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OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS  
UNITED STATES SENATE

ONE HUNDRED FOURTEENTH CONGRESS  
SECOND SESSION

*January 4, 2016 to January 3, 2017*



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ONE HUNDRED FOURTEENTH CONGRESS

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## **BUSINESS MEETING**

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**THURSDAY, JANUARY 28, 2016**

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

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:06 a.m. in Room S-116, The Capitol, Hon. Bob Corker, chairman of the committee, presiding.

Present: Senators Corker [presiding], Risch, Johnson, Flake, Gardner, Perdue, Barrasso, Cardin, Menendez, Udall, Murphy, Kaine, and Markey.

### **OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. BOB CORKER, U.S. SENATOR FROM TENNESSEE**

The CHAIRMAN. I am going to go ahead and call the meeting to order.

I was just telling Senator Cardin I think we have had an incredibly productive period of time, and I am really glad to see the subcommittees working in the way that they should. We have a very substantial piece of legislation that we will talk about later that has come out of that process. So I appreciate the way all of our staff members and many committee members have worked together. And I am look forward to a very successful meeting.

I do want to welcome Charlotte here, Chris' daughter observing how the Senate functions. Chris Lynch has been chief of staff to Senator Cardin.

And when Senator Shaheen gets here, we will wish her a happy birthday. I do not know how happy they are at our age.

[Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. On the agenda today, we have five pieces of legislation, two nominations, and three promotions on the Foreign Service list. We will consider the nominations for the Ambassador to Burma; the Representative of the U.S. to the IAEA, to the Vienna office of the U.N., with rank of Ambassador; as well as multiple Foreign Service lists.

I want to thank my colleagues, as I just did, for helping the committee work through nominees and these lists in an appropriate fashion.

We will also consider S. Res. 347, a resolution honoring the memory and legacy of Anita Ashok Datar and condemning the terrorist attack in Bamako, Mali on November 20th, 2015. I would like to thank Senator Booker for drafting and introducing this resolution and the many cosponsors, including Ranking Member Cardin. Ms.

Datar was a committed and professional development expert and had devoted her career to serving others. We all mourn her loss and the opportunity and enthusiasm she brought to bear against the scourge of poverty.

Also on the agenda today is S. 2426, a bill that would direct the Secretary of State to develop a strategy to obtain observer status for Taiwan in the International Criminal Police Organization, and for other purposes. We thank Senator Gardner and Senator Cardin for bringing this bipartisan bill to the committee to help provide Taiwan with the observer status at INTERPOL as an important step towards ensuring that Taiwan can be a productive participant in the international system and can reap the benefits of increased safety and security that INTERPOL membership helps provide. Taiwan is an important and active ally of ours in the fight against human trafficking, and supporting membership in INTERPOL will empower Taipei to continue playing a valuable role in the effort to end modern slavery across the globe.

The third piece of legislation we will consider is S. 1882, the Nepal Recovery Act. I would like to thank Senator Cardin, along with Senator Kirk, for their efforts through this legislation to highlight the recovery and reconstruction needs of Nepal following the devastating earthquake last spring. This legislation represents the best of our bipartisan tradition in this committee and truly goes to the heart of our authorizing and oversight responsibilities. Members of our staff traveled to Nepal earlier this month to assess the earthquake damage, and witnessed firsthand the potency of U.S. assistance. I am pleased that we were able to support this legislation.

Next on the agenda is H.R. 1493, the Protect and Preserve International Cultural Property Act. This bill is designed to deny ISIS any funding stream from the sale of looted antiquities by establishing more effective U.S. import restrictions on looted property. There is widespread concern that ISIS may be trafficking in such antiquities. I think everyone is aware of that. This response to the problem has been a long time coming, and I appreciate everybody's perseverance.

The legislation is also designed to protect and preserve the cultural heritage of the Syrian people for a time when they finally have a responsible and democratically elected government.

I want to thank Senator Cardin, Senator Perdue, Senator Casey, Senator Grassley, and our House colleagues, Chairman Royce and the sponsor of the bill, Representative Engel for working with us to create a manager's amendment we will consider today. This again is I think a breakthrough of bipartisanship. I also know this is something that Representative Engel has really pushed for. I know his chairman worked with him, as with us, to make this happen. I know this legislation is particularly important for Senator Perdue. We are glad that today we are going to be able approve it, I hope by voice vote.

Lastly, we will consider H.R. 757, the North Korea Sanctions and Enforcement Act of 2015. I would like to thank Senators Gardner and Menendez for their efforts to focus attention on the threat posed by North Korea and their unwillingness to work with Senator Cardin and myself to develop a bipartisan Senate bill. There

has been a lot of attention on North Korea in the weeks following North Korea's fourth nuclear test, but Senators Gardner and Menendez demonstrated leadership on North Korea long before those recent events. So thank you both.

Thanks to their hard work and preparation, this committee was well prepared to take immediate action in response to North Korea's most recent provocation. The product of that leadership is the bipartisan bill before the committee today. I am heartened that this bill will set a precedent and put in place strong mandatory sanctions, and that it will establish for the first time a statutory framework for sanctions in response to North Korea's cyber threats.

I am also pleased that this bill goes beyond sanctions. In addition, it establishes a more robust policy framework, including tools to improve enforcement. It also shines a brighter spotlight on North Korea's abhorrent human rights record such as their forced labor practices. We know all too well that in past decades, the United States' North Korea policy—under both Republican and Democratic administrations—has been an abject failure there. And while there is no silver bullet solution, it is clear that Congress must play a more proactive role in providing more robust policy tools to the executive branch to confront the threat.

I want to thank Senator Cardin and his staff for working with our team on this important bipartisan legislation, for the constructive contributions and discussions we have had with Senators Shaheen, Markey, and Flake, and for all their contributions to producing the manager's amendment we will consider this morning. This was truly an all-hands-on-deck bipartisan committee effort to ensure a piece of legislation of which this committee can be proud of today.

And before I recognize Senator Cardin, I want to recognize Carolyn Leddy on our staff who has spent an incredible amount of time in the region, has been raising the alarm bells about North Korea for some time, and I want to thank you her for her diligence, and also to Frank Polly. I want to thank them, and all of the others here who worked on this bill, for their assistance in putting this together.

So with that, Senator Cardin, I look forward to your comments. Thank you for the tremendous work that you and your staff did to putting this legislation before us today. Thank you very much.

**STATEMENT OF HON. BENJAMIN L. CARDIN,  
U.S. SENATOR FROM MARYLAND**

Senator CARDIN. Mr. Chairman, thank you.

This is a very important business meeting. We have five important legislative actions to take in the business meeting. We have two very important nominations, plus a Foreign Service officer list for committee consideration.

You went through a long list thanking members of our committee and other members of the United States Senate, and I join you in that. But at the end, you mentioned something that I think our committee needs to underscore and that is the way in which, through your leadership and the staffs of both the majority and minority have worked together so that we can speak with a united

voice. And that is when the United States is its strongest on foreign policy issues, when we can speak as a united voice.

And on North Korea, I just might point out we are not only going to speak as a united voice, we are going to be able to bring the House and the Senate together, Democrats and Republicans, the administration and Congress to make it clear we will not tolerate the type of activities that are taking place in North Korea. And it is true with all the bills that have come forward.

And I know that we sometimes go through these business meetings very quickly and that is good. I am not complaining. I am not trying to keep people here for a long time. But the amount of work that went into this meeting was hours and hours of discussions to make sure we got it right. And I just really want to thank you for your leadership and the professionalism with which you have led this committee and all of our staffs who have been able to harmonize some very difficult issues so that we could have a relatively brief business meeting today on a very important agenda.

Let me first start with the North Korea bill. I want to thank Senator Gardner and Senator Menendez. Their leadership on this, as you pointed out, was critically important. It sends a strong message to North Korea of the unity that we have been able to display. It is the correct response to North Korea's recent nuclear test that violated international commitments. It responds to the cyber hack we saw for Sony and North Korea's activities in the cyber area and their severe human rights abuses. They could be the worst country in the world on human rights issues, the way that they are starving their own people and the way that they torture their own people.

I want to make one thing clear on this legislation. This is not a bill aimed against the people of North Korea. In fact, it is a bill aimed to help the people of North Korea. Their government uses the resources of their country in nefarious activities rather than taking care of the needs of their own people, and I think this bill underscores the importance of respect for the people of North Korea.

The sanctions are directed against specific entities that violate U.S. law and United Nations Security Council resolutions. Let me just give you one example of how this bill will help in dealing with taking action against North Korea.

Tough sanctions have worked with North Korea when they were applied in the past. In 2005, the U.S. designated Banco Delta Asia, BDA, as a money laundering concern for facilitating North Korea's illicit activities and banned all U.S. financial institutions from dealing with the Macao bank. North Korea was shunned by the international financial system due to the cumulative effects of the action. Two dozen financial institutions, including Chinese ones, voluntarily cut back or terminated their business with North Korea. Both North Korea and China moderated their positions because of sanctions we imposed. But over time, we have seen an erosion of that.

The bill that is before us will take corrective actions to limit North Korea's ability to conduct financial transactions.

The bill we have strengthens the House bill. It strengthens it by including requirements for the administration to take investigative



actions. It strengthens it in regards to North Korea's illegal cyber activities and strengthens it in regard to taking action against North Korea's human rights violations. It recognizes the appropriate role between Congress and the administration and creates the policy environment where the global community can join us, with U.S. leadership, against North Korea.

The second bill let me just talk about briefly, is Nepal. I am pleased that Senator Kirk and I have worked together on this bipartisan bill. We are joined by Senators Markey, Feinstein, Gillibrand, and others. There were two devastating earthquakes last year in Nepal. 9,000 people killed, 26,000 injured, 800,000 people's homes were destroyed, \$5 billion in damage to a country where \$5 billion is their lifeblood of their economy. So this is an appropriate response for the United States to provide assistance, plus accountability, and to work with the international community with U.S. leadership to respond to an international humanitarian crisis. So I am pleased this bill is on our markup, and I thank you for that.

You also mentioned Senator Engel's bill in regards to the Protect and Preserve International Cultural Property. You are absolutely correct. This bill is very much targeted at what is happening in Syria where we are not only seeing their antiquities being destroyed, which is part of their culture and their history and future, but they're also being illicitly trafficked by the ISIL forces for financing of their terrorist activities. And this bill has the right response to take action against them.

On the Taiwan INTERPOL bill, I want to thank my chairman, Senator Gardner, on the subcommittee that I am the ranking member of for his work on recognizing that Taiwan is a critically important strategic partner of the United States both economically and for national security and makes common sense that they have observer status in INTERPOL, and the U.S. should be working in that direction. And this bill passed, by the way, the House of Representatives by a 392 to 0 vote. So it is a bill I hope we can move quickly.

You mentioned the resolution for Anita Datar. Let me point out that she was a loving mother, daughter, and sister, and lived in Takoma Park, Maryland. So people in Maryland have particular reason to mourn her loss. She was a humanitarian serving as the senior director of a field program for a USAID contractor in Mali. She was one of 19 victims that were killed in the terrorist attack on November 20th, 2015 at the Radisson Hotel in Mali. So it is appropriate that this resolution be passed. And I thank Senator Booker for his leadership on that.

And then lastly, Senator Corker, thank you again for expediting our nominations. You have done an incredibly effective job in moving nominations through our committee, and I say that every time I can. I only wish that this was copied by the actions on the floor of the United States Senate. And I just need to point out that there are vacancies that have gone on for years because of the inaction on the floor of the United States Senate where the majority has allowed one Senator in many cases to block floor consideration of critically important nominations. That has got to end. It is not just our committee that is moving nominations. There are other committees that have acted in a timely way and those nominations are

not being taken up on the floor either. And I know that you have been fighting. I have been with you when you have talked to individual Senators to try to get them moving. I thank you for that. Your leadership has been very much recognized.

And I thank you for including the two nominations today and the Foreign Service list. But I can tell you we are going to continue to raise these issues on the floor of the United States Senate.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

I know many of you want to speak to the various individual pieces of legislation. If we could maybe do that when we address those each in turn, that would be great. So what I would like to do is first consider the three Foreign Service list confirmations. I support the appointments and promotions, and we would like to thank these officers for their service. Senator Cardin, do you have any comments?

Senator CARDIN. No, thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any member who wishes to be recognized to speak regarding the Foreign Service list? [No response.]

Senator CARDIN. I move them.

The CHAIRMAN. If there is no further discussion on these, I would entertain a motion to approve them en bloc, as modified, by voice vote.

Senator CARDIN. So moved.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there a second?

Senator KAINE. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. So moved and seconded.

The question is on the motion to approve the three Foreign Service list en bloc. All those in favor, say aye.

[Chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. Opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. With that, the ayes have it, and the appointments and promotions are agreed to.

I would now like to ask the committee to pursue en bloc by voice vote in consideration of the two nominations before the committee, Ms. Laura Holgate to be the Representative for the U.S. to the IAEA, with the rank of Ambassador, and to be Representative of the U.S. in the Vienna Office of the U.N., with the rank of Ambassador; and the Honorable Scot Alan Marciel to be Ambassador to Burma. I want to thank these nominees for their willingness to serve in these positions.

Senator Cardin, do you have any comments on these nominees?

Senator CARDIN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any other member who wishes to speak at this time? Senator Gardner?

Senator GARDNER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I just want to say a few words about the Marciel nomination and United States policy for Burma.

Burma held historic elections last November. It is currently in the midst of a very sensitive political transition period between the military and democratic rule. With the new parliament due to be formed in April, U.S. policies need to help that transition. The United States still maintains a limited set of sanctions on Burma,

sanctions many believe have helped to incentivize the democratic transition in that country.

On December 1, Mr. Marciel testified before this committee that he does not foresee any planned changes in the U.S. sanctions policy. I received those assurances in private as well. Yet, on December 7th, the Treasury Department, in consultation with the State Department, announced they will be relaxing some of the sanctions on Burma. I consider this extremely regretful.

But coming from the State Department, from the lack of transparency—and I have subsequently sought and received written assurances from the State Department that U.S. sanctions policy toward Burma has not changed and that Congress will be fully consulted in the future regarding any change. With that, I intend to support Mr. Marciel.

The CHAIRMAN. Okay. I know that Senator Rubio would like to be recorded no for the nomination of Laura Holgate.

If there is no further discussion on these nominations, I would entertain a motion.

Senator BARRASSO. I would also like to be recorded as no.

The CHAIRMAN. Okay. Senator Barrasso, a no. Anyone else? Senator Risch would also like to be recorded as no, and we will do that.

If there is no further discussion on these nominations, I would entertain a motion to approve them by voice vote en bloc.

Senator CARDIN. So moved.

Senator MENENDEZ. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. Seconded, Menendez.

The question is on the motion to approve the nominations. All those in favor, say aye.

[Chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. All opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. With that, the ayes have it. The nominations are recommended to the full Senate.

Senator CARDIN. Mr. Chairman, so I understand, the negatives were in regard to Holgate, not Marciel.

The CHAIRMAN. That is correct. Thank you for clarifying that.

Next we will consider S. Res. 347, honoring the memory and legacy Anita Datar and condemning the terrorist attack in Mali.

Senator Cardin, you have made comments. Do you have additional comments?

Senator CARDIN. No.

Senator MENENDEZ. Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, Senator Menendez.

Senator MENENDEZ. Very briefly, I want to commend my colleague, Senator Booker, for recognizing the life of Anita Ashok Datar, who was a native of New Jersey, a former student at Mount Olive High School in Flanders, New Jersey, a graduate of Rutgers University, and a brilliant soul who spent much of her life making others' lives brighter. She was a dedicated servant. She spent her life working to advance public health in dangerous places. And it is a reminder, as we share our condolences with her family, however, that the tragedy that took place there is faced by all of those whose purpose in serving others takes them into dangerous places. And so we applaud her memory and her commitment.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you for those comments.

If there is no further discussion on the resolution, I would entertain a motion to approve it by voice vote.

Senator KAINE. So moved.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there a second?

Senator MENENDEZ. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. It is so moved and seconded.

The question is on the motion to approve S. Res. 347. All those in favor, say aye.

[Chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. Opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. With that, the ayes have it. The resolution is approved.

Next we will consider S. 2426, to direct the Secretary of State to develop a strategy to obtain observer status for Taiwan in the International Criminal Police Organization.

Senator Cardin, do you have additional comments?

Senator CARDIN. I have already spoken to this. I support it.

The CHAIRMAN. Would anyone else like to speak?

Senator GARDNER. Mr. Chairman, I would ask unanimous consent that Senators Shaheen and Boxer be added as cosponsors.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection.

Senator GARDNER. I want to thank Senator Cardin for working on this, as well as cosponsors of the bill. It is an important step forward for Taiwan. They had full membership in INTERPOL starting in 1964 until 1984 when the Peoples Republic of China applied for membership. Non-membership, of course, has been a step backward for Taiwan and kept them from participating in this important forum. And I hope this is a strong message to Taiwan that we are acting on their behalf.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. Thanks for your leadership on this.

Any other comments?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. If there is no further discussion, I would entertain a motion to approve it by voice vote.

Senator MENENDEZ. So moved.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there a second?

Senator CARDIN. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. It is so moved and seconded.

The question is on the motion to approve S. 2426. All those in favor, say aye.

[Chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. Opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. With that, the ayes have it, and the legislation is approved.

Next we will consider S. 1882, the Nepal Recovery Act.

Senator Cardin, do you have any additional comments you would like to make?

Senator CARDIN. I do have a first degree amendment that has been suggested by the appropriators that I, at the appropriate time, would want to offer.

The CHAIRMAN. Would anyone else like to speak to this legislation? [No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. If there is no further discussion, I would entertain a motion to consider the manager's amendment by voice vote.

Senator KAINE. So moved.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Is there a second?

Senator CARDIN. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. It is so moved and seconded.

The question is on the motion to approve the manager's amendment. All in favor, say aye.

[Chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. Opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. With that, the ayes have it, and the manager's amendment is agreed to.

Now, I would entertain a motion that we consider the Cardin substitute amendment, as amended by the manager's amendment.

Senator CARDIN. So moved.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there a second?

Senator KAINE. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. It is so moved and seconded.

The question is on the motion to approve the substitute amendment, as amended. All those in favor, say aye.

[Chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. Opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. With that, the ayes have it. The substitute amendment is agreed to.

Are there any further amendments?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. Hearing none, is there a motion to approve the legislation, as amended?

Senator CARDIN. So moved.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Is there a second?

Senator KAINE. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. So moved and seconded.

The question is on the motion to approve S. 1882, as amended. All in favor, say aye.

[Chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. Opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. With that, the ayes have it, and the legislation, as amended, is agreed to.

Next we will consider H.R. 1493, the Protect and Preserve International Cultural Property Act.

Senator Cardin, any additional comment?

Senator CARDIN. I have already commented. I urge support.

The CHAIRMAN. Would anyone else like to speak to this legislation?

Senator PERDUE. Just briefly. I would like to recognize Senator Casey as an original cosponsor here in the Senate. This bill an emergency import restriction on archeological and ethnological ma-

terial that has been removed since the beginning of the conflict in 2011 from Syria. A similar emergency import restriction act was placed on such items from Iraq in 2003 and is urgently needed here in Syria. We have seen ISIS do this across the Levant and it has targeted cultural property for destruction. It is their second leading source of income for ISIS.

This legislation also includes a sense of Congress that the President should create an interagency committee to better coordinate efforts among the agencies of the executive branch and institutions such as the Smithsonian who work to preserve and protect international cultural properties. Since World War II, the U.S. has led the international effort to protect and preserve cultural property during times of conflict and crisis, and this should be no different.

The bill also chips away at ISIS' ability to profit from its looting of history.

I would like to thank you again for this timely bill included on the agenda today.

And finally, I ask unanimous consent to submit for the record a statement from Senator Grassley, our other leading cosponsor.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection.

[The prepared statement of Senator Grassley follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON CHARLES E. GRASSLEY, U.S. SENATOR FROM IOWA

Chairman Corker, Ranking Member Cardin, members of the committee, I'd like to thank this Committee for taking up the "Protect and Preserve International Cultural Property Act." This bill is critically important to ensure that the Administration has the authority to impose import restrictions on antiquities from Syria, which is a key source of funding for the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS).

I joined Senator Casey and Senator Perdue to introduce a Senate companion to the House bill that would place trade restrictions against the importation of looted archeological and ethnological materials. It's a similar measure to one that I won enactment of in 2003 when Iraq's antiquities were being looted.

The brutal and barbaric acts carried out by ISIS are beyond comprehension. The senseless and inhumane brutality these individuals carried out against innocents is truly shocking and disgraceful. ISIS has executed thousands, including women and children. Many more have been kidnapped, enslaved, abused and raped.

ISIS is also destroying and selling the archeological heritage that has survived for thousands of years. It's reprehensible that there are people engaged in a black market to buy these artifacts, thereby underwriting this brutal Islamist militant group.

The chaos and disorder in Syria and Iraq has opened the door to opportunists who wish to enrich themselves in dealing with stolen and looted antiquities. The least we can do, here in Congress, is shut down the U.S. market for these artifacts. Americans should not be underwriting brutality.

We need to put an end to the destruction and looting of irreplaceable artifacts and historical records like those from the Mosul Museum, Nineveh, and Nimrud. These objects are a material record of humanity.

We need to destroy ISIS rather than support its funding. This bill will help by restricting the import of items to the United States. It's a small but important step in hampering the ability of ISIS terrorists to profit from the sale of looted antiquities.

I strongly support this bill and encourage members of this committee to support it as well. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Thanks for the comments.

And I want to thank everybody for working through a couple of tricky issues to make sure this had the intended—the consequences were as intended. I know there were a few things that constituencies had concerns with. We were able to work through those. So thank you for your leadership.

I would entertain a motion to consider the substitute amendment by voice vote.

Senator CARDIN. So moved.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Is there a second?

Senator KAINE. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. It is so moved and seconded.

The question is on the motion to approve the substitute amendment. All those in favor, say aye.

[Chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. Opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. With that, the ayes have it. The substitute amendment is agreed to.

Are there any further amendments?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. Hearing none, is there a motion to approve the legislation, as amended?

Senator PERDUE. So moved.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Is there a second?

Senator CARDIN. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. So moved and seconded.

The question is on the motion to approve H.R. 1493, as amended. All in favor, say aye.

[Chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. Opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. With that, the ayes have it, and the legislation, as amended, is agreed to.

Lastly, we will consider H.R. 757, the North Korea Sanctions Enforcement Act of 2015. This is a very significant piece of legislation that very soon, I believe, is going to become law and is going to have an impact on what is happening in North Korea and in the region.

I want to thank everyone who has been involved in this. So many on the committee have. It is a major piece of legislation.

Senator Cardin, would you like to make additional comments?

Senator CARDIN. I have already commented about it, but I just really want to underscore what the chairman said and particularly thank Senator Menendez and Gardner and other members of our committee.

But we all share the same objective. But it was tricky because there are always going to be different views between an administration and the Congress on how sanctions are imposed and to listen to their concerns and to respond, where there was legitimate reason to respond, but to remain firm where we think it is congressional prerogative.

I just want to compliment the chairman. I want to compliment Senator Menendez and Gardner for bringing us to this moment where we have a bill that I am very confident will not only pass the United States Senate but will be signed into law by the President.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Gardner I am sure would like to make comments. Again, thanks for your tremendous leadership on this, with the tremendous leadership of Senator Menendez, the best in reaching bipartisan consensus that will affect something in a major way. We thank you. And I am sure you have some comments.

Senator GARDNER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Would you like me to comment now or wait till we do the substitute amendment? I am happy to do it now or wait.

The CHAIRMAN. Why do you not go ahead and comment?

Senator GARDNER. Thank you. I can recall when I assumed the position as chairman of the committee, we talked both about North Korea and the serious concern that we have about its growing threat to its neighbors, to the United States homeland, and to global security we agreed that we could not ignore it.

This past August, I had the opportunity to visit South Korea and to speak directly with South Korean President Park. We agreed that the status quo with regard to North Korea was no longer sustainable or responsible.

In October, I presented Senate bill 2144, the North Korean Sanctions and Policy Enhancement. I want to thank Senators Rubio and Risch, Perdue, and Isakson for cosponsoring the legislation and thank you, Senator Cardin, and Senator Menendez for the encouragement and invaluable support to make this today a reality because we have taken the final step today in changing our policy toward North Korea.

On January 6th, 2016, our worst fears were realized when North Korea followed through with its fourth nuclear test. North Korea has claimed it was a hydrogen test, a bomb vastly more powerful than previous tests. Regardless of whether that is true, it represents still a significant advancement in North Korea's nuclear weapons capability.

And we also know North Korea continues to advance its ballistic missile program. In fact, yesterday it was on the news that they were perhaps preparing for yet additional tests.

Admiral Bill Gortney, the head of U.S. NORTHCOM, the Northern Command, based at Peterson Air Force Base in Colorado publicly stated on several occasions that North Korea may have already developed the ability to miniaturize a nuclear warhead mounted on their own intercontinental ballistic missile called the KNO8 and shoot it at the homeland. Admiral Gortney has reiterated those fears to me privately on numerous occasions as well, including his belief that the current conditions on the peninsula perhaps are as unstable as they have been since they have been since the armistice.

North Korea continues to grossly abuse the rights of its own people. There are 200,000 men, women, and children in North Korea's vast prison systems. In fact, the United Nations Commission of Inquiry in 2014 found that North Korea's actions constituted a crime against humanity.

Moreover, we have seen North Korean cyber capabilities grow into an asymmetric threat that North Korea has utilized against its neighbors, South Korea and Japan, as well as the United States, as evidenced by the Sony Pictures hack in November of 2014. According to a November 2015 report by the center for Strategic and



International Studies, North Korea is emerging as a significant actor in cyberspace with both its military and clandestine organization gaining the ability to conduct cyber operations.

All of these developments represent a failure of U.S. policy of strategic patience toward North Korea. It is time to change course, and this legislation before us will do just that. Following the overwhelming vote 418 to 2 vote in the House of Representatives on their version of this bill 2 weeks ago, I wanted to again thank the chairman for moving forward with such a substitute out of our committee.

The Gardner-Menendez substitute before us today represents a slightly modified version of our legislation, Senate bill 2144. In particular, the legislation mandates not simply authorizes, the President to impose sanctions against persons that materially contribute to North Korea's nuclear ballistic missile development, import luxury goods into North Korea, enable a censorship on human rights abuses, engage in money laundering and manufacture of counterfeit goods and narcotics trafficking, engage in activities undermining cybersecurity, have supplied, sold, or transferred to or from North Korea precious metals or raw metals, including aluminum, steel, and coal for the benefit of North Korea's regime and its illicit activities. I would note the mandatory sanctions on North Korea's cyber activities and mandatory sanctions on the minerals are unique to the Senate legislation.

This bill codifies Executive Orders 13687 and 13694 regarding cybersecurity as they apply to North Korea, which were enacted last year in the wake of the Sony Pictures hack and other cyber instances. It is also a unique feature of the Senate bill.

Lastly, the mandatory sanctions on cyber violators will break new ground for Congress if enacted and signed into law. We need to look for every way to deprive Pyongyang of income to build its weapons program, strengthen its cyber capabilities, and abuse its own people.

We must also send a strong message to China, North Korea's diplomatic protector and largest trading partner, that the United States will use every economic tool at its disposal to stop Pyongyang.

I urge my colleagues to support the Gardner-Menendez substitute.

The CHAIRMAN. I would imagine Senator Menendez would like to make a comment, and I hope that he will.

Senator MENENDEZ. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I am pleased to see that the committee remains vigilant with respect to the threat that North Korea presents to our national security interests and the security interests of our friends and allies, whether that threat is conventional, nuclear, or cyber. And that is exactly what I had in mind when I introduced bipartisan legislation last July with Senator Graham and again in this session. And I want to thank you, Mr. Chairman, and Senator Cardin for recognizing the need and the expediency, as well as the work you put into it. And I want to thank Senator Gardner as the subcommittee chair for working with me to come along to a piece of legislation that is meaningful at the end of the day and not just a message piece.

I have believed in the course of following North Korea in two guiding principles.

One is that, first, effective deterrence needs leadership, and nuclear missile tests, cyber attacks highlight the continuing threat that North Korea poses to the U.S. and our friends and allies in the region. And I believe we need to see more action to energize a strategy to continue to promote decisive U.S. leadership and a broad international coalition to bring pressure on the regime.

And second, strategic patience has a place, but not without strategic focus. A strategic approach to security and stability on the Korean peninsula should include the effective sanctions that we are calling for in this legislation, diplomatic pressure, and military countermeasures, the full range of American instruments of power to keep it focused on the threat that North Korea presents.

And I think the legislation we are about to take up is the most meaningful response to North Korea's most recent nuclear test. I believe we are taking a strong step towards addressing the threat that North Korea poses. We are certainly sending a strong message to the regime that has displayed little faith in the resolve to respond to provocations, whether nuclear, conventional, or cyber.

