer would
954 be yes?

955 Ms. Sherman. Yes.

956 Ms. Wild. And what was the response, if you know, of the
957 Philippines government to raise these concerns?

958 Ms. Sherman. I think as you probably well know,
959 Congresswoman, this is an ongoing conversation with the
960 Philippines which is about to see an election and not sure how
961 it will go. But I think some of these challenges are likely to
962 continue no matter how it goes.

963 And look, Philippines is a very important treaty ally of
964 the United States. And we need to build a strong relationship
965 given what they do, their strategic position in the world. They
966 are part of the Indo-Pacific, the basing and their key importance
967 to us in terms of our defense.

968 And so this is a complex relationship and one that we have
969 to work at very hard. And it's why Secretary Blinken asked
970 Counselor Chollet to make sure that we actually had sent a 7th
971 Fleet principle there. And I suspect before many months are over

972 I will be going there myself.

973 Ms. Wild. Well, I appreciate that. I will say that this
974 is an ongoing source of concern for me. I recognize the great
975 importance that the Philippines has to us in all of the areas
976 that you just described. But I also think that if we are going
977 to be a leader in human rights, we cannot ignore human rights
978 violations occurring in our Allied countries around the world.

979 I would like to propose that the administration consider
980 hosting an international summit on labor rights that would feature
981 representatives of the labor movement from the Philippines and
982 other countries around the world where labor organizations are
983 most at risk in order to highlight the U.S. commitment to the
984 right to organize. And I don't expect you to respond to that
985 on the spot until you're willing to do so. But I would
986 respectfully request a written response to that proposal.

987 Ms. Sherman. Thank you for that idea, Congresswoman. We
988 will give you a response. And I should also mention that we all
989 support Maria Ressa, a really extraordinary journalist who has
990 not only gotten a Nobel Peace Prize but has met with Secretary
991 Blinken and continues to be a tremendous person to bring
992 transparency to the system in the Philippines.

993 Ms. Wild. And I commend the administration on that. I just
994 don't ever want us to lose sight of the fact that there are still
995 grave human rights violations occurring. And I maintain that

996 the best way for us to be a leader on human rights issues is to
997 demand that our allies exhibit a recognition of human rights and
998 that they abstain from infringing -- infringing is a mild word
999 -- systemic attacks on labor and journalists and so forth.

1000 With that, Mr. Chairman, I yield back. Thank you very much,
1001 Secretary Sherman.

1002 Chairman Meeks. The gentlelady yields back. And now I
1003 recognize Representative Joe Wilson of South Carolina who's the
1004 ranking member of the subcommittee on the Middle East, North
1005 Africa, and Global Counterterrorism for five minutes.

1006 Mr. Wilson. Thank you very much, Chairman Greg Meeks, for
1007 your bipartisanship. And this is truly a time we all need to
1008 be working together. And Madam Secretary, thank you for your
1009 service.

1010 I'm so grateful that we now have the Indo-Pacific, not just
1011 the Pacific. It was a recognition by President Donald Trump of
1012 the significance of India, the world's largest democracy. And
1013 today, I had the extraordinary opportunity to host a breakfast
1014 delegation of the new transition government of South Korea, Dr.
1015 Jin Park and Tae-yong Cho.

1016 How fortunate we are. What an example of the difference
1017 between democracy in South Korea and the failure of Communist,
1018 Socialist, Totalitarianism of North Korea. And I'm the only
1019 member of Congress and I want to give credit to former Congressman

1020 Curt Weldon. He had me on a delegation. I've been to Pyongyang
1021 and Seoul. Gosh, what a contrast. And working with them, I'm
1022 very happy for you.

1023 Now at the same time, it's so inspiring to see the people
1024 of Ukraine defending themselves and their families against the
1025 mass murdering Putin regime. And then Volodymyr Zelensky, what
1026 an incredibly courageous person and the Winston Churchill of our
1027 time who deserves a bust, I believe, in the Capitol just like
1028 Winston Churchill has a bust in the U.S. Capitol.

1029 And the allies are working together. But a problem has been
1030 that our allies want to be back-filled for whatever Soviet
1031 equipment that they have. And we have extraordinary allies --
1032 Bulgaria, Slovakia, and Slovenia -- that want to provide. But
1033 of course, they have to have a back-fill. And what is the effort
1034 made to facilitate back-fill for their protection?

1035 Ms. Sherman. So thank you very much, Congressman. And I
1036 met with that transition team as well. And I think that
1037 President-elect Yoon of South Korea will be a terrific partner,
1038 an ally of the United States. And I too have been to Pyongyang
1039 and to Seoul.

1040 And so I understand exactly the point that you are making
1041 about the difference. And let's remember, at one point, the
1042 Republic of Korea had authoritarian leadership. And they,
1043 instead built a democracy that is just getting stronger and

1044 stronger every year.

1045 In terms of back-filling, we are talking with our partners
1046 and allies of each of these requests and seeing what is possible.

1047 We understand that countries want to support Ukraine but don't
1048 want to leave themselves vulnerable. So we are taking this on
1049 a case-by-case basis and seeing what is doable.

1050 Mr. Wilson. Well, thank you, and please facilitate that.

1051 It's so mutually beneficial for the people of Ukraine and the
1052 world. And additionally, as you indicated that South Korea went
1053 from an authoritarian regime to the democracy that it is today,
1054 I actually have faith in Russia and the Russian people.

1055 And that's why I've introduced bipartisan legislation that
1056 would provide for immediate refugee status for any person in the
1057 Russian military or diplomatic corps or Russian Duma that would
1058 defect that they would be given immediate refugee status to the
1059 United States. And if they brought over military equipment and
1060 delivered it to Ukraine, they could get up to 100,000 dollars.

1061 And so we should not give up on the people of Russia.

1062 But sadly -- and I can't believe it, and I appreciate Chairman
1063 Meeks bringing this up. India, the world's largest democracy,
1064 should be standing firm with the other democracies. We're in
1065 a conflict that has been identified by President Biden of
1066 totalitarianism against democracies.

1067 So either we stand for democracy's rule of law, or we'll

1068 be facing around the world destabilization by governments' rule
1069 of gun. And so how can we make an effort to replace the oil that
1070 India depends on and the military equipment that they've depended
1071 on from Putin? This is just so illogical for the extraordinary
1072 country of India, the wonderful people of India to be overlooking,
1073 abstaining. That's incredible. That's such an insult to the
1074 people of India.

1075 Ms. Sherman. Thank you, Congressman Wilson. I addressed
1076 this a little bit earlier to say that our relationship with India
1077 as you point out, the world's largest democracy is critical in
1078 so many areas. We've had very direct conversations with them
1079 about how we can address their very legitimate needs for their
1080 country.

1081 And I think that there's progress being made to see what
1082 we can do to be supportive to them while at the same time urging
1083 them to be more forthright regarding what's happening in Ukraine.

1084 I did note that they made comments, not surprising, about the
1085 horrors that have taken place in Bucha.

1086 And so I think we just have to keep working at this
1087 relationship and understanding the complexity of it and helping
1088 to support India to really understand what is in their national
1089 security interest.

1090 Mr. Wilson. With three million Indian Americans, the most
1091 successful immigrant group in the United States --

1092 (Simultaneous speaking.)

1093 Chairman Meeks. The gentleman's time has expired. I now
1094 recognize Representative Dina Titus of Nevada for five minutes.

1095 Ms. Titus. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Madam Secretary,
1096 thank you for being here. I often meet with ambassadors from
1097 some of these other countries. And they tell me when they're
1098 working to develop infrastructure projects or defense investments
1099 that they often turn to China instead of the United States. We
1100 saw this with the recent agreement with the Solomon Islands in
1101 China.

1102 They always say, well, if we had an alternative with the
1103 U.S., we would do that. Could you talk a little bit about maybe
1104 the Development Finance Corporation and the Millennium Challenge
1105 and what maybe Congress can do to make those programs more flexible
1106 and more attractive to some of these places as an alternative
1107 to China?

1108 Ms. Sherman. Thank you, Congresswoman. It's a really good
1109 and important question about why countries turn to the PRC when
1110 we really would like them to turn to us. And I want to say that
1111 although I expect that the Solomon Islands has been very
1112 straightforward that it's going to sign this agreement, they have
1113 not done so yet.

1114 And we certainly want the Solomon Islands to know their
1115 importance to us. And we have done investment in the Solomon

1116 Islands. So we hope this is an ongoing conversation.

1117 On the DFC, I think we've done some very important things.

1118 We were just talking about India, half a billion dollars for
1119 solar farms project, other investments in India, terrific DFC
1120 investments in other places in the world. MCC just got a compact
1121 signed in Nepal, even after a very aggressive effort by the PRC
1122 to stop the Nepalese from signing that MCC compact. So these
1123 vehicles are terribly important.

1124 The DFC has a lot of steps that countries have to step
1125 through. And I think we all should look at whether in fact all
1126 of the steps in each of these arenas are what they ought to be
1127 to make sure we are agile and flexible. It is why we've introduced
1128 the B3W effort which is bringing private investment to the area
1129 of high standard, climate-aligned, transparently financed
1130 infrastructure to Indo-Pacific economics, mobilizing private
1131 capital, why the Indo-Pacific Economic Framework is important
1132 to, again, raise up understandings and work together with
1133 countries.

1134 I think too that countries are finding that the PRC comes
1135 with some strings that end up not being in their interest where
1136 they take out a loan, default on it, and then the PRC seizes the
1137 assets. And it turns out to be a liability for a country, not
1138 an asset. That certainly has been experienced in Africa where
1139 the PRC brought in its own people, didn't transfer technology,

1140 didn't transfer capabilities.

1141 And so African countries ended up with large debt without
1142 the infrastructure they needed or infrastructure that was
1143 regulated in a way that it didn't crumble five years later. So
1144 we've got work to do to become more agile, to become more flexible,
1145 to be able to move faster in the ways that you suggest. But
1146 we do have tools. We do have vehicles. And we have diplomats
1147 all over the world in all of our missions working very hard.

1148 And the last point I'll make which I make in the Senate more
1149 than I make here which is please, please, please get our
1150 ambassadors confirmed. Because when we have a Senate-confirmed
1151 ambassador, they are seen differently by countries. They are
1152 more aggressive. They advance our interests. They push the
1153 envelope.

1154 We need all of our ambassadors in place. And so urge your
1155 Senate colleagues to get the job done. Thank you.

1156 Ms. Titus. Well, thank you. If as you look at these
1157 different programs and you see that they need some flexibility
1158 or some changes in all these steps and red tape that are required,
1159 please come to us if there's something that Congress can do that
1160 you can't do internally. Maybe we can work together to be sure
1161 that they are used to their maximum potential and that countries
1162 don't have to choose China as an alternative.

1163 Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and I'll yield back. And I look

1164 forward to working on this with the Department.

1165 Chairman Meeks. The gentlelady yields back. I'll
1166 recognize Representative Darrell Issa of California for five
1167 minutes.

1168 Mr. Issa. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. And Secretary, a couple
1169 of quick observations and a number of questions. As you know,
1170 as the JCPOA as we exited it, it did not change the fact that
1171 Iran was bound by the JCPOA and continued with our European
1172 partners.

1173 So if that's the case, then the fact that just a few months
1174 or just about the time President Biden was being sworn in when
1175 Iran announced that it had achieved 20 percent refinement or
1176 continued on past the 3.67 that it contractually bound to. They,
1177 by definition, are not trustworthy to keep the JCPOA which they
1178 were bound by with our European partners. Clearly, they
1179 continued terrorist attacks. They continue even till today with
1180 the recent attacks, both in Iraq and of course the attacks on
1181 Saudi Arabia using their proxies.

1182 Having said that that's who we're dealing with, can you
1183 assure us as a representative of the State Department that you
1184 will, one, become transparent as to the details of the agreement?

1185 Because at this time based on both classified and open briefings,
1186 as far as I can tell, the deal will be identical to the original
1187 deal, recognizing that that's Iran's stated position and that

1188 appears to be where we're negotiating is from a position of
1189 weakness where we cannot get any improvements or further
1190 assurances.

