

ADVANCING U.S. INTERESTS AT
THE UNITED NATIONS

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BEFORE THE
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
ONE HUNDRED FIFTEENTH CONGRESS
FIRST SESSION

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WEDNESDAY, JUNE 28, 2017

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
Washington, DC.

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:00 a.m., in room 2172 Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Edward Royce (chairman of the committee) presiding.

Chairman ROYCE. This hearing will come to order. Today, we consider the role of the United States at the United Nations.

In her first few months, Ambassador Nikki Haley has approached her job with determination and purpose.

Chairing the U.N. Security Council in April, she spotlighted the grave security challenges of North Korea and nuclear proliferation and the threats that that poses to us. She has castigated Iran and Hezbollah for their role in sowing instability across the Middle East. And Ambassador Haley has made it crystal clear that the U.N. Human Rights Council's record of protecting dictators cannot stand. Indeed, as Ambassador Haley has declared, the United States' role at the U.N. is to "show our strength, show our voice, [and] have the back of our allies." I think that is well said, Ambassador.

The United Nations is charged with the ambitious mission to "maintain international peace and security" and to "achieve international cooperation in solving international problems." But, unfortunately, the organization all too often falls short. U.N. organizations continuously debate issues—but too often take no meaningful action.

As Ambassador Haley has eloquently described, U.N. organizations like the Human Rights Council give dictators and human rights violators a platform to attack Israel. In addition to calling for the U.N. to end its bias against Israel, she has made crystal clear that the international body can no longer be used to promote anti-Semitism.

I was pleased to see Ambassador Haley recognize that "human rights and conflict are directly connected," in her words. From my standpoint, I think regimes that don't respect the citizens over which they hold power—or visitors like Otto Warmbier—won't respect their neighbors, and won't respect international agreements.

Given its terrible human rights record, it is no surprise that North Korea is determined to deploy international nuclear ballistic weapons technology, and that threatens the region and it threatens

the United States. Meanwhile, companies and banks inside China continue to provide critical hard currency to that regime. The United Nations has passed good Security Council Resolutions on North Korea—spurred by U.S. legislation that we passed in this committee—but solid enforcement is needed.

As we will hear today, the President's budget proposal includes significant reductions in U.S. funding of the United Nations and its agencies. U.N. peacekeeping has played a critical role over the years in advancing U.S. interests and should be prioritized, in accordance with U.S. law. The recent deaths of peacekeepers in South Sudan and in Mali remind us of the dangers they face. But peacekeeping would find more support if failing missions—some decades old—were closed and the horrendous sexual abuses tackled head-on.

This committee has pushed to improve the U.N.'s transparency and accountability, advancing protections of whistleblowers and bringing U.N. peacekeepers that are sexual predators to the bar of justice.

Ambassador Haley, we look forward to hearing how we can support you working to improve transparency and accountability. This committee stands ready to assist in your difficult tasks ahead.

And I'll now turn to the ranking member for his opening remarks.

Mr. ENGEL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. And, Madam Ambassador, welcome to the Foreign Affairs Committee.

I have watched you in the short months that you have been Ambassador. I hope you are enjoying my hometown of New York—best place in the world—and I have watched you with admiration in terms of how you have been conducting yourself.

As I said to you in the room before we started, we pride ourselves on this committee in being the most bipartisan committee in the Congress. The chairman and I have worked very hard to do that. Where there are disagreements, there are disagreements but we all share the same goal.

And, of course, the United States is the world's biggest superpower. We believe that we have a lot to offer the world and want to continue to work with all the countries of the world.

I was disappointed in the budget. I said this to Secretary Tillerson as well. It cuts our support for key peacekeeping efforts in the United Nations by nearly 40 percent. Peacekeeping missions help people who have been driven from their homes by atrocities in South Sudan. U.N. peacekeepers are now protecting nearly ¼ million civilians in places like Liberia and Cote d'Ivoire.

Missions are scheduled to closed soon because they have been so effective in building stability and security. We have traditionally invested a little more than the minimum required in peacekeeping and that's what I think an indispensable power should do, which is what we have done. That is to show the world we are a big hearted country that wants to see people all around the world live healthy, prosperous lives.

American personnel are not deployed by these efforts. Our men and women aren't put in harm's way. These initiatives help prevent and resolve crises so that we don't have to intervene militarily

and they do it for eight times less than it would cost to send an American soldier.

So burden sharing—I know we talk about burden sharing. I believe these efforts are the definition of burden sharing. The administration is also seeking to completely eliminate American support for the U.N. development program, for disaster relief coordination, for U.N. Women, for the U.N. Population Fund, for UNICEF support for children living in the most desperate circumstances—100 percent reduction—I think that needs to be changed.

The U.N. has its problems. No one disputes that. We talked for a little while about some of them. I personally think the way Israel is blamed and bullied by U.N. members is terrible. As I told you before, the so-called Human Rights Council has the worst human rights abusers on that council and it is the epitome of gall, or chutzpah, as we say in New York, to think that they can sit and look in judgement of anybody given the fact that they have the most abysmal human rights records in the world. It almost makes it a little bit like Alice in Wonderland.

But I do think American leadership is urgently needed to help shape Security Council resolutions and initiatives in other U.N. bodies, and, when appropriate, use our veto to counter this imbalance.

But walking away from our commitments isn't the right way to affect the reform that we all want to see. I believe these cuts would send a deeply troubling message to U.N. members that the United States no longer wants to be a global leader on a whole range of issues, that we are willing to cede the ground, excuse me, to whom-ever steps into our place. And I can't imagine a more harmful course.

If we want our values and our priorities to be the values and priorities of other countries then withdrawing from multilateral engagement is a grave miscalculation. And make no mistake, Beijing, Moscow, Tehran, and plenty of others will be more than happy to see us back away. So I am glad that Congress will have the final word on the budget issues.

I remain deeply concerned about the number of other areas where American foreign policy is going off course and how that affects our ability to work with other governments through the U.N. I hope your testimony will address some of these problems.

And let me say, as I told you before, I look forward to working with you. You have approached this job with a zest and a verve that has been refreshing. We will from time to time have policy differences. But I think we all stand for the same thing, obviously, and that's what we have tried to do in the Foreign Affairs Committee.

So, welcome. I look forward to your testimony and I look forward to your tenure as U.N. Ambassador.

I yield back.

Chairman ROYCE. Thank you, Mr. Engel.

I now yield to the gentleman from South Carolina, Mr. Jeff Duncan, to introduce our witness today.

Mr. DUNCAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

It is a pleasure for me to introduce my friend, Ambassador Nikki Haley, to my colleagues. A South Carolina native, Ambassador

Haley graduated from my alma mater, the 2016 national football champion, Clemson.

(Laughter.)

Mr. DUNCAN. I'm shameless, guys. Shameless.

Ambassador Haley made her career as a trailblazer. In 2004, she became the first Indian-American to hold South Carolina public office when she won a seat in the South Carolina statehouse, where I served with her for 6 years.

In 2010, she was elected the first female as well as the first minority governor of South Carolina. In her tenure as governor of South Carolina, Ambassador Haley brought investment and jobs from all over the world.

South Carolina now holds more than 1,200 operations of international firms, which employ more than 131,000 South Carolinians. A lot of this investment was directly tied to Governor Haley's efforts, especially in businesses in Europe and in Asia.

On November 22nd, 2016, the President-Elect, Donald Trump, picked her to become the United States Ambassador to the United Nations, where she continues to strongly represent American interests on the world stage.

Ambassador Haley, welcome to Congress and we look forward to your testimony. I yield back.

Chairman ROYCE. And welcome, Ambassador. Without objection, the Ambassador's full prepared statement will be made part of the record. Members will have 5 calendar days to submit any statements or questions or any extraneous material for the record.

And I would ask you, Ambassador, if you could summarize your remarks.

STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE NIKKI HALEY, U.S. PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE, UNITED STATES MISSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Ambassador HALEY. Thank you very much. And to my friend, Jeff—go, Tigers, and thank you for that introduction.

Chairman Royce, Ranking Member Engel, and distinguished members of the committee, thank you for the opportunity to discuss advancing U.S. interests at the United Nations.

Five months and three days ago, I was sworn in as U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations. I came into this position at a time when many Americans felt a deep sense of betrayal at the U.N. in the wake of the passage of Resolution 2334.

At my confirmation hearing, I made the following promise. If I am privileged to be the U.S. Ambassador, I will never sit passively while America's interests and America's friends are run down at the U.N.

Five months later, I can say that I haven't been quiet on the issues important to the United States. And I can say this: I have kept my promise. Our friends and our rivals know that America has once again found its voice at the United Nations. The international community is now very clear about what the U.S. is for and what the U.S. is against.

It wasn't long after my confirmation that my promise was put to the test. In early April, the Syrian regime dropped chemical weapons on Syrian children. We forced the Security Council to hold an

open emergency session, which some member states didn't want. We drew a red line. If the U.N. would not act collectively, the United States would act alone, and we did.

We have brought new accountability to the North Korean regime. When North Korea continued its illegal missile tests, we brought all the nations of the Security Council together, including China and Russia, to impose new sanctions.

Even as we focus on North Korea's nuclear and missile threat, we also continue to highlight the barbaric human rights violations the regime is committing. Otto Warmbier's death brought home to Americans the brutality that North Koreans have known for decades.

The same clear voice we have used to take on our adversaries we have also used to support America's values and America's friends. Thanks to U.S. leadership, human rights are at the forefront of the U.N. agenda. For the first time ever during the U.S. Presidency of the Security Council we convened a meeting dedicated solely to the protection of human rights and their relationship to conflict.

We made the case that human rights violations and conflict are directly related. History has played out that when governments don't respect the rights and voices of the people, conflict will soon follow.

We have also called out the U.N. Human Rights Council for legitimizing human rights violators at the expense of their victims. We have put forward reforms to make the council what it was meant to be: A place of conscience for nations and justice for victims. I traveled to Geneva earlier this month to make it clear to the council that continued U.S. participation is contingent on adoption of these reforms.

On a related note, the U.S. mission now refuses to tolerate one of the U.N.'s most disreputable and dangerous habits: Obsessively bashing Israel. We forced the withdrawal of a false and biased report and we have steered the Security Council's monthly debate on the Middle East away from unfairly targeting Israel and toward the true threats in the region, such as Iran and Hamas.

In the areas in which the U.N. has real value, we have built on its good work. Peacekeeping is one of the most important things the U.N. does. We are reviewing every one of the peacekeeping missions with an eye toward ensuring that we have clear and achievable mandates.

We are also working to ensure that troops are ready, professional, and committed to the safety of civilians on the ground. Troops in the U.N. peacekeeping mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, for instance, have long faced charges of sexual abuse and other serious misconduct. We inserted clear instructions into the mission's most recent mandate to enforce performance standards for troops. There is no place in any U.N. peacekeeping mission for predatory and abusive troops.

Our peacekeeping reforms are aimed at producing more effective missions for vulnerable citizens. We will hold governments accountable to their responsibility to protect their own citizens while also cutting down waste and inefficiency.

We have adapted the mission in Haiti to changing conditions on the ground and are on target to save at least \$150 million for the year.

We will continue our reform efforts when we take up the peacekeeping mission renewal this month in Darfur, Sudan. Our efforts will hold the government accountable to improve humanitarian access.

Mr. Chairman, thank you for this opportunity to highlight our efforts to reassert U.S. leadership at the United Nations.

It is hard to believe it has only been 5 months since I moved my family to New York to begin this exciting and challenging new chapter. I look forward to more progress in the months ahead and I welcome your questions.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Ambassador Haley follows:]

AMBASSADOR NIKKI HALEY
STATEMENT TO THE HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE
June 28, 2017

Chairman Royce, Ranking Member Engel, and distinguished members of the Committee:
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I came into this position at a time when many Americans felt a deep sense of betrayal at the UN, in the wake of passage of Resolution 2334.

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Peacekeeping is one of the most important things the UN does. We are reviewing each of our peacekeeping missions with an eye toward ensuring they have clear and achievable mandates. We are also working to ensure that troops are ready, professional, and committed to the safety of civilians on the ground.

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Thank you.

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Chairman ROYCE. Well, thank you, Ambassador Haley.

Let me start with this point. This week, the White House issued a firm statement, a warning to Syria, after it was picked up that Assad, his regime was preparing, potentially, for another chemical weapons attack.

You amplified that message yourself. Have we seen Assad's regime take any steps in response to that warning?

Ambassador HALEY. Well, I can tell you that due to the President's actions, we did not see an incident. What we did see before was all of the same activity that we had seen prior for the April 4th chemical weapons attack.

And so I think that by the President calling out Assad, I think by us continuing to remind Iran and Russia that while they choose to back Assad, this was something we were not going to put up with.

So I would like to think that the President saved many innocent men, women, and children.

Chairman ROYCE. Let me ask you a question on the U.N. Security Council resolutions that were passed with respect to North Korea. We are a few years away from North Korea having an ICBM capability that can reach the U.S. and we have this question about enforcement.

We have a second bill in addition to the sanctions bill—which I and Mr. Engel passed formally and that was signed into law—we have a second bill to try to close any additional loopholes.

Specifically, what we are trying to do is to stop the use of forced labor by North Korea where they'll have workers sent to the Middle East and other countries and instead of the workers being paid, the money goes right back into the bank account of the North Korean regime and is used on its nuclear weapons program.

So we are trying to cut off that hard currency and trying to cut off some of the hard currency that comes out of Beijing that subsidizes the regime even with the sanctions that the Security Council has passed.

Can you tell us, if we had enforcement, what would be the impact on North Korea's regime and their ability to move forward with this nuclear weapons program?

Ambassador HALEY. The more pressure we put on North Korea, the better. You are dealing with a paranoid leader who thinks that we are trying to assassinate him, who thinks we are trying to do regime change, who keeps his public in the dark, only hearing what he wants them to hear.

And what we need to remember is that he is building a nuclear program and you are more optimistic saying it is multiple years before an ICBM comes forward. I think it is going to happen sooner because they are on target to do that and they continue to use their people for those violations.

So I would welcome any sort of pressure that you could put forward to slow down that process of nuclear development.

Chairman ROYCE. Well, I think this is so critical. Secretary Mattis has said that North Korea is the number one threat, from his standpoint, and I think key also is to get the Senate to take action now and I would suggest immediately. That bill has been over there for some time.

I also wanted to ask you about the Human Rights Council and how your efforts to change this system to competitive voting rather than regional rotation in order to make sure that the Human Rights Council ditches some of its old procedures and ditches the anti-Israel focus.

I mean, we had 70 resolutions against Israel and very few to touch on Iran, or rather, human rights abusers around the planet. How is that going?

You sat down with many Europeans when you travelled over there to make this pitch to those governments. Can you give us an update on that?

Ambassador HALEY. Yes, and I can give you an example that will bring it very close to home.

We have seen terrible things happening in Venezuela and we continue to be very, very concerned. And so I called for an emergency session in the Security Council for Venezuela and my colleagues were not appreciative of that because they said it wasn't a peace and security issue and that it needed to be heard at the Human Rights Council.

The problem is that the Human Rights Council never heard this or condemned Venezuela because Venezuela sits on the council along with Cuba and Saudi Arabia and China, and the list goes on.

So I didn't want to send a statement from New York. I thought it was important that I went in person. I explained to them that this can't be a place bad actors go to to protect themselves and point fingers at others. I told them the Agenda Item 7 that picked on Israel, those issues can go to Agenda Item 4. Many of them agreed that it discredited the Human Rights Council. I do think we were heard and I do hope that there's a change.

Chairman ROYCE. Thank you. My time has expired.

I go to Mr. Eliot Engel of New York.

Mr. ENGEL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I want to piggyback on the question about the Human Rights Council.

First of all, let me say, Madam Ambassador, I heard your speech at AIPAC and I thought it was a very fine speech. What so aggravates me about the U.N. Human Rights Council is that they have the nerve, as I said before, to try to sit in judgement of anybody else.

People should be investigating them for the worst human rights abuses and they do it to their own people as well.

The U.N. Human Rights Council has targeted Israel ever since its creation. They have Agenda Item 7. It is a permanent agenda item targeting Israel. It is the only country-specific agenda item at the council. Obviously, it is ridiculous and unfair and the membership of the council is an embarrassment to the U.N. Some of the members engage in the worst abuses.

With all the problems of the council, I do recognize that because of U.S. leadership the council has begun to shift its scrutiny to some of the world's worst human rights violators. According to the American Jewish Committee's Jacob Blaustein Institute, U.S. participation has improved the council's treatment of Israel to some degree and shifted some of the council's focus to human rights violations in North Korea, Iran, and Syria.

At the same time, according to Hillel Neuer of U.N. Watch, the 2006 through 2009 U.S. boycott of the council, and I am going to quote him, “did nothing to prevent the council from continuing to cause damage.”

So I have a couple of questions about this. What steps do you propose taking to remove Agenda Item 7 from the council’s agenda and reform criteria for membership of the council? I abhor conferring legitimacy on any entity which discriminates against Israel or is so one-sided, but I worry, on the other hand, if the U.S. withdrew from the council things could actually get worse.

So I would like you to comment on that too—what would be the impact of U.S. priorities, including the protection of Israel, if the U.S. were to withdraw from the U.N. Human Rights Council?

Ambassador HALEY. Well, thank you, Mr. Engel, and that is my dilemma, which is are we better off being on the Human Rights Council with all of these bad actors where it is very hard to give the council any credit or do we do our own human rights fights outside of the council.

That is what remains to be seen. The reason I went there was because I thought it was important.

In reference to Agenda Item 7, when I met with the like-minded members of the council, they admitted that Agenda Item 7 was embarrassing. They admitted that it discredited the council. They admitted that they thought it needed to come off.

What we found is there are three main groups that continue to use Agenda Item 7. It is the Egyptians, it is the Saudis, and it is Pakistan. So those are the three.

Everyone else has shifted to Agenda Item 4. We actually think that the Palestinians would be okay if we shifted to Item 4 if we talked to those three groups. So that is my focus now, trying to talk to those three groups to see how we can shift them off of Agenda Item 7. The truth is if somebody wants to bring Israel up for a violation that can happen under Agenda Item 4.

But if you don’t have an agenda for North Korea, you don’t have it for Syria, you don’t have it for Venezuela, it really is nothing more than abusive to have it on Israel, especially with all the threats in the world.

And so I think they took this seriously. I am continuing to have meetings on this. We met with Commissioner Zeid and told him that we needed his help on this front when it came to that. He agreed, and he felt like it was doable.

So it is going to take a full court press and I am going to need all of you to help in terms of pushing that narrative that we really want to do that. I think they don’t want us to leave the Human Rights Council.

We have just said there have to be competitive elections. We have to make sure that it is not already decided who is going to be on there and then we have to get the General Assembly to not vote for these bad actors. It happened last time Russia ran and Russia lost. That was a huge moment because typically, the P5 always win an election but that was due to what they were doing with Ukraine.

So there is a possibility of change. We just have to be very aggressive about doing that.

Mr. ENGEL. Thank you. My time is almost up, but I wanted to reiterate some of the things I said before. I get just as angry at the U.N. as anybody when you think that they take us for granted.

But I don't want to cut off my nose to spite my face. The United States' presence at the U.N. is very, very important and I worry about the President's proposed budget cuts to U.N. funding and I wish that the administration would take another look at that.

Nine of your predecessors signed onto a letter in support of the continued payment of U.S. voluntary and assessed contributions to the U.N., saying the cuts weaken our hand, alienate allies, and cost us more over the long run. I wonder if you could quickly comment on that.

Ambassador HALEY. My job was to go in and see if I could find value in the U.N. That was the directive all of you gave me. That was the directive the President gave me.

There are a lot of places that the U.N. is very effective. There is a lot of fat around the edges and some abuses that happen at the U.N.

But I do think it is very important that we make the most of it and I will tell you that, from the President's budget, keep in mind that that was more of making a point. It was making a point that he wanted to strengthen the military and it was putting the United Nations on notice, and it worked. And I have used that as leverage because now we are seeing a lot of the other countries come forward and say yes, we should do reform.

When it comes to peacekeeping reform, they have worked with us on every single renewal to change it to make it smarter, to make it better work for the people.

When it comes to management reform, they are working with us on changing it. So I really do think the message was effective and my hope is that I can be your conduit in terms of working from the President's budget to where you all have to make some decisions to help exactly what I think is important in order for us to continue to have a strong voice at the U.N.

Mr. ENGEL. Thank you.

Ambassador HALEY. Thank you.

Chairman ROYCE. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen of Florida.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you so much, Mr. Chairman.

Ambassador HALEY. Good morning, and thank you.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Welcome, Madam Ambassador. You have done an admirable job in your first few months and have demonstrated strong leadership at the U.N.

I also want to commend you for your forceful words against the Maduro regime. Thank you for speaking out so strongly in support of the Venezuelan people.

Things have taken a turn for the worst. Just in the last 24 hours, as you know, there was a helicopter attack targeting the Supreme Court by Maduro, and Maduro-controlled armed colectivos surrounded the National Assembly. So the violence is escalating.

And thank you to Mr. Deutch for bringing up Venezuela with the Secretary-General yesterday. What actions are you considering to hold Maduro accountable at the U.N.?

Are you considering Security Council actions or sanctions? I know it is a difficult environment for you. How can we put pressure

so that Maduro at least allows humanitarian assistance to help the people?

And let me just quickly touch on two other topics, Madam Ambassador.

I have introduced legislation over the years that exposes problems and offers solutions on UNRWA, particularly the incitement issues, the ties to Hamas from its employees, and the fact that U.S. taxpayer dollars are used to support this violence.

UNRWA's mandate was extended, lamentably, through June 2020. How can Congress help to shift UNRWA's mandate to the U.N. High Commissioner of Refugees? Because three more years of this is unacceptable.

And lastly, the Human Rights Council is in the process of creating a black list, a database for supporters of BDS to use to target Israel's interest.

Where does this database effort stand right now and what are we doing to kill this effort and prevent it from doing harm to Israel? Thank you, Madam Ambassador.

Ambassador HALEY. Thank you.

So, first, on Venezuela, because the Human Rights Council would not hear the issue on Venezuela, we had the emergency Security Council meeting in New York.

But then when I went to Geneva, we had a meeting outside of that to just discuss Venezuela's issues to bring it home to the Human Rights Council that they needed to do this.

The region very much didn't want us to talk about it and said that this would make things worse. But as you saw with the OAS, when they attempted to talk about it, Venezuela got out of the OAS and then recently the OAS met again and they—

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. And we didn't have the votes.

Ambassador HALEY [continuing]. And they were unable to do anything.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. That's unbelievable.

Ambassador HALEY. So I can tell you, we need to keep the pressure on Maduro. There are signs that he is now going to start using his military and use weapons and anything you've seen on TV—

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. He has been doing that.

Ambassador HALEY [continuing]. It is so much worse. It is a terrible situation. And so as much pressure as we can continue to put on Maduro that we are watching.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Almost 80 people dead, thousands arrested, thousands in jail.

Ambassador HALEY. It is horrible. They just—

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. And he is acting with impunity.

Ambassador HALEY. They just want to be heard. They just want to be heard, and it goes back to any government that doesn't listen and take care of their people, conflict will follow. It is a direct correlation.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Please keep acting on behalf of the people.

Ambassador HALEY. And we will continue to do that.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you. On UNRWA and BDS?

Ambassador HALEY. So on UNRWA I will tell you I actually went and visited an UNRWA camp when I went to Israel—

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Yes.

Ambassador HALEY [continuing]. And the Palestinian area. I asked about the books and what we were seeing. They think they have gotten it down. They said the problem comes into the culture versus what we think is incitement. They are continuing to work on it. We are continuing the pressure on—

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Baloney.

Ambassador HALEY. We will continue to do that. I do think that we need to look at UNRWA in a way that we expect more of them and put pressure on them so that we can get the changes that we need to have—changes in what they consider to be a refugee, changes in any textbooks on incitement, changes in Hamas members teaching in the schools. There is work to do. I will say that there is also good that comes out of UNRWA. What they do with the schools and the health care you do see value in it. But I think we just need to continue to pressure them on the things we want to see changing.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you. And on BDS?

Ambassador HALEY. The concern on UNRWA is they are now trying to get assessed contributions in the U.N. and we are fighting that back desperately.

On BDS, it is something I spoke about in Geneva and said that it was a problem. I am very concerned. I am very concerned that we may not be able to defeat this.

But we are trying extremely hard to show that this is something that cannot happen. As governor in South Carolina, we were the first state to fight it off.

I know how dangerous and abusive this would be and so we will continue fighting this the whole way through.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you. Keep kicking butt. Thank you.

Chairman ROYCE. Brad Sherman of California.

Mr. SHERMAN. Madam Ambassador, thank you for your work on behalf of the people of South Sudan, your briefing on April 25th, and I hope you are able to achieve our objectives there.

I also want to thank you and join with my colleagues on thanking you for your efforts to refute and to halt the U.N.'s obsessive tendencies with unjustified attacks on Israel.

I hope that you are pushing inside the administration to get them to fill the empty boxes on the organization chart. Now, Rex Tillerson has praised the people who are filling the acting positions—you know, Acting Assistant Secretary, Acting Under Secretary.

My wife has been with the State Department for 20 years, all over. You can't get policy direction from somebody who's got the big word "temporary" on their door.

Until we get those positions filled with people that reflect where the administration wants to go, we won't have foreign policy in the hundreds of areas that you and the Secretary of State can't personally address.

The world is better when the United States is involved. We are involved in the United Nations. We are not necessarily going to be paying our dues or our share of peacekeeping.

Is it easier or harder for you to do your job if we don't pay our dues?

Ambassador HALEY. Okay. Thank you for that.

Yes, we will continue to work on South Sudan. I will be visiting there in the fall to deal with it head on.

Israel—I will continue to call them out every time that happens.

I hear you on the State Department and what you told Secretary Tillerson. We have worked really hard to fill the roles at U.S./U.N. and are almost there. So thank you for that.

In terms of the peacekeeping budget, what we did was——

Mr. SHERMAN. Both the peacekeeping and the dues budget. Yes. Ambassador HALEY. Peacekeeping and——

Mr. SHERMAN. My question was both. We have our general U.N. dues. The line item for that in the President's proposed budget is cut 27 percent.

Ambassador HALEY. Right.

Mr. SHERMAN. Peacekeeping 37 percent. Does that diminish your ability to do your job or does it make your job easier?

Ambassador HALEY. No, my job has worked well because I have used that as leverage. With every single renewal what we did was we looked at the political solution. We asked, is it working—is it actually helping the people on the ground?

What they have done in the past is with challenged areas, they would just send more troops to it. Well, if the troops aren't trained and the troops don't have equipment, it is not going to be effective. So what we have now done is changed the mandates to make sure they are smarter.

Mr. SHERMAN. Ma'am, I've got to cut you off there because I've got this list——

Ambassador HALEY. Well, let me just tell you this. We just negotiated the peacekeeping budget last week and I was so proud of my team because we cut it by \$½ billion and that was with the support of everyone——

Mr. SHERMAN. But now that it is a budget you like, should we contribute our allotted share?

Ambassador HALEY. I think that you could comfortably go to 25 percent and know that we will be okay.

Mr. SHERMAN. Twenty. Russia—we have a bill that passed the Senate to impose sanctions on Russia and Iran. It has its congressional review provisions.

I have been here a long time. The only way we got the sanctions on Iran was to overcome efforts of the last two administrations who wanted either no sanctions or wanted the administration to be able to just wave a wand and say, well, we don't like them so we are not going to do them.

Is the administration lobbying to change the congressional review provisions of the Senate-passed Iran-Russia sanctions bill?

Ambassador HALEY. I am not aware that they are lobbying for anything. I do know that they are reviewing it.

Mr. SHERMAN. Okay. Other administration——

Ambassador HALEY. They also renewed recently the sanctions on Russia in reference to Ukraine. Those were renewed last week.

Mr. SHERMAN. Other administration officials have testified that they haven't spoken with the President regarding Russian interference in last year's election. Have you talked to the President about that?

Ambassador HALEY. I have not talked to the President about that. And, look, I think the best thing that can happen is for those investigations to play out quickly.

I have no reason to think that there was any sort of involvement between the President and Russia and—

Mr. SHERMAN. I am going to try to move on to one last question. The U.N. Security Council Resolution 2231 bans or deters Iran from testing ballistic missiles. Is the Security Council incapable of addressing Iran's violations of that resolution?

Ambassador HALEY. Well, we are going to push hard to address it. They have tested. They have launched ballistic missiles and now we are seeing that they are sending off weapons and things to bad actors and so yes, we have to continue to address that. The problem is Russia will always veto it.

Mr. SHERMAN. Thank you.

Chairman ROYCE. We go now to Chris Smith of New Jersey.

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

Ambassador HALEY. Good morning.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you for convening this important hearing. Good morning, Madam Ambassador. Thank you for your strong and effective leadership. It is principled.

I know, talking to many of the diplomats in New York, how respected you are. You have absolutely made a mark and you're deeply respected up here. So thank you for that leadership. There is no better friend or diplomat or otherwise for Israel and we thank you for that as well.

Yesterday, Rex Tillerson, Secretary of State, rightly designated China as a Tier 3 country—the Chinese Government, the worst violator for sex and labor trafficking.

I want to thank you, the administration, for making that bold and, I think, long-missed call. For years we have been asking China, whether it be sex trafficking, somewhat attributable if not largely attributable to the missing girls—62 million missing girls because of sex-selection abortion. There is no other parallel in the world, and on labor trafficking, whether it be North Korea or the problems of just exploiting workers through what was thought to be a reform of the laogai system, which didn't really happen. Thank you for that designation. It is very well accepted.

Let me ask you about Liu Xiaobo. Obviously, a Nobel Prize winner who has terminal cancer. He is still in China. He is out of prison, we are told, getting medical care and I know the administration has already asked, through our Ambassador, that he be allowed to come here and get treatment along with his wife, who has suffered de facto.

Whatever you can do, and I know you have a good working relationship, even though I am sure you butt heads occasionally with the Chinese Ambassador.

Let him come and let him come now, please. So I would ask you for that.

Let me ask you, too, on the Special Envoy to Monitor and Combat Anti-Semitism, that post has not been filled. I am the one who offered the amendment in the year 2004 to establish it.

It remains unfulfilled and rightly so the American Jewish groups are very, very upset by that omission. Fill it. Put the people in there. Don't double hat it, I would ask, respectfully.

There is so much of a rise in anti-Semitism and it is needed now and that person, whoever he or she may be, can walk point on trying to stop this terrible hate that is on the rise around the world.

Let me also just say thank you. Karen Bass and I were in South Sudan just a few weeks ago. I was there earlier in August. We met with Salva Kiir and the change in UNMISS is remarkable.

They were a garrison military, U.N. deployment, that sat and did nothing when the Terrain compound was attacked, including a woman from my own district who was sexually abused. They just sat there, did nothing.

We now, through your great leadership, have a very effective, much more robust, mandate by UNMISS. So I want to thank you for that leadership and I know you worked hard on that.

On famine, and you might want to speak to this, we are concerned. Both Karen Bass and I were in refugees camps, two of them, and one IDP camp in Unity State, and there are shortages, particularly in Uganda.

There was a 50 percent cut in food and I know there is some \$990 million that has been appropriated in the appropriations bill. Our hope is that it does not carry over into next year. It needs to be spent now. These people, mostly women, 85 percent of the people in the camps are women or children, they are in desperate need of food security and food aid. So please make sure that money gets out.

And finally, on WIPO—I know we are running out of time—but last year we had three of our subcommittees—including Ileana Ros-Lehtinen's—held a hearing on illicit transfers to rogue states of North Korea and Iran by the World Intellectual Property Organization and its Director General, Francis Gurry.

Gurry retaliated against the whistleblowers who exposed the wrongdoing and today we have people who have lost their jobs at the U.N. because they did the right thing.

Please—this is a injustice. This has to be corrected. I ask for your personal intervention on that.

Ambassador HALEY. Thank you.

So in reference to the person being held in China, letting them go, we are all on it at different levels of the administration. That is moving. In terms of the envoy for anti-Semitism, we welcome all the help we can get because I agree with you on that.

In terms of South Sudan, we are seeing baby step progress in that area but it is a baby step. We continue to work on that. Like I said, I will be visiting in the fall to speak with President Kiir myself on behalf of the United States to see if we can put some pressure there. Also, know that South Sudan has fallen off the famine list but it is still food insecure. It is still very volatile. It is still a vulnerable spot.

Famine is on our radar across the board in all four of the regions that we need to be looking at and so we are watching that closely and working on that. And yes, WIPO—we continue to work with them and work on issues that come up and we will always do that. So please feel free to contact me any time.

Chairman ROYCE. Greg Meeks of New York.

Mr. MEEKS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Madam Ambassador, I am actually stunned at the response that you just gave back to Mr. Sherman that you've never spoken to the President of the United States about Russia's involvement in our democracy, never talked to the President of the United States. We have to deal with Russia and the biggest question that we have had recently is Russia's involvement and what they have done to our democracy and for not to have had a conversation with the President of the United States about that involvement is absolutely shocking to me.

Secondly, you mentioned the word betrayal in your opening statement. Well, I want you to know that that's an appropriate word to describe what I am hearing from my constituents and fellow Americans and our allies all across—at home and abroad.

They feel a sense of betrayal because of the way that the Trump administration has diminished America's leadership and global standing. Our allies have expressed their sense of betrayal and mixed messages coming from the President and I believe this budget proposal is a betrayal of our nation's interests.

So while you mentioned a sense of betrayal regarding a single U.N. resolution, I hope you recognize the deep sense of betrayal that many Americans are feeling right now as the administration pursues a path of isolation.

Recent Pew polling shows that America's global image has been significantly hurt by President Trump. One exemption—Russia. They have confidence in him. And I know that this matters when it comes to diplomacy and our ability to successfully engage internationally.

You mentioned earlier about human rights. Yet, when the President went to Saudi Arabia there was no mention of human rights. When he went to Egypt there was no mention of human rights. When he met with the Chinese there was no mention of human rights. When he had the Russians in his office giving away national secrets there was no mention of human rights.

So I am concerned about—yet, when he went to Europe where our allies are, he was critical of them and criticized them.

So it seems to me that the actions of the President of the United States will make your job a very difficult job because you're supposed to be working with everyone and with the decrease in confidence in the United States, it seems to me that that would complicate your job to advance our national interests.

And then it seems as though we are not sure when you say one thing and the President comes back and he says something else.

So how do you handle situations in which the White House contradicts or overrides something you have publically said or the Secretary of State has publically said as regards to U.S. policy?

Who determines what that U.S. policy is? And given all this, especially with the Pew polls, that's going on it seems as if we have lost a lot of our leadership around the world.

Ambassador HALEY. Thank you, Mr. Meeks, and I want to know what coffee you're drinking this morning because I need to start drinking that.

First of all, let us go through because I want to answer all of these. These are very important questions. First of all, with Russia—my conversations with the President are very much how you have seen me bash Russia on Ukraine.

You have seen me bash Russia on Syria. You have seen me call out Russia if we see any sort of wrongdoings by Russia and, yes, I do think Russia meddled in our elections and, yes, I have said that to the President.

So having said that, I haven't asked the President any further questions because I just—it is not something that is on my radar. I don't get asked about any of those things at the United Nations.

So I am very focused on my work in New York and that has never come up once. There are no issues with Russia that have come up once by any member state in the U.N. and so that is the focus.

U.S. leadership and our global standing—Mr. Meeks, we have really put a strong voice of the U.S. at the U.N. I mean, they know we are back.

They know we are strong, and I will tell you when the action took place to strike Syria the number of Ambassadors that came to me and said, it is so good to see the U.S. leading again. Very important.

Mr. MEEKS. Did we lead? We pulled out of the Paris agreement.

Ambassador HALEY. Okay. I am going down your list.

Mr. MEEKS. Okay. I am just talking about how we are pulling out.

Ambassador HALEY. I understand.

Mr. MEEKS. We pulled out of a number of international—we have a President that has indicated that he wants to do bilateral, no multilateral, agreements. That he has no confidence in multilateral organization.

