

---

# **BUSINESS MEETING**

---

*April 28, 2016*

---

UNITED STATES SENATE  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS  
114<sup>TH</sup> Congress, Second Session

---

# BUSINESS MEETING

*Thursday, April 28, 2016*

U.S. SENATE  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

1           The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:04 a.m. in, Room 166, The Capitol  
2 Building, Hon. Bob Corker, chairman of the committee, presiding.

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

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

6           **THE CHAIRMAN.** This business meeting of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee  
7 will come to order.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

13 Next, we will consider S. Res. 340, a resolution expressing the sense of Congress  
14 that ISIS is committing genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes. I want to  
15 thank Senator Cassidy and the co-sponsors for bringing S. Res. 340 before this  
16 committee.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1           This legislation will ensure that the administration takes a coordinated approach  
2 in implementing the President's National Wildlife Trafficking Strategy as well as  
3 provide Congress with needed oversight of its implementation.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

19           I will second that.

20           [Laughter.]

1           **THE CHAIRMAN.** And what is before us is a solid, bipartisan bill that members can  
2 be proud of.

3           It increases oversight and accountability for terrible cases of abuse committed by  
4 U.N. peacekeepers, crimes we have investigated in both our hearings and oversight  
5 activities. It helps protect whistleblowers who have the courage to stand up and fight  
6 to put a stop to these abuses. It takes on the issue of reforming the assessment formula  
7 for U.N. peacekeeping, helping to ensure fairness for American taxpayers.

8           It restructures a number of the fee systems at the State Department to ensure that  
9 the funds flowing into the department are sensibly managed and appropriately tracked  
10 and overseen. It also reforms the way the State Department manages and compensates  
11 its personnel at home and abroad, making certain they are paid fairly, providing  
12 additional flexibility, and modernizing systems to ensure the State Department can  
13 keep an increasingly competitive work force environment.

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

17 Today's meeting is another milestone along that road.

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



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

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

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

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

9           [Laughter.]

10          **THE CHAIRMAN.** They do not come any tougher than Jodi.

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

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

15          [Applause.]

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

18          Thank you so much.

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

20

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

1           **SENATOR CARDIN.** Thank you very much, Senator Corker.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

19           I also am pleased that we are able to advance important legislation in this  
20 authorization dealing with State Department personnel, those State Department officers

1 that are on the frontline. We have been able to make additional improvements in the  
2 authorization laws to help them in accomplishing their mission.

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

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

10 Let me move on to the wildlife trafficking bill. I really do want to thank two of  
11 our colleagues not only for authoring this bill, but I think educating us all on the need  
12 here, Senator Coons and Senator Flake.

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

18 **THE CHAIRMAN.** So it has changed for the better?

19 [Laughter.]

20 **SENATOR CARDIN.** Absolutely. No question about it. They still remember him.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

17          As the chairman pointed out, Jodi has the talent, the intelligence, the integrity,  
18   and the ability to get things done. She is really committed to the best of American  
19   foreign policy, and that best of American foreign policy is using our tools to accomplish

1 good governance and human rights, and protecting the rights of people who have been  
2 persecuted around the world.

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

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

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

17 Whereas Jodi is a proud native of St. Paul, Minnesota, a dedicated wife and  
18 mother, and a fixture in the civic life of her community, including as an active member  
19 of Temple Emanuel in Kensington, Maryland; as a member of the PTA at Ashburton

1 Elementary School; and a Girl Scout troop leader, as a member of the Girl Scout Council  
2 of the Nation's Capital.

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

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

17 Resolve that the Committee on Foreign Relations expresses its deep appreciation  
18 and sincere gratitude to the contributions of Jodi Herman to the committee of the  
19 United States Senate, the people of Maryland and New Jersey, and the United States of  
20 America.



1 Jodi, congratulations.

2 [Applause.]

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

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

6 **SENATOR MENENDEZ.** Thank you, Senator Cardin. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

14           Congratulations, Jodi.

15           [Applause.]

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

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

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

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

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

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

9 **SENATOR CARDIN.** No.

10 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Would anyone else like to speak to these lists?

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

13 **SENATOR CARDIN.** So moved.

14 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Is there a second?

15 **SENATOR RISCH.** Second.

16 **THE CHAIRMAN.** So moved and seconded.

