

**NOMINATION HEARINGS OF THE  
115TH CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION**

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**HEARINGS**

BEFORE THE

**COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS  
UNITED STATES SENATE**

**ONE HUNDRED FIFTEENTH CONGRESS**

**FIRST SESSION**

—  
**JANUARY 3, 2017 TO JANUARY 3, 2018**  
—

Printed for the use of the Committee on Foreign Relations



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S. HRG. 115-413

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## CONTENTS

The nominees' responses to additional questions and any other additional material submitted for the record are located at the end of each hearing transcript.

	Page
<b>Wednesday, January 11, 2017</b> .....	na
Tillerson, Rex, to be Secretary of State, transcript printed under separate cover, S. Hrg. 115-4. ....	na
<b>Wednesday, January 18, 2017</b> .....	na
Haley, Gov. Nimrata "Nikki," to be Ambassador to the United Nations, transcript printed under separate cover, S. Hrg. 115-345. ....	na
<b>Thursday, February 16, 2017</b> .....	1
Friedman, David, of New York, to be Ambassador to Israel .....	9
<b>Wednesday, April 26, 2017</b> .....	71
Mushingi, Hon. Tulinabo Salama, of Virginia, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Senegal and to the Republic of Guinea-Bissau .....	73
Haskell, Todd Philip, of Florida, to be Ambassador to the Republic of the Congo .....	75
<b>Tuesday, May 2, 2017</b> .....	93
Branstad, Hon. Terry, of Iowa, to be Ambassador to the People's Republic of China .....	98
<b>Tuesday, May 9, 2017</b> .....	145
Sullivan, Hon. John J., of Maryland, to be Deputy Secretary of State .....	149
<b>Wednesday, May 17, 2017</b> .....	207
Brown, Scott P., of New Hampshire, to be Ambassador to New Zealand, and to the Independent State of Samoa .....	211
<b>Thursday, May 18, 2017</b> .....	227
Hagerty, William Francis IV, of Tennessee, to be Ambassador to Japan ....	231
<b>Thursday, June 15, 2017</b> .....	259
Green, Mark Andrew, of Wisconsin, to be Administrator of the U.S. Agency for International Development .....	266
<b>Tuesday, July 11, 2017</b> .....	303
Bohigian, Hon. David Steele, of Missouri, to be Executive Vice President of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation .....	307
Washburne, Ray, of Texas, to be President of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation .....	309
Currie, Kelley Eckels, of Georgia, to be U.S. Representative on the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations .....	312
Murray, Jay Patrick, of Virginia, to be an Alternate Representative for Special Political Affairs in the United Nations .....	315

IV

	Page
<b>Tuesday, July 18, 2017</b> .....	<b>345</b>
Gingrich, Callista L., of Virginia, to be Ambassador to the Holy See .....	349
Sales, Nathan Alexander, of Ohio, to be Coordinator for Counterterrorism, Department of State .....	352
Glass, George Edward, of Oregon, to be Ambassador to the Portuguese Republic .....	355
Risch, Carl C., of Pennsylvania, to be an Assistant Secretary of State, Consular Affairs .....	358
<b>Wednesday, July 19, 2017</b> .....	<b>389</b>
Arreaga, Hon. Luis E., of Virginia, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Guatemala .....	389
Day, Sharon, of Florida, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Costa Rica .....	391
Urs, Krishna R., of Connecticut, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Peru .....	393
<b>Thursday, July 20, 2017</b> .....	<b>415</b>
Hutchison, Hon. Kay Bailey, of Texas, to be U.S. Permanent Representative on The Council of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization .....	425
Craft, Kelly Knight, of Kentucky, to be Ambassador to Canada .....	429
Johnson, Robert Wood IV, of New York, to be Ambassador to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland .....	432
Eisenberg, Lewis M., of Florida, to be Ambassador to the Italian Republic and to the Republic of San Marino .....	434
McFarland, Kathleen Troia, of New York, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Singapore .....	437
<b>Wednesday, July 26, 2017</b> .....	<b>491</b>
Raynor, Hon. Michael Arthur, of Maryland, to be Ambassador to the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia .....	492
Brewer, Maria E., of Indiana, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Sierra Leone .....	494
Desrocher, John P., of New York, to be Ambassador to the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria .....	496
<b>Tuesday, August 1, 2017</b> .....	<b>517</b>
King, Stephen B., of Wisconsin, to be Ambassador to the Czech Republic ..	518
<b>Tuesday, September 12, 2017</b> .....	<b>531</b>
Ueland, Eric M., of Oregon, to be an Under Secretary of State (Management) .....	536
Bass, Hon. John R., of New York, to be Ambassador to the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan .....	556
Siberell, Justin Hicks, of Maryland, Nominee to be Ambassador to the Kingdom of Bahrain .....	560
Dowd, J. Steven, of Florida, to be U.S. Director of the African Development Bank for a Term of 5 Years .....	563
<b>Tuesday, September 19, 2017</b> .....	<b>617</b>
Huntsman, Hon. Jon M. Jr., of Utah, to be Ambassador to the Russian Federation State .....	624
Mitchell, A. Wess, of Virginia, to be an Assistant Secretary of State (European and Eurasian Affairs) .....	640
<b>Wednesday, September 27, 2017, (a.m.)</b> .....	<b>693</b>
Kritenbrink, Daniel J., of Virginia, to be Ambassador to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam .....	695
Fitzpatrick, Kathleen M., of the District of Columbia, to be Ambassador to the Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste .....	698
<b>Wednesday, September 27, 2017 (p.m.)</b> .....	<b>715</b>
Hoekstra, Hon. Peter, of Michigan, to be Ambassador to the Kingdom of the Netherlands .....	718
Buchan, Richard Duke, III, of Florida, to be Ambassador to the Kingdom of Spain .....	721

	Page
<b>Wednesday, September 27, 2017 (p.m.) —Continued</b>	
Grenell, Richard, of California, to be Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany .....	725
McCourt, Jamie, of California, to be Ambassador to the French Republic, and to the Principality of Monaco .....	728
McMullen, Edward T. Jr., of South Carolina, to be Ambassador to the Swiss Confederation, and to the Principality of Liechtenstein .....	732
<b>Tuesday, October 3, 2017 (a.m.) .....</b>	<b>763</b>
Juster, Hon. Kenneth Ian, of New York, to be Ambassador to the Republic of India .....	767
<b>Tuesday, October 3, 2017 (p.m.) .....</b>	<b>789</b>
Andre, Hon. Larry Edward, of Texas, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Djibouti .....	792
Barlerin, Peter Henry, of Colorado, to be Ambassador to Republic of Cameroon .....	794
Whitaker, Eric P., of Illinois, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Niger ..	796
Dodman, Michael James, of New York, to be Ambassador to the Islamic Republic of Mauritania .....	807
Fite, Nina Maria, of Pennsylvania, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Angola .....	810
Foote, Daniel L., of New York, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Zambia .....	813
Reimer, David Dale, of Ohio, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Mauritius and the Republic of Seychelles .....	815
<b>Wednesday, October 4, 2017 .....</b>	<b>849</b>
Sison, Michele Jeanne, of Maryland, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Haiti .....	851
Brownback, Hon. Samuel Dale, of Kansas, to be Ambassador-at-Large for International Religious Freedom .....	855
<b>Thursday, October 5, 2017 .....</b>	<b>883</b>
Sands, Carla, of California, to be Ambassador to the Kingdom of Denmark .....	884
Kohorst, W. Robert, of California, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Croatia .....	887
<b>Wednesday, October 18, 2017 .....</b>	<b>903</b>
Carter, Thomas, of South Carolina, to be U.S. Representative on the Council of the International Civil Aviation Organization .....	905
Newstead, Jennifer Gillian, of New York, to be Legal Adviser of the Department of State .....	907
Singh, Manisha, of Florida, to be an Assistant Secretary of State (Economic and Business Affairs) .....	910
Evanoff, Michael T., of Arkansas, to be an Assistant Secretary of State (Diplomatic Security) .....	911
<b>Wednesday, November 1, 2017 .....</b>	<b>955</b>
Goldstein, Irwin Steven, of New York, to be Under Secretary of State (Public Diplomacy) .....	957
Lawler, Sean P., of Maryland, to be Chief of Protocol of the Department of State .....	960
Johnson, Lisa A., of Washington, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Namibia .....	962
Gonzales, Rebecca Eliza, of Texas, to be Ambassador to the Kingdom of Lesotho .....	964
Evans, James Randolph, of Georgia, to be Ambassador To Luxembourg ....	966
<b>Tuesday, November 28, 2017 .....</b>	<b>1013</b>
Poblete, Yleem D.S., Ph.D., of Virginia, to be an Assistant Secretary of State (Verification and Compliance) .....	1019
Ford, Christopher Ashley, D.Phil., of Maryland, to be an Assistant Secretary of State (International Security and Non-Proliferation) .....	1022

VI

	Page
<b>Thursday, November 30, 2017</b> .....	<b>1071</b>
Bierman, Hon. Brock D., of Virginia, to be an Assistant Administrator of the United States Agency For International Development .....	1076
Braithwaite, Rear Admiral Kenneth J., USN (Ret), of Pennsylvania, to be Ambassador to the Kingdom of Norway .....	1080
Trujillo, Hon. Carlos, of Florida, to be the Permanent U.S. Representative to the Organization of American States .....	1083
McClenny, M. Lee, of Washington, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Paraguay .....	1086
<b>Tuesday, December 19, 2017</b> .....	<b>1123</b>
Vrooman, Peter Hendrick, of New York, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Rwanda .....	1125
Danies, Joel, of Maryland, to be Ambassador to the Gabonese Republic and to the Democratic Republic of Sao Tomé and Príncipe .....	1128

APPENDIX

Alphabetical listing of nominees considered by the committee, including im- portant dates .....	1151
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## NOMINATION

TUESDAY, MAY 9, 2017

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

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:04 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, Gardner, Young, Barrasso, Paul, Cardin, Menendez, Shaheen, Coons, Udall, Murphy, Kaine, Markey, Merkley, and Booker.

Also Present: Senator Sullivan.

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

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you for appearing before the committee today, Mr. Sullivan, and your willingness to serve our country once again.

The confirmation of a Deputy Secretary of State is one of the most important appointments this committee will consider. The person who occupies this position will serve as the chief adviser to Secretary Tillerson, as Secretary in his absence, and as a principal officer for management of personnel and resources at the State Department.

Given recent management, budgetary, and information technology challenges, this is no small task. Fortunately, the President has nominated someone who has an extensive background in Federal service. Having served at the Department of Justice, the Department of Defense, and as Deputy Secretary of Commerce, I believe Mr. Sullivan has the knowledge base necessary to understand the inner workings of a large Federal bureaucracy and the capacity to manage multiple priorities at the deputy level. Mr. Sullivan also has developed a reputation in the legal field as an authority on trade and national security issues.

If confirmed, Mr. Sullivan will be reentering government service at a highly precarious time in world history. From Europe to the Middle East to East Asia, we are witnessing a number of major threats to global security and stability.

These events give rise to a common question: What will America's role be? We are at a crucial point where we can decide to lead from the front with bold action or simply observe what happens from the sidelines and hope for the best.

It is my hope that we will choose to appropriately engage on the hard problems, that we will restore U.S. credibility, and that we will provide strong pragmatic leadership on the world stage.

It is also mandatory that the person who fills this position understands not only the importance of this office to the day-to-day operations of the department, but also the responsibility of keeping this committee fully informed of the department's operations, plans, and policy objectives as we exercise our oversight authority.

I have spoken with Mr. Sullivan in private about the need for us to have candid responses to our questions, both today and in the future, if he is confirmed by the Senate.

We are here today to examine Mr. Sullivan's nomination, and I look forward to hearing from him about this exceptionally important position.

Typically, we would allow visiting Senators to go ahead and speak, but do you want to go ahead?

Senator CARDIN. I am more than willing to yield, if it is all right with you, Senator Sullivan? It is a little confusing there, with the Sullivans. [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. They are not related, I understand.

Senator CARDIN. I am willing to yield to Senator Sullivan.

The CHAIRMAN. So we are honored to have Senator Sullivan who has served, I think, in the past with Secretary Sullivan. Thank you for being here and spending a few moments. Go ahead. As a courtesy, we will let you start right now.

**STATEMENT OF HON. DAN SULLIVAN,  
U.S. SENATOR FROM ALASKA**

Senator SULLIVAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member Cardin, members of the committee. It is an honor for me to come before the Foreign Relations Committee on behalf of my friend, a former colleague, a great American, Mr. John Sullivan.

And despite what his last name would suggest, we are not related, although, as I mentioned to Senator Markey, probably somewhere back in the history of Ireland, maybe we were all related.

Senator MARKEY. My mother is a Sullivan, too. [Laughter.]

Senator SULLIVAN. That is why he is the biggest supporter.

I met John when we first served in the administration of George W. Bush, myself as an Assistant Secretary of State working on economic, energy, trade, finance issues, and John as the Deputy Secretary of Commerce, and we worked on a number of foreign policy issues, particularly in the economic realm, together.

You have all had an opportunity to see his resume, but I just wanted to highlight a few elements of his personal background and experience.

John started out in public service as a law clerk for Judge John Wisdom on the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, and then later as a law clerk for Justice Souter on the U.S. Supreme Court. In 2004, Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld appointed John as deputy general counsel at the Department of Defense. He then moved to the Department of Commerce, where he served as general counsel, and then as Deputy Secretary.

In the private sector, John currently co-chairs Mayer Brown's national security practice and serves as chairman of the United

States-Iraq Business Dialogue. I mention these positions because I think we can all agree that American foreign policy is not just formed in the halls of Foggy Bottom but in the Departments of Defense, Energy, Commerce, Treasury, Justice, and many other agencies throughout Washington.

It is in this vein that I believe John's substantial and diverse experience in the Federal Government will serve as an important complement to Secretary Tillerson's background in the private sector. John's experience also speaks to a greater understanding of what it takes to develop and execute U.S. foreign policy. He understands the importance of a robust interagency cooperation and coordination element of our government. He understands that our Nation's foreign policy is most effective when we combine all instruments of American power—diplomatic, military, energy, trade, private sector. He understands the critical importance of working with our allies around the world. And he understands what it means to honorably serve our Nation and has a career of doing so.

