

Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs
Nominations of Mr. Brian Johnson, Ms. Abby Warren, and The Honorable Irving Dennis
July 23, 2026

Questions for Ms. Abby Warren, to be Assistant Secretary, Department of Commerce,
from Ranking Member Elizabeth Warren:

General

4. What are your views on export controls and their role in advancing U.S. national security and technological leadership? When should they be used and what considerations will you take into account in determining how they are deployed?

Export controls are extremely important to protect U.S. national security interests, which consistent with ECRA, include the maintenance of U.S. leadership in science, technology, engineering, and manufacturing. If confirmed, I will follow the considerations set forth in ECRA in deciding whether to pursue changes to the export control rules, including how the proposed action will serve U.S. national security and its economic impact on U.S. industry.

5. Are there cases or areas of technology, in your view, where the United States has not used export controls aggressively enough?

ECRA provides BIS broad authority to promulgate rules governing the exports, re-exports, and in-country transfers of technology and software critical to U.S. national security. If I am confirmed, I will thoroughly review the current controls on sensitive technologies to determine whether additional action is necessary, and if so, endeavor to advance such action.

6. What role do you believe economic security and the interests of workers should play in guiding U.S. export controls?

ECRA generally provides that export controls should be used only after a full consideration of the impact of such controls on the U.S. economy. The law also recognizes that an important aspect of national security is economic leadership and competitiveness in key areas such as science, technology, engineering, and manufacturing, and also provides that export controls should be imposed in a manner that avoids negative impacts affecting this leadership and competitiveness.

7. Do you agree that export control decisions should be primarily guided by national security concerns rather than industry lobbying?

Export control decisions should be guided by the requirements and considerations set forth in ECRA. ECRA provides that export controls should be used to advance U.S. national security interests and foreign policy objectives, while taking into account the impact of such controls on the U.S. economy.

8. Do you agree that the interagency—including the Departments of Defense, State, and Energy—should have the opportunity to provide meaningful review of significant changes to the export administration regulations?

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ECRA and the EAR provide that the interagency—including the Departments of War, State, and Energy—should review significant changes to export control rules. If confirmed, I will follow these laws and engage with the interagency to review significant changes to the EAR.

9. Do you commit to informing Congress of any changes in export administration policy?

- a. Under Section 1716(h) of the Export Control Reform Act, the Chairman or Ranking Member of the committee or subcommittee of appropriate jurisdiction can request any information, including license information from BIS. Will you commit to providing timely and comprehensive responses to congressional requests for information pursuant to Section 1716(h)?

I will follow ECRA's congressional disclosure requirements, including those set forth in 50 USC 4820(h)(2).

10. Is it ever appropriate for an export control decision to be influenced by the financial interests of the President, Vice President, or a senior official, or their families, in a business tied to a foreign government?

- a. If so, explain the circumstances where you believe this would be appropriate.
- b. If not, what concrete steps will you take to ensure that no export control decision under your authority is influenced by such interests?

ECRA sets forth the considerations that the government should weigh in pursuing export controls, including the national security and foreign policy of the United States and the effect of such controls on U.S. technological and economic leadership. While I do not believe this scenario would present itself, if I am confirmed, I will follow ECRA and all applicable federal ethics laws.

Export Administration

11. If you are confirmed, what are your top priorities for export administration at BIS?

My top priorities for BIS are to ensure the Bureau has the people, processes, and technology needed to carry out its national security mission effectively. First, consistent with the President's budget request and congressional appropriations, I would prioritize hiring the experts needed to address a growing and increasingly complex workload. Second, I would focus on examining and updating internal processes, where necessary, so that decisions and actions are timely and consistent, and BIS can expeditiously onboard and train new employees. Third, I would pursue technological upgrades to modernize BIS systems, including the license application system, improve data analysis, and make it easier for both the government and regulated parties to navigate export control requirements.

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12. Do you agree that BIS's rulemaking authority should be used to protect national security and safeguard sensitive U.S. technology?

ECRA provides that export controls should be used to advance U.S. national security, which includes maintaining U.S. technological leadership. In advancing that directive, BIS has promulgated—and enforced—export controls that restrict exports of sensitive U.S. technologies.

13. If you are confirmed, what are your plans to ensure that BIS issues regulations or updates to existing export controls to ensure countries of concern like China or Russia do not have access to critical U.S. technology?

ECRA provides BIS broad authority to promulgate rules governing the exports, re-exports, and in-country transfers of technology and software critical to U.S. national security. If I am confirmed, I will thoroughly review the current controls on sensitive technologies to determine whether additional action is necessary, and if so, endeavor to advance such action.

14. Since the beginning of the second Trump Administration, BIS issued the fewest rules in any calendar year in decades. Do you agree that BIS should make regular updates to the Export Administration Regulations (EAR), including through issuing rules?

Consistent with ECRA, BIS should use its rulemaking authority as necessary to advance U.S. national security interests. If I am confirmed, I will thoroughly review the current controls on sensitive technologies to determine whether any additional action is necessary, and if so, endeavor to advance such action.

15. Do you agree that the Entity List is an important national security tool for preventing countries of concern and their militaries from accessing sensitive U.S. technology?

The Entity List identifies persons reasonably believed to be involved, or to pose a significant risk of being or becoming involved, in activities contrary to the national security or foreign policy interests of the United States. It is an important tool in advancing U.S. national security, including by preventing certain foreign actors from accessing sensitive items.

16. BIS has not added a single name to the Entity List since October, the longest gap in over a decade. Do you agree that it is important for BIS to make regular updates to the Entity List to protect national security?

The Entity List is an important tool in advancing U.S. national security, including by preventing certain foreign actors from accessing sensitive items. If I am confirmed, I will work closely with BIS staff and the interagency and consider any proposals to modify the Entity List.

17. By most metrics, China has imposed far more controls than we have over the past year and a half to weaponize supply chains against the United States, while the Trump Administration has traded away national security controls. If you are confirmed as Assistant Secretary, how do you plan to have BIS address this issue?

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If I am confirmed, I will thoroughly review the current controls on sensitive technologies to determine whether additional action is necessary, and if so, endeavor to advance such action.

18. Given recent reporting that the Trump Administration’s failure to update export control regulations over the last year and a half may have inadvertently allowed America’s most advanced AI chips to flow to companies headquartered in China, potentially fueling China’s military capabilities, do you agree that the Department of Commerce should close any and all loopholes that exist today?

ECRA provides BIS broad authority to promulgate rules governing the exports, re-exports, and in-country transfers of technology and software critical to U.S. national security. If I am confirmed, I will thoroughly review the current controls on sensitive technologies to determine whether additional action is necessary, and if so, endeavor to advance such action. If confirmed, I will also coordinate closely with Export Enforcement within BIS to address any efforts to subvert the export control rules.

19. Under Secretary Kessler has stated, “[f]or too long, loopholes have enabled exports that undermine American national security and foreign policy interests.”¹ Do you agree with Under Secretary Kessler’s statement?

- a. If so, describe the current loopholes in export control regulations and how you plan to close them.
- b. If not, explain why you disagree with Under Secretary Kessler.

ECRA provides BIS broad authority to promulgate rules governing the exports, re-exports, and in-country transfers of technology and software critical to U.S. national security. If I am confirmed, I will thoroughly review the current controls on sensitive technologies to determine whether additional action is necessary, and if so, endeavor to advance such action.

20. Do you agree that the Affiliates Rule closes a significant loophole in export controls?

Under the Affiliates Rule, any entity that is at least 50 percent owned directly or indirectly, individually or in the aggregate, by one or more entities on the Entity List, or by unlisted entities that are subject to license requirements or other restrictions based upon their ownership, is itself automatically subject to Entity List restrictions. On November 12, 2025, BIS issued a final rule imposing a one-year suspension of the Affiliates Rule, ending November 9, 2026. That final rule provides that the Affiliates Rule will go back into effect on November 10, 2026, absent a future extension.

¹ Department of Commerce, Bureau of Industry and Security, “Department of Commerce Expands Entity List to Cover Affiliates of Listed Entities,” September 29, 2025, <https://www.bis.gov/press-release/departments-commerce-expands-entity-list-cover-affiliates-listed-entities>.

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21. Do you plan on having BIS fully implement the Affiliates Rule after the one-year suspension ends in November?

- a. If not, what plans do you have for ensuring BIS fully uses its regulatory authorities to ensure entities named on the Entity List are not able to exploit gaps in the Commerce Control List?

The final rule published on November 12, 2025, provides that the Affiliates Rule will go back into effect on November 10, 2026, absent a future extension. If confirmed, I will evaluate U.S. national security and foreign policy interests related to non-listed foreign affiliates of listed entities.

22. You testified about the importance of soliciting advice from technical experts in and outside of government in the formulation of export controls; however, BIS has only held one Technical Advisory Committee (TAC) in 2026.² If you are confirmed as Assistant Secretary, are you committed to restarting the TACs to meet on a quarterly basis?