1191 But can you commit that you will not lift sanctions on the
1192 Uranium Revolutionary Guard Corps? Can you commit that you'll
1193 work with Secretary Blinken and the President not to waive weapon
1194 sales from Russia to Iran? Can you commit to advising Secretary
1195 Blinken and the President not to waive oil sales transferred
1196 between Russia and Iran?

1197 Could you commit as part of this process that you would not
1198 allow transfers of nuclear materials between Russia and Iran as
1199 part of this deal? And could you commit that you would at least
1200 use your efforts not to have reactor plans, schematics, or
1201 blueprints moved between Iran and Russia? Lastly, could you
1202 commit that the JCPOA, if it's reentered, would not allow for
1203 a continued activity such as the enrichment of uranium which now
1204 exceeds 20 percent?

1205 I know I gave you a lot. But I would prefer to give you
1206 all of them and then you can just say yes to all of them that
1207 you would commit to.

1208 Ms. Sherman. Thank you, Congressman.

1209 Mr. Issa. And Chairman, I'm glad that was funny for you
1210 because, on one hand, I know the answer is probably no. But I
1211 do sincerely believe that these are the areas that Congress should

1212 insist that some aspect of this, particularly relative to Russia
1213 as a partner, be included since we are currently effectively
1214 defending a country at war which means we effectively are involved
1215 in a war with an actor that our own President has called a war
1216 criminal.

1217 Ms. Sherman. Congressman, you raise very serious concerns,
1218 and I take them very seriously. And I will say this about the
1219 JCPOA. President Biden said that his interest is to return to
1220 compliance for compliance if Iran would be compliant with the
1221 JCPOA.

1222 And those negotiations are not over. And when I was a
1223 negotiator for the original JCPOA leading a phenomenal team and
1224 working with then Secretary Kerry and with my European colleagues
1225 and the PRC and Russia at the time, it was very critical for people
1226 to understand that nothing is agreed until everything is agreed,
1227 that it's about are you 20 percent there or 90 percent there.

1228 It's binary. You either get there or you don't.

1229 And so I don't think we know the outcome yet of whether in
1230 fact we will get a return to compliance for compliance. I
1231 absolutely believe that we should be transparent with Congress.

1232 And I know that Rob Malley who now is the lead negotiator with
1233 the team and Bret McGurk from the White House. I've done
1234 briefings up on the Hill, and I'm sure they will do many more
1235 and share those details as this comes together.

1236 And I want to make one -- I agree that the situation with
1237 Russia is now very complicated. I would note that at the time
1238 we were negotiating the original JCPOA, Russia took Crimea. And
1239 so it was a very bizarre situation where we were negotiating with
1240 the Russians at the same time they were doing things that were
1241 horrible and certainly not as unspeakable as what they are doing
1242 now.

1243 So yes, it's complicated. But we will be transparent with
1244 you. We will take the concerns you've raised with great
1245 seriousness.

1246 Chairman Meeks. The gentleman's time --

1247 (Simultaneous speaking.)

1248 Mr. Issa. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I yield back.

1249 Chairman Meeks. I now recognize Representative Dean
1250 Phillips of Minnesota for five minutes.

1251 Mr. Phillips. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Greetings, Madam
1252 Secretary. I want to associate myself with the remarks of my
1253 colleague, Mr. Issa, relative to the JCPOA. None of us what to
1254 see a nuclear armed Iran for obvious reasons. I think that's
1255 a comprehensive statement for Congress and I know for the
1256 administration.

1257 But we already have a nuclear armed tyrant in the
1258 Indo-Pacific and that's North Korea, of course. What is our
1259 strategy relative to containment? They just tested their first

1260 ICBM since 2017. Saber-rattling continues, and I'd like to hear
1261 from you about what our strategy for containment is vis-a-vis
1262 North Korea but a little bit more broader proliferation.

1263 Ms. Sherman. Thank you, Congressman. There's no question
1264 we share your deep concern about the DPRK. There have been 13
1265 launches. The last one as you noted, all believe was an
1266 intercontinental missile, ballistic missile.

1267 We expect that there are likely to be more. And as one of
1268 your colleagues mentioned earlier, the transition team for
1269 President-elect Yoon of South Korea is here. And this is very
1270 much been part of their discussions with everyone with whom they
1271 have met which is to ensure that we take some strong action to
1272 let the north know that they can't just keep doing this without
1273 any consequences, that we take actions that shows we have a
1274 credible deterrence against any attack by North Korea.

1275 At the same time, we, the South Koreans and the Japanese,
1276 all believe that we should make it clear we also have an open
1277 channel for dialogue without preconditions to end the specter
1278 of what the North Koreans are doing. So it's practical. It's
1279 calibrated.

1280 We are moving on all of those vectors simultaneously and
1281 critically in a trilateral fashion with Japan and the Republic
1282 of Korea because strength comes from partnerships and alliances.
1283 It's true where Ukraine is concerned. It's true where the DPRK

1284 is concerned.

1285 Mr. Phillips. And in your estimation, these strong actions
1286 that might still be in the toolkit, are any of them actionable
1287 or achievable without Chinese support?

1288 Ms. Sherman. I think they are. But I also believe that
1289 the PRC believes above all else that stability is critical. And
1290 so we have said to them and will continue to press on them and
1291 have our allies and partners press on them, that this is not taking
1292 action that will lead to a stable and prosperous Indo-Pacific.

1293 This is not good for the PRC anymore than it's good for all
1294 the rest of us. And having a nuclear armed North Korea is not
1295 in China's self interest. So I can't tell you, Congressman
1296 Phillips, that we have an answer today because it's evident that
1297 the North Koreans right now are intent on spending what little
1298 money they have while their people starve, probably facing another
1299 famine, probably having a horrendous COVID outbreak that none
1300 of us really know about because they've kept it so quiet.

1301 So I can't tell you today we have solved this problem or
1302 will tomorrow. But we're working at it quite hard. Ambassador
1303 Sung Kim is here for consultations. We'll be consulting with
1304 his Japanese and South Korean colleagues in Seoul shortly and
1305 their ongoing consultations as well to see what else we can be
1306 doing.

1307 Mr. Phillips. And can you share any specific examples of

1308 other, quote-unquote, strong actions that remain in the toolkit
1309 that had not been employed yet vis-a-vis North Korea?

1310 Ms. Sherman. Well, I think they're a whole range,
1311 everything from sanctions, some of which we have imposed already,
1312 to actions like the South Koreans took after the most recent launch
1313 to do their own missile launches to say we have a deterrent, the
1314 exercises that we do, the trilateral relationship statement and
1315 actions at the U.N. Security Council to hold the North Koreans
1316 accountable in the committee that looks at non-proliferation,
1317 to make sure that we stop any material going into North Korea
1318 that can be used for the development of missile technology or
1319 nuclear technology.

1320 We have done a good job as I must say Steve Biegun who was
1321 my predecessor. Good professional, worked very hard to ensure
1322 that North Korean workers who went abroad and sent remittances
1323 back that we got to countries and told them to send those North
1324 Koreans home. Don't allow them to have that chain of financial
1325 support for North Korea. So we try to work this in every domain.

1326 Mr. Phillips. I just got ten seconds. Any carrots that
1327 you contemplate relative to changing behavior?

1328 Ms. Sherman. Any what?

1329 Mr. Phillips. Carrots instead of sticks --

1330 Ms. Sherman. Well, I think we have --

1331 Mr. Phillips. -- to change behavior?

1332 Ms. Sherman. -- said to them that we are open to diplomacy.
1333 We have let them know in appropriate ways things that might come
1334 their way if we can get to a different place.

1335 Chairman Meeks. The gentleman's time has expired. I now
1336 recognize Representative Scott Perry of Pennsylvania for five
1337 minutes.

1338 Mr. Perry. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank you, Secretary,
1339 for being here. Is the Biden State Department policy regarding
1340 China a failure?

1341 Ms. Sherman. No.

1342 Mr. Perry. It's not? Okay. I want to go through a
1343 timeline with you. Last July, you were on a trip and you were
1344 handed a list of 16, as alleged, erroneous U.S. policies toward
1345 China, 10 cases of concern to be rectified before ties could
1346 improve. So that's July of 2021.

1347 The in October, China and Russia for the first time ever
1348 conducted joint naval drills in the western Pacific around Japan.

1349 And then in November -- no. Well, November 15, the President
1350 and Xi had a virtual summit where the President tried to wind
1351 support for our position vis-a-vis Ukraine. Then in November
1352 or later in November, China and Russia sent bombers into Japanese
1353 and South Korean ADIZ.

1354 Vladimir Putin and Xi have met more than 30 times since 2013.

1355 And I suspect you're aware that Xi calls Putin his best friend.

1356 Subsequent to that, the Department of State held a one and a
1357 half hour meeting with China's ambassador, Qin Gang, where he
1358 was given U.S. intelligence regarding Russian armored unit
1359 placement.

1360 And then December of 2021, there was more information
1361 exchanged throughout December regarding U.S. intelligence which
1362 was given by China to Russia. There were four of these meetings
1363 including one where you, Madam Secretary, were present. February
1364 4, Putin arrived in Beijing for the winter Olympics.

1365 And then on February 7, Xi and Putin announced that the two
1366 nation's friendship has no limits and issued a joint statement
1367 pledging what is described as unprecedented cooperation. And
1368 then on the 24 of February, Russia invaded Ukraine.

1369 Whose idea was it to give China the intelligence we had on
1370 Russia?

1371 Ms. Sherman. Congressman, I don't think this is probably
1372 the appropriate forum to talk about intelligence matters.

1373 Mr. Perry. I'm not talking about the intelligence itself.
1374 I want to know who made the decision.

1375 Ms. Sherman. I understand. But you are presuming that we
1376 shared intelligence in a particular manner. And I'd rather have
1377 that conversation --

1378 (Simultaneous speaking.) Mr. Perry. I'm happy to have that
1379 conversation with you behind closed doors. But it's also been

1380 reported that methods and sources were compromised. Did the
1381 State Department compromise sources and methods?

1382 Ms. Sherman. We never compromise sources and methods,
1383 Congressman.

1384 Mr. Perry. In determining whether the policy is correct,
1385 it says in the most recent release of the Indo-Pacific Strategy
1386 that we're competing with the PRC, competing and managing
1387 competition. Admiral Luo Yuan in 2019 said sinking two U.S.
1388 aircraft carriers would kill 10,000 American soldiers. What the
1389 United States fears the most is taking casualties. We'll see
1390 how frightened America is. And of course, you probably know
1391 Ambassador Qin Gang just this year said it's most likely if we
1392 support Taiwan independence or continue to will involve China
1393 and the United States, the two big countries in a military
1394 conflict.

1395 I've heard your testimony here this morning and you talked
1396 about climate change on numerous occasions. Do you know that
1397 the Chinese already claim to have success in elevating
1398 presidential climate on John Kerry who's a genocide apologist
1399 to be in charge of the Biden overall China strategy? Is that
1400 true?

1401 Ms. Sherman. Congressman, I appreciate that you have a
1402 perspective on the Biden-Harris administration policy towards
1403 the PRC. Let me be clear. As Secretary Blinken has said, there

1404 are three elements to that policy. Yes, to compete and to win,
1405 to invest in our country so that we can win the future vis-a-vis
1406 the competition in a responsible manner.

1407 Second, that we challenge China where we must. That is in
1408 areas like the South China Sea. There are more aggressive action
1409 towards Taiwan and very many other areas. And third, to cooperate
1410 in those areas where it is in our self interest to do so to ensure
1411 that we have a planet for my grandchildren --

1412 (Simultaneous speaking.)

1413 Mr. Perry. Do I don't want you to be responsible. I agree
1414 with you about that. But a central demand in the list handed
1415 to you was that the United States no longer challenged China's
1416 domestic Marxist-Leninist political system. Now for my whole
1417 life or at least since Kissinger went to open up China allegedly
1418 and then their entry into the World Trade Organization, et cetera,
1419 et cetera, we've had a policy in the United States that somehow
1420 open markets and relations with the West would change China.