And with a name like Sullivan, I am confident that John will also bring an Irishman's wit, charm, gift of gab, and pugnaciousness to the job, all important qualities of a diplomat.

He is a man of integrity. I know he will serve Secretary Tillerson, the men and women of the Foreign Service and civil service, and this Nation well, and I urge you to support his nomination.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you for coming and for your support. You can return to your other duties. Thank you so much, sir.

Senator SULLIVAN. Thank you.

[Whereupon, the hearing paused for a business meeting vote.]

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Cardin.

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

Senator CARDIN. Mr. Chairman, first of all, let me thank Mr. Sullivan for his willingness to serve our country again. He seems to always want to come back to public service, and we very much appreciate that, a very talented person who has a distinguished record.

And we thank your family for being willing to share you with our Nation, because in the position that you have been nominated for, it will take 110 percent of your time and effort.

The challenges are great. And as Chairman Corker pointed out, so much goes through the Deputy Secretary. It is the person who really makes sure that that personnel systems are working, that the different regional areas are held accountable. It is a critically important position.

I am going to use my time and my opening statement to share some of the comments that we talked about in our private meeting, because I think it is important at this nomination hearing to review a couple areas of concern that we have on the Trump administration and get your views as, if confirmed, a critical person in developing the foreign policy of our country.

The first is what I led with in our private discussion, to talk about American values, American strength.

I just came from an ADL meeting where we were talking about what makes America the strong Nation that it is. Yes, we have a strong military, and you helped to develop our strong military. That is important.

We have a strong economy, and Senator Sullivan was involved in helping to develop that strong economy.

But America's strength is in our ideals, our values, speaking up for democracy, speaking up for human rights, anticorruption, and embracing diversity.

So I want to start with that because I want to have a dialogue, I hope today during this nomination hearing, as to how you value the importance of what America stands for. It is in context to Secretary Tillerson's statement last week that gives me grave concern, where he said that our foreign policy is out of balance, that our policies and values are not the same, and that if we condition our national security efforts on someone adopting our values, we probably cannot achieve our national security goals or our national security interests.

That did not just concern a Democratic Senator from Maryland, but Senator McCain, who is well-respected globally for his commitment to American values, said, let me quote from Senator McCain's op-ed this week, "In the real world, as lived and experienced by real people, the demand for human rights and dignity, the longing for liberty and justice and opportunity, the hatred of oppression and corruption and cruelty is reality. By denying this experience, we deny the aspirations of billions of people and invite their enduring resentment."

Senator McCain went on to state, "Our values are our strength and our greatest treasure. We are distinguished from other countries because we are not made from a land or tribe, or a particular race or creed, but from an ideal that liberty is the inalienable right of mankind and in accord with nature and nature's Creator.

"To view foreign policy as simply transactional is more dangerous than its proponents realize. Depriving the oppressed of a beacon of hope could lose us the world we have built and thrived in. It could cost us our reputation in history as the Nation distinct from all others in our achievements, our identity, and our enduring influence on mankind. Our values are central to all three."

So I hope that we will have a chance to talk about this. This is not a hypothetical discussion. The Russian Federation has made a strategic decision to try to undermine our values as an effort to spread their influence in countries that currently have democratic values. So this is a current issue that is of grave concern.

The second point I want to mention is our respect for involvement internationally. I say that in context to the fact that I led a 10-Senator delegation to COP21 to bolster U.S. leadership and provide calm and confidence in the United States' commitment to the global efforts to fight the existential threat of climate change.

Now, we may disagree as to what the solution should be. I happen to side where science tells me the solution is, but we may have some different views on that. But I would hope that we would all agree that the United States must be at the table during these discussions and that we need to remain a part of the international

family as we talk about these issues because without U.S. leadership, there will be other countries that will try to fill it.

But we will be on the side of very few countries—I think Nicaragua and Syria are the only two countries that did not join COP21, and that is certainly not the neighbors that we want to associate ourselves with.

So I hope we will hear your view for the importance of America's engagement globally, and that it would be wrong for us to sit on the sidelines as the international community discusses major issues.

In that vein, we will talk to you about the President's skinny budget of a 36 percent cut in the State Department. We understand that Congress will draft its own budget, and I fully respect that, and I know the commitment of many members of this committee on both sides of the aisle to make sure that we have adequate resources to deal with our international commitments. But we want to hear your view as to America's engagement.

Over and over again, we are involved in Afghanistan and Iraq. And they are talking about more of the soft power so that we can avoid military engagements in these countries. We know that in Africa, we need to do more in spreading democracy. We know about the famines and the challenges that we have to deal with there.

So I would be interested in hearing your view as to how resources can be more efficiently spent and allocated, but that America's role will be one of increased influence, not reduced influence, in using what is under the State Department to provide stable neighbors for us to work with.

And the last point, with what the chairman has said, in our private discussions, you made it clear that you would respond to requests by members of this committee. I would ask that that also be reaffirmed at today's hearing.

Welcome. We look forward to your hearing, and we look forward to the continued partnership between this committee and the State Department.

[Whereupon, the hearing paused for a business meeting vote.]

The CHAIRMAN. We look forward to your opening comments. We hope you will welcome and introduce your wonderful family, who is with you today. We found that generally tones down committee members when you do that.

And I do hope that you will affirm the fact that, if we have any questions, that you will promptly come before us in hearings in the future.

With that, we look forward to your comments.

**STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN J. SULLIVAN, OF MARYLAND,  
NOMINATED TO BE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF STATE**

Mr. SULLIVAN. Thank you, Chairman Corker, Ranking Member Cardin, members of the committee. I am honored to appear before you as the President's nominee to be Deputy Secretary of State.

I am joined by members of my family, my wife for almost 29 years, Grace Rodriguez, the love of my life who has been my biggest supporter and best friend. We are also joined by two of our three children, Jack and Katie Sullivan. Our youngest, Teddy, is in

the midst of final exams at college, and he is not able to join us today.

But I am immensely proud of all of them. I hope there is a future for them in government service. I tell people that they are CIA, Cuban-Irish-Americans.

Also, with us are my mother-in-law, Graciela Rodriguez, and my sister-in-law, Susan Rodriguez.

It was an honor to be introduced by Senator Sullivan of Alaska, my dear friend and former colleague from the Bush administration. I am very thankful for his kind words.

I want to express my enormous gratitude to President Trump and to Secretary Tillerson for the trust and confidence they have reposed in me. If confirmed, I pledge to devote all that I have to be worthy of that trust and confidence.

By way of personal introduction, I am the grandson of Irish immigrants who arrived in South Boston in the 1880s. My parents, born in the 1920s, endured the Great Depression and, with millions of their generation, fought and won the Second World War. My father served in the U.S. Navy submarine service in the Pacific theater. My mother was a USO volunteer. We would now call them members of the Greatest Generation, but they never thought of themselves that way. They rarely spoke of their experiences during the war.

One thing they did to make clear and instilled in me was a profound love of our country and respect for the high calling of public service. In the 32 years since my law school graduation, those values have animated my career.

As Senator Sullivan mentioned, I have had the privilege of serving in a variety of positions in the U.S. Government. During that public service, I have learned a great deal about our country, its role in the world, and the functioning of the executive branch.

But the most important lessons I have learned were humility and respect. As deputy general counsel of DOD, I saw firsthand the sacrifices of our men and women in uniform, and I learned to walk humbly through the halls of the Pentagon.

I also learned respect for the career civil servants who rarely get the praise they deserve. The executive branch functions because of these men and women, many with decades of experience.

A small number of public servants are accepted into the Foreign Service, which I know well. My uncle Bill Sullivan was a Foreign Service Officer for 32 years. He was the last U.S. Ambassador to Iran in the 1970s. It was his staff in Tehran that was taken hostage on November 4, 1979, a few months after the President had recalled him.

It is an earlier date from 1979, however, that sticks in my mind, February 14, Valentine's Day. The U.S. Embassy in Tehran was overrun by a mob, and my uncle and his staff were seized. After a few hours, the Americans were released and the Embassy reopened. My uncle appeared in a picture on the cover of the next issue of Newsweek. He was surrounded by Iranians carrying assault weapons, one of whom was brandishing a bayonet in his face.

That day in 1979 is significant not merely because of the drama in Iran but also because of a tragedy in Afghanistan. Our Ambassador Spike Dubs was kidnapped and assassinated in Kabul. Like

my uncle, Ambassador Dubs was a U.S. Navy World War II veteran and a career Foreign Service Officer.

The assassination of Ambassador Dubs and the seizure of our Embassy in Tehran on February 14, 1979, made a huge impression on me. I was a college student at the time. I have remained in awe of our Foreign Service Officers who venture into such dangerous places on our behalf. If confirmed, it would be my highest honor to work with the Foreign Service, the civil service, and the department's locally employed staff in the conduct of American diplomacy.

In a world in which we face significant and enduring threats, these challenging times require leadership from the United States. As Secretary Tillerson said when he came before this committee, to achieve the stability that is foundational to peace and security in the 21st century, American leadership must not only be renewed, it must be asserted.

And we will be aided in the assertion of that leadership by two of our abiding strengths, our allies and our values. We have relationships with allies in this hemisphere and across the globe that extend back many decades and have been the cornerstone of our national security in the post-war era.

But our greatest asset is our commitment to the fundamental values expressed at the founding of our Nation, the rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. These basic human rights are the bedrock of our republic and at the heart of American leadership in the world.

Should I be confirmed, I commit to work with the members of this committee as the administration implements an American foreign policy that is worthy of our ideals as a people, ideals that have been handed down by the many generations that preceded us.

Thank you for your time, and I look forward to your questions.  
[Mr. Sullivan's prepared statement follows:]

#### STATEMENT OF JOHN J. SULLIVAN

Chairman Corker, Ranking Member Cardin, members of the committee, I am honored to appear before you as the President's nominee to be Deputy Secretary of State.

I am joined by members of my family: my wife for almost 29 years Grace Rodriguez, the love of my life, who has always been my biggest supporter and best friend. We are joined by our children, Jack, Katie, and Teddy Sullivan, of whom I am immensely proud. Also with us are my mother-in-law Graciela Rodriguez and my sister-in-law Susan Rodriguez.

It was an honor to be introduced by Senator Sullivan of Alaska, my former colleague from the Bush administration. I am thankful for his kind words.

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By way of personal introduction, I am the grandson of Irish immigrants who arrived in South Boston in the 1880s. My parents, born in the 1920s, endured the Great Depression and, with millions of their generation, fought and won the Second World War. My father served in the U.S. Navy's Submarine Service in the Pacific Theater. My mother was a USO volunteer. We would now call them members of the Greatest Generation, but they never thought of themselves that way. They rarely spoke of their experiences during the War.

But one thing they did make clear, and instilled in me, was a profound love of our country and respect for the high calling of public service. In the 32 years since my law school graduation, those values have animated my career. In addition to stints in private law practice, I have had the privilege of serving in the U.S. Government: as a law clerk for Judge John Wisdom and for Justice David Souter, followed by senior positions at the Justice, Defense, and Commerce Departments.

During my public service, I have learned a great deal about our country and its role in the world. Most significantly, my experiences have prepared me to serve in the position for which I recently have been nominated: Deputy Secretary of State. In both legal and policy positions, I learned the operations of the national security bureaucracy. As Deputy Secretary of Commerce, I was chief operating officer of a cabinet department and participated in the budgeting process with OMB. I also worked closely with the Department of State while leading trade missions and government delegations on trips to China, Pakistan, Germany, Iraq, Israel and the West Bank, Jordan, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Japan, and the UAE.

But the most important lessons I learned were humility and respect. As Deputy General Counsel of DoD, I saw firsthand the sacrifices of our men and women in uniform. I learned to walk humbly through the halls of the Pentagon. I also learned respect for the career public servants who rarely get the praise they deserve. The executive branch functions because of these men and women, many with decades of experience.

A small number of public servants are accepted into the Foreign Service, which I know well. My uncle Bill Sullivan was a Foreign Service Officer for 32 years. He was the last U.S. Ambassador to Iran in the late 1970s. It was his staff in Tehran that was taken hostage on November 4, 1979—a few months after the President had recalled him.

It is an earlier date from 1979, however, that sticks out in my mind: February 14, Valentine's Day. The U.S. Embassy in Tehran was overrun by a mob, and my uncle and his staff were seized. After a few hours, the Americans were released and the embassy reopened. My uncle appeared in a picture on the cover of the next issue of Newsweek. He was surrounded by Iranians carrying assault weapons, one of whom was brandishing a bayonet in his face.

That day in 1979 is significant to me not merely because of the drama in Iran, but also because of a tragedy in Afghanistan. Our Ambassador, Spike Dubs, was kidnapped and assassinated in Kabul. Like my uncle, Ambassador Dubs was a U.S. Navy World War II veteran and a career Foreign Service Officer.

The assassination of Ambassador Dubs and the seizure of our embassy in Tehran on February 14, 1979, made a huge impression on me. I have remained in awe of our Foreign Service Officers who venture into such dangerous places on our behalf.

If confirmed, it would be my highest honor to work with the Foreign Service, the Civil Service, and the Department's locally employed staff in the conduct of American diplomacy. In a world in which we face significant and enduring threats, these challenging times require leadership from the United States. As Secretary Tillerson said when he came before this committee, "to achieve the stability that is foundational to peace and security in the 21st century, American leadership must not only be renewed, it must be asserted."

And we will be aided in the assertion of our leadership by two of our abiding strengths: our allies and our values. We have relationships with allies in this hemisphere and across the globe that extend back many decades and that have been the cornerstone of our national security in the post-war era. We have maintained and enhanced the relationships with our allies on the basis of our shared interests. But in many cases, we also share a commitment to the fundamental values expressed at the founding of our nation: the rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. These basic human rights are the bedrock of our republic and at the heart of American leadership.

Should I be confirmed, I commit to work with the members of this committee as the administration implements an American foreign policy that is worthy of our ideals as a people—ideals that have been handed down by the many generations that preceded us.

Thank you for your time and I look forward to your questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Just one question from me. Do you commit to appear and testify upon request from this committee?

Mr. SULLIVAN. I do, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. With that, I am going to reserve my time for interjections, and turn to our distinguished ranking member, Ben Cardin.