- a. If not, how do you plan to ensure BIS stays abreast of technical developments as it relates to the development of export control regulations?

If I am confirmed, I commit to engaging with technical experts, including those in key industries, on a regular basis.

23. Do you agree that digital asset mining equipment “designed, developed, manufactured or supplied by entities under the ownership or control of, or subject to the jurisdiction or direction of, a foreign adversary”³ could present security risks under the Department's Information and Communications Technology and Services (ICTS) rules?

While I hope to work closely with OICTS and staff if confirmed, OICTS is not within Export Administration and therefore I will not be responsible for administering ICTS rules if confirmed.

24. Given BIS’s January 2025 addition of Sophgo Technologies Ltd. to the Entity List, what additional actions do you believe BIS should take to address potential national security risks from Bitmain and People’s Republic of China (PRC)-linked digital asset mining equipment?

- a. Have you, or any other senior Department of Commerce official, met with or spoken to any employee or representative of Bitmain? If so, please provide a list of meetings and topics discussed.

² U.S. Senate Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs, “Nomination Hearing,” July 23, 2026, <https://www.banking.senate.gov/hearings/07/16/2026/nomination-hearing>.

³ Federal Register, “Securing the Information and Communications Technology and Services Supply Chain,” December 6, 2024, <https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2024/12/06/2024-28335/securing-the-information-and-communications-technology-and-services-supply-chain>.

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I am not currently in BIS and therefore cannot speak to any actions that should be taken regarding specific entities. I recognize that ECRA provides BIS broad authority to promulgate rules governing the exports, re-exports, and in-country transfers of technology and software to address national security risks. If I am confirmed, I will thoroughly review the current controls on sensitive technologies to determine whether additional action is necessary, and if so, endeavor to advance such action.

I have not spoken with any employee or representative of Bitmain. I do not know whether any other senior Department of Commerce official has done so.

Multilateral

25. What are your views about the importance of multilateral engagement and alignment of export controls with U.S. allies and partners?

ECRA states: “The national security and foreign policy of the United States require that the United States participate in multilateral organizations and agreements regarding export controls on items that are consistent with the policy of the United States, and take all the necessary steps to secure the adoption and consistent enforcement, by the governments of such countries, of export controls on items that are consistent with such policy.” It is important to work with U.S. allies to encourage them to adopt export controls consistent with U.S. controls, both to achieve the goals of such controls and prevent unfair harm to U.S. companies.

26. If you are confirmed, do you plan to have BIS support and staff delegations to the Wassenaar Arrangement, Australia Group, Nuclear Suppliers Group, and the Missile Technology Control Regime?

- a. If not, please explain why given the vital role that the multilateral export control regimes play in harmonizing export controls with U.S. allies and partners.

ECRA states: “The national security and foreign policy of the United States require that the United States participate in multilateral organizations and agreements regarding export controls on items that are consistent with the policy of the United States, and take all the necessary steps to secure the adoption and consistent enforcement, by the governments of such countries, of export controls on items that are consistent with such policy.” The Department of State leads U.S. negotiations and policy coordination for the U.S. in multilateral regimes, including by leading delegations. I will work in close coordination with the Department of State to advance U.S. national security and foreign policy in these multilateral regimes.

27. Do you agree that export controls on semiconductor manufacturing equipment are important to protect U.S. national security?

Yes.

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28. Do you agree it is important for the U.S. to engage the Netherlands and Japan on regulatory updates to semiconductor manufacturing equipment?

It is important that BIS work with U.S. allies, including the Netherlands and Japan, to encourage them to adopt export controls consistent with U.S. controls, both to achieve the goals of such controls and prevent unfair harm to U.S. companies.

29. In your current position as the Deputy General Counsel for AI and Technology at the Department of Commerce, do you believe that the recent decision to relax export controls on the UAE through the Strategic Trade Authorization (STA) enhances U.S. national security?

- a. If so, explain how giving G42 license-free access to advanced AI chips and other sensitive U.S. technology enhances national security when national security and intelligence officials have warned about the risks of diversion to China.

In issuing the rule upgrading the UAE's status under the Export Administration Regulations, BIS explained it was doing so in recognition of the UAE's status as a U.S. Major Defense Partner and its support in advancing U.S. national security interests. It further explained that "License-free exports, reexports, and in-country transfers of [certain] items under STA will support key UAE commercial and infrastructure needs and better equip the UAE defense establishment to support U.S. interests in the Middle East" and that "this special status under the EAR is warranted in light of the ongoing U.S.-UAE military partnership and the UAE's commitment to preventing the diversion and misuse of sensitive U.S. technology."

30. Country Group A:5 and STA eligibility have been limited to members of all four multilateral export regimes in all prior administrations. Do you agree that the UAE is not a member of all four multilateral regimes?

- a. Do you agree that the UAE is not a member of any of the four multilateral regimes?

It is my understanding that while the UAE is not a member of the four multilateral regimes, the United States has previously designated the UAE as a Major Defense Partner. The U.S. government has previously provided STA and country group A:5 country group benefits and status to other countries, such as India, that are not members of all four multilateral export regimes, provided that they are Major Defense Partners.

31. If you are confirmed, do you have plans to reverse the conditions that BIS placed on the advanced computing items it approved for export to the UAE in November 2025?

ECRA provides BIS broad authority to promulgate rules governing the exports, re-exports, and in-country transfers of technology and software critical to U.S. national security. If I am confirmed, I will thoroughly review the current controls on sensitive technologies to determine whether additional action is necessary.

License Process

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32. The BIS 2025 Annual Report noted that the average number of days to process an export license was 62 days—a stark increase from the 38-day and 37-day averages reported in 2023 and 2022, respectively. If confirmed as Assistant Secretary, would you commit to measures to ensure BIS expedites license applications in a more timely manner?

BIS's FY 2025 Annual Report states that the average processing time for license application was 62 days in calendar year 2025, as compared with 60 days in 2024. It also states that under this Administration, BIS is no longer rubber-stamping license applications.

BIS can engage in a close and careful review of sensitive license applications while ensuring an efficient license application review process across the board, including for license applications typically submitted for small and medium sized businesses. If confirmed, I will engage with senior BIS officials and licensing officers to examine each step of the license review process and assess whether that process can be improved.

33. The EAR requires that all applications that BIS receives be transmitted to the departments of Defense, State, and Energy within nine days of receipt, unless there is a flaw in the application. If confirmed as Assistant Secretary, would you commit to ensuring BIS abides by this regulatory obligation?

- a. If not, what specific authority in ECRA or the EAR would you use to authorize you to delay referral of applications to the agencies?

Executive Order 12981, as adopted in the Export Administration Regulations at 15 C.F.R. 750.4, sets forth interagency procedures, mandatory review timelines, and dispute resolution mechanisms for export license applications. If confirmed, I will follow these procedures, including the initial processing timelines.

34. If you are confirmed as Assistant Secretary, what do you plan to do about the reported significant export license application backlog?

If confirmed, I will engage with senior BIS officials and licensing officers to examine each step of the license review process, determine how that process may be streamlined or otherwise improved through technology, and prioritize securing those improvements.

35. If you are confirmed as Assistant Secretary, what role do you personally believe you should play in whether a license gets approved or not for licenses that have not been explicitly escalated to the Advisory Committee on Export Policy?

If confirmed, I would lead Export Administration's highly trained technical professionals in controlling the export of dual-use and military items for national security and foreign policy reasons, analyzing the impact of export controls, and supporting the U.S. defense industrial base.

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AI Chips

36. Do you agree that advanced AI chips like the H200s are widely used for frontier AI development that has significant military applications, including the development of biological weapons and offensive cyber operations?

It is my understanding that U.S. companies are generally using more advanced chips like the GB300 (Grace Blackwell Ultra) for frontier AI development, rather than H200s.

37. Do you agree with the Trump Administration Department of Justice’s view that H200 chips “are the building blocks of AI superiority and are integral to modern military applications,” that “[t]he country that controls these chips will control AI technology,” and that “the country that controls AI technology will control the future”?⁴

U.S. leadership in AI is critical. DOJ issued the statement quoted above in a press release in December of last year regarding smuggling activities that occurred between October 2024 and May 2025. Since that time, NVIDIA has released significantly more powerful chips. I agree that increased export enforcement continues to be a key priority for BIS. If confirmed as the Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Export Administration, I look forward to working with the Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Export Enforcement to address this important issue.

38. Do you agree with the Trump Administration Department of Justice’s view that the smuggling of H200 chips into China “threatens our Nation’s security by funneling cutting-edge AI technology to those who would use it against American interests”?⁵

BIS should and does strongly enforce export control violations. I agree that increased export enforcement continues to be a key priority for BIS. If confirmed as the Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Export Administration, I look forward to working with the Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Export Enforcement to address this important issue.