1421 Has the United States government lied to or been wrong about
1422 that policy that whole time? Because it's not happening.

1423 Ms. Sherman. I hear you loud and clear, Congressman, and
1424 I'd urge you to sit down and have that conversation with Secretary
1425 Kissinger. I think that we all understand that life's a lot more
1426 complicated.

1427 Mr. Perry. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I yield.

1428 Chairman Meeks. The gentleman's time, and I try not to
1429 intercede as the chair of the committee. But it's hard for me
1430 not to just say that President Xi gave PRC's first ever friendship
1431 medal to Mr. Putin in 2018. Donald Trump was President. Didn't
1432 hear anything about that.

1433 President Trump invited Mr. Putin to the White House.
1434 Didn't hear anything about that. The Foreign Minister Lavrov
1435 visited the White House in 2017 when he was President and allegedly
1436 gave information to him that no one else that was classified.
1437 No one said anything about that.

1438 But I will try to refrain. And I'll recognize Mr.
1439 Representative Gerry Connolly of Virginia for five minutes.

1440 Mr. Connolly. I thank the chair. And yes, there's so much
1441 to remember from those momentous four years. Hard to get it all
1442 in, in one hearing, like taking Clorox to cure COVID. I seem
1443 to recall President Trump -- actually, one you left out there
1444 maybe, Mr. Chairman -- praising Xi Jinping on his management of
1445 COVID and the virus coming out of Wuhan early on.

1446 Welcome, Ms. Sherman. So glad to have you here again. A
1447 couple of questions. One is what's your view about what China
1448 is taking away from what Russia is doing in Ukraine? I'm the
1449 co-chair of the Taiwan Caucus. And there's concern that China
1450 could take away from our point of view the wrong lessons.

1451 What's your view? What's the State Department's view about

1452 that? And presumably, we're communicating warnings to the
1453 Chinese Government appropriately.

1454 Ms. Sherman. Thank you, Congressman. Indeed, we are. The
1455 President in his conversation with Xi Jinping, Jake Sullivan with
1456 Yan Jiechi, Secretary Blinken's with Wang Yi, mine on my trip
1457 as well as when I met with the ambassador here.

1458 We want to try to make sure that PRC takes away the right
1459 lessons. And I hope that what they have seen is that United States
1460 has partners and allies throughout the world and that we all
1461 believe in sovereignty, territorial integrity, and the right of
1462 countries to make their own foreign policy choices and decisions,
1463 that we believe in an international rules-based order that has
1464 added space, a belief in human rights and making sure that
1465 everybody plays by the same rules.

1466 That if, in fact, we have said quite clearly that we believe
1467 stability across the Straits is critical, that certainly no
1468 country should be taken by -- not country, no entity. We see
1469 Taiwan as a jurisdiction. We have an unofficial relationship
1470 with them. So we don't see in our One China policy that the
1471 mainland taking Taiwan by force is acceptable and certainly
1472 doesn't lead to stability along the Taiwan Straits or stability
1473 in the Indo-Pacific.

1474 And so we hope that the PRC understands that any such action
1475 would see a response from the international community, not just

1476 from the United States. That most countries in the world -- in
1477 fact, two U.N. General Assembly resolutions, one, 141 countries,
1478 140 countries at the time of this invasion premeditated,
1479 unprovoked, and unjust invasion by Putin voted in support of
1480 Ukraine and in support of those principles and of the
1481 international rules-based order and the need for President Putin
1482 to bear consequences. So we hope the PRC takes the right lessons
1483 from that.

1484 Mr. Connolly. We hope so. As you know, NATO is updating
1485 its strategic concept and the intention is to adopt revisions,
1486 new strategic concept in May in Madrid.

1487 The current strategic concept that's been in place for the
1488 last decade still refers to Russia as a strategic partner --
1489 clearly, that's not true -- and doesn't even mention China.
1490 Apparently, China doesn't exist in our orb in terms of anything
1491 to be concerned about. Clearly, that has to change.

1492 What guidance is the State Department, the United States
1493 government, providing NATO with respect to how to formulate the
1494 relationship we ought to be having and how we ought to be looking
1495 at the Chinese challenge?

1496 Ms. Sherman. There's a lot of discussion going on about
1497 that, Congressman. And the Secretary of State is in Brussels
1498 today for a NATO meeting. Some of the discussion will be about
1499 heading towards Madrid in the strategic concept for 2030.

1500 I think everybody understands that we're in a different
1501 world, that what has happened has scrambled the geopolitics of
1502 this world. And we all are going to have to think about where
1503 we are and what that means for the future. So I think you're
1504 quite right that things are going to change.

1505 Mr. Connolly. Yeah. And my final point, yesterday, the
1506 House of Representatives in an overwhelming bipartisan vote voted
1507 for a resolution calling on NATO as part of that strategic concept
1508 to create a center for democratic resilience within NATO itself.

1509 I commend it to you and I urge the State Department, and Julie
1510 Smith has been doing a great job in Brussels. But we need to
1511 get behind this, especially after what's happening in Ukraine.

1512 I thank the chair.

1513 Chairman Meeks. The gentleman's time has expired. I now
1514 recognize Representative Ann Wagner who's the vice ranking member
1515 of the full committee for five minutes.

1516 Mrs. Wagner. Thank you, Chairman Meeks, for hosting this
1517 critical hearing. And Deputy Secretary Sherman, it is good to
1518 see you again. And we want to thank you for your time and service.

1519 The United States and our allies are navigating an inflection
1520 point in world history. Russia's war on Ukraine has demonstrated
1521 the high stakes of the struggle between the democratic world and
1522 its authoritarian adversaries. But we need to be clear that
1523 China, Russia, Iran and their partners sowed the seeds of this

1524 conflict long ago.

1525 Authoritarian governments have made a deliberate choice to
1526 attack foundational practices, beliefs, and laws of the free
1527 world. And today we are seeing the tragic consequences of that
1528 decision. Our adversaries are watching our responses to Russia's
1529 invasion of Ukraine.

1530 They had hoped to see a fractured, weak West. And instead
1531 they learned that the U.S. and our allies are more united and
1532 more determined to protect the free world than we have ever been.
1533 But this crisis is far from over.

1534 And Putin and all members of his criminal regime that bear
1535 responsibility for his horrifying assault on an independent and
1536 peaceful nature and should suffer the consequences of their
1537 actions. We will send a message to the bullies and authoritarians
1538 standing alongside Putin that we will not tolerate aggression
1539 against a sovereign nation.

1540 The People's Republic of China should take note, it must
1541 be held accountable for its many violations of sovereignty and
1542 international law in the Himalayas, the South China Sea, the East
1543 China Sea. It cannot continue to threaten Taiwan's right to
1544 determine its own future. And it must immediately cease its
1545 egregious violations of human rights. And I include in this what
1546 I would call genocide.

1547 Department Secretary Sherman, I want to take this

1548 opportunity to ask you for a status update on some of the
1549 provisions of fighter jets, of tanks, of surface-to-air missiles,
1550 specifically functioning as S-300s, to Ukraine. I recently had
1551 the privilege of traveling to Poland and the Ukrainian border.
1552 And I saw firsthand what the Ukrainians are up against.

1553 And President Zelensky has repeatedly asked for tanks and
1554 fighter jets and surface-to-air missiles. But the Biden
1555 administration has claimed that Russia could deem these systems
1556 escalatory. Now that the world has seen the horror of Russia,
1557 Russian war crimes committed in Bucha just yesterday, how can
1558 this administration continue to argue that any weapon system for
1559 Ukraine is escalatory or provocative?

1560 Is the United States policy on providing these critical
1561 assets evolving, I'll say, in light of what we are learning about
1562 the horrifying situations on the ground in Ukraine, Secretary?

1563 Ms. Sherman. Thank you very much, Congresswoman. The
1564 United States has provided over two billion dollars in security
1565 assistance to Ukraine. And for every one Russian tank between
1566 the United States and our allies and partners, there are ten tanks
1567 that have been supplied to Ukraine.

1568 We can go into detail, and I did this in a classified
1569 briefing. And my colleagues from the Department of Defense and
1570 the Joint Chiefs went through it in great detail in a classified
1571 briefing with all members of the House about each weapon system,

1572 where it was coming from, what its issues were, a lot of discussion
1573 about those, migs and why it's been so difficult to get them in.

1574 This is a decision that is up to Poland in the end. All of this
1575 --

1576 (Simultaneous speaking.)

1577 Mrs. Wagner. What about -- because of my time -- the
1578 surface-to-air missiles, the S-300s? And I'm right over here,
1579 Madam Secretary.

1580 Ms. Sherman. Yes.

1581 Mrs. Wagner. The S-300s -- the functioning S-300s, I'm
1582 hearing they're 1984. They're not functioning. So what's the
1583 --

1584 (Simultaneous speaking.)

1585 Ms. Sherman. I think, Congresswomen, I can brief you
1586 further about the S-300s in a different setting. But we
1587 understand the importance of them.

1588 Mrs. Wagner. Okay. Well, I would appreciate that very,
1589 very much.

1590 Ms. Sherman. Sure.

1591 Mrs. Wagner. I don't have much time left. I want to ask
1592 a question about the PRC and what they may be hoping to gain from
1593 the current prices in Europe. But I'm going to submit it for
1594 the record given the fact that I am out of time and I yield back
1595 to the chair.

1596 Chairman Meeks. The gentlelady yields back. I now
1597 recognize Representative Colin Allred of Texas for five minutes.

1598 Mr. Allred. Good. I thought you were going to skip me,
1599 Mr. Chairman. Madam Deputy Secretary, it's great to see you
1600 again. Thank you for coming to speak with us.

1601 And this is an important region in the world. I was there
1602 in November. We visited South Korea and Japan and also Taiwan.

1603 Mostly the discussion as you can imagine revolved around China.

1604 And I've been kind of wanting to avoid the idea that China
1605 is ten feet tall and that we are falling behind. We have some
1606 unique abilities to bring to the table, particularly our alliances
1607 and our economic power. And speaking with our allies, I think
1608 there's a lot of concern over our withdrawal from TPP and where
1609 we were going to go and how were we going to economically engage
1610 with them going forward.

1611 And I see it as also part of a deterrent strategy with China
1612 as important as it is for us to continue to shift our resources
1613 to the Pacific on the military side. On the economic side, I
1614 think this is maybe our strongest tool. And so I wanted to discuss
1615 the Indo-Pacific Economic Framework that the administration has
1616 put forward which I think is intended to set a positive agenda
1617 for economic coordination in the region.

1618 I'm just wondering what countries you envision participating
1619 in that framework, what the breadth of the membership will be,

1620 and how its role will play in our overall Indo-Pacific strategy.

1621 Ms. Sherman. Thank you very much, Congressman. And let
1622 me quickly correct something I said to Congresswomen Zeldin.
1623 And I think I said it maybe earlier as well. It is not that we
1624 have ten tanks for every one tank. We have ten anti-tank weapons
1625 for every Russian tank. So I wanted to correct the record. I
1626 don't want to leave a misimpression. So sorry for taking some
1627 time, Congressman.

1628 On the Indo-Pacific framework, we haven't made final
1629 decisions on membership. The framework will be open, inclusive
1630 to those partners that share our ambitions and our high standards.
1631 And that's what we're doing here.

1632 I think it's also important for people to understand that
1633 this is not a traditional trade agreement approach. It is a much
1634 broader approach and is about really a worker-centric trade policy
1635 that includes novel areas such as supply chain resiliency that
1636 go beyond traditional trade agreements. And I think this quite
1637 critical to the future for all of us.

1638 Mr. Allred. While I understand that it is going to go
1639 beyond, I would like to see us have a trade agreement. And those
1640 countries are moving forward without us now. And I think there's
1641 a U.S.-sized hole there. And in many ways, China wants to fill
1642 that.

1643 Just really quickly, do we imagine that Taiwan may have some

1644 inclusion in that framework?