Senator CARDIN. Mr. Sullivan, first of all, thank you for the testimony today, because you make it very clear at the end your commitment to American values. I appreciate that. I want to drill down a little bit on that, as I told you I would in our private meeting.



I quoted from Senator McCain in my opening statement. I thought part of his experience and the way that he related to the fact that, as a prisoner of war, where he was trying to be broken by the enemy, it was the belief in our values that kept him strong, and that he felt that if America was transactional, that is how we do business rather than our values, then why shouldn't prisoners of war be transactional also and give up our country in order to achieve more comfort for themselves? They did not do that. Our soldiers do not do that, and our diplomats shouldn't do that.

So I want to hear from you your commitment that, as we deal with Russia, as we deal with China, as we deal with countries around the world that we need to deal with that do not share our commitment to universal values, how America's foreign policy will always be framed in the values that have made us the great Nation we are.

Mr. SULLIVAN. Senator, our values, as I said in my opening statement, are the bedrock of our republic. Before we became a world power, before we had the world-class military that you mentioned, before we became the economic juggernaut that we are today, we had our values.

We achieved those successes because all of that was based on our values as Americans expressed in the Declaration of Independence and in our Constitution.

Senator CARDIN. So I am going to tell you some specific examples. You will have a chance to visit a lot of countries, if you are confirmed, visiting with the opposition, visiting with NGOs that are not particularly liked by the Government, visiting with people who have been persecuted by the Government is a clear sign that America stands on the side of universal human rights. Are you prepared to make those types of visual commitments so that our leadership is maintained?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Not only am I prepared to make that commitment going forward, but I have made that commitment in my prior service in government.

I am a Roman Catholic. When I travel, I always go to mass and meet with Catholics in the country in which I travel. That includes countries where the Catholic Church is, for lack of a better word, oppressed—in particular, China.

Senator CARDIN. Thank you. I appreciate that.

Congress is taking steps to try to give the administration greater tools. In one case, the Magnitsky global human rights bill that was championed by Senator McCain and myself is now available globally, and it is a congressional initiative. It allows the State Department to promote names of individuals who have violated basic human rights for sanctions here in the United States.

Our leadership has been recognized globally, and other countries are following suit, doing the exact same thing that America has done, but it requires a robust administration. Are you prepared to use that tool to advance American human rights and values?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Yes, I am, Senator.

Senator CARDIN. There is legislation that we are working on in Congress to deal with corruption. We have a model dealing with trafficking, and I applaud many members of this committee that were deeply involved, including our chairman, who is passionate

about stopping modern-day slavery. The TIP Report is a very valuable tool in advancing our goals on fighting trafficking in humans. We want to use a similar model to fight corruption.

Corruption is growing, unfortunately, in too many places in the world. No country is immune from corruption. No country is immune from trafficking. There are countries that are taking steps to protect their country against trafficking, and there are countries that are taking steps to protect their country against corruption. Having guides in how we conduct our foreign policy because corruption is a cancer in a country that leads to instability, are you prepared to work with members of this committee on legislation that would give greater tools for evaluating how well we are doing in fighting corruption globally?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Yes, I am, Senator.

Senator CARDIN. Thank you.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Rubio?

Senator RUBIO. Thank you very much.

Thank you, for your willingness to serve once again in government. I want to continue on the theme of human rights. I think it is an essential part of our foreign policy.

I think you know this from your time in government and outside of it that so many of the groups around the world who are fighting for the principles that we as a Nation stand for—democracy, free press, freedom of religion, freedom of expression—they look to America for inspiration.

I have been touched deeply by examples of that just in the last 3 months. Sometimes you give these speeches on the Senate floor. We do not think anyone hears them, and then you get to interact with someone that was recently released from a prison, and they tell you that what we did in a resolution or in a hearing or on the Senate floor was impactful and ran counter to the oppressor's message to them that they do not matter to anybody, that nobody cares about you.

And while I think it is important that we here in the Senate continue to stand for these principles, I also think it is important that we have a State Department that is structured in a way that shows that this is a priority of the United States. There is no shortage of these, obviously.

In Iran, we know about their grotesque human rights record. In Syria, we have seen the horrifying crimes committed against innocent civilians.

We also have challenges with some allies in the region. I think that is perhaps some of the messaging that the Secretary was pointing to. Egypt is an ally. It is also a human rights violator, and it is important for us as their ally to tell them that that is an unsustainable position moving forward. Saudi Arabia is a country we work with very closely, and yet it is not a human rights star, to say the least.

In Asia, we obviously talk a lot about the North Korean nuclear weapon. We do not talk nearly enough about the forced labor camps that exist there, a horrifying reality. Of course, in China, we could have days and days of testimony about the thousands of political prisoners.

In Europe, obviously, we are aware of Russia's horrifying human rights record. We have seen recently in the pro-Russian areas of Chechnya how LGBT gay men have been rounded up and put in jail, again, another horrifying instance.

But in our own hemisphere, even as we stand now, we see horrifying human rights violations in Venezuela, dozens of people that have been in jail, some upwards of 3 years' total, ignoring the constitution of that country, the security forces firing on protesters in the street.

And of course, one that I know is near to you and to me, the issue of Cuba, where we still, despite all the celebratory language about an opening, there are people in jail in Cuba, there are people being rounded up in Cuba, there are people being oppressed systematically in Cuba.

I believe the Cuban people are deserving of freedom and democracy just like the people in the Dominican Republic have, just like the people in Haiti just had an election, just like the people in Colombia, just like the people—why are the Cubans any less worthy of those basic freedoms?

And what I would ask you to share with the committee is what you shared with me on the issue of human rights, in particular with Cuba but broader. This is not just an issue that is of academic interest.

In your own family, through marriage, you actually have a gentleman who experienced a horrifying violation of human rights, who experienced being jailed by an oppressive regime, who is a Floridian. You shared that story with me.

To me, that is very important, because it tells me that we have someone here before us who understands human rights and oppression not because he read about it in a book, because he knows and loves someone who himself has been a victim of the denial of freedom. I would just invite you to share with the committee for a moment the story of this incredible man and the impact that he has had on your thinking with regard to all this.

Mr. SULLIVAN. Thank you, Senator. You are referring to my wife and my mother-in-law's uncle, Jose Pujols, who was a political prisoner in Cuba for 27 years, over 27 years. He was one of the so-called plantados in Castro's prisons.

Senator RUBIO. Explain plantados.

Mr. SULLIVAN. Plantados were those prisoners who refused to cooperate, refused to wear prison uniforms. They were planted in their cells. He was in solitary confinement for 7 years. He was sustained by his religious faith, his Catholic faith, his wife who, despite the fact that she had the opportunity to leave Cuba and come to the United States, stayed on the island so that she, in those few opportunities when she could, meet with him.

He was released from prison a week after my wife and I got married in 1988, and he is still alive today. He is 92, almost 93 years old. And he is a great inspiration to our family and an inspiration to me and someone that my experience with, in talking to him, inspires me to serve in the United States Government to ensure that our government provides the leadership that is necessary to protect human rights around the world, to protect men like Jose Pujols.

Senator RUBIO. I would just close by saying, as proof that there is justice in the universe, Jose is alive and his oppressor is dead.

Mr. SULLIVAN. Amen.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Coons?

Senator COONS. Thank you, Chairman.

Thank you, Mr. Sullivan, for your willingness to return to government service and for your strong assertion of your commitment to our basic values and for your willingness to take up this work on behalf of the American people. I am encouraged by your statement in your opening that you have remained in awe of our Foreign Service Officers who venture into dangerous places on our behalf, and I am encouraged by the stories you shared with me and that you just shared in response to Senator Rubio's questioning.

So I look forward to working with you and to finding ways that we can together continue to speak up about human rights, about democracy, to meet with and to advocate for the Foreign Service Officers around the world who today are a little anxious about their place in the State Department and are looking for clarity about support for their service and their mission.

Just three quick questions, if I might. We talked a little bit about your service in the Commerce Department.

How do you view the Power Africa initiative? I think it has been a successful public-private partnership that helps bring private sector ingenuity and effort into the basic development challenge of infrastructure on the continent. Is that something that you think the Trump administration might well embrace and continue to move forward?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Yes, Senator. I agree, and we discussed that yesterday in our meeting.

I would also add that we discussed sub-Saharan Africa as a place that we cannot lose sight of, of the opportunities that are there, both for the sake of promoting human development, economic development in those many countries, but also as protection of U.S. interests, both national security and economic prosperity. So I look forward to working with you on that, Senator.

Senator COONS. Thank you. One of the things I am concerned about is that, in the absence of Russia paying some price for its interference in our 2016 election, arguably in France's election just this past week, and potentially in the election in Germany that is upcoming, that they will simply continue and become more aggressive and more robustly engaged.

How do you think we could best deter Russia from future cyberattacks and efforts to subvert democracy throughout our Western European allies and here in the United States?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Well, Senator, it is a persistent threat that we face, most recently from Russia in our election, and, as you mentioned, in the elections in Europe and France and the Netherlands, and upcoming elections in Germany and Italy next year or maybe later this year.

As the Secretary has said—Secretary Tillerson has met with Foreign Minister Lavrov, with President Putin, raised these issues directly with the Russians. I believe we have to be robust in our response to this intrusion into our democracy when we talk about basic human rights. Our republic is premised on a representative

democracy. Interference with our political processes is simply unacceptable. It is a profound threat to our way of life, and we need to respond as robustly as we can, using all of the means that we have at our disposal.

Senator COONS. I am encouraged to hear you say that, because I have heard expressions of concern from representatives of some of our European allies, particularly those closest to Russia geographically, who say that if we are not going to stand up and defend our democracy, how can they count on us to defend theirs, and that sense of uncertainty about our future actions I think makes all of us weaker.

Last, what do you think we should be doing to restrain Iran's destabilizing actions in the Middle East and throughout the region? I think they continue to engage in destabilizing actions throughout the region, in Yemen, in Syria, in Iraq, and elsewhere. And coming up with a sustained, bipartisan approach to Iran is I think one of our major foreign policy challenges.

Mr. SULLIVAN. I agree, Senator. Iran policy is currently under review in the administration. I would say that Iran has been a persistent threat to U.S. national interests, national security interests in many areas, including those that you mentioned.

The Secretary has sent a letter to this committee regarding Iranian compliance with the JCPOA. I thought Secretary Mattis best characterized the JCPOA in his testimony before the Armed Services Committee, in which he described it as an imperfect arms control agreement, not a treaty of friendship.

We have a lot of other problems that we need to address with Iran beyond the JCPOA and their nuclear program. We need to make sure that they comply with the terms of that agreement, but we have a number of other problems that we need to address with them, whether it is their sponsorship of terrorism, human rights in their own country, ballistic missile programs, the list goes on.

Senator COONS. I agree, and I look forward to having you testify before this committee in the future and to hearing that you visit with Foreign Service Officers as well as with the political opposition, human rights activists, and NGOs in your travels around the world. Thank you, Mr. Sullivan.

Mr. SULLIVAN. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Flake?

Senator FLAKE. Thank you.

I appreciated the opportunity to meet with you and also to hear your testimony here, your willingness to serve.

I enjoyed the discussion that Senator Rubio had with regard to Cuba. Many of us feel strongly about ways that we can hasten change in Cuba and move toward democracy. I happen to think that some of the measures taken by the last administration with regard to allowing Cuban-American travel, allowing increase in remittances, have allowed a lot of Cubans—I think we have gone from virtually very little Cuban employment outside of the Government sector to today about one in four Cubans employed in the so-called private sector in Cuba, running bed-and-breakfasts or private restaurants or beauty shops, auto repair facilities, and have some modicum of independence from the Government, more than

they had before. I think that is a good development. There are obviously still human rights abuses that take place.

The question is, how do we best ensure that freedom is hastened and we move forward? I know that those policies are being reviewed, and I hope that we will look at the whole picture there and see where we are as opposed to where we were a few years ago. We have had policies in place for 50 years that have not moved the needle very far until now.

With regard to the State Department and some of the things that you will be involved with, there was a report recently noting that there are 67 special envoy, special representative and special coordinator positions at the department, most of them outside of the regular bureaus and a handful of them, only a handful of them, approximately 20, have been authorized by Congress.

From a managerial perspective, how do we deal with this? Is there going to be an effort to wind down some of these special envoy positions?

Just as a matter of note, they seem pretty duplicative. For example, we have a special envoy and coordinator for international energy affairs, as well as the special envoy for climate change and the special representative for environmental and water resources. This is over and above any other positions that we have at State.

Then we have a special envoy for North Korean human rights issues and a special envoy for the Six Party talks and a special representative for North Korea policy. Again, this is all in addition to regular State Department positions.

From a managerial perspective, how are we dealing with these special envoy positions?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Thank you, Senator Flake.

This is all part of Secretary Tillerson's review of the mission of the department with the intent of basically bringing the department into the 21st century to address the challenges we have now. He has reached out to all employees of the department, having listening sessions with employees of the department to discuss the best ways to define and accomplish our missions.

With respect to these special envoy positions you have mentioned, Senator Flake, my concern, without addressing any particular office, is that when an office like that is created outside of the chain of command in the bureaucracy, it removes some level of accountability for those individuals who have been nominated by the President, reviewed by this committee, and confirmed, whether they serve at the Assistant Secretary or Under Secretary level. We then appoint a special envoy for a particular issue who is outside that chain of command. This committee has not reviewed that person's qualifications.

And it, in many ways, will undermine the leadership and authority of those individuals who have been put in positions of substantial authority because there is somebody outside that chain of authority who has responsibility for that narrow issue.

Senator FLAKE. That is my concern as well. I hope that we can move forward and make some changes here. My colleague just mentioned maybe we need a special envoy for special envoys. [Laughter.]

Senator FLAKE. But absent that, we have to get a handle on this. With only 20 of the 67 even authorized by Congress, and so many very duplicative, it would seem that a fully functioning, right functioning State Department would seek to get some of its power and authority back.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. I would point out, it is not just the envoys but, in many cases, very, very large staffs that support them.

We had testimony in a prior hearing from Republican and Democrat witnesses who had served at the State Department that, in many cases, these envoys were put in place to work around folks that otherwise could not perform in those roles. So I do hope you will look closely at that, and I appreciate the top-to-bottom review that is taking place.