39. How many H200 chips do you believe BIS should approve for export to China and over what time period?

Under the H200 Rule, to be considered for approval of a license application, applicants must demonstrate, among other things, that exporting these products to China will not reduce global semiconductor production capacity currently available to U.S. customers. The H200 Rule further provides that BIS will review license applications that meet the identified security

⁴ U.S. Department of Justice, “U.S. Authorities Shut Down Major China-Linked AI Tech Smuggling Network,” December 8, 2025, <https://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/us-authorities-shut-down-major-china-linked-ai-tech-smuggling-network>.

⁵ U.S. Department of Justice, “U.S. Authorities Shut Down Major China-Linked AI Tech Smuggling Network,” December 8, 2025, <https://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/us-authorities-shut-down-major-china-linked-ai-tech-smuggling-network>.

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requirements on a case-by-case basis. The H200 Rule does not set forth any certain number of chips that will be approved for export.

40. If confirmed, what actions would you take to ensure that, in the event of a limited supply of advanced AI chips including the H200s, American startups, universities, and national labs get the first opportunity to purchase them ahead of entities based in China?

Under the H200 Rule, to be considered for approval of a license application, applicants must demonstrate, among other things, that exporting these products to China will not reduce global semiconductor production capacity currently available to U.S. customers.

41. What is your understanding of how the Administration plans to apply its announced 25% fee to H200 sales, and under what specific statutory authorities?

- a. How much revenue has been collected?

On January 14, 2026, the President issued a proclamation directing that imports of certain products, including H200s, be subject to a 25 percent ad valorem tariff. That proclamation explains that Section 232 of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962, as amended (19 U.S.C. 1862) provides the authority for this action. In general, U.S. Customs and Border Protection is the agency responsible for collecting tariffs.

42. How would you ensure that NVIDIA chips are not being used by restricted end users, including entities linked to China's military?

Under the H200 Rule, to qualify for case-by-case review for H200 exports to China, license applicants must demonstrate that exporting these products to China will not reduce global semiconductor production capacity currently available to U.S. customers; that the Chinese purchaser has adopted export compliance procedures, including customer screening; and that the product has undergone independent, third-party testing in the United States to verify its performance and security. Shipments to prohibited end-users and persons on the Entity List remain under a presumption of denial review policy. If confirmed, I would monitor these rules to ensure they are effective, and coordinate with Export Enforcement to ensure any violation of these rules is enforced.

43. Are you aware of any analysis that the Department of Commerce has conducted on the effect of H200 exports on the ability of U.S. startups, universities, and national labs to access AI chips?

No.

44. If you are confirmed, would you approve an export license for the H200 to DeepSeek?

As the nominee to be the Assistant Secretary for Export Administration, it would be inappropriate for me to prejudge any license application. I would follow ECRA and the EAR,

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including the H200 Rule, which sets forth conditions that must be met for BIS to even begin considering a license application to export H200 chips.

45. If you are confirmed, do you have plans to amend BIS's Revision to License Review Policy for Advanced Computing Commodities (H200 rule)?

ECRA provides BIS broad authority to promulgate rules governing the exports, re-exports, and in-country transfers of technology and software critical to U.S. national security. If I am confirmed, I will thoroughly review the current controls on sensitive technologies to determine whether additional action is necessary, and if so, endeavor to advance such action.

46. What is your understanding of the Department of Commerce's assessment of the effect that this decision will have on the ability for U.S. allies to coordinate and maintain export controls?

If confirmed, I will carefully analyze the impact of export controls, including the ability for U.S. allies to coordinate and maintain export controls.

47. Are you aware of whether or not there was an interagency process to inform the President's decision on the H200?

- a. If so, what was the Department of Commerce's position?
- b. Were national security officials at the Department of Justice involved in the interagency process? If so, what was the Justice Department's position?
- c. What were the positions of other departments and agencies?

My understanding is that under Executive Order 12866, BIS must submit significant regulatory actions to OIRA within OMB, which manages the interagency review process, before they are published. I cannot speak to specific positions within the interagency on the H200 Rule.

48. In your view, do you believe the certification conditions in the H200 rule strike the appropriate balance between national security and the economic impact of export controls?

- a. Do you commit to ensuring BIS requires information from industry on each of the certification conditions in the H200 rule?

Under the H200 Rule, to qualify for case-by-case review for H200 exports to China, license applicants must demonstrate that exporting these products to China will not reduce global semiconductor production capacity currently available to U.S. customers; that the Chinese purchaser has adopted export compliance procedures, including customer screening; and that the product has undergone independent, third-party testing in the United States to verify its performance and security.

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49. Should the U.S. be approving licenses to sell advanced AI chips like the H200 to entities that have documented ties to the Chinese military?

While the H200 provides that license applications for shipments of H200 chips to China may qualify for case-by-case review if certain conditions are met, shipments to prohibited end-users and persons on the Entity List remain under a presumption of denial review policy.

50. Should the U.S. be approving licenses to sell advanced AI chips like the H200 to entities identified as Chinese companies involved in China's military-industrial complex on the Treasury Department's NS-CMIC List?

While the H200 Rule provides that license applications for shipments of H200 chips to China may qualify for case-by-case review if certain conditions are met, shipments to prohibited end-users and persons on the Entity List remain under a presumption of denial review policy.

Treasury Department's NS-CMIC List (administered pursuant to EO 14032) and the Department of Commerce's/BIS's Entity List (administered pursuant to ECRA and the EAR) have different objectives and standards for inclusion, and inclusion on each list has different consequences.

51. Should the U.S. be approving licenses to sell advanced AI chips like the H200 to entities identified as Chinese Military Companies on the Department of Defense Section 1260H list?

While the H200 Rule provides that license applications for shipments of H200 chips to China may qualify for case-by-case review if certain conditions are met, shipments to prohibited end-users and persons on the Entity List remain under a presumption of denial review policy.

The Department of War's 1260H list (administered pursuant to the NDAA) and the Department of Commerce's/BIS's Entity List (administered pursuant to ECRA and the EAR) have different objectives and standards for inclusion, and inclusion on each list has different consequences.

52. In your view, should BIS proactively impose license requirements on jurisdictions with known diversion of advanced computing items?

If confirmed, I intend to review licensing policies related to this issue and explore ways to address the unauthorized re-export of items controlled by BIS.

53. What are your plans to address the widespread diversion of AI chips in Southeast Asia through BIS's export administration authorities?

If confirmed, I will work to analyze our export control rules to ensure our advanced AI technology (or other export controlled technology) is not accessed illicitly.

54. Should entities be able to evade U.S. export controls on advanced AI chips by accessing those chips remotely through the cloud?

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If confirmed, I will work to analyze our export control rules to ensure our advanced AI technology (or other export controlled technology) is not accessed illicitly.

55. What are your plans, if any, to address the potential remote access to advanced AI chips, including AI chips more advanced than the H200, by entities that may be based in countries of concern?

If confirmed, I will work to analyze our export control rules to ensure our advanced AI technology (or other export controlled technology) is not accessed illicitly.

56. In your view, should the AI Diffusion Rule be rescinded? If so, what should it be replaced with and why has a replacement rule not been issued?

The AI Diffusion Rule was released in the final days of the previous administration and would have stifled American AI innovation and burdened American companies with complex regulatory requirements. Moreover, it insulted allies and partners by relegating them to second-tier status. In May 2025, BIS announced that it would not enforce the AI Diffusion Rule. Under Secretary Kessler recently testified that BIS does not plan to replace the AI Diffusion Rule but there will be future regulatory actions regarding semiconductors and AI technology.

57. Is there a current license requirement on chip manufacturers, or foundries, that prevents them from shipping advanced chips to destinations outside of D:1/D:4/D:5?

If confirmed, I intend to review licensing policies related to this issue and explore ways to address any issues concerning unauthorized re-export of items controlled by BIS.

58. In your view, should foundries be required to obtain a license before delivering advanced AI chips to front and shell companies, even if they are based in Southeast Asia?

- a. If not, how will you ensure that front or shell companies based in Southeast Asia are not able to fabricate advanced AI chips that may be diverted to China?

If confirmed, I intend to review licensing policies related to this issue and explore ways to address any issues concerning unauthorized re-export of items controlled by BIS.

59. On June 17, BIS issued a clarification that §744.23(a)(3)(i)(A) captures Chinese Headquartered companies outside of China. Do you believe it is important for BIS to formally update the regulations consistent with this guidance?⁶

- a. If not, please explain.

⁶ Department of Commerce, Bureau of Industry and Security, “Guidance Regarding Enforcement of License Requirements for Advanced Computing Items for Entities Headquartered in Country Group D:5 and Macau [May 31, 2026],” May 31, 2026, <https://www.bis.gov/media/documents/bis-guidance-may-31-2026.pdf>.

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BIS's May 31, 2026 guidance clarifies that a license is required to export advanced computing items to entities headquartered in Country Group D:5 or Macau, or with an ultimate parent company headquartered in Country Group D:5 or Macau, even if the entities themselves are not located in those countries. The guidance explains that this requirement was established through a rule issued on November 17, 2023. This was required before BIS stopped enforcing the AI Diffusion Rule and it remains the rule today.