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

19 All those in favor, say aye.

20 Opposed?

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

2 Next, in the interest of time, I would ask that the committee proceed en bloc to  
3 vote in consideration of the following nominees before the committee: Ms. Swati  
4 Dandekar — to be U.S. director of the Asian Development Bank, with the rank of  
5 Ambassador; Ms. Christine Elder to be Ambassador to Liberia; Ms. Kelly Keiderling  
6 Franz to be Ambassador to Uruguay; Ms. Elizabeth Richard to be Ambassador to  
7 Lebanon; Mr. Stephen Schwartz to be Ambassador to Somalia; Mr. Adam Sterling to be  
8 Ambassador to Slovakia; Mr. David Harden to be an assistant administrator at USAID.

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

11 Senator Cardin, do you have any comments?

12 **SENATOR CARDIN.** I do not.

13 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Anyone else wishing to speak to these nominees?

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

16 **SENATOR CARDIN.** So moved.

17 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Is there a second?

18 **SENATOR BOXER.** Second.

19 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Thank you. So moved and seconded.

20 The question is on the motion to approve the nominations.

1 All those in favor, say aye.

2 Opposed?

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

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

6 Senator Cardin, do you have any comments?

7 **SENATOR CARDIN.** No.

8 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Anyone else?

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

11 **SENATOR CARDIN.** So moved.

12 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Is there a second?

13 **SENATOR BOXER.** Second.

14 **THE CHAIRMAN.** So moved and seconded.

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

16 All those in favor, say aye.

17 Opposed?

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

19 Are there any further amendments?

20 **SENATOR BOXER.** Mr. Chairman, amendments to?

1           **THE CHAIRMAN.** The resolution.

2           **SENATOR BOXER.** Okay.

3           **THE CHAIRMAN.** Hearing none, is there a motion to approve the resolution, as  
4 amended?

5           **SENATOR CARDIN.** So moved.

6           **THE CHAIRMAN.** Is there a second?

7           **SENATOR RISCH.** Second.

8           **THE CHAIRMAN.** So moved and seconded.

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

10          All in favor will say aye.

11          Opposed?

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

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

15          Senator Cardin, do you have any comments?

16          **SENATOR CARDIN.** No.

17          **THE CHAIRMAN.** Anyone else?

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

20          **SENATOR CARDIN.** So moved.

1           **THE CHAIRMAN.** Is there a second?

2           **SENATOR RISCH.** Second.

3           **THE CHAIRMAN.** So moved and seconded.

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

5           All those in favor, say aye.

6           All opposed?

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

8           Are there further amendments?

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

10          **SENATOR CARDIN.** So moved.

11          **THE CHAIRMAN.** Is there a second?

12          **SENATOR RISCH.** Second.

13          **THE CHAIRMAN.** So moved and seconded. Thank you both.

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

15          All in favor, say aye.

16          Opposed?

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

18          Our next order of business that I will ask we consider en bloc by voice vote are

19          the remaining resolutions before this committee. That is S. Res. 442, S. Res. 418, S. Res.

20          394, and S. Res. 381.

1 Senator Cardin, any comments?

2 **SENATOR CARDIN.** No.

3 Any comments by other members?

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

7 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Thank you for bringing that to our attention and for recognizing  
8 him in that way.

9 Senator Shaheen?

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

12 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Without objection.

13 Any other comments?

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

16 **SENATOR CARDIN.** So moved.

17 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Second?

18 **SENATOR RISCH.** Second.

19 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Thank you. So moved and seconded.

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



1 All those in favor, say aye.

2 Opposed?

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

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

7 Senator Cardin, do you have any additional comments?

8 **SENATOR CARDIN.** Just to thank Senator Menendez and Senator Rubio for working  
9 this out.

10 **THE CHAIRMAN.** I second that.

11 Would anyone else like to speak to this?

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

14 **SENATOR CARDIN.** So moved.

15 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Is there a second?

16 **SENATOR RISCH.** Second.

17 **THE CHAIRMAN.** So moved and seconded.

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

19 All in favor, say aye.

20 Opposed?

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

2 Are there further amendments?

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

4 **SENATOR CARDIN.** So moved.

5 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Second?

6 **SENATOR RISCH.** Second.

7 **THE CHAIRMAN.** So moved and seconded.

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

9 All in favor will say aye.

10 Opposed?

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

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

14 Senator Cardin, do you have any comments?

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

18 **THE CHAIRMAN.** I would agree to their persistence.

19 [Laughter.]