And I am pleased to note, as has been noted here, that this is a true bipartisan effort at the end of the day, particularly as it relates to foreign policy. When we can speak with one voice, when we are undivided in purpose and commitment, we send the strongest message in the world both multilaterally and as it relates in this case to a country for which we are concerned about their violation of international will and international order and security. That is the most powerful statement we can make.

I will close by saying, as has been noted, the provisions of our legislation build upon the good work that the House did to target not only banned and illicit activities but also Pyongyang's trade in minerals and precious metals which is a key source of hard currency for the regime and a signal to North Korea's trade partners that support, whether economic or otherwise, a regime that oppresses its people, threatens its neighbors, violates international will will come at significant cost.

And at the same time, I believe that it is incredibly important to offer America's hand to those who suffer under this regime's abuse. American and other humanitarian organizations who seek to improve the situation for North Koreans should not and under the provisions included in this bill will come afoul of this improved sanctions regime.

I think this is an incredibly strong measure, and I thank the committee's leadership, as well as Senator Gardner, for coming together in what is a truly strong bipartisan response.

The CHAIRMAN. Any other comments? Anyone else want to speak to this?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. Again, this is a very, very strong piece of legislation. It does build off of the House.

And just for committee members to know, it is my sense that if it passes out of committee today, which I think it will, it is going to be on the floor the week after next. It will probably be the last piece of legislation we take up during this work period.

We have been in communication, obviously, with the administration, both with our U.N. Ambassador but also with our Security Council leader. And I know they are continuing to work through the Security Council itself to impose sanctions. I do not know where that goes.

But I am really proud that our committee is going to pass this piece of legislation today, I think overwhelmingly. I also think it will pass the floor overwhelmingly. We will then be able to work with the House to cause this to become law. And again, I cannot thank the members of this committee enough for their leadership, especially Senator Gardner, Senator Menendez, Senator Cardin, and others.

So with that, if there is no further discussion, I would entertain a motion to consider the manager's amendment by voice vote.

Senator CARDIN. So moved.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Is there a second?

Senator KAINE. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. It is so moved and seconded.

The question is on the motion to approve the manager's amendment. All in favor, say aye.

[Chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. Opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. With that, the ayes have it. The manager's amendment is agreed to.

Now I would entertain a motion that we consider the Gardner-Menendez substitute amendment in light of the discussion about it, as amended by the manager's amendment.

Senator GARDNER. So moved.

Senator MENENDEZ. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. So moved and seconded.

The question is on the motion to approve the substitute amendment, as amended. All those in favor, say aye.

[Chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. Opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. And with that, the ayes have it. The substitute amendment is agreed to.

Are there any further amendments?

Senator MARKEY. Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator MARKEY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I want to thank you and Senator Cardin and Senator Menendez and Senator Gardner for their tremendous work on this bill. And I want to thank you for inclusion of my provision to ensure that anyone who participates in or facilitates North Korea's trade in conventional weapons is subject to sanctions under this act.

I also commend the committee for acting decisively and in a bipartisan way to strengthen sanctions against North Korea.

Although the U.N. Security Council strengthened its arms embargo on North Korea following the 2009 nuclear test, gaps remain, including a lack of enforcement by some member states, particularly China. This amendment helps close those gaps by imposing

sanctions on anyone who trades in weapons with North Korea. Doing so will help disrupt Pyongyang's arms trade which, according to U.N. reports, remains one of the country's most profitable revenue sources.

I also appreciate my colleagues' willingness to explore the second amendment of mine which would require the Treasury Department to determine whether North Korea was of primary money laundering concern on an annual basis rather than only once. It would also provide Congress with additional information regarding the special measures that Treasury applies as a result of that designation and the reasons for selecting those measures.

While my staff was unable to fully resolve the concerns raised with this amendment, I look forward to continuing to work with you, Mr. Chairman, and the other Senators about a way to include it before we reach the floor. It is important to remember that sanctions are not in and of themselves the goal, but rather it is the goal to bring North Korea to the disarmament negotiations. And I think that the language which I suggested, which I hope that we can work together to try to include before the floor, can be included.

Mr. Chairman, I also have an amendment at the desk, Markey number 3, which I would like to offer and to subsequently withdraw. That amendment directs the Securities and Exchange Commission to issue regulations requiring the securities issuers to annually disclose their investments in North Korea and to disclose any other activities that could subject them to sanctions under this act.

In 2004, the Congress created the SEC's Office of Global Security Risk to seek disclosure from companies doing business with sanctioned countries, including those on the list of state sponsors of terrorism.

In 2008, however, President Bush removed North Korea from that list. As a result, the Securities and Exchange Commission stopped requiring securities issuers to disclose investments in North Korea. This lack of disclosure may lead Americans to unknowingly invest in companies that do business with North Korea. As noted by a 2003 report from the House Appropriations Committee, American investors may be unwittingly investing in companies with ties to countries that sponsor terrorism and countries linked to human rights violations. These associations can negatively affect the value of an investment, exposing unwitting investors to financial risk.

The prospect of American companies investing in North Korea is quite real. As a "New York Times" story reported on January 13th, just last week, one American company, Firebird Management, has publicly declared its intention to invest in North Korea's oil industry. A hedge fund manager told the "Times" that North Korea could be a lucrative market for investors, owing to its young, highly disciplined, and literate population and its strong military industrial complex.

This amendment will not impose any burden on companies that do not invest in North Korea. For those companies that do, Americans deserve at least to know who they are. Without this requirement, Americans may unwittingly be supporting a country that

abuses its citizens, threatens U.S. national security, and violates U.S. law.

Unfortunately, due to the limited time available for discussion prior to this meeting, we were unable to fully resolve concerns about this amendment. Nevertheless, I look forward to continued conversations. And I am preparing an amendment for the floor to protect our American citizens from financial risk arising out of opaque investments in North Korea. And I ask unanimous consent to withdraw the amendment, but I look forward to working with you, Mr. Chairman, and the others so that we can include appropriate language so that the American public knows who amongst American companies are, in fact, investing in North Korea.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I want to thank you for the way you have constructively worked with us. I know you have an amendment that is already a part of this bill. I know you want to discuss other ideas with us, and as always, we look forward to those discussions. But I do want to thank you again for being so constructive as we moved to this bill today.

I know you have had a lot of interest in this issue. You have expressed that interest in committee hearings, not just on North Korea, but on China and other matters. And I want to thank you for bringing your point of view to our committee.

Senator CARDIN. If I might, I also want to thank Senator Markey. I do not know of a Member of the Senate who has more experience and has been a greater leader on nuclear nonproliferation than Senator Markey. And he, as you pointed out, has raised it with many countries, and here with North Korea, your leadership is going to be critically important as this bill moves forward. And then in the other areas you referred to, including human rights and conventional weapons, it is very important that we have a very clear policy, and your expertise will help us. And I thank you for the cooperative way in which we are trying to work to make sure we get this done.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you want to say something else?

Senator MARKEY. I was just going to say I think that the best way to punish them is to give the American people the ability to participate in it as well, and the more that they can have transparent access to the information about which American companies are investing, the more we can actually invest the American people in this issue as well. So we create kind of a conversation online across the country about this issue and which companies are cooperating. This has to be I think an effort which we reach down further into the American public so that they are better educated about the long-term list of Korea's activities.

But I thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, and thanks for withdrawing those amendments. And without objection, they are.

Are there any other amendments that someone would want to consider?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. Hearing none, is there a motion to approve the legislation, as amended?

Senator CARDIN. So moved.

Senator BARRASSO. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. It is so moved and seconded.

The question is on the motion to approve H.R. 757, as amended. All in favor, say aye.

[Chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. All opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. With that, the ayes have it, and the legislation, as amended, is agreed to.

And that completes the committee's business.

I ask unanimous consent that the record be held open for 5 business days and that staff be authorized to make technical and conforming changes and members statements. Without objection, so ordered.

Senator KAINE. Mr. Chairman, I have a question that is kind of tangential to one of the pieces of legislation that we dealt with, the H.R. 1493 about the international cultural property protection that deals with ISIL. And I just wanted a kind of status check on this last week.

Last week, the Leader rule 14'ed to the floor a military operation against ISIL filed by Senator Graham. And I was just curious what the committee's—either what the majority's posture is with respect to that on the floor and whether the committee intends to take it up. As you know, there is a bipartisan authorization that has been pending before the committee since June.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, consistency is something I like a lot.

[Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you so much for bringing that up.

[Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. And as you know, I am of the belief that the President already has the authority to do what he is doing as he believes. Every witness that the administration has sent to this committee says that they believe the 2001 authorization for the use of military force gives them the ability to do what they are doing both in Syria and in Iraq. So I think they have the freedom to conduct this war in every possible way they believe.

I appreciate the tremendous leadership that you and Senator Flake have shown on this issue.

As I think it has been clearly stated, I do not think the Majority Leader had any intention of elevating the discussion beyond this committee. When members ask the Leader to Rule 14 a bill, he just does it as a courtesy. In many cases, he is even unaware personally that that is happening. It is just a perfunctory thing. So I do not think that step changed the debate in any way.

What he said in his public comments—and these are not my comments, but I am just reciting them—is that should the President come forth with a strategy that he believes is one that is going to defeat ISIS and should the President come forth with a proposed authorization that he does not believe will tie the hands of the next administration, the Majority Leader would consider it.

That does not mean that his view has to be our committee's posture. And if the committee would like to talk further about this, both openly or privately, I am more than glad to do it. I think you know I drafted a possible authorization for the use of military force and talked to you about it some time ago.

Again, I believe that the President has that authority now, but I know there are concerns by some that while they believe that President Obama, from their perspective, might not be doing everything he needs to do against ISIS, the next President might wish to do more. So there are people within our committee who want to limit the next President's ability to conduct operations. There are other people who feel like he already has the authority he needs, like I do. Right now, by the way, the authority he has is that he can do anything he wishes as commander in chief to try to defeat this enemy.

I know Senator Menendez had a productive hearing on these issues before the majority shifted, if you will.

But I do not think that Senator McConnell's recent efforts were in any way intended to change the status of these discussions. I think he was really clear the next day that he would continue look to this committee on these issues. If those conditions were met by the President, he said, would look to this committee to deal with the question.

I do not know if there are any additional comments.

Senator KAINE. Might I respond? If there are other comments, I would love to respond briefly.

It is the case that there are wide views about the President's current legal authority. There are many in this body who believe that the war is illegal. There are some who believe that the 9/11 authorization covers it. But there is a wide variety of opinions on that.

But the President has asked Congress to take this up since September of 2011 and submit an authorization in February, since September of 2014 and submit an authorization in February 2015, nearly a year ago. This committee did act on an authorization—sadly it did not see get floor action for a variety of reasons—about 14 months ago.

But the mere fact that the President says he has the authority has never been enough here. The President says he has the authority on immigration matters, but Members of Congress are suing him about it. And when the President has asked that we have a debate and put Congress' will behind this war and when the head of the Joint Chiefs has asked, I find that those are very compelling.

So I was concerned that there would be an effort to end run the committee on this. It would certainly be my hope that we would take it up. And that may not be the will of the committee, but I am going to keep asking for it because an legal war is a very troubling thing to those of us who believe it is illegal, just but illegal.

But also I am so convinced that if this committee devoted the attention to this that we have devoted to matters like the bill today on North Korean sanctions or the Iran Nuclear Review Act, where we came in with a lot of different positions, but we hammered it out, we were able to reach an accord. And maybe I am still too new to be trusted and my naivete or optimism but I think if we just devoted the time and attention to this matter, we could reach an accord since Congress is overwhelmingly of the belief that the war against ISIL is a just one.

But we will obviously watch it to see if that rule 14 moves. I would certainly hate to see something move like that, even to be

taken up on the floor without this committee putting its thumbprints on it because I have got confidence in this committee.

The CHAIRMAN. I just put your concerns at rest. I do not think there was any attempt to bypass the committee, and I think the Leader went out of his way that afternoon to assure people that that is not what his intentions are.

I will have to say I was just in Afghanistan and was in Qatar at the base where we are basically controlling all of the operations that are taking place, from an aerial standpoint, in both Syria and Iraq. I do not get the sense there is anyone among our military service people who believes anything but that the United States is 1,000 percent behind them in their efforts. I happen to be one of those people that does agree that they have the legal authority to do what they are doing, and I have not seen any indication that us debating this here would in any way change the trajectory of what we are doing on the ground anyway.

I do not believe, however, that they have the authority to go against Assad. If you remember, in a committee meeting that we had with General Martin Dempsey, when we asked the question about whether, if Assad were to barrel bomb, for instance, the Syrian opposition, he had the authority to go against Assad's forces. He said not at that moment. Certainly if they needed such additional authority in Syria, I would be more than glad to take that up, because that would be an initial authorization the Executive Branch currently does not have. I am more than willing to continue discussing such things.

Except for that question about Assad's forces, I see nothing we would do here on ISIS changing the trajectory of what is happening in Syria already, and—I do not see an authorization doing that.—I believe already they have the legal authority;—I agree with their assertions that they do. What I do not want to do is enter into a debate that is really more about the presidential race and people having concerns that maybe a President gets elected who will conduct a war in a more aggressive manner than the current President—and some people are really interested in limiting that. regarding ISIS when, in fact, I think the committee is united regarding the fact that we think this campaign is just. There may be differences relative to our belief regarding the legalities.

But, look, I have to say you are one of our most constructive and consistent members. I thank you for your consistency. I know you feel really strongly about this, and I am glad that we have a committee on which members feel not only the freedom but are empowered to continue to express their views—and where as today, as we have seen, we can successfully pass major pieces of legislation when they are hammered out.

Senator CARDIN. Mr. Chairman, I just want to clarify one point that you said that I think it is important. When the committee took up the authorization for use of military force under Chairman Menendez, what came out of that markup was an authorization that we thought was appropriate for the war against ISIL and was very much aimed at the recommendations of the Obama administration. It also recognized that the next administration may have a different game plan. And that is why we had a requirement that the next Congress would have to take up the authorization for the



use of military force with the recommendations of the next administration. So I do not think there has been any effort made here to try to get involved in presidential politics. I mean that sincerely.

The CHAIRMAN. I think it is moving in that direction.

Senator CARDIN. I just want to make that clear. As we looked at it, it was not at all aimed at the politics of the presidential elections, but instead required the next administration to come to Congress as to what Congress should authorize in regards to their game plan on the war against ISIL.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. I appreciate that.

And by the way, I did not agree with the authorization because of the limiting factors, but I thought it was a good discussion.

Senator Flake?

Senator FLAKE. I have to leave. I just want to associate myself with the comments that Senator Kaine made, and whether it was the intent of the Leader to bypass the committee, I think that was the effect. It is unfortunate that we are not going to bring something to the floor that has the stamp of the committee or at least attempt to do so.

The CHAIRMAN. Actually, I do not think it was his intent at all. I have had multiple conversations with him, and I can assure you that was not his intent. As a matter of fact, I would guess there are members here that have asked the Leader to Rule 14 things to the floor just to make those items pending, something that they do as a matter of routine, —without even thinking about it. It happens nonstop. So I do not think that what you fear is the case. I do not think that is the end result of the Leader's move, and certainly I have been assured in every way, including in public comments, that that is not the case.

Senator FLAKE. Well, if that is the case, hopefully we will have an amendment process that allows the committee to put its stamp on it when it comes to the floor. That would be nice.

The CHAIRMAN. Again, I do not think there is an intent to move the Graham bill to the floor. Is there any misunderstanding there?

Senator CARDIN. I think you are pretty clear.

The CHAIRMAN. There is no attempt to move it.

Yes, sir.

Senator MENENDEZ. Mr. Chairman, on a different matter, I just wanted to very briefly—members have spent a lot of time in the effort, as we did successfully today on the North Korea bill. But I have been on this committee long enough to know that staff plays an incredibly important role. So I want to thank all the staff for its involvement. Particularly I want to recognize Michael Schiffer from our Democratic staff as one of the significant Asian experts that we have. And I want to thank my office for helping make this possible.

The CHAIRMAN. I agree.

With no further comments, the meeting is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 11:03 a.m., the meeting was adjourned.]



## **BUSINESS MEETING**

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**WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 10, 2016**

<https://www.foreign.senate.gov/hearings/business-meeting-0210216>

U.S. SENATE  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS  
*Washington, D.C.*

The committee met, pursuant to notice, 10:00 a.m., in Room SD-419, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Bob Corker, chairman of the committee, presiding.

Present: Senators Corker [presiding], Flake, Gardner, Perdue, Isakson, Barrasso, Cardin, Menendez, Coons, Murphy, and Markey.

### **OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. BOB CORKER, U.S. SENATOR FROM TENNESSEE**

The CHAIRMAN. The business meeting of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee will come to order, and as people come in, we will hold votes. But I think that it will probably be best for Ben and I to go ahead and make our opening comments, as I know we both have to be down to the floor at 10:30 to begin handling the North Korea legislation.

So on the agenda today we have three resolutions. First, we will consider S. Res. 330. I want to personally congratulate the Tunisian National Dialogue Quartet for winning the 2015 Nobel Peace Prize. It is an honor that is well earned and rightfully deserved. Their courage, perseverance, and success over the last five years have culminated in this great honor.

More importantly, however, their work has done immeasurable good in Tunisia, a country that has chosen democracy and has become a beacon of light in a region wrought with conflict, bloodshed, and oppression. I hope that Tunisia continues to focus on the follow-through that is so crucial for continued, lasting success for the country, for its people, and for the region. With S. Res 330, it is our hope that Congress will add its voice to those congratulating the Quartet and reaffirming the United States' support for Tunisia as it fulfills its people's desire to become a more stable, free, and prosperous country.

Thank you, Senators Coons, Cardin, Kaine, and Perdue, for their work on this resolution.

We will also consider S. Res. 361, a resolution urging robust funding for humanitarian relief in Syria with an amendment. I want to thank Senator Cardin as usual for working with me on this resolution. This resolution calls on countries to make and fulfill their pledges for humanitarian relief in and around Syria.

The Syrian conflict has killed hundreds of thousands of people and engulfed the region in a humanitarian catastrophe on a massive scale. The victims of this horrendous civil war desperately need help. I am proud to say the United States remains the largest single donor to such efforts, and we are up to date in fulfilling our pledges.

But more is needed. It is a hopeful sign that the donor conference in the United Kingdom last Thursday generated \$10 billion in pledges. Those pledges, however, need to be converted into actual contributions. Only 43 percent of the \$2.9 billion pledged to the UN's 2015 appeal was funded. With this resolution, we hope to add our voice to those calling on strong donor support for the pledges made at the most recent conference in London.

And lastly, we will consider S. Res. 99 calling upon Iran to fulfill its promises of assistance in the case of the disappearance of U.S. citizen, Robert Levinson. To the Levinson family—Bob's wife, Christine, son, Dan, and his sister-in-law, Suzanne—our thoughts and prayers have and continue to be with you. Thank you so much for being here today. We appreciated the opportunity to talk to you earlier.

This is a topic, for what it is worth, a good deal of time was spent last night in a classified setting. We are sorry you have been through this harrowing experience, and I know it continues without a lot of information, and we are determined to do what we can to make sure that that changes. So thank you so much for being here. We sincerely appreciate you being here as I just mentioned. And I do not think we can fully appreciate what you have gone through personally over the last eight years.

I want to thank Senators Rubio and Nelson for their work on this resolution. It is a symbolic message that should continue to raise the awareness of this incredibly sad situation, and to remind each of us to push the U.S. Administration, the government of Iran—and the government of Iran to do everything they can to return Bob, his family, and his friends to his country.

The family stressed what a patriot he was as we met prior to coming out here. And I think all of us know that, and we need to do everything we can to get him back.

With that, I would like to recognize the distinguished ranking member for his comments, Senator Cardin.

**STATEMENT OF HON. BENJAMIN L. CARDIN,  
U.S. SENATOR FROM MARYLAND**

Senator CARDIN. Well, Chairman Corker, first of all, thank you for arranging this business meeting to pass three very important resolutions from the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. I also acknowledge this is an important day on foreign policy. We are going to consider the North Korean Sanction Act on the floor of the Senate, and I expect it will pass overwhelmingly later this afternoon, which is a real credit to your leadership in engineering its consideration on the floor, but also this committee's bipartisan work to produce a product that is worthy of strong support in the United States Senate.

And then we will have a very important hearing following this on Central Africa, a region of the world that has been in conflict

for way too long with tragic consequences for its population. So we have a very busy day.

In regards to the three resolutions that are under consideration, thank you for acknowledging the Levinson family that is here. Congressman Deutch, it is nice to have you also with us today and the work that you did in the House to position our action in regards to Robert Levinson.

Let me make it clear. We will use every avenue available to us to get a full accounting and release of Robert Levinson. I can assure you of that. And this resolution, as the Chairman said before we came in here, is an important step, but just a step. We intend to do a lot more than just the action on this resolution, so we thank you very much. He is the longest-held United States civilian in our Nation's history, so we will very much be working to deal with this issue.

Let me also acknowledge, as you did, Senator Nelson's and Rubio's work in regards to the Levinson resolution. In regards to S. Res 361, the resolution on Syria, I want to thank you for your help in putting together this resolution. The humanitarian crisis in Syria is incredible. Obviously our initial efforts have been to resolve the conflict in Syria and have a government that represents all the people without President Assad. And then we can concentrate on the threat of ISIL, and not only contain, but destroy ISIL. That is our objective.

In the meantime, there is this refugee dislocation, the largest flow in the world. It is a huge humanitarian crisis, including to the countries directly bordering Syria, like Jordan, our strategic ally.. There are many other countries impacted like Lebanon and Turkey, and we know there's also a refugee flow into Greece and other parts of Europe . These large refugee flows are having an impact on the stability of all these regions.

So it is important that this humanitarian crisis be dealt with globally. As you pointed out, the United States has been the leader. It is has been the leader in the dollars that we put up—\$5.1 billion to date—as well as convening the international community, and this resolution furthers that objective.

And then lastly, S. Res. 330, congratulating the Tunisian National Dialogue Quartet for winning the 2015 Nobel Peace Prize. The resolution, I think, is self-explanatory, but Tunisia is a country that is beset by turmoil. We know that. It is a rough area, and yet they have demonstrated that when elected officials work with civil societies, you can get things done. And I think that is a model for that region, and I think this resolution is very appropriate.

So on all three of these resolutions, they are very important business, and I hope we can get a quorum and pass them.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. We need about a two-minute filibuster here. Would anyone like to make comments? Go ahead. I think Senator Murphy might have—

Senator MURPHY. I thank you very much—I only have two minutes. I just want to thank those who are bringing the Syria resolution, in particular, before us today. The gist of it is a call to the international community to step up to the plate and fulfill obligations that they have, and for those that have—who have not made a big enough commitment, to make it bigger. But I also hope that

the pressure is still on us here in this Congress to support increased humanitarian aid for the region.

I think most all of us have been to some of those camps. We have heard the stories of the World Food Program perpetually running out of money, such that last fall they had to cut off food aid for those individuals not living in the camps, those individuals and families who are living in cities and communities on the streets, places like Lebanon and Jordan.

And, of course, we know what happens when they do not get basic nourishment and sustenance. They get it from somewhere else. They often sign up with the very groups that we are fighting because that is the only offer they get in order to feed their family or put a paycheck into their pocket in order to put a roof over their children's heads.

And so, I agree that the international community certainly has to do more. There are many of our very good friends in that neighborhood who have not stepped up and made commitments anywhere close to what the United States had made. But there is going to be more required of us as well, and I know this committee has committed to doing our part as we move forward as this crisis continues to unfold.

Thanks for putting this resolution before us today, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. Thank you for the comments. Senator Coons.

Senator COONS. Chairman Corker, Ranking Member Cardin, I just want to thank both of you for the bipartisan way in which you continue to move us forward. I am glad to be a co-sponsor and supporter of all three resolutions.

I would like to thank my friend, Congressman Deutch, for his advocacy to Dan Levinson, and Christine Levinson, and to Suzanne Halpin. I have raised the issue of Robert Levinson both in classified settings and in public settings with members of the Administration. I think this resolution is an appropriate and bipartisan way for us to continue to press the Iranians to keep their commitment. And his long and painful absence from us I think is something that we just wanted—all of us wanted you to know that we share your concerns about his safe return, and about Iran continuing to be a regime that we cannot trust, and that we need to press to keep their commitments.

I will simply join Senator Murphy in saying that our support for those who are suffering through the horrific ongoing civil war in Syria is something, I think, has motivated all the members of this committee. And last, the Tunisian Quartet and their heroic efforts to bring some semblance of stability and democracy to Tunisia were worthy of the Nobel Peace Prize. And it is my hope that all of us will support those in Tunisia willing to make the tough political and economic reforms necessary to secure progress in Tunisia.

Thank you for moving all three of these resolutions today.

The CHAIRMAN. Any additional comments?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. If not, we will move to the business at hand.

The first order of business today on the agenda will be S. Res. 330, congratulations—congratulating the Tunisian National Dia-

logue Quartet for winning the 2015 Nobel Peace Prize. I know Senator Cardin has made comments. Anyone else wish to speak?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. Seeing none, is there a motion to approve the resolutions?

Senator CARDIN. So moved.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there a second?

Senator FLAKE. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. So moved and seconded.

The question is on the motion to approve S. Res. 330.

All those in favor, say aye.

[A chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. Opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. With that, the ayes have it. The resolution is approved.

Next we have—next we will move to S. Res. 361, urging robust funding for humanitarian relief for Syria. I know Senator Cardin has spoken to this. Anyone else?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. Seeing none, I would entertain a motion to consider the Corker amendment by voice vote.

Senator CARDIN. So moved.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there a second?

Senator FLAKE. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. So moved and then seconded.

The question is on the motion to approve the Corker amendment.

All those in favor, say aye.

[A chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. Opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. With that, the ayes have it. The amendment is agreed to.

Are there further amendments?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. Seeing none, is there a motion to approve the resolution, as amended?

Senator CARDIN. So moved.

The CHAIRMAN. Seconded.

Senator FLAKE. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. So moved and seconded.

The question is on the motion to approve S. Res. 361, as amended.

All those in favor, say aye.

[A chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. Opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. With that, the ayes have it. The resolution is amended and agreed to.

Next, we will consider S. Res. 99, calling on the government of Iran to fulfill its promises of assistance in the case of Robert Levinson, the longest-held United States civilian in our Nation's history. Anyone like to speak to this resolution?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. If there is no further discussion on this resolution, I would entertain a motion to approve all three Rubio amendments by voice vote en bloc.

Senator CARDIN. So moved.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there a second?

Senator FLAKE. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. So moved and seconded.

The question is on the motion to approve all three amendments en bloc.

All those in favor, say aye.

[A chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. Opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. With that, the ayes have it, and the amendments are agreed to.

Are there further amendments?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. Hearing none, is there a motion to approve the resolution, as amended?

Senator CARDIN. So moved.

Senator FLAKE. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there a second?

Senator FLAKE. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. So moved and seconded.

The question is on the motion to approve S. Res. 99, as amended.

All those in favor, say aye.

[A chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. Opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. With that, the ayes have it, and the resolution, as amended, is agreed to. And that completes the committee's business.

Congressman Deutch, thank you for being here. I know you all criticize the Senate a great deal, as you should. I want you to know this is probably the quickest business meeting we have had. We did it in your honor.

[Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you for being here to support this.

With that, I ask unanimous consent that staff be authorized to make technical and conforming changes. Without objection, so ordered.

And with that, the business meeting is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 10:15 a.m., the meeting was adjourned.]



## **BUSINESS MEETING**

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**THURSDAY, MARCH 10, 2016**

<https://www.foreign.senate.gov/hearings/business-meeting-031016>

U.S. SENATE  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS  
*Washington, D.C.*

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:05 a.m. in, Room SD-419, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Bob Corker, chairman of the committee, presiding.

Present: Senators Corker [presiding], Rubio, Johnson, Flake, Gardner, Perdue, Isakson, Barrasso, Cardin, Boxer, Menendez, Shaheen, Coons, Udall, Murphy, Kaine, and Markey.

### **OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. BOB CORKER, U.S. SENATOR FROM TENNESSEE**

The CHAIRMAN. The Foreign Relations Committee will come to order.

I know we do not have enough members here to vote, but I think it would be good to get the frontend out-of-the-way.

I want to thank everyone for being here today. On the agenda for today, we have seven pieces of legislation, six nominations, and a number of Foreign Service Officer lists.

First, we will consider the eight Foreign Service Officer lists of nearly 100 personnel referred to the committee. I support all of these appointments and promotions, and would like to thank all of these officers for their service.

We will also consider six nominations, including several important new ambassadors. I want to thank my colleagues for helping the committee work through the nominees in an appropriate fashion and to allow us to take these steps forward today.

Next, we will consider six resolutions on the agenda. The first resolution, S. Res. 375, marks the annual effort to draw attention to tens of millions of people around the world trapped in modern slavery today. The effort known End It Day took place on February 25 of this year.

I want to thank everybody here for their efforts toward a modern slavery bill itself. I want to thank Senator Cardin for his support and all of you for your support for this effort.