Ambassador HALEY. He supports me at the U.N. and he supports what I am doing at the U.N. When you talk about human rights, I was the first person to ever bring up human rights at the Security Council.

I went to Geneva to talk about human rights. I have been on it in terms of Venezuela, what is happening in South Sudan, all that. The President supports me on that.

So when you talk about different views and those things that are happening, we are on the same team. For me to talk about it, he is supportive of that and so—

Mr. MEEKS. You have said it. The President hasn't.

Ambassador HALEY. I work for the President and I don't go rogue on the President. He is very aware of what I am doing. He is very supportive of it and I can tell you that in all of these issues we are not apart on it.

He believes as strongly on the things I talk about as anyone else and I would invite you to come to the United Nations so you can see for yourself the strength the U.S. is showing there because it is strong, it is heard, and it is valuable.

Chairman ROYCE. We are going to go to Mr. Dana Rohrabacher of California.

Ambassador HALEY. Thank you.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Thank you very much. Pretty strong coffee there, Gregory. Pretty strong coffee. I don't drink coffee myself.

Ambassador HALEY. I don't either. I might start.

Mr. MEEKS. I don't drink coffee, either. I am just concerned about my nation.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Okay. Well, let me just note that I think betrayal is a very rough word and I would suggest that anyone who voted for giving \$150 billion to the Iranian Government, making that available, shouldn't be talking about the words betrayal.

Mr. MEEKS. I didn't use it. She did.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Okay. That's noted.

Madam Secretary, I would like to, number one, join my colleagues in suggesting that Venezuela is something really important to look at and those people down there.

Venezuela used to be a shining example of how freedom can work, and although there were a lot of problems people were working together there peacefully. And now for that to degenerate into what it is, if we can lend a hand there both at the United Nations and through you as a spokesman there in the United Nations, make sure they know how concerned we are.

We should also be concerned about Turkey. Turkey is going exactly the wrong way and these are things that we inherited from the last administration, let me just note. This is—Venezuela just didn't happen now. It has been headed that way. I am sorry—the last administration did not do what needed to be done. We need to do more in that area to support the good people there in Venezuela and Turkey. Let me note, we also need to support the good people in Iran. Rather than giving \$150 billion to their oppressors, we should be seeing what people we can actually be supportive of in Iran who oppose the mullah regime.

So I would hope that in the United Nations that as these debates rage that those are the type of points that can be made. I would like to ask you about—how much money do we spend—you said it is 22 percent of the U.N. budget. How much is that all together?

Ambassador HALEY. \$600 million.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. \$600 million. And how much does China pay in their dues? Do we know?

Ambassador HALEY. A lot less. A lot less.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. A lot less.

Ambassador HALEY. But I am happy to get you that number.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Okay. Well, I am just saying that because I think that when we have a body like the United Nations and such a high proportion of their budget comes from us and for us to be the whipping boy or our friend, Israel, become the whipping boy, I think that should be unacceptable and you can rest assured that those of us on this committee will be backing you up when you make such stands.

My friend, Chris Smith, mentioned sex and labor trafficking in China is something we have ignored up until now and I would hope that these human rights issues do become part of President Trump's agenda, let me note, and I think, by the way, we only have the last administration for 8 years to compare what President Trump is doing.

I think President Trump is doing a great job—doing a fantastic job. How many American Presidents—instead of going—this American President went to Saudi Arabia and talked to the leaders of the Islamic world and said if you want to be friends with the United States, drive the terrorists out of your mosque. I have never been more proud of a President since Ronald Reagan said, “Tear down this wall,” and I think it was equivalent to that.

So I would hope that those people who are just anti this President or trying to play politics with it—and just one last note.

Russia is a flawed country—is a flawed state. I will just have to say that we should be making overtures to see if Russia can help us bring peace in the Middle East, especially in Syria, rather than trying to basically alienate Russia more and more and more because there are bad guys.

The Syrians aren’t the only bad guys in that region. Many of our own allies are just as dictatorial and bad as Assad is.

So let us hope that we can try to establish a more positive relationship with Russia that will help bring peace to that part of the world and help all of us.

Thank you very much.

Ambassador HALEY. Thank you, and I will do this very quickly.

I will continue to be a thorn in Maduro’s side when it comes to Venezuela. I will continue to do that for human rights in any country that is an abuser of that.

In terms of Russia, I agree with you. General Mattis continues to work with Russia because we do need to work with them on Syria and we can work them on counterterrorism. And so we are trying to find the places where we can work with them but we are going to call them out in places that we have to.

Mr. ROHRBACHER. Thank you very much.

Ambassador HALEY. Thank you.

Chairman ROYCE. Albio Sires of New Jersey.

Mr. SIRES. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and I want to just say to my friend, my colleague, from South Carolina, what a great introduction.

I just have a question. Which job did you like better? Being in South Carolina as the governor or being in the Big Apple in New York?

Ambassador HALEY. Ask me—

Mr. SIRES. I am only kidding.

Ambassador HALEY [continuing]. Ask me in 6 months.

Mr. SIRES. You don’t have to answer that.

Ambassador HALEY. Ask me in 6 months.

Mr. SIRES. Madam Ambassador, you know, I think some of us are frustrated. I did not grow up in this country. I grew up in a country where, you know, the Soviet Union just basically tried to indoctrinate everybody on the destruction of this country—how this is the worst country in the world, how we have to destroy democracy—and I guess the frustration that we have is that the President doesn’t seem to share that view.

He doesn’t seem to speak strongly enough on what Russia is doing interfering with the democracy of this country, how he is trying to undermine this country, how he is trying to basically destroy what we stand for.

It seems that everybody around him certainly speaks enough about it but he is the biggest voice. You have a great voice. But he is a lot bigger, and I wish, you know, he would come and say, look, this is happening—they did meddle—they did try to undermine our democracy, and I think that is part of our frustration.

The other thing I want to commend you on raising the human rights issue, and I promised the state troopers in New Jersey that I was going to raise this issue of Joanne Chesimard, who shot a state trooper in New Jersey and has fled to Cuba and has been living there as a hero for the last 40 years. If you could talk to the President, you know, mention to him that we want this—this criminal back so we can continue our—the justice. So if you can talk a little bit about that.

And, obviously, Venezuela, I am very concerned about Venezuela. I saw a tape last night where one of the police officers shot through a fence a young boy just point blank. I mean, it is, you know, horrible.

And the last thing is, I don't know how you walk through the halls of United Nations. The hypocrisy there is just beyond. When you have human rights leaders in that commission who are some of the worst offenders in the world. So if you can just talk a little bit about that.

Ambassador HALEY. I can.

In terms of Russia, the only thing I can tell you is that I have done a strong share of Russia bashing while I have been at the U.N. The President has not called me once and said to stop it and has not in any way told me, don't bash Russia. I hope that you will understand that he very well could have but he hasn't.

In reference to the Cuban criminal, yes, I am on it. I will make sure that we do something and see what we can do to get the administration—the administration has been very good about getting people home and it is something that it is on a priority. So I will also work and make sure that that is on our list.

Venezuela—huge concern—huge concern in every way. I can't bring enough attention to what the Venezuelan people are going through and how we are seeing more and more aggression by Maduro. If you heard his speech yesterday, he very much is saying he is going to use military action. He is very much saying that he is going to get more aggressive and he is blaming the protestors for trying to overthrow his government when all they want is true democracy on that front.

And then in the U.N., you know, we work—it is just like your work here. I have to work with certain people and on some issues we agree and on some issues we don't. But I have a loud voice on both of those.

So when it is time to work with China, I do. But at the Human Rights Council I called out China. I called out Saudi Arabia. I called out Cuba and Venezuela.

And so I will continue to do that because it—what we try not to do is isolate anyone. We try and make sure where we can work with them we do. But we are not shy about calling them out when we need to.

Mr. SIRES. Ambassador, do we have any kind of a plan in case Maduro moves the military and—I think this—he's in the final

stage of just, you know, becoming a dictator. He already is, but I think it is going to just get worse.

Do we have any plans? Are we talking to any members around there? Because I think you are going to have an exodus. You are going to have people leaving. Already I know Panama has told me that they are having a lot of people coming over. Colombia has a lot of—so do we have any plans?

Ambassador HALEY. So I think there are plans in couple places. One, we brought it up at the Human Rights Council. Second thing, we were hoping for OAS. We didn't see that. I am going to continue to push the Security Council.

I would welcome any support that you all can give in terms of that. But I think now we have to go back to the Security Council and do something about it there. The U.S. is also reviewing the policy there on what we would do if this got worse. So I know within our National Security Council meetings that we have Venezuela is very much coming up on the radar as well.

Mr. SIRES. Thank you very much.

Ambassador HALEY. Thank you.

Chairman ROYCE. Steve Chabot of Ohio.

Mr. CHABOT. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, and thank you very much, Ambassador, for being here today.

I had the pleasure of meeting you in the Capitol building for the first time last week when you met with a number of members and thank you for your time then and thank you for your time now, and a whole lot of us have been very impressed with what we have seen and heard thus far since you have entered into your current position. So thank you for your leadership—

Ambassador HALEY. Thank you.

Mr. CHABOT [continuing]. At this important time in our history. I am going to repeat to some degree, first of all, what a number of other members have expressed as a big concern of theirs. It is mine as well, and that is the U.N. Human Rights Council.

It seems that they spend an inordinate amount of time—it seems like most of their time, really, criticizing one of our most important allies, Israel.

And as you know, you recently stated to the council, "It is essential that this council address its chronic anti-Israel bias if it is to have any credibility," and I certainly agree with you in that respect and I would perhaps even go further.

I don't know if it is possible for them to gain credibility after the waste of time that they have spent criticizing Israel. So I, again, welcome your input—anything you would like to tell us on that issue.

Ambassador HALEY. Thank you, and I had referred to the Human Rights Council before.

The reason I went to Geneva was very much to say it to them and not just send a statement from New York, and we just said for the United States to be involved in the Human Rights Council they have to give us a reason to be because right now we are going to be for human rights. It is either going to be inside or outside the council.

What you saw was a lot of other countries are embarrassed by Agenda Item 7. They get that it discredits them and they under-

stand something needs to happen. What they have suggested is that it is Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Pakistan that continue to use Agenda Item 7. We are now going to try and work with those three and see what we can do to get that to stop because I think that is incredibly important.

I also think we need to have competitive elections. You know, when you have Cuba and Venezuela and Saudi Arabia and China and all of these on the Human Rights Council there is something very wrong, and what it has become over the years is a place that bad actors go to sit to keep the sunlight from shining on them. It very much embarrasses these countries when human rights is brought up and it is very much the reason they don't want me to bring it up in the Security Council but I will continue to do that.

So that is why we have a decision to make and we will see if they make any proactive changes to the Human Rights Council and then we will decide whether the U.S. is better to be in it or off of it. But that is a dilemma that we are still going through.

Mr. CHABOT. Thank you. I agree with you completely.

Let me turn now to Korea. We have 28,000, approximately, U.S. troops there and as we all know, they had elections recently and they have a new President who tends to be more on the left than the previous government was.

And one of his first acts was to suspend deployment of the THAAD missile defense, which I think was a big mistake. They have put, I think, our troops at risk and President Trump said as much recently when he said he didn't feel that our troops were safe there.

It would seem to me that we ought to give South Korea a choice. They have the choice of having the most sophisticated missile defense system—the THAAD system—to defend them and to defend our troops so they get the missile system and our troops or they have no missile defense and no U.S. troops.

I think it ought to be a very clear choice to them and they need to face that choice head on. I think it really is irresponsible for us to allow our troops—it was different when we didn't have that capability. We had troops there for many years and the North Koreans were always a threat. We have troops all around the world that are at risk. But I think it is an unreasonable risk when we have the ability now to defend those troops and that government, in cooperation with us, could defend those troops much more effectively and I would welcome your comment on that.

Ambassador HALEY. So I think that THAAD is something that—what we saw was Moon was very cautious going into it but he has actually made good strides toward us and away from North Korea on many levels and, you know, those missiles that continue to be tested continue to push in the other way.

I do think he was trying to slow walk THAAD to see where it was going to be. I also think he's getting pressure from China to get rid of THAAD. China is the number one country pushing them to get the THAAD system out.

At the end of the day, I personally believe it is going to work itself out. But I also know that the administration, the second we see something that's not going in the favor of protection of our troops, then I know the President will act.

Mr. CHABOT. Thank you very much.

Ambassador HALEY. Thank you.

Chairman ROYCE. Gerry Connolly of Virginia.

Mr. CONNOLLY. Welcome.

Ambassador HALEY. Good morning.

Mr. CONNOLLY. Welcome, Madam Ambassador. Glad to have you here today.

You indicated that the budget was making a point more than it was a serious intention in and of itself. What point was being made by zeroing out funding for UNICEF, an organization that is highly praised, had a lot to do with saving millions of children's lives around the world with child nutrition programs, rehydration programs from diarrheal diseases and the like, highly lauded, not political—why would we zero it out? What point was being made in that budget?

Ambassador HALEY. So I think that what you saw in the budget was, it was trying to put the U.N. on notice. It wasn't about the specific organizations as much as it was putting them on notice.

I can tell you that I have seen UNICEF in action when I went to Jordan and Turkey and to see the schools, and what they do is highly valuable.

I believe I am a conduit between what the President's budget did and where you end up. So I am happy to give any information on what's working, what is not working or what I see as valuable.

Mr. CONNOLLY. But Madam—but Madam Ambassador, I have been doing budgets up here and in my local government for over 30 years. When you zero something out you are not making a point. You are making a profound statement and judgment about the value of that enterprise.

Ambassador HALEY. I am——

Mr. CONNOLLY. To zero out UNICEF seems to be to be something that is not a particularly proud value that Americans would uphold.

Ambassador HALEY. Well, I can tell you that as governor I also had a budget and an executive budget very much is a conversation point. It is a starting point and then you work with your legislature to bring those two together.

And so I think what you have is that the President was trying to make a point to build up our military. Yes, it ended up going to where it had certain cuts there. I will——

Mr. CONNOLLY. I don't think you want to go there.

Ambassador HALEY. I am sorry?

Mr. CONNOLLY. I don't think you want to go there.

So the President was making a point we need to build up our military and people who need to pay the price for that are children around the world who are at risk of malnutrition?

Ambassador HALEY. I know that having had conversations with the President on this budget and where Congress ends up there is working room. There is room where I know that he would want to support UNICEF.

Mr. CONNOLLY. You are a loyal member of the administration. Good for you.

Zeroing out UNICEF makes no sense to me and it is not making a point. You said members up at the U.N. are just so glad we are “leading again.”

Are those the same members who have condemned President Trump’s ripping up of the TPP and renouncing the Paris agreement? I am looking at some close allies, some of whom are members of the Security Council like France and—and not Germany, but Germany certainly wasn’t praising America’s leadership on those things.

Ambassador HALEY. Well, I can tell you again, as a governor, with that Paris agreement the number of regulations it put on our businesses, the number of things it did with me trying to recruit international companies and how that—

Mr. CONNOLLY. I wasn’t asking that question, Ambassador. I am sorry. I only have 5 minutes.

Ambassador HALEY. Well, I am trying to—

Mr. CONNOLLY. My question was whether your colleagues at the U.N. were praising those decisions as that is America “leading again.” I am quoting your words.

Ambassador HALEY. The U.S. has to make decisions that are in the best interest of the U.S. It is not in the best interests for our businesses or our industries. We are not going to throw the climate out the window.

Mr. CONNOLLY. Well—

Ambassador HALEY. We are going to continue to manage that.

Mr. CONNOLLY. I am glad to hear that.

Ambassador HALEY. And you may not agree with how we manage that but I will tell you that I think what the President did was in the best interests of businesses and it was in the best interests of the country and that does not mean we are not going to be good stewards of the climate. And we don’t want—

Mr. CONNOLLY. Well, that would come as news to a lot of big businesses that endorsed it.

Ambassador HALEY [continuing]. We don’t want China and Russia telling us how we need to handle our climate. I think that it is very much point that—

Mr. CONNOLLY. Excuse me. We helped initiate the Paris agreement. They didn’t put a gun to our heads at all.

Ambassador HALEY. But it didn’t go through the Senate—

Mr. CONNOLLY. Well—

Ambassador HALEY [continuing]. And it didn’t get passed—

Mr. CONNOLLY. Well, it is a proud moment that we are joining two other countries in the international community—Nicaragua and Syria.

Ambassador HALEY. We are being independent.

Mr. CONNOLLY. It must be a proud moment.

Ambassador HALEY. We are being independent.

Mr. CONNOLLY. Can I ask you, finally, what instructions have you been given about Russia? Presumably, you talk to your Russian counterparts about Syria, right?

Ambassador HALEY. I talk to my Russian counterparts about a lot of things.

Mr. CONNOLLY. But not their interference with U.S. elections. That is off limits?

Ambassador HALEY. I mean, what would you want me to say to them? I am at the U.N. We are working on international issues. I have made it public that I do believe they interfered with our elections. I have also said we can't have any country interfere in our elections and I stand by that.

Mr. CONNOLLY. I understand. But you now hold a very important diplomatic position at the United Nations. The Russians are at the United Nations. We talk about a panoply of issues, as you just indicated.

But why wouldn't we—have you received any instructions at all with respect to their meddling in our elections, like, don't talk about that, Ambassador Haley?

Ambassador HALEY. It hasn't come up.

Mr. CONNOLLY. It has never come up?

Ambassador HALEY. At the United Nations, it—

Mr. CONNOLLY. No. No. I am talking about Washington. Have you received instruction from the State Department, don't talk about that?

Ambassador HALEY. No.

Mr. CONNOLLY. Any instructions at all about it?

Ambassador HALEY. None. I have said what I have said, I have been on the record, and no one has said, you are out of line. No one has said, don't do anything. I mean, what I appreciate is this administration does not tell me what to say or what not to say. They allow me to say what I think and they support me through that.

Mr. CONNOLLY. Thank you.

Chairman ROYCE. Let's go to Mr. Mike McCaul of Texas.

Mr. MCCAUL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and thank you, Ambassador, for restoring American leadership to the United Nations. And thank you for participating in the National Security Forum, as well as Senator Rubio and myself.

I chair the Homeland Security Committee and over the previous administration over the last 6 years I saw the Caliphate expand and expand, and nothing was done to stop it. External operations have been launched out of that region and now it has become the epicenter for terrorism and the epicenter of probably the greatest humanitarian crisis that we have seen with millions of refugees in Turkey and in Jordan, as you know, and throughout Europe, which poses a risk as well.

I am very proud of this administration's efforts now to crack down on this terrorist organization. But in the meantime, as we did nothing Russia went into Syria to get the ports on the Mediterranean. Iran is now in the region.

So my question is very simple. What is your strategy to deal with this very, very complicated situation?

Ambassador HALEY. I think that it is changing by the day. I think we literally are watching the Syria situation change by the day. I will tell you that I visited Jordan and Turkey recently just to make sure—as well as Israel—on that Syrian border to see what the migration was doing, to see exactly how we were dealing with Syrian refugees and how the host countries were dealing with it.

Jordan and Turkey have been phenomenal to their refugees. They see it as their duty. What we saw in Jordan is they are giving

education. They are giving health care. They are giving a stipend. They do it on a bank card, and whether that refugee goes to a bank or to a grocery store, it is by eye scan. They have zero percent fraud. And so it is impressive to see what is happening there.

Turkey is doing very much the same things but they actually have their Turkish doctors training the Syrian doctors in 3 months so that the Syrian doctors can take care of Syrians.

If you look, Jordan has taken in 1 million refugees. Turkey has taken in 3 million refugees. But they are feeling the pressure. They are double-shifting schools. Jordanian and Turkish children are going in the mornings, Syrians are going in the afternoons.

Competition for jobs is starting to be there. But the Syrians are very grateful. They are very entrepreneurial. If you look in the camps they are creating their own economy with battery repair and alterations and all these types of businesses. So we need to support the host countries because they are doing a phenomenal—

Mr. MCCAUL. And if I could just applaud your actions against Assad and his use of chemical weapons to kill children in a hospital.

But as long as he remains in power, propped up by Russia and Iran, this civil war will continue to go on. That is the root cause of this whole problem. The refugee humanitarian crisis won't end until I think that problem is dealt with.

Ambassador HALEY. Well, and I think that from the political situation in Syria, what you are looking at is we are certainly making a lot of strides of getting ISIS out. I think it has been aggressive.

I think it is going faster than we expected. From that standpoint, it is good. The Iranian influence in Syria is a problem. It is going to continue to be a problem because they are completely backing Assad.

Russia is completely backing Iran. And so we are trying to make that separation because that needs to happen. One of the best things we did was after the chemical weapons program, when the President made that decision to go in and strike, it sent shock waves throughout the international community as well as in Syria to let them know we weren't going to stand for it. I think the President has held true to any signs of chemical weapon usage we are going to get involved.

Now we are going to have to start looking as a country at what is the U.S. role going to be post-ISIS, when ISIS gets out, because a healthy Syria is not with Assad. You can't have Assad in power with a healthy Syria.

And so I think we have to look at it from all levels and realize that a post-ISIS Syria doesn't mean all goes back to where it should be happy and good again. We have to make sure it doesn't stay vulnerable for other terrorist groups to come in.

Mr. MCCAUL. Well, it is good to finally see some leadership in that part of the world and I will say that the Iranians are wedded to Assad. I am not sure the Russians quite are.

Ambassador HALEY. I think they are starting to see him as a liability.

Mr. MCCAUL. And I think there is an opportunity possibly—

Ambassador HALEY. Yes.

Mr. MCCAUL [continuing]. To work with them to have a graceful exile of Mr. Assad.

Ambassador HALEY. I agree with you.

Mr. MCCAUL. I yield back, Mr. Chairman.

Ambassador HALEY. Thank you.

Chairman ROYCE. We go now to Mr. Ted Deutch of Florida.

Mr. DEUTCH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Ambassador HALEY. Good morning.

Mr. DEUTCH. Welcome, Ambassador Haley. Before—

Ambassador HALEY. Thank you.

Mr. DEUTCH [continuing]. Asking questions, I just wanted to make one request, if I may. I represent Bob Levinson. He has been missing in Iran for 10 years. I would implore you at every opportunity you might have to see anyone from the Iranian delegation or when you speak with our allies who speak with the Iranians, please press for his return to his family.

I want to—again, thanks, for being here and I am grateful for what you have said this morning and your presence at the U.N. these past 5 months and your willingness to speak out forcefully there and here in support of human rights is really welcome.

At times, your advocacy for a human rights agenda seems to be at odds with some other members of the administration who don't seem to place the same value on human rights in the center of our policy agenda where it belongs, as you do, and the lack of coordinated messaging has at times left our friends and allies around the world confused and questioning and I imagine it has, at times, made your job challenging.

But I commend you for what you do. I commend you for convening the first special session on human rights during the month that the U.S. held the presidency of the Security Council. It is important to do what you are doing. We are able to shine a light on human rights abuses. You are able to push for peacekeeping reform.

You are able to urge for greater efficiency in refugee assistance because the U.S. is fully engaged at the U.N. And while the U.N. is far from perfect and we can all acknowledge that, if we retreat from it instead of working from within it to improve it, we will cede leadership to those whose goals and interests run counter to our own.

American leadership is what helps to prevent global health crises and address food insecurity. It is what helps address instability in dangerous places. Diplomacy and development helps to prevent wars.

So I hope that you will continue to speak out and this Congress will fully fund our commitment to these efforts.

I agree with the concerns that you have laid out. I have spoken out forcefully about the pervasive anti-Israel obsession at the Human Rights Council. No country has been subject to more resolutions than Israel.

But it is also true that since the U.S. reengaged on the council the number of Israel-specific resolutions has decreased and it is, as you pointed out this morning, it is hard to take the Human Rights Council seriously when some of the world's worst human rights

abusers sit on the council in an effort to shield themselves from criticism.

But, again, if we walk away from the council and give those bad actors free rein to continue to make a mockery out of human rights, we will all be the worse off for it and I hope that we will stick with it so that you can continue to make the case.

You raise two possible reforms—membership standards and the removal of Agenda Item 7. On membership standards, I wonder if you could tell us how the team in Geneva is working to advance that. Specifically, are you laying out criteria for membership and how can we help you with that. And then secondly, on Agenda Item 7, it is my understanding that procedurally the next time that the agenda can be changed is 2021.

But earlier you mentioned that in your discussions with other countries you singled out Egypt and Saudi Arabia and Pakistan as the only ones who will not acknowledge the absurdity of having a dedicated agenda item for a democratic ally of ours on the Human Rights Council agenda while completely ignoring the human rights abuses in Iran and North Korea and Venezuela.

So my question to you on that is given that those countries are the ones who object and given that this administration at this moment has a lot on the table with those countries, have you spoken to the administration about using all of its resources with the Saudis and the Egyptians and the Pakistanis to help them understand why it is in their best interest to partner with us to make the Human Rights Council a place that actually can be respected, and if so what steps have they taken?

Ambassador HALEY. Okay. Thank you.

In reference to Bob Levinson, we will never let that go. I mean, that is something that I think sits on the hearts of many Americans wanting to see him and his family reunited. And so yes, we are going to continue to keep up the pressure on that.

In terms of the budget, I want to be a conduit in any way I can. As you make your decisions on where the budget needs to go, I will let you know what I found to be valuable, what I think is important, and we will continue to be a leader at the U.N. I strongly believe that. And so we just need to decide what those areas are and we will continue to do that.

In reference to the Human Rights Council, yes, we talked about competitive elections because typically what happens is by the time the region decides who that person is going to be, they are already on the ballot and there is no contest.

So we have to look at the contests before. It is going to require more engagement but it is going to have to be willingness by others. We know it can be done because Russia lost last time and they lost because of their participation in Ukraine. So we have to learn from that and say, okay, how do we continue to bring those things up. So we are working not only with the Human Rights Council itself but we are also trying to engage in the General Assembly and maybe seriously look at using UNGA in September to bring that more to light and see what we can do there. I know Agenda 7 doesn't come up until 2021. We are not going to wait that long.

So our goal is to go ahead and start doing this now because there are ways we could do it now. I have talked with the Secretary-Gen-

eral about it. I have talked with the Human Rights Council about it.

I have talked to members of the administration. This will be multi-level and we are trying to do that. Secretary Tillerson and I have discussed what pressure we need to put on what countries and so yes, we are going to take that from all angles that we can.

Mr. DEUTCH. Thank you, Madam.

Chairman ROYCE. Jeff Duncan of South Carolina.

Mr. DUNCAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and as I sat here this morning, I want to remind the committee that President Obama's State Department sent \$350,000 in taxpayer-funded grants to an organization called One Voice in Israel to influence the election or the ouster of Prime Minister Netanyahu in 2015.

Ambassador Haley, you are doing a great job. Thanks for being here today. You know, on my side of the aisle I am one that believes that foreign aid is a powerful tool in U.S. foreign policy and I get a little more than chagrin when recipients of large amounts of U.S. foreign aid don't vote with the United States at least half the time in the U.N.

If you really look at the voting records of countries like Haiti, which was a huge recipient of U.S. foreign aid, and back when I did the research in, I think, 2012 they were voting with us, like, 18 percent of the time. If you really go through the list of countries that receive billions of taxpayer dollars, this is money from hard-working American taxpayers that we are giving away to foreign countries that can't even vote with us, their benefactor, at least half the time in the U.N.

I know you are aware of that. Some have speculated that our efforts to whip the votes of the U.N. to try to get our beneficiaries to vote with us aren't as good as our adversaries.

Do you support the position that we ought to have beneficiaries of taxpayer dollars vote with us more at the U.N.?

Ambassador HALEY. So I will tell you that the one point I continue to make at the U.N. is the U.S. will not be taken for granted and you cannot take the fact that this money that has always been rolling to you is going to continue to roll to you.

So yes, we have put them on notice when it comes to that. I do think we very much have a partnership that we can have with Congress because we need to make sure they understand it is not just give me the money and then turn around and go against things that really matter to us on the other side, and coordinating that is something we very much want to start doing at the U.N. in terms of getting to see if we can push votes that way.

And I am happy to work with you on that but yes, I think it is very important that we always want to do what is in the best interests to help people.

We have always had, you know, a moral—we have always kind of been the moral compass to the world. But we are not going to be rolled over any more at the U.N. We are not going to allow that to happen.

Every dollar matters and we don't have to give it, and if we do, other countries just need to respect that and understand that and not vote against us on things that they know in turn will help them. So yes, I absolutely think you are right on that.

Mr. DUNCAN. Well, thank you for that. I have had the same conversation with countries that are part of the OAS with regard to Venezuela that don't seem like they can vote with the United States and with democracy-loving countries as the OAS does different things—not really sanctions at this point toward Venezuela—I think it is a conversation to have.

Let me ask you about the Colombia FARC negotiations and the peace deal that was implemented there. As chairman of the Western Hemisphere Subcommittee, the next thing to look at is going to be the increase in coca production and cocaine trafficking out of Colombia. I believe Colombia took their eye off the ball with regard to the cartel and even the FARC trying to grow a lot of coca and increase cocaine production to put some money in the bank before they became a legitimate political power under that peace agreement.

Is there anything at the U.N., any conversations being had about cocaine trafficking increasing in Colombia and Peru and what we can do as a community to stop drug trafficking?

Ambassador HALEY. Okay. First of all, to kind of go back to your last comment, I would remind you that we give quite a bit of money to the Palestinian Authority directly, bilaterally, and any leverage you can do on getting them to stop those martyr payments is going to be very important. If you can make that correlation and use that as a conversation point that would be very helpful to me.

In terms of the FARC, we saw that the weapons turned over yesterday—we had a good announcement there in terms of things are starting to move. The Security Council does have a 1-year mandate in Colombia to sit there and look at all of those things and in that it is, obviously, to bring up the health and the effectiveness of how to make Colombia strong.

So yes, those will be one of the things we are doing. You also know we have our South Carolina National Guard that is partnered with Colombia as well and so I think you are right to see past the FARC and see where it is going from there, to look at the future of Colombia. And so we will be happy to partner with you on that as well.

Mr. DUNCAN. Okay. Yes, I visited with the National Guard folks in Colombia and am very proud of what they are doing with Colombia and that partnership. I know you were part of that, as well as General Livingston.

So thank you for that. Good luck, and thanks for being here. God bless you.

Ambassador HALEY. Thank you.

Chairman ROYCE. Karen Bass of California.

Ms. BASS. Thank you. Thank you, Mr. Chair, and thank you, Madam Ambassador. I want to congratulate your leadership in your short tenure and definitely register that I appreciated your bringing the Security Council to Washington, DC, and including Members of Congress.

I would love to see that happen again and I also look forward to continuing to work with you on South Sudan and famine. So I wanted to ask you questions primarily related to that.

Given that the U.N. has declared that famine in the four countries as the world's worst humanitarian crisis since 1945, what con-

cerns me the most is that it is the crisis that no one seems to know anything about. And I wanted to know specifically what the U.N. is doing to bring the crisis to the attention of the world. And, you know, the last time there was a crisis like this in 2011 in Somalia, 200,000 people had to die before the world really took notice.

The other thing is is that our contribution of \$990 million we put that in the continuing resolution. I do have concerns, as I think Mr. Chairman Smith mentioned, that that money gets out of the door as quick as possible and that money not be rolled over into fiscal year '18 because that blows the entire point. The point was to respond to the crisis.

And then, of course, I am concerned about the budget proposed by the administration that would actually cut food aid. So when I look at this handout is from USAID and it talks about the funding gap and, you know, we have made substantial contributions but other donors still have quite a lot to contribute.

And so I wanted to know your thoughts on how we might be helpful to you in terms of getting other donors to step up to the plate, including some nontraditional donors such as China and the Middle East.

Ambassador HALEY. Thank you, and I really do believe these four famine areas are extremely important and if we really want peace and stability we need to look at that.

When it comes to the food aid, very important that we continue to work with USAID but also with the World Food Programme.

Ms. BASS. Yes.

Ambassador HALEY. You know, we now have—we made sure that we have an American leading that who happens to be a former South Carolina governor—

Ms. BASS. Yes.

Ambassador HALEY [continuing]. David Beasley, and he has hit the ground running and is really starting to raise quite a bit of money for the World Food Programme as well.

But we need to continue to put pressure on other countries because the Secretary-General has raised the famine issue as something to be concerned about. We don't want people to get overly excited that South Sudan came off that list—

Ms. BASS. Right.

Ambassador HALEY [continuing]. Because the food insecurity is still very strong, and then there are the political issues. You have still got access issues of trying to get the food in. You have still got issues with South Sudan when it comes to that. When it comes to Yemen, we are watching the port very carefully, Hodeidah. We have to make sure that there is no problem with that port or we will really be in a bad situation. And then when it comes to Nigeria and Somalia, just dealing with al-Shabaab and Boko Haram are going to continue to being issues as deterrents to getting the food in.

So I think what is most important is that we continue to talk about it. Thank you, thank you, thank you for the billions dollars because that was hugely important when it came to the famine relief and I think we need to continue to do that.

But it is also the reason I am going there in the fall so I can see it in terms of what else can the U.N. be doing, what else can the U.S. be doing in terms of helping with that.

Ms. BASS. Well, when Chairman Smith and I did go, even though famine has been rolled back in South Sudan, we did find that people are only getting enough food for ½ month. So maybe it is that they are not dropping dead as quick but they still are very much in a crisis.

Then you mentioned Mr. Beasley heading up the World Food Programme, yet our budget calls for cuts to that. And so I am hoping that in your position you can push back and encourage that those cuts not happen because we don't have any reason in the world to think that we are not going to be facing famine next year until we address the root causes of the famine, which is the conflict.

And then just on a final note at the end of my time, you know, I know that there is a lot of interest in getting countries that disagree with us to vote with us, and I don't know where you measure that. And I would hate to think that the U.S. would move in a position of saying we are going to withhold aid unless you vote, what, 10 percent? Fifteen percent? A hundred percent? How do you measure—you know, how do you measure that? I think that would be a very bad precedent and direction to us to go forward.

So I look forward to continuing to work with you and maybe we can speak before you head off to South Sudan the next time.

Ambassador HALEY. Yes. No hard percentages on what funding should happen. I think that we just look at each individual one and where we see a bad actor that is not relating well—with the Palestinians, to get them to stop those martyr payments is so important and I think it creates a conversation for you all to have to help encourage that.

But yes, we are not looking at hard cuts in terms of that and I continue to tell the President what is valuable and what is not. And so things like UNICEF and World Food Programme and the famine issues are things that I have talked with him about and will continue to talk to him about and I think that's why we can be the conduit between the President and Congress on where the final budget ends up.

Thank you.

Mr. DUNCAN. Okay. It is great to be in the chair with Governor—with Ambassador Haley here.

The Chair will now go to Mr. Perry for 5 minutes.

Mr. PERRY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Ambassador HALEY. Good morning.

Mr. PERRY. Ambassador, great to see you. On behalf of all the Americans that feel as I do that we are tired of seeing America be the whipping post, are very proud of your service in the service of our President of the United States, and let me just state that.

And then with your indulgence I just want to address what I think is political theater here. So while it is interesting, I, and the American people, may marvel at the Left's newfound concern regarding Russian/Communist/Socialist nations' continued efforts to diminish America.

I just want to remind everybody about the FDR administration—Alger Hiss, John Service, Harry Hopkins, who served at the very highest levels of government—and what seems to be the Left’s continued being enamored with Russia, Cuba, Che Guevara, et cetera. From FDR to the previous President’s statements to then-President Medvedev. And I just got a news flash for everybody—Russia, Communists, the Socialists have always meddled in America, have always targeted us and they are going to continue to do that. So welcome to the fight.

With that, Ambassador, I have a question which I am going to put up front just for you to think about and then I am going to buttress it a little bit here.

I am working on some legislation to prevent the U.S. taxpayers from funding UNRWA, right—the United Nations Relief and Works Agency—and I want to get your thoughts on that, in a general way, as it currently exists.