60. Given recent reports and Department of Justice enforcement actions against large-scale smuggling of NVIDIA's advanced AI chips and server systems, do you agree that BIS should not reauthorize any licenses until BIS has conducted independent, in-person end-user verification, confirmed that adequate controls against further diversion are in place, and ensured NVIDIA's compliance program is strengthened and capable of meeting existing end user/use requirements?

Export controls are one of many tools that the executive branch has, and as such, BIS should employ such tools consistent with national security and the foreign policy set forth by the President.

61. Do you agree that BIS should require that all future license applications for NVIDIA advanced AI chip sales to Southeast Asian intermediaries include binding, independently auditable end-user commitments, with license revocation as the automatic consequence of verified breach?

Export controls are one of many tools that the executive branch has, and as such, BIS should employ such tools consistent with national security and the foreign policy set forth by the President.

62. Have you, or the Department of Commerce, conducted any analysis as to whether representations, statements, or certifications made by NVIDIA's leadership to Federal officials and to the public regarding the absence of chip diversion were materially false or misleading, and whether those representations, statements, or certifications influenced licensing decisions in a way that warrants further investigation or referral?

I have no knowledge of any materially false or misleading representations, statements, or certifications made by NVIDIA's leadership to Federal officials or to the public.

63. Have you, or any other senior Department of Commerce official, met with or spoken to NVIDIA CEO Jensen Huang since January 21, 2025? If so, please provide a list of meetings and topics discussed.

I do not recall having met or spoken with Jensen Huang. I am not familiar with any specific meetings or conversations between Mr. Huang and other Department of Commerce officials.

AI Models

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64. Should export controls be used to address the potential risks posed by advanced AI models?
If so, how?

The Trump Administration is intent on ensuring that frontier AI models do not pose undue threats to the American people. If confirmed, I will coordinate with other Administration officials to work with AI companies and ensure that necessary national security protections are in place.

65. To what extent should export controls be applied to advanced AI models?

The Trump Administration is intent on ensuring that frontier AI models do not pose undue threats to the American people. If confirmed, I will coordinate with other Administration officials to work with AI companies and ensure that necessary national security protections are in place.

66. Describe the legal justification that BIS used to restrict access to Fable 5 and Mythos 5 under ECRA?

The Trump Administration is intent on ensuring that frontier AI models do not pose undue threats to the American people. If confirmed, I will coordinate with other Administration officials to work with AI companies and ensure that necessary national security protections are in place.

67. Based on your understanding of the EAR, is providing access to an AI model considered an export? If not, how should it be classified or categorized?

- a. If providing access to an AI model is an export, should it be categorized as a “software” or a “technology” under the EAR?
- b. Do you believe that the decision to restrict access by foreign persons to Fable 5 and Mythos 5 under ECRA is consistent with BIS’s November 2014 advisory opinion which states that “utiliz[ing] the software application, including all its features and functions in the cloud, without downloading the product” is not considered an export?

The Trump Administration is intent on ensuring that frontier AI models do not pose undue threats to the American people. If confirmed, I will coordinate with other Administration officials to work with AI companies and ensure that necessary national security protections are in place.

Resourcing and Organization

68. BIS’s mission has expanded rapidly over the past decade, even though its budget has remained roughly the same. Do you think BIS needs more resources?

- a. If so, what would you prioritize?

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BIS has a critical national security mission and thus should be resourced adequately to carry out its mission. I support the President's FY 2027 Budget Request, which requests 38 additional positions within for specialized engineers who will focus on sensitive technologies, including artificial intelligence, quantum computing, and robotics, as well as 40 additional positions to expand and strengthen Section 232 investigations. If confirmed, I look forward to working with Congress to ensure that appropriate resources are provided.

69. What type of organizational changes will you make at BIS?

I do not have plans to make any organizational changes at BIS.

70. How else could BIS better achieve its mission?

Please see answers to 11 and 68 above.

71. If BIS possessed the special authority to hire Highly Qualified Experts, what hard-to-fill positions would you prioritize for hiring actions?

I would prioritize hiring of specialized engineers consistent with the FY27 budget request.

72. BIS has lost a reported 20% of its staff since the Trump administration took office. If you are confirmed, do you plan on hiring back-fills for these positions?

- a. If not, how do you explain BIS's request for additional funding under the FY27 budget request?

I will engage in a close review of staffing needs within Export Administration and hire staff to address these needs, as necessary.

73. The Trump Administration reportedly dismissed or forced out key national security officials who were working to counter China's intelligence and cyber threats. You are currently the Deputy General Counsel for AI and Technology at the Department of Commerce. Identify the individuals involved in each determination to reassign, suspend, or dismiss BIS officials in the Office of Information and Communications Technology and Services (OICTS).

- a. Provide the rationale that those individuals developed or relied upon in any determination to reassign, suspend, or dismiss OICTS officials.

In my current position as Deputy General Counsel for AI and Technology my role is to provide legal advice on AI and technology issues. OICTS is not within Export Administration and therefore I will not be responsible for administering ICTS rules if confirmed.

74. Did you or the Department of Commerce assess the impact of dismissed or reassigned individuals on OICTS capabilities and ongoing or prospective investigations?

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- a. Have any OICTS actions, investigations, or rulemakings been delayed?

I am not aware of any OICTS actions, investigations, or rulemakings being delayed due to staff changes.

Public Integrity

75. If you are confirmed, will you commit to recuse yourself from any matters involving your former employers or clients for the duration of your appointment?

I will follow the advice from Department Ethics officials.

76. If you are confirmed, do you agree that you will not seek employment or compensation from (1) any entity that you personally and substantially interacted with in your role as Assistant Secretary and (2) from any entity that lobbies BIS for at least four years after you leave the agency?

I will follow the advice from Department Ethics officials.

Election Results

Results of Past U.S. Presidential Elections

77. During the presidential election of 1788-1789, George Washington received 69 electoral votes.⁷ Additional candidates included John Adams, who received 34 electoral votes; John Jay, who received 9 electoral votes; Robert H. Harrison, who received 6 electoral votes; John Rutledge, who received 6 electoral votes; John Hancock, who received 4 electoral votes; George Clinton, who received 3 electoral votes; Samuel Huntington, who received 2 electoral votes; John Milton, who received 2 electoral votes; James Armstrong, who received 1 electoral vote; Benjamin Lincoln, who received 1 electoral vote; and Edward Telfair, who received 1 electoral vote.⁸

- a. Did George Washington win the presidential election of 1789, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

If confirmed as the Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Export Administration my role will be to lead Export Administration’s professionals in controlling the export of dual-use and military items to mitigate risks to national security and foreign policy, analyzing the impact of export controls, and supporting the U.S. defense industrial base. The role for which I have been nominated would have no oversight over federal or state election results or procedures. While I

⁷ National Archives, “1789 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1789#certificates>.

⁸ *Id.*

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have not reviewed the specific election results discussed above, I have no reason to doubt the results were certified consistent with applicable law.

- b. Did George Washington lose the presidential election of 1789, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- c. Did John Adams win the presidential election of 1789, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- d. Did John Adams lose the presidential election of 1789, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

78. During the 1792 presidential election, George Washington received 132 electoral votes.⁹ Additional candidates included John Adams, who received 77 electoral votes; George Clinton, who received 50 electoral votes; Thomas Jefferson, who received 4 electoral votes; and Aaron Burr, who received 1 electoral vote.¹⁰

- a. Did George Washington win the presidential election of 1792, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- b. Did George Washington lose the presidential election of 1792, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- c. Did John Adams win the presidential election of 1792, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

⁹ National Archives, “1792 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1792>.

¹⁰ *Id.*

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- d. Did John Adams lose the presidential election of 1792, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

79. During the 1796 presidential election, John Adams received 71 electoral votes.¹¹ Additional candidates included Thomas Jefferson, who received 68 electoral votes; Thomas Pinckney, who received 59 electoral votes; Aaron Burr, who received 30 electoral votes; Samuel Adams, who received 15 electoral votes; Oliver Ellsworth, who received 11 electoral votes; George Clinton, who received 7 electoral votes; John Jay, who received 5 electoral votes; James Iredell, who received 3 electoral votes; Samuel Johnston, who received 2 electoral votes; George Washington, who received 2 electoral votes; John Henry, who received 2 electoral votes; and Charles C. Pinckney, who received 1 electoral vote.¹²

- a. Did John Adams win the 1796 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- b. Did John Adams lose the 1796 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- c. Did Thomas Jefferson win the 1796 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- d. Did Thomas Jefferson lose the 1796 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

80. During the 1800 presidential election, Thomas Jefferson received 73 electoral votes.¹³ Additional candidates included Aaron Burr, who received 73 electoral votes; John Adams, who received 65 electoral votes; Charles C. Pinckney, who received 64 electoral votes; and John Jay, who received 1 electoral vote.¹⁴ Since Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Burr tied with the

¹¹ National Archives, “1796 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1796>.

¹² *Id.*

¹³ National Archives, “1800 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1800>.