The second resolution, S. Res. 368, supports efforts by the Government of Colombia to pursue peace and the end of the country's enduring internal armed conflict, and recognizing United States' support for Colombia at the 15th anniversary of Plan Colombia.

Colombia is our friend and ally. We need to remain engaged to make sure Colombia can hopefully consolidate peace under the rule of law.

We commend Senator Cardin for his leadership in introducing this resolution. I want to thank him and Brandon Yoder of his staff for working with us to incorporate our perspectives as well. This resolution should be the beginning of the work we need to do regarding Colombia in this committee going forward.

As we consider S. Res. 388, a resolution supporting the goals of International Women's Day, I want to commend Senator Shaheen and her cosponsors from both parties for bringing this resolution to the committee. I also want to thank her and Senator Cardin and their staff for working with us to develop the text of the amendments we are considering today.

This resolution underscores the indispensable role that women play in economic, political, and cultural progress of humanity. It is important that we take stock of what has been accomplished and what remains to be done to ensure that girls and women can achieve their full potential under equal conditions.

We will also consider S. Res. 392, a resolution that expresses profound concern over the political prosecution of the former President of Maldives and urges the Maldives Government to take all necessary steps to redress this injustice and to ensure due process and freedom from political persecution of people of the Maldives.

I want to thank Senator Leahy and all the cosponsors of this resolution, including several members of this committee, for bringing this before the committee and for working with us on this resolution.

The rights to due process and freedom from political persecution are fundamental to any democracy and to peace and stability around the world.

We will also consider S. Res. 378, a resolution expressing the sense of Senate regarding the courageous work and life of Russian opposition leader Boris Nemtsov and reviewing the call for full and transparent investigation into his tragic murder in Moscow on February 27, 2015.

I want to thank Senator Johnson for maintaining attention on Russian efforts that may exist to silence the voices of dissent. The killing of Boris Nemtsov serves as another example of the risks that Russian reformers face in the efforts to promote growth and democratic ideals within the Russian state.

S. Res. 383, a resolution recognizing the importance of the United States-Israel economic relationship, and encouraging new ideas of cooperation, is also on the agenda today. I would like to thank Senator Perdue for sponsoring this resolution, as well as Senators Isakson, Rubio, and Coons for cosponsoring.

I would also like to take the time to express my deepest condolences for the loss of Taylor Force, a Vanderbilt student who tragically lost his life this week in a senseless stabbing attack in Israel. Taylor was in Israel to learn about entrepreneurship opportunities, something this resolution promotes.

Israel is an important political and economic partner of the U.S. and has a large and diverse economy. The U.S.'s economic partnership with Israel has contributed to innovations that benefit the

people of both nations. Given the serious challenges that face Israel, the United States, and the world, it is important to show our friends like Israel that we recognize the importance of our economic relationship.

One resolution on the agenda, S. Res. 370, will be held over for this business meeting to respect Senators' wishes. I am glad to do that. We expect to work through any issues and include it in a markup in the near future.

Finally on the agenda, we will consider S. 1252, the Global Food Security Act of 2015, with an amendment. The Global Food Security Act represents the collaboration of Senators Isakson, Casey, Cardin, Coons, and myself, and would authorize food security development programs currently underway at USAID.

The bill also reauthorizes USAID's international disaster assistance account and for the first time authorizes an emergency food security program that has been providing emergency food assistance to places around the world where Food for Peace traditionally cannot reach due to U.S. commodity and cargo preferences.

I have cosponsored this bill and urge all of you to join me in its passage.

I am sorry for such a long opening. We have a lot of business today. We will try to do it very promptly.

But with that, I want to recognize our very distinguished ranking member and my friend, Senator Cardin.

**STATEMENT OF HON. BENJAMIN L. CARDIN,  
U.S. SENATOR FROM MARYLAND**

Senator CARDIN. Thank you very much, Chairman Corker, and thank you very much for scheduling this markup business session.

We have an important hearing that will take place immediately thereafter with regards to nominations, a number of very important positions. So we appreciate the patience of our distinguished guests.

Chairman Corker has been incredible in moving legislation through our committee and moving resolutions through and moving nominations. I very much appreciate that.

The last item you mentioned, S. 1252, the Global Food Security Act of 2015, is a very important piece of legislation. I want to congratulate our colleagues, Senators Casey, Isakson, and Coons, for their strong leadership on bringing us to this moment.

Mr. Chairman, your help made this possible. In recognizing that this is an area where we have traditional disputes between the Agriculture Committee and our committee, between NGOs and USAID, you showed your diplomacy at the highest level to be able to get us to this moment, where we can finally get this bill done.

Just to underscore the importance, today in Ethiopia, because of the drought, the hunger issues are dramatic. There is no one single answer. Feed the Future is important. Local capacity is important. Emergency assistance is important. And this legislation deals with the full gamut of tools that we have available to deal with hunger.

So I thank you very much for your leadership and for allowing us to reach this moment where we can pass out the Global Food Security Act.

I also appreciate your extraordinary leadership on modern-day slavery and the resolution that you authored. I am proud to join you on that. Anytime we can put a spotlight on the millions of victims of modern-day slavery, we need to do that, because we need to make continued progress.

I am proud of U.S. leadership on this issue. We have legislation that we hope will be enacted shortly, under our chairman's leadership, that will provide incentives for international resources being used to free those who have been victimized by slavery.

Just to give you one example, I was in Namibia with Senator Coons and Senator Flake just recently. The country is doing fairly well. They have survived Senator Flake's young missionary work in that country.

[Laughter.]

Senator CARDIN. But Namibia is really doing well. But they do have a problem, as do all countries, on trafficking. We raised that issue, and we got national attention in that country raising that issue, and I expect there will be some progress made.

So we need to continue to put the spotlight on it, and thank you for the resolution that you have authored that we will support today.

In regard to Plan Colombia, I was proud to offer that resolution. I thank you for your cosponsorship.

And, Senator Kaine, thank you for your help on Plan Colombia.

Look, 15 years ago, we thought that was going to be a failed state. Today, it is a thriving economy. It still has issues, but it is one of the leading countries in our hemisphere as far as turn-around and progress that is being made.

It was wonderful to have President Santos here, and this resolution demonstrates our continued interest in making sure that they can continue the progress we have seen over the last 15 years.

Senator Shaheen, thank you for your resolution on International Women's Day. It is very clear to me that how a country treats its women will be a barometer as to how well that country will do. We see it over and over again.

I hope people will take the time to really delve into the resolution that Senator Shaheen has authored, because it points out, yes, we can take pride in progress that we have made. The Millennium Development goals put gender equity as one of the major objectives of the international community, and the development assistance programs, and NGOs working together.

But there are still hundreds of millions of young girls who are married before the age of 15. There are still hundreds of millions of women who live in countries that have not criminalized domestic violence.

So we still have a lot of work to do, and I thank Senator Shaheen for giving us an opportunity to express ourselves collectively on this very important subject.

Mr. Chairman, we have several resolutions that deal directly with human rights. Thanks to Senator Leahy for S. 392, that deals with the conviction of former President Mohamed Nasheed in regards to the Maldives. This legislation speaks to the injustices that have been done in that country, and I am glad we are going on record.

We are also going on the record once again on a pattern of conduct in Russia, where they have violated the rights of its citizens, in this case, the tragic death of Boris Nemtsov. It has been 1 year, the anniversary of his death. And I thank Senator Johnson for bringing this resolution before us to point out that this country, this Senate, we are going to continue to put spotlights on what is happening in Russia because it is unconscionable; it is a continuing pattern; and it is affecting global security.

And, Senator Johnson, thank you for taking the leadership on that resolution.

I want to thank Senator Perdue, Senator Coons, and others, in regard to the resolution on the U.S.-Israel economic relationship and encouraging new areas of cooperation.

I join Senator Corker in expressing our deep condolences to the family of the American who was killed in Israel.

But to the violence that takes place in that part of the world and Israel, it is another reason why we need to stay committed to our partnership with Israel, so that we can bring peace to that region.

I respect the right of holding over the ASEAN resolution. It is an important moment when we had the Sunnylands Summit, where the U.S. showed our direct interest in East Asia. I know we will get a chance to act on that in the next business session.

All the nominees who are here for action I strongly support, as well as the FSO lists, and I thank the chairman for bringing forward these nominations.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Again, I want to thank all the members for being here.

I want to apologize to the many people here that we had this business meeting first, although I think much of the presence here today is relative to you, so we thank you.

The first order of business for today's agenda will be the eight Foreign Service lists.

Senator Cardin, do you have any comments, any additional comments?

Senator CARDIN. No. Thank you for bringing them forward.

The CHAIRMAN. Would anyone else like to make comments relative to these lists?

[No response.]

If there is no further discussion on these lists, I would entertain a motion to approve these lists en bloc.

Senator CARDIN. So moved.

The CHAIRMAN. Second?

Senator JOHNSON. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. So moved and seconded.

The question is on the motion to approve the eight Foreign Service lists en bloc.

All those in favor, say aye.

[A chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. Opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. With that, the ayes have it. The appointments and promotions are agreed to.

Next, in the interest of time, I would ask the committee to proceed en bloc to vote in consideration of the following nominees be-

fore the committee: Catherine Novelli, Karen Stewart, Amos Hochstein, Robert Riley, Matthew Matthews, and Marcela Escobari.

I want to thank all these nominees for their willingness to settle into these position.

Senator Cardin, do you have any additional comments?

Senator CARDIN. Again, I appreciate the way that these nominations have been moved in a timely manner.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any member who would like to—yes, sir?

Senator BARRASSO. Mr. Chairman, I would like to pull out agenda item number 11, Mr. Amos Hochstein.

Senator CARDIN. Is that a separate vote?

Senator BARRASSO. Yes, I would like to make a discussion of that. But I am happy to move ahead with all the others, if you would like to move first with the approval of all the other nominees, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Okay, is there a motion that we vote on all of them en bloc?

Senator CARDIN. I would make that motion, with the exception of the Hochstein nomination.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there a second?

Senator JOHNSON. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. All in favor?

All opposed?

With that, the ayes have it.

Would you like to now speak to this nomination?

Senator BARRASSO. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I have long had concerns with the position of the Assistant Secretary of State for the Bureau of Energy Resources. As the chairman of the subcommittee that oversees international energy policy, I understand the important role that energy plays in our national security. My opposition to the nomination centers around concerns with the Bureau of Energy Resources at the U.S. Department of State, not the specific individual who has been nominated.

The new bureau is adding to the duplication, the redundancies, and the conflicting lines of authorities on international energy policy. By confirming an Assistant Secretary position, the Senate would be signaling its approval of the glaring problems that exist there.

At a time when our Nation is facing significant financial pressures, the U.S. Department of State should not be increasing its budget and size, especially through the creation of new bureaus.

The Bureau of Energy Resources was unilaterally created—unilaterally created—by Secretary Clinton without input or authorization of Congress in 2011. When originally created, the Department of State explained that it would only consolidate staff positions and use existing resources for the bureau.

But within a year of making those assurances, the bureau requested a 40 percent increase in staffing. The bureau went from 53 positions to its current total of 91 on personnel staff. Despite its initial claim to use existing resources, it is clear the bureau is going to continue to expand and grow, and with it, the size of the Department of State.

So what exactly did we get from the unilateral creation of a bureau that grew and expanded the size of the State Department? Did we get a bureau that is consistent, streamlined, and efficient? No. This is a bureau filled with inefficiencies, redundancies, confusion.

The Office of Inspector General released a report just last month, and I am going to ask, Mr. Chairman, that this report be made part of the record.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection.

The information referred to above may be accessed at:  
<https://oig.state.gov/system/files/isp-i-16-06.pdf>

Senator BARRASSO. This inspector general report raised the organizational and structural problems of the Bureau of Energy Resources. The report explains, number one, and I have it up here on a poster board: Organizational stove-piping and lacking of communications and coordination create inefficiencies through duplication; overlapping, conflicting, or unclear responsibilities; and interoffice rivalries.

So a quarter of bureau employees interviewed told the inspector general that their portfolios were unclear or overlap with other staff members.

Next, did we get a bureau that is entirely responsible for international energy policy within the State Department? No. Other bureaus and offices within the Department of State still make decisions about international energy policy. According to the State Department, the Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs was responsible for the U.S. advocating for restrictions on financing to build coal power plants overseas at the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development.

I think it is important to point out that the State Department has a coordinator for international energy affairs to work on energy issues in foreign policy, which was created by Congress, separate from this agency.

So did we get a bureau that is ultimately responsible, accountable, and in charge of our Nation's international energy policy for the U.S. Government? No. Numerous U.S. Government agencies are responsible for working on energy issues: the Department of Energy, the Department of Commerce, the Department of the Interior, the Department of the Treasury, the Energy Information Administration, and the National Security Council.

The authorities are not clearly defined, which allows agencies the ability to shift responsibility for decision-making and then deflect accountability that they should have to Congress.

An example of this shifting responsibility and decision-making by agencies is demonstrated at the World Bank. The Treasury Department, not the State Department or the Department of Energy, is in charge of energy policy at the World Bank.

So when we asked the nominee if the bureau was responsible for the disastrous energy policy to block financing of coal-fired power energy projects at the World Bank, he said no, the Bureau of Energy Resources was not even involved in the policy decisions regarding the public financing of coal-fired power plants, energy projects through the World Bank, and other development institutions.

The Treasury Department has the jurisdiction for the formulation and implementation of energy policies at multilateral financial and developmental institutions. Treasury should not be tasked with formulating energy policy internationally. Treasury does not have the technical expertise and the knowledge to make a decision on the use of energy resources.

So did we get a bureau that ensures that U.S. Government agencies working on the exact same issues in international energy would avoid duplicating efforts on other parts of government? No. Perfect example of other agencies with overlapping responsibilities and conflicting roles is the Department of Energy.

It is unclear how the State Department Bureau of Energy Resources differs from the Department of Energy's Office of Policy and International Affairs. The Office of Policy and International Affairs at the Department of Energy works with countries across the world in the development and implementation of national and international energy policies, strategies, and objectives. It was headed by an Assistant Secretary of Energy and had 103 staff in 2013.

So the inspector general's report from last month identified and reported the problems between the various agencies. This is the inspector general. It said, half of ENR staff with substantive portfolios reported problems in the bureau's relationship with the Department of Energy, including competing or overlapping missions, inadequate communication and coordination, tense interpersonal relationships.

But that is what we are asked to be doing in terms of the confirmation today.

The Office of Inspector General's report also discussed the actual reported impacts of the failed coordination, the overlapping responsibilities, and the conflicting efforts. The report said personnel in some U.S. embassies told OIG inspectors that inconsistent coordination between ENR and the Department of Energy has on occasion generated problems overseas for missions trying to promulgate a single U.S. energy message to foreign governments.

The inspector general goes on to say this is a serious problem. The United States is unable to effectively communicate a unified energy message to countries across the globe because of the problems I have outlined today.

So I think the Senate should not confirm the first Assistant Secretary for this bureau, which was not approved, without first dealing with the duplication, the redundancies, the confusing lines of authorities on international energy policy. That is what the inspector general's report, to me, is all about.

There is no clear delineation of responsibilities and authorities, only a maze of Washington, D.C., bureaucracy that creates international confusion for congressional committees who are responsible for reviewing and conducting oversight of the executive branch of government.

To me, Mr. Chairman, until these problems are addressed, I am going to continue to oppose any person being nominated to be the first Assistant Secretary of State for the Bureau of Energy Resources.



I urge my colleagues to also oppose the current nominee. And therefore, I will call for a roll call vote.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, first of all, I want to thank you for the way you have dealt with all of us on this. I think you have made it known from the very beginning your concerns.

My route in dealing with this will be for us to pass a State Department authorization that fixed all of those things. I think you agree that would be a productive route to take. And I hope that over the process of the next period of time, we will figure out a way to more fully define how this department should work.

Personally, I think it is important for the State Department to have an energy strategy. I think it is one of the most important tools of diplomacy, but also ensuring that we can create environments, especially in Eastern Europe and other places, that are conducive to them being able to be independent.

So I have met with Amos. I am very impressed with him. I feel like the plans that he is working on relative to Europe are very important to us and our relationship there.

Therefore, I am going to vote to support him. I know there will be members of the committee that will not do that. But I do want to say that I am in 100 percent agreement with the great Senator from Wyoming that, certainly, this committee should use its role in authorizing to make sure that this department functions in a much more satisfactory way. I appreciate him bringing up the fallacies and the problems that are taking place there now.

Senator CARDIN. Mr. Chairman, first, I concur on your comments, and I do think a State Department authorization bill could be extremely helpful here.

I was listening to my colleague, Senator Barrasso, and a lot of what he said, I agree with. Then I thought he would then support having a confirmed Assistant Secretary in the State Department, so that we could have more accountability for international policies dealing with these issues. Because when you are dealing with the Department of Energy, when you are dealing with Treasury, you need the voice in the State Department to help coordinate these policies.

Then you said, and I want to agree with it also, that the nominee is well-qualified, or are you had no complaints with the nominee. I just want people to know this is one of the key players in getting the international community to honor the Iranian sanctions regime. He is well-respected among the fossil fuel industry. He is well-qualified to take on the challenges that Senator Barrasso talked about. So we have the right person.

Lastly, let me point out, it was this committee, under Senator Lugar, in 2007, that recommended the special envoy in the energy bill. So this was authorized by Congress, and now it is important to have a person who is going to be accountable to deal with the issues that Senator Barrasso has talked about.

I would urge my colleagues to vote for confirmation.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Shaheen?

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I do not want to speak to the Bureau of Energy Resources, but I do want to speak to the efforts of Mr. Hochstein, because I think he has done a lot

of things, but particularly in Europe, where I am the ranking member, I think his efforts have been very important to counter Russia's influence through energy.

He has worked very hard to cut off the Nord Stream 2 pipeline, which is Russia's effort to cut off Ukraine as a transit point for Russian gas.

He has worked with Greece and Bulgaria on their gas interconnector, so that they have access to non-Russian supplies of energy.

He has worked with Ukraine to try and reform their energy sector and to develop policies that would give them an alternative to Russian oil and gas. And he has also been instrumental in the creation of energy-specific sanctions on Russia after it invaded Ukraine.

So those are just some of the things in Europe. As we think about the challenges from Russia, I think it is, as you pointed out, Mr. Chairman, very important to have an energy strategy in Europe and to have someone who can help coordinate that.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. I do think it is central to our efforts in that part of the world.

Senator Perdue?

Senator PERDUE. Mr. Chairman, briefly, I just want to speak to the question that I raised the other day, and that is, this is another example of something that, obviously, when you look at it in an ideal world, we would need that coordinated effort, as the ranking member suggests.

Here is my observation. From 1992 to 2000, the State Department spent, on average, about \$20 billion running everything that we had—USAID and everything, including international operations. Under President Bush, it went up to about an average of \$30 billion. It grew from \$20 billion to \$40 billion. Under the last 7 years, with increased demand in Iraq and Afghanistan, granted, but the question is, we have grown to \$54 billion in the State Department, including \$35 billion in foreign operations.

So my question is not about the individual. It is not about whether this ideally should be done. The question is, can we afford it? My answer is no. We cannot afford it, when every dollar we are spending at the State Department is technically borrowed today. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. I thank you. And again, to me, it warrants us doing an excellent job on the State Department authorization to make sure that appropriate priorities are dealt with.

I will say, again, with respect, I cannot imagine how having an energy strategy relative to especially what Russia is doing at present, and some of the issues that will occur in the Middle East, is not something that is centrally important to the State Department.

Senator Murphy?

Senator MURPHY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I just wanted to speak briefly in favor of Mr. Hochstein's nomination.

Senator Perdue raises a question that often gets talked about in this committee and on the floor of the Senate as to whether we can afford it. Let us just remember that though we have seen an expansion of that budget, we still rank in the lower quartile of OECD

nations in terms of the percentage of our GDP that we dedicate to an international affairs budget.

And Russia is dramatically ramping up the subsidies and outright graft and intimidation that they use in order to broaden their energy reach throughout Europe.

Senator Shaheen is right that Mr. Hochstein and that bureau have been absolutely integral, not just to the work currently to try to push back on Nord Stream, but on the successful effort to convince our allies in Europe to reject the South Stream pipeline, which would have been an end-run around Ukraine to bring Russian gas and Russian energy into Central and Western Europe.

I would just encourage anyone on this committee who has not received a brief from Mr. Hochstein and from his department to do so. I think, in a very short amount of time, you will realize the tremendous value that this office brings to some very important energy independence projects, particularly in Eastern and Southern Europe. He has done a fantastic job during the time that he has been in the position.

And I think as to Senator Barrasso's critique of the overlapping sets of responsibilities, you are spot on. But I worry that we try to have it both ways. We have not done a State Department authorization in a decade, and then we complain about the anachronistic ways in which the department is organized.

Hopefully, we can solve that problem this year, get a great person in that position, get a reformed set of responsibilities, and gain some consensus on this committee at the end of that process.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Barrasso?

Senator BARRASSO. Well, let me concur with the fine job that he has done, which was mentioned by my Democratic colleagues here. When Carlos Pascual was nominated for this position and Senator Lugar, a former member of this committee, had come to me about that, I had the same objection.

So this has been a longstanding issue. The issue of the current job being done, Mr. Hochstein is serving in the role as the coordinator currently for international energy affairs. In 2007, as you say, Congress passed bipartisan legislation congressionally authorizing this position of coordinator at the Department of State to handle these energy issues in foreign policy. The coordinator reports directly to the Secretary of State, unlike the Assistant Secretary who reports to the Under Secretary of State. So Mr. Hochstein is able to carry out the work on these issues dealing with energy policy at the Department of State under the current coordinator position that he has and is doing a fine job. And people point to that.

So there is really no delay or impact on his ability to do this excellent job. The real obstacle is being able to advocate a single U.S. energy message to foreign governments. That is the problem and the reason I raised this today with regard to the Office of Inspector General report.

So thank you, Mr. Chair, and I call for a roll call.

The CHAIRMAN. I thank you for the manner in which you have raised it, and the consistency with which you have shown on this issue.

Senator Markey?

Senator MARKEY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

There is no question that energy is central to a huge portion of our international policy. It is at the heart of a lot of it, from Libya, to Iraq, to Iran, energy, energy, energy. You can just keep going right down the line. That is just the reality of the world in which we live.

Senator Barrasso talks about this part of the agency that has been dissected for inadequate coordination. One of the reasons is that there has never been a confirmed Assistant Secretary for Energy. Never.

So what we are talking about here is confirming someone who would have the responsibility for doing that coordination. And that is all we are talking about. The individual, separate sub-issues clearly are going to have to be debated as part of an authorization, as part of any other activity that we might engage in. But I do not think the problems that have been identified can be solved at all unless we have a confirmed Assistant Secretary for Energy. We have never had one.

So I think that is kind of how we should divide it. Is there a management structure? And then how well, then, are the individual issues being dealt with within that subpart of the agency. I think that would probably be a better way of looking at it and, as a result, Mr. Hochstein's nomination really just fits into the context of making sure that there is a solid management structure there.

And I would urge his approval.

The CHAIRMAN. With all the business we have, if it is okay, I would like to move to his nomination.

I know there is going to be a divided vote here. I have a sense of how it is going to be. But I am sort of uplifted by the fact that I think the energy area of the State Department is going to be part of our authorization. My sense is there will be a lot of like-mindedness around making sure that we have an authorization that addresses that.

So is there a motion to approve?

Senator CARDIN. So moved.

The CHAIRMAN. And a second?

Senator BOXER. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. I think this is going to be a roll call vote, so if we will, Clerk, let us begin that.

The CLERK. Mr. Risch?

Senator RISCH. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Rubio?

The CHAIRMAN. No by proxy.

The CLERK. Mr. Johnson? [No response.]

The CLERK. Mr. Flake?

Senator FLAKE. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Gardner?

Senator GARDNER. Aye.

The CLERK. Mr. Perdue?

Senator PERDUE. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Isakson?

Senator ISAKSON. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Paul?

The CHAIRMAN. No by proxy.

The CLERK. Mr. Barrasso?

Senator BARRASSO. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Cardin?

Senator CARDIN. Aye.

The CLERK. Mrs. Boxer?

Senator BOXER. Aye.

The CLERK. Mr. Menendez?

Senator MENENDEZ. Aye.

The CLERK. Ms. Shaheen?

Senator SHAHEEN. Aye.

The CLERK. Mr. Coons?

Senator COONS. Aye.

The CLERK. Mr. Udall?

Senator UDALL. Aye.

The CLERK. Mr. Murphy?

Senator MURPHY. Aye.

The CLERK. Mr. Kaine?

Senator KAINÉ. Aye.

The CLERK. Mr. Markey?

Senator MARKEY. Aye.

The CHAIRMAN. The clerk will report.

The CLERK. Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Aye.

The CLERK. Mr. Chairman, the yays are 11, and the noes are seven.

The CHAIRMAN. So he will move to the floor.

I want to thank everybody for the healthy discussion we have had about this. Again, I want to thank Senator Barrasso for the manner in which he has discussed this issue with us. And I look forward to a good State Department authorization.

Next, we will consider S. Res. 388, the International Women's Day Resolution, with two amendments.

Senator Cardin, do you have any comments to make on that?

Senator CARDIN. I have already made my comments.

The CHAIRMAN. Would anyone else like to speak to this resolution?

Senator SHAHEEN. Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, ma'am?

Senator SHAHEEN. Mr. Chairman, I want to thank your staff and all of the efforts that have gone into trying to reach an accommodation around this resolution. It really speaks to the challenges that half the world's population faces with respect to domestic and sexual violence, with respect to child marriage, with respect to trying to make sure that women have access to schools around the world. And it talks about women reaching their full potential.

But I have to say, Mr. Chairman, that I am disappointed that, again, in these discussions, we were not able to talk about the importance of women around the world having access to reproductive health because an estimated 225 million women in developing countries have unmet need for modern contraception. That is highest in sub-Saharan Africa.

Providing greater access to family planning and reproductive health services improves the health of mothers and children. It also

is one of the best ways to reduce poverty around the world. And it is critical that women are able to access family planning services.

Each year, about 47,000 women die from complications due to unsafe abortions. Access to and use of effective contraception reduces unintended pregnancies associated with unsafe abortions.

So I just want to point out that if we are really talking about women being able to reach their full potential, and the challenges that women in the developing world face, making sure that they can have access to reproductive health services is one of the most critical needs that women and families have.

So, again, I am pleased with what we were able to agree to in this resolution, but that is one thing that we have not been able to agree to that I think continues to be an urgent need for women around the world.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you for your comments.

Senator Boxer?

Senator BOXER. Thank you so much, Mr. Chairman.

I want to thank Senator Shaheen for her leadership.

And I just want to say, without rancor in any way, that when you have women on a committee, a couple of women, you ought to think about, just think about, putting yourself in our shoes and our perspective.

Now, if you believe that abortion should be outlawed—some do, even under the circumstances of rape and incest—then you surely should embrace contraceptives. Surely.

And if you went out into the street and just asked a man on the street, a woman on the street, that is what they would say. More than 90 percent of the women in this country have used birth control at some point in their life.

As Senator Shaheen says, to deny women the kind of health care we need—the men do not need it in the same way—I think is selfish, because what we are doing is we are forcing the women of the world—let us just say, we are not helping them in what they need most, decent, safe health care.

So I will stand with my colleague on this point. I am proud of her for raising this issue. It is not pleasant. But I think it needs to be said. It needs to be said.

Do not tell me you are against abortion at the same time you are against birth control, you know? It just is—it is phony. It is phony.

That is my thought. I did not hold back. I was going to, but I am sorry.

[Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. That is a general characteristic I have noticed through the years.

[Laughter.]

Senator BOXER. You will soon be free of these words, so bear with me.

But I just hope you will think a little bit more, open up your minds a little bit more, and listen to what Jeanne has said.

The CHAIRMAN. I appreciate both of your comments.

Any other discussion?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. I think we live in a world where we get done what we can get done, and today we are, certainly, moving ahead with this issue. I thank both of you for your comments and contributions.

Is there any further discussion on this resolution?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. Apparently not.

Is there a motion to approve both manager's amendments by voice vote, en bloc?

Senator CARDIN. So moved.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there a second?

Senator BOXER. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. So moved and seconded.

The question is on the motion to approve both amendments, en bloc.

All in favor, say aye.

[A chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. All opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. With that, the ayes have it. The amendments are agreed to.

Are there any further amendments?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. Seeing none, I would like to hear a motion on approving the resolution as it was just amended.

Senator CARDIN. So moved.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there a second?

Senator BOXER. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. So moved and seconded. The question is on the motion to approve S. Res. 388, as amended.

All in favor, say aye.

[A chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. Opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. With that, the ayes have it. The resolution, as amended, is agreed to.

Thank you. Thank you for your contributions.

Our next order of business that I also ask we consider en bloc by a voice vote are the remaining resolutions before the committee, S. Res. 375, S. Res. 368, S. Res. 392, S. Res. 378, S. Res. 383.

Senator Cardin, any comments?

Senator CARDIN. I have already commented, and I would encourage members to support these resolutions.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any other members who would like to speak to these resolutions?