1645 Ms. Sherman. As I said, we haven't made any decisions.
1646 But I've heard both from you and from other members this morning
1647 your perspective on that decision.

1648 Mr. Allred. Okay. Well, I certainly think they should be.
1649 And with the supply chain issues that we're talking about, they
1650 have an important role to play in that. And I think we need to
1651 continue to build kind of a wall of our democratic allies,
1652 partners, and the economies that we can bring to the table in
1653 this region. And with that, I'll give you some time back. Thank
1654 you.

1655 Chairman Meeks. The gentleman yields back. I now
1656 recognize Representative Brian Mast of Florida for five minutes.

1657 Mr. Mast. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank you, ma'am, for
1658 coming today. The administration is working on negotiating a
1659 nuclear deal with Iran again. We agree on that?

1660 Ms. Sherman. Yes.

1661 Mr. Mast. Yes, ma'am. I want to talk a little bit about
1662 what you know about negotiation. Probably easily in this room,
1663 you've sat with Iranians more than anybody. And so you do have
1664 an opinion on this that should be valued.

1665 You stated about the first Iran negotiations, and you said
1666 this passionately, we had to make sure our military was arrayed
1667 in such a way to say that we are serious. If we have to take

1668 military action because nothing else works, we will. We made
1669 sure that the Iranians knew that we had weapons that could
1670 penetrate Fordow. We helped oil producers more oil to compete
1671 with Iran.

1672 At that time, as you mentioned already, Russians were taking
1673 Crimea while you were negotiating the Iran deal. But now we have
1674 Russia aiding in part. United States of American negotiates the
1675 Iran deal, totally different situation.

1676 So I want to start with the first point. What can you say
1677 that this administration -- something that you said was so crucial
1678 for credible negotiation with them. What can you say that this
1679 administration does to array our military in such a way that they
1680 are taken serious so that the Iranians know that if nothing else
1681 works that we will take military action and use weapons that would
1682 penetrate Fordow?

1683 Ms. Sherman. Congressman, I believe that diplomacy is often
1684 supported by a credible threat of force. And I think that
1685 everybody in this room would agree that the United States military
1686 is the finest, strongest, broadest, deepest military on the face
1687 of the earth.

1688 Mr. Mast. Agreed, ma'am. And I don't want to interrupt
1689 you, but I don't want to filibuster this time. There's a
1690 difference in administrations. The Trump administration,
1691 whether you like them or not, had an incredible military prowess,

1692 took out Soleimani, other things that we can talk about,
1693 negotiations with North Korea, you name it.

1694 What is this Biden administration doing to show Iran that
1695 they are arrayed in such a way to say to them that we are serious
1696 and that if we have to take military actions because nothing else
1697 works, that we will and that they're well aware that we have
1698 weapons that can penetrate Fordow and others things?

1699 (Simultaneous speaking.)

1700 Mr. Mast. What is this administration doing?

1701 Ms. Sherman. They know that today as they knew it then,
1702 Congressman. There's nothing different in that statement or the
1703 veracity of that statement today as it was then.

1704 Mr. Mast. Ma'am, you'd have to think we're all naive to
1705 think nothing is different today. Obviously, the world oil
1706 markets and what this administration has done with what rubs up
1707 against their long-term climate goals is totally different, as
1708 was different than what you were doing to negotiate with Iran.

1709 What they did in Afghanistan in the withdrawal from
1710 Afghanistan, our intelligence throughout the region, what they're
1711 doing with Ukraine, what they're doing right now with Russia who
1712 is just like they were attacking Crimea during the Obama
1713 administration is now attacking Ukraine during the Biden
1714 administration. This is a totally different world.

1715 So you'd have to think we're naive to think that this

1716 administration right now is doing something to array the United
1717 States military in such a way to say that we are serious, that
1718 if we have to take military action because nothing else works
1719 to prevent them from getting a nuclear weapon, then we will.
1720 And I would love a specific example.

1721 Ms. Sherman. So I would say, Congressman, two things. I
1722 think if you take to General Milley who testified, I think,
1723 yesterday, he would tell you that we have the capacity to do
1724 exactly what I said we had the capacity to do back in 2015.
1725 Secondly, I think you will have seen in the Secretary's meeting
1726 in the Negev Desert with Abraham Accord partners and Israel that
1727 our partnerships and alliances are as important in our
1728 negotiations with Iran as they are in our standing up to Putin
1729 in Ukraine.

1730 Mr. Mast. So one more question on that. You're going to
1731 defend your point of view, rightly so. You believe that if Iran
1732 were to be on the cusp of a nuclear weapon right this moment that
1733 General Milley would launch an attack, use military action as
1734 you said was so important for you to be able to negotiate.

1735 Ms. Sherman. Congressman --

1736 Mr. Mast. You have to say that credibly.

1737 Ms. Sherman. Congressman, I'm not going to deal today in
1738 a hypothetical because --

1739 (Simultaneous speaking.)

1740 Mr. Mast. That's what you did previously.

1741 (Simultaneous speaking.)

1742 Chairman Meeks. The gentleman's time is expired. And I'll
1743 recognize Representative Tom Malinowski of New Jersey who's the
1744 vice chair of the full committee for five minutes, and he can
1745 do that right here because I got to run. I have to run to the
1746 floor. I'll be back.

1747 Mr. Malinowski. [Presiding.] I want to say thank you, Mr.
1748 Chairman. But I'd at least temporarily be addressing myself.
1749 Thank you, Madam Secretary.

1750 So we've had a bunch of conversations and debates and votes
1751 on the Hill in the last couple of weeks on funding our domestic
1752 and international vaccination and public health efforts. I
1753 wanted to ask you about that as it pertains to the theme of this
1754 hearing. We've talked a lot about the importance of the United
1755 States competing, leading, winning the future.

1756 My point of view and I assume you would agree with this is
1757 that the horrific catastrophe of this pandemic has also presented
1758 us as the country that invented these vaccines and has the capacity
1759 to save hundreds of millions of lives around the world with a
1760 strategic opportunity that is unparalleled in our experience,
1761 maybe not since the end of the Cold War have we had such an
1762 opportunity. The President has said we should be the arsenal
1763 of vaccines. We've done a lot. But I'm not sure if we've done

1764 enough to be able to say we're seizing that opportunity.

1765 Indonesia, for example, 100 million Western vaccines, 35
1766 million that we've donated, 200 million from China, Bangladesh,
1767 90 million Western vaccines, 158 million from China. And other
1768 countries, the ratio is a little bit better. In Vietnam, Turkey,
1769 Sub-Saharan Africa, about 194 million doses from the Western
1770 brands donated compared to 28 million from China. And yet still,
1771 194 million, when you think about the population of Africa, is
1772 a drop in the bucket.

1773 USAID has asked us for about five billion dollars. That
1774 request came in December. That was not to step up our efforts.
1775 That was just to maintain the current, I think, insufficient
1776 effort. And the Senate zeroed out that funding which if we allow
1777 that to stand, we're at basically no effort going forward this
1778 year.

1779 So I want to ask you about this from a strategic perspective.
1780 So set aside the obvious public health arguments for doing this.
1781 Can you talk a little bit about in terms of our competition with
1782 China some examples of when and how we have benefitted from when
1783 we've been able to provide this sort of assistance and how you
1784 feel we as a country are constrained right now by the lack of
1785 resources?

1786 Ms. Sherman. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, for raising
1787 this issue. The President, the Secretary, virtually all of you

1788 have been clear that nobody is safe from COVID until everybody
1789 is safe. We have seen that time and time again with variance
1790 from other countries making its way to our shores and having
1791 another surge.

1792 Without additional funding to support getting shots into
1793 arms around the world, we will have to cut short our efforts to
1794 turn vaccines into vaccinations. As you've noted, we've already
1795 donated over 500 million doses free of cost with no strings
1796 attached which is quite different from what the PRC has done.

1797 We have done so to more than 110 countries and economies around
1798 the world, sole purpose to save lives.

1799 But by June of this year, we estimate that we will have
1800 obligated the majority of funds under the Initiative for Global
1801 Vaccine Access, Global VAX. That means we will have to begin
1802 to ramp down the initiative. By August or September without
1803 additional funding, all of our related Global VAX efforts will
1804 end.

1805 Without additional funds, the administration would be unable
1806 to extend search support to 20-plus additional under-vaccinated
1807 countries that will need intensive support this year to get shots
1808 in arms. This will devastate our ability to ensure those
1809 countries can effectively deploy safe and effective vaccines.

1810 We will also be unable to provide lifesaving supplies, tests,
1811 therapeutics, oxygen. You go on and on.

1812 Laving large unvaccinated populations worldwide will
1813 increase the risk of new deadly variants emerging that could evade
1814 our current vaccines and treatments. And I think everybody
1815 probably saw in the morning paper the discussion going on among
1816 scientists and medical researchers about how to make sure vaccines
1817 can work for all of the variants that are coming our way and will
1818 be sustainable over time.

1819 Mr. Malinowski. [Presiding.] I'll stop you with a very
1820 quick question.

1821 Ms. Sherman. Yeah.

1822 Mr. Malinowski. [Presiding.] Where will those countries
1823 turn?

1824 Ms. Sherman. Those countries will turn to the PRC.

1825 Mr. Malinowski. [Presiding.] Thank you. And I think
1826 that's the key point here. Again, the public health argument
1827 should be obvious enough. But how can we and all of us, I think,
1828 agree on this aspect? How can we voluntarily lose this
1829 competition to the Chinese Communist Party? I can't imagine it.

1830 Very, very quickly. Very different issue. Does the
1831 administration intend to fill the position of North Korea Human
1832 Rights Envoy?

1833 Ms. Sherman. Yes.

1834 Mr. Malinowski. [Presiding.] I yield back my time and
1835 recognize Representative Tim Burchett of Tennessee.

1836 Mr. Burchett. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Ma'am, thank you
1837 for being here. I wonder why hasn't the Biden administration
1838 nominated Ambassador to Ukraine?

1839 Ms. Sherman. Congressman, we are very lucky that Kristina
1840 Kvien is our chargee d'affaires. She is doing a simply
1841 spectacular job under the most difficult circumstances. I
1842 certainly understand why it would have been great if we had decided
1843 on that nominee to be a permanent ambassador.

1844 These things take time to make sure you have the right person.
1845 And right now, I'm quite glad that we have the sustainable
1846 commitment of Chargee D'affaires Kvien and her team. They're
1847 doing a great job.

1848 Mr. Burchett. Okay. And I'm wondering will India's
1849 neutrality in Russia's war on Ukraine and the country's general
1850 friendship with Russia have any effect on our policy towards India
1851 -- U.S. policy towards India I guess I should say.

1852 Ms. Sherman. Thank you, Congressman. I've addressed this
1853 a couple of times so far today. But it's very important, so I
1854 have no problem addressing it again.

1855 Our relationship with India is a very critical one. They're
1856 the largest democracy in the world. We have a strong defense
1857 relationship with them. They are part of the Quad with Australia
1858 and Japan, and we are moving forward on many achievements that
1859 are critical to Indo-Pacific prosperity and security. We

1860 obviously would prefer that India move away from their long-term
1861 history of nonalignment, G77, partnership with Russia.

1862 Mr. Burchett. Aren't a lot of their weapons, though,
1863 weaponry --

1864 Ms. Sherman. Yes.

1865 Mr. Burchett. -- they're made in Russia, correct?

1866 Ms. Sherman. Yes, we have to told them that it'll be very
1867 hard for them now to get spare parts or to get them replaced.
1868 They have increased their defense relationship with us and
1869 defense sales and co-production efforts. And I think this is
1870 a great opportunity for that to surge in the years again.

1871 Mr. Burchett. Seems like it's sort of an extension of
1872 China's Belt-and-Road. They use their weaponry, and then they're
1873 stuck with them. And then they have to buy the parts from them.

1874 Are we working with any of our allies to try Putin for war
1875 crimes? I hear a lot of talk about it, and we talk about the
1876 horrors. We shouldn't be surprised at what Russia does. If you
1877 know anything about history, they're very brutal.