And the context is this—it is 67 years old, right, and I looked at their mission statement—to establish a lasting, peaceful, and to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, direct bilateral negotiations. That’s number one. Number two—counter Palestinian terrorist groups. Number three—establish the norms of democracy, accountability, and good governance.

And when I look at, in that context, what we are dealing with now—and I will just pick out a couple things—UNRWA’s expansive definition of refugee where President Abbas has acknowledged that that definition would mean the end of Israel—that is number one.

Number two—the Hamas affiliation with UNRWA and the fact—I will just give you a metric here—since 2006, Hamas-affiliated candidates have held 11 seats on the UNRWA teachers union executive boards and the UNRWA schools use textbooks and materials that delegitimize Israel, denigrate Jews, and venerate martyrdom. Fully 78.6 percent of youths in Gaza and 46.4 percent of youths in the West Bank support the Knife Intifada. Furthermore, 76 percent of the terrorists taking part in the Knife Intifada were under the age of 30.

And finally, I don’t understand—and I am not sure why anybody can explain to me how they report directly to the General Assembly rather than the United Nations High Commissioner on Refugees.

So it has been since 1950 that we have been paying for—I think we are currently up to about 31 percent of their budget—for a temporary mandate. The United States is out of money. We are out of cash to throw around, right. We are \$20 trillion in debt, \$200 trillion in unfunded liabilities. It seems like it has been long enough to fund something that can’t even meet its mission. As a matter of fact, I think it would be correct to say that it flies in the face and runs completely counter to every single one of the policy goals it was set up for, yet the American hardworking taxpayer is paying for this thing.

What are your thoughts, ma’am?

Ambassador HALEY. So I had thought a lot of what you said about UNRWA but I wanted to see it for myself. And so when I went to Israel, I went to the Palestinian areas and looked at the UNRWA camp. We talked about the schools. We talked about the

textbooks. We talked about participation of Hamas and where things were going with that, and this is what I will tell you.

Yes, UNRWA is not perfect and yes, when it comes to any sort of relationship with Hamas that needs to come out. They claim they are cleaning up the textbooks but I think more work needs to be done on that front.

The only reason why I would say don't eliminate UNRWA is because there is so much resentment between the Palestinians behind that fence and Israel that an uneducated Palestinian versus an educated Palestinian are unhealthy—

Mr. PERRY. Okay. I am going to push back. Just a moment, Ms. Ambassador.

Ambassador HALEY. No, and I want you to—I saw this.

Mr. PERRY. So let me ask you this. This seems like a fair question. How much longer should folks like me wait on behalf of the American taxpayers until they clean up their act? What—I mean, it has been 67 years. How much longer should we wait?

Ambassador HALEY. And I feel your frustration and I think that what we need to figure out is what is the replacement of UNRWA or how do we go back. First, we have to limit the number of refugees.

It is out of hand the number of people that UNRWA covers because they are not all refugees. But the schooling and the health care for those groups in there, I mean, there is no other place for them to get it. And so there is a—there is a population there that does need to have that. All the points you raised are right and all the—those are all things that we need to fix. But I do—

Mr. PERRY. My time has expired, Ms. Ambassador. But at a minimum, I think we ought to look at what their mission is and we can't meet this mission then we ought to reestablish a new one, and I yield.

Mr. DUNCAN. Gentleman's time has expired.

Ambassador HALEY. I understand.

Mr. DUNCAN. I will now go down to the gentleman from Massachusetts, Mr. Keating, for 5 minutes.

Mr. KEATING. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Madam Ambassador—

Ambassador HALEY. Yes, good morning.

Mr. KEATING [continuing]. Thank you for being here and thank you for your service.

The Office of U.N. Women I think is a very important office. It empowers and trains women's groups so that they can contribute to conflict resolution and peace building. It also deals with an issue that this committee has been very involved in in terms of having women be active as participants in counterterrorism implementation and dealing with that implementation task force, making sure that gender is addressed in counterterrorism strategies. It is also involved, among many other things in fighting violence against women, engaging women and protecting women themselves and providing resources to women who are victims of violence.

You said the President's budget is there to make a point. What point did the President make by zero funding this office?

Ambassador HALEY. Well, you know, my job is to go through and see what the office does, whether it is valuable, what the U.S. role

should be and then report back, and so that is what I plan on doing.

Mr. KEATING. Do you think it is valuable—that office?

Ambassador HALEY. We will find out. I mean, I think I need to do more work. But yes, overall, anything that empowers women, creates a healthy situation for women, works for girls, does any of those things, yes, it sounds good on the surface.

But we are going through all of those, whether it is, UNESCO or whether it is any of these programs we are going to continue to look at—

Mr. KEATING. What is the time frame for going through this now and can you enlighten us in terms of a time frame where this office will know it is going to continue to exist and go forward?

Ambassador HALEY. I mean, I think you can expect in short term. I mean, we are going through all of these. It has only been 5 months so we are trying to cover as much as we can at the U.N. I am happy to report back and let you know what we find out and whether it is valuable and it is something I would let the President know as well.

Mr. KEATING. Thank you. This committee has been very involved in trying to empower women and deal in that area itself so it is something that I would appreciate in short term—

Ambassador HALEY. We will get back to you on that, yes.

Mr. KEATING [continuing]. Getting back from you.

Secondly, you know, we talked about staffing in the State Department in particular and all those areas that haven't been staffed.

I wonder, in your working with State, has that made it difficult to communicate back and forth for you and your function?

And just to give a sense of things, do you have a lot of opportunity to deal directly with Secretary Tillerson and coordinate and have conversations? How frequently do you have the opportunity to converse or stay in touch?

Ambassador HALEY. So I—because I am a Cabinet member, I primarily work with General McMaster at the NSC and so we work with his staff quite a bit. With the hirings at the State Department, you know, we have nothing to do with that so I am focused on the hirings at USUN.

We have, up until now, saved \$500,000 compared to this time last year just by cutting overtime and trips and, you know, certain things. But our experts there are fantastic.

Mr. KEATING. But it hasn't inhibited you in terms of your communication with the Secretary back and forth, that lack of staffing?

Ambassador HALEY. I work more with the NSC than I do with the State Department.

Mr. KEATING. I see. Do you have occasion to work with the President's senior advisor because he is so involved right now in Middle East issues, Mr. Kushner? Have you talked and engaged with him? How frequently do you talk to Mr. Kushner about these international problems?

Ambassador HALEY. It depends on what issues he is working on. But I talked to him certainly before I went to Israel to look at the U.N. programs.

I always download them on what the trips are. They let me know if there is any issues. But with the U.N., I primarily work with Secretary Tillerson or General McMaster. But if Jared has a certain question or a certain issue that he wants to discuss then he will call me.

Mr. KEATING. What is your view of his role?

Ambassador HALEY. I think that when it comes to the Israeli-Palestinian peace process, I think he is being very effective in terms of—when I was there, there is hope. There is—I felt it.

Both sides realize they have got to come to the table. Both sides realize something needs to happen. I think he's handled it respectfully and I think he's handled it aggressively. So that is really the one thing I have worked with him on and I think that on any other issues that he works on I am not as sure because we don't have as much. I know that he was very involved in the trip that the President made, you know, to the area and that was extremely effective because I was in the area and it was very well received.

Mr. KEATING. Well, thank you.

I just had one other quick question because my time is running out.

Ambassador HALEY. Yes.

Mr. KEATING. With Qatar and the blockade, what is your position on that? There seems to be conflicting positions within the administration.

Ambassador HALEY. I see it as an opportunity. We should take it as the opportunity that it is. It is a good chance to tell Qatar quit funding Hamas, quit doing these things in Gaza that they are doing. Let them know that they have been funding groups that are going toward that terrorist activity we don't want to see but at the same time go back to Saudi Arabia and say, look, you can talk to them but at the same time you have to cut this out—you have to stop doing this. It is an opportunity to kind of hit on both of them, I think.

Mr. KEATING. Yes. Well, thank you for coming here and I hope we have the opportunity to have you back here again. I appreciate the service.

Ambassador HALEY. Thank you very much.

Mr. KEATING. I yield back.

Chairman ROYCE. Ron DeSantis of Florida.

Mr. DESANTIS. Welcome, Ambassador.

Ambassador HALEY. Thank you.

Mr. DESANTIS. Before you assumed your position, the U.S. passed Resolution 2334—really disastrous resolution—a frontal attack on Israel. What is your understanding about the role that your predecessor played in facilitating that?

Ambassador HALEY. Well, I made sure to let every member of the Security Council know what a kick in the gut 2334 was to the people of the United States.

Mr. DESANTIS. And was that view a change from what they had been told previously with the previous administration?

Ambassador HALEY. There was some who were apologetic. There were some that were resentful. There were some that acted indifferent. But yes, they did let me know that this was U.S.-led and U.S. pushed and that only made it worse.

Mr. DESANTIS. No doubt. So the question is do we have an opportunity to repeal that or reverse that and if not why should the American taxpayer fund an organization that, of their 24 resolutions, 20 of them were dealing with this one tiny—the only Jewish state, the state of Israel?

Ambassador HALEY. I can tell you, it has been nothing short of abusive what has happened to Israel and the only thing I can compare it to is like the kid bullied in the playground. They did it to make themselves feel better. They did it because it was in habit. They did it because they could. I think that what I will tell you is we put them on notice the very second I went to my first hearing because I could not believe how abusive it was.

Mr. DESANTIS. So you think the American taxpayer has a right to expect changes at the U.N. in order to continue to send money?

Ambassador HALEY. Absolutely, and they all know not to talk about 2334. Very hard to repeal now that it is done. But what we will do is call them out any time this happens and we have seen a decrease in that rhetoric and in this last Israel-bashing session, which they do every month and have for the last 10 years, it was the first time that the majority of the members just pushed the peace process instead of bashing Israel. So there is a change but there is a long way to go.

Mr. DESANTIS. And I appreciate your leadership. We also can take other actions. The President, when he campaigned, promised to move our Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. I have gone over, looked at sites. It can be done. Do you support doing that and are we going to eventually do that?

Ambassador HALEY. I have always supported the Embassy move and I believe the President supports it as well. It is not about if it happens. It is about when.

Mr. DESANTIS. But I hope it is soon because I think it would be great if we could do it now. There is an issue of we have Americans that were born in Jerusalem. When they go to get passports the State Department does not allow them to write Israel—Jerusalem, Israel—because they claim that that's disputed and it is not the capital of Israel.

Can we get relief for some of those? I mean, would you favor that, allowing Americans born in Jerusalem to just have Jerusalem, Israel if they so choose on their passports?

Ambassador HALEY. I have not—I am not aware of that. But I am happy to talk to the State Department about that—

Mr. DESANTIS. That would be great.

Ambassador HALEY [continuing]. To see what it would take.

Mr. DESANTIS. The Muslim Brotherhood—is that part of the solution in the Middle East or part of the problem in the Middle East, in your view, and if it is the latter, should the U.S. designate them as a foreign terrorist organization?

Ambassador HALEY. So I think that that is highly debated. That is not something that has been discussed within the administration. I am not a fan of the Muslim Brotherhood and so I do think that they are more problematic in the area than helpful.

Mr. DESANTIS. Because I think that we, you know, hit the terrorists, kind of Whac-A-Mole, which is good—you got to take them out.

But there is a foundational ideological view that is motivating that and there will be other people who will fill that vacuum.

The Brotherhood, I think, represents the foundation and if we can deal with that then I think we are dealing with the problem of radical Islamic terrorists much more holistically and likely to be more effective.

Ambassador HALEY. I completely agree with you.

Mr. DESANTIS. Turkey—are they a valuable part of NATO at this point? There was a disastrous display here in Washington where Erdogan’s goons were beating American protesters.

You have seen a country that used to be a bridge to the West has turned in a much more Islamist direction. Our relationship with Turkey—is it strained? What is the viability of them as a NATO ally if they seem to be going in a direction that is different from the Western values that the rest of the NATO allies hold?

Ambassador HALEY. So a few things with Turkey. It is complicated. But when I was in Turkey, I did meet with the Foreign Minister. It was mainly focused on how to get access into Syria because they were stopping some of the NGOs from getting in there.

But we talked about multiple other things—prisoner releases and some other things along those lines. Turkey is a fantastic host country to the Syrians.

They are doing everything right by the Syrians. Their government is starting to turn for the worst. You can start to see more of a dictatorship that is starting to happen—those types of things.

I work very closely with the Turkish Ambassador because with everything going on we need to. They are not happy with what we have done with the YPG but they get it. They don’t like it but they get it.

And so I think Turkey is one of those that has its good sides. It has its bad sides. It has been made clear to them at the highest level that you can’t come to our country and act like that—at the highest level.

They know that that’s not something we will tolerate. They know that it was very much frowned upon. They have given excuses as to why it happened and they know we are not taking any of their excuses.

Mr. DESANTIS. Thank you.

Chairman ROYCE. Ami Bera of California.

Mr. BERA. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Obviously, for the Indian-American diaspora this is probably a first and, obviously, proud for the community. You know, Madam Ambassador, when we think about the U.N. Security Council it has been a consistent policy from the past administration, also I think with the current administration, to do necessary reforms and modernize the U.N. Security Council. And can we get—obviously, the politics at the U.N. aren’t going to be easy but in a statement released earlier this week the President reaffirmed his commitment to add India as a permanent member of the U.N. Security Council along with, what I would argue, we should include all of the G4 nations. Is that something that we can get your commitment to continue to work on?

Ambassador HALEY. Well, I have told all members of the U.N. that we are in support of Security Council reform as long as they don't take our veto away.

Mr. BERA. Right.

Ambassador HALEY. You know, that has been very important. So yes, I know that there are multiple different plans out there and things that are going on. We are going to continue to engage and continue to talk about that.

Mr. BERA. Great. Thank you.

In your earlier comments you noted that the budget was making a point as opposed to being reality. My colleague, Mr. Connolly, talked a little bit about what UNICEF does and you yourself, in answering one of these questions, talked about how you've seen first-hand how what they do is incredibly valuable.

Can we get your commitment as you're working behind the scenes with the administration, with the President, we will do our part to restore full funding or as much funding as possible? Can we get your commitment that that is a priority?

Ambassador HALEY. I think that we need to remind these organizations that they too need to smartly spend and they need to look at their budgets as well as we are all kind of looking at how we can be smarter about what we do.

But yes, I absolutely will support UNICEF. It is something that I am happy to continue to talk to you about—that one and other organizations that we found helpful. But I am also talking with the administration about it.

Mr. BERA. Great. Thank you.

Ambassador HALEY. Thank you.

Mr. BERA. Another organization that was zeroed out was the U.N. Family Planning Agency. Their mission is to prioritize the health and education and needs of women and girls around the world. If you look at their core work, it is providing access to contraception. It is providing safe childbirth. It is addressing and responding to gender-based violence. It is advocacy against abusive practices like child marriage and female genital mutilation.

You would agree that those are worthy causes to fight?

Ambassador HALEY. There are many causes that are important that affect women and children that we want to make sure that we keep that at the forefront.

The problem with the UNFPA is they did have ties to China that does forced sterilization. But I can tell you every ounce of that money is going to all the things that you just talked about but it will be done through the general health programs through USAID.

Mr. BERA. Well, so I have some concern because that has been brought up multiple times. Under the last Republican President, George W. Bush, the State Department did do an examination to see if that was occurring and they did not find that evidence that UNFPA was engaging in—

Mr. SMITH. Would the gentleman yield at that point?

Mr. BERA. Well, I have only got a limited time so—that they were engaging in coercive abortion or involuntary sterilization. If that is in fact occurring, great. Let us remove funding from those types of programs or let's hold UNFPA accountable.

But UNFPA is doing tremendous work around the world protecting maternal-child health, and I say that as a doctor. We shouldn't just throw everything out if there is a single program—I understand there is the Kamp-Kasten Amendment and instead of just withdrawing all funding—a lot of women are going to suffer. There will be unnecessary deaths and so forth.

So can I get your assurances that you will look at these programs as opposed to just zeroing out and eliminating these programs? If there is evidence of coercion, if there is evidence of involuntary sterilization, great. Address that. But let us not pull all of our funding.

Ambassador HALEY. So on a lot of programs, yes, I am happy to work with you on all of those. That is a decision that has already been made by the administration. So I don't anticipate a change in that. But I am happy to at least let you know the information that they have on—

Mr. BERA. But the administration already made a decision to zero out funding for UNICEF. That's the starting point, as you said. It is not necessarily an ending point. We can continue to put some of this push back?

Ambassador HALEY. Well, and I think that that was just the directive that we got, you know, that that was going to happen. We haven't had that on UNICEF and some other things.

But what I will tell you is very important is that global health of women and children as we go forward and so we have made sure that that same money is going to global health programs to do the same things within the USAID. But I am happy to get you any information I have as to what the administration's stance is on that.

Mr. BERA. Great. Thank you.

Chairman ROYCE. Ted Yoho of Florida.

Mr. YOHO. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Ms. Ambassador, it is great to see you here.

Ambassador HALEY. Thank you.

Mr. YOHO. It is refreshing to see you sitting there compared to where I—we saw last time. But I love your attitude because you're not serving a political party.

You are not serving so much the administration as you are representing America the way it needs to be represented and its strong leadership and I do thank you for that.

Some members are still in denial that America is facing tough economic challenges. Austerity measures are coming and so I am, for one, happy to see some of the cuts the President has offered because that leads to reform and those reforms are what we need to make.

Secretary Tillerson in Seoul declared the era of strategic patience toward North Korea has ended. In veterinary medicine we have a comparable phrase and it's called benign neglect, and that is hoping an illness will get better on its own.

However, it doesn't work for a terminal disease and that is what the situation in North Korea is and we need to deal with it. So my directions are going to be toward China and China's help with correcting the problems, and are they a strategic partner or a strategic opponent? Because I think their actions speak louder than their words.

They say they want to help us and what I see is double speak. If you look at what China has said they were going to help us with North Korea, they were going to put more pressure on them. But yet, when they said they are not taking in any more coal, if you look at their iron ore imports from North Korea to China it is up 270 percent. Their trade for North Korea in the first quarter of this year is up 37.4 percent.

And so when you look at what China is doing, they are putting pressure and boxing Taiwan in. They have thrown them out of the World Health Assembly, and Taiwan was such a valuable partner in that.

They are the ones that came up with the cures for the SARS epidemic, and they threw them out of that. They put pressure on Panama to take Taiwan out of that. They went against South Korea when we put the THAAD system in and that was strictly defensive in nature.

And so China is showing aggression in there, at the same time telling us that they are going to work with us. Yet, they take over the South China and claim it all as theirs under the guise of peaceful navigational purposes.

So it was great to see the FONOPs that we did—the freedom of navigation that the Navy did—and I hope we continue that with all nations in the South China Sea because China speaks that they are going to help us but yet their rhetoric isn't there. A detailed U.N. report issued in February of this year published the names and addresses of multiple U.N.-designated proliferators that have openly operated on Chinese soils for years and since then the Center for Advanced Defense has exposed China-based business networks as being behind the smuggling of record cargoes of North Korean weapons to the Middle East.

So China is funding and allowing North Korea to gain access to these weapons or they are producing them, selling them to the Middle East, going into the hands of terrorists fighting our troops.

And so if China is really going to help us, my question to you is why hasn't China been held accountable for the repeated violations and undermining of U.N. sanctions and what tools does the U.N. have in your capacity to hold China accountable and ensure the sanctions are implemented?

And two last things. I chair the Asia Pacific Subcommittee in Foreign Affairs, and I know we are separate branches of government. But want to know where we can help you. And one of the things we did is put in the state sponsors of terror bill and I would sure love to see North Korea put back on the state sponsor of terror so that we can enforce the secondary and tertiary sanctions on banks and businesses doing business with them. So if you could answer that question about China, thank you.

Ambassador HALEY. Yes. So first of all, China is—when it came to North Korea, I do think there was a good faith effort initially. We continued to put more pressure.

They continued to move a little bit more. As the missile testing continued to happen they actually publically in China were saying something about North Korea and then all of a sudden North Korea pounced back and at that point we saw a calming down of China and pulling back again of China.

I can tell you that they did—when we proposed sanctions on North Korea and all the entities in those missile tests they voted with us and we were able to pass it because they voted with us. Are they doing enough on trade with North Korea? No. Laborers? No. Any of those other things? No.

So the pressure we have put on has been strong and I have said publically if we had to go to secondary sanctions, we will. And so we are not past holding anyone accountable when it comes to supporting or helping North Korea in what they are doing with the nuclear situation and we will continue to push hard on that front and I think that the President has also—

Mr. YOHO. Thank you for your service and thanks for being here. And any way we can help you let us know. Thank you.

Ambassador HALEY. Thank you. Will do.

Chairman ROYCE. We go to Lois Frankel of Florida.

Ms. FRANKEL. Hello.

Ambassador HALEY. Good morning.

Ms. FRANKEL. I just want to thank you for your service. I have very high hopes and expectations for you and I am just urging you to remember that you represent all Americans, not just a President of the United States.

Allow me to start with a little bit of a rant and then I do have a question. I do not understand why our President wants to keep putting more money in defense but yet reduce the funding for those elements of our security that would keep us from having to use our military. So that means, I think, that your efforts should be fully funded, obviously.

I want to just say this and I want to say it politely because, as I said, I really—my purpose is to urge you to be a champion for the women of this world. I did not like your answer to my colleague's question about the defunding of the United Nations Population Fund because you said well, the administration has already made that decision.

Well, I want to urge you to try to convince our present administration to overturn that. You know, I know you would agree that for the world to be peaceful that women need to be fully productive in their societies—not just reproductive but productive and that means they have access to health care.

In our own country, our Constitution gives us the right to contraception and to legal abortion and yet we are making every effort to cut that off all over the world. We have the gag rule now. Now we have this defunding of the United Nations Population Fund and with a totally phony excuse about something China is doing, which there is no proof of.

So I want to know how you are going to fight to make sure that women have access to health care around this world.

Ambassador HALEY. Well, thank you, and I first want to say that I do believe in this position I am serving every citizen in the country to try and have a strong voice for the United States. I will continue to do that and I see that as my role in my job.

I have a passion for not only women but children in conflict and so at every position, whether it was Jordan, whether it was Turkey, whether it was Israel, I always just meet with women.

Now, I meet with others but I do a separate sidebar with women to find out exactly what they care about. And so, for example, in Jordan and Turkey, the psychological support that they need and their children is a huge thing and I am trying to really push that we start to go to that psychosocial support in helping them.

When it comes to family planning, we want to help with that as well.

Ms. FRANKEL. How are you going to do it? Let me ask you, have you had a discussion with the administration about reversing their position on this health care funding?

Ambassador HALEY. Well, first of all, when it comes—

Ms. FRANKEL. Would you have a discussion?

Ambassador HALEY. Of course. I have only been there 5 months, so understand that UNFPA that was decided very early on. I have no problem looking into it. I have no problem checking to see what the reasonings were behind it and—

Ms. FRANKEL. Well, I am just going to say something here. I think it is an urgent issue because I have to tell you that access to healthcare and reproduction is something that is occurring every single day. So you need to really do that.

I have another question for you.

Ambassador HALEY. Just one more point, if you don't mind.

Ms. FRANKEL. Yes, please. Yes.

Ambassador HALEY. So keep in mind the U.S. is not the only one that funds the UNFPA. We are actually the third largest donor to the UNFPA.

So while I know that the U.S. has decided not to do that, those programs are not stopping because we do have other countries that are funding it. So I don't want you to think that that just goes away.

Ms. FRANKEL. Okay. I just want to urge you, plead with you, please focus your attention on that.

The next question, last question, is I know that the President has suggested that your budget be cut. Hopefully, the Congress is not going to go along with that. I want to get a commitment from you.

If we fund the positions and we fund the efforts at the U.N.—the Congress—that we feel is necessary, are you going to take the effort to hire the positions and make sure that the issues we are trying to fund are executed?

Ambassador HALEY. I don't have anything to do with the State Department hires. That is different.

Ms. FRANKEL. I am asking you about your hires.

Ambassador HALEY. Yes. My hires, yes, we will continue to do that and whatever budget you give me I will work with.

Ms. FRANKEL. Okay. Thank you.

Ambassador HALEY. Thank you.

Ms. FRANKEL. Good luck.

Ambassador HALEY. Thank you.

Ms. FRANKEL. I am counting on you.

Ambassador HALEY. I know, and I will try and make you proud. Thank you.

Chairman ROYCE. Adam Kinzinger from Illinois.

Mr. KINZINGER. Thank you for being here.

Ambassador HALEY. Good morning.

Mr. KINZINGER. Very, very appreciated. Thank you for your service. Thanks for spending the time with us and delving into a lot of important issues.

Mr. Chairman, I will point out the clock needs to be reset, otherwise I will go on forever.

Anyway, so just thank you for everything you've done and for being here. A lot of important issues we are discussing. I think there is no more important issue than Syria, which I know you have touched on.

But when we look at world stability, when we look at the war on terror, when we look at American's safety, I think it's important that Americans understand that what goes on in Syria affects us here and that the brutal regime of Bashar al-Assad backed up by the Iranians, backed up by the Russians that are bombing hospitals with GPS or precision-guided munitions, secondary strikes against the same hospitals, are actually creating a whole new generation of terrorists.

In fact, there are some in this body that buy into the argument that strongmen somehow work in the Middle East. I think it is important to remember that with the era of information and the era of being able to communicate, people simply don't like to be oppressed. Some people maybe think that they enjoy being oppressed but people don't like it. They, naturally, desire freedom and in that process of being—whether it's a chemical weapon attack, whether it's a conventional weapon attack—losing your father or your mother or your child makes me much more likely to join an opposition force which, up until recently, appears to have been ISIS in many cases.

I want to thank you and the administration for putting what I think was an amazing red line down in the statement about a pending potential chemical weapons attack. As you said earlier, I think that saved countless lives. There are lot of children that now, hopefully, can realize their dream of being a police officer or a teacher because of that really strong line.

So it's great having you there. It is great having an administration that understands this. Let me just ask a little about Syria and the discussion of that next generational war on terror.

I think it's the 7- and 8-year-olds today that are in the refugee camps that are either not getting education or are getting education that are going to be either the folks that in, frankly, 5 years, because that is how young they recruit them, that we find ourselves having to fight on the battlefield or else they are going to be the generation that actually rejects this ideology from within.

Can you talk about the difficulties in the refugee camps and the difficulties in Syria generally and how that plays into the long-term fight on terror that we have on our hands?

Ambassador HALEY. Yes. And so first of all, with Syria I would remind you that the post-ISIS decisions that are made in Syria are going to be extremely important to make sure that it is not a new breeding ground for other threats to come in.

And having talked with the Syrian refugees both in the camps and outside of the camps, they are completely ready and waiting to go there and build it back up from scratch. They want to go

home. They have family members there. That is something that I think is going to continue to happen.

When it comes to the education, so what we know is the refugees that have come out, those children are getting educated. They are getting assistance. They are being well taken care of.

All of those things are fine. There are about 500—300,000 students in Turkey that are not getting education but the 3 million people are and they are trying to accommodate that and that is why I am trying to get the U.N. to focus on supporting host countries so we can get those kids educated as well.

In Syria, I don't think they are getting educated in Syria. Now, I am sure every area is different but it is just such a mess because we are just still trying to get aid in there. We are still trying to get food in there and make sure that they are taken care of.

But it is not just in Syria. In any area around the world, if you have children who have to do without, whether it is education, whether it is health care, any of those things, they are prime targets for terrorists to get them and we have to always remember that as we go forward because that is—yes, we can defeat ISIS today but those threats will go on forever and that is why I put so much emphasis on human rights as it relates to conflict because those things are what drive terrorists to come in and take advantage of the situation.

Mr. KINZINGER. And I thank you for being part of that whole of government approach. I mean, I think sometimes we get mired down in this idea that when the Islamic State is defeated we can all come home and have fun rainbows and happy time. But the reality is you can't defeat an ideology with bombs and bullets. You can only defeat existing terrorists. And so it's important to think long term because, frankly, this is going to be a long-term war.

And I think, you know, specifically, a great country I got the privilege of visiting was Liberia and there is a strong U.N. mission there. I think it is important to note that when we talk about the United Nations, though needing reforms, it can be a force multiplier, doing things that our troops don't have to do.

But you see in that whole generation that was torn apart by civil war and people that mean and want to do well, but you see 30-year-olds that don't know how to read and write with no hope. And when that happens in the Middle East that is a fertile ground for recruitment.

So, again, I just want to say thank you so much for your service. Thanks for being here, and I will yield back.

Ambassador HALEY. Thank you very much.

Chairman ROYCE. Joaquin Castro of Texas.

Mr. CASTRO. Thank you, Chairman, and thank you, Ambassador, for your testimony today.

Ambassador HALEY. Thank you.

Mr. CASTRO. I think your time during your service during this President's tenure has been one of the more moderating voices on what I consider to be some of their more outlandish moves. But I think it has also put folks like yourself and Secretary Tillerson in a box sometimes.

And so I want to ask you a question that I have been asked many times by the Foreign Ministers, Ambassadors, members of

Parliaments that I have met with since President Trump took office, which is who reliably speaks for the President in the foreign policy space?

Ambassador HALEY. So we work very much as a team and the team works strongly. In our NSC meetings I have a great relationship and we talk through things with Tillerson, Mattis, McMaster, we have Kelly—I mean, everybody there. That group is the main group—General Dunford—those are the main people. Pompeo is another important one. We go through all aspects of everything when it comes to dealing with that. So it really is a team—

Mr. CASTRO. So there is a process in place that—

Ambassador HALEY. And a very organized process in place. General McMaster has done a fantastic job and all of our voices are heard and all of us get to help push that decision.

Mr. CASTRO. Do you feel as though the President takes your advice?

Ambassador HALEY. I think that the President—you know, then General McMaster has to do that. I think the President does—he has turned out to be a very good listener in terms of the fact that he wants to learn and he appreciates different viewpoints and then he makes his decision.

Mr. CASTRO. Well, I guess probably the most glaring example or problematic example that I have seen was when Prime Minister Netanyahu for a joint press conference—and the idea of a one-state solution rather than a two-state solution was broached, I believe while Secretary Tillerson was on a plane somewhere, was not present—and then the next day you had to come back and basically say, no, our approach is still a two-state solution. And then the President later said well, it is really whatever the parties want to do.

Ambassador HALEY. Right.

Mr. CASTRO. So you can imagine around the world that people start wondering who is speaking for the President.

Ambassador HALEY. Well, and in fairness too, everybody was involved with that. The President has very much felt like we don't need to push what the solution is between Israel and the Palestinians—that we need to have them come to the table and make those decisions.

So his point was if they come up with a one-state, if they come up with a two-state—whatever they come up with we are going to support and the way it got out—I agree with you, the communication was weird—but that was his intention. So we knew very much that he wasn't giving up on a two-state solution. He just was saying whatever they come up with we will support and if that's a one-state solution we will support that, too.

Mr. CASTRO. Well, and then I guess a more recent example is the example of Qatar, where the President was essentially praising the blockade and at the same time, because we have a base there and other interests, other parts of our foreign policy apparatus seem to be coming to the defense of Qatar. Again, there seem to be at least two heads there. What happened on that issue?

Ambassador HALEY. It is a complicated issue and, like I said, I have given my opinion. I think there is an opportunity to hit both sides and try and get more of what we want.

Qatar has been funding—we know that they have done a lot with Hamas as we are dealing with Gaza and some other areas. And so I think the President really does want to push out ISIS, push out terrorism, and his whole point of going and making that first visit was to say we have got to get rid of all of these threats that we have. So when this came up with Qatar his focus was very much on the funding they were doing for terrorists and I think that, yes, we have an airbase there. Yes, there are some ties. But he sees the priority as cutting—is getting rid of ISIS and getting rid of terrorism as right there at the top.

Mr. CASTRO. And then finally, because I just have about 50 seconds left, I am on the Western Hemisphere Subcommittee and Venezuela, of course, is a big issue. I know you probably fielded a question from Albio Sires, perhaps, on it. But what is your outlook for Venezuela and for the region?

Ambassador HALEY. It is worse than what we are seeing on TV. It is in a very bad place and what I had said before was, you know, we did an emergency session—the Security Council. They weren't happy with that. They felt like it needed to go to the Human Rights Council but we still had it.

We went to the Human Rights Council. The reason they have not brought it up, which they need to, is because Venezuela sits on the Human Rights Council. And so we blasted them on that.

We were banking on OAS doing something. That didn't happen. This needs to be on our radar. Maduro is leaning more and more toward using military force and weapons and I think that this is something that is only going to get worse before it gets better and we need to make sure that we are watching this carefully and do something about it.

Mr. CASTRO. Thanks for your service.

Ambassador HALEY. Thank you.

Chairman ROYCE. Lee Zeldin of New York.

Mr. ZELDIN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and thank you, Ambassador, for your service to our country and for being here today.

Ambassador HALEY. Thank you.

Mr. ZELDIN. U.N. Security Council Resolution 2334 was an anti-Israel anti-Jewish resolution seeking to ethnically cleanse Judea and Samaria and East Jerusalem. Is it an accurate summary of your observations since taking over as Ambassador that some of the nations that voted for this resolution were resentful, some were apologetic and it appears to have been U.S.-led and U.S.-pushed?

Ambassador HALEY. I talked to all of the Security Council members and told them how offended and what a kick in the gut it was for Americans. What I got was some felt very arm twisted by the U.S. Others thought it was the right thing to do and then, you know, the hard part about me talking with 2334 is they keep telling me, well, it is the U.S. that wanted it—it is the U.S. that wanted it.

So it is hard for me at this point. I am just saying there is a new administration. This is not where we want to go and so now they don't talk to me about it because they know it is such a sore subject with us.

Mr. ZELDIN. And your testimony is confirmation that the U.S. was engaging in dangerous ugly backstabbing of our nation's ally in Israel, and we abstained.

And when Ben Rhodes and others were on conference call—this is in the White House records—quoting verbatim—when asked why we abstained Ben Rhodes, the taxpayer-funded White House fiction writer, says, “We abstained, as Samantha explained, for a number of reasons.”

First, the United Nations, we continue to believe, is a flawed venue for this issue in that it has frequently been used to single out Israel. Not only was that effort U.S.-led and U.S.-pushed, but then publically we were abstaining and we were abstaining for the reason that I just quoted from Ben Rhodes. And I really appreciate your testimony to help clear the record and history on that.

Ambassador HALEY. Well, and if I could just add, I respect Samantha Power and appreciate her service very much. But that was one of our lowest points in our country with what happened because the international community, when they saw that we went against an ally, it set off a terrible tone in terms of where we are going to go.

And just to let you know how bad it was, when she abstained, the entire Security Council and the audience got up and applauded and Israel was sitting there watching that. Think about what we just did to a friend, what happened. You don't ever applaud in the Security Council. It never happens. It happened that day.

Mr. ZELDIN. And I think it is clear from anyone in Israel who would be listening to your testimony here today that you have the back of America's allies. You understand that we should be strengthening our relationship with our friends, treating our adversaries as our adversaries and I am very happy that you are there.

I do want to ask about the Taylor Force Act, which has now grown bipartisan support in Congress, which would withhold aid to the Palestinian Authority until it stops inciting violence and financially rewarding terrorists—a policy otherwise known as “pay to slay.”

Have you taken any position—are you able to share with regards to what your opinion is on the Taylor Force Act?

Ambassador HALEY. So I have met with the family and yes, I am very vocal about the fact that the U.S. gives bilateral money to the Palestinian Authority and we need to have a strong conversation with them on how these martyr payments have to stop and I think that it is one of those things that, by us giving money, we are supporting it and we have to make that correlation with them and let them know that that's not something that we are going to accept or do going forward.

Mr. ZELDIN. And I think it is great that you did meet with the family. Taylor Force—this isn't an Israeli. It is an American who graduated from the United States Military Academy, and I appreciate your leadership.

In my remaining time, I am going to yield to the gentleman from South Carolina, Mr. Wilson.

Mr. WILSON. Ambassador, we are so proud, as your resident Member of Congress, to be here with you. Also, a fellow resident of Lexington County, as a South Carolinian, we are so proud of

your efforts to reverse, as Congressman Zeldin has so correctly pointed out, the anti-Israel policies. It is just—what a breath of fresh air.