Senator Menendez?

Senator MENENDEZ. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I am strongly supportive of these resolutions, particularly with reference to the resolution that expresses concern over the prosecution and conviction of former President Nasheed, as well as the call for due process and freedom from political persecution for all the people of the Maldives, and the one on Boris Nemtsov.

I know the chairman has heard me say many times that I believe that an emphasis on human rights and democracy and freedom are

incredibly important when they emanate from this committee, the Senate, and the United States of America globally, and that sometimes I worry that we subject those guiding principles to other interests.

I am glad to see Senator Leahy offering the resolution on President Nasheed. I am glad to see the one on Boris Nemtsov. And I just want to take a moment to say there are other places in the world in which the very same things that we cry out for—for ensuring that, in fact, people in the Maldives are going to be free from political persecution for all the people of the Maldives—I would like to see the people of Cuba be free from all the political persecution that they have suffered for so long.

I would like to see an international investigation, as we called for Boris Nemtsov, as well for Oswaldo Paya. Oswaldo Paya was a peaceful activist in Cuba who, under the Cuba Constitution as it exists, was collecting signatures on a petition to petition the Government of Cuba to create changes. He was assassinated inside of Cuba.

So I bring up this moment because, as someone who is universally passionate about these issues, I would like to invoke the passion of my colleagues who may disagree with our policy or maybe agree now with the present policy on Cuba to speak out about human rights and democracy in Cuba, to speak out as strongly as they do in other parts of the world about the people in Cuba who are languishing every day, trying to create peaceful change in their country.

The greatest repression we have seen, that one can imagine in this, in the last several months, over 1,400 Cubans have been arrested. The Women in White, who every Sunday march to church dressed in white with a gladiola to talk about—in essence, in a peaceful protest—their sons and daughters and husbands, are arrested by the Castro regime, and we say nothing. And we say nothing.

So I want to take this moment to hopefully prick the conscience of my colleagues, who I would hope would be as vigorous in their advocacy for human rights and democracy in Cuba as I admire them in other parts of the world.

And I strongly support the resolution.

The CHAIRMAN. I appreciate your strong and consistent voice on human rights around the world. And I think we have an opportunity with some of the changes that have been put forth by the administration to see if the Castro administration will begin to respect human rights in a different way. We will see what occurs in that regard.

Senator MENENDEZ. Mr. Chairman, I hope 1,400 arrests in 2 months is not the beginning of what is change.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand.

Any others?

Senator Coons?

Senator COONS. I will be very brief, Mr. Chairman.

If I might, first, I would like to be added as a cosponsor of all these resolutions. I just want to thank Senator Perdue for his leadership on S. Res. 383. I think it is important that we continue to emphasize the enduring economic ties and entrepreneurial ties be-



tween the United States and Israel. The BIRD Foundation is a great example of that, and I would like to thank you and Ranking Member Cardin for your leadership in bringing forward in S. 1252, the Global Food Security Act, for authorizing Feed the Future, and, as Senator Cardin referenced, at a time of great drought and challenges in Ethiopia, to continue to invest in finding both efficient and effective ways to deliver food aid through a variety of pathways.

It has been great to work with you on this, and I am pleased we are moving forward today. Thank you.

Senator PERDUE. Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Perdue?

Senator PERDUE. I had the privilege, on a recent trip, of meeting Vladimir Kara-Murza that was also involved. He is a Russian opposition leader as well. I was very moved by that.

So I would like to very definitely be added as a cosponsor on S. Res. 378.

I also would like to speak to S. Res. 383, and thank Senator Coons for his leadership as a cosponsor of this bill to encourage the U.S. to facilitate and grow our economic relationship with Israel. Some 250,000 high-paying jobs are supported by that relationship. Israel today provides more direct foreign investment than Russia, China, and even India.

So I encourage the committee to vote aye on this bill. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Any other comments?

Before we vote, I want to personally thank Trey Hicks in our office who has been a saint, if you will, in trying to work through these issues of global food security. We still have a lot of work to do, but I just have to tell you, the patience that he has shown in working through the issues that we have had to deal with here are remarkable. Yet he has been persistent, and I just want to thank him.

Senator COONS. Mr. Chairman, can I add an "amen" to that?

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Senator Isakson?

Senator ISAKSON. May I make remarks on global food security?

The CHAIRMAN. Sure.

Senator ISAKSON. I just want to thank you for adding yourself as a cosponsor today. I want to thank Senator Coons, Senator Casey, Senator Rubio, and others who have helped us.

Food security is critical. One in eight people around the world go to sleep in hunger. Stunting is a major problem around the world.

It is in the interest of the United States national security for people to not be hungry and be self-sufficient.

This bill coordinates all the programs of U.S. assistance to ensure we meet the goals of the United States. But we work people from dependence to self-sufficiency around the world, so food security is no longer an issue.

I would appreciate everybody's support.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. Thank you so much. I appreciate your tremendous contributions in that area, and all the work you have done in Africa in general.

So I think we got a little ahead of ourselves, thanks to me.

Do we have a motion to approve these resolutions?

Senator CARDIN. En bloc, so moved.

The CHAIRMAN. En bloc. Is there a second?

Senator BOXER. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. All in favor, say aye.

[A chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. All opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. The ayes have it. The resolutions are agreed to.

Next we will consider S. 1252, the Global Food Security Act of 2015.

Senator Cardin, any additional comments?

Senator CARDIN. Again, I strongly support this and thank all those who were involved.

The CHAIRMAN. Anyone else?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

With no further discussion, I will entertain a motion to consider the substitute amendment by voice vote?

Senator CARDIN. So moved.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there a second?

Senator BOXER. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. So moved and seconded.

The question is on the motion to approve the substitute amendment.

All in favor, say aye.

[A chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. All opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. With that, the ayes have it. The substitute amendment is agreed to.

Are there any further amendments?

[No response.]

Hearing none, is there a motion to approve the legislation, as amended?

Senator CARDIN. So moved.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there a second?

Senator BOXER. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. So moved and seconded.

The question is on the motion to approve S. 1252, as amended.

All in favor, say aye.

[A chorus of ayes.]

Opposed?

[No response.]

With that, the ayes have it. The legislation is amended and agreed to.

That completes the committee's business. I ask unanimous consent that staff be authorized to make technical and conforming changes.

Without objection, so ordered.

With that, without objection, the committee will stand adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 10:54 a.m., the meeting was adjourned.]

## **BUSINESS MEETING**

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**THURSDAY, APRIL 28, 2016**

<https://www.foreign.senate.gov/hearings/business-meeting-042816>

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

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:04 a.m. in, Room 116, The Capitol Building, Hon. Bob Corker, chairman of the committee, presiding.

Present: Senators Corker [presiding], Risch, Rubio, Johnson, Flake, Gardner, Perdue, Isakson, Paul, Barrasso, Cardin, Boxer, Menendez, Shaheen, Coons, Udall, Murphy, Kaine, and Markey.

### **OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. BOB CORKER, U.S. SENATOR FROM TENNESSEE**

The CHAIRMAN. This business meeting of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee will come to order.

I want to thank everybody for being here. We have a great agenda today, where we have nine pieces of legislation, seven nominations, and a number of Foreign Service Officer lists.

First, we will consider the five Foreign Service Officer lists of over 300 personnel referred to the committee. I support these appointments and promotions, and thank all of these officers for their service.

We will also consider seven nominations, including several important new Ambassadors.

I want to thank my colleagues for helping the committee to take these steps forward today.

Next, we will consider the six resolutions on the agenda. The first resolution, S. Res. 442, condemns the terrorist attacks in Brussels and honors the memory of the U.S. citizens murdered in those attacks.

This terrorist attack, coming approximately 5 months after the Paris attacks, serves as yet another example of the capability that Islamic State possesses to kill Europeans and Americans in areas that we have long considered safe.

We send our thoughts and prayers to the victims of these attacks and to their families, especially the loved ones of the murdered Americans—including my fellow Tennessean Justin Shults; his wife, Stephanie; and Gail Martinez, the wife of U.S. Air Force Lieutenant Colonel Martinez.

Next, we will consider S. Res. 340, a resolution expressing the sense of Congress that ISIS is committing genocide, crimes against

humanity, and war crimes. I want to thank Senator Cassidy and the co-sponsors for bringing S. Res. 340 before this committee.

We have worked with Senator Rubio on a substitute text that is based on the resolution that passed the House unanimously and adds important statements of policy by the Secretary of State. I want to thank him and Senator Cardin for their leadership and support, and urge adoption of the amended resolution text.

Next, we will consider S. Res. 418. I want to thank Senator Collins and Senator Feinstein for bringing this resolution before the committee to recognize the courage and vision of the four women leaders highlighted in this resolution.

The resolution also appropriately honors the integral part of women's leadership throughout the world.

We will also consider S. Res. 394, a resolution recognizing the 195th anniversary of the independence of Greece and celebrating democracy in Greece and the U.S. Ancient Greece developed the concept of democracy, and our Founding Fathers drew on this system and the ideals that produced it in order to found our own country, forming a common bond that, on this anniversary, we reaffirm.

The United States and Greece have repeatedly been allies in the fight for freedom across the world. I want to thank Senator Menendez for bringing this resolution to the committee.

Next, we will consider S. Res. 436, a resolution supporting the goals and ideals of World Malaria Day with an amendment. While we have made significant progress against malaria in the past decade, nearly half a million people still died from this disease in 2015, despite the fact that it is both preventable and treatable.

I am pleased to support this resolution. I want to thank Senator Wicker for bringing this to the committee and Senators Boxer, Coons, Isakson, and Rubio for cosponsoring.

Our last resolution we will consider is S. Res. 381, honoring the memory and legacy of Michael James Riddering and condemning the terrorist attacks in Burkina Faso on January 15, 2016, that took his life. I thank Senator Coons for bringing this resolution to the committee.

Mr. Riddering had moved his family to Burkina Faso responding to a call to serve others less fortunate. The terror attack perpetrated in Burkina Faso's capital took his life and more than two dozen other lives.

Michael's service to others and willingness to do so despite the risks and rising insecurity for civilians in many parts of the world is commendable and is what will be remembered and celebrated as an example for others to follow.

We will also consider H.R. 2494, legislation to strengthen protections for the remaining populations of wild elephants, rhinos, and other imperiled species.

I want to commend Senators Coons and Flake for bringing this bipartisan legislation to the committee. This is an important issue that both houses of Congress are committed to addressing.

Wildlife trafficking affects not only imperiled species such as elephants and rhinos but also the safety and security of local communities preyed upon by transnational criminal groups.

This legislation will ensure that the administration takes a coordinated approach in implementing the President's National Wild-

life Trafficking Strategy as well as provide Congress with needed oversight of its implementation.

Next, we will consider S. 2845, a bill to extend the termination of sanctions with respect to Venezuela under the Venezuela Defense of Human Rights and Civil Society Act of 2014, with an amendment.

I want to thank Senator Rubio and Senator Menendez for working with us to modify the termination date for extending these sanctions authorities to an additional 3 years.

The situation in Venezuela obviously is not good, and we need to be paying attention to what is happening there. And I thank them for their efforts in this regard.

Finally, we will consider what I view as one of this committee's top priorities—moving forward with a Department of State authorization bill.

As members know, in my view as chairman, this is more than just a priority. It is a responsibility, our responsibility as a coequal branch of government, our responsibility as overseers of the executive branch, our responsibility to the Foreign Service Officers and civil servants who serve honorably in the department, and our responsibility to the American people.

It has been more than a dozen years since Congress fulfilled that responsibility and enacted a State Department authorization.

Last year's 2016 authorization, which we expect to pass later today—I hope that is going to happen—and the bill we are considering now for 2017, will mark 2 consecutive years our committee has approved this important legislation.

It is my hope that we are establishing a strong and conscientious precedent for similar action in the years ahead. I want to thank every member who worked with us to arrive at a manager's package, Senators Cardin, Barrasso, Flake, Gardner, Johnson, Markey, Menendez, Perdue, Rubio, and Shaheen.

This has been a tremendous effort by almost the entire committee, and it is much appreciated.

Members will recall that our 2016 bill significantly advanced security at our embassies, better protecting the people who make sacrifices to serve abroad on our behalf; enhanced the public diplomacy activities we undertake around the world; and made a very wide variety of other substantial improvements, from integrating our economic foreign policy efforts, to improving accountability for the money we contribute to international organizations, to fostering greater efficiency in the department's systems for dealing with personnel and facilities.

We find ourselves here today following months of in-depth examination, lengthy briefings and conversations, hearings, and painstaking negotiations.

I will second that.

[Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. And what is before us is a solid, bipartisan bill that members can be proud of.

It increases oversight and accountability for terrible cases of abuse committed by U.N. peacekeepers, crimes we have investigated in both our hearings and oversight activities.

It helps protect whistleblowers who have the courage to stand up and fight to put a stop to these abuses.

It takes on the issue of reforming the assessment formula for U.N. peacekeeping, helping to ensure fairness for American taxpayers.

It restructures a number of the fee systems at the State Department to ensure that the funds flowing into the department are sensibly managed and appropriately tracked and overseen.

And it reforms the way the State Department manages and compensates its personnel at home and abroad, making certain they are paid fairly, providing additional flexibility, and modernizing systems to ensure the State Department can keep an increasingly competitive work force environment.

It is our intention to see to it that both this bill and the 2016 authorization, which also contained so many worthy provisions this committee's members worked hard to write, are signed into law this year by the President. Today's meeting is another milestone along that road.

I want to thank my colleagues for their outstanding support and constructive work to create this legislation and to improve it with their amendments. I am truly grateful.

We are determined to maintain this committee's role as a significant leader in protecting the American national security and defending our interests around the globe. Our action here today is a truly consequential part of that effort.

With that, I would like to recognize our ranking member.

But in doing so, I want to thank Jodi Herman, who has been a part of the Senate and this committee for many, many years. I know he will want to speak to that.

She has been a tremendous asset to the committee, and I will say a worthy opponent.

[Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. They do not come any tougher than Jodi.

But she is also tremendously knowledgeable. Her knowledge, her institutional memory, her passion for what we do in this committee is something that has enhanced all of us, and I want to thank her.

I want to wish her daughter a happy 11th birthday.

[Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. I am glad she is able to witness Jodi's last business meeting with us here today.

Thank you so much.

With that, I will turn it over to the distinguished ranking member.

**STATEMENT OF HON. BENJAMIN L. CARDIN,  
U.S. SENATOR FROM MARYLAND**

Senator CARDIN. Thank you very much, Senator Corker.

I am going to talk about Jodi in a few moments, but first, let me respond to the business agenda that we have, and then, with your consent, I will talk a little bit about Jodi.

I agree completely with your analysis of the importance of today's business meeting as it relates to the 2017 State Department authorization.

We started down this path a couple years ago. I want to thank Senator Menendez for his leadership as chairman, as we started to move down the path toward the authorization of the State Department. It has been too many years since we last authorized it.

It is our responsibility. It is our responsibility for many reasons.

First, we are the committee with expertise. And in many cases, decisions are being made by other committees in the United States Senate because of our failure to act on a State Department authorization.

Secondly, it is our responsibility to give guidance to the State Department and the agencies that are impacted by an authorization bill. In our failure to act, we are not doing what we should be doing.

Lastly, as you pointed out, our responsibility on oversight is compromised if we cannot pass an authorization bill.

So I strongly support the process, and I am encouraged by the chairman's work in the last couple days to clear the 2016 authorization. Chairman Corker has spent a tremendous amount of not only time but political energy in order to get this done. So job well-done. This is the proper role for our committee, and I strongly support the legislation that is before us.

The authorization 2016 contains many, many important provisions that many members of this committee authored.

The 2017, as the chairman pointed out, deals with several very important issues in the State Department, including the U.N. peacekeeping, where the sexual abuse perpetrated by the peacekeepers on the people that they are supposed to defend and help is outrageous. But just as outrageous was the inadequate U.N. response.

That is why we have very strong provisions in this legislation to make it clear that our representative at the U.N. will act to make sure that there is not only a clear policy, but that policy is enforced.

Yes, we are encouraged by the United Nations Security Council resolution, but we want to make sure that is, in fact, enforced and that we also provide the authority that we can take, as we have so many times needed to take, unilateral action if there is not adequate international response to the accountability of U.N. peacekeepers.

I also am pleased that we are able to advance important legislation in this authorization dealing with State Department personnel, those State Department officers that are on the frontline. We have been able to make additional improvements in the authorization laws to help them in accomplishing their mission.

As the chairman pointed out, we updated the consular fee system that desperately needed some update. And many other provisions are included in the 2017 State Department authorization.

The manager's amendment incorporates many amendments offered by members of this committee, and we thank all of you for participating, Senator Markey, Senator Menendez, Senator Shaheen, Senator Barrasso, Senator Flake, Senator Gardner, Senator Johnson, Senator Perdue, Senator Rubio, and many others.

Let me move on to the wildlife trafficking bill. I really do want to thank two of our colleagues not only for authoring this bill, but

I think educating us all on the need here, Senator Coons and Senator Flake.

I joined them on a codel to the southern part of Africa, Namibia, Mozambique, Botswana, Zimbabwe. In Namibia, particularly, I got a chance to see Senator Flake in the country where he did his missionary work. It was a real experience to see how that country has changed and the impact that Senator Flake has had on that country. I applaud him for that.

The CHAIRMAN. So it has changed for the better?

[Laughter.]

Senator CARDIN. Absolutely. No question about it. They still remember him.

This legislation deals with anti-poaching programs and wildlife trafficking programs, as the chairman mentioned. It is more than just elephant tusks and rhino horns, which have incredible value. It is a \$7 billion to \$10 billion annual illegal enterprise that is fueling criminal activities around the globe.

It is important that the U.S. show leadership here. This country defines focus countries and countries of concern that are the source, transit countries or destination markets for trafficked animal wildlife, and requires us to have accountability through transparency and reporting.

So I am very pleased about the ability to work this legislation out and encourage my colleagues to support it.

In regards to the Venezuela sanction, I want to thank Senator Menendez for his continued leadership on this issue. We all understand there are over 100 political prisoners behind bars in Venezuela. It is important that we send a clear message, and this 3-year reauthorization is a very important bill to be done.

The chairman mentioned the resolutions that we are going to be taking up. I will not go through all of them again. They are all very important. I am glad to join many of my colleagues who initiated these resolutions in very important areas, including the chairman's resolution dealing with the Brussels attack and the tragic loss of 32 innocent lives.

And thank you, Mr. Chairman, for again expediting the procedures for our consideration of nominees and Foreign Service Officer lists that are here that we will be able to act on today. I just wish the chairman had more influence on the floor and could move them a little bit faster on the floor, but you have done a good job in convincing your leadership to move these nominations on the floor. But in committee, you have been superb, and I thank you very much for your courtesy in that regard.

Mr. Chairman, with your indulgence, let me just join in commenting that this will be Jodi Herman's last business meeting as a staff member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and our leader on the Democratic side.

I agree with you. She has been a great advocate for the Democratic members. But she has also been able to reach accommodation so that this committee can carry out its great tradition of, I hope, nonpartisan activities on behalf of foreign policy.

And Elise, her daughter, is here, celebrating her birthday, seeing her mother in action.



Elise, we wish you a very happy birthday, and we are glad that you could join us.

As the chairman pointed out, Jodi has the talent, the intelligence, the integrity, and the ability to get things done. She is really committed to the best of American foreign policy, and that best of American foreign policy is using our tools to accomplish good governance and human rights, and protecting the rights of people who have been persecuted around the world.

I said this last night when we had a little get-together for her. There are many people around the world today who have much better lives as a result of Jodi Herman who will never know her name, but she knows that she was able to accomplish those things that have made a difference in people's lives.

Mr. Chairman, you have accommodated us to present to her a resolution on behalf of our committee that says: Whereas Jodi Herman has served the United States Government for 16 years and served as the first female Democratic staff director of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee since 2015. Whereas Jodi before coming to the Senate held important positions in the House International Relations Committee and the United States Mission on the Organization of American States and the National Endowment for Democracy.

I should point out that she is returning to the National Endowment for Democracy, so she will be continuing to do her important work on behalf of human rights and good governance. But you are going to learn a little bit more about her.

Whereas Jodi is a proud native of St. Paul, Minnesota, a dedicated wife and mother, and a fixture in the civic life of her community, including as an active member of Temple Emanuel in Kensington, Maryland; as a member of the PTA at Ashburton Elementary School; and a Girl Scout troop leader, as a member of the Girl Scout Council of the Nation's Capital.

Whereas prior to leaving the committee staff, Jodi's diligent and dedicated work in the United States Congress as legislative assistant and foreign policy adviser, chief counsel and deputy staff director to Senator Menendez, established her skill as an effective staffer on Capitol Hill.

I am going to jump to some of the great accomplishments that we were able to do as a result of Jodi's work, and that is, the enactment of the Iran Nuclear Agreement Review Act of 2015, that Electrify Africa Act of 2015, whereas we will leverage private sector resources through loan guarantees to help 50 million Africans access electricity for the first time, and add 20,000 megawatts of electricity to the grid by 2020; passed the war crimes and crimes against humanity in Syria; the Global Magnitsky Human Rights Act, which authorized the President to impose U.S. entry and property sanctions against any foreign person or entity who has committed gross violations of international recognized human rights; and passed in the committee two successful bills authorizing the State Department. We are anticipating today that will happen again.

Resolve that the Committee on Foreign Relations expresses its deep appreciation and sincere gratitude to the contributions of Jodi

Herman to the committee of the United States Senate, the people of Maryland and New Jersey, and the United States of America.

Jodi, congratulations.

[Applause.]

Senator CARDIN. Mr. Chairman, if you would indulge, if I could yield to Senator Menendez, I would certainly appreciate that. I think Senator Menendez knows Jodi the best.

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

Senator MENENDEZ. Thank you, Senator Cardin. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I will be brief, because I think Senator Cardin has gone into a great deal of depth on Jodi's accomplishments here.

Jodi started with me when I was in the House of Representatives as a staff assistant, and she is now the staff director of the Democratic side of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. I was privileged to appoint her to that position.

In this institution, knowledge and intellect is an important asset, but also the ability to understand the politics of an issue, the policy of an issue, and the process to get it done, and she possesses all three of those skills, which the amalgam of all three is not always present in the abilities of individuals.

So that has been one of the reasons, from the Democratic side, we have been so successful. I know the chairman called her a worthy opponent, and she can be that at times. But I think she is also a worthy partner, and in many respects has proven that, as she has worked across the aisle.

So when members of the staff on both sides wonder whether their work ever actually makes a difference, Senator Cardin read several of those elements where working with members, it made a difference.

But one of the ones that I think Jodi will take with her is when she helped me pass an amendment to give the families of the Marine Corps barracks bombing the opportunity to get actual justice, to the extent that compensation can ever be justice, for the loss of lives of loved ones. And the Supreme Court just this week upheld what the Senate and the Congress did.

That one measure gives enormous opportunity for justice to families. It is just one example of the accomplishments that someone like Jodi Herman has brought to the committee, and that collectively we enjoy.

So we salute her, and we are thrilled to see that she is going help promote democracy throughout the world.

Congratulations, Jodi.

[Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. I think the comments around Jodi's retirement highlight what a privilege it is for all of us not only to serve in the Senate, but to serve on this committee. And all of the staff who work with us collectively, we do, in fact, make a difference in people's lives all around the world. And what a privilege that is.

In many cases, it is just approaching something in a more sensible way and leveraging the United States' power to influence without even adding additional dollars.

So we serve on a committee that makes a difference, there is no question about it.

Jodi, your retirement highlights the important role that our highly professional staff members throughout this committee and our personal staffs make in people's lives in working with us, so we thank you and thank them.

Our first order of business today will be five Foreign Service lists.

Senator Cardin, do you have any additional comments you would like to make?

Senator CARDIN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Would anyone else like to speak to these lists?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. If there is no further discussion on these lists, I would entertain a motion to approve these lists en bloc, as amended, by voice vote.

Senator CARDIN. So moved.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there a second?

Senator RISCH. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. So moved and seconded.

The question is on the motion to approve five Foreign Service lists en bloc, as amended.

All those in favor, say aye.

[A chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. Opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. With that, the ayes have it, and the appointments and promotions are agreed to.

Next, in the interest of time, I would ask that the committee proceed en bloc to vote in consideration of the following nominees before the committee: Ms. Swati Dandekar—I am going to put a provision in later that people's names cannot be that long; I am just kidding—to be U.S. director of the Asian Development Bank, with the rank of Ambassador; Ms. Christine Elder to be Ambassador to Liberia; Ms. Kelly Keiderling Franz to be Ambassador to Uruguay; Ms. Elizabeth Richard to be Ambassador to Lebanon; Mr. Stephen Schwartz to be Ambassador to Somalia; Mr. Adam Sterling to be Ambassador to Slovakia; Mr. David Harden to be an assistant administrator at USAID.

I thank all these nominees for being willing to settle into these positions and the process they go through with us.

Senator Cardin, do you have any comments?

Senator CARDIN. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Anyone else wishing to speak to these nominees?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. If there is no further discussion on the nominations, I would entertain a motion to approve them by voice vote en bloc.

Senator CARDIN. So moved.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there a second?

Senator BOXER. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. So moved and seconded.

The question is on the motion to approve the nominations.

All those in favor, say aye.

[A chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. Opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. With that, the ayes have it, and the nominations are agreed to.

Next, we will consider S. Res. 340, the ISIS genocide resolution with three Rubio amendments.

Senator Cardin, do you have any comments?

Senator CARDIN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Anyone else?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. If there is no further discussion on this resolution, I would entertain a motion to approve the Rubio title, preamble, and substitute amendments by voice vote en bloc.

Senator CARDIN. So moved.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there a second?

Senator BOXER. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. So moved and seconded.

The question is on the motion to approve all amendments en bloc.

All those in favor, say aye.

[A chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. Opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. With that, the ayes have it, and the amendments are agreed to.

Are there any further amendments?

Senator BOXER. Mr. Chairman, amendments to?

The CHAIRMAN. Rubio.

Senator BOXER. Okay.

The CHAIRMAN. Hearing none, is there a motion to approve the resolution, as amended?

Senator CARDIN. So moved.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there a second?

Senator RISCH. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. So moved and seconded.

The question is on the motion to approve S. Res. 340, as amended.

All in favor will say aye.

[A chorus of ayes.]

Opposed?

[No response.]

With that, the ayes have it, and the resolution, as amended, is agreed to.

Next, we will consider S. Res. 381, the World Malaria Day resolution with an amendment.

Senator Cardin, do you have any comments?

Senator CARDIN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Anyone else?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. If there is no further discussion on this resolution, I would entertain a motion to approve the preamble amendment by voice vote.

Senator CARDIN. So moved.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there a second?

Senator RISCH. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. So moved and seconded.

The question is on the motion to approve the preamble amendment.

All those in favor, say aye.

[A chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. All opposed?

[No response.]

With that, the ayes have it, and the amendment is agreed to.

Are there further amendments?

[No response.]

Hearing none, is there a motion to approve the resolution as amended?

Senator CARDIN. So moved.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there a second?

Senator RISCH. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. So moved and seconded. Thank you both.

The question is on the motion to approve S. Res. 436, as amended.

All in favor, say aye.

[A chorus of ayes.]

Opposed?

[No response.]

With that, the ayes have it, and the resolution, as amended, is agreed to.

Our next order of business that I will ask we consider en bloc by voice vote are the remaining resolutions before this committee. That is S. Res. 442, S. Res. 418, S. Res. 394, S. Res. 381.

Senator Cardin, any comments?

Senator CARDIN. No.

Any comments by other members?

Senator COONS. I just want to say thank you for pressing for the resolution recognizing Michael Riddering, who was killed as a volunteer overseas. It is important we continue to recognize those who risk and lose their lives in humanitarian service.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you for bringing that to our attention and for recognizing him in that way.

Senator Shaheen?

Senator SHAHEEN. I would like to be added as a cosponsor to your and Senator Cardin's resolution condemning the terrorist attacks in Brussels.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection.

Any other comments?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. If there is no further discussion on these resolutions, I would entertain a motion to approve them en bloc by voice vote.

Senator CARDIN. So moved.

The CHAIRMAN. Second?

Senator RISCH. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. So moved and seconded.

The question is on the motion to approve the four resolutions en bloc.

All those in favor, say aye.

[A chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. Opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. With that, the ayes have it, and the resolutions are agreed to.

Next, we will consider S. 2845, a bill to extend the termination of sanctions with respect to Venezuela under the Venezuela Defense of Human Rights and Civil Society Act of 2014 with an amendment.

Senator Cardin, do you have any additional comments?

Senator CARDIN. Just to thank Senator Menendez and Senator Rubio for working this out.

The CHAIRMAN. I second that.

Would anyone else like to speak to this?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. If there is no further discussion, I would entertain a motion to consider the Rubio amendment by voice vote.

Senator CARDIN. So moved.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there a second?

Senator RISCH. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. So moved and seconded.

The question is on the motion to approve the Rubio amendment.

All in favor, say aye.