Senator Menendez?

Senator MENENDEZ. Congratulations on your nomination. I look forward to continuing the conversation we started last week.

Along with many others on this committee, I am deeply concerned about the lack of senior management positions that have yet to be filled at the State Department, and we welcome the opportunity to move forward with many more nominees, because I believe leaving senior positions that require Senate-confirmed, empowered individuals vacant undermines the ability of the department to carry out its mission, which ultimately compromises our foreign policy and our national security objectives.

So this is a department, for those of us who care deeply about foreign policy and the men and women who dedicate their lives to serving this country overseas, it is critically important that we see senior leadership who also value the mission of the State Department, will fight for its employees, its proper place in the national security apparatus, and its budget.

So my question is, are you that person?

Mr. SULLIVAN. I am, Senator.

Senator MENENDEZ. You are committed to those goals?

Mr. SULLIVAN. I am committed to making the State Department the preeminent force to protect American values and promote American values in the world.

Senator MENENDEZ. So given your experience at the Commerce Department and in the private sector, you come with some degree of a greater business orientation toward foreign policy. One of the things that I found in my 25 years in Congress is that sanctions can be a powerful tool in terms of a peaceful diplomacy arsenal. I know that you have experience advising clients on sanctions compliance in Russia and Cuba, just to mention a couple.

Do you believe sanctions are an effective tool for foreign policy?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Absolutely.

Senator MENENDEZ. Do you believe that the network of sanctions that we have in place on adversarial countries like Russia and Iran should be kept in place at this time?

Mr. SULLIVAN. I believe they should be reviewed to make sure they are adequate, kept in place and potentially ratcheted up as necessary.

Senator MENENDEZ. Okay. Now I want to echo the remarks of the ranking member. One of the hallmarks of my career has been human rights and democracy globally. Most of us who pay attention to foreign policy recognize that leading with our values, including prioritizing human rights in our diplomacy, is a critical part of promoting our national security.

So I am really concerned about Secretary Tillerson's comments. I am also concerned that, notwithstanding his comments, I have not seen so far in the first 4 or 5 months human rights and democracy raised very often.

There is no question that there are times that there may be an immediate national security goal that must take precedence. But history has proven unequivocally that countries who share our values of human rights, democratic governance, fundamental freedoms, make more stable countries. They make more prosperous countries. They are less likely to create war on their neighbors or potentially against us.

Now we have somehow forgotten that history at times. We have engaged with dictators and tyrants. And in the short term, it may have served us. But in the long term, boy, are we paying huge consequences for it—huge consequences for it. And I could rattle off a series of countries in which we did that.

If you are sitting in Combinado del Este in Cuba, believe me, you want someone speaking about human rights and democracy. If you are being human trafficked by some slave trafficker, whether for sex or labor, you want somebody speaking out about human rights and democracy. If you are struggling inside of your country in Southeast Asia to change the essence of your life under a government that is totalitarian, you want somebody to speak out about human rights and democracy.

So I hope that what I heard you say to Senator Rubio, your comments to me, and others that have said for the record, I cannot emphasize it enough, because we need someone who has the moral clarity that Nikki Haley has. I voted for her even though I did not think she had a lot of foreign policy experience, or any. I am not sure I would have hired her for my senior foreign policy person, but I think she is outstanding. But she is moral clarity. That moral clarity can ultimately drive us in the right direction, and I hope that you have that moral clarity as the number two person at State Department.

Mr. SULLIVAN. Thank you, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Just on that note, we had some issues, and we have had to continuing discussions on the TIP Report. I think most of us felt like political interference took place to accommodate the TPP as it relates to certain countries on the TIP Report itself. As a matter of fact, I am pretty certain that that did occur.

Since that time, we have had a much different relationship with the State Department under two administrations as it relates to that. I just wish and hope you will confirm the fact that you will do everything in your power to assure us that the TIP Report will be done with the utmost integrity, and, when you meet with foreign officials, it will be an issue that you bring up when that is necessary.



Mr. SULLIVAN. I will, Senator. I know that Secretary Tillerson feels that way as well, as he said to this committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Okay.

Senator Young?

Senator YOUNG. Mr. Sullivan, I enjoyed our visit together in the office. Thank you again for your interest in serving.

There is a matter that has come to my attention since our meeting that I would like to bring up in this hearing. On April 21st this year, the Ethiopian Government issued an order to suspend indefinitely international adoptions from their country. According to our State Department, this has left dozens of U.S. families in the late stages of the adoption process unable to obtain the necessary paperwork to bring home their legally adopted children.

This includes the Oren family from my home State of Indiana. They have successfully adopted their son under Ethiopian law but are unable to bring that son home to Indiana because of the Ethiopian Government, which is unwilling to issue the paperwork necessary to receive an exit visa.

As a father of four young children, I take this especially seriously, as all Americans should. In an email this morning, Mrs. Oren, wrote the following, "We met, interacted with, and began the attachment process with our son while we were in Ethiopia. He is almost 4 years old. He knows we are his parents and that he was supposed to come home with us on our trip. He was upset and confused when we had to say goodbye, leaving him in an orphanage while we had to return to the United States without him."

Now I had an opportunity yesterday to speak with the Ethiopian ambassador about this issue. My hope is that it can be resolved quickly.

So, Mr. Sullivan, if it is not resolved quickly, once confirmed, will you work with my office to not only elevate this issue but to make clear to the Ethiopian Government at the highest level that this is important, that we need to resolve this issue, and we need their assistance, especially for families like the Orens who have already legally adopted their children when this order was issued?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Senator Young, if confirmed, I would be honored to do so.

Senator YOUNG. Thank you.

Mr. Sullivan, I am a strong supporter of the international affairs budget. I have made that really clear, as have so many of my colleagues on this committee. As of yesterday, the Government Accountability Office lists 132 recommendations, including 22 priority recommendations, for the Department of State that have not been implemented or fully implemented.

Some of these open recommendations go back to 2011. Among other issues, these recommendations relate to important topics such as international food assistance, human trafficking, fraud oversight, management challenges, diplomatic security, North Korean sanctions, and terrorism. In order to maintain strong support for international affairs among the American people, they are going to insist upon proper and responsible stewardship of every single dollar we spend on that account.

So, Mr. Sullivan, as a nominee to serve as Deputy Secretary of State, which at least historically has played a very important role

with respect to some of these management and budgetary challenges, do you agree that this is important for this committee to have full visibility on the status of these open recommendations?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Yes, I do, Senator Young.

Senator YOUNG. Okay. That is why I, along with Senators Menendez, Rubio, and Coons, introduced legislation, S. 418, the Department of State and United States Agency for International Development Accountability Act of 2017.

Mr. Sullivan, once confirmed, do you commit to providing, as this legislation asks that we do, providing to this committee and to my office without delay detailed written unclassified updates regarding the status of all open GAO recommendations for the Department of State?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Senator Young, if confirmed, yes, I do.

I took GAO reports, IG reports, very seriously when I was Deputy Secretary at Commerce, and I will do so as Deputy Secretary of State, if confirmed.

Senator YOUNG. Okay. And further, for any recommendations State has decided to adopt, will you provide a timeline for implementation and an explanation for any delay?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Of course, Senator. I will consider that part of our interaction with you and members of this committee.

Senator YOUNG. And for those recommendations State has decided not to implement or fully implement, will you provide a detailed justification, sir?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Certainly.

Senator YOUNG. Thank you.

I have a bit of remaining time here. In your prepared statement, you mentioned the 1979 seizure of our Embassy in Tehran and the assassination of Ambassador Spike Dubs in Afghanistan. On March 9, the IG for the Department of State Steve Linick testified before the State and Foreign Ops Subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee. In his written testimony, the IG cited systemic issues in the department related to physical security measures. The IG cited a lack of coordination and an inability to track and prioritize physical security needs.

More than 4.5 years after the terrorist attack in Benghazi at our diplomatic facility, and with the events of 1979 in mind, would you agree that the Department of State can and must do better when it comes to physical security and emergency action plans at our posts overseas?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Senator, I would have no higher priority, if confirmed as Deputy Secretary of State, than to protect our men and women that we send abroad on our behalf.

Senator YOUNG. Have you reviewed this IG testimony, sir?

Mr. SULLIVAN. I have not, but will make that a priority, if confirmed.

Senator YOUNG. That was my follow-up. Thank you.

I yield back.

The CHAIRMAN. You agreed to a lot a couple questions back. Let me just ask you, do you have any sense of the contours of the top-to-bottom review that is taking place and any sense of what type of realignments might take place within the State Department?

Mr. SULLIVAN. In my discussions with the Secretary, he has made clear that he has no preconceived ideas on what the outcome should be. He has started this interaction with all the employees of the department to get their feedback and their input. I look forward to working with him on that.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any sense of when that will be complete?

Mr. SULLIVAN. I have not spoken to the Secretary about that, but my goal would be to have it completed as quickly as humanly possible.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that having any impact, from what you can tell, on appointing Assistant Secretaries and other positions there?

Mr. SULLIVAN. I am not involved in the selection process now. My perception as an outsider is that any slowness in making appointments is not related to the review of the department's mission and its structure that is ongoing.

I commit, if I am confirmed, to making sure that those personnel appointments are moved forward as quickly as possible.

The CHAIRMAN. My sense is they have actually selected most of those positions prior to you being there. That is my sense, and they are going to be forthcoming soon.

But you do not have any sense of when the top-to-bottom review will be complete and you will have a layout as to how the new State Department, if you will, is going to function?

Mr. SULLIVAN. I have not spoken to the Secretary about the timing of what he thinks the timing should be. We have talked about the mechanics and the process that he is going through. I have not had that conversation with him yet, but I look forward to it and to also working with you and members of this committee on making sure that that review is done as expeditiously as possible.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Murphy?

Senator MURPHY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I would be happy to pick up on that line of questioning.

First, thank you for your willingness to serve. I really enjoyed our meeting together. Your resume is impressive, your willingness to come back into government to serve the country that you love.

To be honest, your resume is maybe not the one that we had expected to receive for this position. We have a President who has no diplomatic experience, a Secretary of State who has no diplomatic experience. While you have extensive experience running the operations of government, you do not have direct diplomatic experience either. So these questions about the reorganization of the department, which I assume you will be riding herd over, are really critical given the fact that, I think as you have acknowledged, you are unlikely to be sent out around the world as a frontline diplomat, given that your responsibilities will largely be in helping to run the operations of a very large department.

So you took this job understanding that there was a reorganization that was going to be undertaken. I think you have done a good job articulating what you think the core mission of the State Department is. But this reorganization is done under the principle that the State Department has departed from the core mission. That is what the Secretary of State has said, and his belief is that we need to get back to the core mission.

So explain to me your view of how the State Department has departed from its core mission, thus necessitating this reorganization.

Mr. SULLIVAN. I would characterize it, Senator Murphy—first of all, thank you for our discussion yesterday. I very much enjoyed it.

I think the world has changed in the 21st century, and our State Department and the way it is organized has not changed. The Defense Department has, in my experience in government, has reorganized several times in the same time frame in which the State Department has not.

Let me give you an example of an area where I think we need to focus on management issues, and that is the intersection of our regional bureaus, which we need to have, obviously, and the functional bureaus that have been created and multiplied over time as issues have arisen. I think the interconnection between those two, and to make sure that they are united in promoting our common interests on national security and economic prosperity, is an area where we really need to focus.

So it is not so much that—I think the world has changed. We have added functional bureaus, for example, as issues have arisen, but we have not integrated our approach to this new world with new technologies, new means of communication, new threats, transnational threats that are much different from the world that existed, say, in the mid-1990s.

Senator MURPHY. So I agree. I think that is exactly the problem. The world has changed, and while we have seen some of our adversaries beef up their military capacity, what has really changed is the panoply of nonmilitary threats or at least threats that are not conventional military threats that are presented to the United States—disease, epidemics, famines, online terrorist organizations recruiting lone-wolf attackers, global warming, creeping corruption.

And yet what worries me is that, given the fact that the world has changed and all of these nonmilitary threats have multiplied, this reorganization essentially has been predetermined by a President who has called for a 30 percent reduction in the capacity of the State Department while calling for a \$50 billion investment in the Department of Defense.

So given the fact that the world has changed, and I think you would agree that the number of nonmilitary threats presented to the United States has multiplied, how can you take on a job of reorganization, which you have said is not prejudged in its outcome, given the fact that the United President of the United States, your boss and Secretary Tillerson's boss, is commanding you to conduct that reorganization through a means that results in thousands of layoffs and dramatic cuts to the department? How is the outcome here not predetermined that the reorganization is essentially just an excuse to slash and burn the department?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Well, Senator, I would repeat that the outcome from the Secretary's perspective is not preordained.

For example, on job cuts that you mentioned, I know from speaking to the Secretary, there is no decision made on, despite what has been reported in the press on particular numbers of job cuts and so forth, what the Secretary has undertaken is a review of the mission of the department to make sure that the workflow, the work product of that department, meets those missions and we are orga-

nized in a way to accomplish those missions in the most efficient and accountable way possible, and that is my commitment to you, Senator.

Senator MURPHY. Thank you very much. Again, I really appreciate your willingness to serve. This is a very tough job, but your willingness to continue to talk to us gives me confidence that we can build on the conversations we have had.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. If I could, personally, I think having top-to-bottom reviews are good things for everyone. I will say the reason that the State Department is being cut by 30 percent in this initial budget is that the real drivers of our deficits are unwilling to be looked at. So the administration, appears to me, is looking at a department that many people around America believe does not spend its money well. For some reason, Americans think we spent 25 percent of our money on aid and other diplomacy efforts when we spend 1 percent.

I think we have done a pretty good job recently causing people to understand the importance of this, and fortunately, our military generals have done the same. However, I do think it is incumbent on all of us to not just make sure we are spending the dollars well, and certainly food aid and reform and those kinds of things should be undertaken, but I think as a committee to point out that, to the extent that we do not carry out these activities, our men and women in uniform that we respect and admire are more likely going to be in harm's way. I think we have done a pretty good job of that recently.

But let's face it, the skinny budget came out because this administration, nor Congress, is willing to deal with the major drivers of deficits. It was a way of looking as if we were addressing deficits when we are really not. That is what is happening here, and I think it is incumbent on us to understand that is what is happening.