1878 They're brutal on their own people. They're brutal on
1879 people they conquest throughout history. It's just gone on and
1880 gone on. And personally, I think war crimes started when they
1881 cross the border.

1882 They're going to talk about all these things where they've
1883 lobbed missiles into this group or that group which are horrible

1884 and horrific and the torture. And of course, it looks like
1885 they've killed a lot of innocent civilians and just very careless
1886 kind of attitude they take about it. But I'm wondering if that's
1887 a possibility.

1888 Ms. Sherman. Congressman, Secretary Blinken named Russia
1889 as having perpetrated war crimes, even before the horrifying video
1890 that's come out of Bucha and what people have faced. And we expect
1891 to see much greater -- even more horror as this unfolds.

1892 I think that there will be actions for accountability,
1893 whether that's at the ICC, at the U.N. Human Rights Council, U.N.
1894 General Assembly, our own efforts in that regard. The President
1895 has already said that war crimes have been committed here. Our
1896 lawyers and others are collecting evidence. Other countries
1897 around the world have offered to collect evidence to meet legal
1898 thresholds for that accountability. It is a very high priority.

1899 Mr. Burchett. Okay. Thank you. One last question. I'm
1900 wondering we've seen all the horrific things the Russians have
1901 done. And I put those at Putin's feet 100 percent and the crimes
1902 committed in Bucha.

1903 And how can this administration continue to argue any weapon
1904 system is escalatory or provocative? Those seem to be the words
1905 we use a lot now. And I'm sure the lawyers or the think tanks
1906 have come up with that. If you can answer that real quick, ma'am,
1907 I'd appreciate it.

1908 Ms. Sherman. Sure. I think it's not just about escalatory.
1909 The President has been very clear that he does not see American
1910 troops in Ukraine, and NATO does not see its troops in Ukraine,
1911 that we want to supply the Ukrainians with everything they need
1912 to defend themselves.

1913 And so we also look at what is needed and what, in fact,
1914 might drag us into that conflict. And he's made the commitment
1915 that we will not do that. And certainly if a convoy is taken
1916 out on NATO territory, we're going to defend that country to every
1917 inch of its soil as the President has said. But these are hard
1918 and touch decisions.

1919 Mr. Burchett. Thank you, Chairman. I yield back none of
1920 my time.

1921 Ms. Sherman. Thank you.

1922 Mr. Malinowski. [Presiding.] You have four seconds, so
1923 thank you for giving those to us. I now recognize Representative
1924 Brad Sherman of California for five minutes --

1925 Mr. Sherman. Thank you.

1926 Mr. Malinowski. [Presiding.] -- plus four seconds.

1927 Mr. Sherman. I want to start with a couple observations,
1928 first speaking up on the gentleman from New Jersey's comments
1929 on the need for us to provide at least five billion dollars to
1930 international vaccination efforts. Obviously, this is the moral
1931 thing to do. Obviously, it's a thing to do to assure our role

1932 in world leadership.

1933 But if we were just exclusively selfish, we'd recognize that
1934 the impact on our economy of shutdowns and disease in all of the
1935 middle income and poor countries of the world has an impact on
1936 us of far more than five billion. But even more than that, I
1937 would hope that the U.S. Senate would be on team human rather
1938 than on team COVID and recognize that every time anyone in the
1939 world gets this disease, that means the disease is replicating.
1940 When it replicates, it can mutate, and the next variant can come
1941 back to the United States.

1942 I feel that so many senators just aren't able to contemplate
1943 the difference -- Republican senators I might add -- the
1944 difference between billions and trillions. But if we have
1945 trillion -- if you just look at the economics. We have trillions
1946 of dollars at stake in not having another variant. And the cost
1947 of vaccination is measured in the single digit billions.

1948 The other observation is one that I hope that China would
1949 observe. We have three major allies east of China: Taiwan, Japan,
1950 and South Korea. And we have for the better of a century been
1951 successful in persuading them not to develop nuclear weapons.

1952 China has one ally in that region, perhaps only ally in the
1953 world. They have been remarkably unsuccessful in persuading
1954 North Korea not to develop and expand its nuclear weapons program
1955 and the delivery systems. There's a lack of symmetry here, and

1956 the Chinese need to understand that our success in preventing
1957 our allies from going down the nuclear road is dependent on them
1958 extending some real efforts not only in the sense of fairness.
1959 But as North Korea flexes its nuclear weapons muscle, that is
1960 a reason for countries near North Korea to develop their own
1961 nuclear deterrent.

1962 My question is on the free association compacts we have with
1963 the Pacific Islands. This is a hearing on the Indo-Pacific.
1964 And these small countries literally geographically dominate the
1965 Pacific.

1966 In the 1980s, we developed these compacts. We now see China
1967 trying to poke its nose in the area. We see the risks of climate
1968 change. The current compacts expire in 2023 and 2024. And
1969 President Biden has named Ambassador Yun as special envoy on the
1970 compacts of re-association.

1971 The Departments of State and Interior need to get their work
1972 done and give Congress enough time -- not always an efficient
1973 institution I might add -- to enact any provisions. What is the
1974 targeted conclusion date for these critical negotiations?

1975 Ms. Sherman. So thank you for raising the compact. We,
1976 as you noted, have named Ambassador Joseph Yun as Special
1977 Presidential Envoy for compact negotiations. He'll lead the
1978 negotiations with support of a team composed of representatives
1979 of all relevant agencies. And certain economic assistance

1980 including certain federal programs provided under the compacts
1981 as amended ends in 2023 as you've noted.

1982 We are focused on negotiating the provisions which are
1983 expiring and doing it in a timely fashion which is why we named
1984 this presidential envoy and consulting with Congress along that
1985 process.

1986 Mr. Sherman. You got a target date?

1987 Ms. Sherman. I do not have a target date for you. But I
1988 know when they're going to expire, so we got to get it done.

1989 Mr. Sherman. Don't expect us to be efficient. We need
1990 efficiency on your end. Second, the Rohingya, we've now declared
1991 this to be a genocide, yet we continue to provide economic
1992 development in smaller quantities to the government of
1993 Burma-Myanmar. Since this is a government perpetuating a
1994 genocide, can we turn that off. And I'm excluding from that food
1995 and medicine, but I'm certainly including all economic aid and
1996 economic development aid.

1997 Ms. Sherman. So Congressman, I'd have to look at the
1998 particular funding streams that you're referring to. We
1999 certainly don't as you don't want to turn off food or medicine
2000 or anything that really is helping the people.

2001 (Simultaneous speaking.)

2002 Mr. Sherman. All of our aid helps the people. But whatever
2003 aid we're providing economic development also helps the

2004 government.

2005 Ms. Sherman. I appreciate that.

2006 Mr. Sherman. And that's money that could be spent on so
2007 many other disasters happening elsewhere.

2008 Ms. Sherman. Yeah, I'm not aware of what particular funding
2009 you're talking about. So I'd be glad to have a follow up with
2010 you.

2011 Mr. Sherman. We'll do a QFR. But we did not provide
2012 economic aid to Germany in 1940.

2013 Mr. Malinowski. [Presiding.] Thank you. Chair recognized
2014 Representative Mark Green of Tennessee.

2015 Mr. Green. Thank you, Mr. Chairman and Ranking Member.
2016 And I want to thank Deputy Secretary Sherman for her testimony
2017 today. The future of freedom across the globe is increasingly
2018 under attack. As the world is still reeling from President
2019 Biden's failed withdrawal from Afghanistan, our adversaries are
2020 on the move.

2021 Russia seized the opportunity to invade Ukraine. China is
2022 increasing its aggression toward Taiwan and Iran and North Korea,
2023 continue down their dangerous nuclear paths. There's no doubt
2024 that American influence has been greatly diminished by the
2025 countless blunders committed by this White House.

2026 Most of all, there's an erosion of the decades long
2027 commitment to what has brought this country prosperity and the

2028 world security, peace through strength. Deputy Secretary
2029 Sherman, you served under the Obama administration where you acted
2030 as the lead negotiator of the 2015 Iran nuclear deal. Earlier
2031 this year as the Deputy Secretary of State, you were sent to Europe
2032 to persuade the Russians, not to invade Ukraine. Unfortunately,
2033 those efforts failed.

2034 However, it's not too late to stop this bad deal with Iran.
2035 It didn't work when we did it last time, and it won't work now.
2036 Iran is an enemy of the United States and the free world. And
2037 it's just crazy to rely on its oil exports as it was to rely on
2038 Russia's exports.

2039 Iran is the foremost state sponsor of terrorism. And they
2040 don't comply with international agreements. In fact, Iran has
2041 already violated the current deal with the Biden administration
2042 through its ballistic missile development program and uranium
2043 enrichment.

2044 And under this new deal, we're potentially freeing up
2045 billions in Iranian assets, allowing them to export millions of
2046 barrels of oil per day, and giving them enough uranium to make
2047 a bomb in three years. All of this for what, to acquire Iranian
2048 oil rather than rely on American energy that President Biden has
2049 actively stifled since day one of his Presidency.

2050 It's not too late for the State Department to reject this
2051 horrible deal. I'm going to go off script here for just a second

2052 which always makes my staff a little concerned.

2053 Ms. Sherman. Same thing happens to me when I go off my
2054 talking points.

2055 Mr. Green. I get it. I get it. I had some friends killed
2056 in Iraq, a lot of friends. I was there twice, and I think of
2057 those improved explosive devices that were created by the Iranians
2058 and given to the Iranian militias and the Shia militia. And it
2059 just seems unconscionable to me that we would sit down at a
2060 negotiating table. Instead, the administration needs to take
2061 a page from Ronald Reagan's playbook, peace through strength.

2062 And I'm reminded of President Zelensky's recent address to
2063 Congress and his thinly veiled cry for help from the Biden
2064 administration. And I quote, I am addressing President Biden.
2065 You are the leader of a great nation. I wish you to be the leader
2066 of the world, end quote.

2067 The world is a lot more dangerous than it was just a year
2068 and a bit ago. President Biden is failing to lead. This
2069 administration needs to lead the world. And right now, our
2070 country is in trouble. The world is in trouble.

2071 My first question is from a purely national security
2072 perspective. Is it better for the United States to produce its
2073 oil or to buy oil from Iran?

2074 Ms. Sherman. Congressman, thank you for your service, not
2075 only as a member of Congress --

2076 Mr. Green. Thank you.

2077 Ms. Sherman. -- but as a serviceman as well. Let me be
2078 clear. The negotiations for a return to compliance for
2079 compliance in the joint comprehensive plan of action is not about
2080 oil. It is about ensuring that Iran cannot obtain a nuclear
2081 weapon.

2082 That has been a bipartisan ambition over the course of
2083 several administrations because as dangerous as Iran is -- and
2084 I would agree with you on that. There's state sponsorship of
2085 terrorism, their maligned behavior in the region, their targeting
2086 by militias and proxies. All of that is horrible. But Iran with
2087 a nuclear weapon would be able to project even more power into
2088 the region and would deter some of our allies and partners in
2089 pushing back against Iran.

2090 (Simultaneous speaking.)

2091 Mr. Green. If I could, though, real --

2092 Ms. Sherman. -- is about ensuring they not have a nuclear
2093 weapon.

2094 Mr. Green. I appreciate that. But unfortunately, they
2095 violated it last time with their ballistic missile program, their
2096 uranium enrichment. Now we're talking about letting Russia whom
2097 we've sanctioned build a 10 billion dollar nuclear plant for the
2098 Iranians.

2099 I want to switch subjects real quick because I only have

2100 half a minute here. What would you guys do differently in your
2101 negotiations to prevent Ukraine from being invaded? Have you
2102 taken some notes down on lessons learned, and what would you do
2103 differently?

2104 Ms. Sherman. I think that right now we are very focused
2105 on helping President Zelensky and the Ukrainians ensure that they
2106 have a country, that they have their sovereign territory, that
2107 they have their future. There will be many lessons learned out
2108 of this, Congressman. And I hope we will learn those lessons
2109 together.