[A chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. Opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. With that, the ayes have it. The Rubio amendment is agreed to.

Are there further amendments?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. Hearing none, is there a motion to approve the legislation as amended?

Senator CARDIN. So moved.

The CHAIRMAN. Second?

Senator RISCH. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. So moved and seconded.

The question is on the motion to approve S. 2845, as amended.

All in favor will say aye.

[A chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. Opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. With that, the ayes have it, and the legislation, as amended, is agreed to.

Next we will consider H.R. 2494, the Global Anti-Poaching Act, with an amendment.

Senator Cardin, do you have any comments?

Senator CARDIN. No, except to say that Senators Coons and Flake have been as persistent as any of our two members on this legislation, and I thank them for doing that, because this is a very important bill.

The CHAIRMAN. I would agree to their persistence.

[Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. I thank them for burning up my cell phone with texts pursuing this, and I am glad we are where we are today.

Would anyone else like to speak to this?

Senator Flake?

Senator FLAKE. I thank the chairman and the ranking member and, of course, Senator Coons for spearheading this. This is a good bill and needed effort, and I am glad to see it passed.

The CHAIRMAN. I am glad you all put forth the effort and it will be successful today, and we thank you.

Anyone else?

Senator Coons?

Senator COONS. I just want to thank Senator Flake for leading a truly memorable trip, which resulted in both of us being charged by elephants, and thank the chair and ranking member for your accommodation and recognition that this is a security threat as well as a genuine threat to the wildlife of the world. I am very hopeful that we can now get this enacted and get it signed into law by the President. I am really grateful to Senator Flake for his leadership on that.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. Thank you so much.

If there is no further discussion, I would entertain a motion to consider the Coons-Flake substitute amendment by voice vote.

Senator CARDIN. So moved.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there a second?

Senator BOXER. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. So moved and seconded.

The question is on the motion to approve the Coons-Flake substitute amendment.

All those in favor, say aye.

[A chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. Opposed?

[No reponse.]

The CHAIRMAN. With that, the ayes have it, and the amendment is agreed to.

Are there any further amendments?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. Hearing none, is there a motion to approve the legislation as amended?

Senator CARDIN. So moved.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there a second?

Senator RISCH. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. So moved and seconded.

The question is on the motion to approve H.R. 2494, as amended.

All in favor will say aye.

[A chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. Opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. With that, the ayes have it, and the legislation, as amended, is agreed to.

Lastly, we will consider the Department of State Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2017.

Senator Cardin, do you have additional comments you want to make on this?

Senator CARDIN. No, except, as you did, to acknowledge our staff that did extraordinary work. This is extremely difficult text to get through. On the Democratic side, Margaret Taylor did an incredible job. I want to thank all the staff.

The CHAIRMAN. In that vein, I would like to thank Brooke, Chris, Christine, and Morgan on our staff for the outstanding work they put forth to get us to where we are today, and on your staff, Margaret, Michael, Charlotte and Algene for their tremendous effort.

Senator CARDIN. Thanks for including the other three. Otherwise, I would have been in trouble.

[Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. I am always trying to cover for you.

Senator CARDIN. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. I thank the staff really for their cooperation.

I want to say in this case, in particular, I want to thank the State Department for working with us as you did. I know that there are numbers of provisions in here that give you the flexibilities that you need to carry out your responsibilities in a much better way, and we thank you for highlighting those and working with us the way you did. We look forward to that again next year.

Any other discussion?

[No response.]

I would like to entertain a motion to consider the manager's amendment by voice vote.

Senator CARDIN. So moved.

The CHAIRMAN. Second?

Senator RISCH. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. So moved and seconded.

The question is on the motion to approve the manager's amendment by voice vote.

All those in favor, say aye.

[A chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. All opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. With that, the ayes have it, and the amendment is agreed to.

Are there further amendments?

Senator Paul?

Senator PAUL. There has been significant discussion over time about sort of the balance of power with regard to foreign relations. Sometimes, one party or the other will admit that the President has too much power and that we should assert ourselves more in this role. It seems to be more assertive when you are in the party opposing the party that is in the White House, but really, it ought to be both parties. We ought to, as a body, say we want more power; we want more oversight; and we want to be more of a participant in what happens.

Several years ago, Senator Leahy put forward an amendment that I am a big fan of. I just think we should use it even more. This amendment was to the appropriations to the State Department, saying that any country that committed human rights abuse or was taken over by a military coup shouldn't get our military assistance.



I think there needs to be a more robust debate over who gets our money, frankly. We have a shortage of money, a finite amount of money.

I have been hoping to get a bridge built across the Ohio for years and years, and yet we spend \$113 billion building and rebuilding the infrastructure in Afghanistan. So I think we need have more of a debate over whether we spend money overseas or whether we spend it here, whether we give it to people who are basically imprisoning and publically whipping rape victims in some countries that receive military assistance, whether we are giving military assistance to some countries that stone women to death for adultery, whether we are giving military assistance to countries that imprison people for their religious beliefs or criticism of the state religion in many countries. Many of these countries still continue to receive military assistance.

My resolution or my amendment would not change the Leahy amendment as the way the Leahy amendment originates. The administration has the power or is supposed to withhold military assistance when there are human rights abuses or when there is an undemocratic takeover of government.

However, we often quickly revert back. It seems like the only thing that never stops is military assistance, and so it very quickly resumes.

What I would like to say is that when we withhold military assistance, when we have a human rights abuse so egregious that we are going to withhold military assistance, that it come back and we actually debate in the Senate whether or not the country is adhering and whether or not the country has changed its ways, whether the country is a democratically elected country, whether or not it is justice to have 500 people condemned to death in 5 minutes.

In Egypt, they condemned, recently, to death a 6-month-old boy for terrorism. Then they acknowledged, well, maybe it was his cousin who is 15. Then maybe it was his uncle who is 52. They all had the same name.

But they do not even have time to read the names out. They are condemned to death, 500 people at a time. They do not even have time to read the names.

Can you imagine a trial? Is that justice, a trial where you do not even recite the names and you put people to death? Whole political parties—I am not a fan of the Muslim Brotherhood, but putting the whole party to death indiscriminately?

That is not democracy. We should question and have a robust debate over whether or not we are going to continue military assistance. We completely leave it up to the administration.

This is not a partisan attempt. This is nothing against President Obama. I would say exactly the same thing if this were George W. Bush.

My resolution says that if we suspend military assistance, for it to resume, it has to come back and be debated on and approved by Congress.

The CHAIRMAN. Anyone else?

Senator RISCH. Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Senator RISCH. Senator Paul, is this Paul No. 1 we are talking about?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Senator RISCH. How does that differ from Markey No. 1 that we just adopted as part of the manager's package? The description is the same here. Are we duplicating?

Senator PAUL. Does your amendment require that we come back and have a vote?

Senator MARKEY. No.

Senator PAUL. Okay, so that is how it would be different.

Senator RISCH. I am sorry?

The CHAIRMAN. His does not require us to come back and vote.

First of all, I truly appreciate Senator Paul's concerns about the way we deal with foreign aid. There is no question, we have not authorized foreign aid for decades. To me, that should be our next effort. We moved through State Department authorization. Now it is time to get on with the business of dealing with that.

There is no question in my mind that much of what we do in foreign aid is a holdover from the Cold War, and there need to be some revisions. I mean, we are living in a different era now where we can be much more effective with our foreign aid.

I really pride myself on what we do around the world to improve people's lives, but we all know we can do things more effectively.

Power Africa was great example of our ability just with some changes to really empower huge changes. Fifty million more people having electricity in sub-Saharan Africa over the next 4 years.

So I applaud what Senator Paul wishes to do. I think the threshold here is too high. To have to come back and debate it before Congress and vote on it is a threshold, in my opinion, that is too high.

I want to also say we reached a balance here where I reached an agreement with Senator Cardin. I have substance issues, but I am going to vote against the amendment.

But I do appreciate Senator Paul continually trying to focus our efforts on making sure that we are holding people accountable that we are dealing with on foreign aid.

Senator CARDIN. Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes?

Senator CARDIN. If I can, let me just underscore this point.

Senator Paul, I very much agree with the thrust of everything you are saying, and it is in the bill.

It is so important that we try to get an authorization bill accomplished. And the chairman is absolutely right. We may have some future debates as to what is the appropriation balance between the authorization we give to the executive branch and oversight and the mandatory nature of legislation. No administration wants to see their foreign policy hands tied by the acts of Congress, so there is a real concern that if we start down the path of no discretion given to the executive branch in carrying out foreign policy that they will not be able to accomplish the mission.

The language in the Markey amendment, the language in the manager's package, is very strong on saying we are cutting off funds and giving direction that no funds should be made available and authorizing the President to be able to carry this out, which

has been the traditional way that Congress and the White House has worked on legislation, and it has worked fairly well in almost all circumstances.

In some circumstances, it has not worked, and we have had to take more direct action. That is true. But there is no indication on peacekeeping and on this issue that there is any difference at all between the executive branch and the legislative branch.

So for all those reason, I would urge a “no” vote on this amendment. I think it would set up a very dangerous precedent for us to be able to defend on this one issue as we try to get an authorization bill done on the floor of the United States Senate.

I would urge colleagues to oppose the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes?

Senator RUBIO. So my understanding of the amendment, just to understand, if the administration suspends aid, because they think that so and so is violating, in order to restart the aid is when they have to come back to Congress.

Senator PAUL. Right. It is still a division of power. The executive branch has the ability to begin it. We can’t do anything, according to my amendment, unless they begin it. They still have an extraordinary amount of power.

I would like to go one step further and force them to do it, but this does not do that. They would still be able to initiate or not initiate the suspension of military aid. But if they do, we would vote on whether to resume it or not.

Senator RUBIO. My only concern with that—you read the text of this, and you start to think, yes, I do not want people like this to be getting money.

My concern is twofold. One, the administration may decide to be even more cautious about suspending aid, because of how hard it is to restart it.

And the second is you take away a lot of leverage to get immediate changes from people, like, “We can lift this suspension tomorrow if you do X.” That will not be true anymore. The administration loses some leverage to impact behavior, because they still have to go back to Congress now, and they could get tied up. We know how fast this place moves, right?

That is my concern.

The CHAIRMAN. I appreciate the intent, and we are doing everything we can to bring that balance of power back in. I think we have taken numbers of steps over the last couple of years, beginning with Senator Menendez, to do so. I think this is a hurdle that makes it incredibly difficult to have those flexibilities.

Senator Johnson?

Senator JOHNSON. I also have a question, because as I read the text, it says, this is part C, “The Secretary shall withhold any and all military assistance.” It goes on to say that it will continue until something happens.

So this is more than just voting to reinstate it. Isn’t this directing the Secretary to withhold in these cases?

Senator PAUL. It already is directed. That is Leahy language. I mean, that already is the language. We are not doing anything new to the Secretary. The discussion comes in on what is the definition

of human rights abuse and what is the definition of when a coup happens.

So somehow this administration decided that the military coup in Egypt was really not a military coup, or they simply ignore it.

I think it is a discussion that deserves more debate and should come back.

Also, whether or not we vote on this, or whether or not we chastise the administration and give them some instruction, there is about a 40- or 50-year history of that now working, actually. There is a 40- or 50-year history of administrations ignoring this.

We were originally designated with the power of the purse. I do not think we utilize the power of the purse. This is trying to bring back power to the Senate and give us some say in what happens.

I think particularly when something so egregious as these different human rights abuses and military coups happen that we should be part of the debate and this should be a full-throated debate. It is, frankly, one of the most important debates that occur, and we should force it occur through legislation.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Risch?

Senator RISCH. Mr. Chairman, first of all, I agree with Senator Paul on the goal aspect of this, and that is to try to stem the flow of constant change of power from Congress to the administration, which has gone on for centuries.

But in this particular instance, where you are dealing with military engagements, the Commander in Chief has to be able to move quickly, I mean, really quickly in a lot of circumstances. As has already been pointed out, where the administration has the ability to say, "Okay, we have some money here, but we want you to do this," they just can't come to Congress. This place, as you know, moves at glacial speed, if that.

I am just really reluctant to hamstring the Commander in Chief on the battlefield.

Senator PAUL. One interesting thing is that when we do have war or issues of war, we move incredibly fast. After 9/11, we were nearly unanimous and moved incredible fast. After Pearl Harbor, incredibly fast, December 8.

So I think we can move when we want to move and when it is important. But I think if we continue to give this up to the administration, we continue to give them some instructions in a bill that has no teeth, having a vote is the teeth of the power of the purse. It is forcing them to come back to us.

Senator RISCH. Let me say, all fair points. Absolutely fair points. I have no doubt if we have a Pearl Harbor or a 9/11, we would move quickly. But most of the things that the administration is involved in these days are much smaller magnitude than that that don't get our attention.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Johnson?

Senator JOHNSON. Again, reading the text here, the crux here is the Secretary makes the determination whether something—

Senator PAUL. That is the way the current system is.

Senator JOHNSON. So by forcing a vote to reinstate it, are you almost running counter to what you are trying to accomplish and not provide aid in these egregious circumstances?

You will actually have the administration probably less likely to withhold aid when you have these types of regimes, because they know that it is going to be much more difficult in cases of acts of terrorism, in terms of military intervention.

Senator PAUL. I think that depends on what type of administration you have.

The CHAIRMAN. I will say, especially, I know you were concerned about the issue of Egypt, if I remember correctly. We can always ourselves bring forth legislation to try to end aid, if we feel like the administration has made a bad judgment in that regard. In that particular case, I did not.

But again, I want to say to Senator Paul, I appreciate his continual efforts to focus on our foreign aid. I think there is a lot of work that we as a committee can do to make sure that the foreign aid we provide goes much deeper and has a much longer lasting impact. And I look forward to engaging everybody on this, hopefully in this next year.

Senator PAUL. I just wanted to make a final point that I think Egypt really provides an example of how what we are doing does not work. I mean, we have mass trials where people were condemned to death without representation, without even their name being listed. We have a government that is a military junta that was not democratically elected.

So the Leahy language, which we have given them as an instruction, I think is being ignored with regard to Egypt, because we continue to send military weapons there.

So we say we do not want human rights abuses, but we allow them to happen. There is torture in Egypt. There is lack of due process in Egypt. And there is undemocratic government. And yet the military aid flows, because we really say we care about these things and we do not.

So I think the only way to say that we truly do care and want to change things would be to actually transfer power or at least some little bit of power back to Congress.

The CHAIRMAN. Any additional debate?

[No response.]

We have an amendment. Is there a motion to approve the amendment?

Senator PAUL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there a second?

Senator RISCH. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. So moved and seconded.

On Paul No. 1, all in favor, say aye.

[A few ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. All opposed?

[A chorus of nays.]

Senator PAUL. Can we have a recorded vote?

The CHAIRMAN. Sure.

The clerk will call the roll.

The CLERK. Mr. Risch?

Senator RISCH. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Rubio?

Senator RUBIO. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Johnson?

Senator JOHNSON. No.  
 The CLERK. Mr. Flake?  
 Senator FLAKE. No.  
 The CLERK. Mr. Gardner?  
 Senator GARDNER. No.  
 The CLERK. Mr. Perdue?  
 Senator PERDUE. No.  
 The CLERK. Mr. Isakson?  
 The CHAIRMAN. No by proxy.  
 The CLERK. Mr. Paul?  
 Senator PAUL. Yes.  
 The CLERK. Mr. Barrasso?  
 Senator BARRASSO. No.  
 The CLERK. Mr. Cardin?  
 Senator CARDIN. No.  
 The CLERK. Mrs. Boxer?  
 Senator BOXER. No.  
 The CLERK. Mr. Menendez?  
 Senator MENENDEZ. No.  
 The CLERK. Ms. Shaheen?  
 Senator SHAHEEN. No.  
 The CLERK. Mr. Coons?  
 Senator COONS. No.  
 The CLERK. Mr. Udall?  
 Senator UDALL. Aye.  
 The CLERK. Mr. Murphy?  
 Senator MURPHY. No.  
 The CLERK. Mr. Kaine?  
 Senator KAINE. No.  
 The CLERK. Mr. Markey?  
 Senator MARKEY. No.  
 The CLERK. Mr. Chairman?  
 The CHAIRMAN. No.  
 The CHAIRMAN. The clerk will report.  
 The CLERK. Mr. Chairman, the yeas are 2; the nays are 17.  
 The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.  
 Thanks for bringing this forward.  
 Are there any other amendments?  
 Senator BOXER. Mr. Chairman?  
 The CHAIRMAN. Yes, ma'am?

Senator BOXER. Mr. Chairman, I would like to call up the Boxer amendment, Boxer-Shaheen, and just to say in advance to my colleagues, I am not going to ask for a vote today, but I am going to make sure that when this bill gets to the floor, I will offer it. And I want to take about 60 seconds to explain why it is important.

Our amendment would codify in law the existing Office of Global Women's Issues at the State Department. The reason I am not going to call for a vote is my understanding is the issue of abortion somehow in somebody's mind is related to this. It is just outrageous. And I do not want to bring anything down here or give my chairman or ranking member a loss, but it is just sad.

As I am on my way winding down, I would hope that we could come together on this, because we have an office on Global Wom-

en's Issues. We have an Ambassador at Large, Cathy Russell. It is working every day, but it has not been authorized.

I think Senator Paul makes a good point about the power of the Congress here. This is working, and we ought to have our imprimatur on it. It has nothing to do with a woman's right to choose or what kind of health care she determines.

Let me tell you what it has done, okay?

In Afghanistan, the office helps ensure that girls can attend school. This helps prevent early and forced marriages. It provides girls with the skills they need to become active citizens, entrepreneurs, and community leaders.

In countries like the DRC, Democratic Republic of the Congo, the office helps survivors of the worst kind of sexual violence get access to justice that they deserve. The office is leading the State Department efforts around the world to end the brutal practice of female genital cutting.

More broadly, the Office of Global Women's Issues works with our foreign partners to identify, mentor, and train emerging women political leaders around the world. If ever you have met with these women, it is so encouraging, because even the most conservative foreign policy advisers tell us that when women get a chance, the countries really move forward toward democracy and toward a much more decent life for people.

So by permanently establishing an Office of Global Women's Issues in the State Department, we will advance equal rights, protect women from violence, and help women and girls fulfill their potential.

These efforts are very important. So because of my deep respect for our leaders, and being a chairman and now a ranking myself, I understand how hard it is, and I don't want to put anybody through their paces here. And I know I have a couple of Republicans willing to support, but I don't want to push it today. But I am going to push it on the floor, and I am going to work with my friends. I hope that maybe we can come to something that we can all rally around.

This is a victory for us. It is our committee that set up the first subcommittee on human rights and global women's issues. Senator Rubio and I worked very well on that.

So we should be proud to know that as a result of our work in this committee, the administration finally set up this office. We should authorize it.

So I hope I can work with each of you individually. Tell me what your problems are. I will try to address it, bring this to the floor.

But for now, I am not going to push it.

Senator CARDIN. Before you withdraw, could I make a comment very briefly?

Senator BOXER. Yes.

Senator CARDIN. First of all, I want to thank Senator Boxer not just for her leadership on this issue but her sensitivity to what we are trying to accomplish. This is an ongoing process. We have been able now in 2 years to be able to pass out of our committee two State Department authorizations. We want to make it as broad as we possibly can.

And I appreciate your willingness to work with the members of this committee to see whether there isn't a path forward where we could work out any area that may present some challenges.

So I thank you very much.

Senator SHAHEEN. Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, ma'am?

Senator SHAHEEN. Before Senator Boxer withdraws the amendment, as she pointed out, I am a cosponsor.

I think this is something that we really ought to support. I appreciate concerns that people have about access to reproductive health, but the reality is that women make up half of the world's population, and if we do not support this because it is the right thing to do, we should support it because it is the economic thing to do, because we know when we empower women in developing countries, that not only does it support stability and peace in those countries, as Senator Boxer said with the move toward democracy, but it also supports the economic development in those countries, because women are most likely to put any dollars they get back into their families and into their communities.

So I would hope that we can figure out how we can accommodate the concerns that people have. And when this bill gets to the floor, hopefully it will get to the floor, that we can support this permanent authorization, because it is making a difference in so many places around the world.

The CHAIRMAN. Any other comments or amendments?

I understand you are withdrawing?

Senator BOXER. I would withdraw and look forward to debating this on the floor.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Senator Menendez?

Senator MENENDEZ. Mr. Chairman, I have an amendment, and before I speak to the amendment, I want to really salute you and Senator Cardin for incredibly important work. I think the State Department authorization bill is in part achieving what Senator Paul in broader respects is talking about, which is having the jurisdiction of the committee, not just for jurisdictional sake but for an imprint of the Congress as the elected representatives of the American people upon our foreign policy, in particular on the department that runs that foreign policy.

I know how difficult it is to try to achieve that consensus, so I appreciate very much what you both have accomplished, and I intend to support it.

I want to speak to my amendment on diversity. I will, out of deference to the chair and ranking member, not pursue it at this point. And I also appreciate some language that was included in the manager's amendment to try to reach out to this issue.

It is a question of diversity, something that for 2 decades I have been pursuing at the State Department, which, unfortunately, has one of the worst records of diversity in the entire of Federal Government.

Now it is not a question of diversity for diversity's sake. It is because it makes a real difference in the promotion of our foreign policy abroad.



It would be to say, for example, if there was a process at the State Department that denied or largely did not make it a possibility for people from the southern part of the United States or from the Western part of the United States to be in the Foreign Service, we would have a whole dimension of our country that would not be projected abroad.

When I was in China, meeting with human rights activists, many who ended up not coming to the meeting because the government came upon them not to, it was an African-American member of our State Department who had gone through and was an active participant in the civil rights movement that was in charge of promoting human rights and democracy in China. His experience was invaluable in helping those who were in their own country trying to promote the very essence of the same rights that he was once trying to promote in his own country.

Those types of experiences and knowledge cannot be learned in a book, do not get achieved by going to SAIS or any of the great universities. They come from the diversity of our country.

So I hope the 2016 authorization goes through, which had more specific language to try to get to that goal. But if in fact the 2016 authorization for some reason does not go through, I would like to try to, at that time, prevail upon the chairman and ranking member to reconsider this section, because I do think we have a role in trying to get the department to move in a direction that brings them into the 21st century as it relates to what America looks like and how that adds an invaluable experience abroad.

So I will not pursue the amendment at this time. I look forward to working with both of you.

Senator CARDIN. Mr. Chairman, before Senator Menendez withdraws the amendment, Senator Boxer's is to authorize a very important program. Yours is to deal with a very important issue of oversight and mission within the State Department. How can they carry out their mission if they do not actively pursue diversity? And how can we make sure we have the right oversight?

I strongly support that effort that you are undertaking. We do have some of this in the 2016 authorization, but it is a matter of continuous interest, and I thank you very much for the way you are proceeding.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. And I appreciate you also bringing this up. You have been consistent in the committee in pressing the State Department on this issue. I think there is a really good chance 2016 is going to become law. That will take care of the issue you are talking about, but I appreciate the opportunity to work with you on it in the future, should that not happen.

Are there any other amendments or statements?

Senator SHAHEEN?

Senator SHAHEEN. I had two amendments that dealt with reporting requirements. I am not going to offer those. I am going to withdraw them.

But I do think it is an important issue that we ought to take a look at, because I think very often in legislative bodies, when we cannot get done what we want, we punt by asking for a report. I think accountability is really important. I think reporting requirements are very important. But I think sometimes we ask for re-

ports, and because often those are not accompanied by the resources to really get definitive analysis in the reports, what we get back is not usable, and it takes up a lot of time.

So I appreciate the chair's willingness to repeal four of those reports in the manager's package. But the fact is, last year's authorization bill imposed 57 new reports on the State Department.

I think we really need to look at this issue. When we ask for reports, we ought to be asking for something that we really want and get analysis that we can actually use when we are making policy.

So thank you, Mr. Chairman. I hope you and the ranking member will continue to work with me on this.

The CHAIRMAN. I certainly like the line of thinking, and I thank you for the constructive role you have played in this process.

Senator Coons?

Senator COONS. Thank you for your hard work to move forward in authorizing the bill. We should do this every year. The NDAA moves every year. This committee ought to be moving an authorizing bill every year.

Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Murphy?

Senator MURPHY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Great work. Thank you for bringing this before us.

I associate myself with the remarks of Senator Coons.

I had two amendments, neither of which I will ask for votes on.

The first would have amended a section of the bill that puts some congressional restrictions on the way promotions are done within the State Department. I have some concerns of Congress getting in the business of micromanaging the way in which the State Department does promotions. You made some, I think, changes in amendments to that to give it a little bit more secretarial discretion, which I appreciate.

My second amendment is on the issue of the applicability of Buy America laws to the State Department.

I think there are a lot of good reasons why we should promote the State Department buying American-made goods for use in embassies. It creates a lot of jobs here in the United States, but it also shows off American goods to foreign audiences.

There is a curious waiver to the Buy America law that is being used increasingly by embassies all across the country. It is a waiver that says that if the good is going to be used primarily outside of the United States, then you do not have to buy it from an American company. That was written into the law for sort of temporary military deployments. But, of course, it applies to every single purchase that is made in the Department of State, such that on an annual basis of the \$1.6 billion in waivers to the Buy America law that the State Department uses, \$1.4 billion of it is this particular waiver.

So my amendment would have just eliminated that particular waiver for use by the State Department, leaving in place all of the other ways around the Buy America law. For instance, it costs far more to buy it from the United States and ship it than to buy it in-country, or that it is not available, or you need it for urgent use.

I hope that we can work on this, because I think that there is just endless ability for the State Department to get around the law,

and there are all sorts of practical reasons why we want to encourage the State Department, when practical, to buy from American companies.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Any other comments?

Senator Gardner?

Senator GARDNER. Mr. Chairman, I have an amendment that I will also not be offering today, but it was concerning North Korea policy and implementation of the executive order, the legislation that we passed just a couple months ago regarding North Korea.

Yesterday, those of you who saw the news this morning already know this, South Korea claims that North Korea launched yet another ballistic missile, and we believe that they will execute yet another nuclear weapons test prior to the People's Congress coming up on May 6.

Yesterday, though, in our testimony from Secretary Blinken, we heard responses to questions regarding investigations of North Korean activities, investigations for sanctions violations, and when those sanctions would be implemented. We did not hear when they are going to have the investigation performed. We did not hear who they are investigating. We did not hear anything about whether or not any of these investigations include China.

So as North Korea continues to test ballistic missiles, as North Korea continues to test nuclear weapons, I think it is very important that this committee maintain rigorous oversight of the administration's investigations and implementation of both the U.N. resolution and the legislation that we passed.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. I want to thank you and Senator Cardin for your leadership as the subcommittee heads, and you and Senator Menendez for passing legislation that, no doubt, is having impact. I appreciate your continued efforts to make sure the oversight is there in a proper way. So thank you.

Any other comments?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. With that, I will entertain a motion to approve the Department of State Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2017, as amended.

Senator CARDIN. So moved.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there a second?

Senator RISCH. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. So moved and seconded.

The question is on the motion to approve the Department of State Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2017, as amended.

All in favor, say aye.

[A chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. All opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. With that, the ayes have it, and the legislation, as amended, is agreed to.

I again want to thank the outstanding staff of all of our Senators, but certainly the committee staff that made this happen.

That completes the committee's business.

I ask unanimous consent that staff be authorized to make technical and conforming changes.

Without objection, so ordered.  
And with that, without objection, the committee will stand ad-  
journed.  
[Whereupon, at 11:09 a.m., the meeting was adjourned.]

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## **BUSINESS MEETING**

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**THURSDAY, MAY 19, 2016**

<https://www.foreign.senate.gov/hearings/business-meeting-051916p>

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

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 11:40 a.m. in, Room 166, The Capitol Building, Hon. Bob Corker, chairman of the committee, presiding.

Present: Senators Corker [presiding], Risch, Gardner, Perdue, Isakson, Cardin, Boxer, Menendez, Kaine, and Markey.

### **OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. BOB CORKER, U.S. SENATOR FROM TENNESSEE**

The CHAIRMAN. This business meeting of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee will come to order.

On the agenda for today we have one Foreign Service officer list and two pieces of legislation. Today, we will consider all agenda items en bloc, by voice vote.

Senator Cardin, do you have any comments you would like to make?

### **STATEMENT OF HON. BENJAMIN L. CARDIN, U.S. SENATOR FROM MARYLAND**

Senator CARDIN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I support this legislation to grant International Organization Immunity Act (IOIA) privileges and immunities to the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC). The GCC remains a critical partner in ensuring Gulf Security and is a critical lynchpin of the counter-ISIL coalition.

This legislation would pave the way for the GCC to open a Washington office, which will enhance U.S.-GCC relations and create a new venue for dialogue.

The GCC's opening of a diplomatic mission in Washington will allow the United States to not only further our security dialogue with the Gulf, but also open new channels for discussion on human rights and other issues. I look forward to an enhanced dialogue on important priorities like the promotion of human rights protections, increased respect for women and minorities, and enhanced standards for migrant labor in the Gulf.

I want to commend Chairman Corker for his work on this bill, and I urge my fellow Committee Members to support its passage.