¹⁴ *Id.*

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highest number of electoral votes, the election was decided by the House of Representatives, where 10 state delegations voted for Mr. Jefferson, 4 voted for Mr. Burr, and 2 made no choice.¹⁵

- a. Did Thomas Jefferson win the 1800 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- b. Did Thomas Jefferson lose the 1800 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- c. Did Aaron Burr win the 1800 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- d. Did Aaron Burr lose the 1800 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

81. During the 1804 presidential election, Thomas Jefferson received 162 electoral votes.¹⁶ His main opponent, Charles C. Pinckney, received 14.¹⁷

- a. Did Thomas Jefferson win the 1804 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- b. Did Thomas Jefferson lose the 1804 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- c. Did Charles C. Pinckney win the 1804 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

¹⁵ *Id.*

¹⁶ National Archives, “1804 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1804>.

¹⁷ *Id.*

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Please see answer to 77a.

- d. Did Charles C. Pinckney lose the 1804 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

82. During the 1808 presidential election, James Madison received 122 electoral votes.¹⁸ Additional candidates included Charles C. Pinckney, who received 47 electoral votes, and George Clinton, who received 6 electoral votes.¹⁹

- a. Did James Madison win the 1808 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- b. Did James Madison lose the 1808 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- c. Did Charles C. Pinckney win the 1808 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- d. Did Charles C. Pinckney lose the 1808 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

83. During the 1812 presidential election, James Madison received 128 electoral votes.²⁰ His main opponent, DeWitt Clinton, received 89.²¹

- a. Did James Madison win the 1812 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

¹⁸ National Archives, “1808 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1808>.

¹⁹ *Id.*

²⁰ National Archives, “1812 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1812>.

²¹ *Id.*

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Please see answer to 77a.

- b. Did James Madison lose the 1812 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- c. Did De Witt Clinton win the 1812 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- d. Did De Witt Clinton lose the 1812 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

84. During the 1816 presidential election, James Monroe received 183 electoral votes.²² His main opponent, Rufus King, received 34.²³

- a. Did James Monroe win the 1816 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- b. Did James Monroe lose the 1816 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- c. Did Rufus King win the 1816 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- d. Did Rufus King lose the 1816 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

²² National Archives, “1816 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1816>.

²³ *Id.*

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85. During the 1820 presidential election, Mr. James Monroe received 231 electoral votes.²⁴ His main opponent, John Quincy Adams, received 1.²⁵

- a. Did James Monroe win the 1820 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- b. Did James Monroe lose the 1820 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- c. Did John Quincy Adams win the 1820 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- d. Did John Quincy Adams lose the 1820 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

86. During the 1824 presidential election, John Quincy Adams received 84 electoral votes.²⁶ Additional candidates included Andrew Jackson, who received 99 electoral votes; William H. Crawford, who received 41 electoral votes; and Henry Clay, who received 37 electoral votes.²⁷ Since Mr. Jackson received only a plurality of electoral votes, the election was decided by the House of Representatives, where Mr. Adams received 13 votes, Mr. Jackson received 7 votes, and Mr. Crawford received 4 votes.

- a. Did John Quincy Adams win the 1824 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- b. Did John Quincy Adams lose the 1824 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

²⁴ National Archives, “1820 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1820>.

²⁵ *Id.*

²⁶ National Archives, “1824 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1824>.

²⁷ *Id.*

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Please see answer to 77a.

- c. Did Andrew Jackson win the 1824 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- d. Did Andrew Jackson lose the 1824 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

87. During the 1828 presidential election Andrew Jackson received 178 electoral votes.²⁸ His main opponent, John Quincy Adams, received 83.²⁹

- a. Did Andrew Jackson win the 1828 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- b. Did Andrew Jackson lose the 1828 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- c. Did John Quincy Adams win the 1828 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- d. Did John Quincy Adams lose the 1828 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

88. During the 1832 presidential election, Andrew Jackson received 219 electoral votes.³⁰ Additional candidates included Henry Clay, who received 49 electoral votes; John Floyd, who received 11 electoral votes; and William Wirt, who received 7 electoral votes.³¹

²⁸ National Archives, “1828 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1828>.

²⁹ *Id.*

³⁰ National Archives, “1832 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1832>.

³¹ *Id.*

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- a. Did Andrew Jackson win the 1832 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- b. Did Andrew Jackson lose the 1832 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- c. Did Henry Clay win the 1832 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- d. Did Henry Clay lose the 1832 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

89. During the 1836 presidential election, Martin Van Buren received 170 electoral votes.³² Additional candidates included William H. Harrison, who received 73 electoral votes; Hugh L. White, who received 26 electoral votes; Daniel Webster, who received 14 electoral votes; and Willie P. Mangum, who received 11 electoral votes.³³

- a. Did Martin Van Buren win the 1836 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- b. Did Martin Van Buren lose the 1836 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- c. Did William H. Harrison win the 1836 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

³² National Archives, “1836 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1836>.

³³ *Id.*

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- d. Did William H. Harrison lose the 1836 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

90. During the 1840 presidential election, William H. Harrison received 234 electoral votes.³⁴ His main opponent, Martin Van Buren, received 60.³⁵

- a. Did William H. Harrison win the 1840 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- b. Did William H. Harrison lose the 1840 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- c. Did Martin Van Buren win the 1840 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- d. Did Martin Van Buren lose the 1840 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

91. During the 1844 presidential election, James K. Polk received 170 electoral votes.³⁶ His main opponent, Henry Clay, received 105.³⁷

- a. Did James K. Polk win the 1844 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- b. Did James K. Polk lose the 1844 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

³⁴ National Archives, “1840 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1840>.

³⁵ *Id.*

³⁶ National Archives, “1844 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1844>.

³⁷ *Id.*

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Please see answer to 77a.

- c. Did Henry Clay win the 1844 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- d. Did Henry Clay lose the 1844 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

92. During the 1848 presidential election, Zachary Taylor received 163 electoral votes.³⁸ His main opponent, Lewis Cass, received 127.³⁹

- a. Did Zachary Taylor win the 1848 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- b. Did Zachary Taylor lose the 1848 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- c. Did Lewis Cass win the 1848 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- d. Did Lewis Cass lose the 1848 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

93. During the 1852 presidential election, Franklin Pierce received 254 electoral votes.⁴⁰ His main opponent, Winfield Scott, received 42.⁴¹

³⁸ National Archives, “1848 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1848>.

³⁹ *Id.*

⁴⁰ National Archives, “1852 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1852>.

⁴¹ *Id.*

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- a. Did Franklin Pierce win the 1852 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- b. Did Franklin Pierce lose the 1852 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- c. Did Winfield Scott win the 1852 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- d. Did Winfield Scott lose the 1852 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

94. During the 1856 presidential election, James Buchanan received 174 electoral votes.⁴² Additional candidates included John C. Frémont, who received 114 electoral votes, and Millard Fillmore, who received 8 electoral votes.⁴³

- a. Did James Buchanan win the 1856 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- b. Did James Buchanan lose the 1856 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- c. Did John C. Frémont win the 1856 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- d. Did John C. Frémont lose the 1856 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

⁴² National Archives, “1856 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1856>.

⁴³ *Id.*

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Please see answer to 77a.

95. During the 1860 presidential election, Abraham Lincoln received 180 electoral votes.⁴⁴ Additional candidates included John C. Breckinridge, who received 72 electoral votes; John Bell, who received 39 electoral votes; and Stephen A. Douglas, who received 12 electoral votes.⁴⁵

- a. Did Abraham Lincoln win the 1860 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- b. Did Abraham Lincoln lose the 1860 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- c. Did John C. Breckinridge win the 1860 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- d. Did John C. Breckinridge lose the 1860 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

96. During the 1864 presidential election, Abraham Lincoln received 212 electoral votes.⁴⁶ His main opponent, George B. McClellan, received 21.⁴⁷

- a. Did Abraham Lincoln win the 1864 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- b. Did Abraham Lincoln lose the 1864 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

⁴⁴ National Archives, “1860 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1860>.

⁴⁵ *Id.*

⁴⁶ National Archives, “1864 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1864>.

⁴⁷ *Id.*

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Please see answer to 77a.

- c. Did George B. McClellan win the 1864 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- d. Did George B. McClellan lose the 1864 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

97. During the 1868 presidential election, Ulysses S. Grant received 214 electoral votes.⁴⁸ His main opponent, Horatio Seymour, received 80.⁴⁹

- a. Did Ulysses S. Grant win the 1868 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- b. Did Ulysses S. Grant lose the 1868 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- c. Did Horatio Seymour win the 1868 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- d. Did Horatio Seymour lose the 1868 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

⁴⁸ National Archives, “1868 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1868>.

⁴⁹ *Id.* Notably, per the National Archives, “The electoral votes of Georgia were contested and the Senate and the House of Representatives could not agree whether to accept—and count—them or not.” Including Georgia, Horatio Seymour received 80 electoral votes; excluding Georgia, he received 71. Regardless, Ulysses S. Grant “was the clear winner in either case.”