Senator Paul?

Senator PAUL. Congratulations on your nomination, and welcome.

There has been some discussion of sort of whether or not diplomacy or our country's policies—and the spreading of human rights and somehow the vanquishing of human rights abusers around the world is our policy, or whether it should be more realistic. There have been many voices saying it really needs to be the preeminent part of our foreign policy to vanquish those human rights abusers.

But I guess while we are all for that, and while we are all for the notion that we wish there were not these human rights abuses around the world, sometimes I think that that policy leads to unintended consequences.

So, for example, was Colonel Qaddafi a human rights abuser? I do not probably think there is any question he probably was. Would we wish there would be someone better involved in running Libya? Yes. But after his negotiating away his nuclear weapons, there are some ramifications that we are still living with. The West toppled him anyway.

The message that sent to North Korea and the message that sent to Iran was, you know what? If you get rid of your nuclear weapons, you may well be toppled by the West.

So I guess my question to you is, in balancing sort of the realism of how the world is and how we see it with human rights, would you say that there were unintended consequences of toppling Qaddafi in Libya?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Absolutely, Senator. I think we are seeing them on a daily basis.

Senator PAUL. The same would go with regard to Iraq. Hussein was accused of gassing the Kurds, using chemical weapons. We have had another incident of that now. So everybody would say Hussein was a terrible person we should get rid of. The problem is it also led to unintended consequences.

I think now the same people who wanted to get rid of Hussein now want to get rid of the Government of Iran, and Iran is emboldened because of the counterbalance of Iraq being gone.

So to every action there is a reaction, an unintended one. I think that it is important that we have people involved in the State Department who understand that your job, as I see it, is diplomacy not war. That does not say we do not have military might and that we do not have the expression of that and the potential threat of that. But we have plenty of voices for that.

My hope is that yours will be a voice for diplomacy and that you recognize that is your role or the job description or part of it, other than the management of the State Department, is that the State Department, in general, is supposed to be about diplomacy.

If you could comment on sort of the role of the State Department and diplomacy in general terms, I would appreciate it.

Mr. SULLIVAN. Certainly. Thank you, Senator Paul.

Yes, I think that is emphatically the mission of the State Department. I think our Secretary of Defense, Secretary Mattis, would agree with that.

I was originally nominated to work for Secretary Mattis at the Defense Department. I have a fundamentally different job at the State Department, fundamentally different mission, which I am committed to.

With respect to our most recent discussions, I think that concerns about the use of military force in forcing regime change, for example, are very serious concerns. Use of military force should only be as a last resort when our national interests, our vital national interests, are at stake. But there is no diminution of our commitment to our fundamental values as Americans on which our foreign policy, our diplomacy that you and I agree should be at the heart of what we do, is based.

Senator PAUL. He and I agree. I think that is the point in the discussion of realism versus human rights. We should never shy away from saying and representing and being the symbol of freedom and liberty around the world, and justice. But at the same time, if we as our foreign policy say we are going to topple every regime that has human rights abuse, we will be at war with about 50 countries right now, and the unintended consequences, one of bankrupting the country, but two of getting us involved in wars for

which we have no answer and there is no end, would be interminable.

So I think the overall debate on realism, and many have tried to sort of cast aspersions on Tillerson's comments, but I think he was recognizing that there is a balance. We never give up on what we stand for and that we are this shining right as a free nation, but we also do not need to be naive enough that we think that we are somehow the descendants of Wilsonian "let's make the world safe for democracy." If we are unwilling to look at the ramifications of our involvement around the world and particularly getting involved in another war in Yemen, whether it will be better or worse for us. I have cautioned that, in Yemen, I have a fear that we get involved in a war that both sides are beaten down and Al Qaeda shows up the way same way that ISIS showed up in Syria, ready to pick up the pieces of the chaos there. And if we do not think that through in advance and do not think that there has to be a diplomatic arm to our government, that we are making a big mistake.

But I wish you well, and I hope you will be one of the same voices for diplomacy.

Mr. SULLIVAN. Thank you, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Senator Merkley?

Senator MERKLEY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Thank you for placing yourself forward for this responsibility.

I wanted to ask you about the Paris Agreement that is under discussion right now. A tremendously high percentage of the world's governments have joined up for voluntary commitments to try to address the issue of carbon pollution and its impact on a warming planet.

The question is, should we be in or out? A thousand companies have weighed in with the State Department to say we should be in, including oil companies ExxonMobil and ConocoPhillips. What do you think? Should we be in the Paris Agreement? Should we stay in or otherwise?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Thank you, Senator Merkley.

I understand that there is an ongoing discussion within the administration and within the interagency on continued participation in the Paris Agreement. There are complex issues, as you know better than I, including legal issues with respect to Article 4.11 and so forth.

I have not been involved in those discussions, but what I would say to you, Senator, is my view as a general matter is that the United States is best served and its interests protected when it has a seat at the table, as a general matter.

Not with respect to the Paris Agreement, I have not been involved in the discussions. I know that they are ongoing, but that is my general approach, Senator.

Senator MERKLEY. That is the point that the Secretary of State has made, the point that he is arguing, that we should keep a seat at the table. In keeping a seat at the table, since the agreements are nonbinding, we can either seek to uphold the pledges that we made or we can ignore those. If we do stay at the table, should we seek to honor the pledges we made for reducing our carbon dioxide production?

Mr. SULLIVAN. I understand that there is both a policy and a legal component to that question, Senator. I have not been involved in the discussions on that and have not studied those issues in sufficient detail to provide you with a definitive answer today. I would be happy, if confirmed, to focus and to participate in that discussion with you personally, if confirmed.

Senator MERKLEY. Let me turn to North Korea. We have had statements coming out of the administration from different individuals, some arguing that primarily military pressure is going to make the difference, and we have the carrier strike group positioned off North Korea. We have others saying that the pressure from China is going to make the difference. We have others saying that we are laying the ground for negotiations.

All of this creates a wide space for potential miscommunication, which could lead to events spiraling out of control. Should it be the State Department that is taking the lead in creating a clear, consolidated message to avoid misunderstandings?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Yes, Senator. I think that is the primary function of the State Department, the Secretary of State, is to be the President's principal foreign policy adviser and spokesperson on U.S. foreign policy.

Having said that, I think the Secretary's approach to North Korea, and he has been very clear about this, is that our goal is to have a denuclearized Korean Peninsula. That is our objective, and we are going to use all the means at our disposal, our national power, to accomplish that, in working with allies, partners, and others, and in using and having as an option the use of other means at our disposal at the Defense Department.

Senator MERKLEY. The administration has been very complimentary of China, and China is applying pressure. That pressure has been directed more, however, to stop what they refer to as provocative acts, that is missile tests and nuclear tests, than denuclearization.

Is China on board with the vision that America has of denuclearizing North Korea?

Mr. SULLIVAN. I have not been involved in those discussions, Senator. I really know only what I read in the news media. But my understanding is that there has been positive feedback from the Chinese giving us hope that, as the Secretary has described it, leaning in on the Chinese and really trying to convince them how important it is for us and for them that the Korean Peninsula be denuclearized, it gives us some basis for, I will not say optimism, but at least for going forward with this policy.

Senator MERKLEY. Daniel Runde was before the committee and he was noting—he is from the Center for Strategic and International Studies. He had a lot of concerns about USAID being merged with the State Department because USAID's vision for assistance is a longer term vision while often diplomatic circumstances require a vision of 6 months to 2 years versus a 10- to 20-year vision.

Should USAID be brought under the more direct influence of the short-term diplomatic mission?

Mr. SULLIVAN. I know that that is a question that will be considered in the review that the Secretary has undertaken. I would say,



Senator Merkley, that I have met with virtually every former Deputy Secretary of State to discuss this and other issues. I understand both the cultural and policy differences between AID and the Foreign Service. In some ways, it reminds me of the differences when I was at Commerce between our scientists at NOAA who do climate science, which is longer term, and the weather scientists who are focused on short-term weather. I understand that difference in the AID, State foreign policy context.

So I would look forward to working with you and members of the committee as we consider the best way forward to implement our foreign aid policy in a way that promotes U.S. objectives, protects our interests, and does so in an efficient way, understanding the unique role of AID, the culture of the agency, and the important role that its employees provide.

Senator MERKLEY. I will take that as at least a point that you understand the argument and the concern about diluting the vision and work of AID.

Mr. SULLIVAN. Absolutely.

The CHAIRMAN. If I could give an editorial comment, I get the sense there is no beginning point that says they should be combined. That is not where people are starting. That may be where they finish, but just for what it is worth, I do not think that is where they are beginning.

Senator Gardner?

Senator GARDNER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Sullivan, thank you very much for your willingness to serve, and thank you to your family for your willingness to serve alongside as well. So thank you for being here.

Mr. Sullivan, do you believe in sustained and consistent American engagement around the globe?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Yes, I do, Senator.

Senator GARDNER. What does that mean to you? What does "consistent and sustained engagement" mean to you?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Well, from the State Department's perspective, it means that we have a cadre of Foreign Service Officers, junior to senior, around the world representing U.S. interests, both on the national security sphere, political sphere, economics sphere, and we also have at our embassies foreign commercial service officers, whom I know well, who are employees of the Commerce Department, and when I was Deputy Secretary of Commerce worked very closely with them in promoting U.S. business interests abroad, protecting our U.S. companies doing business abroad.

Senator GARDNER. Thank you for that. I think the questions that Senator Murphy and Senator Young brought up about restructuring are important. Of course, when we talk about different bureaus, the East Asian Pacific Bureau, one of the most important bureaus around the globe that is dealing with a population that will soon be 50 percent of global population, the regional economy, which will soon be 50 percent of world GDP. Yet we have a bureau that is perhaps the lowest funded of all the bureaus around the globe.

So I hope we can pay additional attention, as we restructure the State Department to reflect priorities, I hope that we will increase our priorities on Asia and the regions represented, because, again,

it is where our treaty alliances reside, it is where the world's largest standing armies will reside, and it is where our trade is certainly growing and opportunities reside.

I want to talk a little bit about North Korea as well. If you look at China right now with North Korea, it was recently announced that China's trade with North Korea grew in the first quarter of this year by nearly 40 percent. Iron exports to China from North Korea grew by 270 percent. Imports in China from North Korea grew.

I met with Chinese officials, met with government officials. While there may be some positive signs over the past couple weeks that China is willing to implement the United Nations Security Council resolutions to a degree that they had not before, I was disheartened though in some of these meetings with Chinese officials that, when you have a long conversation about North Korea, their opinion seems to basically slide back into what it has been, and that is basically to allow North Korea to continue to develop a nuclear program with little pressure from China.

China controls 90 percent of North Korea's economy. It is responsible for 90 percent of North Korea's economy. If China is serious about holding bad actors responsible for those bad actions, we cannot, as the United States, allow China to backslide into a posture that does not hold Kim Jong Un responsible for his bad actions.

So I would hope that the State Department, Secretary Tillerson and yourself, would continue our pressure, abandonment of the failed strategic patience doctrine, and continue to apply pressure on the North Korean regime as well as China and other actors who are enabling the proliferation of North Korea's nuclear program.

Do I have your commitment that you will continue to push for pressure on China?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Absolutely, Senator.

Senator GARDNER. And I hope that that includes fully utilizing, following through with the laws that this Congress has passed under the North Korea sanctions act last year, unanimous last Congress, unanimous approval, bipartisan support, for a bill that says, if somebody is violating our actions, there is the mandatory investigation and mandatory placement of sanctions on that entity, be it in China, be it in North Korea or anywhere around the globe.

Do I have your commitment that you will work with us to make sure that those laws are fully executed?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Certainly, Senator. The Secretary has made clear that we will use all of the legal and policy authorities that we have to, as he put it, turn the dial on the pressure on China to make sure that we are leaning in, I think was the Secretary's expression, on China, leaning on China more than we ever have to make clear how important this is to the United States.

Senator GARDNER. I hope that in your interactions with Chinese officials, that you will make North Korea the highest priority possible because this concern that China will continue to slide back into its own doctrine of patience with North Korea.

Mr. SULLIVAN. Yes, Senator.

Senator GARDNER. Thank you.

And if you could report back to the committee, that would be truly critical.

Again, what I do not want to see is any kind of a softening of our approach toward our allies or other nations around the globe to try to make China happy because we think they are going to take action against North Korea. Until they show that sustained commitment to pressuring North Korea, we should not be avoiding—news reports today cite that we may be forgoing a sale of arms to Taiwan. I do not know if that is true. I do not know if Taiwan has asked for that sale to be carried through or followed through. But I do not think that we should be forgoing that kind of a sale of defense equipment to Taiwan because we think China is going to suddenly change their behavior on North Korea, because they have not proven that it is going to be a sustained and consistent commitment to North Korea denuclearization.

If you could talk a little bit about cybersecurity and where you think the cybersecurity priority will be within the State Department, I would appreciate it.

Mr. SULLIVAN. Cybersecurity, we were talking about this earlier. The Russian hack of our election is an example of failed cybersecurity by the United States and the United States Government. Cybersecurity has to be one of our highest priorities at the Department of State and as an entire government.

My experience in government when I was at the Commerce Department was, because of our lack of cybersecurity—now, this was 12 years ago—all our systems were open to a number of different foreign governments, such that we had to create our own internal operating system to communicate among ourselves and prepare documents for the Secretary to send to the White House because we had so little confidence that our system we were using was not penetrated.

So cybersecurity is, for me, a very high priority.

Senator GARDNER. Thank you, Mr. Sullivan.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Senator Shaheen?

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Thank you, Mr. Sullivan, for your willingness to take on this responsibility.

I just want to follow up a little bit on Senator Gardner's point about China. We had a hearing before the Armed Services Committee where experts testified that there are really only two things that the Chinese are going to respond to from the United States' perspective. One was whether we sanctioned their financial system in a way that meant doing business with North Korea would be a challenge for them. The other was that if they believed, truly believed, that there was the danger of war on the Korean Peninsula because of the statements from President Trump. So while I appreciate Secretary Tillerson's reassurances, there does not seem to be unanimous agreement on what is going to make China respond.

I want to go, however, to questions about reorganization at the State Department. I serve as ranking member on the subcommittee that is tasked with oversight of the State Department and USAID, along with Senator Isakson.