I also support the resolution before us commemorating the 100th anniversary of the 1916 Easter Rising, and I thank Senators Leahy and McConnell for its introduction.

The ties between America and Ireland are indeed extraordinary in their breadth and depth. Millions of Irish immigrants and tens of millions of Americans of Irish descent have had great influence in shaping the destiny of our country. The reverse is also true. Five of the seven signatories of the Easter Rising spent significant time in the United States, and the 1916 Proclamation of Independence not only mentioned America, but called for guarantees of religious and civil liberty, equal rights and equal opportunities to all its citizens," principles that I am proud to say represent the best of U.S. values.

This 100th anniversary offers an opportunity for remembrance and reconciliation, and I am proud to support this resolution commemorating it.

We also have before us a Foreign Service List, with six qualified nominees for promotion. I look forward to working together to ensure that their promotions are swiftly confirmed by the full Senate.

Thank you Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Would any other Senator like to speak on any of the agenda items?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. If there is no further discussion on these items, I would entertain a motion to approve all agenda items, en bloc, by voice vote.

[Senator makes a motion]

The CHAIRMAN. Is there a second?

[Senator seconds.]

The CHAIRMAN. So moved and seconded.

The question is on the motion to approve all agenda items, including S. 2942, the GCC privileges and immunities bill, S. Res. 469, the Easter Rising Resolution, and the Foreign Service officer list, en bloc, by voice vote.

All those in favor, say aye.

[A chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. Opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. And with that the ayes have it and the agenda items are agreed to.

And that completes the committee's business.

I ask unanimous consent that staff be authorized to make technical and conforming changes; without objection, so ordered.

And that with that, without objection, the committee will stand adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 11:50 a.m., the meeting was adjourned.]

## **BUSINESS MEETING**

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**THURSDAY, JUNE 23, 2016**

<https://www.foreign.senate.gov/hearings/business-meeting-062316>

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

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:02 a.m. in Room SD-419, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Bob Corker, chairman of the committee, presiding.

Present: Senators Corker [presiding], Rubio, Johnson, Gardner, Isakson, Barrasso, Cardin, Boxer, Menendez, Shaheen, Coons, Udall, Murphy, and Kaine.

### **OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. BOB CORKER, U.S. SENATOR FROM TENNESSEE**

The CHAIRMAN. The business meeting of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee will come to order.

On the agenda for today, we have 10 pieces of legislation, seven treaties, three nominations, and a number of Foreign Service officer lists.

First, we will consider four Foreign Service officer lists, over 200 personnel referred to the committee. I support these appointments and promotions and thank all of the officers for their service.

We will also consider three nominations. And I want to thank my colleagues for helping the committee to take steps forward on all of these nominations today.

We also have before us seven treaties. The first is the International Treaty on Plant Genetic Resources for Food and Agriculture. Strongly supported by U.S. agriculture and research universities, the Plant Genetics Treaty is critical to sustaining the plant breeding revolution that has saved more than a billion people from starvation in the last half century. Our food security and future U.S. agriculture depend upon open access to plant material that will be made available under this treaty.

The treaty's mechanisms are modeled on our own national system that has been in operation for decades.

Without U.S. participation, our farmers and researchers are placed at a competitive disadvantage with 140 countries that enjoy the treaty's benefit.

This committee approved the treaty on voice vote in December 2010 but did not ratify it before the end of the 111th Congress. I recommend the committee approve this treaty today.

I want to thank all of you on this committee that are pushing that. I know Johnny has been working on this for some time.

We are also considering the Convention on the Law Applicable to Certain Rights in Respect of Securities Held with an Intermediary, or Hague Convention. Today's securities trading is global. The treaty establishes a simple method for resolving conflicts of law, risk faced by our financial sector. This treaty adopts existing U.S. legal standards under the U.S. Uniform Commercial Code. The treaty is broadly supported by the U.S. financial community and is in our national interests. I recommend this committee approve its ratification.

We also have before us five law enforcement treaties, three mutual legal assistance treaties with Algeria, Jordan, Kazakhstan, and two extradition treaties with Chile and the Dominican Republic. The MLATs provide a road map for law enforcement collaboration with other countries that reflects our values and aids in criminal investigations. The extradition treaties ensure that fugitives from justice are apprehended and tried appropriately while preserving our due process checks and balances.

These treaties are all consistent with longstanding U.S. practice regarding law enforcement cooperation with foreign governments. I urge the committee to approve these treaties, as they are, as they are an important step to strengthening our global law enforcement capabilities.

Next, we will consider the resolutions on the agenda. I will note that Senator Boxer—thank you for being here—has formally requested to hold over S. Con. Res. 41, expressing the sense of Congress on the Peshmerga of the Kurdistan Region of Iraq to the next business meeting.

The first resolution we will consider is S. Res. 432, supports respect for human rights, encourages inclusive governance in Ethiopia. I want to thank Senator Cardin for introducing this resolution, Senators Markey, Coons, Menendez, and Rubio for cosponsoring. This resolution serves to emphasize the opportunities and the expectations that we continue to hold important in our bilateral relationship with Ethiopia. Much remains to be done in Ethiopia to achieve inclusive governance and improved human rights performance.

We will also consider S. Res. 482, a resolution urging the EU to designate Hizbollah in its entirety as a terrorist organization and to increase pressure on the organization and its members to the fullest extent possible. I thank Senator Shaheen and other cosponsors on the committee for bringing this important resolution before us today. Europe has been the victim of a Hizbollah terror attack. Yet, only the military wing of Hizbollah has been designated as a terrorist organization by the EU. This resolution calls on the European Union to designate the entire group as a terrorist organization.

Next, we will consider S. Res. 506 in support of NATO and the NATO summit and committing NATO to a security posture capable of deterring threats to the Alliance. This resolution highlights the need for NATO to transition from simple reassurance to deterrence in the face of a resurgent Russia. And I want to thank Senator Cardin for working with me on this resolution.

We will also consider S. Res. 505 regarding compliance enforcement of the Russian violations of the Open Skies Treaty. I want to



thank Senator Cardin again for your help in developing this bipartisan measure. The United States should take measures as are necessary in response to Russia's violations of the treaty, including the imposition of restrictions upon Russian overflights of the United States.

Next, we will consider S. Res. 503, recognizing June 20, 2016 as World Refugee Day. The unprecedented number of refugees across the globe and particularly from Syria has led to unprecedented suffering and has strained our collective capacity to govern. I appreciate Senator Cardin working with us to bring a good balanced resolution forward to mark World Refugee Day.

We also have S. Res. 501, expressing the sense of Congress on Russian military aggression. I want to thank Senators Perdue, Johnson, Gardner, Menendez, Risch, and Shaheen for working together to bring attention to Russia's reckless aggressive military behavior.

We also have S. Con. Res. 38, a concurrent resolution reaffirming the Taiwan Relations Act and the Six Assurances as cornerstones of U.S.-Taiwan relations. I would like to thank Senators Rubio, Menendez, Perdue, and Gardner for introducing this important and timely bipartisan resolution. Taiwan is a good friend and partner of the United States, and it is critical that our U.S. Congress continues to demonstrate support for the Taiwan people and our shared democratic values.

The last resolution considered today will be S. Res. 504, recognizing the anniversary of the Fulbright Program. This program not only promotes U.S. higher education abroad, but also remains a diplomatic tool. I thank Senators Boozman and Leahy for introducing this legislation.

Today we will also consider S. Res. 1605, the M-CORE Act. I want to commend Senators Cardin, Isakson, Coons, and Flake for bringing this bipartisan legislation to the committee. It is an important step for the Millennium Challenge Corporation. It is something that I know we have been trying to reform for some time. M-CORE will ensure that the agency takes a coordinated and thoughtful approach in implementing regional compacts. Additionally, this legislation establishes necessary reforms that will safeguard democratic values and foster good governance overseas.

Lastly—I am sure you are glad to hear that word.

[Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. I am glad to hear it.

We will consider S. 2201, Global Gateways Trade Capacity Act of 2015. Current U.S. trade capacity building assistance is unfocused. It is really unbelievable how is spread through so many different departments and it is inefficient and it lacks a comprehensive strategy. This legislation is designed to bring a focused and coordinated effort to trade capacity assistance for developing countries. It also will provide resources to help developing countries implement the World Trade Organization Trade Facilitation Agreement, TFA. I thank the ranking member for his role in this effort. I urge my colleagues to support a bill that I believe reflects how we should be using existing foreign assistance dollars to advance U.S. economic interests.

Let me just say this on this one. If you look at much of our foreign aid today, it is built around a Cold War mentality where what we are trying to do is buy influence—buy influence—in countries. We have got to move to something that generates economic growth. Almost every single issue we work on around here relative to other countries is hoping that they are going to generate the economic growth that will improve the standard of living in their countries and cause them to be less receptive to ISIS and other entities that take advantage of people that are not moving along. And I hope that we can move our foreign aid in a direction that promotes economic growth. I look at this as a step in that direction.

With that, I would like to recognize our distinguished ranking member, Senator Cardin.

**STATEMENT OF HON. BENJAMIN L. CARDIN,  
U.S. SENATOR FROM MARYLAND**

Senator CARDIN. Well, Mr. Chairman, thank you for that very lengthy introduction—

The CHAIRMAN. I apologize for that.

Senator CARDIN. No, no, no. Because it means we have a very full agenda. And I thank you very much for the accommodations not only for me but for many members of this committee and the United States Senate, in working to get legislation ready for approval by this committee, as well as the resolutions and the treaties. In addition, of course, we have the nominations and the Foreign Service lists. So I thank you very much for accommodating this lengthy agenda today, and I hope we can move through it rather quickly.

I just really want to emphasize the last issue you talked about, the Global Gateways bill that through your leadership, we have before us today. I could not agree with you more. We invest a lot of U.S. taxpayer dollars and efforts on world security and stability. And we spend a lot of money on foreign assistance. And what your legislation will do is assist us in helping countries develop transparent, predictable, and simplified trade procedures so that we can get growing economies and economies that can provide stability for the people of the region. So I thank you for your legislation on Global Gateways, and I was proud to work with you on that legislation.

Thank you for also accommodating the Millennium Compact for Regional Economic Integration. I do thank my colleagues, Senator Flake and Senator Isakson and Senator Coons, for their help in developing this. It is a very simple bill that says to the Millennium Compact that we can use regional in addition to country. This gives us greater flexibility in dealing with issues such as in Africa where we have energy issues. In Central America, we have economic challenges where we can use the larger region in order to be able to achieve even greater results in the individual countries.

Mr. Chairman, you mentioned the different resolutions that we are considering. I am going to be very, very brief.

Thank you for bringing up the Ethiopia resolution. I thank Senator Rubio and Senator Gardner for their help, as well as Senators Markey, Coons, and Menendez. Since 2005, the Ethiopian Government has been using tactics to stifle free speech and debate, includ-

ing using anti-terrorism efforts in the name of anti-terrorism to block free expression. And we know of specific cases, such as the Zone 9 bloggers, and there are many other examples that have been used in Ethiopia. And this resolution speaks, I think, clearly to that issue.

Thank you on the World Refugee Day resolution. It is widely supported in our caucus and I think it is bipartisan. I want to thank Senator Rubio. I want to thank Coons, Kaine, Markey, Menendez, and Murphy. There are 65 million displaced people globally, and this resolution states our responsibilities in regards to that humanitarian crisis.

The NATO resolution—I am glad to work with you on that. The summit is coming up soon, and we are going to have a hearing in a few minutes that will emphasize the need for us to be able to use NATO effectively to deal with the challenges presented by Russia, as well as the challenges presented by the increased terrorist threat in Europe and in our region.

Russia military aggression resolution—I want to thank Senator Perdue. I strongly support his resolution. I think it speaks to the major challenges we are having with Russia today.

Taiwan—Glad we had that resolution. The concerns in that region are very, very challenging and the resolution restates our firm commitment to Taiwan.

The Open Skies resolution—An area that you helped take the lead on. I want to thank Senator Cotton for his efforts in that regard, and we have come together with a very strong resolution speaking to what we believe needs to be our policies in regards to Russia and the Open Skies Treaty.

And also thank you for Senator Boozman's Fulbright resolution, it is also important.

The treaties are all important. You mentioned the Plant Genetic Resources. That helps developing countries. It helps develop new crop outcomes.

Another treaty you mentioned is the Convention on the securities held with an intermediary. What that treaty does is take basically the Uniform Commercial Code that U.S. states are bound by and uses that to make sure that we can have a little bit more uniformity on the securities held globally.

Extradition treaties are important.

And the Mutual Legal Assistance in criminal matters treaties are important. Five countries overall are involved in those law enforcement treaties.

And also, we have nominations and foreign service lists. We have a busy agenda.

Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

There is going to be a lot of time for people to comment on individual pieces. So if people could maybe wait until that time, I think Senator Boxer may want to speak, though, to the Kurdistan issue.

Senator BOXER. I do and thank you so much.

First, I want to congratulate both of you on what is a really full and important agenda.

I am so disappointed, though, that my chairman and my ranking member were going to change—had a substitute amendment that

would have undermined the Ernst-Boxer resolution to give arms directly to the Kurds.

Now, I want to point out that we have been trying to do this for a while, for a long while. And in NDAA, we got 54 votes for an authorization to directly arm—54 votes. We needed 60. But a majority of the United States Senate wants this done. And I am sad to say I do not believe we have a majority of this committee and we do not have the administration. And I think in all due respect, it is a huge mistake.

The Kurds have been our most effective partner on the ground. I do not think there is any disagreement with that. They took back Mount Sinjar from ISIS, rescuing tens of thousands of Yazidis, cutting off the main supply lines between ISIS' strongholds of Raqqa in Syria and Mosul in Iraq. They played a crucial role in retaking the Mosul dam, and they will be absolutely critical in the fight to retake the City of Mosul.

The Kurdish regional government has also provided refuge to over 1 million refugees from Iraq and Syria.

Beyond these headlines, Kurdish forces are fighting on the front lines facing ISIS every single day. Everybody around here goes to the floor and rightly so condemning these monsters. So the people who are out there are getting, I think, the back of the hand here in many ways.

Kurdish leaders have expressed concern that their forces are overstretched and they lack the necessary equipment to combat ISIS' forces in Iraq. This includes medium and heavy weaponry that they need to defend themselves particularly against vehicle-mounted improvised explosive devices used by ISIS.

In April, their Deputy Prime Minister Talibani said, quote, unless we get direct support, we will not be able to continue the way we are currently in the fight against ISIS. He said that the KRG is facing drastic and unprecedented fiscal and economic challenges which, if unresolved, will, quote, undoubtedly impact the ability of our forces to keep on the front line.

It is clear they are in desperate need of financial assistance. And I was pleased that the U.S. has pledged \$415 million in April, and we must make it a priority to ensure that the KRG quickly receives these funds and future assistance.

The Deputy Prime Minister's statements underscore why Senator Ernst and I introduced a bill last year to provide the President with the temporary emergency authority to provide weapons, equipment, and training directly to Kurdish military forces for their fight against ISIS.

So we are not considering this bill today because of the substitute amendment that was going to be offered that would call for the explicit approval of the Iraqi Government. You know, if anyone has been there and discussed the Kurds with either the Sunni or the Shia, as I did, the attitude toward the Kurds is horrific. And I am telling you this is a big historic mistake, and I am criticizing Democrats and some Republicans here—some Democrats and some Republicans. It is a bipartisan disagreement that I have and with the administration.

So I think we need to make a commitment to the Kurds in their fight against ISIS who is raping and torturing and killing innocent

civilians, who has forced thousands of women and girls into sexual slavery, who have sent children out on the battlefield as suicide bombers, who have committed genocide against the groups in areas under its control.

The Kurds are fearless. They need our help. And to set up a circumstance where they need to get approval from some people who are so prejudice against them that it sends chills up and down my spine, I just am really sorry about it.

So I am hoping to work with my colleagues to see if in the week ahead—you know, we pulled it off today, and Senator Ernst and I are in full agreement that this should not have happened, that we should have supported this. But I am so happy to work with you because maybe I am misreading where you are coming from, but I hope there is a way that we do not have to get the approval of the Iraqi Government to—where we have lost so many people for them. Now we need their approval to help our best allies in the area who are going after ISIS? I am sorry to go on so long. I will stop, but I hope we can work something out, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I thank you for your passion.

And I too am very close to the Kurdish people and spent a lot of time with President Barzani and his foreign minister and have been to Irbil many times. And just for what it is worth, we worked with them on this resolution. They support the resolution.

And I just want you to know, I know that they are moving towards greater independence.

I just met with them within the last 10 days. I think Senator Cardin did too. And they support what we are doing. They want the United States Senate to fully endorse this resolution because they believe it puts them in the right place. So, look, we have gone through how the weaponry is getting to the Kurdish people. There is language in here that points to that. We are giving them economic aid which again, by the way, is going through the Iraqi Government.

And by the way, this is being done because I think the Kurdish people understand that while they want greater independence—and they are great friends and they are supported by the United States—that to begin a separation process right now where they are dealing with ISIS on one hand and then will have the wrath of the rest of the people of Iraq on the other is not the right place for them to be there.

So I just want you to know again Joni Ernst, who worked with you on the floor, fully supports our resolution today. Fully supports our resolution today. The Kurdish government fully supports our resolution today. And I am disappointed that we are going to have to wait a little while to do it again. I think we may have the same result.

But I thank you for your passion. I really do and want you to know that we would not be doing this in a vacuum. We would be doing it as we have before, working really, really closely with the Kurdish people. And I thank you for your passion.

Senator CARDIN. If I could just have a word first, Senator Boxer, and then certainly we want to hear your comments.

First, I join the chairman in expressing our appreciation for your commitment to the Kurdish people, your commitment to security in

that region, and to the protection of all communities in Iraq. And I understand the conversations you had in April.

Senator Corker and I had conversations just a couple weeks ago with leaders of the Kurdish community. Their number one concern today is whether they can make payroll, their economic circumstances. That is their number one concern. Another concern is that we strengthen the Iraqi central government at this particular moment.

Chairman Corker is correct. The long-term issues on either the ability of the Kurdish population to self-determine their future and what state that will be, is it a full independence, is it a part of Iraq—that is an issue that is going to be debated and is not resolved.

But the immediate concern for Iraq is to have a government that can protect all of the ethnic communities and can work effectively, including in the Kurdish areas. So, yes, we very much want to make sure that the Kurds who have been our most reliable fighters in the region—you are absolutely right about that—have the equipment that they need in order to defend themselves in order to help us in our fight against ISIL. We do want to make sure they have that. And there have been problems, and we have worked out some of those problems.

But you do not undermine the central government in an effort to resolve that issue. You work with the parties, and that is exactly what we have done, worked with the Kurdish leaders in an effort to make sure that they have a true ally in the United States and that this resolution that we worked out was done with that in mind. It is more involved than just arming the Kurds.

Senator BOXER. If I could respond. I stand on every single thing I said. I double down. I know about what people say. I know when people are desperate, what they want. I have been around here a long time to understand it. But I am just saying to you we know the situation. And you are absolutely right. They need the financial aid, and that is absolutely critical. But they also need the military help or they will not be able to sustain against ISIS. And if that is one of our greatest priorities, the way should be clear.

Now, I want you to know that I have been in very close touch with Senator Ernst. She gets the whole situation as well, and what we are hoping is in this little time since we took this down, we will have a chance to perhaps improve it in a way that the signal is very, very clear because you know all politics is local. I do not have to tell you that. We all know that. And in Iraq, all you have to do is know the history. We all know it. We have been super involved. And the pain of that history comes back and the pain of that history is the incredible rivalries and problems and prejudices within Iraq.

So the bottom line is if this group is doing our work of going after ISIL, which is indeed what all of us have said we want—and I think we all want them to continue—and they are in desperate shape in terms of military equipment, it seems to me pretty clear.

And it does not have anything to do in my view—I disagree with my leaders here, which is rare, very rare. It has nothing to do with the idea that we want one Iraq. Of course, we want one Iraq. People died for that for God's sake, 4,000 soldiers.

The CHAIRMAN. I would just ask that we—

Senator BOXER. I will stop and you will not have to hear this anymore.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Senator BOXER. But the bottom line is when we stand up and make these speeches about going after ISIL and we see what happens with the lone wolves and the rest of it, we ought to be a little more direct about our feelings towards the Kurds. And I would rest my case on that. I lost it, but will come back and hope that we can renegotiate something.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me just reiterate. The Kurdish government fully supports our resolution. President Barzani has told me he is getting every piece of equipment we have committed to him. I think there are some myths out there relative to what is actually happening in the transfers from Baghdad.

But with that, let me move on.

The first order of business today will be four Foreign Service lists. Senator Cardin, do you have any comments you want to make on these lists?

Senator CARDIN. No. Thank you for bringing them forward. I move we approve them.

The CHAIRMAN. Would anyone like to speak to these lists?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. If there is no further discussion on these lists, I would entertain a motion to approve these lists en bloc by voice vote.

Senator CARDIN. So moved.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there a second?

Senator BOXER. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. So moved and seconded.

The question is on the motion to approve four Foreign Service lists en bloc. All those in favor, say aye.

[Chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. All opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. The ayes have it.

With that, the appointments and promotions are agreed to.

Next, in the interest of time, I would ask the committee to proceed with an en bloc voice vote in consideration of the following nominees before the committee: the Honorable Geeta Pasi, to be Ambassador to Chad; the Honorable Mary Beth Leonard, to be Representative of the U.S. in the African Union with rank of Ambassador; and Ms. Anne Casper to be Ambassador to Burundi. I thank all these nominees for being willing to settle into these positions.

Senator Cardin, do you have any comments on these nominees?

Senator CARDIN. I move the nominations.

Senator BOXER. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any member who wishes to speak to these nominees?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. If there is no further discussion on the nominations, I would entertain a motion to approve them by voice vote en bloc.

Senator CARDIN. So moved.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there a second?

Senator BOXER. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. So moved and seconded.

The question is on the motion to approve the nominations. All those in favor, say aye.

[Chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. Opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. With that, the ayes have it. The nominations are agreed to.

Next, I would like to consider the seven treaties on the agenda. Senator Cardin, do you have any comments on any of these treaties?

Senator CARDIN. No. I support them all.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, sir.

Is there any member who wishes to speak to any of these treaties?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. If there is no further discussion on these, I would entertain a motion to approve them by voice vote en bloc.

Senator CARDIN. So moved.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there a second?

Senator BOXER. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. So moved and seconded.

The question is on the motion to approve the seven treaties. All those in favor, say aye.

[Chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. All opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. With that, the ayes have it. The treaties are agreed to.

Next, we will consider S. Res. 506, the NATO resolution. Senator Cardin, do you have any comments on this?

Senator CARDIN. No. I have already commented on it. I strongly support the resolution, and again thank you for your help and leadership in putting this together.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Anyone else like to speak?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. If there is no further discussion—

Senator SHAHEEN. Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, ma'am.

Senator SHAHEEN. I would like to be added as a cosponsor.

The CHAIRMAN. Absolutely. Thank you. Without objection.

If there is no further discussion on this resolution, I would entertain a motion to approve the Rubio amendment number 1 by voice vote.

Senator CARDIN. So moved.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there a second?

Senator BOXER. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. So moved and seconded.

The question is on the motion to approve the Rubio amendment 1 by voice vote. All those in favor, say aye.



[Chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. All opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. With that, the ayes have it and the amendment is agreed to.

Next, I would entertain a motion to approve the Corker-Cardin second degree amendment to the Rubio amendment number 2. Is there a second?

Senator CARDIN. So moved.

Senator BOXER. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. So moved and seconded.

The question is on the motion to approve the Corker-Cardin second degree amendment to the Rubio second degree by voice vote—Rubio amendment 2 by voice vote. All those in favor, say aye.

[Chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. All opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. With that, the ayes have it and the amendment is agreed to.

Next, I would entertain a motion to approve Rubio amendment number 2, amended by the Corker-Cardin second degree.

Senator CARDIN. So moved.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there a second?

Senator RUBIO. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. So moved and seconded.

The question is on the motion to approve Rubio number 2, as amended by Corker-Cardin second degree. All those in favor, say aye.

[Chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. Opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. With that the ayes have it, and the amendment is agreed to.

Are there any further amendments?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. Hearing none, is there a motion to approve this resolution, as amended?

Senator CARDIN. So moved.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there a second?

Senator RUBIO. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. Moved and seconded.

The question is on the motion to approve S. Res. 506, as amended. All in favor will say aye.

[Chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. Opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. With that, the ayes have it, and the resolution, as amended, is agreed to.

Next, we will consider S. Res. 505, the Russian violations of the Open Skies Treaty resolution. Senator Cardin, any comment?

Senator CARDIN. I have already commented about it. Thank you for your leadership on this.

The CHAIRMAN. If it is okay, I just want to speak to this. I am going to go through a procedure, if I could, to put Senator Cotton

at the top of this since he really raised this issue. I know he is on it already.

Senator CARDIN. I have no objections. Senator Cotton was the one who worked with us and urged us to do this.

The CHAIRMAN. I just think it is an appropriate way for us to go about it.

Are there any members who wish to speak to this resolution?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. Thankfully.

[Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. If there is no further discussion on this resolution, I would entertain a motion to approve this by voice vote.

Senator CARDIN. So moved.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there a second?

Senator COONS. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. So moved and seconded.

The question is on the motion to approve S. Res. 505. All those in favor, say aye.

[Chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. Opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. With that, the ayes have it and the resolution is agreed to.

Our next order of business that I also ask we consider en bloc by voice vote are the remaining resolutions before the committee: S. Res. 432, S. Res. 482, S. Res. 503, S. Res. 501, S. Con. Res. 38, S. Res. 504.

Senator Cardin, do you have any comments?

Senator CARDIN. No. I support them all.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any members that wish to speak to these resolutions? Senator Menendez?

Senator MENENDEZ. Mr. Chairman, you all did such a great job of going through them all. I just want to briefly synthesize on two.

On the Russian S. 501, I think it is very important that the Senate express its sentiment about where Russian aggression is going because in my mind unchecked Russian aggression without consequences at the end of the day by both diplomacy, sanctions, and other diplomatic tools is a concern. They went over and took over Crimea, and the world lamented and scolded but that was the end of that. Then they did eastern Ukraine, creating an effort to create another frozen conflict. They are still not pursuing their elements of the Minsk Agreement. Then they enter into Syria and change the dynamics of Syria to prop up the Assad regime. Then they constantly seek to create friction with our own forces by their flyovers and whatnot.

I just think it goes on and on and on. I will not belabor it except to say that Putin is someone who only understands strength at the end of the day, and unless he has a sense that there will be consequences for his actions, he will continue to take them.

So I am glad that we have come together on a resolution at least that speaks towards that, and I appreciate the leadership of both you and Senator Cardin on it.

And secondly, on the Taiwan Relations Act, which has had enormous support, there could not be a more important moment at this

time with the efforts of China to create such an overwhelming presence in the region and to try to dwarf all of the other countries in the region in a way that is intimidating than to reassert our support and relationship with Taiwan so that China also understands that there are consequences as well.

There are other resolutions that are important, but in the interest of time and your hearing, I will reserve that for the record. But I did think these two are important and thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. I do think we have some very strong resolutions here, and I think they make more of a difference than I fully realized when I first came on the committee.

Any other comments?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. If there is no further discussion on these resolutions, I would entertain a motion to approve these en bloc by voice vote.

Senator CARDIN. So moved.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there a second?

Senator UDALL. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. So moved and seconded.

The question is on the motion to approve six resolutions en bloc. All those in favor, say aye.

[Chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. All opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. With that, the ayes have it and the resolutions are agreed to.

Next, we will consider S. 2201, Global Gateways Trade Capacity Act of 2015. Senator Cardin, do you have any comments?

Senator CARDIN. I support it and thank you for your leadership on it.

The CHAIRMAN. Would anyone else like to speak to this legislation? Senator Coons?

Senator COONS. I will just talk for one sentence of thanks and compliment both you and Senator Cardin for your great leadership on both of these bills, which make a real contribution to development in Africa. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. Thank you so much.

Senator BARRASSO. Mr. Chairman, I would like to call up Barrasso amendment number 1 to the Global Gateways bill. The purpose of the amendment is straightforward if this is the appropriate time to do that.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator BARRASSO. Thank you.

This amendment strikes section 7 of the bill which does create a brand new \$300 million trade facilitation pilot program. With over 95 percent of the world's consumers living outside the U.S., we should be aggressively pursuing new trade opportunities wherever they arise, and we must work to identify and eliminate barriers to trade whenever possible.

To that end, this bill points out some very important facts. According to the U.S. Trade Representative, the United States is one of the largest single country providers of trade-related assistance. There is no single coordinating agency for trade capacity building

activities in our government. And according to the GAO, in 2012, we spent nearly \$1 billion in trade capacity building efforts in 120 countries which were implemented by 20 different agencies and departments.

I believe we can do better. So while I recognize we may have international obligations, we also have an obligation to the American taxpayer to make wise decisions in the face of over \$19 trillion in debt facing the country. So I do not believe that putting an additional \$300 million towards trade facilitation on the taxpayers' credit card is a wise decision. Until we properly prioritize and coordinate current spending, we should not be discussing new spending.