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

3           Would anyone else like to speak to this?

4           Senator Flake?

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

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

10          Anyone else?

11          Senator Coons?

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

18          **THE CHAIRMAN.** Thank you. Thank you so much.

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

1           **SENATOR CARDIN.** So moved.

2           **THE CHAIRMAN.** Is there a second?

3           **SENATOR BOXER.** Second.

4           **THE CHAIRMAN.** So moved and seconded.

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

7           All those in favor, say aye.

8           Opposed?

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

10          Are there any further amendments?

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

12          **SENATOR CARDIN.** So moved.

13          **THE CHAIRMAN.** Is there a second?

14          **SENATOR RISCH.** Second.

15          **THE CHAIRMAN.** So moved and seconded.

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

17          All in favor will say aye.

18          Opposed?

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

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

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

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

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

11          **SENATOR CARDIN.** Thanks for including the other three. Otherwise, I would have  
12 been in trouble.

13          [Laughter.]

14          **THE CHAIRMAN.** I am always trying to cover for you.

15          **SENATOR CARDIN.** Thank you.

16          **THE CHAIRMAN.** Thank you. I thank the staff really for their cooperation.

17          I want to say in this case, in particular, I want to thank the State Department for  
18 working with us as you did. I know that there are numbers of provisions in here that  
19 give you the flexibilities that you need to carry out your responsibilities in a much

1 better way, and we thank you for highlighting those and working with us the way you  
2 did. We look forward to that again next year.

3 Any other discussion?

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

6 **SENATOR CARDIN.** So moved.

7 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Second?

8 **SENATOR RISCH.** Second.

9 **THE CHAIRMAN.** So moved and seconded.

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

12 All those in favor, say aye.

13 All opposed?

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

15 Are there further amendments?

16 Senator Paul?

17 **SENATOR PAUL.** There has been significant discussion over time about sort of the  
18 balance of power with regard to foreign relations. Sometimes, one party or the other  
19 will admit that the President has too much power and that we should assert ourselves  
20 more in this role. It seems to be more assertive when you are in the party opposing the

1 party that is in the White House, but really, it ought to be both parties. We ought to, as  
2 a body, say we want more power; we want more oversight; and we want to be more of  
3 a participant in what happens.

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

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

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

19 My resolution or my amendment would not change the Leahy amendment as the  
20 way the Leahy amendment originates. The administration has the power or is

1 supposed to withhold military assistance when there are human rights abuses or when  
2 there is an undemocratic takeover of government.

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

8           **THE CHAIRMAN.** Anyone else?

9           **SENATOR RISCH.** Mr. Chairman?

10          **THE CHAIRMAN.** Go ahead.

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

12          **THE CHAIRMAN.** Yes.

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

15          **SENATOR PAUL.** Does your amendment require that we come back and have a  
16 vote?

17          **SENATOR MARKEY.** No.

18          **SENATOR PAUL.** Okay, so that is how it would be different.

19          **SENATOR RISCH.** I am sorry?

20          **THE CHAIRMAN.** His amendment does not require us to come back and vote.

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

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

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

10 Power Africa was great example of our ability to empower huge changes, like  
11 fifty million more people having electricity in sub-Saharan Africa over the next four  
12 years.

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

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

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

1           **SENATOR CARDIN.** Mr. Chairman?

2           **THE CHAIRMAN.** Yes?

3           **SENATOR CARDIN.** If I can, let me just underscore this point.

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

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

13           The language in the Markey amendment, the language in the manager's package,  
14 is very strong on saying we are cutting off funds and giving direction that no funds  
15 should be made available and authorizing the President to be able to carry this out,  
16 which has been the traditional way that Congress and the White House has worked on  
17 legislation, and it has worked fairly well in almost all circumstances.

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

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

4           I would urge colleagues to oppose the amendment.

5           **THE CHAIRMAN.** Yes?

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

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

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

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

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

19           And the second is you take away a lot of leverage to get immediate changes from  
20 people, like, "We can lift this suspension tomorrow if you do X." That will not be true

1 anymore. The administration loses some leverage to impact behavior, because they still  
2 have to go back to Congress now, and they could get tied up. We know how fast this  
3 place moves, right?

4 That is my concern.

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

9 Senator Johnson?

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

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

15 **SENATOR PAUL.** It already is directed. That is Leahy language. I mean, that  
16 already is the language. We are not doing anything new to the Secretary. The  
17 discussion comes in on what is the definition of human rights abuse and what is the  
18 definition of when a coup happens.