I also want to thank you too, as I met with you in New York last week, thank you so much. Your first speech was to condemn Russian aggression in Ukraine—10,000 people dead—and Russian aggression in the Republic of Georgia. We are very proud of your service. And I am at the National Defense Authorization Act debate right now so I need to run back.

Thank you. God bless you.

Ambassador HALEY. Thank you, and thank you for being my congressman.

Mr. WILSON. Thank you.

Chairman ROYCE. Brendan Boyle of Pennsylvania.

Mr. BOYLE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and welcome, Ambassador.

Ambassador HALEY. Thank you.

Mr. BOYLE. I actually wanted to raise an issue that has not been brought up yet, I think, for the 2½ hours of this hearing.

Yesterday, we saw all around the world one of the worst cyber attacks ever to strike. Hacks targeted government ministries, banks, utilities, and other important infrastructure and companies, especially in Ukraine.

Ukraine, again, suffered the extent of that attack worse than any other country, including, by the way, the virus-downed systems of the site of the former Chernobyl, forcing scientists to monitor radiation levels manually.

So I have introduced, along with my colleague on the other side of the aisle, Congressman Fitzpatrick, also from Pennsylvania, we have introduced H.R. 1997, the Ukraine Cybersecurity Cooperation Act in order for the United States to help our ally in an area in which they are clearly vulnerable and that vulnerability has been exploited.

Do you think such an act would be helpful and do you believe that your role at the U.N. would be aided if the United States Congress would provide leadership in helping an ally like Ukraine when it comes to cybersecurity?

Ambassador HALEY. So cyber attacks are the new ammunition that we are going to continue to see around the world and it continues to be worse and worse as every country continues to see how they can make it better.

I can tell you that the U.N. is now trying to become the cyber activity police and we don't want that because we don't want China and Russia deciding how the U.S. would handle cyber attacks or dictate how we handle those things going forward. So we are fighting that. But yes, I think it would be helpful if the U.S. goes and does these things that would keep the U.N. from doing it and would allow for us to continue to help. And Ukraine, I can't say enough about what a great ally they have been on the Security Council. They have just been with us on everything.

Mr. BOYLE. So this is actually a good segue to the broader issue of our support for Ukraine. Your comments that you gave just now and others inspire a lot more confidence than the comments of our President and the Secretary of State when it comes to standing up

and supporting our ally, Ukraine, turning back Russian aggression and illegal occupation of Crimea—and what they are continuing to do to this day in Eastern Ukraine, which often gets ignored in the media.

I wanted to ask you about that, though, because, obviously, with the President, the Secretary of State, our Ambassador to the U.N., we have had, frankly, three different messages—at least two different messages.

Do we, the United States, still stand and support and stand by the agreement that was reached in Minsk—the Minsk agreement?

Ambassador HALEY. Yes, we do.

Mr. BOYLE. Okay. That, you realize, is contrary to what the Secretary of State has recently said, that there would be—we would allow a certain amount of back sliding or a renegotiation of it agreeable to both parties. How do you reconcile that?

Ambassador HALEY. We continue to push the Minsk agreement. We just renewed sanctions last week on Russia's role in Crimea. We are not lifting those. We are going to continue to stay strong on that. And so at the Security Council that is what I am pushing. That is what I am doing.

Mr. BOYLE. And you would agree that we shouldn't offer any sanction relief before Russia finally lives up to its obligation in Minsk?

Ambassador HALEY. Absolutely.

Mr. BOYLE. That is great.

Have you had this conversation with the Secretary of State and even with the President himself?

Ambassador HALEY. So the President and I have had a conversation with Ukraine and Russia. He very much wants to see how we can reconcile, if there is any way to—you know, how much this is. When I brought the Security Council not only did they meet with Members of Congress but they met with General McMaster. They met with the President and others, and Ukraine and Russia both sit on the Security Council.

And so they also had conversations with him. I will remind you that my position is a Cabinet position so when I say something or I do something, yes, those are my views and those are my thoughts and that is what I share with General McMaster and with the President. So they are very aware of my thoughts on this and have not disagreed with me on that.

Mr. BOYLE. Yes. I do want to point out—one my colleagues referenced this earlier—I can't tell you the number of times that, because of being on this committee now several years, we have relationships with diplomats from other countries including parliamentarians of other countries, the number of people who have asked me, so who really speaks for this administration because the Secretary of State will say one thing. The President contradicts it within the hour.

You give comments at the U.N. that are, frankly, more reflective of a traditional U.S.—Truman through Obama—foreign policy. So that continues to be a challenge and ends up making the U.S. look, frankly, incoherent in its foreign policy and makes your job more difficult.

Ambassador HALEY. Well, we work very well together and we work closely together, and while we don't, you know, just say the exact word for word talking points, we are all moving in the same direction.

Chairman ROYCE. The Ambassador has to depart at 1:00 p.m. so I am going to ask members to be succinct.

We go now to the co-sponsor of the legislation with Mr. Boyle and that is Brian Fitzpatrick.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Madam Ambassador, how are you?

Ambassador HALEY. I am good. Thank you.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Thank you for being a good leader. More importantly, thank you for being a good person. I think it is evident to anybody who is in your presence that you have a good heart and that is the most important quality you can have so don't change, please, okay?

Ambassador HALEY. Thank you.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. A couple things—I want to thank you for your support for Israel. We have covered that a lot. Focusing in on Ukraine, which my colleague, Mr. Boyle, had alluded to—Brendan's legislation is outstanding. It is critically important. If you could do me a favor, review that and any support that you and the administration could give to that would be very, very helpful.

From a philosophical standpoint, because right now we are in the budgetary process—we are being asked to make some really tough decisions between military spending, diplomatic spending—from a philosophical standpoint, some people believe that U.S. intervention is only appropriate when our national security interests are imminently at threat.

Other people take the view that when there are atrocities occurring around the world that the U.S. cannot ethically and morally turn a blind eye to that.

So your philosophy on when intervention is appropriate from all components—if you could comment on that.

Ambassador HALEY. Well, I think that the U.S. should always have a strong voice. You always have to pick a side, you know, when it comes on any issue. I just think it is—abstentions are nothing that I believe in. I think you have to pick a side one way or the other and you have to tell what we are for and you have to tell what the U.S. is against and that doesn't mean that you are cutting countries off. It means that on every issue we are going to have a different thought and we have to just communicate that and make that known.

We are the moral compass around the world. We have been. It doesn't mean we are perfect, but that is what we try and do. And so U.S. values, for us to continue to own those and express those I think is an important part of who we are. I also think that we are a leader and we are a leader that many other countries look to to see what we are going to do and they make their decisions on that.

And so we need to always look at what our role is going to be and we need to decide place by place as opposed to just a blanket policy because all of these conflicts that we are seeing now are completely different.

And so I think taking a custom approach to all of the conflicts and how we think we can be the strongest and most supportive to bring a political solution is very important.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. I yield back.

Mr. SMITH. Will the gentleman yield?

Chairman ROYCE. We would like to get to the junior members, if we could.

We are going to go to Dina Titus of Nevada.

Ms. TITUS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and thank you, Ambassador.

Ambassador HALEY. Thank you.

Ms. TITUS. You said early on several times that we could count on you to be a thorn in the side of Russia or a thorn in the side of somewhere. But that's kind of like saying you're going to be a burr under the saddle or a pea under the princess. That sounds like we are more of an irritant than we are a leader and that is what worries some of us on this committee about what is happening to the image of the country.

Also, I would like to go back to something that Mr. Meeks mentioned earlier and that's that poll that showed our image declining internationally. It says since the inauguration of President Trump, according to citizens of 27 countries from around the world, we have just gone downhill.

You think that the President is doing a pretty good job but the rest of the world doesn't seem to think so. Sixty-four percent had confidence in the U.S. President at the end of the Obama administration. That number has fallen to 22 percent. At the end of the Obama administration, 64 percent had a favorable view of the United States. Now it is just 49 percent.

I represent Las Vegas and, you know, that's an international city. We welcome 8 million foreign visitors from all around the globe every year. But we have seen a real decrease in the interest in coming to the United States by foreign visitors. According to the U.S. Global Travel Association, there is going to be a \$1.3 billion loss in 2017. That is 4,200 jobs in communities like Las Vegas and Charleston.

So all the signs show that if we don't work to correct this, it is going to have a major impact on a big part of our economy. In fact, the recent surveys show that 45 percent of European business travelers said that they would plan future meetings somewhere else because it is too difficult to come and travel to the United States.

You said when you were governor that we want to continue to sell to the rest of the country and the world how great of a place South Carolina is to visit and you also said, when you were trumpeting the state's economic tourism basis, that what it tells everybody across the world is if you haven't been here, get here quickly, and if you have get back. Well, that's kind of what we like to say in Las Vegas, too.

But I wonder if you really believe that the Trump administration has been a good salesperson for international tourism, if you are concerned about this image decline and these statistics, and as our representative to the United Nations, what you are doing to try to just repair that image, put the welcome mat instead of saying no, we don't want you to come.

Ambassador HALEY. So, first, in reference to being a thorn in the side, being a thorn in the side means that I call out something when I think it is wrong and I think that that is part of what the U.S. does and I think that it is also praising when things are right. It is criticizing when things are wrong and acting accordingly, and so I stand by my comments on that.

I will tell you, in reference to your poll, I have not seen it. But whereas that is 27 countries, I deal with 192 and the overwhelming feeling is that we are unpredictable. They don't know exactly what we are going to do. But it has kept them more on alert in terms of wanting to be there with us, not wanting to get on the wrong side of us.

So I haven't felt that. My goal is to have a relationship with everyone and to make sure that I show that the U.S. wants to get political solutions to all things and work with countries to do that. And so I always try and do that as we go forward.

In terms of the economy, and you brought up South Carolina, which I am very proud of, we have multiple international businesses continuing to come in. Our economy is through the roof and we have record years in tourism and we are not seeing a decline in any way on international tourism, trade, any of those things. And so I do think that the President has set a tone. Every President sets a tone, and we always have sides who agree with the tone or don't agree with the tone. But my job is to make sure that I am on the side of the U.S. and that—

Ms. TITUS. You don't think unpredictability is dangerous and it leads to instability and can be a problem in international diplomacy?

Ambassador HALEY. In my job, I have found it has made my negotiations better and it has made it easier because they don't assume. They don't take us for granted anymore. They don't—they no longer look at us as one that they can just push over and know exactly what we are going to do. So for me it has been helpful.

Ms. TITUS. Thank you, and I yield back.

Ambassador HALEY. Thank you.

Chairman ROYCE. Tom Garrett of Virginia.

Mr. GARRETT. First of all, I want to thank the chair for looking out for the junior members. We represent roughly the same number of people as the senior members and I am grateful.

I am going to ask a series of questions that are really simple and I am seeking a relatively short answer. Do you think that conspiracy theories about things like Russian meddling and the outcome of our election that are propagated by some members of this body as well as the media, the basis of which a CNN exec recently called BS but ran the stories anyway, might contribute to diminished opinions of the United States around the world?

Ambassador HALEY. No one at the United Nations is talking about this issue at all or anything—

Mr. GARRETT. But the questioning, ma'am, with all due respect, was about—

Ambassador HALEY. Yes, it does not help the situation.

Mr. GARRETT. Okay. And do you think that rhetoric that says that because we have disagreements over things like health care policy, the President and the Republicans want to kill children and

old people, might contribute to diminished feelings about the United States across the world?

Ambassador HALEY. That is far from the truth.

Mr. GARRETT. But do you think that rhetoric might contribute to a diminished opinion of the nation?

Ambassador HALEY. Of course.

Mr. GARRETT. Okay. And are you familiar with the quote by Vandenberg that said politics stop at the water's edge?

Ambassador HALEY. Yes.

Mr. GARRETT. Has that been your experience since you've served in your current capacity?

Ambassador HALEY. You know, I think my job is to sit there and ignore what is happening in DC because I have found the rhetoric has just been over the top.

Mr. GARRETT. It is—isn't it? Isn't it? And so I am not going to ask the follow-up question because I respect where you are coming from and appreciate the job you do and the fact that you have done it in a manner such that you personally at least have received bipartisan praise for in this meeting.

But I think we reap what we sow as it relates to how people view us and that the reckless hurling of invective not undergird by facts, obviously, would perpetuate those who don't like us not liking us.

Now, moving on to something more pressing—the U.N. Security Council Resolution 2231 essentially endorsed the JCPOA, which I have repeatedly and for the press gone on record as calling the JCPOS.

I will tell you that 2231 repealed what was U.N. Security Council Resolution 1929. You are probably familiar with this. I am not confident who the prior administration had negotiating the JCPOA but are you aware that U.N. Security Council Resolution 2231 stated, "Iran shall not undertake any activity related to ballistic missiles capable of delivering nuclear weapons," and then it was replaced by a U.N. resolution commending the JCPOA that read, "Iran is called upon not to undertake any activity related to ballistic missiles," and then they gave a little bit more latitude—"designed to carry a nuclear payload."

Are you aware of this?

Ambassador HALEY. It is one of the most dangerous things that happened when we passed the JCPOA because basically what you did was you just deferred what is going to happen and you gave them a bunch of money to do it and now you see that they don't follow the rules by 2231 with the testing, with the—

Mr. GARRETT. I would argue that they didn't violate the rules of 2231 because 2231 endorses the JCPOA and the JCPOA says is called upon not to instead of shall not. And who wrote that? And that is a rhetorical question.

For our nation with the security of ourselves and our allies in mind and how incompetent, or nefarious, are they? You don't need to—that is rhetorical.

Ambassador HALEY. It is very concerning. Very concerning.

Mr. GARRETT. Again, with all due respect. So my question becomes is there a way, and I have no clue to the answer, to repeal 2231 and actually go back to the United Nations resolution which

was more effective in deterring Iranian aggression than what the United States let a multinational coalition hammering out.

Is there any way to go back from 1929 to 2231, which says shall not as opposed to it is called upon not to?

Ambassador HALEY. Russia would veto it.

Mr. GARRETT. Okay. And that leads beautifully—almost like we coordinated this—into my next question. So there has been Russian aggression in South Ossetia—I am going to probably butcher some of these names—Abkhazia, the Georgian regions.

There has been Russian aggression in East Ukraine and Crimea. There has been a Russian and China veto of U.N. actions regarding the tragedy and crisis in Syria. And we spoke yesterday with the Secretary-General and he said, well, there is so many things we can't do because the Security Council members would veto them. How do we make this organization with such lofty ideals an effective player on the world stage?

And, part two—it is tangentially related—how do we repair the message that was sent when Ms. Power abstained that we will not be loyal to our allies by virtue of how we conduct ourselves today at the U.N.?

Thank you.

Ambassador HALEY. So my number one goal is to make the Security Council mean something. I think that the fact that we are not seeing a lot of resolutions against Israel shows that that part is working.

I think that Russia does stop a lot of things and lately Russia stops anything the U.S. is for. That is a long line of reasoning. China can do the same thing.

I do think we have made huge strides in terms of peacekeeping reforms and what we are going to do on management reforms and the fact that we just saved \$½ billion on the peacekeeping budget was a huge win, and so we are going to continue to do that.

But the one thing I will tell you is we are going to continue to talk about 2334 as something that the U.S. does not support, does not endorse, and if given the opportunity, that will never happen again.

Mr. GARRETT. Thank you.

Chairman ROYCE. Norma Torres of California.

Ms. TORRES. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and welcome, Ambassador Haley.

Ambassador HALEY. Thank you.

Ms. TORRES. I know the time has been long and I apologize that we have not given you a short break.

Ambassador HALEY. No worries. I am fine.

Ms. TORRES. Regarding Syria, I agree with you, we can never take Syria back to what it was. So through this horrific conflict last December the General Assembly created the international, impartial, and independent mechanism to collect and analyze evidence about the atrocities in Syria.

I want to know what specific steps has the United States taken to advance this mechanism.

Ambassador HALEY. So, interestingly enough, the Security Council supported the Joint Investigative Mechanism unanimously. They decided what it would do, how it would happen, and what

things take place since that has happened and since we have had the Syrian atrocities with chemical weapons and everything else Russia now says it is not a fair mechanism even though they were the ones that helped put it together.

We continue to support the JIM. We will continue to push the JIM. But Russia continues to undermine it and say that it is not something that is effective.

Ms. TORRES. Speaking about Russia, on April 27th you stated that Russia continues to cover for the Syria regime. Russia continues to allow them to keep humanitarian aid from the people that need it. Russia continues to cover for a leader who uses chemical weapons against its own people. Russia continues to veto and Assad continues to do these things because they know Russia will continue to cover for them. Do you still stand by that statement?

Ambassador HALEY. You know, I think General Mattis has implied that things are starting to move and I hope that's the case. But that has definitely been the case in the past and I would love to see all of that change but—

Ms. TORRES. So do you still stand by that statement?

Ambassador HALEY. Yes.

Ms. TORRES. Okay. Great.

Although Russia and China have not sent over a jet fighter plan, although submarines are nearing our coast, there are other things that they have done, both, that have impacted our economy greatly.

One of them is happening now. The port of Los Angeles is the last victim of this global cyber attack. Now, I understand that we are still investigating. We don't know exactly where that is.

So I find it hard to believe and I would like to get clarification from you on your statement when you said—regarding Mr. Boyle's question, that you do not want China or Russia to dictate how we approach these attacks.

And I get, you know, somewhat where you are trying to get at that. But I am also concerned that there isn't a conversation, you know, within 192 countries that you deal with about Russia's influence in our election, about their influence in the European elections and, most recently in Germany's election.

How can that be? How can we not see cyber attacks or influence in our elections as a threat to our democracy, as a threat to our economic standing?

Ambassador HALEY. So it is a threat and I think what you are seeing, and I've talked with my counterparts is we are seeing them intervene in multiple elections. I have talked with the Ambassadors about it.

Everyone sees it as a problem and I do think it is something that is going to come up. I do think it is something that is going to surface because it is affecting so many other countries in the process.

What we don't want is for the U.N. to regulate cyber situations because they would put China and they would put Russia on it because they are two P5 members.

And so we don't want to do that because as they have done in so many other cases, they take care of themselves and they hurt everyone else.

Ms. TORRES. I have 1 minute left and now I am going to move on to a easier question. I understand that the residence of the U.S.

Ambassador to the United Nations has moved from the Waldorf Astoria to a different high-rise building close to the United Nations.

In 2015, a Chinese company purchased the Waldorf Astoria for \$1.95 billion and the U.S. presence there was under review since we have strong concerns about the security implications of Chinese ownership.

Chinese-linked hackers have been accused of perpetrating the massive breach of personnel records that compromise the data of millions of our own Federal employees. So I am very happy that the residence in New York has moved so that we can ensure the security of our personnel and your security. But I would also like to get further clarity from you regarding the future of the residence since the Trump Tower is only a mile away. I want to ensure that you are not thinking about moving and spending taxpayers' dollars at the Trump Tower.

Ambassador HALEY. No, I am not. I did not pick this location. We did move because China bought it and for the reasons that you stated. I did not pick this location but I will stay wherever—I will stay in this location until it is time for me to leave. But no, I am not moving to the Trump Tower.

Ms. TORRES. Thank you, and I appreciate your visit.

Yield back.

Chairman ROYCE. Mark Meadows of North Carolina.

Mr. MEADOWS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Ambassador Haley, thank you so much—

Ambassador HALEY. Thank you.

Mr. MEADOWS [continuing]. For enduring almost 3 hours of questioning in such an eloquent way. I think—representing North Carolina, I get to share the same television market with you when you were governor and I must confess I am so unbelievably impressed with your grasp of foreign policy coming from a governor to your particular position now.

Being someone who loves foreign policy, there are nuances that we could trip you up each and every time with a question and yet you have been able to masterfully answer those from either side of the aisle. So thank you.

Let me drill down a little bit further because, as you know, whether it was in South Carolina or in North Carolina, there is a huge push back for spending American taxpayer dollars on something and then having our member states vote against the United States over and over and over again.

And so it has been one of those areas where I had a wonderful meeting with the U.N. Secretary-General yesterday who, by the way, holds you in very high regard. I was very impressed with him—I mean, in his desire to reform the U.N. because many times member states have, I guess, a push back when it comes to reforming because that may mean that moneys don't flow necessarily as easily to their host country.

Would you be willing to work with Members of Congress on the voting records of member states to help us identify when they vote with us and when they do not vote with us so that we can have a very accurate account and perhaps tie it a little bit closer to foreign aid?

Ambassador HALEY. So, yes, I absolutely would be willing to work with you but I would say we need to use leverage. So I gave the example earlier. You know, for example, we give a lot of money to the Palestinian Authority. We should tell them that we can't continue to give money if they continue to have martyr payments—

Mr. MEADOWS. Right.

Ambassador HALEY [continuing]. And if they continue—so if we can tie it—

Mr. MEADOWS. And that doesn't mean just changing it from the PLA to the PLO—

Ambassador HALEY. Right.

Mr. MEADOWS [continuing]. Because they stopped it in one and they moved it to the other.

Ambassador HALEY. Right. So I don't think we should do it by percentages of how much they vote with us. I think we should do it be leverage on policy issues that we can change.

Mr. MEADOWS. All right.

And so we have worked up a new report with the Congressional Research Service in terms of dollars given and how they vote with us and I was amazed to see billions of dollars going to many of these different countries and yet when it comes to Israel they vote with us 4 percent of the time.

Can you take a message to many of your Ambassador friends in New York and tell them that that dog will not hunt?

Ambassador HALEY. I would love that list. Yes.

Mr. MEADOWS. And so the time has come. There is a new sheriff in town and we are going to look at it very, very closely. Will you take that message back to—

Ambassador HALEY. I will take that message. I have told them that we will no longer be a pushover and they can't take our U.S. funding for granted any longer, and I would love that list.

Mr. MEADOWS. All right. And we will get that to you.

And the last thing I would say is would you consider Israel's human rights record to be better than that of Iran?

Ambassador HALEY. Yes.

Mr. MEADOWS. So why is it perplexing—I noticed that you had an op-ed where you showed that there was 70 resolutions against Israel and only seven against Iran.

Can you fathom any logical reason why the U.N. would do that?

Ambassador HALEY. Because they always have.

Mr. MEADOWS. All right. Can you take another message to them, that that dog won't hunt either?

Ambassador HALEY. That is right.

Mr. MEADOWS. All right. And if you will—

Ambassador HALEY. Message already sent and will continue to be.

Mr. MEADOWS. All right. Well, thank you, Ambassador Haley, and with the last remaining minute I am going to yield to the gentleman from New Jersey, Mr. Smith, so he can follow up on one question.

Mr. SMITH. I thank my—

Chairman ROYCE. And, again, I am going to suggest to the members our goal was to reach all of the junior members. But the gentleman from New Jersey is recognized.

Mr. SMITH. Well, some things were said that need to be corrected and I would like to just get this on the record.

I would like to thank the administration for faithfully and very effectively implementing longstanding U.S. law initiated under Ronald Reagan which requires the shut off of U.S. funds to any organization, not just the UNFPA, but any organization that supports or co-manages a coercive population control program.

Since 1979, China has required women to get permission to have a child. You don't have a child unless you get permission. Forced abortion is commonplace.

It is pervasive, as is forced sterilization, and as you pointed out, Madam Ambassador, every dollar that doesn't go to the UNFPA will go to some other NGO or entity that will do the same type of work—family planning, maternal and child health, and I think this is very important and I could go on but I am out of time.

Ambassador HALEY. Thank you.

Chairman ROYCE. The committee made a commitment to Ambassador Haley to end at 1:00 p.m.

Ambassador, I would ask that you respond to additional questions in writing. We go now to Mr. Bradley Schneider of Illinois.

Mr. SCHNEIDER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and thank you, Ambassador, for being here. I want to personally thank you. Your staff has taken the time to meet with us on issues such as sexual violence and exploitation and I look forward to continuing to work together.

I am going to apologize if I get a tap on my shoulder. We have a vote in another committee on refugees, and I will stop and let you out.

Ambassador HALEY. I understand. Thank you.

Mr. SCHNEIDER. But we have talked about refugees. We have talked about human rights and, as Mr. Smith touched on, what is happening in China.

I want to bring you back to UNRWA, if I can, and in your opening remarks you said that there is an issue of culture versus incitement as they were talking to you about it.

And I would argue that culture is something that comes through education and the education that is happening in the territories is incitement and if we are going to have a prospect for peace, if we are going to have a prospect for two states living side by side, insecurity impedes the Jewish state of Israel and the Palestinian state, the culture is going to have to accept that and that is going to come from the education.

In other questions you have addressed the issue of education and the importance to educate young people in the territories, which I could not agree with more.

My question is as you look at UNRWA it has been in place for 70 years. It has issues of harboring terrorists, working with terrorists. You can go on and on.

Is there the opportunity to take the beneficial services, as you said, that are good, that come from UNRWA and find perhaps other agencies, whether it is the High Commission for Refugees or

the PA itself and get to a point where after 70 years this special unique situation with UNRWA can be streamlined into the operations of the U.N. and the Palestinian Authority to move us toward peace?

Ambassador HALEY. First of all, I agree with everything that you said and yes, we have——

Mr. SCHNEIDER. And excuse me. I will leave you to answer, but I have to go vote.

Ambassador HALEY. We have talked to the Secretary-General and yes, we have made that push and would support that push.

Chairman ROYCE. Well, I want to thank Ambassador Haley for your testimony here today. It is 1:00 and you have a lot of work to do with the reform agenda at the U.N. Many have tried before you and they haven't found a lot of success. So we wish you well.

Ambassador HALEY. Thank you.

Chairman ROYCE. We will be backing you and we can see from your attitude you intend to succeed in this. But while it is frustrating, it is needed work because several U.N. agencies do important work, and I mentioned the value of peacekeeping and the need to make it better.

And our security should never be delegated to the United Nations. I know you won't do that. But our security can also be improved when the U.S. rallies the world including at the U.N.

So if I were to think of an example that comes to mind immediately it would be the North Korean resolution passed through the Security Council as an example.

And, of course, we need better enforcement. We thank you for your commitment to that enforcement.

Ambassador Haley, we look forward to following up on several of the issues that were raised today. Myself and the ranking member will see you in New York, and we all look forward to seeing you again in the committee.

We stand adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 1:01 p.m., the committee was adjourned.]

APPENDIX

MATERIAL SUBMITTED FOR THE RECORD

**FULL COMMITTEE HEARING NOTICE
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, DC 20515-6128**

Edward R. Royce (R-CA), Chairman

June 28, 2017

TO: MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

You are respectfully requested to attend an OPEN hearing of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, to be held in Room 2172 of the Rayburn House Office Building (and available live on the Committee website at <http://www.ForeignAffairs.house.gov>):

DATE: Wednesday, June 28, 2017
TIME: 10:00 a.m.
SUBJECT: Advancing U.S. Interests at the United Nations
WITNESS: The Honorable Nikki Halcy
U.S. Permanent Representative
United States Mission to the United Nations
U.S. Department of State

By Direction of the Chairman

The Committee on Foreign Affairs seeks to make its facilities accessible to persons with disabilities. If you are in need of special accommodations, please call 202/225-5121 at least four business days in advance of the event, whenever practicable. Questions with regard to special accommodations in general (including availability of Committee materials in alternative formats and assistive listening devices) may be directed to the Committee.



COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS
MINUTES OF FULL COMMITTEE HEARING

Day Wednesday Date 6/28/17 Room 2172

Starting Time 10:03 Ending Time 1:00

Recesses 0 (to) (to)

Presiding Member(s)

Chairman Edward R. Royce, Rep. Jeff Duncan

Check all of the following that apply:

Open Session

Executive (closed) Session

Televised

Electronically Recorded (taped)

Stenographic Record

TITLE OF HEARING:

Advancing U.S. interests at the United Nations

COMMITTEE MEMBERS PRESENT:

See attached.

NON-COMMITTEE MEMBERS PRESENT:

none

HEARING WITNESSES: Same as meeting notice attached? Yes No

(If "no", please list below and include title, agency, department, or organization.)

STATEMENTS FOR THE RECORD: *(List any statements submitted for the record.)*

IFR - Rep. Eliot Engel

IFR - Rep. Adriano Espaillat

SFR - Rep. Gerald Connolly

QFR - Rep. Ted Poe

QFR - Rep. Eliot Engel

QFR - Rep. Jeff Duncan

QFR - Rep. Albio Sires

QFR - Rep. Ann Wagner

QFR - Rep. Gerald Connolly

QFR - Rep. Francis Rooney

QFR - Rep. William Keating

QFR - Rep. David Cicilline

QFR - Rep. Ami Bera

QFR - Rep. Robin Kelly

QFR - Rep. Brad Schneider

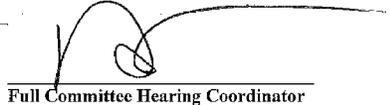
QFR - Rep. Adriano Espaillat

QFR - Rep. Ted Lieu

TIME SCHEDULED TO RECONVENE _____

or

TIME ADJOURNED 1:00



Full Committee Hearing Coordinator

HOUSE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

FULL COMMITTEE HEARING

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	Tom Suozzi, NY
X	Adriano Espaillat, NY
X	Ted Lieu, CA

MATERIAL SUBMITTED FOR THE RECORD BY THE HONORABLE ELIOT L. ENGEL, A
REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK



June 26, 2017

Dear Members of the U.S. House and Senate Committees on Appropriations:

As members of the business community, we are writing to express our strong support to fully fund the United States' financial obligations to the United Nations (UN) in the FY18 State/Foreign Operations Appropriations bills.

The President's FY'18 budget proposal calls for deep cuts to the State Department including critical UN accounts. As U.S. based companies operating globally, we think this proposed level of cuts to the UN will significantly harm U.S. interests. We are also very concerned that if enacted, the proposed cuts would impact funding for development and diplomacy at a time when global challenges are clearly on the rise - hurting some of the world's most vulnerable populations in developing and emerging countries.

We welcome and recognize that it is important to have significant scrutiny of all spending – including U.S. contributions to the UN. Yet, as you think about U.S. funding, we encourage you to likewise consider how the UN supports American businesses operating globally as well as how the organization's programs help create and maintain U.S. jobs and promote economic development in the United States.

Each of us, in our own particular business sectors, regularly work with a range of UN entities to create and further develop initiatives with major long-term implications for business, governments, and global populations. We have many examples we can share with you that span every industry, be it food safety and nutrition, health, information communication technology, energy, infrastructure, etc. But there is a common theme that runs through all our work: the problems/opportunities we are jointly trying to address are unique and complex and we cannot do this work without the mutual support, collaboration, and global presence of the UN. The organization has an unparalleled degree of legitimacy and value at the country level and programs reaching communities throughout the world. Moreover, the broader peace and security, rule of law and human rights mandate of the UN fosters a vital enabling environment for economic growth.

In its simplest form, working with different UN entities are core to our business growth strategies and objectives. By maintaining full funding to the UN, the U.S. can advance its own goals and interests of securing and promoting peace and security and simultaneously pursue job growth here and development.

We look forward to working with each of you to ensure that this U.S. business perspective is recognized as you consider the FY 2018 appropriation levels and the ongoing U.S. contribution to the United Nations.

Thank you for your consideration.



MATERIAL SUBMITTED FOR THE RECORD BY THE HONORABLE ADRIANO ESPAILLAT, A
REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK

Statement for the Record
Congressman Adriano Espaillat
June 28, 2017

Ambassador Nikki Haley, thank you for being here today. You have, presumably, one of the toughest jobs in the Administration. And I say that because there have been several inconsistencies about who is making policy – who is “running the show” so to say – when it comes to foreign policy. Yet, we have the world looking to the United States to be a leader in democracy, human rights, and to pave the way in investing in diplomacy and development to help solve global crises before they begin.

I imagine that the President’s proposed budget, may hamper your ability to do your job, as well as America’s ability to continue exercising its leadership.

Yesterday, we met with U.N. Secretary-General Antonio Guterres and he stated that “the figures presented [in the proposed budget] would simply make it impossible for the U.N. to continue all of its essential work advancing peace, development, human rights and humanitarian assistance.” That’s a problem, and I hope you agree.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to insert into the record a [letter from nine former U.S. Ambassadors to the UN](#) calling on Congress to refrain from withholding or slashing U.S. financial contributions to the UN.

The Honorable Mitch McConnell
Majority Leader
United States Senate
U.S. Capitol Building, Room S-230
Washington, DC 20510

The Honorable Paul Ryan
Speaker of the House of Representatives
United States House of Representatives
U.S. Capitol Building, Room 232
Washington, DC 20510

The Honorable Charles Schumer
Minority Leader
United States Senate
U.S. Capitol Building, Room S-224
Washington, DC 20510

The Honorable Nancy Pelosi
Minority Leader
United States House of Representatives
U.S. Capitol Building, Room 204
Washington, DC 20510

April 24, 2017

Dear Leader McConnell, Leader Schumer, Speaker Ryan, and Leader Pelosi:

As former U.S. Permanent Representatives to the United Nations who have served under both Republican and Democratic Administrations, we share a deep understanding of the UN's strategic value in advancing U.S. national interests and promoting American leadership. While the UN is imperfect, and many reforms are needed, the UN remains an indispensable instrument for advancing the global stability and prosperity on which U.S. interests and priorities depend. We therefore urge you to support U.S. leadership at the UN, including through continued payment of our assessed and voluntary financial contributions to the Organization.

The United States and its allies and partners today face grave and interconnected challenges that transcend national borders. These include cascading conflict in the Middle East and South Asia, an emboldened North Korea, the rising threat of violent extremism and organized crime, vulnerability to pandemics, the worst forced displacement crisis since 1945, the prospect of famine in four countries, and the potential for major societal disruptions from climate change. The U.S., despite its wealth and military might, cannot afford to take on these issues alone, nor should it have to. That is exactly why the UN was created in the first place: to harness the resources and commitment of all countries to act on challenges that necessitate collective response.

Since its establishment, the UN has been a cornerstone of the post-World War II international order, serving also to advance U.S. priorities and interests on many fronts. Through its peacekeeping operations, humanitarian relief work, efforts to address international public health emergencies, and development investments, the UN has helped secure core U.S. interests while reinforcing America's long-standing commitment to human rights and human dignity worldwide. By marshalling financial contributions from all UN member states, the UN has also reduced the burden on American taxpayers by leveraging U.S. contributions to the UN four-fold. The whole UN system is built on burden-sharing that ensures the United States does not have to go it alone and that other countries stand up, rather than stand by.

We understand frustration in Congress at what can seem a needlessly slow pace of critical management, budgetary, and accountability reforms at the UN, all of which we have fought hard

to advance during our respective tenures at the helm of the U.S. Mission in New York. We fought those battles differently and did not always agree. Nevertheless, in our experience, the U.S. is much more effective in pressing reforms when it stays engaged and pays its dues and bills. Withholding or slashing funding for the UN, by contrast, weakens our hand, alienates allies whose support is critical to our reform priorities, undermines essential UN activities that promote core American interests and values, and costs us more over the long term. It also cedes the agenda to countries that can be hostile to our interests and more than willing to see the U.S. give up its seat at the table.

This January, the UN elected a new Secretary-General – Antonio Guterres of Portugal – and the U.S. Administration fielded a new U.S. Permanent Representative – Nikki Haley, the former Governor of South Carolina. Secretary-General Guterres and Ambassador Haley have both expressed a commitment to work together to create a more efficient, effective, and responsive UN. We urge you to give them the time and space needed to advance this critical work and avoid policies, such as drastically reducing our financial support, that would damage our nation's ability to lead – not just at the United Nations but on the wider world stage. Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Ambassador Andrew Young

Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations, 1977-1979

Ambassador Donald McHenry

Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations, 1979-1981

Ambassador Thomas Pickering

Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations, 1989 - 1992

Ambassador Edward Perkins

Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations, 1992 - 1993

Secretary Madeleine Albright

Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations, 1993-1997

Ambassador Bill Richardson

Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations, 1997-1998

Ambassador John Negroponte

Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations, 2001-2004

Ambassador Susan Rice

Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations, 2009-2013

Ambassador Samantha Power

Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations, 2013-2017



Statement for the Record
Submitted by Mr. Connolly of Virginia

In the wake of World War II, the international community established the United Nations to serve as a platform for addressing global threats and responding to crises that demand coordinated, multilateral action. Since 1945, the U.N. has grown to include 193 member states, 16 specialized agencies, and an annual budget of \$7.9 billion for peacekeeping operations. The U.S. has long concluded that supporting the United Nations is both a moral imperative and aligned with our national security interests.