So I support many of the stated objectives of the legislation. I support the smart, streamlined, the whole-of-government approach to trade capacity assistance, but I just cannot support creating a pilot program spending \$300 million on top of the nearly billion we are already spending in trade-related assistance. So as I see it, pilot programs are a first step toward permanent spending. It is a step I am not willing to take at this time.

So I would urge my colleagues to support the amendment, and I ask for a roll call vote.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you so much.

If I could just respond. As you mentioned, we are spending \$1 billion at least on trade programs throughout the U.S. Government. They are uncoordinated, unfocused, and the purpose of this pilot program is to do away with that, is to consolidate, is to create something that actually works. There are \$300 million, by the way, being authorized—not spent, authorized—over the next 5 years.

And if we actually had a State Department authorization bill, which we do not have, unfortunately, we would be more than willing to offset against that State Department authorization. But as the Senator rightly knows, because there is not an authorization that exists right now—we have not done one since 2002—there is nothing to offset against. So this is actually going to save taxpayers over time.

It is not unlike, by the way, on the Veterans bill, if you remember, there was a clause to create a Choice program. It was a pilot program to really transform the way that veterans' benefits are delivered to people around the country so that people could actually seek services in other places. Well, this pilot program has much of that same mentality, and that is to make what we are doing far better.

I appreciate the Senator's concerns about fiscal issues. Actually that is why we created this was to save our government money over time, to do away with the Cold War model of foreign aid that we have right now that does nothing but buy influence, and to try to create a program that actually encourages—creates a possibility that these countries' standard of living is going to increase.

So I understand, based on just the number, why you might raise this issue. I strongly oppose this amendment and hope that we will vote it down.

Senator CARDIN. Mr. Chairman, if I might just very briefly. I know Senator Barrasso's intentions in filing this amendment, but

I strongly agree with the chairman and urge our colleagues to reject the amendment.

Whether you believe that we have to do more in this area in foreign policy or whether you think that we need to be much smarter in how we spend our foreign dollars, you should reject the Barrasso amendment. I will tell you why.

We are not going to grow the size of our budgets. We know that. We have got to get more effective with the resources we are currently using. And we have too much fragmentation of programs, and we have to be able to use these programs more effectively to accomplish our missions.

And that is exactly what this bill attempts to do, to take our current presence in this area and focus it in a more effective way so that we can get the results in the country that are in the best interests of U.S. foreign policy. And that is what this bill is intended to do, and I would just urge my colleagues to reject the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Any other comments?

I will say this. The committee to me has got about as good a membership as anyone would want. And I appreciate Senator Barrasso raising this. We have a difference of opinion. I appreciate the passion that Senator Boxer expressed earlier today. And I am going to miss her after January.

Senator BOXER. I will call you.

The CHAIRMAN. Call me. Good.

[Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. And I am glad we can have a debate like this and have passion and people disagree or agree.

But after saying that, if we could, let us move on with this. So you are moving the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there a second?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. I will second it so you can have a vote.

Senator BARRASSO. Appreciate it.

The CHAIRMAN. Even though I hate the amendment, I second it.

[Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. I want everybody to be heard today.

So with that, did you want a roll call vote?

Senator BARRASSO. I will settle for a voice vote.

The CHAIRMAN. With that, all in favor of the Barrasso amendment say aye.

[Chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. All opposed to it?

[Chorus of nays.]

The CHAIRMAN. The nays have it. Thank you for bringing this issue forth.

Would anyone else want to be recorded as a no?

Senator CARDIN. Aye on the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Aye. Excuse me.

Okay. Senator Rubio and Senator Barrasso.

Thank you very much.

If there is no further discussion, I would entertain a motion to consider the Corker substitute amendment by voice vote.

Senator CARDIN. So moved.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there a second?

Senator BOXER. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. So moved and seconded.

The question is on the motion to approve the Corker substitute amendment. All those in favor, say aye.

[Chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. Opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. With that, the ayes have it, and the amendment is agreed to.

Any further amendments?

Senator BARRASSO. Can I be recorded as no?

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Barrasso will be recorded as a no. Anyone else?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. If there is not, is there a motion to approve the legislation, as amended?

Senator CARDIN. So moved.

The CHAIRMAN. Second?

Senator BOXER. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. So moved and seconded.

The question is on the motion to approve S. 2201, as amended. All in favor, say aye.

[Chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. Opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. With that, the ayes have it, and the legislation, as amended, is agreed to.

Lastly, we will move to S. 1605, M-CORE Act. Senator Cardin, do you have any comments you want to make?

Senator CARDIN. I have already commented about it. I urge my colleagues to support the legislation.

The CHAIRMAN. Would anyone else like to speak to this legislation?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. If there is no further discussion, I would entertain a motion to consider the Corker amendment by voice vote.

Senator CARDIN. So moved.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there a second?

Senator BOXER. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. So moved and seconded.

The question is on the motion to approve the Corker amendment substitute. All those in favor, say aye.

[Chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. Opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. With that, the ayes have it, and the amendment is agreed to.

Are there further amendments?

Senator CARDIN. Mr. Chairman, we have an amendment that changes the reporting requirement, and I would move that amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Okay. There is a motion to move the Cardin substitute. Is there a motion?

Senator CARDIN. So moved.

Senator MENENDEZ. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. It has been moved and seconded. All in favor, say aye.

[Chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. All opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. With that, the ayes have it, and the amendment is agreed to.

Is there a motion to approve the legislation, as amended?

Senator CARDIN. So moved.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there a second?

Senator UDALL. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. So moved and seconded.

The question is on the motion to approve S. 1605, as amended. All in favor, say aye.

[Chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. Opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. With that, the ayes have it. The legislation, as amended, is agreed to.

That completes the committee's—

Senator BARRASSO. Mr. Chairman, can I be recorded as a no?

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Barrasso is recorded as no.

Anyone else?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. I ask unanimous consent that staff be authorized to make technical and conforming changes. Without objection, so ordered.

And without objection, this outstanding committee business meeting is coming to a close. We are adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 10:47 a.m., the meeting was adjourned.]





## **BUSINESS MEETING**

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**THURSDAY, JULY 14, 2016**

<https://www.foreign.senate.gov/hearings/business-meeting-071416>

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

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:05 a.m. in, Room SD-419, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Bob Corker, chairman of the committee, presiding.

Present: Senators Corker [presiding], Risch, Rubio, Flake, Perdue, Isakson, Barrasso, Cardin, Menendez, Shaheen, Coons, Udall, Murphy, and Markey.

### **OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. BOB CORKER, U.S. SENATOR FROM TENNESSEE**

The CHAIRMAN. I am going to go ahead and call the meeting to order. We will do our preliminary work, and by that time, I think we will have enough people here to go ahead and vote.

So the business meeting of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee will come to order. On the agenda for today, we have a number of pieces of legislation and eight nominations. First, we will consider a number of nominations, including several important new ambassadors and the U.S. executive director to the IMF.

First, we will consider S. Res. 515, a resolution welcoming Prime Minister Lee and reaffirming Singapore's strategic partnership with the United States. I would like to thank Senators Cardin and Gardner for reaffirming the importance of this strategic partnership between the United States and Singapore in this 50th year of diplomatic relations between our two countries.

Singapore is a valued partner in the Asia-Pacific, and I have appreciated the opportunity to meet with Prime Minister Lee on several occasions to discuss issues of mutual interest, including the South China Sea and TPP.

Next on the agenda is S. Con. Res. 41, expressing the sense of Congress on the Peshmerga, the Kurdistan region of Iraq. I want to thank Senator Boxer for working with Senator Ernst and us on this effort.

The Peshmerga has been an invaluable ally to the United States in a region fraught with enemies and has demonstrated itself to be one of the most effective fighting forces in the military campaign against ISIS. For that, we are incredibly grateful.

The severe budget shortfalls faced by both the Government of Iraq and the Kurdistan regional government are real, and they are

hindering the stability of Iraq and have the potential to limit our ability to fully defeat ISIS.

So, again, I thank her for her efforts in that regard, and the committee in working with her to make this happen.

We will also consider S. Con. Res. 42, expressing the sense of Congress regarding the safe and expeditious resettlement to Albania of all residents of Camp Liberty.

I want to thank Senator McCain for bringing S. Con. Res. 42 before the Senate and this committee. It is extremely important that we safely resettle the residents of Camp Liberty in Baghdad in a timely manner as we have seen attacks on the camp in 2013, 2015, and recently just this month. The recent rocket attack on Camp Liberty only emphasizes the need to ensure their expeditious resettlement to Albania.

We will also consider S. Con. Res. 46, expressing the support of the goal of ensuring that all Holocaust victims live with dignity in their remaining years.

The White House has recently added a special envoy for U.S. Holocaust survivor services under the Department of Health and Human Services to ensure that Holocaust victims living in the United States receive the care they need.

I would like to thank Senators Nelson, Cardin, Boxer, Rubio, and Markey for working with us on this.

Lastly, we will consider S. Res. 485, urging the Government of the DRC to comply with constitutional provisions regarding the holding of presidential elections in 2016. Progress toward free, fair, peaceful, and constitutional elections has been insufficient this late in the year. Government excesses have signaled the prospect for insecurity and instability, so much so that the U.S. has already sanctioned one Congolese official.

I support the passage of this resolution and would like to thank Senators Flake and Markey for working together to bring it to the committee.

With that, I would like to recognize our distinguished ranking member and my friend, Senator Cardin.

**STATEMENT OF HON. BENJAMIN L. CARDIN,  
U.S. SENATOR FROM MARYLAND**

Senator CARDIN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and thank you again for the way in which this business meeting has come together, continuing this committee's commitment under your leadership to move nominees in a very efficient, effective manner, with eight additional nominations being brought to our attention, all of which I support, and the resolutions, which I think are extremely important.

You went through all of those resolutions, so I will not go through them all again, other than to say I thank all of our colleagues for their work on this. There was I think the right amount of input. I know we had some concerns on some of the drafting, but it came together in a way that I think reflects the best traditions of this committee.

So whether it was the Singapore resolution, and I'm proud to work with Senator Gardner, the chair of the subcommittee, on that resolution, or whether it is how we deal with the Peshmerga in the

Kurdish region of Iraq with Senators Boxer and Ernst working together, and Senator McCain on the refugees.

The Holocaust, I want to thank Senator Nelson for his long-standing work on this working with Senator Collins.

Senator Murphy, for your work on Yemen, I appreciate very much all the work that you put into that. It is a very tense situation, and I think it expresses the views of all of us here, and thank you for that.

And on the DRC, the work done by several of our colleagues, Senators Flake, Coons, Isakson, and Durbin, I think reflects the best traditions.

So, Mr. Chairman, I note that we have quorum.

The CHAIRMAN. That is a good thing to have in a business meeting, so I would like to thank you for the comments.

In the interest of time, I would ask the committee to proceed with an en bloc vote in consideration of the following nominees before the committee: the Hon. Marie. Yovanovitch to be Ambassador to Ukraine, the Hon. Geoffrey Pyatt to be Ambassador to Greece, the Hon. Douglas Silliman to be Ambassador to Iraq, the Hon. Michael McKinley to be Ambassador to Brazil, Ms. Anne Hall to be Ambassador to Lithuania, Mr. Lawrence Silverman to be Ambassador to Kuwait, Ms. Carol Perez to be Ambassador to Chile, Mr. Mark Sobel to be United States executive director to the IMF.

I want to thank all these nominees for their willingness to serve and settle in these positions.

Senator Cardin, do you have any additional comments?

Senator CARDIN. I do not. I again thank you for bringing these to the committee's attention. I support all of them.

The CHAIRMAN. Does anyone else wish to speak to these nominees?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. With that, I would entertain a motion to pass them en bloc.

Senator CARDIN. So moved.

The CHAIRMAN. A second?

Senator SHAHEEN. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. So moved and seconded.

The question is on the motion to approve the nominations.

All in favor, say aye.

[A chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. All opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. With that, the ayes have it.

Senator BARRASSO. Mr. Chairman, could I please be recorded as a no on Mark Sobel?

The CHAIRMAN. Absolutely.

Senator PERDUE. As I.

The CHAIRMAN. Absolutely.

Senator RUBIO. Mr. Chairman, I wanted to be recorded as a no as well.

The CHAIRMAN. And Senator Rubio is a no on Sobel, is that correct?

Any other?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. Next, we will consider S. Con. Res. 41, the Peshmerga resolution.

Senator Cardin, do you have any additional comments?

Senator CARDIN. No, I do not. I support the resolution. I know there is an amendment, so I do support the bill and the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Okay.

Anyone else wish to speak to this resolution?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. With no further discussion on this resolution, I would entertain a motion to approve the Rubio second degree amendment to the Corker-Boxer amendment by voice vote.

Senator CARDIN. So moved.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there a second?

Senator SHAHEEN. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. So moved and seconded.

The question is on the motion to approve the Rubio second degree to the Corker-Boxer amendment by voice vote.

All those in favor, say aye.

[A chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. Opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. With that, the ayes have it. The amendment is agreed to.

Next, I would entertain a motion to approve the Corker-Boxer amendment, as amended by the second Rubio second degree, by voice vote.

Senator CARDIN. So moved.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there a second?

Senator SHAHEEN. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. So moved and seconded.

The question is on the motion to approve the Corker-Boxer amendment, as amended.

All those in favor, say aye.

[A chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. Opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. With that, the ayes have it, and the amendment is agreed to.

Are there any further amendments?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. Hearing none, is there a motion to approve the resolution as amended?

Senator CARDIN. So moved.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there a second?

Senator SHAHEEN. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. So moved and seconded.

The question is on the motion to approve S. Con. Res. 41 as amended.

All those in favor, say aye.

[A chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. Opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. With that, the ayes have it. The resolution, as amended, is agreed to.

Next we will consider S. Res. 485, the DRC resolution.

Senator Cardin, any comments?

Senator CARDIN. I support the resolution. I know there are some amendments, and I would urge approval of the amendments and the resolution.

The CHAIRMAN. Any other members wish to speak to the resolution?

Senator Flake?

Senator FLAKE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I want to thank the committee for considering this resolution. I also want to thank Senator Markey for his work on this issue. Senator Coons and others have great interest here.

We are proposing three amendments on behalf of myself and Senator Markey to this measure to address the current state of the transition in power in the DRC. Senators Rubio, Isakson, Coons, Durbin, Murphy, and Sheehan are also cosponsoring these amendments.

According to the DRC's 2006 Constitution, the term of the current President, Mr. Kabila, expires at the end of this year, but he has taken no moves to show that he is willing to comply with the Constitution.

DRC security and intelligence officials have arrested and harassed and detained peaceful activists, and members of civil society, and we need to speak out here.

I am probably the last person to ever reach for sanctions, but we do want to authorize and encourage the State Department to use any diplomatic tool available, including sanctions on individuals, to encourage the Government there to move toward these elections.

I appreciate, again, Senator Markey and others who worked on this, and I appreciate the consideration today.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. Thanks for your work on this issue.

Anyone else wish to speak?

Senator Markey?

Senator MARKEY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Chairman, I want to thank you and thank Ranking Member Cardin, and most especially Senator Flake, our chairman on the Subcommittee on Africa and Global Health Policy, Senator Coons and other members who have shown an interest in this very important issue.

This resolution in support of the democratic electoral process in the Democratic Republic of the Congo makes a very important statement at a very critical time. Through 2015 and into 2016, we on this committee watched closely as government leaders in central Africa have increasingly appeared to back away from the promises of their democratic constitutions.

As we entered 2016, it appeared apparent that the Government of the Democratic Republic of Congo was doing little to prepare for the presidential election required to be held this November under the DRC's Constitution, and I became increasingly worried that the country was headed toward a constitutional crisis that carried with it a real risk of seriously destabilizing an already fragile country.

In February, I wrote to Secretary Kerry expressing concerns about delays in the DRC's electoral process and asking him to consider sanctions as a tool to press Congo's leadership to keep the promises of the country's Constitution.

This situation is not unique to the DRC. A similar crisis unfolded in neighboring Burundi last summer, but the international community was largely caught by surprise and acted too late to help Burundi avoid the crisis. That crisis has cost the lives of hundreds and displaced thousands.

The DRC is much larger, and what happens there will send much wider waves rippling in concentric circles across the region. If the DRC reneges on the promise of its democratic Constitution, there is every reason to believe that those waves will push forward tension, instability, and violence in the region.

But if the DRC's leader's keep faith with the people and fulfill the promise of the Constitution, those waves have the potential to carry the blessings of a better, more stable, more dignified and prosperous life for all of the people of the Congo and the wider region.

It is my strong believe that the surest way for the DRC to avoid crisis is for the government to demonstrate its commitment to the DRC Constitution by holding free and fair elections, and preparing for the transfer of power from the incumbent to a new leader.

Together with the administration's recent imposition of sanctions on Celestin Kanyama, the police commissioner of Kinshasa, for violence against civilians during a crackdown on democratic protests, this resolution sends a critical message of support to help the people of DRC.

It is important that the international community press leaders from across the DRC's political spectrum to keep the promises of the Constitution.

Our resolution calls on the government to respect the Constitution and to take concrete steps to organize the elections. We also call on the government and all other relevant parties to engage in a focused, urgent discussion on the nature of those elections.

Lastly, the resolution calls on the President of the United States to use appropriate means to help make sure these things take place and to consider additional targeted sanctions against anyone—government, opposition, or otherwise—found to be undermining the democratic process of the DRC.

I would like to share a story with you from my trip to New York this past weekend. The original cast of the Broadway play *Hamilton* staged their final performance on Saturday night. My wife and I went there for our wedding anniversary.

In the days since I have seen the play on Saturday, I have been thinking about how some of the same questions that faced our early leaders now face African countries working to fulfill the promises of their democratic constitutions.

There is a moment near the end of the play, an essential moment, both for the play and for our history as a country, in which George Washington confides in Alexander Hamilton that he intends to step aside at the end of his second term after 8 years in office. Hamilton, who was 40 at the time and had been working for Washington as his right-hand man since he was 22 years old, was

distraught that the only leader our young country had ever known intended to step aside. He tried to convince Washington to change his mind, to continue to run for yet another term.

I was incredibly moved by how the performers captured this fundamental moment in American history. Against Hamilton's protests, Washington responded that by stepping aside, he was teaching the American people that democracy is not about personalities, and, just as importantly, he was teaching the presidents to follow him in learning how to say goodbye.

After doing his part to fulfill America's democratic Constitution, his final official act was to demonstrate that democracy does not depend on him or any other individual politician. He needed to show the American people that they must commit to democratic institutions over political personalities.

Last summer, I had the great pleasure of joining with Senator Flake and Senator Coons to accompany President Obama on his historic trip to Kenya and Ethiopia. On that trip, we attended a large public event at the African Union in Addis Ababa. Throughout the front of that massive auditorium sat many of Africa's heads of state, and the rest of the hall was filled with mostly young people from throughout all of Africa. The place was packed all the way up to the rafters.

President Obama delivered a speech about the responsibility that leaders have to build and to respect democracy in Africa. He reinforced a message he had delivered on his first trip to the continent as President years earlier, that Africa does not need strong men; it needs strong institutions.

As the President spoke, he looked at those leaders and told them that as much as he would like to continue in office as President of the United States, the Constitution of the United States, like many of the constitutions in Africa and around the world, limited him to two terms. He explained that even the President must respect the rules of the game because governance is fundamentally about trust, promises made and promises kept between elected leaders and the people who elected them. Changing or ignoring those rules risks breaking that trust and sending a society toward turmoil and instability.

Of all the great things Washington did for this country, perhaps the greatest was his decision to say goodbye. I find it very difficult to imagine that America would be what it is today if he had not made that decision.

What the DRC needs, and what I believe the Congolese people are demanding, is its leaders understand that they are not indispensable. Leaders who understand that they are merely players in a much larger and more important epic to build a Nation that lives up to the expectations of its people is what their story and our story is all about.

The United States has no interest and no say in which leaders the Congolese people choose, but we do care very deeply that the Congolese people have the opportunity to find their way through this democratic process promised in their Constitution.

So I thank you again, Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member Cardin, and, especially, Chairman Flake for making this resolution pos-

sible. I am very hopeful that it can move forward to the floor and pass the full Senate before we adjourn for the recess.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. We thank you.

And members do have the ability, if they so choose, to have written comments entered into the record, but we thank you for those.

Are there any further comments?

Yes?

Senator COONS. I will just briefly thank Senator Flake and Senator Markey for working hard to bring this important resolution forward today.

DRC is as large as all of Western Europe combined and has known more violence than almost any country on the continent. I think this is a great contribution.

Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Any other comments?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. If not, if someone would make a motion that we approve this, I would appreciate it.

Senator CARDIN. We have some amendments, I think. Do we have the amendments?

The CHAIRMAN. Okay.

We would entertain a motion to approve all three Flake-Markey amendments en bloc by voice vote.

Senator CARDIN. So moved.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there a second?

Senator FLAKE. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. So moved and seconded.

The question is on the motion to approve all three Flake-Markey amendments en bloc by voice vote.

All in favor, say aye.

[A chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. All opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. With that, the ayes have it, and the amendments are agreed to.

Are there any further amendments?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. Hearing none, is there a motion to approve the resolution as amended?

Senator CARDIN. So moved.

The CHAIRMAN. So moved.

And second?

Senator FLAKE. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. So moved and seconded.

The question is on the motion to approve S. Res. 485, as amended.

All in favor, say aye.

[A chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. Opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. With that, the ayes have it, and the resolution, as amended, is agreed to.



Our next order of business that I would also like to consider en bloc by voice vote are the amazing resolutions before the committee: S. Res. 515; S. Con. Res. 42; S. Con. Res. 46; S. Res. 524, the Yemen resolution.

Senator Cardin, any comments?

Senator CARDIN. I support them all.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Shaheen?

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I would like to be added as a cosponsor of S. Con. Res. 42, and I appreciate that we are taking this action at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection.

Senator Menendez?

Senator MENENDEZ. Mr. Chairman, briefly, I appreciate that we are moving the resolution calling on the Government of Iraq, the United Nations, and the United States Government to commit to expediting a workable resettlement process for the people of Camp Liberty.

And we were reminded of the danger they face just this past Fourth of July when attacks were once again upon Camp Liberty as a reality of everyday life there.

It is the United States, when we invaded Iraq, that went to the MEK and said we want you to give up your weapons and in return we guarantee you your security. We guarantee you your security.

Well, they did that and much more. They gave us information about Iran's nuclear program. They have continued to do so. And yet, we have not, from my perspective, done what is necessary to secure the guarantee that we gave them.

I hope this resolution moves forward so they can be resettled safely outside of Iraq and continue to enjoy the freedoms of liberty.

The CHAIRMAN. Any other members?

Senator Murphy?

Senator MURPHY. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I want to thank you and Ranking Member Cardin for working with me on the resolution setting forth some basic guardrails on our priorities and concerns about the ongoing conflict in Yemen.

Clearly, this should be at the top of our priority list as a committee, given the fact that the United States is supporting, in a fairly major way, the coalition activities there. It is the latest front in the proxy war between the Saudis and the Iranians. It has led to close to 6,000 civilian deaths. It has proffered dramatic growth of AQAP and the entrance of ISIS into that conflict.

I think we have built a very fair-minded and balanced resolution that calls on both sides to reduce civilian casualties, to allow for humanitarian aid to flow into Yemen, and to support a peace-driven diplomatic process that is ongoing as we speak.

So I thank both of you for taking your time to put forward what I think is a very constructive resolution.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Any other comments?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. If there is no further discussion on these resolutions, I would entertain a motion to approve all of these en bloc by voice vote.

Senator CARDIN. So moved.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there a second?

Senator RISCH. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. So moved and seconded. The question is on the motion to approve these resolutions en bloc.

All those in favor, say aye.

[A chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. All opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. With that, the ayes have it. The resolutions are agreed to.

That completes our committee's business.

I ask unanimous consent that staff be authorized to make technical and conforming changes.

Without objection, so ordered.

With that, without objection, the committee business meeting will stand adjourned.

Senator RISCH. Mr. Chairman, before you adjourn, can I be recorded as no on Sobel, please?

The CHAIRMAN. Please record Senator Risch as a no on Sobel.

Anyone else?

The meeting is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 10:28 a.m., the meeting was adjourned.]

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## BUSINESS MEETING

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**TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 27, 2016**

<https://www.foreign.senate.gov/hearings/business-meeting-092216>

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

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 2:30 p.m. in Room S-116, The Capitol, Hon. Bob Corker, chairman of the committee, presiding.

Present: Senators Corker [presiding], Risch, Rubio, Johnson, Flake, Gardner, Perdue, Isakson, Barrasso, Cardin, Menendez, Shaheen, Coons, Udall, Murphy, Kaine, and Markey.

### **OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. BOB CORKER, U.S. SENATOR FROM TENNESSEE**

The CHAIRMAN. This business meeting of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee will come to order. Today we will consider all agenda items, en bloc, by voice vote.

On the agenda, we have 7 nominations, including Senators Coons and Johnson to the Representatives of the U.S. to the 71st Session of the General Assembly at the United Nations.

I am confident Senators Johnson and Coons will do exceptional jobs representing the U.S. at UNGA.

We will also consider the Honorable Sung Kim to be Ambassador to the Philippines, Ms. Rena Bitter to be Ambassador to Laos, the Honorable Stuart Symington to be Ambassador to Nigeria, Mr. Andrew Young to be Ambassador to Burkina Faso, and Mr. Joseph Donovan to be Ambassador to Indonesia.

A member asked that the nomination of Ms. Kamala Lakhdir be held over until the committee's next business meeting, and we will respect that request and not vote on her nomination today.

We will also consider 4 lists of over 300 personnel referred to the committee who have been nominated for appointment or promotion into and within the Foreign Service.

I support these appointments and promotions and would like to thank all of these officers for their service.

In the interest of time, I would entertain a motion to approve all agenda items, except the nomination of Ms. Lakhdir to be Ambassador to Malaysia, en bloc, by voice vote.

[A Senator makes the motion.]

The CHAIRMAN. Is there a second?

[A Senator seconds.]

The CHAIRMAN. So moved and seconded.

The question is on the motion to approve all agenda items with exception of the Ambassador to malaysia, en bloc, by voice vote.

All those in favor, say aye.

[Senators cast aye votes.]

The CHAIRMAN. Opposed?

[Senators cast no votes.]

The CHAIRMAN. And with that, the ayes have it, and the appointments and promotions and nominations are agreed to.

And that completes the committee's business.

I ask unanimous consent that staff be authorized to make technical and conforming changes; without objection, so ordered.

And with that, without objection, the committee will stand adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 2:45 p.m., the meeting was adjourned.]

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## **BUSINESS MEETING**

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**TUESDAY, DECEMBER 6, 2016**

<https://www.foreign.senate.gov/hearings/business-meeting-120616>

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

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 2:32 p.m. in Room SD-419, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Bob Corker, chairman of the committee, presiding.

Present: Senators Corker [presiding], Risch, Rubio, Johnson, Flake, Gardner, Perdue, Isakson, Barrasso, Cardin, Boxer, Menendez, Shaheen, Coons, Udall, Murphy, Kaine, and Markey.

### **OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. BOB CORKER, U.S. SENATOR FROM TENNESSEE**

The CHAIRMAN. The business meeting of the Foreign Relations Committee will come to order.

I know we do not have a quorum yet, but we will go ahead and get the front end out of the way so that we, hopefully, can move quickly through it. I want to thank everybody for being here.

On the agenda for today, we have 10 pieces of legislation, one treaty, one nomination, and multiple Foreign Service Officer lists.

First, we will consider six Foreign Service Officer lists of over 400 personnel referred to the committee. I support these appointments and promotions and thank all of these officers for their service.

We will also consider the nomination of Ms. Kamala Lakhdir, a career Foreign Service Officer, to be a U.S. Ambassador to Malaysia. I want to thank my colleagues for helping the committee take these steps forward on her nomination today.

We will also consider a resolution of ratification that supports the accession of Montenegro to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

And I want to thank our chairman, Ron Johnson, for having a great hearing on that, especially when he had so many other challenging things occurring at the time, and allowing us to be able to move ahead with this today. Thank you very much.

Montenegro has implemented tough reforms to address corruption and other rule-of-law standards. More work by the Montenegrin Government will be necessary, and we should continue to encourage their progress in achieving and upholding the standards set for NATO allies.

This committee has reviewed the protocol and believes that the accession of Montenegro to full NATO membership is in the interest of the United States.

We will also consider H. Con. Res. 40 encouraging reunions of divided Korean-American families. I would like to thank Senator Kirk, Congressman Rangel, and Chairman Royce for being champions of Korean divided families. I am pleased to lend my support to this resolution.

Next on the agenda is S. Con. Res. 30 expressing concern over the disappearance of David Sneddon. I would like to thank Senator Lee for his leadership on this matter, and I am pleased to support this resolution.