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

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

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

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

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

13 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Senator Risch?

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

17 But in this particular instance, where you are dealing with military engagements,  
18 the Commander in Chief has to be able to move quickly, I mean, really quickly in a lot  
19 of circumstances. As has already been pointed out, where the administration has the

1 ability to say, "Okay, we have some money here, but we want you to do this," they just  
2 can't come to Congress. This place, as you know, moves at glacial speed, if that.

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

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

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

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

15 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Senator Johnson?

16 **SENATOR JOHNSON.** Again, reading the text here, the crux here is the Secretary  
17 makes the determination whether something —

18 **SENATOR PAUL.** That is the way the current system is.

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

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

7           **SENATOR PAUL.** I think that depends on what type of administration you have.

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

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

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



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

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

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

10           **THE CHAIRMAN.** Any additional debate?

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

12           **SENATOR PAUL.** Yes.

13           **THE CHAIRMAN.** Is there a second?

14           **SENATOR RISCH.** Second.

15           **THE CHAIRMAN.** So moved and seconded.

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

17           All opposed?

18           **SENATOR PAUL.** Can we have a recorded vote?

19           **THE CHAIRMAN.** Sure.

20           The clerk will call the roll.

1           **THE CLERK.** Mr. Risch?

2           **SENATOR RISCH.** No.

3           **THE CLERK.** Mr. Rubio?

4           **SENATOR RUBIO.** No.

5           **THE CLERK.** Mr. Johnson?

6           **SENATOR JOHNSON.** No.

7           **THE CLERK.** Mr. Flake?

8           **SENATOR FLAKE.** No.

9           **THE CLERK.** Mr. Gardner?

10          **SENATOR GARDNER.** No.

11          **THE CLERK.** Mr. Perdue?

12          **SENATOR PERDUE.** No.

13          **THE CLERK.** Mr. Isakson?

14          **THE CHAIRMAN.** No by proxy.

15          **THE CLERK.** Mr. Paul?

16          **SENATOR PAUL.** Yes.

17          **THE CLERK.** Mr. Barrasso?

18          **SENATOR BARRASSO.** No.

19          **THE CLERK.** Mr. Cardin?

20          **SENATOR CARDIN.** No.

1           **THE CLERK.** Mrs. Boxer?

2           **SENATOR BOXER.** No.

3           **THE CLERK.** Mr. Menendez?

4           **SENATOR MENENDEZ.** No.

5           **THE CLERK.** Ms. Shaheen?

6           **SENATOR SHAHEEN.** No.

7           **THE CLERK.** Mr. Coons?

8           **SENATOR COONS.** No.

9           **THE CLERK.** Mr. Udall?

10          **SENATOR UDALL.** Aye.

11          **THE CLERK.** Mr. Murphy?

12          **SENATOR MURPHY.** No.

13          **THE CLERK.** Mr. Kaine?

14          **SENATOR KAINE.** No.

15          **THE CLERK.** Mr. Markey?

16          **SENATOR MARKEY.** No.

17          **THE CLERK.** Mr. Chairman?

18          **THE CHAIRMAN.** No.

19          **THE CHAIRMAN.** The clerk will report.

20          **THE CLERK.** Mr. Chairman, the yeas are two; the nays are 17.

1           **THE CHAIRMAN.** Thank you.

2           Thanks for bringing this forward.

3           Are there any other amendments?

4           **SENATOR BOXER.** Mr. Chairman?

5           **THE CHAIRMAN.** Yes, ma'am?

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

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

15           As I am on my way winding down, I would hope that we could come together  
16 on this, because we have an office on Global Women's Issues. We have an Ambassador  
17 at Large, Cathy Russell. It is working every day, but it has not been authorized.

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

1           Let me tell you what it has done, okay?

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

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

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

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

18           These efforts are very important. So because of my deep respect for our leaders,  
19 and being a chairman and now a ranking myself, I understand how hard it is, and I  
20 don't want to put anybody through their paces here. And I know I have a couple of

1 Republicans willing to support, but I don't want to push it today. But I am going to  
2 push it on the floor, and I am going to work with my friends. I hope that maybe we can  
3 come to something that we can all rally around.

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

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

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

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

11 **SENATOR CARDIN.** Before you withdraw, could I make a comment very briefly?