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98. During the 1872 presidential election, Ulysses S. Grant received 286 electoral votes.⁵⁰ His main opponent, Horace Greeley, initially received 3 electoral votes, but they were not counted after he died on November 28, 1872, before the Electoral College could officially meet.⁵¹ Other candidates included Benjamin Gratz Brown, who received 18 electoral votes; Thomas A. Hendricks, who received 42 votes; Charles J. Jenkins, who received 2 votes; and David Davis, who received 1 vote.⁵²

- a. Did Ulysses S. Grant win the 1872 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- b. Did Ulysses S. Grant lose the 1872 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- c. Did Horace Greeley win the 1872 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- d. Did Horace Greeley lose the 1872 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

99. During the 1876 presidential election, Rutherford B. Hayes received 185 electoral votes.⁵³ His main opponent, Samuel J. Tilden, received 184.⁵⁴

- a. Did Rutherford B. Hayes win the 1876 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

⁵⁰ National Archives, “1872 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1872>.

⁵¹ *Id.*

⁵² *Id.*

⁵³ National Archives, “1876 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1876>.

⁵⁴ *Id.*

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- b. Did Rutherford B. Hayes lose the 1876 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- c. Did Samuel J. Tilden win the 1876 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- d. Did Samuel J. Tilden lose the 1876 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

100. During the 1880 presidential election, James A. Garfield received 214 electoral votes.⁵⁵ His main opponent, Winfield S. Hancock, received 155.⁵⁶

- a. Did James A. Garfield win the 1880 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- b. Did James A. Garfield lose the 1880 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- c. Did Winfield S. Hancock win the 1880 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- d. Did Winfield S. Hancock lose the 1880 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

⁵⁵ National Archives, “1880 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1880>.

⁵⁶ *Id.*

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101. During the 1884 presidential election, Grover Cleveland received 219 electoral votes.⁵⁷ His main opponent, James G. Blane, received 182.⁵⁸

- a. Did Grover Cleveland win the 1884 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- b. Did Grover Cleveland lose the 1884 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- c. Did James G. Blane win the 1884 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- d. Did James G. Blane lose the 1884 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

102. During the 1888 presidential election, Benjamin Harrison received 233 electoral votes.⁵⁹ His main opponent, Grover Cleveland, received 168.⁶⁰

- a. Did Benjamin Harrison win the 1888 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- b. Did Benjamin Harrison lose the 1888 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- c. Did Grover Cleveland win the 1888 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

⁵⁷ National Archives, “1884 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1884>.

⁵⁸ *Id.*

⁵⁹ National Archives, “1888 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1888>.

⁶⁰ *Id.*

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Please see answer to 77a.

- d. Did Grover Cleveland lose the 1888 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

103. During the 1892 presidential election, Grover Cleveland received 277 electoral votes.⁶¹ His main opponent, Benjamin Harrison, received 145.⁶²

- a. Did Grover Cleveland win the 1892 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- b. Did Grover Cleveland lose the 1892 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- c. Did Benjamin Harrison win the 1892 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- d. Did Benjamin Harrison lose the 1892 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

104. During the 1896 presidential election, William McKinley received 271 electoral votes.⁶³ His main opponent, William J. Bryan, received 176.⁶⁴

- a. Did William McKinley win the 1896 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

⁶¹ National Archives, “1892 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1892>.

⁶² *Id.*

⁶³ National Archives, “1896 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1896>.

⁶⁴ *Id.*

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- b. Did William McKinley lose the 1896 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- c. Did William J. Bryan win the 1896 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- d. Did William J. Bryan lose the 1896 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

105. During the 1900 presidential election, William McKinley received 292 electoral votes.⁶⁵ His main opponent, Williams J. Bryan, received 155.⁶⁶

- a. Did William McKinley win the 1900 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- b. Did William McKinley lose the 1900 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- c. Did William J. Bryan win the 1900 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- d. Did William J. Bryan lose the 1900 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

⁶⁵ National Archives, “1900 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1900>.

⁶⁶ *Id.*

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106. During the 1904 presidential election, Theodore Roosevelt received 336 electoral votes.⁶⁷ His main opponent, Alton B. Parker, received 140.⁶⁸

- a. Did Theodore Roosevelt win the 1904 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- b. Did Theodore Roosevelt lose the 1904 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- c. Did Alton B. Parker win the 1904 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- d. Did Alton B. Parker lose the 1904 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

107. During the 1908 presidential election, William H. Taft received 321 electoral votes.⁶⁹ His main opponent, William J. Bryan, received 162.⁷⁰

- a. Did William H. Taft win the 1908 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- b. Did William H. Taft lose the 1908 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- c. Did William J. Bryan win the 1908 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

⁶⁷ National Archives, “1904 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1904>.

⁶⁸ *Id.*

⁶⁹ National Archives, “1908 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1908>.

⁷⁰ *Id.*

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Please see answer to 77a.

- d. Did William J. Bryan lose the 1908 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

108. During the 1912 presidential election, Woodrow Wilson received 435 electoral votes.⁷¹
His main opponent, Theodore Roosevelt, received 88.⁷²

- a. Did Woodrow Wilson win the 1912 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- b. Did Woodrow Wilson lose the 1912 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- c. Did Theodore Roosevelt win the 1912 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- d. Did Theodore Roosevelt lose the 1912 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

109. During the 1916 presidential election, Woodrow Wilson received 277 electoral votes.⁷³
His main opponent, Charles E. Hughes, received 254.⁷⁴

- a. Did Woodrow Wilson win the 1916 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

⁷¹ National Archives, “1912 Electoral Vote Tally, February 12, 1913,”
<https://www.archives.gov/legislative/features/1912-election>.

⁷² *Id.*

⁷³ National Archives, “1916 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1916>.

⁷⁴ *Id.*

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Please see answer to 77a.

- b. Did Woodrow Wilson lose the 1916 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- c. Did Charles E. Hughes win the 1916 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- d. Did Charles E. Hughes lose the 1916 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- 110. During the 1920 presidential election, Warren G. Harding received 404 electoral votes.⁷⁵ His main opponent, James M. Cox, received 127.⁷⁶

- a. Did Warren G. Harding win the 1920 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- b. Did Warren G. Harding lose the 1920 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- c. Did James M. Cox win the 1920 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- d. Did James M. Cox lose the 1920 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

⁷⁵ National Archives, “1920 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1920>.

⁷⁶ *Id.*

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111. During the 1924 presidential election, Calvin Coolidge received 382 electoral votes.⁷⁷ His main opponent, John W. Davis, received 136.⁷⁸

- a. Did Calvin Coolidge win the 1924 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- b. Did Calvin Coolidge lose the 1924 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- c. Did John W. Davis win the 1924 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- d. Did John W. Davis lose the 1924 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

112. During the 1928 presidential election, Herbert C. Hoover received 444 electoral votes.⁷⁹ His main opponent, Alfred E. Smith, received 87.⁸⁰

- a. Did Herbert C. Hoover win the 1928 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- b. Did Herbert C. Hoover lose the 1928 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- c. Did Alfred E. Smith win the 1928 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

⁷⁷ National Archives, “1924 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1924>.

⁷⁸ *Id.*

⁷⁹ National Archives, “1928 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1928>.

⁸⁰ *Id.*

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Please see answer to 77a.

- d. Did Alfred E. Smith lose the 1928 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

113. During the 1932 presidential election, Franklin D. Roosevelt received 472 electoral votes.⁸¹ His main opponent, Herbert C. Hoover, received 59.⁸²

- a. Did Franklin D. Roosevelt win the 1932 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- b. Did Franklin D. Roosevelt lose the 1932 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- c. Did Herbert C. Hoover win the 1932 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- d. Did Herbert C. Hoover lose the 1932 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

114. During the 1936 presidential election, Franklin D. Roosevelt received 523 electoral votes.⁸³ His main opponent, Alfred M. Landon, received 8.⁸⁴

- a. Did Franklin D. Roosevelt win the 1936 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

⁸¹ National Archives, “1932 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1932>.

⁸² *Id.*

⁸³ National Archives, “1936 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1936>.

⁸⁴ *Id.*

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Please see answer to 77a.

- b. Did Franklin D. Roosevelt lose the 1936 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- c. Did Alfred M. Landon win the 1936 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- d. Did Alfred M. Landon lose the 1936 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

115. During the 1940 presidential election, Franklin D. Roosevelt received 449 electoral votes.⁸⁵ His main opponent, Wendell L. Willkie, received 82.⁸⁶

- a. Did Franklin D. Roosevelt win the 1940 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- b. Did Franklin D. Roosevelt lose the 1940 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- c. Did Wendell L. Willkie win the 1940 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- d. Did Wendell L. Willkie lose the 1940 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

⁸⁵ National Archives, “1940 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1940>.