During her confirmation hearing to become the U.S. Permanent Representative to the U.S. Mission to the United Nations, Ambassador Nikki Haley insisted that she does not believe in “slash and burn” attempts to decrease U.S. funding for the United Nations. Yet, the Trump Administration’s FY 2018 international affairs budget does just that. The budget proposes a 27 percent cut to the Contributions to International Organizations (CIO) account, which includes assessed contributions to the U.N. regular budget and U.N. specialized agencies. Funding for U.N. peacekeeping operations would be reduced by 37 percent. The Administration zeroes out funding for the International Organizations and Programs (IO&P) account, which would eliminate U.S. funding for the U.N. Children’s Fund (UNICEF), U.N. Development Program (UNDP), U.N. Women, U.N. Office for Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), U.N. Population Fund (UNFPA), U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights (UNHCR), and the U.N. Framework Convention on Climate Change. To say that this budget sends the message that U.S. leadership is essential in the world, as Ambassador Haley vowed to do in her confirmation hearing, would embarrass even George Orwell.

Now we find ourselves yet again defending U.S. leadership in multilateral institutions that the United States helped to build. The Trump Administration has withdrawn from the Trans-Pacific Partnership, balked at our sacred Article 5 commitment to our NATO allies, pulled out of the Paris Climate Accord, and decimated funding for U.S. diplomatic missions and foreign assistance. Such an abrogation of U.S. leadership only serves to harm U.S. interests and embolden our adversaries. U.S. engagement at the U.N. and fully funded U.N. dues ensure that countries like Russia and China do not co-opt the organization for their narrow interests.

Decreasing U.S. support for U.N. peacekeeping efforts will end up costing us more in the long run. While the U.S. currently funds 28.5 percent of costs associated with the 16 ongoing U.N. peacekeeping missions, we contribute only 0.06 percent of the troops (77 out of a global force of 120,000 peacekeepers). According to the Center for Global Development, the U.S. only pays \$24,500 per year for each deployed peacekeeper, compared to \$2.1 million per year for an American service member deployed to a war zone – about 86 times as much.

U.N. peacekeepers play a critical role in ending conflicts and preserving peace in fragile states. The U.N. peacekeeping mission in Côte d'Ivoire (UNOCI) has stabilized the country through the 2010 and 2015 elections and helped to reintegrate former combatants into society. Given Côte d'Ivoire's position as the world's leading producer of cocoa, Mars, Inc., which is headquartered in Northern Virginia, has a significant presence in the country and depends on a stable operating environment conducive to investment. Mars' Supply Chain Director Jeff Morgan recently noted "Presently, the country is enjoying a period of relative stability, which is due in large part to the actions of United Nations Peacekeeping forces...At Mars, we are grateful for this effort and supportive of all the work that the UN does to support the cause of peace, the promotion of freedom, and respect for human rights."

This week, Mars, Inc., Becton, Dickinson & Company (BD), and Walgreens sent a letter expressing support for continued U.S. financial support for the United Nations. These major American corporations state that "Each of us, in our own particular business sectors, regularly work with a range of UN entities to create and further develop initiatives with long-term implications for business, governments, and global populations...the problems/opportunities we are jointly trying to address are unique and complex and we cannot do this work without the mutual support, collaboration, and global presence of the UN."

That is not to say that we always agree with the will of the U.N. or that the institution is beyond reproach. However, the best way to influence U.N. reform in a way that benefits the United States is through more engagement, not less. As a permanent member of the U.N. Security Council and the single largest contributor to the U.N. general and peacekeeping budgets, the U.S. has actively enforced reform initiatives. Yesterday, this Committee heard directly from U.N. Secretary General Antonio Guterres on the reform process that he is leading in close cooperation with the U.S. Mission to the United Nations. Through that process, he is working to bring more flexibility, transparency, and accountability to the organization, while prioritizing the protection of whistleblowers who report waste, fraud, and abuse.

A unilateral retreat, which is what the President's budget represents, would neither improve the U.N., nor make our nation more secure. The U.N. has served as a valuable platform for collective action on some of the world's most intractable conflicts, and it is essential the U.S. continue to be a leading voice in the institution. I look forward to hearing from Ambassador Haley on how such dramatic cuts to U.S. contributions to the United Nations will maintain the vital role of U.S. leadership in the world.

Questions for the Record Submitted to
U.S. Mission to the UN, Ambassador Nikki Haley
Representative Engel
House Foreign Affairs Committee
June 28, 2017

Question:

You have announced that the U.N.'s budget committee has significantly reduced the annual peacekeeping budget by over half a billion dollars as a result of a U.S.-led effort. What elements have been eliminated from the budget? How much of the cuts were tied to mission closures or reductions that predated your tenure (i.e., Liberia, Cote d'Ivoire, Haiti, and Darfur)? How much money will the U.S. be saving from the half a billion dollar reduction?

Answer:

The reduction of over \$500 million in current UN peacekeeping budgets includes the drawdown of peacekeeping missions in Liberia, Côte d'Ivoire, and Haiti. Additional reductions in budget levels for peacekeeping missions in the Central African Republic, Democratic Republic of the Congo, and Darfur. Following rigorous analysis, the reductions in these missions' budget proposals came primarily from our efforts aimed at addressing the UN's pattern of over budgeting, in areas such as official travel, logistics and information technology. These reductions will not negatively impact mandate delivery. This does not impact funding for critical oversight activities, including vetting, training, monitoring, and reporting of sexual exploitation and abuse. These reductions reduce the U.S. assessed share approximately \$140 million.

Question:

What are you and other State Department officials doing to wind down and close the UNMIK mission?

Answer:

The Department assesses that the previous role of the UN Interim Administration in Kosovo (UNMIK) has been fulfilled and UNMIK's original mandate is no longer relevant to a sovereign, independent Kosovo. The United States advocates phasing out and subsequently closing the mission.

The United States has pushed for the reduction of UNMIK's budget and staff in Fifth Committee negotiations and consistently calls for winding down the mission in the quarterly UN Security Council briefings on UNMIK. Over the years, UNMIK has been progressively reduced from its peak of over 4,500 uniformed personnel and 4,600 civilian personnel in 2002, to 16 uniformed personnel and 308 civilian staff as of May 2017. The United States will continue to push for further reductions in the mission, particularly in the area of civilian staff, in order to ensure that limited resources are diverted to more critical operations.

Question:

The Trump Administration has called for a review of all UN peacekeeping operations to ensure that they are “fit for purpose” and more efficient and effective in fulfilling their mandates.

Who is undertaking this review, how is it being carried out, and when do you expect it to be completed? What are the operational criteria that are being used to assess the effectiveness of U.N. peacekeeping operations? What methodology is being used to gather evidence to assess the effectiveness of U.N. peacekeeping operations? How are you assessing U.N. support to regional peace operations, such as those undertaken by the African Union, which are authorized by the U.N. Security Council?

Answer:

In April, I called on UN Security Council members to join the United States in evaluating each UN peacekeeping mission as its mandate comes up for renewal to ensure it is appropriate to the situation in the country and that it is advancing the Security Council's objectives. To help guide these mission reviews, we developed five peacekeeping principles: 1) missions must support political solutions, 2) host country strategic consent is critical, 3) mandates must be realistic and achievable, 4) clear transition plans and exit strategies are required at all stages, and 5) missions and mandates must be adjusted where Security Council objectives are not achieved.

Our reviews of peacekeeping missions, as well as peace operations conducted by the African Union that are authorized by the U.N. Security Council, are informed by a number of sources, including 1.) meetings with the Special Representatives of the Secretary-General, the Force Commanders, other members of the peacekeeping missions, and UN Secretariat officials, 2.) international partners, including troop-and police-contributing countries, regarding the implementation of the mandates, 3.) strategic reviews of the missions conducted by the UN to ensure optimal structure, staffing and footprint of the mission and, 4.) rigorous assessments of missions resource requirements in the UN General Assembly's Fifth Committee (Administrative and Budgetary). This includes analyses of historical data, including performance reports as well as projections based on the most recent information on staffing and operations.

Question:

When compared with other forms of military intervention, U.N. peacekeeping operations are quite cost-effective. In fact, a report by the nonpartisan Government Accounting Office found that U.N. peacekeeping missions are eight times less expensive for American taxpayers than fielding a comparable U.S. force. Indeed, while the U.S. pays 25% of the peacekeeping budget, the rest of the world pays 75% and provides 99% of the personnel.

By proposing that the U.S. pay less towards the global cost of peacekeeping, are you then advocating that we put American lives at risk at a greater cost to the American taxpayer?

Answer:

UN peacekeeping is a powerful tool to share the burden of addressing global challenges to international peace and security and provides a collective benefit to the entire international community. However, we believe all nations should share equitably in the costs. Currently, the U.S. pays a disproportionate share of the burden for UN peacekeeping. By advocating the U.S. pay less toward the global cost of peacekeeping, we are advocating for greater burden sharing by other countries—a positive outcome for the American taxpayer. Congress agreed and recently appropriated peacekeeping below the assessed rate.

Additionally, the absence or reduction of peacekeeping missions does not equate to the deployment of U.S. troops. Any decision to do so would be based national security considerations.

Question:

In April 2017, the Administration issued a Kemp-Kasten Determination on UNFPA, resulting in the withholding of U.S. funds.

Please detail the China program visits and conversations that led to this determination. What resources have been dedicated to directly investigating these allegations? Is the U.S. Embassy intervening in China? Is the State Department sending any staff to investigate and take corrective action?

Answer:

The State Department did not send a team to China in advance of its determination. The determination was made consistent with the requirements of the Kemp-Kasten Amendment and in furtherance of the January 23, 2017 Presidential Memorandum “to take all necessary actions, to the extent permitted by law, to ensure that U.S. taxpayer dollars do not fund organizations or programs that support or participate in the management of a program of coercive abortion or involuntary sterilization.”

I refer you to the State Department for the information related to the Embassy in China and other State Department investigations.

Question:

Please provide timelines and transition plans for U.S.-funded work through UNFPA, with a focus on humanitarian efforts in places like Syria, South Sudan and Yemen.

Answer:

Since the determination to cease all U.S. Government funding to UNFPA, it is my understanding that USAID’s Office of U.S. Foreign Disaster Assistance (USAID/OFDA) has been able to reprogram all funding intended for UNFPA except inside of Syria. Ongoing conflict there has created access constraints that make it difficult for NGO partners to implement all of the programs previously supported by UNFPA (as a public international organization UNFPA has the ability to get supplies and services into hard-to-reach areas that other entities are unable

to access). The State Department is working with humanitarian partners to find alternative ways to meet these needs, including through organizations such as UNHCR and UNICEF, or ways to use the funds to support related needs in other areas.

Question:

The U.S. has spoken out on human rights violations and in recent months has been in many direct conversations with China.

In these recent conversations, was the Chinese fertility policy and relationship with UNFPA addressed? What was China's response?

Answer:

At the annual meeting of the UNFPA Executive Board meeting in June 2017, the U.S. delegation delivered an intervention addressing the March 2017 Kemp-Kasten determination and highlighting our long-standing policy to oppose programs that support coercive abortion and involuntary sterilization, specifically that UNFPA continues to partner on family planning activities with the Chinese government agency responsible for implementing China's coercive family planning policies. In response, the Deputy Director General of China's Ministry of Commerce called these "groundless accusations" and argued the U.S. was looking for "an excuse to distract from its decision to deviate from multilateralism." The official defended UNFPA's work in China, noting that it aligns with the international community's common interests. She further declared China's resolve to strengthen cooperation with UNFPA and appealed to other countries to do so as well.

Question:

Given that UNFPA isn't the only organization partnering with the National Health and Family Planning Commission in China, what other organizations are being investigated for potential violations of the Kemp-Kasten amendment?

Answer:

We are not aware of any information regarding other organizations that would raise concerns under the Kemp-Kasten Amendment.

Question:

How specifically will the U.S. replace the role of UNFPA in places like the Berm, the no-man's land between Syria and Jordan, where alternative facilities are nonexistent and NGOs and USAID aren't present?

Answer:

UNFPA continues to implement humanitarian programs in Jordan. In January 2017, prior to the Presidential Memorandum issued January 23, 2017, the State Department provided a contribution of \$2 million to UNFPA for programming in Jordan that the agency can utilize for activities at the berm. UNFPA has informed us that other donors have already made up any

anticipated shortfall in Jordan resulting from the Kemp-Kasten determination this year. Additionally, we are working to identify other partners we can work with to implement maternal and reproductive health programs in crisis settings.

Question:

Have you looked at how defunding UNFPA will impact access to, or education on, birth control or the impact on UNFPA's work in humanitarian crises? How will you work to ensure that the U.S. is not erecting barriers to sexual and reproductive health and rights globally?

Answer:

Preventing maternal and child deaths is a priority for this administration. As we work to streamline efforts to ensure efficiency and effectiveness of U.S. taxpayer dollars, we acknowledge that we must prioritize and make some difficult choices. By focusing our efforts on global health programs in maternal and child health, nutrition, and malaria, we will continue to save the lives of women and children. In humanitarian settings, the Department and USAID are working to identify other partners we can work with to implement critical humanitarian assistance activities.

The U.S. is by far the largest overall global health donor. While the United States will continue significant funding for global health programs, other stakeholders must do more to contribute their fair share to global health initiatives. We will continue to work with our international and host-country partners to support communities in need and welcome the contributions already provided by other international donors.

Question:

What do you see as the top global health priorities facing the U.N. in the near future?

Answer:

More than anything else, global health priorities for the United Nations should focus on saving lives. Therefore, it is critical that UN agencies continue to prioritize combatting communicable diseases, which so easily spread and needlessly take lives. When the world has a cure, it is a tragedy that so many should go untreated. Beyond the loss of life, infectious diseases can destabilize development, exacerbate conflict, and cross borders, turning a national emergency into a pandemic.

In Yemen, one of four countries on the brink of famine, we are seeing the world's largest outbreak of cholera with 500,000 cases and counting. We will continue to implore parties to provide open and unfettered humanitarian access, not just for food but also for medical supplies to enable treatment. Humanitarian crises, such as these, are man-made, and in that senselessness there is also a solution—to prevent what can be prevented and to treat what can be treated.

As a global player, the United Nations also has a responsibility to ensure its actors do not spread disease, such as the devastating spread of cholera in Haiti from Nepalese UN Peacekeepers. When populations are at their most vulnerable, that's when the UN system should be at its best, rather than be the cause of greater suffering.

Question:

According to the President's FY 2018 budget request, the State Department will lead an interagency strategic review of funding through the International Organizations account to determine funding levels. Who is conducting the review? What criteria will be used in the review, and what is the estimated date of completion? Why is the Administration proposing to slash U.S. contributions to the United Nations before undertaking this review? Will you commit to working with the House Committee on Foreign Affairs as you undertake the review?

Answer:

The Department of State is conducting a prioritization review with affected interagency stakeholders to determine how best to arrive at the proposed reductions in the Contributions to International Organizations account, should the final appropriation so require. The review is being guided by the broader political and strategic priorities of the Administration and an assessment of the organizations' efficiency and effectiveness.

The President's budget proposal for FY 2018 reflects the U.S. commitment to remain engaged with the UN and reinforces the expectation that the United Nations and other international organizations must become more efficient and effective and that Member States must agree to distribute the costs of collective action more equitably.

The Department is fully committed to staying in close communication with the House Committee on Foreign Affairs on the impacts of potential funding reductions in the Contributions to International Organizations account.

Question:

There are currently 20 million people in four countries (South Sudan, Nigeria, Somalia, and Yemen) facing famine and a historic number – 65 million – of displaced people around the world, the largest number since World War II.

How do you anticipate that the Administration's proposed cuts to International Disaster Assistance (34 percent) and Migration and Refugee Assistance (10 percent) will affect the U.S.' voluntary contributions to U.N. organizations to help respond to these crises?

Answer:

The United States is committed to doing our fair share to respond to humanitarian crises and providing lifesaving assistance to those who need it most. With our FY 2018 budget request, we will remain the leading contributor of humanitarian assistance. This request would focus funding on the highest priority areas while asking our international partners to step up their efforts and contribute more. This past year, the United States provided an additional \$990 million for the areas facing famine, enabling us to scale up critical operations in South Sudan, Nigeria, Yemen, and Somalia.

Question:

What are the administration's priorities for reforms to make the UN more efficient and effective? What is the administration's strategy to overcome disagreements on reform that have emerged in the General Assembly and other U.N. fora—particularly between developing countries and developed countries?

Answer:

The United States is a champion for UN reform, and we strongly support the Secretary General's efforts in making the organization more effective and efficient. However, the UN, as well as Member States, has significant work to do to enable the UN, including the UN Development System, to realize its potential and become the effective, efficient, results-oriented organization that the world needs.

During UN General Assembly High Level Week, President Trump hosted an extremely successful UN Reform event where 129 countries declared their support for UN Reform by signing a U.S.-drafted political declaration, negotiated with 12 other member states from across regions. We will build off the momentum that this event created to urge the Secretary-General at every opportunity to execute his authority affirmatively in support of a reformed UN.

The United States recognizes that steps must be taken to strengthen the UN's oversight and evaluation mechanisms, improve the operational independence of its oversight functions, and expand credible measures to protect those who report wrongdoing from retaliation. We must seize this opportunity to change the culture of the United Nations to focus more on advancing political solutions to crises and coordinate better among its many parts to eliminate duplication and overlap. This will require constructive engagement by the President of the General Assembly, outreach to key Member State blocs, and close cooperation with likeminded countries to overcome impediments on the path to reform.

UN Secretary-General Guterres has repeatedly indicated his determination to tackle these difficult challenges through transformational changes, and I look forward to working with him and other stakeholders to bring real urgency to the effort and hold the UN accountable if it falls short of the needed action.

Question:

We are outraged by the unlawful detention, torture and murder of LGBT individuals in Chechnya. We were terribly disappointed that Secretary Tillerson said that he has not raised the issue with his counterparts. We understand the issue has been raised at the highest levels in other countries, yet President Trump and Secretary Tillerson have not discussed this issue with Russian officials.

Please update our Committee on whether you or the president has raised the issue with your counterparts in Russia? What can you do to bring attention to this matter?

Answer:

I remain deeply concerned about the ongoing violence targeting the LGBTI community in Chechnya. As you are aware, there have been reports of violence including mass detentions based on sexual orientation and the systematic torture of hundreds of gay men. There have also been reports of extrajudicial killings.

I issued a statement in April expressing our deep concern over reports of these incidents. The Department Spokesperson in Washington has also released a statement, as has our representative to the Organization of Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). We were also proud to join the Equal Rights Coalition in expressing concern through a public statement on April 24, and have encouraged and welcomed like-minded statements from the OSCE, the Council of Europe, experts at the United Nations, and our allies in Europe.

We continue to demand accountability and a full investigation of these reports by the Russian authorities. Victims of the violence have urgent needs, including in many cases the need to relocate outside of Russia. The U.S. is working with likeminded countries and partners, including the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), as part of an international response that helps persons at risk get to safety as quickly as possible and ultimately enables them to find stable, and durable solutions.

Question:

The Administration has recently updated its Transnational Organized Crime Executive Order to include wildlife trafficking as a focal point of counter-trafficking. Wildlife Trafficking including elephant ivory, rhino horn, tiger parts, pangolins and illegal fish is estimated to be a \$15-20 billion a year illicit industry.

How would you describe the Administration's overall commitment and approach to Combating Wildlife Trafficking?

Answer:

The Administration is strongly committed to combating wildlife trafficking at home and abroad and all levels. Wildlife trafficking is one of four areas highlighted in President Trump's call for a comprehensive approach to disrupting and defeating transnational criminal organizations. The United States considers wildlife trafficking a serious transnational crime that threatens security, economic prosperity, the rule of law, long-standing conservation efforts, and human health. I would refer you to the Department of Justice, Department of Interior and Department of State for specifics on the implementation of the National Strategy for Combatting Wildlife Trafficking. At the United Nations, I will support serious efforts to combat wildlife trafficking.

Question:

In 2015 and 2016, the U.N. General Assembly adopted resolutions on combating wildlife trafficking (resolution 69/314 of July 2015 and 70/301 of September 2016). We understand that the UNGA is now discussing a new resolution this year.

Is the U.S. supportive, and are you working with other like-minded countries at the U.N.? How are you working to ensure that this resolution helps ensure that wildlife trafficking is seen as a serious crime?

Answer:

This year, the United States was actively engaged in negotiations on UN General Assembly resolutions addressing wildlife trafficking. On September 11, 2017, the United Nations adopted a resolution entitled, “Tackling illicit trafficking in wildlife,” which urges Member States to take decisive steps at the national level to prevent, combat, and eradicate illegal wildlife trade, on both the supply and demand sides. The United States co-sponsored this resolution. In addition, the resolution calls for Governments to strengthen domestic legislation and regulations to prevent, investigate, and prosecute illegal trade as a serious crime. The United States continues to recognize the value that UN resolutions provide in showcasing vital political will, leadership, and momentum to address wildlife trafficking. Beyond the UN, we will also continue our bilateral efforts with key governments, such as China, as well as through international agreements that secure commitments to help end wildlife trafficking.

Question:

The U.S. has been a leader in stopping the illegal ivory trade, including closure of our domestic ivory market and support at CITES as well.

What is the U.S. doing at the UNGA level to get governments to agree to close their domestic ivory markets?

Answer:

On September 11, 2017, the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution entitled, “Tackling illicit trafficking in wildlife,” which specifically urged all Governments to close legal domestic ivory markets if those markets contribute to poaching or illegal trade. The United States co-sponsored this resolution. In addition, the resolution called upon Member States to ensure that legal domestic markets for wildlife products are not used to mask the trade in illegal wildlife products. The United States continues to recognize the value that UN resolutions provide in showcasing vital political will, leadership, and momentum to address wildlife trafficking. Beyond the UN, we will also continue our bilateral efforts with key governments, including China, which has agreed to close its domestic ivory market by the end of 2017, as well as through international agreements, such as the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species (CITES), to secure commitments to close domestic ivory markets.

Question:

Pursuant to existing UN mandates, to what extent has the UN implemented and mobilized UN peacekeeping forces in response to illegal natural resource exploitation, including timber, gold, ivory, and charcoal in the Central African Republic? To what extent has existing UN mandates called for action by the UN to stop and deter illegal natural resource exploitation, including ivory, gold, charcoal, and timber by armed groups in South Sudan? If the current UN mandate is insufficient, how can it be extended to include illegal natural resource exploitation by armed groups?

Answer:

The United States is committed to combatting illegal exploitation of natural resources. These activities – such as wildlife and timber trafficking and illegal gold or diamond mining – make billions for transnational organized criminal networks and threaten security, undermine the rule of law, and hinder economic prosperity. This is certainly the case in the Central African Republic (CAR), where such criminal activities continue to threaten its peace and stability. United Nations Security Council (UNSC) resolution 2301 (2016) mandates the UN Integrated Multidimensional Mission in CAR (MINUSCA) to support the CAR authorities to develop a nationally-owned strategy to tackle the illicit exploitation and trafficking networks of natural resources, which continue to fund and supply armed groups, with the aim of extending state authority over the entire territory and its resources. Pursuant to its mandate, MINUSCA provides some logistical and security support for national authorities during their field inspection and monitoring missions related to the Kimberley Process (KP), with the aim of assessing the extent of armed group presence, improving security to enable the free movement of goods and persons, and maintaining state authority in the KP-approved diamond mining zones in the southwest of the country.

The UN Special Representative for CAR and Head of MINUSCA, Parfait Onanga-Anyanga, has emphasized that MINUSCA's efforts to gain control of mining sites around the country are critical for the extension of State authority. The Security Council has mandated that MINUSCA's assistance to the CAR authorities in the development of a plan to combat illicit exploitation and trafficking should be an essential task that is secondary to the Mission fulfilling "immediate priority" tasks such as protection of civilians. While the current mandate provides MINUSCA with sufficient latitude to support CAR in addressing trafficking issues, the current violence in CAR makes the complete fulfillment of this task challenging.

The UN does not have a specific mandate to deter illegal natural resource exploitation by armed groups in South Sudan. Since the civil conflict began in 2013, the mandate of the UN Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS) has been focused on the protection of civilians, support for the delivery of humanitarian assistance, monitoring and reporting on human rights violations, and support for implementation of the August 2015 peace agreement. The review of the mission's mandate, scheduled for December 15, will provide an opportunity for discussion and authorization of its future tasks.

Question:

Please explain how the Shayrat airfield strike was consistent with America's obligations under Article 2(4) of the U.N. Charter and United States domestic law. In your view, what limits does America's commitment to abide by Article 2(4) of the U.N. Charter impose on our lawful use of force for both humanitarian intervention and other purposes?

Answer:

The United States carefully considered the domestic and international legal issues related to U.S. military action in Syria prior to conducting airstrikes against the Shayrat airfield.

The President has authority pursuant to Article II of the Constitution as Commander in Chief to take military action that in nature, scope, and duration does not amount to war and that

furthering sufficiently important national interests. The President provided a report to Congress regarding the use of force in a letter dated April 8, 2017, consistent with the War Powers Resolution (Public Law 93-148).

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Question:

Do you believe that the Qatari government has been funding Hamas? If the Qatari government has been funding Hamas, why has the State Department not designated them as a State Sponsor of Terrorism? Has the Qatari government funding of Hamas ceased? If the Qatari government has not been funding Hamas, to what were you referring?

Answer:

While the Qatari government does not fund Hamas, it does allow Hamas political representatives to be based in Qatar, which Qatar believes limits Iran's influence and pressure over Hamas. Senior Qatari officials have stated that Hamas' presence in Qatar does not imply support for the group and the Qatari government recently expelled some Hamas members. We do not expect Hamas' new Political Bureau Chief Ismail Haniyeh to be based in Qatar, unlike his predecessor. Qatar has committed to take action against terrorist financing, including shutting down Hamas bank accounts.

Qatar has provided significant assistance in Gaza. In coordination with Israel and the UN, Qatar has spent more than \$225 million to date on reconstruction efforts, largely in housing and health care facilities for the people of Gaza. This assistance partially fulfills Qatar's \$407 million pledge in 2012 and \$1 billion pledge announced during the 2014 Cairo Conference on reconstructing Gaza, following the July-August 2014 war.

Question:

In the hearing, you said that the U.S. funds the Palestinian Authority. You said "we give a lot of money to the Palestinian Authority." This has not been true since 2014. What did you mean by U.S. funding for the Palestinian Authority?

Answer:

Since 2014, the U.S. has not provided direct budget assistance to the Palestinian Authority (PA). In fiscal years 2015 and 2016, the U.S. provided approximately \$544 million to support development and humanitarian assistance to Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza. Of this amount, approximately \$145 million supported debt payments for fuel and for hospital referrals to the East Jerusalem Hospital Network paid directly to PA creditors. U.S. support improves the lives of Palestinians in the areas of democracy and governance, education, water and sanitation, and economic growth and private enterprise.

Question:

U.N. Security Council Resolution 2231, which governs the implementation of the JCPOA, includes a travel ban on certain Iranians. One of the individuals on the travel ban list is IRGC Quds Force Commander Qassem Soleimani. Qassem Soleimani is responsible for the deaths of hundreds of Americans in Iraq, not to mention the hundreds of thousands of Syrians that he has helped annihilate as part of his support for the Assad regime. While he is prohibited from traveling under international law, he has reportedly been able to travel to Yemen, Syria and Russia in furtherance of the IRGC Quds Force's agenda.

Will you seek enforcement of the U.N. Security Council travel ban? What are you doing to ensure that there are consequences for those countries that violate UN Security Council 2231 and facilitate his travel?

Answer:

We are aware of the media reports about travel by the IRGC's General Qassem Soleimani to Yemen, Syria, and Russia. These reports have been referenced in the UN Secretary-General's biannual reports on UNSCR 2231 implementation. We are not in a position to confirm the travel ourselves at this time, but if confirmed, such travel would be a matter of serious concern to the United States and other members of the UN Security Council as it would indicate a failure by UN member states to meet their obligations under Resolution 2231 to deny Soleimani entry into their borders unless the UN Security Council approves an exemption. The United States maintains primary sanctions on the IRGC, the Quds Force, its leadership—including Soleimani—and its network of front companies due to their ties to terrorism. Our partners in the European Union maintain similar sanctions against Soleimani alongside those of the UN and the United States. Such sanctions are only effectively if rigorously enforced. We need to look into Soleimani's travel, along with the travel of others who have been said to have violated the ban, and if confirmed, respond accordingly. All elements of Resolution 2231 must be enforced, not simply the nuclear provisions. And unfortunately, we see time and time again references to violations of the travel ban, asset freeze, ban on ballistic missiles advancement, and the arms embargo. This is unacceptable, and we will do everything we can to continue to draw attention to Iran's violations of 2231 and work to ensure our partners enforce it as it was intended.

Question:

U.N. Security Council resolution 2231, which governs the implementation of the JCPOA, includes a five-year arms embargo to Iran, unless the Security Council votes to allow the arms transfer.

Will you commit to voting against arms transfers to Iran? Would the transfer of arms to Iran without permission from the Security Council violate UN Security Council Resolution 2231?

Answer:

Yes, I commit to voting against arms transfers to Iran. The United States has made it clear that it will not approve any request submitted to the Security Council in support of an arms transfer into Iran. Any such transfer conducted without the express approval of the Security Council would constitute a violation of UNSCR 2231.

Question:

What specifically do you think the UN Secretary General, the UN Security Council and other UN bodies should do with respect to Venezuela? Do you believe that the UN should offer to provide humanitarian assistance to Venezuela? How could/should this be done?

Answer:

The Maduro government has launched a campaign of violence and repression against the Venezuelan people, targeting human rights and democratic institutions, destabilizing the economy and creating a humanitarian crisis where basic food and medical needs are unavailable. I have used and will continue to use the convening power of the UN to draw attention to this situation, as I did when I called an emergency session of the UN Security Council in May. Through its convening power, the Security Council remains a crucial forum for addressing the situation in Venezuela, yet is hindered by member states ignoring the threat these human rights abuses pose to international peace and security. Unfortunately, these member states continue to block any meaningful discussion, limiting the effectiveness of the Security Council and other UN bodies, including the Human Rights Council.

I will continue, however, to explore options within the United Nations system, to include mediation efforts between the government and opposition as well as humanitarian assistance to the Venezuelan people. I believe that the UN Security Council and other UN bodies should press the Maduro government to uphold its obligations and commitments to human rights and democracy, and I will work toward that end.

Question:

Please describe what specifically has changed in Haiti to make MINUSTAH no longer needed. How would the situation on the ground in Haiti have to change for the Trump Administration to support the return of the peacekeeping mission?

Answer:

Following two years of political impasse, Haiti now has a democratic government in place with an elected president, confirmed cabinet, and a complete Parliament. Additionally, the Haitian National Police (HNP) has demonstrated its ability to maintain stability and guard against security threats, which typically arise from political and socio-economic protests or gang violence. By the end of 2017, the HNP will have over 15,000 officers, achieving the goal outlined in its 2012-2016 development plan. MINUSTAH's military component has not been called upon to support Haitian security forces to quell violence in the recent past. The UN completed a strategic assessment of the mission in February 2017, which supports this action by recommending withdrawal of the entire military component and reducing UN police personnel by half.

On April 13, 2017, based on these recommendations, the UN Security Council extended MINUSTAH's mandate for a final six-month period, decided to withdraw the military component and reduce the UN's police presence, and established the UN Mission for Justice Support in Haiti (MINUJUSTH), a follow-on successor mission which began on October 16, 2017. MINUJUSTH will devote its efforts to where they are most needed: in support of the rule of law, developing the Haitian police force, and protecting human rights. With a reduced UN police presence, the HNP will have to assume greater responsibility for maintaining security throughout Haiti. This transition to local responsibility is an important achievement, and MINUSTAH has increasingly worked with the UN Country Team to transfer tasks from the peacekeeping mission to UN agencies and the Haitian government. We are supportive of this effort and will continue to monitor the situation on the ground closely, though we do not expect a reversal of the positive trends.

Question:

On March 24, 2017, the United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC), with support from the U.S., agreed to send an international fact-finding mission into Burma to investigate possible crimes against humanity and ethnic cleansing. The mission was authorized following interviews with 220 Rohingya stating Burma's security forces have committed mass killings and gang rapes. Burma Ambassador Htin Lynn immediately rejected the U.N.'s decision as "not acceptable," citing the state-authorized Kofi Annan Commission as taking precedence. The Kofi Annan Commission is expected to release a final report later this year, but the interim findings underemphasized the human rights abuses in Burma which the UNHRC hopes to investigate. In May, Lynn again dismissed the fact-finding mission after the U.N. announced team leads.

Given your pledge to "make the U.N. an effective instrument of peace, security and human rights of all people," how specifically will you press the Burmese government to accept a U.N. fact-finding mission to examine abuses by security forces, to allow unrestricted access for human rights officers within the country, and hold the Burmese government accountable for implementing the recommendations from Kofi Annan commission report? Would you consider a resolution on Burma in the U.N. 3rd Committee General Assembly resolution if the government is not responsive on these fronts?

Answer:

We have issued public statements and continued to press the Government of Burma, both publicly and privately, to allow access to the Fact Finding Mission. The horrific events following the August 24, 2017 release of the Annan Commission's report have only exacerbated the need for an objective, independent accounting of the facts on the ground. We continue to insist to the Government of Burma that the UN's Fact Finding Mission is a critical element of this process and should be granted immediate and unrestricted access to not only northern Rakhine State but to the other areas where abuses are alleged such as northern Shan State and Kachin State.

At this time, the Organization of the Islamic Conference grouping within the Third Committee is proposing a resolution condemning human rights abuses in Burma. We have not yet seen the text but, when circulated, will work to ensure that it is a constructive effort to address the situation. In addition, we are also working with our fellow UN Security Council members per the call of President Trump for the Council to take "strong and swift action" to end the crisis.

Question:

Does the Administration support maintaining the UN Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan? Why?

Answer:

The UN Military Observer Group in Indian and Pakistan (UNMOGIP) is a small mission of 41 military observers, 23 international civilian personnel, and 48 local staff.

UNMOGIP monitors the ceasefire between India and Pakistan to help avoid renewed conflict. A peaceful region and positive relations between India and Pakistan remain U.S. interests. The mission is not currently slated for reduction of cost or scope. However, we are reviewing the effectiveness of the mission and the need for its continued mandate.

Question:

Will the Administration consider making increased Sri Lankan participation in U.N. Peacekeeping contingent upon the Sri Lankan government's commitment to provide a plan of how it will use peacekeeping operations as a catalyst to normalize its military presence throughout Sri Lanka?

Answer:

As part of our sustained effort to champion reform that leads to smarter, more efficient and effective peacekeeping operations, the United States continues to encourage the UN to evaluate decisions about contingent participation in UN peacekeeping missions based on readiness and performance criteria. To that end, we have supported the creation of a professional system for force generation at the UN. Our objective is that this system will put information in the hands of decision-makers to help the UN make merit-based decisions about training needs and troop deployment. The United States will continue to work with the Sri Lankan government, military, civil society, and our partners in the international community, including within the UN system, to encourage progress on transitional justice and reconciliation in Sri Lanka, which we

believe is vital to the stability of both Sri Lanka and the region. In addition, at the urging of the United States the UN has requested that Sri Lankan contingents submit rosters of peacekeepers prior to deployment in order to vet Sri Lankan soldiers for Human Rights Violations.

Question:

Please list each commitment the U.S. government believes the Sri Lankan government has made through U.N. Human Rights Council resolution A/HRC/25/L1 from March 2014, and an assessment defining how far along the government is in addressing each one.