I expressed my sympathy to the Sneddon family on the ongoing uncertainty about their son, David. I am confident the United States Government will continue to investigate any information that may come to light regarding David's disappearance or any American citizen missing abroad.

We will also consider S. Con. Res. 57 honoring the life of the King of Thailand. I would also like to thank Senator Hatch for introducing this timely bipartisan solution.

Also on the agenda today is S. Res. 535 expressing the sense of the Senate regarding the trafficking of illicit fentanyl into United States from Mexico and China. The United States is experiencing a prescription opioid and heroin overdose epidemic that is claiming thousands of lives each year. I want to thank Senators Markey and Rubio for their work and leadership on this important issue.

We will also consider S. Res. 537 expressing profound concern about the ongoing political, economic, social, and humanitarian crisis in Venezuela, urging the release of political prisoners and calling for respective constitutional and democratic processes. I thank Senators Cardin, Rubio, Menendez, Kaine, Gardner, and Boxer for bringing this resolution before the committee. The situation in Venezuela is tragic and people are suffering. We all hope they can find a peaceful electoral way out of this crisis.

We will consider S. 8 to provide the approval of agreement for cooperation between the Government of the United States and the Government of Norway concerning peaceful uses of nuclear energy. This will cause a civil nuclear cooperation agreement with Norway to come into effect in advance of the completion of the 90-day congressional review period, which occurs after we have adjourned on December 16th. Absent this affirmative approval of agreement, the administration will complete a trilateral servicing agreement with Norway and the IAEA, which is not subject to congressional review or oversight.

This committee has reviewed the agreement, held briefings and a hearing, and has found the agreement not to be objectionable, though we wish that the administration, as I am sure Senator Markey will echo, had not included advanced consent for retransfer for storage and reprocessing of spent fuel.

We will also consider H.R. 4939, the U.S. Caribbean Strategic Engagement Act of 2016. I want to thank Representatives Engle and Ros-Lehtinen for their work on this legislation. I thank Senator Cardin for working with us to streamline this bill to ensure

that it focuses on encouraging Caribbean nations to seek partnerships in the United States.

H.R. 4481, the Education for All Act of 2016, is also on the agenda. This act restores our committee's role in providing authorities and direction for a USAID program that has been appropriated without such guidance from our committee for over a decade. This bill authorizes programs to help countries provide quality basic education, the lack of which is a significant barrier to economic growth.

We will also consider H.R. 2845, the African Growth and Opportunity Enhancement Act of 2015. AGOA has been an important part of our engagement with Africa. This bill asks the President to direct more resources toward helping African businesses trade with United States.

The Millennium Challenge Corporation, MCC, amendment represents the M-CORE bill this committee approved at our June 23rd markup. I want to commend Senators Cardin, Isakson, Coons, and Flake for bringing this bipartisan legislation to the committee.

I also want to thank Senator Barrasso for his constructive input on how we can improve MCC oversight. Our amendment includes Senator Barrasso's recommendations.

I need to take breath here, Senator Cardin.

We will also consider H.R. 1150, the Frank R. Wolf International Religious Freedom Act. I thank Senator Cardin for working with us to bring this legislation before the committee. This bill, as amended, reinforces the 1998 law to strengthen the role of the Ambassador at Large for International Religious Freedoms and enhances the congressional oversight of the State Department. This legislation enjoys broad interfaith support, and we will be seeking to have this bill passed in the Senate by unanimous consent so the amended legislation may be taken up and approved by the House this week.

Lastly, and this is not on the agenda, we have a resolution that I would like to present to Senator Boxer.

Senator BOXER. Oh, you are kidding.

[Laughter.]

Senator BOXER. I am surprised. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. This is going to be her last business meeting, and we appreciate all you have done for this committee and the United States Senate.

Serving the Senate since 1993, Senator Boxer has been the longest-serving woman in the history of the Committee on Foreign Relations with 18 years of service.

I want to thank her for her patriotism and commitment to this institution and our country.

When I ran for the Senate and was elected 10 years ago, Senator Boxer was well-known in Tennessee, and I just want to say it has been a privilege for me not only to know you as a well-known Senator but to know you well.

Senator BOXER. That is so sweet.

The CHAIRMAN. It has been a blessing. We wish you well.

[Applause.]

Senator BOXER. Thank you.

**STATEMENT OF HON. BENJAMIN L. CARDIN,  
U.S. SENATOR FROM MARYLAND**

Senator CARDIN. Mr. Chairman, if I might, if I could just say a word or two and then perhaps yield to Senator Boxer, and then I would like to say a few more things about today's agenda and about our committee.

Some of the great pleasures of my life serving in the United States are the friends that I made. I knew Senator Boxer when she was Congresswoman Boxer. I knew of her incredible talent, but we became buddies here in the United States Senate.

The people of California have been blessed to have an incredible advocate on their behalf on so many issues, but our Nation has been blessed. Indeed, the global community has been blessed.

There are so many things we could talk about with Senator Boxer on the environmental issues. But I think on this committee, what you have done for women and girls around the world is just incredible.

In Afghanistan, you have made a huge difference in the lives of so many young children, and I just really want you to know how much we all appreciate what you have done.

This is family, and we are very proud of our sister, so congratulations for just an incredible career.

Senator BOXER. Thank you so much. I just want to say this is such an honor to have this resolution. Good Lord, we do not agree on anything, so this is special that you got this done.

[Laughter.]

Senator BOXER. And no one said, "I signed in protest." That was good.

[Laughter.]

Senator BOXER. But each of you, as I look at you, we have worked so well together, and sometimes we fought—sometimes, once in a while, not that often. But I can truly say every member of this committee I have worked with on issues that we all care about, and Jim on the Ethics Committee, being just dedicated to our work. It doesn't matter when you are in there what party you are in. A lot of my love for this committee comes from that same point.

These two gentlemen, the chairman and the ranking member, working hand in glove constantly in an age where it is not expected, and we are so thrilled to see it.

Whoever said politics stops at the water's edge is right. This committee has to be nonpartisan because nothing less is at stake than the security of every man, woman, and child that we fight for every day.

I will close with this because—Senator, it is hard to talk fast, but I am just going to close with this. I have seen many chairmen. Bob, and I have seen this Bob, and I have seen John Kerry, Richard Lugar, I could go through the list, Joe Biden, I could go through the list, wonderful people all, friends all.

And when I got the ability to move forward on the first-ever subcommittee that dealt with women's issues all over the globe, it was a wonderful moment because everyone said, "You know, you are right, Barbara. We need to do this."



I know I have spoken to Jeanne. It is not as if only a woman would carry these issues, but it is a reminder to everyone that we do see the world through a slightly different lens. That is just the beauty of diversity, and Jeanne is going to pick up a lot of these particular issues, and a lot of the rest of you will as well on other subjects.

But it has been a joy, and I am going to close with this. I am so loath to say this, but it is so perfect that I end with this. I was disappointed we did not pass a piece of legislation that I wanted you to pass today. That is a joke.

[Laughter.]

Senator BOXER. It is true that we did not, but I know—

The CHAIRMAN. We are going to get it done.

Senator BOXER [continuing]. We are going to get it done after I leave. But if I did not say that, it would not be Barbara Boxer.

[Laughter.]

Senator BOXER. I cannot let you get away with everything today.

Fond memories, made me a better person, God bless each and every one of you in the days and the years ahead in keeping our country strong and safe.

Thank you.

[Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Senator CARDIN. Mr. Chairman, if I might, later this week, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee will celebrate its 200th anniversary, when the first standing committees were approved by the United States Senate on December 10th.

This committee has had a very, very proud history. I know I speak for all the members on the Democratic side, and I think I also speak for the Republican side, to congratulate our chairman, Bob Corker, on an incredible 2-year leadership of this committee.

This has been a very difficult time. Your leadership has shown the strength that we wanted in our chairman, the fairness to include all members of our committee in the work of this committee. You have been able to get the type of unity that we needed to preserve the appropriate role for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and you have made it an honor to serve on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

So I want to congratulate you for an incredible 2 years as chairman.

[Applause.]

Senator CARDIN. Mr. Chairman, I know we have a long agenda, and I very much appreciate what is included on this agenda. I think what might be easier—I was going to go through all the items on the list, and they are important items, and I do want to comment on what we have done. Perhaps the best way, if we start into the agenda, I will comment as we get to the legislation.

The CHAIRMAN. Very good. Thank you very much.

The first order of business for today's agenda will be six Foreign Service lists.

Senator Cardin, do you have any comments on these?

Senator CARDIN. I support all of them and move their adoption.

The CHAIRMAN. Would anyone else like to speak to the list?

[No response.]

If there is no further discussion on these lists, I would entertain a motion to approve these lists en bloc by voice vote.

Senator CARDIN. So moved.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there a second?

Senator SHAHEEN. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. So moved and seconded.

The question is on the motion to approve six Foreign Service lists en bloc.

All those in favor, say aye.

[A chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. Opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. With that, the ayes have it, and the appointments and promotions are agreed to.

Next, I would like to ask the committee to proceed to a voice vote on the consideration of Ms. Kamala Lakhdhir to be U.S. Ambassador to Malaysia.

Senator Cardin, do you have any comments?

Senator CARDIN. I strongly support the nomination and move her adoption.

The CHAIRMAN. Would any member like to be recognized?

[No response.]

If there is no further discussion on the nomination, I would entertain a motion to approve her by voice vote.

Senator CARDIN. So moved.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there a second?

Senator MENENDEZ. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. Moved and seconded.

The question is on the motion to approve the nomination.

All those in favor, say aye.

[A chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. All opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. With that, the ayes have it. The nomination is agreed to.

Next, I would like to consider the treaty on the agenda.

Senator Cardin, do you have any comments on this treaty?

Senator CARDIN. Is this Montenegro?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Senator CARDIN. Yes, Mr. Chairman. First, let me thank you very much for bringing the Montenegro NATO accession treaty today.

I want to acknowledge the distinguished Ambassador for Montenegro, who is present in our committee room, and thank him for his availability to our committee.

It was clear that this small country has made significant contributions to the alliance efforts around the world and made the necessary internal reforms to address governance, rule of law, and corruption.

This progress appears all the more remarkable for the fact that Montenegro has been subject to a wave of anti-NATO and anti-Western propaganda emanating from Russia. I congratulate the manner in which the country has responded, and I am very happy that we are making it clear that Russia does not have a veto over

the decisions of the NATO alliance, and I strongly urge my colleagues to support the accession.

The CHAIRMAN. Does any other member wish to speak?

I am going to go back and forth, if that is okay.

Senator JOHNSON. Not to repeat, but I certainly want to thank the chairman and ranking member for support of this resolution.

You are correct. Montenegro has made great strides in reform, both militarily as well as legal reform, trying to drive out corruption. We had a great hearing on it.

And again, I just urge my colleagues to support the resolution.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Senator Shaheen?

Senator SHAHEEN. Yes, I would echo what has been said, but I would also ask that we encourage leadership to bring this to the floor before we go into recess and end this session of Congress. I think the best message we could send to Russia, as they are looking at their future plans in Europe, is the message that we want Montenegro to join NATO and to be part of the European bloc that protects all of Europe.

The CHAIRMAN. Anyone else?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you both for your leadership on this issue.

If there is no further discussion on this, I would entertain a motion to approve this by voice vote.

Senator CARDIN. So moved.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there a second?

Senator KAINE. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. So moved and seconded. Thank you so much.

The question is on the motion to approve the treaty.

All those in favor, say aye.

[A chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. Opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. With that, the ayes have it. The treaty is agreed to.

Next, we will consider S. Res. 537, the Venezuelan resolution.

Senator Cardin, do you have any comments you want to make?

Senator CARDIN. Mr. Chairman, I just really want to thank you for your help in getting this resolution before us today. It is a resolution that I worked on with Senators Rubio, Menendez, Kaine, Boxer, and other members of this committee.

It is a heart-wrenching narrative that emerged from Venezuela in which economic unraveling, lack of food and medicine, the deterioration of the rule of law, and rising levels of corruption have created an unstable situation where citizens face tremendous hardship.

So I am glad that we are speaking as a body on this issue, recognizing that Venezuela is in crisis and needs international understanding.

The CHAIRMAN. Any others?

Senator RUBIO. Mr. Chairman, I just want to echo that I thank everyone, especially Senator Menendez, for his work on this issue in general.

I just want to point out to everyone that what has happened to Venezuela is nothing short of a coup d'etat. The constitutional order has been ignored and completely canceled. The Supreme Court has been overtaken, the media, the like. It is not a democracy any longer, not even the facade of a democracy. The impact that it is having on the region is extraordinary.

I encourage my colleagues, when you have the chance, to read the report. This is one of the richest countries in the world, and you have people literally selling their hair for pennies to try to be able to feed their families.

So it is a catastrophic situation that is coming to bear here rapidly, and it is having an impact on South Florida and I believe of the region. So I encourage everyone who has not kept up-to-date with it, because a lot of other issues have been going on, to really look into the tragic humanitarian and political tragedy that is occurring in Venezuela.

The CHAIRMAN. I could not agree more.

Anyone else?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. If there is no further discussion on this resolution, I would entertain a motion to approve all three Cardin amendments en bloc by voice vote.

Senator CARDIN. So moved.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there a second?

Senator BOXER. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. So moved and seconded.

The question is on the motion to approve all three Cardin amendments en bloc by voice vote.

All those in favor, say aye.

[A chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. Opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. With that, the ayes have it. The amendments are agreed to.

Are there any further amendments?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. Hearing none, is there a motion to approve the resolution as amended?

Senator KAINE. So moved.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there a second?

Senator BOXER. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. So moved and seconded.

The question is on the motion to approve S. Res. 537, as amended.

All those in favor, say aye.

[A chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. Opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. With that, the ayes have it. The resolution, as amended, is agreed to.

Next, we will consider S. Res. 535, the fentanyl resolution.

Senator Cardin, do you have any comments you would like to make?

Senator CARDIN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I strongly support this resolution, and I want to thank Senators Markey and Rubio for bringing this forward, calling upon the United States for counternarcotics cooperation with Mexico and China.

Mr. Chairman, I am sure all members of this committee have had meetings around our State, meetings with different groups, about the drug problems in every community in America. We have seen the opioid abuses lead to heroin, lead to synthetic drugs and fentanyl. It has caused untold deaths. Fentanyl is a drug that those who are using narcotics are not aware of its strength, and it causes them to go into crisis.

So I thank very much our colleagues for bringing this to our committee's attention, that we must do more within the jurisdiction of our committee to control the importation of fentanyl.

The CHAIRMAN. Would anyone else like to speak?

Senator MARKEY. Mr. Chairman, if I may?

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Markey, yes, sir?

Senator MARKEY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator Rubio and I have introduced this resolution. This is the public health crisis in the United States, and we join with Senator Shaheen on this resolution, calling for its passage.

Fentanyl, just to give you a little bit of an idea about how bad this is right now, we are going to have 2,000 people die in Massachusetts from opioid overdoses this year. Of them, 1,500 will have fentanyl in their blood system, 75 percent.

Now, Massachusetts is 2 percent of America's population. So if you multiply that by 50 and this epidemic was hitting the whole country at the rate it is sitting Massachusetts, the rate it is hitting New Hampshire, the rate it is hitting Florida and several of the States, but not the country, that would be 100,000 deaths, of which 75,000 would come from fentanyl.

So what we are trying to do with this resolution is to get out of this storm, this class 5 hurricane, which is already on shore in certain States, but it is ready to hit.

What it does is it calls for our Government to work much more closely with the Chinese Government, which is the source, principally, of this chemical, this artificial substance that has been created and is coming into our country, and with the Mexican Government, where it is kind of fabricated and turned into a product that then comes into the cities and States of our country.

So this is something that in my opinion is going to wind up dwarfing any other issue that we work on. That is why doing this in the context of even deliberating on the current bill is so appropriate because far, far many more people are going to be terrorized by this than will ever be terrorized by what is happening in Aleppo today. This is a threat to families on the streets of our country, which is why I am proud to be able to work with Senator Rubio in a bipartisan fashion on this amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you both. Any other comments?

Senator RUBIO. I would just add that the fentanyl is now with carfentanil, which is a new threat or an additional threat. It is actually animal tranquilizer. It is what they use to tranquilize like an elephant.

This stuff is coming in in the mail, basically. It is being shipped in FedEx, UPS. I do not mean to single out any companies. I am just saying—I just did—

[Laughter.]

Senator RUBIO.—and others. It is being sent in from these countries, and it is by far—I encourage everyone to talk to your hospitals and first responders, and they are going to tell you that they are seeing just dozens of these. And the agents to reverse it do not even work anymore because of how strong it has gotten.

It is also manufactured, by the way—and we saw the loss of Prince, who died. He died because he took fentanyl in pills labeled as Percocet.

So that is what we are dealing with here now. It is a very serious problem.

The CHAIRMAN. The lacing that is occurring with fentanyl, and the fact that it can come in a FedEx package this size equal to truckloads of other types of materials is really wreaking havoc on our society. I appreciate both of you bringing attention to this.

Any other comments on this?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. If there is no further discussion on this resolution, I would entertain a motion to approve both Markey amendments en bloc by voice vote.

Senator CARDIN. So moved.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there a second?

Senator JOHNSON. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. So moved and seconded.

The question is on the motion to approve both Markey amendments en bloc by voice vote.

All those in favor, say aye.

[A chorus of ayes.]

All opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. With that, the ayes have it. The amendments are agreed to.

Are there any further amendments?

[No response.]

Hearing none, is there a motion to approve the resolution, as amended?

Senator CARDIN. So moved.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there a second?

Senator SHAHEEN. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. So moved and seconded.

The question is on the motion to approve S. Res. 535, as amended.

All in favor will say aye.

[A chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. Opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. With that, the ayes have it. The resolution, as amended, is agreed to.

Our next order of business that I would ask that we consider en bloc by voice vote are the remaining resolutions before the committee. That is S. Con. Res. 57, S. Con. Res. 30, S. Con. Res. 40.

Senator Cardin, any comments?

Senator CARDIN. I support all those resolutions.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any members who would like to speak to any of these resolutions?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. If there is no further discussion on the resolutions, I would entertain a motion to approve these en bloc by voice vote.

Senator CARDIN. So moved.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there a second?

Senator UDALL. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. So moved and seconded.

The question is on the motion to approve these resolutions en bloc.

All in favor, say aye.

[A chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. Opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. With that, the ayes have it. The resolutions are agreed to.

Next, we will consider S. 8, the Norway 123 Agreement.

Senator Cardin, do you have any comments on this?

Senator CARDIN. Mr. Chairman, thank you for bringing forward this. I am a cosponsor of the resolution, under your leadership. The bill will ensure congressional oversight of our nuclear cooperation with Norway. So I support the resolution.

The CHAIRMAN. Does anyone else wish to speak to this?

I started to call on you before you raised your hand, Senator Markey.

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

I do commend Norway as one of our closest allies and recognize the need to conduct nuclear research at Norway's Halden research reactor. But I am very concerned that we are offering affirmative support to 123 Agreements that do not meet the gold standard. I believe that as we get deeper into the 21st century, that should be our standard, regardless of how close an ally any of the countries are with whom we are reaching these agreements.

This agreement is going to provide Norway with advanced consent to transfer U.S.-obligated spent fuel to the United Kingdom and France for reprocessing. That sends the wrong signal to other countries considering pursuing this technology, and I am particularly concerned about East Asia, and I am concerned that the negotiators of this 123 Agreement did not push to remove the advanced consent clause.

It is the larger principle that is at stake here, despite the small amounts of material that are involved in this agreement. We should not water down our global opposition to reprocessing. It should be our gold standard.

If we do not stand for that, we are going to come back in another 15 or 20 years as other countries in the Middle East and in East Asia ask for the same kind of treatment, and we will then have that catastrophic event that was created because we did not give the political leadership.

So I believe there is a profound danger that we are unleashing here as we create this exemption, and I just wanted to state my opposition to this pathway, on principle.

The CHAIRMAN. So for what it is worth, Senator Markey and I have met on several occasions regarding non-gold-standard agreements, and I could not agree more.

I think we find ourselves in a place where even though this is an imperfect 123 Agreement, it is better than what is going to be in place if we just allow an administrative agreement to take place in the time to lapse.

So I share your concerns. I wish that all of these agreements were in the gold-standard fashion that you have expressed. You know we have talked about this on many occasions.

But this is putting us in a better place than letting the time elapse and enter into an administrative agreement between the United States and Norway.

Are there any other comments or questions?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. If there is no further discussion, I would entertain a motion to approve the legislation by voice vote.

Senator CARDIN. So moved.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there a second?

Senator JOHNSON. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. So moved and seconded.

The question is on the motion to approve S. 8 by voice vote.

All in favor will say aye.

[A chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. Opposed?

Senator MARKEY. No.

The CHAIRMAN. And I will record you as a no, if that is okay.

With that, the ayes have it, and the substitute agreement is agreed to.

Are there any other further amendments?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the motion to approve H.R. 4939, as amended.

Are we in the right place here? I do not know how we got to the House.

Okay, the question is on the motion to approve S. 8.

All in favor will say aye.

[A chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. Opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. With that, the ayes have it. The legislation is agreed to.

Next, we will move to H.R. 4939, the U.S.-Caribbean Strategic Engagement Act of 2016.

Senator Cardin, do you have any comments you would like to make?

Senator CARDIN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I appreciate this issue being brought up for today's business meeting. I congratulate my colleague in the House, Congressman Engle, for his work on this.



It is legislation, I think, that shows our commitment to our partnership in the Caribbean, and I support it.

The CHAIRMAN. Would anyone else like to speak to the legislation?

If there is no further discussion, I would entertain a motion to consider the substitute amendment by voice vote.

Senator COONS. So moved.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there a second?

Senator KAINE. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. So moved and seconded.

The question is on the motion to approve the substitute amendment.

All those in favor, say aye.

[A chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. Opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. With that, the ayes have it. The substitute amendment is agreed to.

Are there any further amendments?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. Hearing none, is there a motion to approve the legislation as amendment?

Senator CARDIN. So moved.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there a second?

Senator BOXER. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. So moved and seconded.

The question is on the motion to approve H.R. 4939, as amended.

All those in favor, say aye.

[A chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. Opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. With that, the ayes have it, and the legislation, as amended, is agreed to.

Now we will consider H.R. 4481, the Education for All Act of 2016.

Senator Cardin?

Senator CARDIN. Mr. Chairman, again, I thank you for bringing this forward. I strongly support it and urge my colleagues to support the legislation.

The CHAIRMAN. Anyone else?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. If there is no further discussion, I will entertain a motion to consider the substitute amendment by voice vote.

Senator CARDIN. So moved.

The CHAIRMAN. Second?

Senator MENENDEZ. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. So moved and seconded.

The question is on the motion to approve the substitute amendment.

All in favor, say aye.

[A chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. Opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. With that, the ayes have it. The substitute amendment is agreed to.

Are there further amendments?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. Hearing none, is there a motion to approve the legislation, as amended?

Senator CARDIN. So moved.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Second?

Senator JOHNSON. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. So moved and seconded.

The question is on the motion to approve H.R. 4481, as amended.

All in favor will say aye.

[A chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. Opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. With that, the ayes have it. The legislation, as amended, is agreed to.

Now we will consider H.R. 2845, the AGOA Enhancement Act of 2015.

Senator Cardin?

Senator CARDIN. Mr. Chairman, again, I appreciate that this is before us today. I want to thank Senators Flake, Coons, and Isakson for introducing the Millennium Compacts for Regional Economic Integration Act, or the M-CORE Act, with me last year. The bill passed our committee earlier. This new authority for MCC is included in H.R. 2845, so I would urge colleagues to support this legislation.

The CHAIRMAN. Any other discussion?

Senator Coons?

Senator COONS. I will just briefly, if I might, thank Senator Cardin for his real leadership on getting us over the finish line in terms of MCC regional compact authority.

And thank you, Mr. Chairman, for working so closely with the ranking member on such a wide range of bills for today's markup. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you so much.

If there is no further discussion, I would entertain a motion to consider the Corker amendment by voice vote.

Senator CARDIN. So moved.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there a second?

Senator BOXER. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. So moved and seconded.

The question is on the motion to approve the Corker amendment.

All in favor, say aye.

[A chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. Opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. With that, the ayes have it. The amendment is agreed to.

Are there further amendments?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. Hearing none, is there a motion to approve the legislation, as amended?

Senator CARDIN. So moved.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there a second?

Senator ISAKSON. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. So moved and seconded.

The question is on the motion to approve H.R. 2845, as amended.

All in favor will say aye.

[A chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. Opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. With that, the ayes have it. The legislation, as amended, is agreed to.

Lastly, we will consider H.R. 1150, the Frank R. Wolf International Religious Freedom Act.

Senator Cardin?

Senator CARDIN. First, Mr. Chairman, let me say, when you are voting on a bill that includes Frank R. Wolf's name, I cannot see anyone voting against it. He has been a real champion throughout his lifetime and career on human rights issues.

I do want to thank Senator Rubio for his work on this legislation. There were some concerns that were expressed, and we were able to work through those concerns. I thank him for that. The department had concern about reporting on nonstate actors which engage in religious persecution, as it may undermine U.S. Government diplomatic efforts to hold governments accountable for abuses committed within their territory.

I think this legislation strikes the right balance, but it is an issue that I think our committee will continue to monitor to make sure that governments are held accountable for actions within their country.

I want to acknowledge Congressman Smith and the work that he has done on religious freedom, and I would urge my colleagues to support the legislation.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Would anyone else like to speak to this? I know numbers of people were involved.

Senator FLAKE. I just want to thank Senator Rubio and Senator Cardin for including the language I had on religious visas. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Very good.

If there is no further discussion, I would entertain a motion to consider the Rubio substitute amendment by voice vote.

Senator CARDIN. So moved.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there a second?

Senator JOHNSON. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. So moved and seconded.

The question is on the motion to approve the Rubio substitute amendment.

All in favor, say aye.

[A chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. Opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. With that, the ayes have it. The amendment is agreed to.

Is there a motion to approve the legislation, as amended?

Senator CARDIN. So moved.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there a second?

Senator JOHNSON. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. So moved and seconded.

The question is on the motion to approve H.R. 1150, as amended.

All in favor, say aye.

[A chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. Opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. With that, the ayes have it, and the legislation, as amended, is agreed to.

That completes the committee's business.

Senator Kaine. Mr. Chair?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir?

Senator Kaine. If I may, just one other business item that I tried to click as we were at the front end saying kind things about the chair and about Senator Boxer. Another committee member has of milestone that is a pretty important one.

On Election Day, Senator Cardin achieved 50 consecutive years in elected office beginning with his election as a youngster.

Senator Cardin. I am trying to keep that quiet.

Senator Kaine. He doesn't like you mentioning it, but that is a pretty impressive record. Those of us who do it understand how challenging that is.

So congratulations.

[Applause.]

Senator Cardin. In Maryland, you can run for office when you are in your teens.

[Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I am thankful that you will be serving with us on a continual basis, and I think that makes you definitely a part of the establishment.

[Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. Jeanne?

Senator Shaheen. Mr. Chairman, I wanted to pick up on Senator Boxer's brief comment as she was giving her remarks earlier about the bill that did not get passed, and that is the Women, Peace and Security Act, something that Senator Boxer has been working on—

The CHAIRMAN. I see that you are taking up her mantle very quickly.

Senator Shaheen [continuing]. For now 4 years.

This is legislation that the House passed just recently without debate. I think it is important because there is real evidence that women have a critical role to play in all stages of conflict resolution. We know that when women are supported, that they tend to give back to their families, to their communities. And making sure that they have a place at the table when we are trying to resolve conflicts I think is very important.

I know there were some procedural concerns about the legislation, but I just want to put everybody on the committee on notice that this is not going away just because Senator Boxer is not going to be here. I think this is legislation that is important for us to pass. It sends an important message to women in countries around

the world that they need to be at the table as we are deciding their fate.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, and I look forward to calling Senator Boxer when she is doing whatever she is going to be doing after the first of the year to share with her that we have addressed this issue. I received a call from President Carter, and I talked to Kristi Noem last night, and there were some issues that we would like to work out. But we will begin that again.

I know the President has had in place since 2011 an executive order of sorts to deal with this, and we would like to see what the impact of that has been. But we understand it is going to be something that, hopefully, we will resolve together, and thank you both for making comments in that regard.

Senator BOXER. Mr. Chairman, make sure that you call me, but will you be calling me as you are Secretary of State? This is what I am hoping for.

Oh, I should not have said that.

Let's see—

The CHAIRMAN. That will never happen now. That's for sure.

[Laughter.]

Senator BOXER. Let me say, I strongly would oppose the nomination.

[Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Thank you so much. That completes the committee's business. I ask unanimous consent that staff be authorized to make technical and conforming changes.

Without objection, so ordered.

With that, and without objection, the committee will stand adjourned.

Thank you all, and I wish you all a warm and meaningful holiday. I hope most of you will stay for the hearing, but, hopefully, we will finish up this week. Thank you.

[Whereupon, at 3:11 p.m., the meeting was adjourned.]