⁸⁶ *Id.*

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116. During the 1944 presidential election, Franklin D. Roosevelt received 432 electoral votes.⁸⁷ His main opponent, Thomas E. Dewey, received 99.⁸⁸

- a. Did Franklin D. Roosevelt win the 1944 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- b. Did Franklin D. Roosevelt win the 1944 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- c. Did Thomas E. Dewey win the 1944 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- d. Did Thomas E. Dewey lose the 1944 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

117. During the 1948 presidential election, Harry S. Truman received 303 electoral votes.⁸⁹ His main opponent, Thomas E. Dewey, received 189.⁹⁰

- a. Did Harry S. Truman win the 1948 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- b. Did Harry S. Truman lose the 1948 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

⁸⁷ National Archives, “1944 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1944>.

⁸⁸ *Id.*

⁸⁹ National Archives, “1948 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1948>.

⁹⁰ *Id.*

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- c. Did Thomas E. Dewey win the 1948 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- d. Did Thomas E. Dewey lose the 1948 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

118. During the 1952 presidential election, Dwight D. Eisenhower received 442 electoral votes.⁹¹ His main opponent, Adlai Stevenson, received 89.⁹²

- a. Did Dwight D. Eisenhower win the 1952 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- b. Did Dwight D. Eisenhower lose the 1952 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- c. Did Adlai Stevenson win the 1952 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- d. Did Adlai Stevenson lose the 1952 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

119. During the 1956 presidential election, Dwight D. Eisenhower received 457 electoral votes.⁹³ His main opponent, Adlai Stevenson, received 73.⁹⁴

⁹¹ National Archives, “1952 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1952>.

⁹² *Id.*

⁹³ National Archives, “1956 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1956>.

⁹⁴ *Id.*

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- a. Did Dwight D. Eisenhower win the 1956 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- b. Did Dwight D. Eisenhower lose the 1956 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- c. Did Adlai Stevenson win the 1956 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- d. Did Adlai Stevenson lose the 1956 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

120. During the 1960 presidential election, John F. Kennedy received 303 electoral votes.⁹⁵ His main opponent, Richard M. Nixon, received 219.⁹⁶

- a. Did John F. Kennedy win the 1960 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- b. Did John F. Kennedy lose the 1960 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- c. Did Richard M. Nixon win the 1960 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

⁹⁵ National Archives, “1960 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1960>.

⁹⁶ *Id.*

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- d. Did Richard M. Nixon lose the 1960 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

121. During the 1964 presidential election, Lyndon B. Johnson received 486 electoral votes.⁹⁷ His main opponent, Barry M. Goldwater, received 52.⁹⁸

- a. Did Lyndon B. Johnson win the 1964 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- b. Did Lyndon B. Johnson lose the 1964 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- c. Did Barry M. Goldwater win the 1964 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- d. Did Barry M. Goldwater lose the 1964 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

122. During the 1968 presidential election, Richard M. Nixon received 301 electoral votes.⁹⁹ His main opponent, Hubert H. Humphrey, received 191.¹⁰⁰

- a. Did Richard M. Nixon win the 1968 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- b. Did Richard M. Nixon lose the 1968 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

⁹⁷ National Archives, “1964 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1964>.

⁹⁸ *Id.*

⁹⁹ National Archives, “1968 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1968>.

¹⁰⁰ *Id.*

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Please see answer to 77a.

- c. Did Hubert H. Humphrey win the 1968 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- d. Did Hubert H. Humphrey lose the 1968 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

123. During the 1972 presidential election, Richard M. Nixon received 520 electoral votes.¹⁰¹ His main opponent, George S. McGovern, received 17.¹⁰²

- a. Did Richard M. Nixon win the 1972 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- b. Did Richard M. Nixon lose the 1972 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- c. Did George S. McGovern win the 1972 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- d. Did George S. McGovern lose the 1972 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

124. During the 1976 presidential election, Jimmy Carter received 297 electoral votes.¹⁰³ His main opponent, Gerald R. Ford, received 240.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹ National Archives, “1972 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1972>.

¹⁰² *Id.*

¹⁰³ National Archives, “1976 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1976>.

¹⁰⁴ *Id.*

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- a. Did Jimmy Carter win the 1976 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- b. Did Jimmy Carter lose the 1976 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- c. Did Gerald R. Ford win the 1976 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- d. Did Gerald R. Ford lose the 1976 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

125. During the 1980 presidential election, Ronald Reagan received 489 electoral votes.¹⁰⁵ His main opponent, Jimmy Carter, received 49.¹⁰⁶

- a. Did Ronald Reagan win the 1980 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- b. Did Ronald Reagan lose the 1980 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- c. Did Jimmy Carter win the 1980 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- d. Did Jimmy Carter lose the 1980 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

¹⁰⁵ National Archives, “1980 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1980>.

¹⁰⁶ *Id.*

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Please see answer to 77a.

126. During the 1984 presidential election, Ronald Reagan received 525 electoral votes.¹⁰⁷ His main opponent, Walter F. Mondale, received 13.¹⁰⁸
- a. Did Ronald Reagan win the 1984 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- b. Did Ronald Reagan lose the 1984 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- c. Did Walter F. Mondale win the 1984 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.’

Please see answer to 77a.

- d. Did Walter F. Mondale lose the 1984 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

127. During the 1988 presidential election, George Bush received 426 electoral votes.¹⁰⁹ His main opponent, Michael S. Dukakis, received 111.¹¹⁰
- a. Did George Bush win the 1988 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- b. Did George Bush lose the 1988 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

¹⁰⁷ National Archives, “1984 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1984>.

¹⁰⁸ *Id.*

¹⁰⁹ National Archives, “1988 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1988>.

¹¹⁰ *Id.*

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- c. Did Michael S. Dukakis win the 1988 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- d. Did Michael S. Dukakis lose the 1988 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

128. During the 1992 presidential election, Bill Clinton received 370 electoral votes.¹¹¹ His main opponent, George Bush, received 168.¹¹²

- a. Did Bill Clinton win the 1992 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- b. Did Bill Clinton lose the 1992 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- c. Did George Bush win the 1992 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- d. Did George Bush lose the 1992 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

129. During the 1996 presidential election, Bill Clinton received 379 electoral votes.¹¹³ His main opponent, Bob Dole, received 159.¹¹⁴

- a. Did Bill Clinton win the 1996 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

¹¹¹ National Archives, “1992 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1992>.

¹¹² *Id.*

¹¹³ National Archives, “1996 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1996>.

¹¹⁴ *Id.*

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Please see answer to 77a.

- b. Did Bill Clinton lose the 1996 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- c. Did Bob Dole win the 1996 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- d. Did Bob Dole lose the 1996 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

130. During the 2000 presidential election, George W. Bush received 271 electoral votes.¹¹⁵
His main opponent, Al Gore, received 266.¹¹⁶

- a. Did George W. Bush win the 2000 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- b. Did George W. Bush lose the 2000 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- c. Did Al Gore win the 2000 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- d. Did Al Gore lose the 2000 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

¹¹⁵ National Archives, “2000 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/2000>.

¹¹⁶ *Id.*

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131. During the 2004 presidential election, George W. Bush 286 electoral vote.¹¹⁷ His main opponent, John F. Kerry, received 251.¹¹⁸

- a. Did George W. Bush win the 2004 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- b. Did George W. Bush lose the 2004 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- c. Did John F. Kerry win the 2004 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- d. Did John F. Kerry lose the 2004 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

132. During the 2008 presidential election, Barack Obama received 365 electoral votes.¹¹⁹ His main opponent, John McCain, received 173.¹²⁰

- a. Did Barack Obama win the 2008 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- b. Did Barack Obama lose the 2008 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- c. Did John McCain win the 2008 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

¹¹⁷ National Archives, “2004 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/2004>.

¹¹⁸ *Id.*

¹¹⁹ National Archives, “2008 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/2008>.

¹²⁰ *Id.*

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Please see answer to 77a.

- d. Did John McCain lose the 2008 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

133. During the 2012 presidential election, Barack Obama received 332 electoral votes.¹²¹ His main opponent, Mitt Romney, received 206.¹²²

- a. Did Barack Obama win the 2012 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- b. Did Barack Obama lose the 2012 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- c. Did Mitt Romney win the 2012 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- d. Did Mitt Romney lose the 2012 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

134. During the 2016 presidential election, Donald J. Trump received 304 electoral votes.¹²³ His main opponent, Hillary Clinton, received 227.¹²⁴

- a. Did Donald J. Trump win the 2016 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

¹²¹ National Archives, “2012 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/2012>.

¹²² *Id.*

¹²³ National Archives, “2016 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/2016>.

¹²⁴ *Id.*

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Please see answer to 77a.

- b. Did Donald J. Trump lose the 2016 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- c. Did Hillary Clinton win the 2016 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- d. Did Hillary Clinton lose the 2016 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

135. During the 2020 presidential election, Joseph R. Biden received 306 electoral votes.¹²⁵
His main opponent, Donald J. Trump, received 232.¹²⁶

- a. Did Joseph R. Biden win the 2020 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- b. Did Joseph R. Biden lose the 2020 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- c. Did Donald J. Trump win the 2020 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- d. Did Donald J. Trump lose the 2020 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

¹²⁵ National Archives, “2020 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/2020>.