The department has not shared any information with me or with my colleague about what changes they are contemplating to the

State Department and to USAID. Do you think it would be helpful for Congress to have a role or to at least have an understanding of what the State Department is contemplating in terms of a reorganization?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Yes, I do, Senator.

Senator SHAHEEN. Would you then commit to sharing with this committee the plans once they are—I do not want to say finalized, because I think it would be helpful to engage this committee in understanding what you are thinking about, because there are years of experience on this committee that might be helpful in looking at some of the analysis that the department comes up with.

Mr. SULLIVAN. My experience in government, Senator, at the Justice, Defense, and Commerce Departments has been we have always been best served in the executive branch when we have consulted and coordinated with Members of Congress. In fact, as I was speaking to members of the minority staff yesterday, there have been occasions in my career in government when I have met with staff or members or Senators and had very productive conversations, gone back to my department and had people question, what were you thinking, going up to talk with those people?

And my experience has been that collaboration, coordination, it is a way to anticipate problems, eliminate issues before they become problems. Now, we have to protect executive privilege, as I understand it.

Senator SHAHEEN. Sure.

Mr. SULLIVAN. Look, there are legal issues and so forth, but as a general matter, Senator Shaheen, my view is the U.S. Government is at its strongest when there is cooperation and coordination between the branches of government, particularly those in Article One and Article Two.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you. I appreciate that, because, again, I know you have suggested that the reports are not correct that point to 2,300 people who are going to be let go at the department, and that USAID is going to be folded into State. But the lack of transparency, the lack of engaging people who are concerned about these issues is what leads to these kinds of reports, these kinds of concerns that you are hearing expressed today. So I would certainly hope that your point about engagement is one that you will follow.

Not only have we been a leader around the world because of our values, but we have also as a country been a leader in promoting the rights and empowerment of women and girls around the world. That has been a good investment because what we know is that women tend to give back 90 percent of what they earn to their families, to their communities, and, ultimately, to their countries. Men only give back 35 percent. So it has been a good investment.

I want to hear from you what steps you will take to ensure that we continue to support these global women's programs that I think have been so important, everything from child marriage to gender-based violence, to peace and security.

And one of the other rumors about restructuring at the State Department is that the Office of Global Women's Issues will be eliminated. Can you tell me what you know about that and what your commitment is to ensuring that these programs continue?

Mr. SULLIVAN. What I know about that, Senator Shaheen, is only what I see in the press. I am confident that no decisions have been made about whether that office or any particular office would be reorganized, eliminated, or anything done to it.

With respect to women's issues and women empowerment, Senator Cardin is smiling at me, and I feel as though I should put a paper bag over my head as I am sitting in front of all the women in my family behind me. But it is an extremely important issue to me, but it is important to Secretary Tillerson as well who has been quite forceful in his statements about the very points you have raised, Senator, about the investment in women, women's health, women's education, women's empowerment, pay dividends many times over than other ordinary programs.

So you have my commitment that that is something that will remain a priority of the department and, more importantly, the Secretary's commitment.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you very much. I appreciate that. I appreciated the Secretary's talking about that and what he had seen in the private sector at his hearing. Then the next thing I saw was the report that the office was going to be eliminated.

So, again, a little transparency and engagement I think would go a long way in reassuring people about what the intent is of the restructuring at the State Department.

Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. If I could follow up, is it transparency or lack of progress? Has anything actually occurred relative to the streamlining, based on what you know?

Mr. SULLIVAN. No decisions to my knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN. I am not talking about decisions.

Mr. SULLIVAN. Progress—

The CHAIRMAN. Has it even begun?

Mr. SULLIVAN [continuing]. Well, the Secretary's process of soliciting feedback from the employees has begun. His own staff's planning on these issues to tee up issues for his decisions, I believe, is underway. I have not participated in that, so I really do not have more definitive information for you.

The CHAIRMAN. I think it would be good for the committee to know where the process is right now. Mary Waters behind you is your sherpa. And I know, with your confirmation hearing, it is not the time for you to commit to what you—I do not think you really know what is underway. I think they probably have not talked to you much about it so you cannot answer these questions.

But, Mary, if you would, if you would get back with us this afternoon and share with us where you think that is? I know we have a committee meeting tomorrow afternoon at 5 with McMaster, and we could share it at that time. But I think, obviously, people would like to know.

Senator CARDIN. If I could just interject here just for one moment, this is what I wanted to come back to.

Several members have asked you that we be engaged in how the State Department handles reorganization, and you have been very forthcoming about the value of that type of working relationship between Members of Congress, this committee, and the State De-

partment. But I think the key point is that before decisions are made, it is important that that input be received.

There are members of this committee who are prepared to support decisions that could be perceived to be pretty controversial. But if we read about it being done, you are liable to develop a political backlash that will make it impossible for you to achieve what you are seeking to do.

So I would just urge you, at the earliest possible moment, to share information. It can be in an informal setting. We do not have to have formal hearings. But for us to understand your thinking and for you to get the benefit of our thinking as you are going through a reorganization at the State Department, to me, that is going to be critically important for the success of a reorganization.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Senator Kaine?

Senator Kaine. Thank you, Mr. Chair.

Thank you to the witness. I enjoyed our visit.

Mr. Chair, I want to raise a concern at the start. We have a rule in this committee and I think generally that nominees should not presume confirmation, and it seems to go way beyond presuming confirmation to have a sign that says "Senator Sullivan" sitting there on the desk right next to this witness. [Laughter.]

Senator Kaine. I hope he does not live in Virginia.

Okay, now we will be serious. I did enjoy our visit.

One of the things that you said, Mr. Sullivan, when we were chatting was that you spent some time meeting with former State Department Deputy Secretaries as you kind of scope out what you might do. Share some takeaways from those meetings that you have learned from them that would be helpful to you, should you be confirmed.

Mr. SULLIVAN. Well, my immediate reaction to that question, Senator Kaine, is the passion that every one of those men and women, Republican, Democrat, have for the department and its employees, its Foreign Service Officers, its AID professionals, its civil servants. Everybody has enormous respect for the employees of the department.

I know this from my own personal experience, but it is gratifying to talk to people and to hear them tell me about what a treasure we have in the men and women at the Department of State. And the fact that I am going to be able to go there and work with them has energized me and is my biggest takeaway.

There have been a number of common concerns that have been brought up in my discussions. We talked about one of them today with respect to AID, concerns about morale issues at the department.

And in talking with Secretary Tillerson, what I have said to these former senior State Department officials, he has been quite emphatic in our discussions about how much he respects the men and women in the department and how helpful they have been to him.

So the universal theme is our biggest strength at the department is our people, and we have to utilize them and lead them in the best way possible.

Senator Kaine. Talk a little bit about, since you have had multiple management experiences in both the Federal public service and the private sector, I am really interested in this morale question. A huge number of our State Department professionals live in Virginia or have homes in Virginia when they are abroad. I meet them all over the world.

I think I told you, when I travel, I tend to meet with first and second tour FSO officers, and I always ask them the question, "Congratulations, you achieved something pretty major by getting this job. What will make you decide to make it a career versus so frustrated that you leave?" Then I just do not say anything else and I listen for an hour and a half.

I am worried about some of the morale issues. The budget proposals could raise additional morale issues. I know a lot of colleagues have already asked you about that. But in your role, how would you approach the management challenge of trying to assure people and create a high morale organization, which is ultimately going to be a higher productivity organization.

Mr. Sullivan. Senator, these are men and women who have dedicated their lives to public service and public service in dangerous places on our behalf. They are not in it for the money. They want to make a difference for the United States, for the world.

What they are looking for is leadership and leaders who engage with them, explain what we are about, what this reconceptualizing the department is about, as the Secretary has said, making their jobs worthwhile for them personally. It is not about paying them more money, although everybody would like more money. They are in it because they want to do right by the United States and they want to do right by their own moral compass and their work to help people around the world.

So providing that leadership, that they are involved in an enterprise that is doing good, that is protecting our interests and our values, that is the most important thing, and communicating that to them, not just letting them read about it in the paper but communicating it to them personally.

Senator Kaine. Thank you. I will just ask about one kind of regional area that I like to focus on a lot, and that is the Americas. I think the U.S. in the last few years, the diplomacy involved with the Cuba deal, which was controversial but in my view has been a positive, the U.S. decision to diplomatically aid the peace negotiations in Colombia which have led to a ceasefire, the U.S. has played some important roles in diplomacy.

I think that we often spend a lot of our State Department time flying east-west around the globe and not enough time in State or Defense or other areas focusing north-south. To the extent that you have had conversations either with the Secretary or the administration, what could you tell us about areas of potential focus in the Americas at the State Department?

Mr. Sullivan. Thank you, Senator. We spoke about this when we visited earlier. The principals always have their time chewed up with whatever the hot topic is today—another missile test in North Korea, some atrocity in Syria, problems in Eastern Ukraine. My concern, and I have discussed this with the Secretary—I discussed it with Secretary Mattis when I was under consideration to be the

general counsel of the Department of Defense—the United States needs to be able to walk and chew gum, for lack of a better term.

As we discussed, the Roosevelt administration was able to fight wars in the Atlantic and the Pacific, and you quickly pointed out, and build the United Nations all at the same time. We have to be able to address these crises but also keep our eye on important areas, whether it is Latin America or sub-Saharan Africa, so where just a little bit of effort by the United States can pay huge dividends. Meanwhile, we certainly have to keep our eyes on the high-profile national security priorities that are in the paper every day.

So my commitment to you is, as Deputy Secretary, I will make sure to do my best to make sure that those areas of the world where we have very important interests are not neglected while everybody is being spun up over today's headline.

Senator Kaine. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The Chairman. Thank you, Mr. Secretary. The record will remain open until the close of business on Thursday. There will be numbers of written questions, and I know that you will be ready to answer those promptly.

The Chairman. Short of something unusual happening, I have to tell you I look forward to very strongly supporting your nomination. I think you have acquitted yourself exceptionally well today. It is evident that, in your private meetings with members on both sides of the aisle, you have done the same there.

I really do believe that the experiences you have had in other departments and the professionalism that you have as an individual have equipped you to be an exceptional Deputy Secretary.

So we thank you for your willingness to serve, for your family's willingness to allow you to do something that we know is going to be a 7-day-a-week job, at least in the beginning, and probably all the way through.

With that, the meeting is over.

Mr. Sullivan. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

[Whereupon, at 11:40 a.m., the hearing was adjourned.]

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## Additional Material Submitted for the Record

### RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED TO JOHN SULLIVAN BY SENATOR BOB CORKER

*Question 1.* In recent years the cost of building new embassies and consulates has risen while the pace of completion has slowed significantly when compared to just a decade ago.

- Will you commit to streamlining our embassy construction process, evaluating the cost implications of using custom instead of standard designs, and investigate the management problems in the Bureau of Overseas Building Operations?

*Answer.* Yes. The Department of State's Bureau of Overseas Buildings Operations has a critical mandate to provide and maintain secure facilities for Department staff and other federal agencies serving overseas under chief of mission authority.

I am committed to ensuring that the Department's planning, design, and construction efforts will accomplish this critical mission. I am further committed to ensuring that we execute these projects efficiently and in accordance with industry best practices. We will provide the best value for the American taxpayer while constructing diplomatic facilities that prioritize security.



I am aware that the Department has faced management challenges, including in implementing our overseas buildings program. If confirmed, I am committed to working across the Department on this issue.

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RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD  
SUBMITTED TO JOHN SULLIVAN BY SENATOR BENJAMIN L. CARDIN

*Question 1.* If confirmed, will you commit to making sure the Department responds promptly to letters and other requests for information from members of the Foreign Relations Committee?

Answer. Yes.

*Question 1.* Will you commit to providing information to this committee if you become aware of emoluments from foreign governments or government-owned companies being directed to the President, his immediate family, or anyone else in the executive branch?

Answer. Yes.

*Question 3.* As Deputy Secretary, what concrete actions do you envision taking to stop the closing of space for civil society abroad?

Answer. The effects of closing civic space are felt across sectors, with humanitarian assistance providers, development practitioners, journalists, environmentalists, public interest lawyers, religious leaders, and others civic actors increasingly operating under threat.

In the United States, we have achieved economic success because of, not despite, our values. Our values expressed in the Declaration of Independence and our Constitution are the bedrock of our republic.

Should I be confirmed, I will work aggressively to advance human rights for everyone.

*Question 4.* How should the United States deal with a situation in a foreign country, as in Turkey, where there is concern on the part of credible independent bodies that there were irregularities in the vote on the referendum to hand the President broad powers, and in which the President did everything possible to silence the voices of those who attempted to question a "yes" vote?

Answer. For the United States, our values are the bedrock of our republic, and our greatest asset is our commitment to the fundamental values expressed at the founding of our nation. Therefore, we must ensure a foreign policy that is worthy of our ideals as a people, even when that means having honest but difficult conversations with allies, like Turkey, when there is a problem. The OSCE monitors, investigates, and reports on campaigns and elections in foreign countries, including Turkey, and will provide a report on problems and irregularities. This undertaking is very important, and I strongly support the difficult work of the OSCE election monitors. The United States looks to Turkey, a NATO ally and critical member of the international coalition to defeat ISIS, to protect the rights and freedoms of all citizens as guaranteed by the Turkish constitution and in accordance with Turkey's international commitments.

*Question 5.* Describe your view of the United Nations' role in the world, and of America's place in and partnership with the United Nations in reducing instability and reinforcing international norms.

Answer. The United Nations, created 71 years ago after the Second World War, is far from perfect. However, it remains important to U.S. national security interests. Even though the United States is the most powerful country in the world, we are more effective when we work multilaterally. Engagement in the U.N. multiplies our effectiveness and spreads the costs of international action.

We must continue to partner closely with the United Nations. But we also need to work simultaneously to reform the organization in a serious and meaningful way that brings it up to 21st century standards. As you know, the Trump administration is very focused on U.N. reform, particularly on U.N. peacekeeping, but also on U.N. budget, management, and development issues and on ending the disturbing anti-Israel bias that permeates much of the U.N. system.

*Question 6.* If confirmed, would you prioritize the promotion and protection of human rights and, if so, how?