12 **SENATOR BOXER.** Yes.

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

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

1 So I thank you very much.

2 **SENATOR SHAHEEN.** Mr. Chairman?

3 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Yes, ma'am?

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

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

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

19 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Any other comments or amendments?

20 I understand you are withdrawing?

1           **SENATOR BOXER.** I would withdraw and look forward to debating this on the floor.

2           **THE CHAIRMAN.** Thank you.

3           Senator Menendez?

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

18           So I hope the 2016 authorization goes through, which had more specific language  
19 to try to get to that goal. But if in fact the 2016 authorization for some reason does not  
20 go through, I would like to try to, at that time, prevail upon the chairman and ranking

1 member to reconsider this section, because I do think we have a role in trying to get the  
2 department to move in a direction that brings them into the 21st century as it relates to  
3 what America looks like and how that adds an invaluable experience abroad.

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

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

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

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

19 Are there any other amendments or statements?

20 Senator Shaheen?

1           **SENATOR SHAHEEN.** I had two amendments that dealt with reporting requirements.

2 I am not going to offer those. I am going to withdraw them.

3           But I do think it is an important issue that we ought to take a look at, because I  
4 think very often in legislative bodies, when we cannot get done what we want, we punt  
5 by asking for a report. I think accountability is really important. I think reporting  
6 requirements are very important. But I think sometimes we ask for reports, and  
7 because often those are not accompanied by the resources to really get definitive  
8 analysis in the reports, what we get back is not usable, and it takes up a lot of time.

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

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

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

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

19           Senator Coons?

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

4           Thank you.

5           **THE CHAIRMAN.** Senator Murphy?

6           **SENATOR MURPHY.** Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Great work. Thank you for  
7 bringing this before us.

8           I associate myself with the remarks of Senator Coons.

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

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

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

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

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

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

13           I hope that we can work on this, because I think that there is just endless ability  
14 for the State Department to get around the law, and there are all sorts of practical  
15 reasons why we want to encourage the State Department, when practical, to buy from  
16 American companies.

17           **THE CHAIRMAN.** Thank you.

18           Any other comments?

19           Senator Gardner?

1           **SENATOR GARDNER.** Mr. Chairman, I have an amendment that I will also not be  
2 offering today, but it was concerning North Korea policy and implementation of the  
3 executive order, the legislation that we passed just a couple months ago regarding  
4 North Korea.

5           Yesterday, those of you who saw the news this morning already know this,  
6 South Korea claims that North Korea launched yet another ballistic missile, and we  
7 believe that they will execute yet another nuclear weapons test prior to the People's  
8 Congress coming up on May 6.

9           Yesterday, though, in our testimony from Secretary Blinken, we heard responses  
10 to questions regarding investigations of North Korean activities, investigations for  
11 sanctions violations, and when those sanctions would be implemented. We did not  
12 hear when they are going to have the investigation performed. We did not hear who  
13 they are investigating. We did not hear anything about whether or not any of these  
14 investigations include China.

15           So as North Korea continues to test ballistic missiles, as North Korea continues to  
16 test nuclear weapons, I think it is very important that this committee maintain rigorous  
17 oversight of the administration's investigations and implementation of both the U.N.  
18 resolution and the legislation that we passed.

19           **THE CHAIRMAN.** Thank you. I want to thank you and Senator Cardin for your  
20 leadership as the subcommittee heads, and you and Senator Menendez for passing

1 legislation that, no doubt, is having impact. I appreciate your continued efforts to make  
2 sure the oversight is there in a proper way. So thank you.

3 Any other comments?

4 With that, I will entertain a motion to approve the Department of State  
5 Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2017, as amended.

6 **SENATOR CARDIN.** So moved.

7 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Is there a second?

8 **SENATOR RISCH.** Second.

9 **THE CHAIRMAN.** So moved and seconded.

10 The question is on the motion to approve the Department of State Authorization  
11 Act for Fiscal Year 2017, as amended.

12 All in favor, say aye.

13 All opposed?

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

15 I again want to thank the outstanding staff of all of our Senators, but certainly the  
16 committee staff that made this happen.

17 That completes the committee's business.

18 I ask unanimous consent that staff be authorized to make technical and  
19 conforming changes.

20 Without objection, so ordered.

1 And with that, without objection, the committee will stand adjourned.

**[Whereupon, at 11:09 a.m., the meeting was adjourned.]**