¹²⁶ *Id.*

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136. During the 2024 presidential election, Donald J. Trump received 312 electoral votes.¹²⁷ His main opponent, Kamala Harris, received 226.¹²⁸

- a. Did Donald J. Trump win the 2024 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- b. Did Donald J. Trump lose the 2024 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- c. Did Kamala D. Harris win the 2024 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- d. Did Kamala D. Harris lose the 2024 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

Results of Selected Past U.S. Senate Elections

137. During the 2012 election in Massachusetts, Elizabeth A. Warren received 1,696,346 votes to serve as a U.S. Senator (53.74% of votes cast in the state), and Scott P. Brown received 1,458,048 votes (46.19% of votes cast in the state).¹²⁹

- a. Did Elizabeth A. Warren win the Massachusetts U.S. Senate election in 2012, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- b. Did Elizabeth A. Warren lose the Massachusetts U.S. Senate election in 2012, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

¹²⁷ National Archives, “2024 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/2024>.

¹²⁸ *Id.*

¹²⁹ Federal Election Commission, “Federal Elections 2012: Election Results for the U.S. President, the U.S. Senate and the U.S. House of Representatives,” July 2013, p. 65, <https://www.fec.gov/resources/cms-content/documents/federalections2012.pdf>.

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Please see answer to 77a.

- c. Did Scott P. Brown win the Massachusetts U.S. Senate election in 2012, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- d. Did Scott P. Brown win the Massachusetts U.S. Senate election in 2012, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

138. During the 2018 election in Massachusetts, Elizabeth A. Warren received 1,633,371 votes to serve as a U.S. Senator (60.34% of votes cast in the state), and Geoff Diehl received 979,210 votes (36.17% of votes cast in the state).¹³⁰

- a. Did Elizabeth A. Warren win the Massachusetts U.S. Senate election in 2018, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- b. Did Elizabeth A. Warren lose the Massachusetts U.S. Senate election in 2018, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- c. Did Geoff Diehl win the Massachusetts U.S. Senate election in 2018, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- d. Did Geoff Diehl lose the Massachusetts U.S. Senate election in 2018, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

¹³⁰ Federal Election Commission, “Federal Elections 2018: Election Results for the U.S. Senate and the U.S. House of Representatives,” October 2019, p. 23, <https://www.fec.gov/resources/cms-content/documents/federalections2018.pdf>.

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139. During the 2024 election in Massachusetts, Elizabeth A. Warren received 2,041,668 votes to serve as a U.S. Senator (58.12% of votes cast in the state), and John Deaton received 1,365,440 votes (38.87% of votes cast in the state).¹³¹

- a. Did Elizabeth A. Warren win the Massachusetts U.S. Senate election in 2024, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- b. Did Elizabeth A. Warren lose the Massachusetts U.S. Senate election in 2024, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- c. Did John Deaton win the Massachusetts U.S. Senate election in 2024, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

- d. Did John Deaton lose the Massachusetts U.S. Senate election in 2024, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

General Questions

140. President Trump has stated that he “had a great election in 2020. We won the election by a lot.”¹³² Did President Trump “win the election by a lot” in 2020? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Please see answer to 77a.

141. If President Trump asked you to claim that a candidate won a presidential election, but that candidate had, in fact, not won the election, would you do it? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

¹³¹ William Francis Galvin, Secretary of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, “2024 U.S. Senate General Election,” <https://electionstats.state.ma.us/elections/view/165304/>.

¹³² New York Times, “Five Years On, Trump Keeps Pushing Jan. 6 Conspiracies,” Luke Broadwater and Dylan Freedman, January 6, 2026, <https://www.nytimes.com/2026/01/06/us/trump-impeachment-election-conspiracies.html>.

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I reject the suggestion that President Trump would ask me to make such a claim. The role of the Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Export Administration is to lead Export Administration's professionals in controlling the export of dual-use and military items to mitigate risks to national security and foreign policy, analyzing the impact of export controls, and supporting the U.S. defense industrial base. The role of the Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Export Administration does not involve the oversight of federal elections.

142. If President Trump asked you to claim that a candidate won a U.S. House of Representatives election, but that candidate had, in fact, not won the election, would you do it? A response that is not "Yes" or "No" will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

See answer to 141.

143. If President Trump asked you to claim that a candidate won a U.S. Senate election, but that candidate had, in fact, not won the election, would you do it? A response that is not "Yes" or "No" will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

See answer to 141.

144. Does a candidate "win" a presidential election because Congress certifies them as the winner, or does Congress certify presidential election results because a candidate has already won?

See answer to 141.

145. Over the course of your nomination process:

- a. Did any employee of the White House, including but not limited to employees of the Presidential Personnel Office, ask you versions of any of the following questions, or questions invoking similar themes? If so, describe the question you were asked and your answer. If not, say "No."

No.

i. Who won the 2020 presidential election?

Please see answer to 145a.

ii. Did Donald Trump win the 2020 presidential election?

Please see answer to 145a.

iii. Did Joe Biden win the 2020 presidential election?

Please see answer to 145a.

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- iv. Did Joe Biden lose the 2020 presidential election?

Please see answer to 145a.

- b. Did any employee of the White House, including but not limited to employees of the Presidential Personnel Office:
- i. Show or provide you copies or examples of how other nominees have answered questions regarding the outcome of the 2020 election during the 119th Congress?

No.

- ii. Suggest how you could or should answer questions regarding the outcome of the 2020 election during the 119th Congress?

No.

- c. Did any employee of the agency to which you have been nominated ask you versions of any of the following questions, or questions invoking similar themes? If so, describe the question you were asked and your answer. If not, say “No.”

As part of the confirmation process, agency staff assisted in my pre- and post-hearing preparation on topics relevant to the position of the Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Export Administration. The position of the Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Export Administration does not involve the oversight of federal elections.

- i. Who won the 2020 presidential election?

Please see answer to 145c.

- ii. Did Donald Trump win the 2020 presidential election?

Please see answer to 145c.

- iii. Did Joe Biden win the 2020 presidential election?

Please see answer to 145c.

- iv. Did Joe Biden lose the 2020 presidential election?

Please see answer to 145c.

- d. Did any employee of the agency to which you have been nominated:

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- i. Show or provide you copies or examples of how other nominees have answered questions regarding the outcome of the 2020 election during the 119th Congress?

Please see answer to 145c.

- ii. Suggest how you could or should answer questions regarding the outcome of the 2020 election during the 119th Congress?

Please see answer to 145c.

Committee Questionnaire

146. Under Committee rules, you are required to provide true and correct responses to all questions in the Committee's questionnaire. Can you confirm that you have provided complete, true, and correct answers to all of the Committee's questions in the questionnaire?

Yes.

147. The Committee questionnaire requires you to list all of the formal speeches, presentations (e.g., PowerPoint), and public statements you have delivered during the past ten years which are on topics relevant to the position for which you have been nominated, including dates and name of the forum you delivered the speech, presentation, or public statement. The questionnaire also requires you, if available, to provide the Committee with one digital copy of each formal speech, presentation, and public statement, and if text is no longer available, list the date, place, and organization or group to whom you made the speech or presentation. Can you confirm that you have provided complete, true, and correct disclosures in response to the Committee's requirements?

Yes.

Nomination

148. During or leading up to the selection of your nomination, did anyone on the Trump campaign, transition team, or other closely related entity approach you about your loyalty to President-elect Trump? Did you sign a loyalty pledge or other similar oath?

No.

149. During or leading up to the selection of your nomination, did you discuss Project 2025 with any officials directly or associated with the Heritage Foundation? If so, please explain.

No.

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150. Please provide a comprehensive list of the people who approached you about joining the administration.

Under Secretary Kessler asked me if I was interested in being nominated for this position.

151. Did any person provide advice to you, oral or written, on your responses to these questions? If so, please provide a comprehensive list of the individuals or organizations that provided assistance.

See answer to 145c.

Congressional Oversight and Whistleblower Protection

152. If confirmed, will you commit to making yourself available to provide testimony (including but not limited to briefings, hearings, and transcribed interviews) to the Committee on any matter within its jurisdiction, upon the request of either the Chair or Ranking Member?

If confirmed, I look forward to working with the Committee on matters within the jurisdiction of the position for which I have been nominated and will work with appropriate agency staff in responding to requests from the Committee.

153. If confirmed, will you commit to fully complying with all information requests from me and responding to those requests in a timely manner?

If confirmed, I look forward to working with members of Congress on matters within the jurisdiction of the position for which I have been nominated and will work with appropriate agency staff in responding to requests from members of Congress.

154. If confirmed, do you intend to respond to congressional information requests differently depending on who is making the request?

No.

155. If confirmed, will you commit to complying with any federal protections for whistleblowers?

I will follow all federal laws, including laws providing protections for whistleblowers.