Answer. As I told Senator Rubio, my wife and my mother-in-law's uncle, Jose Pujals, was a political prisoner in Cuba for over 27 years, so human rights are a personal issue for me. I made a commitment to you at the hearing that I will work

with civil society to promote and protect human rights. Among other things, the administration will use the Global Magnitsky Act. I am committed to making the State Department the preeminent force to protect American values and promote American values in the world. I will use a range of tools to work aggressively to advance human rights for everyone.

*Question 7.* Are you willing to use State's role in approving arms sales as leverage to achieve such progress?

Answer. If confirmed, I am willing to exercise State's authority to ensure arms sales are consistent with the foreign policy interests and values of the United States. As a part of every case-by-case review, and in accordance with law and policy, the decision to approve arms sales will take human rights into account.

*Question 8.* There is a growing body of evidence that poor governance—marked by high corruption and lack of government transparency—is a key driver of fragility and political instability in many parts of the world today.

- Can you tell this committee what concrete steps you will take, if confirmed, to promote good governance, anti-corruption and transparency efforts around the world?

Answer. Around the world, corruption saps economic growth, hinders development, harms American business competitiveness, destabilizes governments, and provides openings for dangerous groups to operate.

If confirmed, I will prioritize the importance of combatting corruption and promoting good governance and transparency through a variety of means, including private diplomacy, public statements, targeted visa bans and financial sanctions, and pressure in multilateral forums.

*Question 9.* Will you come before this committee for full, public hearings on the restructuring of State and USAID if major changes are proposed, prior to making such changes? What is your view on the proposed cuts to the State Department and foreign assistance budgets?

Answer. If confirmed, I will come before this committee for full, public hearings on the restructuring of State and USAID if major changes are proposed, prior to making such changes.

As Secretary Tillerson told the Department's workforce in a written letter, the State Department's budget request addresses the challenges to American leadership abroad and the importance of defending American interests and the American people. It acknowledges that U.S. engagement must be more efficient, that our aid must be more effective, and that advocating the national interests of our country must always be our primary mission. Additionally, the budget is an acknowledgment that development needs are a global challenge to be met not just by contributions from the United States, but through greater partnership with and contributions from our allies and others. The Secretary has initiated a process to draw a new budget blueprint that will allow us to shape a Department ready to meet the challenges that we will face in the coming decades. We will do this by reviewing and selecting our priorities, using the available resources, and putting our people in a position to succeed.

*Question 10.* What is your view on the current number of vacancies in critical State Department leadership positions? How soon can we expect to see nominees for Assistant Secretary positions?

Answer. As discussed during my confirmation hearing, I have not been involved in the selection process for nominees at the Department. However, my perception as an outsider is that any slowness in nominating individuals for positions is not related to the review of the Department's mission and structure that remains ongoing. Additionally, I committed in the hearing and recommit in writing, that if confirmed I will make sure that personnel vacancies are filled and nominations are moved forward as quickly as possible.

*Question 11.* What do you believe is the purpose and mission for U.S. international Development Assistance and how valuable do you believe U.S. development assistance is to the U.S. foreign policy and maintaining U.S. leadership in the world?

Answer. Development assistance plays a vital role in protecting U.S. national security by fostering stability, resolving conflict, responding to humanitarian crises, and ending infectious diseases. Our development assistance upholds America's moral leadership and advances our nation's ability to influence and shape world events consistent with U.S. interests and is an invaluable tool in our foreign policy toolkit. Our global engagement abroad depends on the day-to-day engagement and expertise of our development professionals at USAID, who promote resilient, demo-

cratic societies around the world through programs supporting agriculture, education, economic growth, and the rule of law.

*Question 12.* Do you believe that U.S. interests are better served by prioritizing Foreign Assistance to serve political and strategic ends as opposed to address real world needs?

Answer. If confirmed as Deputy Secretary of State, my foremost responsibility will be to implement the President's foreign policy vision under the guidance of the Secretary of State. In fulfilling the President's vision, it is clear that promoting U.S. national security objectives to protect the American people, fostering economic opportunities for the American people, and ensuring the Department's effectiveness and accountability to the U.S. taxpayer must be our primary considerations in our foreign policy and in prioritizing our limited resources. However, as Secretary Tillerson has clearly stated, putting "America first" does not mean that it comes at the expense of others—in fact, addressing "real world" needs and promoting U.S. interests are inextricably linked.

*Question 13.* Is hard power more effective than soft power in demonstrating and promoting U.S. values like respect for human rights including the rights of women and girls, democracy, good governance, and rule of law, and supporting free societies? How valuable is the promotion of these values to U.S. foreign policy and international engagement?

Answer. Our soft powers of development and diplomacy are critical in demonstrating and promoting U.S. values abroad. There has long been a tradition of U.S. engagement and assistance in support of democracy, human rights, good governance, the rights of women and girls, supporting free societies, and more. Our investment in these core values and principles safeguard our national security and foster global prosperity. These values are critical to our U.S. foreign policy and international engagement.

*Question 14.* Will you commit to maintaining USAID's independence and function?

Answer. This question will be considered in the review that the Secretary has undertaken. I have met with virtually every former Deputy Secretary of State to discuss this and other issues, and I understand the differences in both the culture and operational capacity between USAID and the State Department, as well as the distinct role they play in protecting our national security. If confirmed, I look forward to working with members of the committee and other partners as we consider the best way forward to implement our foreign assistance in a way that promotes U.S. objectives, protects our interests and does so in an efficient way, understanding the unique role of USAID, the culture of the agency, and the important role that its employees provide.

*Question 15.* What will you do to engage and draw on the Foreign and Civil servants in an effective way?

Answer. One of the most important components in leadership is listening to those whom you lead. If confirmed, I plan to meet with as many employees of the Department as I can on a regular basis, as I did when I was Deputy Secretary of Commerce.

As I mentioned to Senator Kaine in my confirmation hearing, Secretary Tillerson and all of the former Deputy Secretaries with whom I have met have told me of the tremendous resource we have in the women and men of the State Department. The best engagement with them will be for me to listen to them and communicate with them so that they feel invested in their work. The employees of the State Department, many of whom have decades of experience, have much to share and much to offer to the Department and to our great country.

*Question 16.* How will you ensure that you are developing the intellectual capital and policy ideas you need to shape and implement your foreign policy, and represent the Department in the interagency?

Answer. The best way to shape and implement our policies is to provide leadership to and receive input from our career Foreign Service, civil service and other employees, who the keepers of our most valuable intellectual capital. We should encourage robust policy discussions, which will support our mutual efforts to represent the State Department's perspective in interagency discussions.

*Question 17.* What are your ideas on how to ensure high morale among these dedicated public servants?

Answer. The men and women of the State Department are the most valuable component of the organization. Their desire to do what is right for the United States, and what is right by their own moral compass, is part of what makes them so special. If confirmed, I look forward to working with the Secretary to provide them

leadership and leaders who will engage with them, explain the mission and direction in which the organization is going, and, as the Secretary has said, make their jobs rewarding.

Additionally, I want to make sure that the men and women of the Department know that they are involved in an enterprise that is doing right by the American people and that is protecting our American interests and our American values. It is my goal to make sure these public servants continue to enjoy remarkable careers in service to their country.

*Question 18.* The Department of State has the difficult job of balancing foreign policy priorities and must have a voice in the provision of military assistance to foreign countries. We've seen a sustained effort over the last decade to reproduce and transfer State's security assistance responsibilities to the Department of Defense.

Will you reverse this indifference, and personally work in the interagency to defend the State Department's central role in the provision of US security assistance?

*Answer.* The Department has a crucial role in the provision of military assistance. Security assistance is a powerful tool that the United States can use to strengthen our alliances and partnerships around the world and mitigate threats that require a collective response—terrorism, organized crime, restraints on the freedom of navigation, and much more. But the United States must use security assistance in conjunction with the other pillar of foreign policy: diplomacy. It is the Department's job to ensure that our security assistance aligns with and advances U.S. goals in light of the broader diplomatic and defense relationship.

State must work hard to ensure that all security sector assistance—whether it be providing major munitions to Iraq, border security programs in Eastern Europe, maritime capacity building in Vietnam, or military justice programs in Mexico—strategically targets and advances our foreign policy objectives in the country we are working with and accounts for the broader regional and global context. The Department must work to ensure that any investments we make in foreign security forces advance both political and security purposes; that they account for the political balance between civil and military institutions in the recipient country; that they are based on mutual, enduring interests between our countries; and that they do not cause long-term unintended effects in the country or region.

At Secretary Tillerson and Secretary Mattis' direction, State and DoD are working closely together to optimize the full range of security sector assistance resources and achieve the best possible outcomes for U.S. national security and the American taxpayer. Strong State-DoD joint planning and program implementation is crucial in this regard. With your support, State will maintain a legislated and appropriated role in all U.S. foreign assistance, including that managed by other agencies. I also will personally defend the Department's central role in the provision of U.S. security assistance, including by ensuring that the Department and DoD work closely and collaboratively on our respective foreign assistance programs.

*Question 19.* You stated during your confirmation hearing that the Russian Government poses a persistent and profound threat to representative democracy here at home and around the world, especially in Europe. What do you believe are the Russian Government's motivations and strategic objectives in interfering in the political processes of the United States and our allies and partners? What do you think can change their decision-making calculus and aggressive behavior?

*Answer.* Russia does not accept the post-Cold War settlement in Europe and is pushing back against it.

Our response is, and should continue to be, twofold. We must be clear-eyed about Russia's transgressions, frank in our dialogue with Russia, and resolute in raising the costs of their behavior, including the use of defense, diplomatic, and law-enforcement tools. We must also continue to build the resilience of the countries on Russia's periphery with a whole-of-government approach that includes working with allies, partners, and institutions such as NATO and the EU.

*Question 20.* You also stated during your confirmation hearing that the United States should "be robust in our response to this intrusion into our democracy." In a classified or unclassified form, please describe the specific steps that the State Department is currently taking to address the threat posed by the Russian Government. Specifically, what is the State Department's strategy for countering Russian malign-influence operations around the world?

*Answer.* I understand that the U.S. strategy is to work with the host governments of targeted countries to identify such operations and respond appropriately, largely through non-military means such as intelligence cooperation and law-enforcement, coordinated through the interagency.

If confirmed, I look forward to working with you and the members of this committee on this extremely important issue and to providing more information once I have become fully engaged.

*Question 21.* Please describe how State Department personnel working to counter the Russian Government's malign influence operations coordinate their work both within the department (across offices and bureaus) and throughout the interagency. Do you believe that the current level of coordination is sufficient and, if not, what can be done to improve coordination?

*Answer.* I understand that the State Department personnel working on this issue coordinate their work across geographic and functional offices, and through standing interagency working groups at the deputy assistant secretary level and above. My understanding is that they rely on reporting from our embassies in the region and incorporate them into the process, also ensuring that their reporting is shared across the Government.

Because I am not in the Department yet, I simply do not have enough information to know how best to enhance the coordination that is already occurring. However, in the broader context, I know the Secretary is looking at all of the State Department's operations to identify ways to improve their effectiveness. If confirmed, I will assist in this endeavor.

*Question 22.* Please describe how State Department personnel working to counter the Russian Government's malign influence operations coordinate their work with allied and partner governments, especially in Europe, that are the targets of these operations. Do you believe that the current level of coordination is sufficient and, if not, what can be done to improve coordination?

*Answer.* I understand that there has been increasing interest by allies and other partners in Russia's new challenge to the post-Cold War order generally and in Russian malign influence operations in particular. I understand they believe this coordination has increased the effectiveness of the State Department's approach.

Because I am not in the Department yet, I simply do not have enough information to know how best to enhance the coordination that is already occurring. However, in the broader context, I know the Secretary is looking at all of the State Department's operations to identify ways to improve their effectiveness. If confirmed, I will assist in this endeavor.

*Question 23.* In addition to our military power, what tools does the US have at its disposal to pursue our interests in Afghanistan?

*Answer.* The United States has a broad set of civilian assistance programs and resources to foster stability and ensure Afghanistan is a reliable and resilient partner, and that directly contribute to the achievement of our national security objectives. Civilian assistance programs have improved health and education, facilitated private sector development, boosted government capacity, improved Afghanistan's strategic communications to counter violent extremism, and challenged the corrosive effects of corruption and the narcotics trade. Afghanistan remains one of the largest recipients of U.S. civilian foreign aid. This investment has had an impact and has leveraged additional resources from other donors on a roughly two-to-one basis.

The United States also has a robust public diplomacy program to support Afghan efforts to combat extremist messaging that has helped build the capacity of Afghanistan's independent media—an essential pillar of representative and accountable government.

Finally, the United States has been active diplomatically, helping Afghanistan build its political institutions over the last 15 years, helping to promote political stability and development, and working with Afghan leaders to build international and regional support for stability in Afghanistan and for a negotiated settlement to the conflict with the Taliban.

All of these activities have contributed to the stability of the Afghan Government, a government that stands with us in fighting terrorism and violent extremism.

*Question 24.* What are your plans to leverage U.S. status in institutions like NATO, the OSCE, and Council of Europe to pursue U.S. national interests?

*Answer.* I understand the United States can use its membership in NATO and the OSCE to create a force multiplier effect to support our security policy in Europe. At NATO, this would include leveraging the deployment of one U.S. battalion as part of NATO's enhanced forward presence to generate the deployment of three Allied battalions to the Baltic States. The United States can work with Allies to maintain NATO's policy of deterrence and dialogue towards Russia. At the OSCE, we will continue to support the monitoring mission in Ukraine, seek the implementation of the Minsk accords, and in the OSCE's tradition of a broad approach to security, push for progress on a range of human rights issues. The United State can cooperate with

the Council of Europe, where we are an observer state, and where the stated aim is to uphold human rights, democracy and rule of law.

*Question 25.* Past Deputy Secretaries, notably your immediate predecessor, took a particular interest in forging and implementing US policy in the Asia-Pacific region, and the US-China relationship in particular. What is your vision for the future US-China relationship?

*Answer.* The last several decades of political and economic reforms have brought monumental changes to the way in which China interacts with the outside world. Rather than opposing China's rise, if confirmed, I would echo the administration's overarching goal of bringing China's behavior in line with internationally accepted rules and order.