2110 Mr. Green. Thank you.

2111 Mr. Malinowski. [Presiding.] Thank you. And if I may add
2112 one comment, I think one of the most extraordinary things this
2113 administration has done, and I've sometimes been critical of it,
2114 was to warn the world, including to warn the government of Ukraine
2115 about the near certainty of this invasion. Many people did not
2116 believe it.

2117 (Simultaneous speaking.)

2118 Mr. Green. Mr. Chairman, I would agree with you on that.

2119 We are in agreement there. Thank you.

2120 Ms. Sherman. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

2121 Mr. Malinowski. [Presiding.] I now recognize
2122 Representative Ted Deutch of Florida for five minutes.

2123 Mr. Deutch. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Deputy Secretary

2124 Sherman, nice to see you. Thanks for joining us today. I want
2125 to talk about a couple of issues, and I want to start with the
2126 premise that I think we all share, that human rights needs to
2127 be front and center in our foreign policy.

2128 And the President signed legislation to ban imports from
2129 China's Xinjiang region, punish the Chinese Government for
2130 genocide of the Uyghurs. This is as critical an issue today as
2131 it was at the end of December when the President signed that
2132 legislation into law. And I would just start by asking you for
2133 any updates that you can provide on the administration's efforts
2134 to address this ongoing atrocity.

2135 Ms. Sherman. Thank you. And indeed, an ongoing atrocity
2136 it is. And the Secretary early on called this a genocide and
2137 the administration and the President as well.

2138 We have certainly called upon the PRC authorities to
2139 immediately release all arbitrarily detained people, abolish the
2140 internment camps, cease forced sterilization, end all torture,
2141 stop prosecuting Uyghurs and members of other ethnic and religious
2142 minority groups in Xinjiang. We have delivered this message
2143 forcefully and directly to President Xi, to Yang Jiechi, to
2144 Foreign Minister Wang Yi, to the ambassador here, me directly
2145 in my meetings in Tianjin with Xie Feng and with Foreign Minister
2146 Wang Yi.

2147 We continue to work with our partners and allies to promote

2148 accountability for this in every way that we possibly can. We
2149 coordinated the imposition of sanctions and other actions by the
2150 United States, United Kingdom, Canada, European Union. It sends
2151 such a strong signal that the PRC then put sanctions on members
2152 of European Parliament. But we stayed together to make sure that
2153 people understand that we will take the reaction and the response,
2154 but we will not back away from what has occurred here and the
2155 accountability that must be achieved.

2156 Mr. Deutch. I appreciate it. I would just ask one
2157 follow-up to that. Is there movement on or is there a reason
2158 the U.S. hasn't accepted Uyghurs as prioritized refugees at this
2159 point?

2160 Ms. Sherman. I don't know the answer to that question,
2161 Congressman. I will get you an answer.

2162 Mr. Deutch. There are a lot of us who would be interested
2163 in that response. Appreciate that. Let me turn, Madam Deputy
2164 Secretary, to the fact that, as a lot of my colleagues have already
2165 mentioned, the war in Ukraine has pulled the world's attention
2166 west.

2167 And there are those in the region that I spent a lot of time
2168 focused on in the Middle East and continue to question U.S.
2169 commitment to the region. How has China viewed accusations of
2170 U.S. pullback from the Middle East particularly when we know that
2171 China is always more than happy to sell its weapons to our

2172 partners. And does China see an opening in the Middle East?

2173 Ms. Sherman. I think the PRC looks for an opening everywhere
2174 quite frankly. And one of the things I think we've all come to
2175 understand is they are present and aggressive on every continent
2176 in this world. And that's certainly true in the Middle East as
2177 well, though I think -- and I know you know this quite well,
2178 Congressman -- the Negev Summit that just occurred that Secretary
2179 Blinken attended showed the solidarity among many nations in the
2180 Middle East to work together, not only to push back threats but
2181 also to increase prosperity of the people in the region.

2182 Mr. Deutch. I do, and I appreciated that and in particular
2183 the Secretary's participation and leadership there. Last
2184 question, do you believe that the administration's strong
2185 leadership and rallying support for Ukraine in standing up against
2186 Russia, does that strong leadership seem to our partners in the
2187 Indo-Pacific region to be what they should expect from the U.S.
2188 vis-a-vis China, or do they view it as limited to a Western
2189 conflict?

2190 Ms. Sherman. Oh, I hope they don't see it as just about
2191 a Western conflict. The United States has worked very hard to
2192 affirm ASEAN's centrality, to support APEC, to create a new
2193 mechanism, the Quad, Japan, Australia, the United States, and
2194 India, to underscore the East Asia Summit, APEC, to say that
2195 regional alliances, partnerships are very critical.

2196 We obviously have critical treaty allies in the
2197 Indo-Pacific. So I hope people understand that what President
2198 Biden said when he became President that we were going to establish
2199 our partnerships and our alliances, once again, we thought they
2200 were valuable, that they mattered, that we have done so and we've
2201 done so in every part of the world.

2202 Mr. Deutch. Thank you very much. Thanks for being with
2203 us.

2204 Ms. Sherman. Thank you.

2205 Mr. Malinowski. [Presiding.] Thank you. The chair
2206 recognizes Representative Andy Barr of Kentucky.

2207 Mr. Barr. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Deputy Secretary
2208 Sherman, thank you for being here today. I just came from the
2209 Financial Services Committee where I had an opportunity to ask
2210 Secretary Yellen this same question about the gapping loophole
2211 in our sanctions regime on Ukraine related to energy-related
2212 transactions.

2213 There's a general license that OPEC has included in the
2214 sanctions on Russian banks and the Russian Central Bank that
2215 allows for energy-related transactions to continue to flow
2216 through to Moscow, admittedly for sensitivities with our European
2217 allies who are overdependent on Russian energy. But this is what
2218 is financing this war. These energy-related transactions are
2219 supplying Putin with the hard currency that he needs to execute

2220 this unprovoked aggression against the innocent people of
2221 Ukraine.

2222 Would the administration, both Treasury and the State
2223 Department, shift approach here and consider my legislation, the
2224 No Energy Revenues for Russian Hostilities Act, which would create
2225 an escrow mechanism which is similar to what we do with Iran.

2226 It would allow for specific waivers where some transactions would
2227 be allowed to go through by Treasury to help our European allies.

2228 But then the proceeds of those transactions would go in an escrow
2229 and released to Russia only for humanitarian purposes if they
2230 withdraw from Ukraine, kind of a carrot approach, not just a stick.

2231 Ms. Sherman. What did Secretary Yellen who knows --

2232 (Simultaneous speaking.)

2233 Mr. Barr. She was open to it, and Adeyemo was open to it
2234 as well. I want to know what the State Department thinks.

2235 Ms. Sherman. The State Department works very closely with
2236 Treasury on making these kinds of judgments. I think,
2237 Congressman, you may not have heard yet that we, in fact, did
2238 full blocking sanctions on Sberbank today. So I think that you've
2239 also seen Germany take action regarding Gazprom and that financial
2240 channel yesterday. So I think that everyone is thinking through
2241 concepts like you've put on the table. And I hope we will continue
2242 --

2243 Mr. Barr. Thank you.

2244 Ms. Sherman. -- to work together to see what we can do.

2245 Mr. Barr. Thank you for your open mindedness on that because
2246 Zelensky is asking for tougher sanctions. This is the way to
2247 do it. I urge your consideration.

2248 Security aid to Ukraine, I appreciate the announcement of
2249 additional 100 million dollars in security systems for Ukraine
2250 from last evening. That is the right direction. But there's
2251 still more than a billion dollars left in funds that Congress
2252 has appropriated for Ukraine to back-fill stocks.

2253 I'm talking about Javelins and Stingers. And by the way,
2254 this is not just for Ukraine. Representative Hsiao, Taiwan,
2255 there's several orders for Stingers that have not yet been
2256 delivered to Taiwan. We need deterrents. We need it now. What
2257 is the status of delivering these weapon systems to our allies
2258 under siege, both Ukraine and Taiwan?

2259 Ms. Sherman. Congressman, we were looking at each one of
2260 those cases in terms of Europe, case by case to see what we can
2261 do and what's appropriate for us to do and what's possible for
2262 us to do, and working with our partners and allies because it's
2263 not just about us. There are 30 countries involved in providing
2264 weapons to Ukraine.

2265 And where Taiwan is concerned, we are very, very focused
2266 on what Taiwan needs. And I'll be glad to get you an update on
2267 deliveries.

2268 Mr. Barr. They need that now. They need that now. And
2269 I'd encourage the State Department to move with haste on that.
2270 What about inclusion of Taiwan in the Indo-Pacific Economic
2271 Framework? I think that would be a strong signal that we stand
2272 with Taiwan.

2273 Ms. Sherman. I have heard that from a number of members,
2274 both bipartisan today. We haven't made any final decisions yet
2275 about membership. And we'll certainly take advice from Congress
2276 under advisement.

2277 Mr. Barr. I think that's a very important signal to send.
2278 If we're moving forward with this economic framework, we cannot
2279 exclude Taiwan. I think that would be an invitation for
2280 aggression.

2281 The other point is -- and this is out of your jurisdiction
2282 but more of an editorial comment to the USTR. We need a bilateral
2283 trade agreement with Taiwan.

2284 Final question on Oceania, again, kind of echoing my
2285 colleagues. Last month, the Solomon Islands announced the
2286 drafting of a security agreement with China. We know China has
2287 its eyes set on Oceania. And yet it was not until just two weeks
2288 ago that Ambassador Yun was appointed as the Special Presidential
2289 Envoy. We need action and we need action now. Your reaction?

2290 Ms. Sherman. We are very concerned about the Solomon
2291 Islands. We are quite engaged with them. We are very glad that

2292 we now have a presidential envoy. And Ambassador Yun is raring
2293 to go and underway. And we shared the concerns, and he will be
2294 a terrific compact negotiator.

2295 Mr. Barr. Thank you. I yield back.

2296 Mr. Malinowski. [Presiding.] The chair recognizes
2297 Representative Omar of Minnesota, five minutes.

2298 Ms. Omar. Thank you, Chairman. The Biden administration's
2299 Indo-Pacific strategy says that the United States has for a long
2300 time seen Asia merely as an arena for geopolitical competition.
2301 I'm grateful to see that framing. I agree.

2302 One of the things I think was profound, moral, and strategic
2303 mistake in the last Cold War was our support for brutal dictators
2304 in the name of having a common enemy. I would hope that most
2305 Americans look back at our long relationship with Pinochet in
2306 Chile, Suharto in Indonesia, Rios Montt in Guatemala, and feel
2307 the same determination. I do not want to repeat those historical
2308 injustices.

2309 What worries me is that this time we seem willing to let
2310 Modi be our new Pinochet. Some in the foreign policy world seem
2311 eager to let Duterte or Marcos be our new Suharto. In the whole
2312 Indo-Pacific strategy, there are only two references to human
2313 rights.

2314 One of those is a reference to how China is undermining them.
2315 Nobody doubts that. China's human rights record is atrocious

2316 and that is well known. But I ask, what about Modi in India?

2317 How are we promoting a free and open region by supporting Modi?

2318 So I ask you, why has the Biden administration been so
2319 reluctant to criticize Modi's government on human rights?

2320 Ms. Sherman. Congresswomen, President Biden said when he
2321 became President that human rights would be at the center of our
2322 foreign policy. And I can assure you in every interaction I have
2323 had with any government where we have concerns about their human
2324 rights record, it has been part of that dialogue. That is true
2325 for the Secretary of State. That is true for the President of
2326 the United States.

2327 I wore this pin this morning for a reason. This eagle was
2328 Madeleine Albright's signature pin. It has her signature on the
2329 back of it. She was a dear friend of mine, a business partner,
2330 but also my boss when I was Counselor for the State Department.

2331 She fought for democracy and human rights her entire life.

2332 She was so proud that President Biden made human rights at the
2333 center of his policy. So I can assure you that every single --

2334 Ms. Omar. So what do you think --

2335 Ms. Sherman. -- person at the State Department raises
2336 these issues and presses them.

2337 Ms. Omar. What do you think is the root of that reluctance
2338 to call out Modi's government for the human rights violations
2339 there?