Answer:

With assistance from our Mission in Geneva and the State Department, we collected the following information. UN Human Rights Council resolution A/HRC/25/L1 of March 2014 calls on the government of Sri Lanka to promote reconciliation, accountability, and human rights. The subsequent October 2015 resolution A/HRC/30/1, which Sri Lanka co-sponsored and which was renewed in March 2017, welcomes Sri Lanka's commitments to:

- address violations and abuses of human rights;
- engage in dialogue and consultation with stakeholders to ensure accountability, justice, and reconciliation;
- devolve political authority;
- take necessary constitutional measures to reach political settlement;
- strengthen processes of truth-seeking, justice, reparations, and guarantees of non-recurrence;
- undertake a comprehensive approach to dealing with the past, incorporating judicial and non-judicial measures;
- review its witness and victim protection law; review the Public Security Ordinance Act;
- repeal and replace the Prevention of Terrorism Act;
- sign and ratify the International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance and criminalize enforced disappearances;
- release publicly previous presidential commission reports;
- issue instructions to security forces that violations of international human rights and humanitarian law are prohibited and punishable.

Resolution A/HRC/30/1 also welcomes the Sri Lankan government's proposals to establish a commission for truth, justice, reconciliation, and non-recurrence; an office of missing persons; an office for reparations; and a judicial mechanism to investigate allegations of violations of human rights and international humanitarian law that includes an independent special counsel and the participation of Commonwealth and other foreign judges, defense lawyers, prosecutors and investigators. It further welcomes initial steps to return land from the military to rightful civilian owners.

The government of Sri Lanka has made some progress toward implementation of its commitments since the adoption of resolution A/HRC/30/1. It has established a Secretariat for Coordinating Reconciliation Mechanisms (SCRM), an Office for National Unity and Reconciliation, and a number of working groups to draft legislation to institute transitional

justice mechanisms. The government also established a Consultation Task Force on Reconciliation Mechanisms that carried out national consultations with more than 7,300 stakeholders and submitted a detailed report with findings and recommendations to the Office for National Unity and Reconciliation in January 2017. However, neither President Sirisena nor Prime Minister Wickremesinghe have endorsed the report or agreed to implement its recommendations.

In August 2016, Sri Lanka's parliament approved the Registration of Deaths Act, which provides for "certificates of absence" for families of the disappeared. Sri Lanka ratified the International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance in May 2016. The parliament also has given public notice of legislation to incorporate the convention into domestic law, but it has not yet passed the bill.

To advance constitutional reform, the Sri Lankan parliament established itself as a constitutional assembly in March 2016. Six subcommittees presented recommendations to the assembly in November 2016.

The Sri Lankan government launched a National Authority for the Protection of Crime Victims and Witnesses in January 2016 and began setting up victim and witness protection units in police stations beginning in November 2016. Its cabinet approved a national human rights plan of action for 2017-2021 in January 2017. The Ministry for Women and Child Affairs issued a plan to combat sexual and gender-based violence in November 2016. The president issued a circular in June 2016 instructing security services to respect the rights of detainees when making arrests under the Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA). In February 2017 the government confirmed it had instituted a moratorium on the use of the PTA. The government has sought international input on counterterrorism legislation and has prepared several initial drafts of a law to replace the PTA, but it has not repealed the law.

The government says that it has issued internal instructions to all branches of the security forces that violations of international human rights and humanitarian law are prohibited and will be investigated and punished. Despite this measure, human rights organizations allege that torture, abuse, and sexual violence by the military and police continue. The Human Rights Commission of Sri Lanka reported that it received over 400 complaints of torture in 2016.

Since 2015, the Sri Lankan military has returned more than 4,700 acres of state and private land to civilian authorities and land owners.

The United States continues to press Sri Lanka to fulfill all of its commitments in resolution A/HRC/30/1, including establishing an office of missing persons, a truth-seeking commission, an office of reparations, and a judicial mechanism to investigate allegations of past violations of human rights and international humanitarian law.

Question:

Given your stated concerns about the increase in instability and threats to civilians in DRC, and your calls for greater U.N. action to address these concerns, will you continue to call for the mission to be downsized? What are your findings so far in the Administration's ongoing strategic review of MONUSCO and other U.N. peacekeeping operations?

Answer:

We conduct a review of each UN peacekeeping mission as its mandate comes up for renewal to ensure it is appropriate to the situation in the country and that it is advancing U.S. objectives. The mandate for the UN Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO) will be up for renewal in March 2018, before this I am travelling to the DRC to review MONUSCO in order to inform our decision making as we review how the mission is performing and whether further downsizing is warranted. When the U.S. advocates for a drawdown of forces in a mission, we work with the UN to ensure that the changes are implemented in a responsible manner that maintains the most crucial and impactful aspects of the mission. To date, we have some indications that our pressure to improve performance in MONUSCO has worked. The UN has made the decision to implement the troop reduction by drawing down underperforming troops, which we believe has sent an important signal to other poor performers that they must improve. The UN has also begun to make the force more mobile and flexible.

In addition to MONUSCO's vital work protecting civilians, it provides important support to the electoral process, including through supporting implementation of the December 31 political agreement and voter registration. Credible elections will not be possible without the logistical and technical support of MONUSCO given the DRC's vast territory and extremely limited physical infrastructure. Credible, inclusive elections and a peaceful transfer of power are essential to the DRC's stability and thus directly linked to MONUSCO's exit strategy. Additionally, the United States relies on MONUSCO's monitoring and reporting on human rights, which has proven to be helpful in preventing violence against civilians. This is particularly important in the Kasai regions, where instability and inaccessibility can severely limit information. To that end, we remain committed to ensuring that MONUSCO is responsive, flexible, and able to actively and effectively fulfill its mandated tasks and address the ongoing violence in the DRC.

Question:

To what extent do you attribute the security downturn in various regions of DRC to the political stand-off over whether President Kabila is entitled to remain in office? What is the Administration's position on the political crisis in DRC, to what extent does it represent a change from the past Administration, and what actions are you and other Cabinet officials pursuing – in Kinshasa, New York, and Washington – in response to the situation? What role can or should MONUSCO play in electoral preparations and under what conditions?

Answer:

The political impasse resulting from the DRC government's continued delays in organizing elections and President Kabila's remaining in power beyond his mandate has exacerbated tensions within the DRC and serves as a trigger for increased unrest and insecurity in the country. While the recent violence in eastern DRC and the Kasais can be attributed to a number of complex factors, we believe that various groups are taking advantage of a void in state authority and an increasingly politicized and tense environment.

Our immediate focus is to ensure credible, inclusive elections and a peaceful, democratic transfer of power. While elections are clearly not sufficient to address the DRC's many challenges, we believe they are essential to averting more widespread violence and unrest. To this end, the United States is actively pushing both the DRC government and the opposition to make greater progress on the implementation of the December 31 Saint Sylvestre agreement, and for the government to take concrete steps towards electoral planning, including completing the voter registration process and announcing an electoral calendar. We coordinate our response closely with the region, including the African Union, sub-regional organizations and key regional leaders; the European Union (EU) and our European partners; and the UN, including at the Security Council and through the UN peacekeeping mission in the DRC, MONUSCO, thus increasing the impact of our efforts. We have also called on the DRC government both publicly and privately to protect political space for civil society, to allow the political opposition to operate without harassment, and to cease violence by the security forces, including extrajudicial arrests and detention. We have condemned the excessive use of force by security forces against civilians and continuously urge the DRC government to hold individuals responsible for such human rights violations and abuses accountable. We regularly engage with stakeholders, including from the DRC government, opposition, and civil society groups, in Kinshasa, Washington, and New York.

We imposed U.S. targeted sanctions on June 1, 2017, against a DRC government official, François Olenga, responsible for undermining democratic processes and institutions in the DRC, and his business.

The United States commends MONUSCO's efforts to support the electoral process. Quite simply, elections cannot be organized in the DRC without MONUSCO, given the DRC's vast territory, which covers an area the size of the United States east of the Mississippi River, and its almost non-existent infrastructure. Recognizing that elections are essential for MONUSCO eventual departure from the DRC, UN Security Council resolution 2348 (2017) clearly outlines MONUSCO's two priority tasks as protection of civilians and supporting implementation of the December 31 agreement and the electoral process. In addition to coordinating with both the DRC government and the opposition to encourage implementation of the December 31 agreement, MONUSCO provides technical and logistical support to the Independent National Electoral Commission (CENI) for the completion of the revision of the voter register. To that end, MONUSCO has utilized its strengthened presence in the Kasai provinces to better support voter registration efforts, and has called on the CENI to publish an electoral calendar without further delay. MONUSCO is also mandated to monitor and report on restrictions of political space and on violence in the context of elections, as well as to provide a report to the Security Council every three months on progress made by the DRC on the implementation of the December 31 agreement and the electoral process. MONUSCO thus provides the international community with vital information that would otherwise not be available. The United States remains committed to ensuring that MONUSCO becomes increasingly responsive, flexible, and able to actively and effectively fulfill its mandated tasks.

I will be traveling to the DRC at the end of October to review recent changes to MONUSCO and survey the conditions in eastern DRC, with a particular concern for how instability impacts children in the Kivus. I also intend to meet with President Kabila in Kinshasa and clearly communicate the US position on elections, as outlined above. The country is at a pivotal point,

and President Kabila's choices could bring about DRC's first peaceful transition of power or could spark the widespread conflict that has marked past transitions of DRC leadership, compromising US humanitarian and strategic interests in the region.

Question:

What role can or should MONUSCO play in protecting civilians in Kasai? Do you believe that the abuses in Kasai are grounds for additional sanctions designations, including potentially of additional government officials, under E.O. 13671?

Answer:

The UN Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO) plays an important role in protecting civilians in the Kasai provinces, as mandated by the UN Security Council (UNSC) in resolution 2348 (2017), which clearly outlines protecting civilians and supporting implementation of the December 31, 2016, political agreement as MONUSCO's two priority tasks. To that end, MONUSCO is adjusting its posture and has deployed additional troops to the Kasai provinces to provide assistance to the Mission's civilian components and humanitarian actors. MONUSCO has helped to prompt the gradual return of some local populations to their villages, the resumption of activities in local market places, and the reopening of some schools and churches. Specifically, the deployment of MONUSCO to Tshimbulu contributed to the return of over 65 percent of the population and the reopening of all 36 schools and churches. The Mission has also supported mediation efforts with a view to protect civilians.

MONUSCO currently provides the only reporting on the horrific human rights abuses and violations in the Kasai provinces, including documenting numerous cases of child abuse, kidnapping, and widespread sexual violence against underage girls. Since September 2016, MONUSCO has documented 646 attacks on schools in the Kasai provinces by Kamuina Nsapu militia. MONUSCO has also provided critical support, through its Prosecution Support Cells, to ongoing investigations in the Kasais, including into the more than 80 mass graves and the murders of UN experts Michael Sharp and Zaida Catalan. Without the presence of MONUSCO in the Kasais to protect civilians, the violence and instability would be far worse. We are hopeful that the Human Rights Council mandated international investigation into allegations of gross violations and abuses in the Kasai regions will also provide additional insight into the crimes occurring in the DRC.

The United States is prepared to consider additional U.S. or UN targeted sanctions against those responsible for threatening the peace, security, or stability of the DRC or for the targeting of civilians through the commission of acts of violence, whether members of the government or of armed groups, including for activities in the Kasais. To this end, we are coordinating closely with our European Union and UN partners.

Question:

What is the current status of MONUSCO logistical support for and joint operations with the DRC military (FARDC)? What is your view on the extent to which the U.N.'s human rights due diligence policy should preclude MONUSCO support for operations to counter destabilizing

militias such as the Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR) and the Allied Democratic Forces (ADF)?

Answer:

The UN Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO) is neither involved with, nor providing support to, operations conducted by units of the DRC armed forces (FARDC) in the Kasai provinces. MONUSCO does continue to support the FARDC in eastern DRC. This support consists of reconnaissance flights, information sharing, and logistics assistance, including providing fuel and rations. In addition, MONUSCO continues to conduct joint operations with the FARDC in eastern DRC in accordance with its mandate to protect civilians and neutralize armed groups.

While we are confident that the UN is only working with vetted, approved FARDC units, it remains essential that we continue to review whether and to the extent that joint operations benefit non-vetted or problematic FARDC units or commanders. We continue to engage the UN Secretariat and the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights on whether MONUSCO's provision of support to the FARDC in eastern DRC is consistent with the UN's Human Rights Due Diligence Policy.

Question:

What is the Administration doing to encourage more urgent implementation by all parties of the 2015 Mali peace accord? What were the concrete outcomes of the May 2017 MINUSMA force generation conference?

Answer:

We continue to work closely with our international partners to consistently press the signatory parties to fully implement the Algiers Peace Accord. We are an active participant in the Agreement Monitoring Committee. Our embassy in Bamako seizes every opportunity, both in public and in private, to urge the parties to live up to the obligations they took on under the Accord. Conversations at the UN Security Council (UNSC) on implementation of the Accord are ongoing, including the adoption of UNSC resolution 2364 (2017) on June 21. The resolution renewed focus on the good offices' role of Special Representative to the Secretary-General Mahamat Annadif and was designed to encourage further implementation. The United States has every intention to work closely with the UN to ensure the strategic plan reflects the approach envisioned in UNSC resolution 2364 (2017) and pursues U.S. peacekeeping principles, particularly supporting political solutions through an achievable mandate with a clear exit strategy.

In June, the government and the signatory armed groups committed to prioritizing the implementation of the agreement beyond the expiration of its two year interim period that expired June 20. They also reached an agreement on a revised roadmap for its implementation and to establish the Operational Coordination Mechanism in Kidal on July 20, which did not materialize due to the violent clashes between the CMA and Platform that same month. Due to the prevailing insecurity there was no progress with regard to the redeployment of civil administration to the country's north and center. Low deployment rates continued to adversely

impact the delivery of basic social services and undermine citizen confidence in the state. On June 21, the Council of Ministers postponed the constitutional referendum planned for July 9 to allow the Constitutional Court to consider a petition filed by opposition members of Parliament challenging the legality of the review process. A group opposed to the referendum, consisting of opposition members, civil society and trade union representatives, issued an ultimatum to President Ibrahim Boubacar Keita to withdraw the draft constitution. IBK announced August 18 the referendum was delayed, a stay he claimed was in the national interest to preserve a social climate and avoid confrontations.

As of early September, 11,273 personnel out of MINUSMA's ceiling of 13,289 had been deployed. MINUSMA has begun a mission-wide strategic plan mandated by Resolution 2364, to establish a phased approach to mandate implementation, a transition strategy and an exit strategy. Little progress was made in force generation, although important steps were taken in preparation for the deployment of key assets. The lack of armored personnel carriers remained a major obstacle to the mission's operations, although some troop contributing countries made progress to reduce their shortage. Bangladesh's medium helicopter unit in Kidal, unable to fly since an October 2016 attack, is scheduled to be repatriated starting this month.

Since June the security situation deteriorated significantly. Violent extremist groups and terrorist elements carried out 75 attacks compared with 37 in the prior quarter. 15 MINUSMA peacekeepers and staff were killed, another 34 injured. Most asymmetric attacks were claimed by the Group for the Support of Islam and Muslims (Jama'a Nusrat ul-Islam wa al-Muslimin'-JNIM), the merged entity of mostly AQ-affiliated groups who combined efforts last March. Islamic State in the Greater Sahara, currently operating on the Mali-Niger border, has sought to exploit intercommunal fissures. Most extremist attacks were on convoys, initiated by IED followed by ambush, while mortar attacks dominated those against MINUSMA installations. MINUSMA continued to support the government's integrated strategy for the central region of the country, where the security situation has rapidly deteriorated over the last year. In July, armed clashes erupted between two signatories to Mali's peace agreement, as they vied for control of the northern town of Kidal. The CMA and Platform continued sporadic fighting until signing a temporary ceasefire in mid-August and a renewed "commitment" document in late September to maintain a permanent ceasefire and fully implement the peace agreement.

Question:

Under what conditions would you support authorizing a G5 counterterrorism role within MINUSMA as part of that mission's mandate renewal – perhaps along the lines of MONUSCO's Intervention Brigade? Under what conditions, if any, would you view UNSOA – which provides logistical support to AMISOM in Somalia – as a potential model for future U.N. support to a G5 or African Union-led operation in Mali or the wider Sahel?

Answer:

Though we support a G5 Sahel joint force in principle as a potentially important example of African ownership of regional security and stabilization efforts, we do not support Chapter VII authority for the force at the UN Security Council (UNSC). The G5 Sahel joint force already has the consent of the participating states that would constitute the force to deploy within their respective territorial borders, and those states have provided "hot pursuit" authorization across

their borders. As such, there is no compelling reason for the UNSC to grant the force Chapter VII authorization. Furthermore, the precedent of seeking UN authorization for a force that has consent by host governments to deploy with their respective borders could complicate military engagements in regions where we have willing and capable partners and with whom we cooperate on shared security goals.

While engagement related to UN support for the G5 force will undoubtedly continue, we remain committed first and foremost to the success of MINUSMA. The results of the May MINUSMA force generation conference promise to add capabilities that have been absent for the last year. It would be irresponsible to stress the mission further by requiring it to support additional tasks at this time. Furthermore, there are many lessons from both MONUSCO's Intervention Brigade and the logistical support model in Somalia which require serious examination before we would consider replicating either in support of the G5 force.

Question:

What are your team and your colleagues at State doing to convince holdouts on the Council, particularly Ethiopia, which is influential given its role as a neighboring country and a mediator, to support the embargo?

Answer:

We support the imposition of a South Sudan arms embargo by the UN and are working to build support for one in the Security Council.

In May, we engaged the members of the Security Council and regional governments, including Ethiopia, to ask for their support for a UN arms embargo given the continuing conflict and humanitarian crisis in South Sudan. I also met with my Ethiopian and other African counterparts on the Security Council to urge that the Security Council take concrete action on South Sudan. There was not sufficient support for an arms embargo resolution at that time.

Ethiopia is the Chair of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), which in the past opposed an arms embargo or targeted sanctions in South Sudan. On June 12, and as a result of sustained U.S., UK, Norwegian, and EU pressure, Ethiopian Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn convened an extraordinary IGAD summit on South Sudan. The resulting communiqué announced that IGAD would host a High-level Revitalization Forum (RVF) by October to discuss implementation of the 2015 Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in South Sudan (ARCSS). Subsequently, the communiqué released following an IGAD Council of Ministers meeting in Addis Ababa on July 2 indicated members committed "to collaborate with AU and UN to take all necessary measures to hold accountable individuals and groups causing humanitarian crises and committing human rights violations."

In this context, we have engaged with IGAD member states, including Ethiopia, to request they uphold this commitment and — should the RVF not produce its intended results of a cessation of hostilities and revitalization of the ARCSS — support a UN arms embargo in South Sudan as a necessary measure to reduce the conflict. In concert with our international partners, we will continue to engage Security Council members and regional governments in an effort to build the necessary support for a UN arms embargo. I will be traveling to Ethiopia at the end of October.

Question:

What is your view on the RPF and what its role should be in light of the current conflict and political dynamics in the country?

Answer:

We continue to evaluate all peacekeeping operations against the five principles I outlined early in my tenure: peacekeeping missions must support political solutions, host governments must cooperate with the UN, peacekeeping mandates must be realistic and achievable, peacekeeping mandates must have an exit strategy, and mandates must be adjusted, both when situations improve and when they fail to improve. With the upcoming renewal of the United Nations Mission in the Republic of South Sudan (UNMISS) peacekeeping mandate in December, we will take all of these factors into account and evaluate the UNMISS mandate, which includes the Regional Protection Force (RPF). We will carefully review the role of the RPF in light of the current conflict in the country as well as the political dynamics which are driving the conflict, and its role in creating a peace-enabling environment.

Question:

Amid reports of rising violence, ongoing militia attacks on civilians, what will a major drawdown of UNAMID mean for civilians in Darfur? How has the U.S.-Sudan engagement strategy affected access and movement for UNAMID troops? How many civilians are the UN and NGOs able to access now that they weren't able to access last year?

Answer:

UNAMID continues to play an important role in the protection of civilians and the provision of critical support to UN and civil society organizations delivering humanitarian assistance. The situation in Darfur today is quite different, however, than when the UN Security Council first authorized UNAMID. Fighting between government forces and rebel groups has subsided in most of the region. Currently, inter-ethnic fighting and militia activity present the greatest threat to civilians and internally displaced persons (IDPs). The most recent UNAMID mandate renewal therefore refocused the mission on governance capacity building tasks in relatively calm areas of Darfur, to include supporting local police forces and helping to build rule of law institutions, while still continuing to protect civilians.

To address continued insecurity in the Jebel Marra area, UNAMID will remain focused on providing military protection, clearing explosive remnants of war, and addressing emergency relief. The opening of a temporary operating base in Golo, which would significantly improve UNAMID's access and response in the Jebel Marra, is a key component of revised mission strategy. Accordingly, we will press the Government of Sudan to grant UNAMID permission to open the Golo base. We will also continue to stress that UNAMID must be able to operate unhindered throughout Darfur.

The UNAMID drawdown could impact the mission's ability to protect civilians in areas of Darfur where UNAMID has closed team sites. In recognition of these concerns, we agreed to a phased reduction of UNAMID forces over 12 months, with an interim review point in January

2018 to assess whether the mission's ability to fulfill its protection of civilians mandate has been adversely affected. In addition, the UN is taking a number of steps to mitigate the risks of military withdrawal from stable areas, principally through mobile quick-response capabilities and a system of early warnings. The United States will continue to press the Government of Sudan to maintain a cessation of hostilities in Darfur, to disarm militias, to improve humanitarian access, and to ensure UNAMID's ability to return to closed team sites if conditions worsen.

The Five Track Engagement Plan (STEP) has led to heightened levels of cooperation between the U.S. and Sudanese governments. The overall security and humanitarian situation in Darfur has improved as a result of the STEP requirement that the government cease military offensives. The STEP framework has also enabled the United States to advocate on behalf of UNAMID, leading to fewer Sudanese government restrictions on UNAMID's access and movement throughout Darfur.

Although substantial obstacles remain, the progress in UNAMID's freedom of movement has facilitated the delivery of humanitarian assistance to key areas of Darfur since December 2016, including the Jebel Marra, which brought to light a severe nutritional crisis in the area. In response to that crisis, UN agencies and NGOs launched a nutrition outreach campaign, combined with targeted water, sanitation, and hygiene-focused interventions. The UN Children's Fund is working with federal and state-level authorities to assist approximately 200,000 displaced or recently returned people, including approximately 120,000 children.

Question:

The East African regional body that brokered South Sudan's 2015 peace deal appears to be at an impasse on how to proceed in the wake of the accord's collapse last year. South Sudan's president has recently reiterated to Members of Congress the critical role the US played in his country's formation – a legacy of the George W. Bush Administration. What are you doing to revive the peace process for the troubled country? Do you believe that that a Special Envoy should be appointed to help resolve this conflict in cooperation with other countries' special envoys?

Answer:

NOTE: The Committee did not receive responses to the above question prior to printing.



Questions for the Record Submitted to
U.S. Mission to the UN, Ambassador Nikki Haley
by Representative Ted Poe
House Foreign Affairs Committee
June 28, 2017

Question:

You have stated that you were going to fix the UN. What aspects of the UN have you seen need the most improvement? What have you been able to do?

Answer:

The United States is a champion for UN reform, and we strongly support the Secretary-General's efforts in making the organization more effective and efficient. The Secretary-General and member states have an important opportunity to institute long-overdue and transformational change at the United Nations. Big reforms are required.

We must change the United Nations' culture to focus more on results and advancing political solutions to crises. The United Nations also must coordinate better among its many parts and eliminate duplication and overlap.

The UN must fully implement existing reform initiatives, including modernization and transformation of its enterprise resources planning platform, global service delivery functions, mandate delivery, combatting sexual abuse and exploitation, and protecting whistle blowers.

The U.S. Mission to the United Nations and the State Department will continue to engage at the highest levels on why UN reform is in the best interest of every member state, and to encourage member states to take on more responsibility for sharing the costs of the UN's activities. During UN General Assembly High Level Week, President Trump hosted an extremely successful UN Reform event where 129 countries declared their support for UN Reform by signing a U.S.-drafted political declaration, negotiated with 12 other member states from across regions. We will build off the momentum that this event created to urge the Secretary-General at every opportunity to execute his authority affirmatively in support of a reformed UN.

Question:

How have you prioritized U.S. interests in the UN?

Answer:

This Administration is deeply committed both to an effective United Nations and to the United States reasserting its leadership on the multilateral stage. Therefore, we will continue to focus on employing the United Nations and other international organizations in new ways to

advance key U.S. interests. To that end, I have used my platform to demonstrate renewed U.S. leadership on Syria, Iran, the DPRK, human rights, and UN reform, among other issues. In addition, the President's Fiscal Year 2018 budget proposal reflects the U.S. commitment to spurring long-needed reforms and more equitable burden-sharing among UN member states. By demanding fiscal discipline and a fair division of costs, we are forcing a rethink of the way that the United Nations operates and spends U.S. taxpayers' money.

Question:

You have called the UN a global bully against Israel. What do you think needs to be done to combat the anti-Israel bias in the UN?

Answer:

The United States remains committed to combatting anti-Israel bias and efforts to delegitimize Israel in the UN system. Under my Ambassadorship, I have established combatting the chronic anti-Israel bias as a key priority. The United States strongly opposes anti-Israel resolutions throughout the UN system and regularly lobbies other countries to join us in voting against these biased resolutions.

In June, I addressed the UN Human Rights Council (HRC), raising our concerns that body in particular consistently targets Israel more than any other single country. I called for the removal of Agenda Item Seven, the HRC's only standing country-specific agenda item. It is not just a question of support for our allies, which is of course critical; it is a question of the values that underpin the creation of the HRC in the first place.

In addition, we are working to prevent the publication of biased, anti-Israel reports. As we saw earlier this year with the Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia (ESCWA) report accusing Israel of operating an apartheid state, there is no shortage of UN officials who attempt to use their position to bash Israel rather than focus on the facts. Fortunately, we have a Secretary General who is willing to work hard to root out bias.

As part of combatting anti-Israel bias, we continue to reinforce Israel's affirmative efforts to normalize its role in the international community. Specifically, we support Israel's efforts to contribute technical expertise in UN bodies, help Israeli nationals obtain official positions in various UN organizations, and encourage a greater role for Israel in UN peacekeeping operations. When appropriate, the United States co-sponsors Israeli-drafted resolutions, and we work to assist Israel in gaining membership in UN regional, consultative, and negotiating groups.

Question:

The UN Human Rights Council has passed more than 70 resolutions targeting Israel. That's more than Syria or Iran. Could you speak on the list of changes that you presented to the Council? If these changes are not made, should the U.S. stay on the Council?

Answer:

We believe reforms are urgently needed to strengthen the Human Rights Council's (HRC) membership and revise its agenda. Without them, we will have to reevaluate our participation in the HRC.

Toward that end, we are calling on member states to join together in the months ahead to develop and enact much-needed reforms. Our ongoing engagement with member states is aimed at developing possible measures, including revision of the Council's election procedures, new accountability measures for members, changes to the HRC's standing agenda and its use, and procedural reforms to ensure the Council lives up to its mandate to promote and protect human rights. Our foremost goals are putting an end to the use of Agenda Item 7 on Israel and improving the membership on the HRC. We intend to work with partners and senior UN leadership to build support for these necessary changes.

Question:

The UN Security Council's most recent stunt targeted Israel with a one sided resolution on the Israeli-Palestinian peace process. The U.S. failed our long standing ally by not vetoing the resolution. What do you think the U.S. needs to do to stand up for Israel in the UN?

Answer:

It is unfortunate that member states of the United Nations spend a disproportionate amount of their time criticizing Israel, especially when compared to other countries with terrible human rights records and even those who are state sponsors of terrorism. More work is needed to end the unfair treatment of Israel in this organization, and to draw more attention to the real human rights violators across the world.

The United States consistently uses its seats on the Security Council, the General Assembly, and other UN bodies to raise the issue of bias against Israel by member states and some UN bodies. As I stressed in my first remarks on Middle East Peace in the UN chambers in February, the United States will not allow another one-sided Security Council resolution to condemn Israel. As a more recent example, when the United Nation's Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia (UNESCWA) published a report accusing the Israeli government of installing an apartheid regime, I publicly lambasted the anti-Israeli bias in the report and put the United Nations on notice that it should do a better job in eliminating false and biased reports. Consequently, Secretary-General Guterres not only withdrew the report from UN websites but also accepted the resignation of the head of UNESCWA for failing to follow proper clearance procedures when publishing official UN reports. Further, this Administration has taken new steps to expand the subject matter discussed at the Security Council's monthly meetings on Middle East Peace. Through our efforts, we have successfully convinced the United Nations and some member states to recognize the disruptive role Iran, Syria, and terrorist groups like Hezbollah and Hamas play in preventing Israeli-Palestinian peace.

In addition to our work in the Security Council, the General Assembly, and other UN bodies, we also lobby for the support of other countries across the globe to join us in opposing anti-Israel resolutions. Every year during the United Nations General Assembly when anti-Israel resolutions are introduced, the Department of State, the U.S. Mission to the United Nations, and our embassies abroad explain to other nations how anti-Israeli resolutions delegitimize the UN and could derail efforts to secure a lasting peace agreement. In my tenure, I have also worked to better coordinate our outreach with the Israelis so that our lobbying efforts can be more effective. I raised our concerns about the anti-Israel bias of the Human Rights Council in person when I addressed that body in June. Similarly, I wrote and spoke out publicly against anti-Israel bias in recent items adopted by the UNESCO World Heritage Committee in July. By continuing and strengthening these efforts, the United States can stand up for Israel not only with the United Nations as an organization, but also with its member states.

Question:

Over the past 12 years, there have been over 2,000 formal allegations of sexual exploitation and assault by peacekeepers and other UN civilian personnel globally. What should the UN be doing to prevent sexual assault by its personnel? As the top financial contributor to UN peacekeeping, what can the U.S. do?

Answer:

The United States takes sexual exploitation and abuse by UN peacekeepers seriously. UN personnel who commit these acts damage the credibility of UN peacekeeping operations and the UN system.

For years we have pressed the UN to be more transparent in reporting sexual exploitation and abuse. As a result of our efforts, in 2016 the UN began identifying the nationalities of uniformed peacekeepers accused of sexual exploitation and abuse and the status of actions taken by the United Nations and the relevant troop or police contributing country. The UN's publicly available data also includes updates on the status of ongoing investigations by the UN and troop- or police-contributing country, and more information than previously available about the alleged offenses. We now have solid information to back up our bilateral pressure on troop- and police-contributing countries to investigate thoroughly and hold perpetrators accountable.

The UN has increased its public information campaigns in host countries and improved screening to prevent prior offenders from rejoining the UN. The UN also now withholds payments to troop and police contributors for uniformed personnel accused of sexual exploitation and abuse, diverting the payments to the UN's trust fund for support to victims. U.S. leadership has played a large role in these measures.

In her statement before the United Nations Security Council last April, I emphasized that "countries that refuse to hold their soldiers accountable must recognize that this either stops or their troops will go home and their financial compensation will end." As the largest financial donor to UN peacekeeping, the United States has been able to negotiate on peacekeeping budgets and programs, which has helped to get agreement on such measures as withholding payment for

personnel sent home for misconduct. The U.S.-drafted Security Council resolution 2272 gave the UN political support for repatriating individual units and entire contingents, as well as individuals, when there is credible evidence of widespread or systematic sexual exploitation and abuse, or when troop- and police-contributing countries fail to investigate allegations or hold those responsible to account. In June, following reports of the Republic of Congo's blatant misconduct and lack of discipline, to include widespread sexual exploitation and abuse, in the Central African Republic, I sent a letter to the Secretary-General. In it, I called on Secretary-General Guterres to use his executive authority under Security Council Resolution 2272 to repatriate the entire Congolese military contingent. Days later, the United Nations announced the Congolese troops would be sent home.

Question:

Ambassador Haley, in your testimony, you noted that UNICEF and UNFPA “need to smartly spend and they need to look at their budgets as well as we’re all kind of looking at how we can be smarter about what we do.” Did your office make recommendations to the Office of Management and Budget on funding levels for the FY 2018 budget proposal?

Answer:

The President’s FY 2018 Budget Request reinforces the expectation that the UN and other international organizations must become more efficient and effective and that member states must agree to distribute the costs of collective action more equitably. My office did not make any specific UN agency recommendations to OMB.

The elimination of the International Organizations and Programs account does not necessarily mean the elimination of funding for the organizations and programs funded through this account in previous years. Many of these organizations and programs may receive funding as implementing partners through programs and activities funded through other appropriations accounts.

Question:

How can the UN counter terrorism when its own member countries, like Pakistan and Iran, support and harbor terrorists? What can the UN do to pressure these countries?

Answer:

The UN counters terrorism by instituting and promoting collaborative frameworks and by building the political will and capacities of countries around the world to implement international commitments and adopt best practices. UN Security Council resolutions obligate UN Member States to prevent the financing of terrorist acts, refrain from providing any form of support to entities or persons involved in terrorist acts, and deny safe haven to those who finance, plan, support, or commit terrorist acts. We also have an UN sanction regime specific to Al- Qaida and ISIS. We must continuously strive to make sure the UN uses available mechanisms to press all member states, including Pakistan and Iran, to implement their obligations.

And we need to continue to press our allies on the Security Council to hold these countries responsible for their behavior. Iran, in particular, frequently gets away with violations of UN Resolution 2231, which expressly prohibits a ballistic missile program, the travel of certain Iranian individuals, the shipping of weapons/arms to and from Iran, and the release of certain Iranian assets. Despite this, Iran continues to arm Hezbollah, a US-designated terrorist entity, and has been the top state sponsor of terrorism. They frequently are caught with arms shipments heading to conflict-ridden areas in the Middle East, including Syria and Yemen. The Security Council members need to hold Iran accountable, and we will continue to press them to enforce these measures.

Question:

UNIFIL, tasked to prevent Hezbollah's rearming, has clearly failed to do so. UNIFIL posts in Southern Lebanon sit side-by-side with Hezbollah outposts. UNIFIL forces do not patrol certain areas that are known to be Hezbollah controlled and do not fully report on Hezbollah's activities out of fear of retaliation. How can UNIFIL become more effective? Should the U.S. continue supporting UNIFIL if they are unable or unwilling to confront Hezbollah?

Answer:

I agree that UNIFIL has not lived up to the expectations of its original mandate, and we are demanding changes to the way UNIFIL operates so it can be a more effective deterrent to hostile activity in southern Lebanon, including Hizballah. As I have said, we will no longer accept business as usual from UNIFIL, especially when Hizballah is increasing its weapons capabilities at such an alarming rate.

In August, we pushed the Security Council to address our concerns during the yearly renewal of UNIFIL's mandate, and we secured important changes. The renewal expressly highlighted that UNIFIL has the mandate to take all necessary action to stop its area of operations from being used for hostile activities. It called on UNIFIL to establish a more visible presence and step up its patrols and inspections to disrupt Hizballah's illicit activities. For the first time since 2006, the resolution emphasized that UNIFIL can assist the Lebanese government in securing its borders to stop the flow of illegal weapons into the country. And, very critically, it told UNIFIL to give the Security Council clear reports on what it is prevented from seeing. For too long, when UNIFIL has hit a road block, it has turned away. Council members never learned what was behind those roadblocks. UNIFIL now needs to tell the Council the details of where, when, and why it got stopped. Our goal is for UNIFIL to use all the tools it has in its robust mandate, and for UNIFIL to give the international community as detailed and as accurate a picture as possible of what is happening in southern Lebanon.

Question:

The United Nations Mission in Iraq assured residents of Camp Ashraf and Camp Liberty that they would be allowed to sell their property in the camps so that they could meet the associated costs of relocating outside Iraq. But the government of Iraq has since seized their

property – valued at over \$500 million. What is the UN doing to ensure that the Iraqi government lives up to its commitments? How can the UN help these Iranian dissidents now that they can hardly make ends meet due to this situation?