2340 Ms. Sherman. I think it is important that we talk with
2341 countries with whom we have multiple interests about our human
2342 rights concerns, that we meet with civil society, that we deal
2343 with these issues, that we support NGOs who are pressing, that
2344 we support journalists and the freedom of journalists. We
2345 mentioned earlier today the Secretary just met with Maria Ressa
2346 who has spoken out and gotten a Nobel Peace Prize for it but also
2347 threats against her life on a constant basis, that we reinforce
2348 voices for human rights in countries, even where we have many
2349 other agendas with the government of those countries.

2350 I think you will see that everywhere. When I went to India
2351 the last time as the Deputy Secretary of State, I met with the
2352 LGBTQI+ community. I have to tell you five years ago, no such
2353 meeting would exist. And it is partly because of the advocacy
2354 of NGOs and civil society and our affirmation of them that people
2355 have more freedom than that once had. And we will continue to
2356 pursue this agenda in every way possible.

2357 Ms. Omar. I really appreciate that sentiment. And I push
2358 because when your predecessor was here, I asked the same question.

2359 What will it take? How much does the Modi administration have
2360 to criminalize the act of being Muslim in India for us to say
2361 something?

2362 And I ask you again, what will it take for us to outwardly
2363 criticize the actions that the Modi administration is taking

2364 against its Muslim minorities in India? Because when we remain
2365 silent and the situation gets out of control in the way that it
2366 did with the Rohingyas, we, all of a sudden, show our interest
2367 in whatever genocide that's taking place. But we have an
2368 opportunity now to lead and make sure that there is a deterrence
2369 in the actions that they are taking as our partners.

2370 Ms. Sherman. Congresswomen, I agree. The importance that
2371 we stand up for every religion, every ethnicity, every race, every
2372 quality of diversity in this world and certainly in our own
2373 country. We are not perfect either. I stand up for the rights
2374 of minorities and difference here in this country. And we have
2375 to do so around the world.

2376 Ms. Omar. I do hope we make a practice of standing up, not
2377 just to our adversaries but to our allies as well.

2378 Ms. Sherman. Absolutely, absolutely.

2379 Ms. Omar. Thank you, and I yield back.

2380 Mr. Malinowski. [Presiding.] I recognize Representative
2381 Meuser of Pennsylvania.

2382 Mr. Meuser. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank you very much,
2383 Deputy Secretary Sherman, for being with us. Deputy Secretary,
2384 has the Biden administration learned from this crisis that what
2385 many do describe radical Green New Deal policies and basically
2386 an assault on domestic energy, have created dangerous
2387 vulnerabilities for transatlantic security.

2388 Ms. Sherman. I'm not sure what you're referring to,
2389 Congressman.

2390 Mr. Meuser. The weakening of our national security and our
2391 economy through assault basically on our domestic energy policy
2392 which is, in the end, causing us to purchase from Russia. You
2393 really don't know what I mean, Deputy Secretary?

2394 Ms. Sherman. I understand what you're saying. I think our
2395 oil importation from Russia is about one -- it's a very small
2396 percentage of our --

2397 (Simultaneous speaking.)

2398 Ms. Sherman. But to your point, I think that the Europeans
2399 would say to you that one of the things they have learned is that
2400 their reliance on Russian oil and gas made the vulnerable. And
2401 I think they would say to you that it proves the point that we
2402 have to look at renewable sources of energy.

2403 It's not that oil and gas aren't going to continue to be
2404 important for some years to come. It is absolutely true there
2405 will be a transition. But it is also absolutely true that if
2406 we want a planet for our grandchildren --

2407 (Simultaneous speaking.)

2408 Ms. Sherman. -- you have to have renewables and move in
2409 that direction.

2410 Mr. Meuser. That's fine. So the administration will
2411 support U.S. fuel industries and LNG exports that will enable

2412 U.S. energy independence. Is that something that --

2413 (Simultaneous speaking.)

2414 Ms. Sherman. We already have.

2415 Mr. Meuser. We already have? Okay.

2416 Ms. Sherman. Sure. We already have.

2417 Mr. Meuser. Madam Secretary, look at the price of gasoline.

2418 Look at the depletion. We're well over a million barrels a day
2419 less. That's inaccurate. No data supports the comment you just
2420 made. We're still purchasing oil from Russia as we speak.

2421 Ms. Sherman. The issues that we face in terms of the price
2422 of gasoline is multi-faceted. And --

2423 (Simultaneous speaking.)

2424 Mr. Meuser. Not really. If we were energy independent,
2425 it would've stayed very, very stable. See, if you want to
2426 complicate the issue, that's one thing. But if we want to
2427 simplify it, because it's such a catastrophe for most American
2428 families, we can do that too. Energy independence with a
2429 transition towards green new energies and renewables is a
2430 reasonable, economically feasible plan. But the radical
2431 policies that have taken place, okay, have --

2432 Ms. Sherman. What has been --

2433 Mr. Meuser. -- changed.

2434 Ms. Sherman. What has been radical, Congressman?

2435 Mr. Meuser. We have hundreds of thousands of less barrels

2436 being produced locally. There's an assault on the financial
2437 community based upon any involvement they had with the oil
2438 industry. There's no permits being issued.

2439 Pipelines are not something that's being passed. I'm not
2440 going to go through it all. But everything I just stated is
2441 completely factual.

2442 You know what? I didn't expect that. I thought there would
2443 be some reasonableness to the realities of our economy and our
2444 national security. But I guess I'm not going to receive that.

2445 Can I ask you this? The Biden Administration promised --
2446 you know what? I'm just going to yield back. I'm going to yield
2447 the remainder of my time to Representative Kim. Thank you.

2448 Mrs. Kim of California. Thank you, Mr. Meuser, for
2449 yielding. I'll switch gears just a little bit. And I want to
2450 thank you, Madam Secretary, for committing earlier to appoint
2451 a special envoy on North Korea human rights issues.

2452 However, I heard the same thing from Secretary Blinken a
2453 year ago in this very hearing in the seat that you are sitting.

2454 And since then, we have seen zero progress on an appointment
2455 since then. So I know you've spun this earlier, but I would like
2456 to hear from you. Will it be the end of this year? Could we
2457 get a firm commitment on this?

2458 Ms. Sherman. I can't give you a time table today because
2459 we want to make sure we find the right person, Congresswomen.

2460 And we are --

2461 Mrs. Kim of California. I think we're hearing the same thing
2462 from --

2463 Ms. Sherman. I appreciate it. I'll try to get you a more
2464 specific answer.

2465 Mrs. Kim of California. Sure. All right. Well, I just
2466 want to conclude by saying that the North Korea -- we understand
2467 the North Korean people are suffering enough. And if we are
2468 actually serious about addressing the human rights abuses,
2469 globally, we need to follow through with an action. And I hope
2470 that both parties in Congress, Democrats and Republicans alike,
2471 we agree. The administration needs to make this a priority and
2472 appoint someone in the immediate future, hopefully soon. Thank
2473 you.

2474 Ms. Sherman. I understand your point completely. And I
2475 think the horrifying situation for the people in North Korea
2476 deserve that.

2477 Mrs. Kim of California. Thank you. I yield back.

2478 Mr. Malinowski. [Presiding.] Thank you. Just a note, U.S.
2479 oil imports from Russia significantly increased between 2016 and
2480 2020. So I assume there was a radical Green New Deal attack on
2481 U.S. oil production during those years. I now yield to
2482 Representative Abigail Spanberger of Virginia for five minutes.

2483 Ms. Spanberger. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. And

2484 I want to thank you for being here today. It's just a follow
2485 up to one of my colleagues asking a question.

2486 Is it correct -- and I will give you the source. I'm on
2487 the U.S. Energy Information website that's eia.gov for anyone
2488 following along at home. The U.S. total annual crude oil exports
2489 have increased every year since 2010 and reached a record high
2490 in 2020.

2491 I know this isn't within your portfolio. But is there any
2492 reason to think that these statistics are incorrect?

2493 Ms. Sherman. No. And in fact, Congresswomen, one of my
2494 colleagues just reminded me. We're producing more oil
2495 domestically now than any other country. And as I think everyone
2496 knows, we now are releasing a million barrels a day from the
2497 Strategic Petroleum Reserve which is unprecedented and have
2498 mobilized the rest of the world to follow suit.

2499 Ms. Spanberger. And one more thing, again, outside of your
2500 normal purview, Madam Deputy Secretary. But the U.S. crude oil
2501 imports fell to about 5.88 million in 2020. So U.S. oil imports
2502 fell in the year 2020. Also, any reason to doubt the figures
2503 from this --

2504 Ms. Sherman. No.

2505 Ms. Spanberger. -- site? And also notably, the United
2506 States was a total net energy exporter in both 2019 and 2020.

2507 Ms. Sherman. Sounds correct to me.

2508 Ms. Spanberger. Fantastic. And Mr. Chairman, I'll want
2509 to supply some of this documentation for the record.

2510 [The information offered by Ms. Spanberger follows:]

2511

2512 *****COMMITTEE INSERT*****

2513 Ms. Spanberger. Madam Deputy Secretary, thank you so much
2514 for being here. I have some questions about supply chains and
2515 semiconductors. Certainly the semiconductor supply chain will
2516 be critical to U.S. and economic global security for decades to
2517 come.

2518 We know that China is currently trying to expand and has
2519 been for some time, control over parts of that supply chain by
2520 taking control of, among other things, critical minerals. And
2521 we also know that some of our key partners are important nodes
2522 in the supply chain, be it Taiwan, South Korea, Japan.

2523 So are we as a country prepared if there's some geopolitical
2524 instability within the Indo-Pacific that could disrupt this
2525 supply chain, create shortages, or make other challenges -- create
2526 challenges within these nodes? And are we actively developing
2527 contingency plans to prepare for such a potential risk?

2528 Ms. Sherman. Thank you for raising that. The supply chain
2529 is one of the critical nodes of the Indo-Pacific Economic
2530 Framework. And quite obviously, semiconductors which are so
2531 critical to so much of what we do in the world and our future
2532 is very much a part of that and the critical minerals that are
2533 the inputs for that as well.

2534 Our Under Secretary for Economic Affairs, Energy Affairs,
2535 Jose Fernandez has this as his highest priority. We are working
2536 very closely with Japan, South Korea, with Taiwan to look at this

2537 issue. And we certainly have seen American manufacturers rethink
2538 their own approach to semiconductors and manufacturing of
2539 semiconductors and making sure that we have access to the critical
2540 minerals as necessary.

2541 Ms. Spanberger. Wonderful. And totally switching gears,
2542 thank you for your answers on that. We have a lot of people --
2543 and I know some of my colleagues have already touched on it --
2544 make consistent comparisons or parallels between the Russian
2545 invasion of Ukraine and risks to Taiwan from the People's Republic
2546 of China.

2547 So I want to just pull us back from this discussion and say
2548 generally speaking, do you think these two situations are
2549 analogous? Making these comparisons, are there factors we should
2550 be considering that present differences? And are there any risks
2551 from potentially putting these two potential conflicts in the
2552 same bucket?

2553 Ms. Sherman. So I think each situation in national security
2554 and foreign policy is sui generis. Everything is different.
2555 Context is different. Time is different, where the world is at
2556 that point, what the geopolitics are.

2557 So they're each sui generis. At the same time, we hope --
2558 and I said this earlier today -- that the PRC gets some lessons
2559 learned out of this. I think that many people in the world were
2560 surprised at the strength of our alliances and partnerships.

2561 I think that Putin fully expected that NATO would fall apart,
2562 that the European Union would be divided. And instead, what Putin
2563 has gotten is a strengthened NATO, a strengthened alliance, a
2564 stronger EU taking unprecedented action that they have never taken
2565 before. The EU set aside money to help countries pay for weapons
2566 to be sent to Ukraine. They've never done that before.