Answer:

The members of the Mujahedin-e Khalq (MEK), who have now resettled in Albania and other countries, claim to retain hundreds of millions of dollars of property and other assets in Iraq, and have demanded that the United States and UNHCR press the Iraqi government to compensate them for this property.

The United States government has consistently refused to serve as the guarantor of financial dealings between the MEK and the Government of Iraq. We are unaware of any such assurances made by the United Nations Assistance Mission in Iraq (UNAMI), UNHCR, or any other UN entity with regard to the MEK claims. We did, however, urge the Iraqi government to establish a judicial process for reaching a property settlement with the MEK, and we urged the MEK to follow that process. The MEK chose not to cooperate. They refused to participate with the Iraqis in conducting a joint inventory of their property at Camp Ashraf and refused to name an Iraqi lawyer to represent them in the compensation process. As a result, when the MEK departed from Camp Ashraf in 2013 there was no agreed-upon list of the property they left behind. In 2014, when ISIS surged across Iraq and threatened Baghdad, Iranian-supported militias occupied Camp Ashraf and looted it thoroughly.

MEK property in Iraq is probably beyond recovery, but we would continue to urge the MEK to address the problem of restitution directly with the Iraqi government. The United States would be reluctant to suggest that the United Nations should insert itself into a financial dispute between the MEK and the Iraqi government. UNHCR will continue its efforts in support of the MEK's resettlement in Albania through the end of December.



Questions for the Record Submitted to
U.S. Mission to the United Nations, Ambassador Nikki Haley by
Representative Albio Sires, Question
House Foreign Affairs Committee
June 28, 2017

Question:

For months we've been hearing about a so called 'blacklist' being created at the UN that will name and shame companies that do business with Israel. This list is nothing more than a push to legitimize the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions Movement. How are you using your voice at the UN to push back on the publication and validity of this list?

Answer:

The administration shares the concern regarding this list. In March 2016, the UN Human Rights Council (HRC) adopted resolution 31/36 entitled "Israeli settlements in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem, and in the occupied Syrian Golan" that called for the creation of a database of all business enterprises engaged in certain activities related to Israeli settlements. The Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) was tasked with compiling this list. At this time, OHCHR has not released to the public the company names it has collected and we are working closely with partner nations, especially Israel, to ask OHCHR to keep confidential any information it has gathered, to be shared only with the country where each company is domiciled.

The United States was on a mandatory year off the HRC when this resolution was passed, but actively opposed the creation of the database nonetheless. The United States will not provide any specific information related to the listed companies or otherwise assist in the creation of the database. We will continue to forcefully voice opposition to its publication, as well as to push back against other anti-Israel initiatives at the HRC and other UN bodies.

Question:

The situation in Venezuela worsens each day with protestors getting shot in the street and Maduro showing no signs of relinquishing power. I know you brought up the issue of Venezuela at the UN. Can you characterize how those conversations went? What other actions do you plan on taking at the UN to bring international attention to the growing humanitarian crisis and violence being used against the Venezuelan people?

Answer:

The crisis in Venezuela calls for action, a message that I will continue to press at the United Nations. We will continue to explore options within the United Nations, including mediation efforts between the government and opposition that can resolve the terrible crisis and ensure the Venezuelan people are not forgotten. It is immoral for the international community to

look away as the Maduro government continues to launch a campaign of violence against the Venezuelan people, targeting human rights and democratic institutions, most recently by holding sham elections that have turned the country into a dictatorship.

In May 2017 I called an emergency session of the Security Council to spotlight the human rights situation in Venezuela. In the midst of these conversations, some of my counterparts disagreed with me, arguing that the Security Council is a place to discuss peace and security, not human rights. I completely disagree. The protection of human rights is deeply intertwined with international peace and security. Unfortunately, we are seeing just how entwined they are with the continued deteriorating of the situation in Venezuela today.

Through its convening power, the Security Council remains a crucial forum for addressing the situation in Venezuela, yet is hindered by member states ignoring the threat these human rights abuses pose to international peace and security. We have also raised the crisis in Venezuela on the margins of the Human Rights Council. Yet Venezuela, along with other human rights abusers, is a member in good standing on the Human Rights Council and continues to use that membership to block any meaningful discussion of its human rights violations. That said, we will not stop pushing, and will continue to evaluate ways in which we can use the UN system to give further voice to the Venezuelans suffering under Maduro's dictatorship.

Question:

The conflict in Syria is one of the worst crises of our lifetime. It is no secret that Russia has spent years propping up the Assad regime and participating in the targeting of innocent civilians, including children. How come the Administration is so reluctant to hold Russia accountable both for its international transgressions and their deliberate attempts to tamper with our U.S. elections?

Answer:

The United States is appalled by atrocities in Syria, and despite our consistent messaging to Russia that their support for Assad brings with it the responsibility to curb his regime's egregious excesses. Moscow has so far been unable or unwilling to effectively restrain their Syrian partners. We have made clear our concerns to the Russian government, including that Russia must urgently exercise its influence over the Syrian regime to guarantee that these atrocities stop now.

The United States is open to working with Russia, where we can find areas of practical cooperation that will benefit the American people and serve our national security interests, such as the de-escalation zone in Southern Syria. Where we do not see eye-to-eye with Russia, the United States will continue to stand up for the interests and values of America, our allies, and our partners. Separately, in response to Russia's ongoing, destabilizing role in the Ukraine conflict, the United States has increased pressure by adding new sanctions this year against Russia, pro-Russia separatists in Ukraine, and individuals and companies supporting them.



Questions for the Record Submitted to
U.S. Mission to the UN, Ambassador Nikki Haley
By Representative Jeff Duncan
House Foreign Affairs Committee
June 28, 2017

Question:

The United Nations has been overseeing the demobilization of FARC rebels as part of the peace accords with the Colombian government. At this point the U.N. has reported that disarmament was completed one day ahead of schedule. However, work remains to find all 900 arms caches hidden in remote areas throughout the country

1. Can you provide an overview on the status of U.N. field operations to retrieve weapons caches hidden in the jungles?
2. There are reports of dissident FARC rebels joining with other guerilla groups and continuing their illicit operations. Can you tell us if this is impacting the U.N.'s ongoing demobilization and disarmament efforts?
3. Can you tell us how local governments in the municipalities surrounding the camps have responded and if they are prepared to take in demobilized guerillas?

Answer:

The mandate for the UN special political mission, the United Nations Mission in Colombia, to oversee the bilateral ceasefire, cessation of hostilities, and the FARC disarmament expired on September 25. On July 10, the UN Security Council unanimously adopted Resolution 2366 authorizing a follow-on UN special political mission, the United Nations Verification Mission in Colombia, which began operations on September 26. This second mission will focus on monitoring and verifying the political, economic, and social reincorporation of the FARC into civilian life and the implementation of security guarantees.

Since November 2016, 7,000 FARC rebels have disarmed. The first mission listed the weapons collected in the FARC disarmament: 8,994 arms, 1,765,862 rounds of ammunition, 38,255 kg of explosives, 11,015 grenades, 3,528 anti-personnel mines, 46,288 electric detonation caps, 4,370 mortar rounds, and 51.911 meters of detonating cord/fuses.

The peace implementation process is not without challenges, particularly as coca cultivation and cocaine production have surged as non-state armed groups outside the peace process are continuing their illicit operations and seeking to take over territory previously occupied by the FARC. The United States, alongside the UN, is monitoring these risks to the implementation of the peace accord and is working with the Colombian government to implement a whole-of-government counter-narcotics plan to help reverse the trend in coca cultivation and weaken illegal and armed groups operating in Colombia.

The reintegration process of ex-combatants into local municipalities is also complex, but it is crucial to ensuring successful implementation of the peace accord. The UN is assisting the Colombian government in the reintegration of ex-combatants, the expansion of state institutions

across the country, and increasing the government's presence in formal rebel areas, including rural economic development, justice services, and humanitarian demining.

On October 5, the UN Security Council authorized the UN Verification Mission to oversee the implementation of the temporary, bilateral, national ceasefire between the Government of Colombia and the National Liberation Army (ELN) until January 9, 2018; another step towards a peaceful, stable Colombia. This additional task to the UN mission's mandate will help preserve a more comprehensive peace with the last armed guerilla movement and help keep criminal networks and paramilitary groups from filling the security vacuum left by the FARC.

Question:

Of the money allocated for MINUSTAH, what programs have been most effective in delivering positive results? Which ones have not delivered?

Answer:

Democratic processes and stability in Haiti have significantly improved since MINUSTAH was first deployed in 2004 to address the country's chronic instability caused by deficiencies in governance and the rule of law. One of the most effective parts of MINUSTAH's mandate was its role in helping monitor, restructure, and reform the Haitian National Police (HNP) and develop it into one of the most effective government institutions. MINUSTAH has helped contribute to the significant improvements the HNP has made over the last 12 years towards its goal of becoming a professional police service; it has enhanced and reinforced public safety and public order while taking steps to develop internal accountability mechanisms. From 6,300 poorly trained officers in 2004, HNP is now on track to reach 15,000 officers by the end of 2017. The HNP presence throughout the country has expanded through the reconstruction of approximately 225 police facilities, and the national police now function in all 140 communes and in 261 out of 571 communal sections.

Since 2012, the Secretary-General's reports to the Security Council have included a consolidation plan for MINUSTAH, which is based on specific benchmarks on strengthening security, the rule of law, elections administration, and institutional modernization, to be pursued and achieved by the mission in cooperation with the Government of Haiti.

At the same time, noteworthy efforts have also been made since then to strengthen the justice sector and the rule of law. Yet progress in the justice area lags significantly behind that of the police. Haiti's justice institutions continue to suffer significant problems as impunity within the judiciary system is high, credibility of the system is low, and additional work is needed to promote victims' access to truth, justice, and an effective remedy. Chronic, unreasonably prolonged pre-trial detention remains a problem. The UN Mission for Justice Support in Haiti (MINUJUSTH), the follow on mission to MINUSTAH that began operations on October 16, will focus on strengthening rule of law, police development, and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Question:

What mechanisms have you implemented to track effectiveness of the remaining personnel in the region as the mission phases out?

Answer:

Lessons learned from MINUSTAH indicate the need for closer links between the UN's political strategies and its support for rule of law reform to elicit better results. As a result, one of the core objectives of its successor mission, the UN Mission for Justice Support in Haiti (MINUJUSTH), will be the progressive transition to the UN Country Team, as well as to other partners, of its tasks in support of the rule of law. This strong partnership and full integration with the UN Country Team and other international and national partners will be crucial to ensuring a smooth transition and the progressive withdrawal of the peacekeeping presence. The mandate renewal including a staffing review as well.

Question:

Following the end of MINUSTAH in October, what mechanisms will be in place to promote an independent judiciary as well as a professionalized police force?

Answer:

The UN Mission for Justice Support in Haiti (MINUJUSTH), the follow on mission to MINUSTAH, is mandated to assist the Government of Haiti to further support and develop the Haitian National Police (HNP); strengthen rule of law institutions, including the justice and corrections sectors; and advance the promotion and protection of human rights including through monitoring, reporting, and analysis. In particular, MINUJUSTH will support and strengthen the Conseil Supérieur du Pouvoir Judiciaire (CSPJ) and the Inspection Unit of the Ministry of Justice, the main oversight and accountability mechanisms in the justice sector, so that they play more effectively their legal and constitutional role of providing recommendations for the appointment and extension of judges and prosecutors or for their discipline/sanctioning on the basis of poor performance, misconduct, or human rights violations. The MINUJUSTH police component will be oriented towards the transfer of its expertise to senior-level officers of the HNP, providing supervisory mentoring and strategic advice. In coordination with other international partners, the focus will be on the training and institutional development of the HNP to strengthen its efficient and independent functioning at the time of MINUJUSTH's departure.



Questions for the Record Submitted to
U.S. Mission to the UN, Ambassador Nikki Haley
by Representative Gerry Connolly
House Committee on Foreign Affairs
June 28, 2017

Question:

The Administration's FY 2018 budget calls for a 37 percent reduction in U.S. contributions to U.N. peacekeeping operations – from \$1.9 to \$1.2 billion. What analysis did the Administration rely upon to warrant cuts of this magnitude? Reducing U.S. support by more than 1/3 will likely require the closure of certain peacekeeping missions, unless other countries dramatically increase their contributions. In the Administration's view, which current missions do not serve U.S. national and economic interests? Is the Administration willing to send U.S. service members to protect U.S. interests in places where the U.N. will no longer be able to fund peacekeeping missions? Conversely, if the Administration is assuming that other countries will increase their contributions to U.N. peacekeeping operations, which countries have committed to do so?

Answer:

With over 100,000 uniformed and civilian peacekeeping personnel and an annual budget of over \$7 billion, UN peacekeeping is one of the most important things the UN does. We are reviewing each of our peacekeeping missions with an eye towards ensuring that they have clear and achievable mandates. We are also working to ensure that troops are ready, professional, and committed to the safety of civilians on the ground. As President Trump told UN Security Council ambassadors on April 24, "the United Nations has tremendous potential," but "for the United Nations to play an effective role in solving security challenges, big reforms will be required." By demanding fiscal discipline, the United States is leading the United Nations to rethink the way peacekeeping missions are designed and implemented.

Question:

The Trump Administration has called for a review of all U.N. peacekeeping operations to ensure that they are "fit for purpose" and more efficient and effective in fulfilling their mandates. While the United States currently funds 28.5 percent of costs associated with the 16 ongoing U.N. peacekeeping missions, we contribute only 0.06 percent of the troops (77 out of a global force of 120,000 peacekeepers). According to the Center for Global Development, the United States only pays \$24,500 per year for each deployed peacekeeper, compared to \$2.1 million per year for an American service member deployed to a war zone – about 86 times as much. Who is undertaking this review of U.N. peacekeeping operations? How is it being carried out and what criteria are being used? When do you expect it to be completed?

Answer:

In April, I called on UN Security Council members to join the United States in evaluating each UN peacekeeping mission as its mandate comes up for renewal to ensure it is appropriate to the situation in the country and that it is advancing the Security Council's objectives. To help guide these mission reviews, we developed five peacekeeping principles: 1) missions must support political solutions, 2) host country strategic consent is critical, 3) mandates must be realistic and achievable, 4) clear sequencing and exit strategies are required at all stages, and 5) missions and mandates must be adjusted where Security Council objectives are not achieved.

Our reviews of peacekeeping missions, as well as peace operations conducted by the African Union that are authorized by the U.N. Security Council, are informed by a number of sources. These include in-country meetings with the Special Representatives of the Secretary-General, the Force Commanders, other members of the peacekeeping missions, UN Secretariat officials and with international partners, including troop-and police-contributing countries, regarding the implementation of the mandates. We also consider the strategic reviews of the missions conducted by the UN and assessments of missions in the UN General Assembly's Fifth Committee (Administrative and Budgetary).

Question:

According to the President's FY 2018 budget request, the State Department will lead an interagency strategic review of funding through the International Organizations account to determine funding levels. Who is conducting the review? What criteria will be used in the review, and what is the estimated date of completion? Why is the Administration proposing to slash U.S. contributions to the United Nations before undertaking this review? Will you commit to working with the House Committee on Foreign Affairs as you undertake the review?

Answer:

The Department of State is conducting a prioritization review with affected interagency stakeholders to determine how best to arrive at the proposed reductions in the Contributions to International Organizations account, should the final appropriation so require. The review is being guided by the broader political and strategic priorities of the Administration and an assessment of the organizations' efficiency and effectiveness.

The President's budget proposal for FY 2018 reflects the U.S. commitment to remain engaged with the UN and reinforces the expectation that the United Nations and other international organizations must become more efficient and effective and that Member States must agree to distribute the costs of collective action more equitably.

The Department is fully committed to staying in close communication with the House Committee on Foreign Affairs on the impacts of potential funding reductions in the Contributions to International Organizations account.

Question:

How does the elimination of contributions for U.N. entities, including the U.N. Children's Fund (UNICEF), U.N. Development Program (UNDP), U.N. Women, U.N. Office for Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), U.N. Population Fund (UNFPA), U.N. High

Commissioner for Human Rights (UNHCR), and the U.N. Framework Convention on Climate Change, serve U.S. interests?

Answer:

The President's FY 2018 Budget Request reinforces the expectation that the UN and other international organizations must become more efficient and effective and that member states must agree to distribute the costs of collective action more equitably.

The elimination of the International Organizations and Programs account does not necessarily mean the elimination of funding for the organizations and programs funded through this account in previous years. Many of these organizations and programs may receive funding as implementing partners through programs and activities funded through other appropriations accounts.



Questions for the Record Submitted to
U.S. Mission to the UN, Ambassador Nikki Haley
By Representative Ann Wagner
House Foreign Affairs Committee
June 28, 2017

Question:

The UN has played a leading role in exposing the ethnic cleansing of the Rohingya minority in Burma. My heart aches for the Rohingya, Kachin, Karen, and Chin who have been killed in cold blood with impunity because of their ethnicity and religion. Unfortunately, even under new leadership in Burma, these crimes rage on. The UN Human Rights Council finally decided in March to send an international team to investigate mass atrocities. But this was after we originally called for a commission of inquiry that was met with push back from Burma. America has said “Never Again” far too many times, and I’m curious to hear about the progress of the UN fact-finding team and how the U.S. will ensure that there is a full independent investigation into mass atrocity crimes against Rohingya Muslims.

Answer:

No one should face discrimination or violence because of their ethnic background or religious beliefs, which is why the abuses in Burma must be investigated. The violence against the Rohingya in the Rakhine State continues to claim lives and spur allegations of sexual violence against women and children. Reports also indicate that human rights abuses were caused by Burma’s military and security forces. More than 582,000 people have fled their homes due to the violence, but the total number of victims may never be known, which is why it is so important for the fact-finding mission to be allowed to do its job. As a co-sponsor of the enabling Human Rights Council resolution, the United States has continued to lead efforts to implore the Burmese government to fully cooperate with the fact-finding mission. I issued a public call for cooperation following reports that the Burmese government would deny visas to members of the fact-finding mission, which the international community absolutely cannot allow. We are exploring all options to keep the violence in Burma on the UN’s human rights agenda and hope that Congress will continue to support efforts to address these challenges.

Question:

This year, China blocked Taiwan from participating in the World Health Assembly. This behavior is patently absurd. Taiwan must be allowed to participate fully in international organizations, *particularly* organizations that are critical to health and safety. How will the U.S. promote Taiwan’s inclusion in the World Health Assembly and other UN bodies and ensure that China cannot use coercion and threats to damage these key interests of the U.S. and Taiwan?

Answer:

We are disappointed that Taiwan has been excluded from international events such as this year's World Health Assembly (WHA) due to pressure from the People's Republic of China. In keeping with the practice of the past eight years, the United States was engaged with all sides in support of an invitation to Taiwan to observe the WHA and publicly made clear our strong support for Taiwan's participation during the Assembly. The United States remains committed to supporting Taiwan as it seeks to expand its already significant contributions to addressing global challenges.

We will engage UN leadership and other Member States as we continue to support Taiwan's membership in international organizations that do not require statehood. In organizations that require statehood for membership, the United States will continue to support Taiwan's meaningful participation. We will do this through bilateral and multilateral advocacy.

Question:

I read the State Department's Trafficking in Persons Report yesterday, and saw that Secretary Tillerson removed Burma and Iraq from the list of countries that use or recruit child soldiers. Many in the anti-trafficking community are disappointed that the delisting contradicts evidence on the ground. Ambassador Haley, under your leadership, how does the U.S. intend to hold countries accountable for human trafficking and the use of child soldiers?

Answer:

The U.S. Mission to the United Nations (USUN) urges all governments to combat all forms of human trafficking including the unlawful use and recruitment of child soldiers. We will use every tool at our disposal to hold governments accountable in addressing human trafficking and the use of child soldiers, as outlined under the Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) and the Child Soldier Prevention Act (CSPA). The Administration considers these a top policy priority. For further clarification on the Trafficking IN Persons Report, we encourage you to contact the State Department.

At the UN, we work alongside the UN Special Rapporteur on Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, the relevant UN agencies and like-minded member states. We directly engage the UN representatives of nations where this practice is occurring or has occurred in the past, including Iraq and Burma, and press all complicit governments to end this practice.



Questions for the Record Submitted to
U.S. Mission to the UN, Ambassador Nikki Haley
by Representative Keating
House Foreign Affairs Committee
June 28, 2017

Question:

The President's budget request zeroed out the International Organizations and Programs (IO&P) account at the UN which includes funding for UNICEF and UN Women among other programs which are doing necessary work to make security and development more inclusive and more lasting.

- a. How long will the current review take before a recommendation is made to the President to fund these initiatives?
- b. What are the standards being applied in reviewing these and other UN programs?
- c. Will the Ambassador or the appropriate officials agree to meet the representatives from organizations who can speak to the importance and relevance of the work carried out by these UN offices and programs?

Answer:

The President's FY 2018 Budget Request reinforces the expectation that the UN and other international organizations must become more efficient and effective and that member states must agree to distribute the costs of collective action more equitably.

The elimination of the International Organizations and Programs account does not necessarily mean the elimination of funding for the organizations and programs funded through this account in previous years. Many of these organizations and programs may receive funding as implementing partners through programs and activities funded through other appropriations accounts. My team at the US Mission and I meet often with colleagues from these organizations as well as other UN entities.

Question:

A number of contradictions within the federal government have emerged recently in terms of U.S. foreign policy. While robust debate is critical for effective foreign policy decision-making, these contradictions seem to reveal a lack of coordination among those responsible for shaping foreign policy for the United States.

- a. Have you experienced any challenges to your ability to be effective as U.S. Ambassador to the UN because of the conflicted messages coming from within the Administration?

- b. Have these contradictions ever complicated efforts at the UN to deescalate conflict, build consensus with other countries on responding to conflict, or otherwise?

Answer:

I have a very close relationship with President Trump and work closely as a team with my counterparts on the National Security Council, such as General McMaster, Secretary Tillerson, and Secretary Mattis. We are fully coordinated on our approach to the most sensitive and pressing issues facing our country. With regard to building consensus with other countries, since this Administration took office, the world has taken notice of the United States at the United Nations. Other nations realize they can no longer take advantage of the United States, and this has been extremely helpful in our negotiations with partners to respond to conflict and build consensus.

Question #3:

Russia has been undermining U.S. and global efforts to improve conditions on the ground and promote peaceful resolutions to conflicts in Syria, North Korea, and elsewhere.

- a. How often do you discuss these concerns and frustrations with your Russian counterparts?
- b. Have you seen any clear progress on their part to change their behavior?
- c. What leverage would be useful to the Ambassador in bringing about such change?
- d. Has the Office of the U.S. Ambassador to the UN recommended any action be taken by the President against Russia?
 - If so, what recommendations have been made and are there any plans by the Administration to carry out any of those recommendations?

Answer:

Our mission to the UN interacts regularly with members of the Security Council, including the Russians, across the full complement of issues featured on the Council's Program of Work. North Korea and Syria, two of the most challenging issues facing global peace and security today, feature frequently in those interactions. We are not shy about calling out the Russians when they are undermining our interests, including in Syria and Ukraine.

On North Korea, we were able to work with our Russian counterparts to pass the two largest sanctions packages ever levied against North Korea. We will continue to look to Moscow to uphold its responsibility to enforce all UN sanctions against North Korea fully.

The United States is also willing to work with Russia to defeat ISIS – our number one priority in Syria. We seek to work with Russia to deescalate violence throughout Syria and

create the conditions for a Syrian-led negotiated political process. But we also must hold Russia accountable for their part in the humanitarian crisis in Syria.

As a member of the President's Cabinet, I enjoy a close working relationship with the White House and other members of the Administration. Considering the nature of the work we do at the United Nations, I am focused on advancing the unparalleled ability of the United States to lead the international community both by example and in partnership with other nation.



Question for the Record Submitted to
Ambassador to the United Nations Nikki Haley by
Representative Thomas Rooney
House Appropriations Subcommittee on State and Foreign Operations
June 28, 2017

Question:

Given the amount of discussion going on about human rights and the UN Human Rights Council, the ultimate oxymoron: What can you do with your “bully pulpit” at the UN to get it to abandon appeasement of terrorists and to call out clearly the evil inhumanity of the Islamists’ pursuit of Dawa, Jihad and application of Sharia Law, and the enforcement of blasphemy law, all of which are inconsistent with modern values and morality?

Answer:

The United States works closely with a core group of partners each June to ensure adoption of an annual Human Rights Council resolution on the promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms while countering terrorism. This resolution renews the mandate of the Special Rapporteur, as needed, and re-commits states to ensuring that their domestic counterterrorism measures comply with their obligations under international law, in particular human rights law. The Special Rapporteur works with states and other stakeholders to provide technical assistance and recommendations on measures to counter terrorism that respect human rights and fundamental freedoms.

After joining the Human Rights Council in 2009, the United States worked closely with a number of partners to defeat a resolution on “defamation of religions,” which certain member states have traditionally and forcefully used to justify violations and abuses of the human rights of members of religious minorities, including the rights to freedom of religion and freedom of expression. U.S. diplomatic efforts succeeded in 2011 at replacing that resolution with a new resolution, which is adopted by consensus, called “Combating intolerance, negative stereotyping and stigmatization of, and discrimination, incitement to violence, and violence against persons based on religion or belief.” This innovative resolution uses language drawn directly from U.S. law on protecting freedom of speech and reaffirms states’ obligations to uphold the freedom of religion or belief, including for religious minorities. The freedom of religion or belief includes the freedom to practice and teach a religion. Importantly, the resolution calls on states to take a series of specific actions to foster an environment of religious tolerance, peace, and respect. These actions are largely reflective of steps taken by the United States. Since adoption of the resolution, the United States has assisted states in implementing this resolution by providing workshops, jointly facilitated by the Departments of State, Justice, and Homeland Security, to train law enforcement officers and government officials on best practices for combating discrimination and religious intolerance while protecting the freedoms of religion or belief and expression.

Question:

Is there a role for Russia parallel to that of China in dealing with North Korea since they share the same economics and geography which China does with them?

Answer:

Russia has long-term economic interests and political relations with the Democratic People's Republic of North Korea (DPRK), but Beijing exerts significantly more leverage over Pyongyang than Moscow does, particularly given the disparities in size between Russia and China's trade relationships with the DPRK.

Russia's long-term economic engagement in Northeast Asia includes plans to link the Trans-Siberian and Trans-Korean railroads and to construct a natural gas pipeline through the DPRK to South Korea. Moscow believes each project could generate billions of dollars in new revenue, and Russian willingness to sign economic deals, invest in the North Korean economy, and promote the survival of the Kim Jong Un regime is premised in part on this long term economic strategy.

But these are plans. The reality is that in virtually every sector Chinese economic engagement with the DPRK far exceeds that of Russia. Moscow's bilateral trade with Pyongyang has averaged \$100 million a year for over 20 years, for example, while China's imports from North Korea averaged \$2.65 billion over the past three years.

Russia has sought to soften pressure on the DPRK to protect its own interests, such as through the carve-out in UN Security Council Resolution 2270 and subsequent resolutions for Russian coal shipped through the DPRK en route to other markets. Russia has consistently argued that sanctions should not target the economic stability of the DPRK, for fear of triggering a socioeconomic collapse in Northeast Asia or a return to open hostilities. It has, however, joined consensus on Security Council resolutions to impose restrictive sanctions against the North Korean regime in response to nuclear and ballistic missile tests, including the two most recent resolutions imposing the largest sanctions ever on North Korea.

We continue to discuss the DPRK's illegal development of its nuclear and ballistic missile programs with China and Russia, to press Russia and other member states to live up to their obligations to fully enforce sanctions, and to urge both China and Russia to pressure the DPRK to return to the negotiating table and move towards denuclearization.



Questions for the Record Submitted to
U.S. Mission to the UN, Ambassador Nikki Haley
by Representative David N. Cicilline
House Committee on Foreign Affairs
June 28, 2017

Question:

As you know, UN peacekeeping operations are quite cost-effective compared to other forms of military intervention. An investigation by the GAO found that UN peacekeeping missions are eight times less expensive for American taxpayers than fielding a comparable U.S. force. I absolutely agree that there are reforms that need to be undertaken to improve Peacekeeping and ensure that troops are well-trained and behave according to the law. But I wonder if in your experience so far, you have seen how supporting Peacekeeping operations is in the U.S.'s interests.

Answer:

Yes, peacekeeping operations are in the U.S.'s interests. UN peacekeeping has proven to be a powerful tool to address challenges to international peace and security and an important mechanism for sharing costs of collective security. Today's peacekeepers are addressing some of the most challenging conflicts across the globe through missions that seek to protect civilians, prevent atrocities, and create space for political solutions to take hold. However, as you note, reform is needed to achieve better, smarter peacekeeping operations that are able to more effectively and efficiently address conflicts, support political solutions, and meet the needs of people on the ground.

Question:

The current budget proposal includes a 37% cut to the CIPA account, which funds U.N. peacekeeping operations. Can you explain why it's in our national interest to slash funding that helps preserve peace and stability in Africa and other parts of the world – at a fraction of the cost of deploying US troops?

Answer:

With over 100,000 uniformed and civilian peacekeeping personnel and an annual budget of over \$7 billion, UN peacekeeping is one of the most important things the UN does. We are reviewing each of our peacekeeping missions with an eye towards ensuring that they have clear and achievable mandates. We are also working to ensure that troops are ready, professional, and committed to the safety of civilians on the ground. As President Trump told UN Security Council ambassadors on April 24, "the United Nations has tremendous potential," but "for the United Nations to play an effective role in solving security challenges, big reforms will be required." By demanding fiscal discipline, the United States is leading the United Nations to rethink the way peacekeeping missions are designed and implemented.

Question:

How might the U.N. combat sexual exploitation and abuse more effectively? How might the U.N. improve the possibility that governments will hold individual peacekeepers accountable once they return home? What further role, if any, might member states, including the U.S., take on this issue?

Answer:

The UN has taken significant steps over the past two years to address sexual exploitation and abuse. These steps include establishing Immediate Response Teams (IRTs) in peacekeeping missions to gather and preserve evidence, adopting a six-month timeline for completion of UN investigations, and creating a trust fund for assistance to victims of sexual exploitation and abuse by UN personnel, funded by donations and payments withheld for personnel sent home for misconduct.

Since July 2016, the UN has required that troop- and police-contributing countries deploy National Investigative Officers (NIOs) for military contingents of 150 or more to investigate allegations of sexual exploitation and abuse against their troops. Units of 300 or more must have at least two NIOs. Units with fewer than 150 members may deploy an NIO, use an NIO from one of their country's other units, or use an NIO deployed after an allegation is received. In addition, the UN's Office of Internal Oversight Services and the Office of Military Affairs in the Department of Peacekeeping Operations are jointly developing training modules for troop and police-contributing countries to use in NIO training. The UN is also developing standard procedures for investigations, including providing guidance on interviewing minors, collecting and preserving evidence, and other relevant technical skills. For its part, the United States is integrating NIO training into its bilateral training of military personnel from states that will be deploying to UN peacekeeping operations.

The UN has set a six month timeline for the completion of its internal investigations of sexual exploitation and abuse. Troop- and police-contributing countries conduct their own investigations, and the UN has asked them to observe the same time frame. The United States launched an international effort in 2014 to increase support to peacekeeping that has led to a series of high-level summits and generated additional pledges of personnel and equipment. Generating additional troops provides an opportunity to pressure peacekeepers to improve their performance, since there is now a pool of troops and police to replace non-performers. Conduct and discipline problems are among the factors that affect the performance of UN peacekeeping performance; ultimately, if current troop- and police-contributing countries are unable or unwilling to use the tools provided and follow the rules, the United States and UN have been clear that they will be replaced.

Question:

One of the individuals on the travel ban list is IRGC Quds Force Commander Qassem Soleimani. Soleimani is responsible for the deaths of hundreds of Americans in Iraq, not to mention the hundreds of thousands of Syrians that he has helped annihilate as part of his support for the Assad regime. While he is prohibited from traveling under international law, he has been

able to travel to Yemen, Syria and Russia in furtherance of the IRGC Quds Force's agenda. What are you doing to ensure that there are consequences for those countries who violate U.N. Security Council 2231 and facilitate his travel?

Answer:

We are aware of the media reports about travel by the IRGC's General Qassem Soleimani to Yemen, Syria, and Russia. These reports have been referenced in the UN Secretary-General's biannual reports on UNSCR 2231 implementation. We are not in a position to confirm the travel ourselves at this time, but if confirmed, such travel would be a matter of serious concern to the United States and other members of the UN Security Council as it would indicate a failure by UN member states to meet their obligations under Resolution 2231 to deny Soleimani entry into their borders unless the UN Security Council approves an exemption. The United States maintains primary sanctions on the IRGC, the Quds Force, its leadership—including Soleimani—and its network of front companies due to their ties to terrorism. Our partners in the European Union maintain similar sanctions against Soleimani alongside those of the UN and the United States. Such sanctions are only effective if rigorously enforced. We need to look into Soleimani's travel, along with the travel of others who have been said to have violated the ban, and if confirmed, respond accordingly. All elements of Resolution 2231 must be enforced, not simply the nuclear provisions. And unfortunately, we see time and time again references to violations of the travel ban, asset freezes, ban on ballistic missiles advancement, and the arms embargo. This is unacceptable, and we will do everything we can to continue to draw attention to Iran's violations of 2231 and work to ensure our partners enforce this resolution as it was intended.

Question:

Some have argued that the U.S. should withdraw from the UN Human Rights Council. Over the past six years though, we have seen a number of positive outcomes from U.S. engagement. This record of success is markedly different than when the U.S. was not involved in the Council from 2007-2009. While the Council still has its flaws, the overwhelming view of human rights organizations is the U.S. should continue to engage with it. Why do you think that is? If we know that engagement works and abandoning the Council would lead to more criticism of Israel and less focus on our own human rights priorities – since that's exactly what happened from 2007-09 – why would we repeat the mistake?

Answer:

When the Human Rights Council acts with clarity and integrity, it advances the cause of human rights, but when it fails to act properly – or when it fails to act at all – it undermines its own credibility and the cause of human rights.

What was true of the Council's predecessor organization is still true today: Many of the world's worst human rights offenders are elected as members and use their positions to shield themselves or their allies from criticism. Countries that destroy civil society and violate their citizens' rights, like Venezuela, Cuba, China, and Burundi, sit on the Council for political manipulation, using the narrative of their membership to rewrite history, ignore current atrocities, and obscure their own abysmal human rights records. Most recently, the Democratic

Republic of Congo has been elected as a member. Because the Council lacks credibility, the cause for human rights lacks credibility.

In addition, the Council is systemically and inherently biased against Israel, proving that it has been overwhelmed by a political agenda. Because of the Council's standing agenda item on Israel, the country-specific agenda item, the Council has passed more than 70 resolutions on Israel and only seven on Iran. Having such an obvious bias against one country – especially a democracy with a good human rights record – is a fundamental flaw that makes a mockery of the Council and its credibility.

Because the Council has failed, the cause for human rights risks failing as violations and abuses go unaddressed. How a government treats its people and respects their human rights is a bellwether for violence and conflict, and therefore, advancing human rights is not only the right thing to do but the smart thing to do for international peace and security. When so much is at stake, we cannot depend on an organization that lacks credibility and fails to take action.

Ultimately, defending the Council, as is, damages the cause of human rights, which is why we have called for reform. By improving membership and removing Agenda Item 7, we can reestablish the Council's legitimacy as an organization capable of being the world's protector of human rights.

Question:

Earlier this month you outlined two reforms the Council must undertake - competitive elections and eliminating Agenda Item 7. Are these reforms a prerequisite of continued U.S. engagement with the Council? If so, what steps are you taking to ensure these reforms are instituted?