2567 We've had countries around the world change what they do.
2568 Japan has changed what it has normally done, New Zealand.
2569 Switzerland who has always been neutral, always, became
2570 non-neutral in the circumstances by calling out Russia.

2571 So I hope there's some lessons learned that sanctions bite,
2572 that we will keep them coming, that there will be consequences
2573 for actions, that force is not the answer. Force is not the
2574 answer, and that the international rules-based order matters.
2575 And we're going to stand up for it.

2576 Ms. Spanberger. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I yield
2577 back.

2578 Mr. Malinowski. [Presiding.] Thank you. So we're going
2579 to do two more rounds, five minutes. Deputy Secretary Sherman
2580 has been very generous with her time, not just today but in
2581 repeatedly coming back to us. And I want to encourage you to
2582 keep on doing that by keeping our commitments.

2583 So we're going to go to Representative Pfluger and then
2584 Representative Houlihan and cut it off there. And I apologize

2585 to members who did not get a chance to ask if there are any still
2586 left in the queue. So Representative Pfluger for five minutes.

2587 Mr. Pfluger. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Deputy Secretary,
2588 thank you for being here. Before I start with my questions,
2589 please pass my sincere gratitude to President Biden for meeting
2590 with Paula and Joey Reed last week for 40 minutes. It's
2591 incredibly important that we get him home. He has tuberculosis.
2592 He's coughing up blood every minute. Vladimir Putin knows this.
2593 We need to bring him home. We will support the administration
2594 in this.

2595 Ms. Sherman. Thank you.

2596 Mr. Pfluger. Last week, I introduced H.R. 7139 which is
2597 Removing Arms from Terrorists Through Sanctions Act. This
2598 legislation would codify the previous administration's executive
2599 order which basically implemented sanctions designed to prohibit
2600 rogue states from transferring weapons to Iran.

2601 Defense officials have recently testified to Congress that
2602 China wants to sell arms to Iran. And under the sunsets of the
2603 2015 deal, the U.N. arms embargo has expired as of October 2020.

2604 So in response to the executive orders, my bill would codify
2605 that executive order from the previous administration to threaten
2606 the second sanctions on China and any firms that were intending
2607 to transfer arms to Iran.

2608 So can you assure us that executive order will be kept in

2609 place as part of any deal that you're working?

2610 Ms. Sherman. Congressman, we take a look at every piece
2611 of legislation. We certainly share your interest in there not
2612 be technology transferred and weapons transferred to Iran that
2613 in fact can be used against our interests. And so we'll take
2614 a close look at that.

2615 Mr. Pfluger. Can you assure us that it will be kept in place?

2616 Ms. Sherman. I can't assure you because --

2617 Mr. Pfluger. You are the expert.

2618 Ms. Sherman. -- I need to look at the exact language.

2619 Mr. Pfluger. You are the expert on the Iranian nuclear deal,
2620 yes?

2621 Ms. Sherman. I don't know. I certainly --

2622 Mr. Pfluger. You've been part of this for seven or eight
2623 years.

2624 Ms. Sherman. -- worked on the Iran nuclear deal. That's
2625 correct.

2626 Mr. Pfluger. Right. I think everyone in the country knows
2627 that you orchestrated the 2015 deal and now we're part of the
2628 orchestration of this deal. Can you assure us that this executive
2629 order will remain in place?

2630 Ms. Sherman. Congressman, I need to look at the executive
2631 order. I need to look at your language.

2632 Mr. Pfluger. Mr. Chairman, I would respectfully urge this

2633 committee to bring this forward. I mean, if we're serious about
2634 deterring Iran and therefore any rogue actors like China, we would
2635 also consider this. I mean, it's very disappointing that you
2636 don't know what the language is of that.

2637 And I have serious questions about this deal in general.

2638 I think we're in glove safe land right now and extremely
2639 disappointing that you're not able to comment on that deal and
2640 on the efficacy of whether or not that executive order mean within
2641 the deal that you are negotiating.

2642 Shifting gears, the energy security and given the importance
2643 of the Indo-Pacific and especially knowing what our national
2644 security strategy says, what can you tell me about what the
2645 strategy is for the administration to ensure that products like
2646 LNG get to our partners and allies?

2647 Ms. Sherman. I think it's very important that we help our
2648 partners and allies through this energy crisis. The President
2649 as I just noted a moment ago has done an unprecedented release
2650 from the strategic petroleum reserve and gotten countries all
2651 over the world to match our efforts so that we can help consumers
2652 everywhere and particularly in our own country, of course, to
2653 lower these gas prices. So I think this is something we all are
2654 working on collectively in a bipartisan fashion. It's quite
2655 critical.

2656 Mr. Pfluger. Do you believe that the oil and gas executives

2657 are price gouging Americans?

2658 Ms. Sherman. Congressman, I'm not knowledgeable enough to
2659 make that determination.

2660 Mr. Pfluger. Well, your comments on the SPR indicate that
2661 you are.

2662 Ms. Sherman. I am not an expert in this arena.

2663 Mr. Pfluger. Okay. Well, that's good to know. We've had
2664 a lot of discussions on energy security in this hearing. And
2665 across the hall, there's another hearing where that's being
2666 suggested.

2667 Just theoretically, are we more secure today than we were
2668 two years ago, this country, under the policies that have been
2669 implemented?

2670 Ms. Sherman. I obviously believe, Congressman, that
2671 President Biden is doing everything he possibly can and succeeding
2672 in ensuring the security of the United States of America. That's
2673 my solemn obligation. That's his solemn obligation as the
2674 President of the United States. And he takes it as a solemn
2675 obligation. You should know him well enough to know that when
2676 he took that oath of office to secure our country, he took it
2677 seriously.

2678 Mr. Pfluger. I hope that you will consider the text of the
2679 previous administration's executive order that does deter China,
2680 that does deter those types of actions from transferring weapons

2681 into the hands of the largest state sponsor of terror, one who
2682 actually fired weapons onto or nearby our own facilities in Erbil,
2683 Iraq.

2684 Ms. Sherman. I share your concerns, Congressman, and I will
2685 look at your legislation.

2686 Mr. Pfluger. Thank you. I yield back.

2687 Mr. Malinowski. [Presiding.] Chair recognizes
2688 Representative Houlihan, Pennsylvania.

2689 Ms. Houlihan. Thank you, Mr. Chair, and thank you, Madam
2690 Under Secretary Sherman for this conversation. I very much
2691 appreciate your testimony, and I appreciate that you noted in
2692 that testimony the impact that Russia's invasion of Ukraine is
2693 having and could potentially have on the Indo-Pacific region.

2694 We know that China violates Taiwan's airspace and
2695 territorial waters regularly, not to mention the repressive
2696 tactic in Tibet and the atrocities that they're committing against
2697 the Uyghurs and Xinjiang. I don't believe that Russia's
2698 inability to easily dominate Ukraine will necessarily indicate
2699 to China that continuing their destabilization efforts is a bad
2700 idea.

2701 I also don't think frankly that the United States has done
2702 nearly enough to help support Ukraine in their efforts to repel
2703 the Russian incursion. And I'm afraid that if China does indeed
2704 invade Taiwan in the future that we will be having these exact

2705 same conversations and the exact same delaying discussions about
2706 it and when to provide aid or send weapons to the people of Taiwan
2707 as they suffer as well.

2708 Can you please speak to what actions the United States is
2709 currently taking or perhaps should be taking to support Taiwan
2710 and to make sure that an invasion is as unappealing as possible
2711 to China?

2712 Ms. Sherman. Congresswomen, we share your concerns that
2713 China not consider taking Taiwan by force, that there would be
2714 -- and we have said they know that there will be consequences
2715 for their back-filling Russia and what is happening in Ukraine
2716 by giving them any kind of material support. And we have been
2717 quite clear publicly that we believe that it is I wrong and that
2718 there will be a reaction if the PRC tries to take Taiwan by force.

2719 United States sold more than 30 billion dollars' worth of
2720 arms to Taiwan since 2009. We have more than 400 foreign military
2721 cell cases in implementation. Since 2017, we've authorized with
2722 your support 18 billion dollars in foreign military sales to
2723 Taiwan.

2724 In addition, direct commercial sales authorizations for end
2725 use by the Taiwan authority during this period totaled over 2.3
2726 billion dollars. The Departments of State and Defense are
2727 looking at the entire defense trade enterprise to see where
2728 efficiencies can be made and get those articles to them more

2729 quickly. And we've talked today about ensuring those timelines
2730 speed up.

2731 We've also had very direct discussion about what kind of
2732 capabilities Taiwan needs. They're known as asymmetric
2733 approaches. The President has been very thoughtful about this.
2734 He sent a delegation to Taiwan of former senior U.S. security
2735 officials led by the former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff,
2736 Admiral Mike Mullen.

2737 The selection of those individuals sent an important signal
2738 about the bipartisan U.S. commitment. It was quite a bipartisan
2739 delegation. And our commitment to Taiwan is democracy and
2740 demonstrates that our commitment to Taiwan remains rock solid.
2741 We'll continue to support Taiwan with training and encourage
2742 an innovative and asymmetric security posture to help them in
2743 their self defense.

2744 Ms. Houlihan. Thank you. I guess what I would want to
2745 emphasize is that we could've probably had similar conversations
2746 about Ukraine a while ago and felt as though we were doing
2747 everything we could then as well. And we clearly have not been
2748 -- we now know that's not the case.

2749 And so there's just so many parallels and analogous
2750 situations here that we can learn from. And there are really
2751 strong teaching moments that we should be experiencing right now.
2752 And so I just really don't want to see us being here in this

2753 situation on the other side of the globe.

2754 With my remaining minute, you also mentioned in your
2755 testimony that you've expressed concerns to the PRC about their
2756 growing strategic alignment with Russia. Could you share to the
2757 degree that you're able to their reaction and what is the plan
2758 to continue to discouraging them from aligning further with
2759 Russia?

2760 Ms. Sherman. The President was very direct with Xi Jinping,
2761 Jake Sullivan with Yang Jiechi, the Secretary with Wang Yi, I
2762 with the ambassador here that there would be consequences if they
2763 provided material support. We now have Ambassador Nick Burns
2764 out of quarantine. As our ambassador to the PRC, he is delivering
2765 this message as well.

2766 We are very focused on making sure that they understand what
2767 choices they're making here. And for a country that has long
2768 said that they believe in sovereignty, territorial integrity,
2769 the right of countries to choose their political system and their
2770 own foreign policy, we hope they will apply that here as well.

2771 I think we've all seen indications that they are conflicted
2772 somewhat. That's not to say they don't see Russia as a partner.
2773 I'm not naive. They do.

2774 But they've also been public to say it is not an alliance.
2775 And they certainly -- I think even in the meeting the other day
2776 -- were horrified by what happened in Bucha. Who could not have

2777 been by seeing that video?

2778 So I think this is an ongoing circumstance and relationship.

2779 And we're going to have to keep working at it. Thank you for
2780 your question.

2781 Mr. Malinowski. [Presiding.] Thank you so much. Thank
2782 you, Madam Secretary. I'll just say in conclusion, thinking
2783 about Mr. Pfluger's question to you, are we safer?

2784 And it occurs to me that this contest that we're in with
2785 Russia over Ukraine did not begin in 2022. You could argue it
2786 began in 2014. The contest between the democratic and
2787 authoritarian world was underway in Syria ten years ago, in Hong
2788 Kong, in the South China Sea.

2789 We have not been safe for a very long time. But we are
2790 standing upright now with our allies, leading our allies, and
2791 demonstrating that without the United States, there would be very
2792 little hope for democracy in the world. So I'm very glad we did
2793 not listen to those who are saying we should pull out of NATO,
2794 we should pull our troops out of Asia, South Korea, and Japan,
2795 that we should pull our troops out of Europe. And that was a
2796 very, very close call.

2797 So thank you so much for your leadership, Secretary Blinken,
2798 and the President. Look forward to our next opportunity to have
2799 these discussions with you.

2800 And the hearing is now adjourned.

2801 [Whereupon, at 1:06 p.m., the committee was adjourned.]