Answer:

Our intentions to reform the Human Rights Council are to reestablish its legitimacy as a protector of human rights. Improving its membership and removing Agenda Item 7 are the minimum changes necessary to resuscitate the organization as a respected advocate of universal human rights. We want to see progress towards these efforts and believe they are achievable, and when appropriate, we will evaluate U.S. membership accordingly. At this time, we are engaging likeminded and opposition states to determine the best path forward in packaging a meaningful but realistic reform plan. We also held a High Level Event during United Nations General Assembly co-hosted by the United Kingdom and the Netherlands to rally support for these reforms. Regardless of the outcome, the United States will never give up the cause of universal human rights, whether it is in the Human Rights Council or in other venues.

Question:

Without senior officials in place at the State Department, whom do you consult for policy guidance on specific regions and functional issue areas?

Answer:

I have a close relationship with Secretary Tillerson and work closely as a team with my counterparts on the National Security Council, such as General McMaster and Secretary Mattis. We are fully coordinated on our approach to the most sensitive and pressing issues facing our country.

Question:

Do you consider the President's tweets to be the official policy of the United States? When the President tweets about foreign policy, what follow-up procedures are in place to be sure you're conducting diplomacy in a way consistent with his tweets? How do you handle situations in which the White House contradicts or overrides something you've publicly said is U.S. policy?

Answer:

The President communicates to the American people and foreign leaders to motivate change and conduct his foreign and domestic policy. The Administration's procedures in place to conduct U.S. foreign policy are those that you would expect to see from the NSC and close, ongoing consultation among the senior leaders of his Administration.

At the end of the day, the President makes decisions, and communicates them to his Cabinet and to the American people. The end state is to fully implement the Administration's foreign policy effectively and efficiently.

Question:

In recent years, authoritarian countries have turned to the UN as another venue to conduct the global assault on civil society. In particular, the work of the UN Committee on NGOs has become increasingly politicized. Countries such as China, Iran, Russia, and Venezuela have used the body to deny UN access to legitimate organizations and human rights watchdogs. For example, last May the body denied the Committee to Protect Journalists consultative status. What concrete steps will the Trump Administration take to ensure that civil society has a voice at the UN?

Answer:

The U.S. Mission to the United Nations works to advance U.S. interests and values in all forums, especially and including the NGO Committee, where the United States has long stood as the sole voice of strength for civil society support. In May, we secured a huge win by passing a resolution that requires all NGO Committee sessions to be webcast, in line with other ECOSOC subsidiary bodies, bringing full transparency and worldwide access to the Committee's work. Since then, we have already seen member states shift their rhetoric and change their voting behavior, but there is still much more work to be done. We need more voices for human rights and civil society, not less, so we will continue making the NGO Committee a priority.

With regard to the protection of journalists in particular, note that the U.S. Mission is a member of the Group of Friends for the Protection of Journalists, a group of 17 member states committed to strengthening the protection of journalists and media workers and strengthening the accountability for crimes committed against them.

Question:

You said in a recent speech in Geneva, “We will never give up the cause of universal human rights. Whether it’s here, or in other venues, we will continue this fight.” You have also said that “‘America First’ is human rights and ‘America First’ is humanitarian issues.” How will you continue to advance this philosophy at the UN and more broadly? Are you concerned that potential deep cuts to democracy, human rights, and governance programs could undermine these efforts?

Answer:

Human rights are central to the mission of the United Nations. Not only is advancing human rights the right thing to do, it is the smart thing to do. For this reason, I dedicated the U.S. presidency of the Security Council to connecting human rights with peace and security, the first session of its kind in UN history. Beyond that, I announced that the U.S. will support reforming the Human Rights Council and reestablish its legitimacy as a true protector of human rights. We will work with other countries to improve its membership and remove Agenda Item 7, its anti-Israel standing agenda item.

I have also used the Security Council to advance humanitarian issues. Recently, we led efforts to link conflict with famine, highlighting the man-made nature of humanitarian crises in Nigeria, Somalia, South Sudan, and Yemen and addressing access issues that hinder the delivery of aid. In addition, I have prioritized past and future travel to areas affected by refugees, displaced persons, famine, and other humanitarian crises. The United States is the world’s top donor, and our generosity allows us to lead in calling for greater efficiency and accountability.

I will also continue issuing clear and strong public statements that call out human rights violators and humanitarian obstructionists, such as in Venezuela, Democratic Republic of Congo, North Korea, Syria, South Sudan, Iran, Yemen, Burundi, China, Russia, Cuba, and Burma, among others. Regardless of the venue or forum, we have made it clear to the international community that we will stand for universal human rights and lead on improving humanitarian aid and access.

Question:

Is the Administration lobbying House members to change the Congressional review provisions of the Senate-passed Iran/Russia sanctions bill? What is your opinion of these provisions?

Answer:

NOTE: The Committee did not receive responses to the above question prior to printing.

Question:

We continue to be greatly disturbed by the situation in Chechnya, where countless men are still being held in detention under horrifying conditions simply because of their sexual orientation - or even their perceived sexual orientation. Thank you for your statement condemning the atrocities back in April. We were terribly disappointed that Secretary Tillerson said that he has not raised the issue with his counterparts. Have you or the president raised the issue with your counterparts in Russia? What steps have you taken, or can you take, to bring further attention to it and to help put a stop to the human rights violations being committed there?

Answer:

NOTE: The Committee did not receive responses to the above question prior to printing.



Questions for the Record Submitted to
U.S. Mission to the UN, Ambassador Nikki Haley
by Rep. Ami Bera
House Foreign Affairs Committee
June 28, 2017

Question:

Ambassador Haley, the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) does tremendous work providing healthcare and saving the lives of mothers and children around the world. The U.S. played an important role in that work. For instance, in 2016, it's estimated that the U.S. contribution to UNFPA prevented an estimated 320,000 unintended pregnancies, averted 100,000 unsafe abortions, and enabled about 800,000 people to have access to contraception.

Can I get your commitment that you will either meet with UNFPA's acting executive director or visit a UNFPA project in the next six months?

Answer:

I have no pending meeting requests from UNFPA but will consider any meeting request from a UN entity. Additionally, the next time that I travel to the field I am happy to consider visiting a UNFPA site, if it is in the area I am visiting.

Question:

Ambassador Haley, the April 3, 2017 letter from the State Department to Chairman Corker, states that the U.S. decided to withdraw funding from the UNFPA under the Kemp-Kasten amendment, due to UNFPA's relationship with the Chinese National Health and Family Planning Commission (NHFP), the equivalent of their Ministry of Health.

Was there an in-person investigation completed by the State Department to determine if UNFPA funds were being used in violation of the Kemp-Kasten amendment?

If there was, could you please provide the report to the House Foreign Affairs Committee?

Answer:

An in-country assessment was not conducted prior to the March 30, 2017 Kemp-Kasten determination.

Question:

Ambassador Haley, the April 3, 2017 letter from the State Department to Chairman Corker, states that the U.S. decided to withdraw funding from the UNFPA under the Kemp-Kasten amendment, due to UNFPA's relationship with the Chinese National Health and Family Planning Commission (NHFP), the equivalent of their Ministry of Health.

What evidence did the State Department use to determine that UNFPA funds were being used in violation of the Kemp-Kasten amendment?

Answer:

UNFPA first began its program in China in 1978. All of the organization's programs in China are subject to national laws and local regulations, including the Population and Family Planning Law and the corresponding provincial implementing regulations that provide the framework for the country's coercive birth policies. UNFPA's 8th Country Program (CP8) for China (2016-2020) notes that it was prepared in "close consultation with the [Chinese] Government." As outlined in the Third Plenum of the 18th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in November 2013, the program aligns with Chinese national priorities. Furthermore, like past UNFPA Country Programs for China, CP8 calls for national execution models (i.e., implementation through government agencies). The NHFP, which is responsible for implementing and enforcing China's program of coercive abortion and involuntary sterilization, appears in CP8 as a UNFPA partner in anticipated family planning-related outcomes. By implementing a portion of its family planning program in partnership with that government entity, UNFPA provides support for the NHFP's implementation of China's family planning policies, which includes coercive abortion and involuntary sterilization.

Question:

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The letter to Chairman Corker states that "there is no evidence that UNFPA directly engages in coercive abortions or involuntary sterilizations in China" but because UNFPA works with the NHFP on family planning, it violated the Kemp-Kasten amendment.

What specific activities does the administration find objectionable regarding UNFPA's work with NHFP?

Answer:

UNFPA first began its program in China in 1978. All of the organization's programs in China are subject to national laws and local regulations, including the Population and Family Planning Law and the corresponding provincial implementing regulations that provide the framework for the country's coercive birth policies. UNFPA's 8th Country Program (CP8) for China (2016-2020) notes that it was prepared in "close consultation with the [Chinese] Government." As outlined in the Third Plenum of the 18th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in November 2013, the program aligns with Chinese

national priorities. Furthermore, like past UNFPA Country Programs for China, CP8 calls for national execution models (i.e., implementation through government agencies). The NHFPC, which is responsible for implementing and enforcing China's program of coercive abortion and involuntary sterilization, appears in CP8 as a UNFPA partner in anticipated family planning-related outcomes. By implementing a portion of its family planning program in partnership with that government entity, UNFPA provides support for the NHFPC's implementation of China's family planning policies, which includes coercive abortion and involuntary sterilization.

Questions on UNICEF Funding

Ambassador Haley, you noted in your testimony that the global health of women and children is very important and stated that despite the withdrawal of funds from the UNFPA, funding for global health would be directed through USAID.

The President's budget request cuts global health funding by 25%. Outside of fulfilling the previous administration's pledge to Gavi, it cuts maternal and child health funding by 15%.

How do you expect the United States to continue its leadership in saving lives around the world with such steep cuts at USAID and the State Department to both global health and maternal and child health programs?

Answer:

We remain committed to promoting child and maternal health and addressing global health challenges. This is evidenced by our continued leadership in the UNICEF Executive Board and through our programs in country to address global health, including child and maternal health. The United States has been the largest donor to UNICEF for many years and we will continue to work with other donors to step in and support this important work.

Question:

Ambassador Haley, you noted in your testimony that the global health of women and children is very important and stated that despite the withdrawal of funds from the UNFPA, funding for global health would be directed through USAID.

The President's budget request cuts global health funding by 25%. Outside of fulfilling the previous administration's pledge to Gavi, it cuts maternal and child health funding by 15%.

What specific and tangible efforts are you taking at the United Nations to engage other countries to fill the hole in global health funding that we have left as a result of these proposed budget cuts?

Answer:

Since the determination to cease all U.S. Government funding to UNFPA, it is my understanding that USAID's Office of U.S. Foreign Disaster Assistance (USAID/OFDA) has been able to reprogram all funding intended for UNFPA except inside of Syria. Ongoing conflict there has created access constraints that make it difficult for NGO partners to implement all of the programs previously supported by UNFPA (as a public international organization UNFPA

has the ability to get supplies and services into hard-to-reach areas that other entities are unable to access). The State Department is working with humanitarian partners to find alternative ways to meet these needs, including through organizations such as UNHCR and UNICEF, or ways to use the funds to support related needs in other areas.

We are engaging at every level with other donor governments and the private sector to encourage additional partnerships and to promote greater burden sharing. Our continued engagement, support and leadership with UNICEF's Board and donor base and our bilateral aid programs through UNICEF will help us leverage resources from other donors.

Question:

Ambassador Haley, in your testimony, you noted that UNICEF and UNFPA "need to smartly spend and they need to look at their budgets as well as we're all kind of looking at how we can be smarter about what we do." Did your office make recommendations to the Office of Management and Budget on funding levels for the FY 2018 budget proposal?

Answer:

My office did not make any specific recommendation to the Office of Management and Budget. The Office of Management and Budget's topline funding levels, as well as Administration policies and priorities as laid out in the President's FY 2018 Budget Blueprint, informed the Department's FY 2018 budget request formulation.

While the President's Request did not include funding for the International Organizations and Programs (IO&P) account, which has been the source of funding for U.S. contributions to the core budgets of UN funds and programs such as UNICEF and UNFPA. The IO&P account is one of numerous U.S. government sources of voluntary funding for international organizations, therefore this does not necessarily mean that funding for international funds and programmes, including UNICEF, will be eliminated. State Department and USAID funding may still be contributed to UN organizations and programs, such as UNICEF, if they are selected as implementing partners to execute specific foreign assistance programs that are funded through other accounts.

Question:

Are you aware that UNFPA and UNICEF both participate in the International Aid Transparency Initiative, which publishes data to improve transparency and accountability? And that UNICEF has 137 publicly available datasets and UNFPA has 254?

If your office did make recommendations to OMB for the FY18 budget proposal, how did your staff, if at all, analyze data provided in the IATI to determine the extent to which UNICEF, UNFPA, and other UN agencies appropriately spend their funds?

Answer:

My office did not make any specific UN agency recommendations to OMB. Many donors and multilateral organizations publish information in the IATI standard, which lets users analyze and compare consistent, timely data and contributes to improved transparency in development cooperation.

I am aware that the Department analyzes multiple sources of evidence and data in order to make recommendations to OMB and to determine that organizations spend funds appropriately. Data sources include evaluation, audit reports, financial programmatic performance reports, and monitoring and evaluation results data. This analysis allows for a comprehensive understanding of funding to and through multilateral organizations.

Question:

If your office did not use IATI to analyze the appropriateness of spending at UNICEF, UNFPA and other agencies, can you pledge that your office will use sound data analysis techniques, such as pulling data from IATI, when making future recommendations on funding levels for UNICEF and other agencies?

Answer:

The United States considers the broadest range of available, credible information to determine appropriate use of funds, including an organization's efficiency and effectiveness, management practices, and programs of work. Humanitarian assistance funding specifically is provided on the basis of humanitarian need to those UN agencies and NGOs which have the access and ability to provide that assistance. The US also takes into consideration the funding provided from other donors through a variety of mechanisms such as field coordination, diplomatic engagements, the International Aid Transparency Initiative (IATI) and the Financial Tracking Service (FTS), which is utilized by the humanitarian community. As a signatory to IATI ourselves, the US has also committed to publishing our own up-to-date information in this open format, in order to make it easy for fellow stakeholders to find, use and compare donor information.

Questions for the Record Submitted to
U.S. Mission to the UN, Ambassador Nikki Haley
by Rep. Robin Kelly
House Foreign Affairs Committee
June 28, 2017

Question:

Ambassador Haley, last month, I had the honor of speaking directly with Dr. Babatunde Osotimehin, before he passed away, when I was on a Congressional trip to New York. We heard directly from him about UNFPA's work, what they are actually doing in China and their work in humanitarian emergencies around the world. I would like to know if you have gotten an opportunity to meet with UNFPA, Dr. Natalia Kanem, UNFPA's Acting Executive Director or other staff to hear first-hand about their work? When you go on your next trip to see the UN in the field, will you make an effort to see the work of UNFPA?

Answer:

I have no pending meeting requests from UNFPA but will consider any meeting request from a UN entity. Additionally, the next time that I travel to the field, I am happy to consider visiting a UNFPA site, if it is in the area I am visiting.



Questions for the Record Submitted to
Ambassador Nikki Haley by
Representative Brad Schneider
House Foreign Affairs Committee
June 28, 2017

Question:

UNRWA was created following the 1948 Arab-Israeli war to assist a refugee population of approximately 750,000 people displaced by the conflict and in need of urgent humanitarian assistance for housing and basic services. The present situation, however, is such that UNRWA today provides services to 5.2 million people (roughly 50,000 of the original refugees, but primarily the children, grandchildren, and even great grandchildren of refugees from 1948). These people live in the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, and also Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria.

In particular, in Gaza, I am deeply troubled by UNRWA's destabilizing activities and unhelpful role in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Namely, its facilities were proven to have housed Hamas rockets destined for Israeli civilian targets in July 2014. In addition, UNRWA schools have been repeatedly accused of propagating anti-Semitism and irresponsible rhetoric that delegitimizes the existence of the State of Israel.

I wholly appreciate the need to provide critical humanitarian, social services, education, and other forms of necessary assistance to Palestinians. However, I question whether the services provided by UNRWA could be more appropriately, efficiently and effectively delivered under another U.N. agency or a Palestinian Authority government entity.

- a. Could such an approach—working through another U.N. agency or a Palestinian Authority government entity—maintain the positive benefits of the work UNRWA was originally chartered to do, while eliminating UNRWA as a vehicle for the unhelpful, even detrimental activities we have seen of late?
- b. In your opinion, what would be the most effective way to provide services to Palestinians who currently rely on UNRWA for assistance?
- c. How can the U.S. lead in transitioning resources away from UNRWA to more practical and sustainable ways of providing needed services for Palestinians?

Answer:

The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) operates under a General Assembly mandate, and General Assembly action would be required to terminate UNRWA's mandate and transfer its responsibilities to another United Nations agency. Given the nature of the General Assembly, this is highly unlikely.

Any consideration with respect to changing UNRWA's mandate, even if it were feasible, would need to appropriately consider the role UNRWA plays in providing vital social services. UNRWA's 692 schools educate more than 515,000 children and the Agency's 143 primary

health facilities serve 3.1 million Palestinians annually. UNRWA also provides life-saving emergency assistance for Palestinian refugees affected by conflict in Syria and Gaza, making the Agency a critical partner to key allies in the region.

The United States is the largest single donor to UNRWA, with a contribution that surpassed \$359 million in FY 2016. With that amount of taxpayer money going to the agency, we are constantly vigilant – and ensure that UNRWA is likewise vigilant – to guard against any bias that can creep into the Agency. Consistent with our legal obligations, we track U.S. contributions to UNRWA for compliance with conditions on such contributions under section 301(c) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961. This year, the State Department found UNRWA compliant. We can confirm that UNRWA has taken action to punish staff that do not abide by their neutrality commitments – up to and including termination of employment. This includes recent cases of UNRWA staff members elected to leadership positions in Hamas. It is outrageous that such individuals would have ever been employed by a UN agency. But membership in Hamas should not be the only standard. Any instances of anti-Semitic propaganda or incitement need to be treated with the seriousness the delicacy of the situation in the Middle East mandates. This is something we continue to raise with UNRWA officials.

The enduring nature of the Palestinian refugee issue — and of UNRWA — is a result of a lack of a political solution. Ultimately, the solution for Palestinian refugees rests in a lasting peace agreement between the Israelis and Palestinians, which President Trump has made clear is a top U.S. priority. In the meantime, we are actively engaged in conversations and analysis to determine how to best allow UNRWA to fulfill its important humanitarian mandate by providing efficient, effective, and targeted services to Palestinian refugees while, at all times, upholding its neutrality.

Question:

One of the most prominent roles of the U.N. is that of supporting peacekeeping forces in areas of conflict around the globe. Indeed, in your testimony, you stated that, “Peacekeeping is one of the most important things the U.N. does.” While the vast majority of these troops perform admirably in reducing violence, the issue of sexual exploitation and abuse perpetrated by U.N. peacekeeping forces against those they are sent to protect remains a continuing problem of deep concern to me. That is why, with my colleague Representative Claudia Tenney of New York, I recently introduced H.Con.Res. 62 condemning sexual abuse and exploitation by U.N. Peacekeepers and calling on the U.S. to confront this issue at the U.N. and hold those countries who contribute troops accountable for preventing and prosecuting these crimes.

During your testimony to the committee, you stated that you were proud of your team for cutting the peacekeeping budget by \$500 million. I am concerned, however, that by reducing overall funding to peacekeeping missions, you may not only be reducing the capacity to constructively address conflicts and enhance security around the world, you will also limit the ability to promote safety, protect individuals, and hold U.N. forces to account when they act improperly. More vetting, better training, and reduced impunity are needed, not a reduction in funds.

- a. How will such a deep funding cut to what you stated is one of the most important functions of the U.N. help the U.N. achieve its mission and reduce conflict and violence around the world?
- b. Where will these cuts be made – from which peacekeeping missions, and from which functions of peacekeeping operations?
- c. What will the impact of these cuts be on ensuring improved vetting, training, monitoring, and reporting of peacekeeping troops to reduce incidence of sexual exploitation and abuse?

Answer:

UN peacekeeping is a powerful tool to address global challenges to international peace and security. However, reform is needed to achieve better, smarter peacekeeping operations that are able to more effectively and efficiently address conflicts, support political solutions, and meet the needs of people on the ground. By demanding fiscal discipline, the United States is leading the United Nations to rethink the way peacekeeping missions are designed and implemented. This budget reinforces the expectation that the UN must make peacekeeping more efficient, and challenging the assumption that the answer to any problem is always more resources. This budget will encourage the UN to measure mandate implementation by the impact of its activities in the field, rather than by allocated resource levels: rendering the UN more flexible and innovative in achieving its mandates.

The reduction of over \$500 million in current UN peacekeeping budgets was the result of the winding down of three peacekeeping missions in Liberia, Côte d'Ivoire, and Haiti and there are also relatively small reductions in the budget levels for peacekeeping missions in the Central African Republic, Mali, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, which the United States supported, based on analysis of each mission's mandate and circumstances, the situation on the ground, and past expenditure patterns. These reductions will not negatively impact mandate delivery, and were not targeted at critical oversight activities, such as vetting, training, monitoring, and reporting of sexual exploitation and abuse. The United States also successfully pushed for a General Assembly resolution focused on the zero tolerance policy for sexual exploitation and abuse, which will require the UN to conduct in-depth assessments aimed improving vetting, risk assessment, investigations, reporting of allegations, and victim support by June 2018. The United States will pressure the UN to fill any identified gaps in prevention, accountability, and victims' assistance, and to continually evaluate its own performance in these areas.

Addressing sexual exploitation and abuse is a critical part of the Secretary-General's overall strategy for UN reform, and maintaining these activities is a very high priority for the Administration. The United States continues to lead on this issue at the UN, as demonstrated in September when the United States became a signatory to the Secretary-General's Voluntary Compact on preventing and eliminating sexual exploitation and abuse. By signing this Compact, the United States committed to take strong action to combat impunity for perpetrators of sexual exploitation and abuse, and to work with the Secretary-General to address this scourge. President Trump also accepted the Secretary-General's invitation to join his Circle of Leadership

for heads of state and government, as a high level political statement of support for the Secretary-General's efforts.

Question:

During the hearing, with respect to the Administration's withdrawal from the Paris Agreement, you stated that we are being "independent," and that we will manage the climate in a way that is in the best interests of U.S. businesses. However, our world is highly interconnected—as exemplified by the United Nations. The planet's atmosphere, water, changing temperatures, increasingly strong storms, and other environmental phenomena do not respect borders and national sovereignty. Climate change is an issue that absolutely cannot be addressed by countries acting independently of one another, as the nations of the world are inherently interdependent when it comes to mitigating the shared consequences of an increasingly industrialized society. Furthermore, in a letter to President Trump and Members of Congress, more than 1,000 companies and investors expressed support for United States participation in the Paris Agreement and for upholding our commitment to cut carbon emissions in order to create jobs and boost our economic competitiveness.

- a) Given the broad support for the Paris Agreement by over 1,000 U.S. businesses, what do you believe are the economic justifications for pulling out of the Agreement?
- b) What do you see as the potential economic risks of our withdrawal and how are those risks offset by the perceived benefits the Administration believes will accrue by not working with every other nation on earth, save Syria and Nicaragua?
- c) Did any representatives of other nations in the U.N. react positively to the United States' withdrawal from the Paris Agreement? If so, which nations reacted positively, and what do you perceive to be their reasons for remaining in the agreement?
- d) What do you perceive to be the advantages to be achieved by relying on unilateral and bilateral initiatives to reduce greenhouse gases, versus seeking to work within the framework adopted by virtually every other nation on earth?

Answer:

The United States supports a balanced approach to climate policy that lowers emissions while promoting economic growth and ensuring energy security. The President determined that the previous terms of engagement in the Paris Agreement did not balance those factors, and he announced his intent to withdraw from the Paris Agreement unless he identifies terms for participation that are more favorable to the United States, its businesses, its workers, its people, and its taxpayers.

The United States will continue to reduce our greenhouse gas emissions through innovation and technology breakthroughs, and will work with other countries to help them access and use fossil fuels more cleanly and efficiently, and deploy renewable and other clean energy sources, given the importance of energy access and security in many nationally determined contributions.

The President has made clear that the United States will remain engaged with other countries on the issue of climate change. We continue to work with our allies and partners to seek common ground and develop a way forward on this important issue.

Question:

Under President Trump, the U.S. has decided to withdraw all funding for UNFPA. This funding to UNFPA provides critical services to women and girls around the world, including in crisis situations where obstetric and gynecological care is not readily available, and where women are at severe risk of sexual assault. UNFPA services ensure safe pregnancy and delivery, combat child marriage and female genital mutilation, provide women with resources to plan future pregnancies, and prevent gender-based violence. During the hearing, when asked about the consequences that withdrawing this funding will have on women and girls around the world, you stated that these funds will instead be put into USAID-funded programs that implement similar programming. However, in President Trump's FY 2018 foreign assistance budget proposal, the Family Planning and Reproductive Health program area has also been reduced to \$0. In addition, Health funding in the FY 2018 budget proposal overall is \$6.856 billion compared to \$9.373 billion in FY 2016, representing a 27% reduction.

- a. How will the significantly reduced USAID health programming possibly make up for the concurrent elimination of funding for UNFPA?
- b. How will women and girls in need of reproductive health care services be impacted by both the withdrawal of UNFPA funding and dramatic proposed cuts to USAID health funding, especially women and girls in areas of active conflict such as Syrian refugee camps, South Sudan, and Yemen?

Answer:

FY 2017 Department of State International Operations & Program (IO&P) funding earmarked for a contribution to UNFPA will be transferred, as required by current law, to USAID's Global Health Programs account and reprogrammed for family planning, maternal, and reproductive health activities.

Since the determination to cease all U.S. Government funding to UNFPA, it is my understanding that USAID's Office of U.S. Foreign Disaster Assistance (USAID/OFDA) has been able to reprogram all funding intended for UNFPA except inside of Syria. Ongoing conflict there has created access constraints that make it difficult for NGO partners to implement all of the programs previously supported by UNFPA (as a public international organization UNFPA has the ability to get supplies and services into hard-to-reach areas that other entities are unable to access). The State Department is working with humanitarian partners to find alternative ways to meet these needs, including through organizations such as UNHCR and UNICEF, or ways to use the funds to support related needs in other areas.

Question:

I am very concerned about the Administration's proposal in the FY 2018 budget to completely eliminate funding for the International Organizations and Programs account that includes U.S. contributions to U.N. programs and offices such as UNICEF, U.N. Women, and the U.N. Development Program. When asked during the hearing about the rationale for ending funding to UNICEF in particular, you stated that President Trump is making a point to build up the military.

While I wholly support a fully resourced military, I firmly believe that the national security of the United States is dependent upon balanced investment across all three pillars of strategic international engagement: diplomacy, development, and defense. These pillars are like the legs of a stool, weakening one will certainly destabilize the others. Resources for defense, diplomacy, and development are not interchangeable, but rather are complementary and interdependent. Our armed forces are essential to our national security, but not sufficient. We need to continue to invest in robust diplomacy and development, thereby leveraging our investment in defense.

- a. How do you view the roles of diplomacy and development in ensuring the national security of the United States?
- b. What will be the impact of eliminating funding for UNICEF, and how will this impact be addressed through increased defense spending?

Answer:

Diplomacy and development are two of the three pillars of our national security policy, along with defense. All three are necessary and important. The U.S. government has deployed diplomacy and development around the world to ensure our country's security and prosperity.

The President's FY 2018 Budget Request reinforces the expectation that the UN and other international organizations must become more efficient and effective and that member states must agree to distribute the costs of collective action more equitably.

The elimination of the International Organizations and Programs account does not necessarily mean the elimination of funding for the organizations and programs funded through this account in previous years. Many of these organizations and programs may receive funding as implementing partners through programs and activities funded through other appropriations accounts.



Questions for the Record Submitted to
Ambassador Nikki Haley by
Representative Adriano Espaillat
House Committee on Foreign Affairs
June 28, 2017

Question:

Ambassador Haley, how will cutting U.N. peacekeeping operations by 37 percent impact your work abroad?

Answer:

UN peacekeeping is a powerful tool to address global challenges to international peace and security. However, reform is needed to achieve better, smarter peacekeeping operations that are able to more effectively and efficiently address conflicts, support political solutions, and meet the needs of people on the ground. By demanding fiscal discipline, the United States is seeking to spur long-needed reforms that will lead the United Nations to rethink the way peacekeeping missions are designed and implemented. This budget reinforces the expectation that the UN must make peacekeeping more efficient and effective and that UN Member States must agree to distribute the costs of collective security more equitably.

Question:

There is obviously a humanitarian crisis taking place in Venezuela. Since April 4th, at least 60 people have been killed, 1,000 injured and hundreds more unfairly imprisoned without any official charges against them. Old and young fear stepping out of their homes and speaking their mind for fear that they will be tear gassed, beaten, locked up, or even killed. The militarization of authorities in Venezuela is only creating more violence and promoting fear.

Ambassador Haley, what steps are you currently taking to address this situation? What steps are you and the Administration taking to push for the release of political prisoners in Venezuela?

Answer:

We condemn the use of violence by the Maduro dictatorship against citizens exercising their rights to freedom of expression, association, and peaceful assembly. We offer our condolences to the families of all who have died in the violence surrounding the imposition of the National Constituent Assembly, and during the past six months of unrest. The United States will not hesitate to use all appropriate diplomatic and economic tools, including sanctions, to address the growing threat posed to Venezuela's democratic institutions and human rights. Within the United Nations, the United States called for a closed door meeting on May 17th to discuss the situation in Venezuela, which at that time had seen protests for six weeks. This was

the very first time the Security Council had taken up the issue, but depending on how it progresses, it may not be the last.

In addition to the diplomatic engagement on a bilateral and multilateral basis, we have also taken direct action to pressure the Maduro regime. These actions have become increasingly more severe. In February, Venezuela's Vice President was designated as a specially designated narcotics trafficker under the Kingpin Act. Pursuant to E.O. 13692, in May the Treasury Department sanctioned eight members of the Venezuelan Supreme Court's constitutional chamber, and on July 26 we sanctioned 13 current and former government officials directly implicated in the political, economic, and social crises currently unfolding in Venezuela. The day after the Maduro government held elections for a Constituent Assembly that aims to rewrite the constitution and illegitimately usurp the role of the democratically elected National Assembly, the Treasury Department imposed sanctions on Maduro himself, and most recently, at the end of August, the United States imposed broad financial sanctions on Venezuela.

The United States will continue to condemn the actions of the Maduro dictatorship and call for the immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners. This was one of four commitments the government of Venezuela agreed to during the Vatican-facilitated dialogue process in the fall of 2016. Yet, the number of political prisoners only continues to climb. That number is more than the number of political prisoners currently in prison in the rest of the hemisphere combined. We hold Maduro personally responsible for the health and safety of all political prisoners, including Leopoldo Lopez and Antonio Ledezma. We will not stand by as President Maduro seeks to silence dissident voices, and we will continue to take strong and swift actions against the architects of authoritarianism and repression in Venezuela.



Questions for the Record Submitted to
Ambassador Nikki Haley by
Congressman Ted W. Lieu
House Foreign Affairs Committee
June 28, 2017

Question:

In an interview on April 9, following the U.S. cruise missile strike on a Syrian airfield, you indicated that “getting Assad out” was one of, though not the only, U.S. priority in Syria. On the same day, Secretary Tillerson stated that, “Our priority in Syria ... really hasn’t changed.” Is removing Bashar al-Assad from power a current U.S. priority in Syria?

Answer:

The United States maintains the consistent position that, ultimately, a lasting peace in Syria means a future without Bashar Al-Assad. The Assad regime’s brutal atrocities and grievous violations of human rights over the past six years make Assad unable to be a credible Syrian leader.

Question:

On June 9, Secretary of State Tillerson stated, “We call on the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain and Egypt to ease the blockade on Qatar.” Less than two hours later, President Trump referred to the decision to initiate the blockade as, “hard but necessary” and supported the characterization of Qatar as a funder of terrorism. Does the United States support or oppose the actions by Saudi Arabia, UAE, Bahrain, and others against Qatar?

Answer:

The United States is interested in a remedy to the Gulf crisis that preserves the unity of the GCC while simultaneously ensures that all of our Gulf partners do more to fight terrorism. The United States supports Kuwaiti mediation as we work to resolve this dispute, and both the President and Secretary Tillerson continue to be in constant communication with senior Gulf leadership.

Question:

How does the Administration explain the sale of \$12 billion worth of F-15 aircraft to Qatar only days after President Trump expressed support for the Saudi-led actions against Qatar and concern over Qatar’s role as a “funder of terrorism at a very high level?”

Answer:

Qatar is an indispensable U.S. partner in the D-ISIS coalition through its ongoing support hosting more than 10,000 U.S. military personnel at Al-Udeid Air Base. The F-15 sale, and other sizeable military purchases, is an important demonstration of the U.S. commitment to support Qatar's military development as key partner to promote regional stability. The United States remains committed to work with each of its regional partners to further isolate terrorists from international financial systems.

Question:

In January 2017, the Panel of Experts on Yemen presented a report to the United Nations Security Council in which it stated it, "has sufficient grounds to believe that the coalition led by Saudi Arabia did not comply with international humanitarian law in at least 10 airstrikes that targeted houses, markets, factories and a hospital." Does the Administration agree with the report's conclusions?

Answer:

We take the findings of the Panel of Experts seriously. While we do not believe the Saudis are intentionally targeting civilians, we are deeply concerned about civilian casualties and damage to civilian infrastructure resulting from Saudi-led coalition airstrikes. We continue to press the Saudi-led Coalition at the highest levels to take all appropriate measures to mitigate the impact of the conflict on the civilian population.

We are proactively engaging on this issue. The Saudi Ministry of Defense has committed to receive training from U.S. forces on minimizing civilian casualties, including as part of a \$750 million, multi-year FMS training case. We have already delivered courses and planned future training events for the Royal Saudi Air Force (RSAF) that will specifically include further training on international humanitarian law (IHL) and air-to-ground targeting processes. We are expanding professionalization training to improve RSAF targeting capabilities and reduce the risk of civilian casualties. Future bilateral and multi-lateral training is designed to improve the RSAF's understanding of identifying, targeting, and engaging lawful targets while minimizing collateral damage and civilian casualties.

Additionally, we intend to renew IHL and civilian casualties training at lower levels, send senior current or former U.S. military officers to periodically consult with Saudi counterparts and encourage Saudi progress on their efforts, and review what intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance (ISR) or other capabilities we can provide to the Saudis to strengthen their processes. We also will continue to emphasize at all levels of the Saudi government the importance of continued adherence to IHL, including through taking all feasible steps in planning and conducting attacks to reduce the risk of harm to civilians.

Question:

What specific steps is the Administration taking at the United Nations to support the political process for a negotiated solution between the warring parties in Yemen?

Answer:

There is no military solution to the conflict in Yemen, and we remain supportive of a political process that leads to a negotiated resolution of the conflict. We support UN Special Envoy Ismail Ould Cheikh Ahmed's efforts to bring the parties together with an eye to restart negotiations towards a comprehensive peace agreement and address urgent humanitarian issues. We worked at the Security Council to build consensus and consequently issued a Presidential Statement in June 2017 to support the Special Envoy's confidence-building measures.

We continue to publicly and privately express our support for the Special Envoy's proposal to turn the port of Hudaydah over to neutral, local authorities. If successful, the proposal would enable further capacity improvements at the port. It could also serve as a confidence-building measure to help pave the way for the parties to return to the negotiating table.

It will be important for all those with influence with the parties to encourage a political path leading to a sustained resolution of the conflict. We must also ensure that those who can act as spoilers, including terrorist groups or countries that might seek to benefit from the chaos, are kept at bay. In this regard, disrupting the flow of arms and money is essential. In February, the Security Council took action on this by unanimously adopting Resolution 2342 which renewed the United Nations' sanction measures in Yemen including a targeted arms embargo, travel ban, and asset freezes for designated individuals.

Question:

Ambassador Haley, were you asked by President or President-elect Trump to take a loyalty pledge before being offered your current position or at any time since you were offered the job?

Answer:

No, I took an oath of office wherein I swore to support and defend the Constitution of the United States.