The Trump administration also wishes to have a positive, results-oriented, mutually beneficial relationship with China. As part of that, the Trump administration wishes to put America first by ensuring that American interests are safeguarded in all aspects of our relationship with China.

If confirmed, I would work to improve the relationship the United States has with China, seeking to make positive progress in areas such as economics and trade, law enforcement, and counterterrorism, while at the same time promoting American values like human rights. If confirmed, I will engage frankly and constructively on areas of disagreement.

*Question 26.* In your view, are there any options for a genuine and lasting peace that do not include a two-state solution?

*Answer.* President Trump has made it clear that it is a top priority for him to work towards achieving peace throughout the Middle East, including a comprehensive and lasting peace agreement that would end the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Any peace settlement ultimately has to be the product of direct negotiations between the parties, and both sides must agree. We can help, and support progress towards a peace deal—and the President is determined to do so—but we can't impose a solution on the Israelis and Palestinians. Nor can one side impose an agreement on the other.

*Question 27.* Is U.S. policy the pursuit of a two-state solution?

*Answer.* President Trump has made it clear that he supports whatever solution the parties, both the Israelis and Palestinians, can live with. The administration is not casting aside the two-state solution. It still remains a possibility if both parties agree that a two-state solution is their preferred approach, and in such an event the President will strongly support them in moving towards that goal. This is not our choice to make, it is theirs to make together.

*Question 28.* On April 18th the Trump administration certified that Iran is in compliance with its commitments under the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action, but raised concerns about Iran's role as a state sponsor of terrorism. Secretary Tillerson announced that the administration is undergoing an interagency review of the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action that will evaluate whether suspension of sanctions related to Iran pursuant to the JCPOA is vital to the national security interests of the United States.

- In your assessment of current U.S. efforts to prevent Iran from obtaining a nuclear weapon, are there options other than the JCPOA which can maintain international commitment and pressure on Iran?

*Answer.* The President has ordered a review of the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA), which is part of a broader review of Iran policy and U.S. strategy in the Middle East. While this review is underway, it is my understanding that the administration is insisting on strict implementation by Iran of the terms of the JCPOA. At the same time, the United States will continue to fulfill its JCPOA commitments. I understand the review is comprehensive and covers all aspects of the JCPOA. Furthermore, even as the review continues, the United States will keep working closely with Israel, our Gulf allies, and other partners to combat Iranian support for terrorism and counter Iran's destabilizing activities in the region. The United States will also continue to use authorities outside the scope of the JCPOA, including authorities available to designate entities and individuals involved in Iran's ballistic missile program, its support for terrorism, and human rights abuses. This includes the February 3 designations of 25 individuals and entities involved in Iran's destabilizing activities, including persons and entities connected to the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC), as well as persons and entities involved in Iran's ballistic missile program. On March 17, the Trump administration also designated two individuals for terrorism-related activities. This was followed by sanctions on 11 individuals and entities under nonproliferation authorities on March 21 for their support for Iran's ballistic missile program. Finally, on April 13, the ad-

ministration designated an individual and entity involved in Iran's abuses of human rights.

*Question 29.* On April 18th the Trump administration certified that Iran is in compliance with its commitments under the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action, but raised concerns that Iran's role as a state sponsor of terrorism. Secretary Tillerson announced that the administration is undergoing an interagency review of the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action that will evaluate whether suspension of sanctions related to Iran pursuant to the JCPOA is vital to the national security interests of the United States.

Is U.S. compliance with its obligations pursuant to the JCPOA in the U.S. national security interest?

Answer. The President has ordered a review of the JCPOA, which is part of a broader review of Iran policy and U.S. strategy in the Middle East. While this review is underway, I understand the administration will insist on strict implementation by Iran of the terms of the JCPOA. At the same time, the administration has been clear it will continue to fulfill JCPOA commitments.

*Question 30.* For the last six years, the United States has sought to bring an end to the conflict in Syria. The House of Representatives is considering legislation to encourage prosecution of war crimes in Syria and to sanction foreign entities that support the Government of Syria's slaughter of the Syrian people.

- What are your views on the efficacy of new sanctions in this context?

Answer. De-escalating the conflict in Syria is a top priority for this administration. I understand the administration is committed to working toward a credible political resolution to this conflict. Accountability is an integral part of any lasting political resolution as defined by the 2012 Geneva Communiqué and U.N. Security Council Resolution 2254. As a result of the recent actions of the regime, notably the April 4 sarin attack, the United States designated 271 employees of the Syrian Scientific Studies and Research Center, the organization responsible for the Assad regime's chemical weapons program. These designations send a strong message that the United States holds the entire Assad regime accountable for the barbaric use of chemical weapons in Syria, a blatant violation of the Chemical Weapons Convention and U.N. Security Council Resolution 2118.

The United States has also targeted sanctions on Iran's Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps and its Ministry of Intelligence and Security for their support to the Assad regime. This was a coordinated effort with the international community toward ways to limit Iran's efforts to resupply the Assad regime with the means to perpetuate its brutality against the Syrian people. I cannot speculate about future potential designations, though broadly, the administration will continue to apply pressure to the Assad regime by targeting the Government, its ability to generate revenue, its attempts to advance its chemical weapons programs, as well as its human rights abuses.

Although the latest round of U.S. sanctions are designed to discourage the Assad regime from using chemical weapons, the regime continues to target civilian and medical facilities since the April 4 sarin attack, and is unlikely to deviate from its use of indiscriminate bombardment absent increased pressure from Russia.

I understand the administration appreciates the authorities Congress has granted to sanction both the Assad regime and individual officials. The United States intends to press the regime to the full extent allowed under those authorities, which have provided the tools necessary to stand against Assad's atrocities.

*Question 31.* What pressure do you think the State Department could use to get the parties to be more serious about ending the violence?

Answer. I've learned the United States recently attended the May 3-4 Astana Conference as an observer. At this meeting, the ceasefire guarantors—Iran, Russia, and Turkey—agreed to work together to create de-escalation zones. The United States hopes this arrangement can contribute to a de-escalation of violence in Syria, ensure unhindered humanitarian access, and set the stage for a political settlement of the conflict. In light of the failures of past arrangements, there is reason to be cautious. Russia in particular can be pressed to act as genuine ceasefire guarantor and to persuade Iran to do the same.

In Geneva, U.N.-led political negotiations are slated to resume May 16. Foreign parties, including the United States, are not formal participants; but will stay in close contact with the U.N. and the Syrian opposition as they take part in the talks. The United States has urged the opposition to take a strategic and constructive approach to both these processes. De-escalation and an inclusive political process to resolve Syria's future is the only path forward to ending this conflict and supporting

of the belligerents have a unique responsibility to incentivize the belligerents to de-escalate the violence.

*Question 32.* Do you believe that Assad has a place in Syria's future?

Answer. Secretary Tillerson has maintained a consistent position on the fate of Assad. The Secretary believes that a lasting peace in Syria ultimately means a Syria without Assad. The United States remains committed to a political resolution which can bring about a more representative and peaceful Syria. The United States believes there is a need to de-escalate the violence in Syria and to have an inclusive political process through which Syrians will decide their own political future and al-Assad's role, consistent with the principles enshrined in U.N. Security Council Resolution 2254 and the Geneva Communiqué. The United States believes that once Syrians are afforded the chance to decide for themselves without coercion and with full participation, it is very likely they will chart a course for their country's future with new, credible leadership. It is my understanding that the administration has never said that we believe Bashar al-Assad is an appropriate or credible leader for Syria, or that the country will see peace as long as he is in power. Assad's regime has perpetrated war crimes and grievous violations of human rights over the past six years. It is not possible to imagine a peaceful, stable Syria led by Bashar al-Assad.

*Question 33.* The May 2nd readout of President Trump's phone call with Russian President Putin noted that their conversation included "discussion of safe, or de-escalation, zones to achieve a lasting peace for humanitarian and many other reasons." Then on May 4th in Kazakhstan, Russia and Turkey signed a Memorandum of Understanding for the creation of four "zones of de-escalation" in Syria.

- Will the Turkey-Russia agreement inform U.S.-Russian discussions on safe zones in Syria?

Answer. Russia, Iran, and Turkey, the Astana guarantors, agreed May 4 to work together to create four "de-escalation zones" in greater Idlib, northern Homs, Eastern Ghouta, and "certain parts of southern Syria." The arrangement has not yet been approved by the Syrian Government and armed opposition groups. Secretary Tillerson has stated publicly the goal is to foster interim areas of stability in Syria and, separately, to stabilize areas liberated from ISIS. When ISIS is cleared from particular areas, these regions can stabilize, so that displaced families may return to their homes. This means supporting critical projects like de-mining and ensuring these communities have water and basic necessities.

The May 4 proposal that Russia drafted, and that the Astana guarantors—Russia, Turkey, and Iran—accepted, calls for the establishment of four de-escalation zones in areas controlled by the Syrian opposition. While there are problematic elements of the Astana agreements, the United States nevertheless support any effort that can genuinely de-escalate the violence in Syria, ensure unhindered humanitarian access, focus energies on the defeat of ISIS and other terrorists, and create the conditions for a credible political resolution of the conflict.

*Question 34.* What are the other reasons' for establishing safe zones, as noted in the May 2 White House read out?

Answer. If ceasefires hold and areas of Syria become more stable, there may be a better environment for serious political negotiations. That is something we all want, so the United States calls on Russia and all parties to fulfill their ceasefire commitments through the Astana process. The regime systemically blocks aid to people in need in areas of Syria where opposition control. The United States supports the language in the Astana de-escalation agreement that calls for unhindered access to humanitarian assistance to people in need. The United Nations should determine the needs of distressed and besieged communities, and that all parties should cooperate fully to grant the U.N. unhindered access to such areas. The Astana guarantors should press the regime to abandon its tactic of obstructing access to food and humanitarian assistance as a weapon of war.

*Question 35.* Will you commit to provide Congress with a briefing on the funding, authorities, personnel requirements, and objectives of establishing safe zones in Syria?

Answer. The administration continues to explore how to best support the de-escalation of the Syrian civil war and if confirmed I will commit to providing appropriate congressional committees with a briefing. It is my understanding that the administration avoids the use of the term "safe zones" or "no fly zones" or "zones," as these terms suggest a militarily-enforced no-fly zone. Rather than trying to create such a zone, which would pull resources from the D-ISIS campaign, the United States is trying to capitalize on stabilized conflict lines to de-escalate the conflict in various parts of the country—effectively cementing ceasefires and, lowering the level of violence, so that humanitarian assistance can reach civilians in need. When the fight-



ing has stopped and civilians receive humanitarian relief and basic services in areas throughout Syria, there will be a better environment for a serious discussion of Syria's political future.

*Question 36.* It is my understanding that U.S. and Iraqi officials are currently discussing a follow-on mission for U.S. forces in Iraq, after the defeat of ISIS. However, I am concerned that Iraq will remain perpetually unstable and susceptible to ISIS' successor if Iraq's leaders do not come together in a national program of inclusive governance and reconciliation.

- What conditions should the U.S. insist on if we are going to shoulder the cost and risk of keeping forces in Iraq?

*Answer.* Defeating ISIS and ensuring that it cannot reconstitute is a core national security priority of the United States. The ISF, including Kurdish Peshmerga, are bravely leading this fight, taking the vast majority of the casualties, and slowly but surely pushing ISIS out of Iraq. More than 63 percent of the territory ISIS once held is now back under Iraqi control and not a single liberated community has fallen back under ISIS control. At the invitation of the Government of Iraq, the United States has played a supporting, but critical, role in helping the ISF achieve a nearly two-year run of unbroken victories in Tikrit, Ramadi, Sinjar, Fallujah, Hit, Baiji, Rutbah, Qayarah, and soon Mosul. Nevertheless, ISIS remains a brutal foe that is a threat to the United States and our partners in the region and Europe; it is clearly in the interest of the United States to defeat ISIS and to remain engaged with our partners to ensure the group cannot reemerge.

President Trump and Prime Minister Abadi made it clear during Abadi's March visit to Washington that they look forward to building a post-ISIS security and economic partnership in Iraq. Continued U.S. security partnership will help Iraq to develop the forces needed to prevent threats to Iraqi sovereignty and a resurgence of terrorist activity, helping to ensure our gains against ISIS are lasting. It is in the interests of both the United States and Iraq to develop this post-ISIS partnership. I share your concerns about instability in Iraq and the potential for continued terrorism, even after ISIS no longer controls territory. This is all the more reason why the United States should remain engaged with our Iraqi partners—we, and they, must not fight the same war again. The administration agrees that Iraqi leaders need to do more to improve governance and address unresolved issues to better meet the needs of the Iraqi people. The decentralization program, which helps bring responsibility for government services closer to local communities, is one example of these efforts. The United States will continue to work with a wide range of Iraqis across the political spectrum and civil society to advance this agenda. As a starting point, the United States considers stabilizing areas liberated from ISIS a key component in ensuring that displaced communities, primarily Sunnis and ethnic minorities, are able to return home in dignity and with greater autonomy from the central government to manage their affairs. These grassroots efforts to promote reconciliation complement and enforce the Government of Iraq's efforts at broader national reconciliation.

Iraq will hold national elections in the spring of 2018 and the Iraqi people will be able to hold their leaders accountable for their performance in office. The United States will continue to work with the United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq (UNAMI) to ensure that these elections occur on time, are transparent, and reflect the will of the Iraqi people. The focus remains on supporting the constitutional system and strengthening democratic institutions that transcend the interests of individuals, political parties, or sectarian components of Iraqi society.

*Question 37.* Is it in the U.S. national security interest to increase our military involvement—either directly or through enhanced support to the Saudi coalition?

*Answer.* Ending the conflict in Yemen is a priority for this administration. The conflict has not only created a humanitarian crisis, it threatens Saudi Arabia's security, allows AQAP to expand, allows ISIS to gain a foothold, and allows Iran to exploit the political and security vacuum.

The United States is currently providing limited support to the Saudi-led coalition, which is responding to the Yemeni Government's request for assistance in countering aggressive Houthi military actions. It is unacceptable for an armed militia to threaten Saudi Arabia's southern border. Iran, which is supporting the Houthis with military equipment, funding, and training, cannot be allowed to establish a foothold in the Arabian Peninsula. It is in our national security interest to help the Government of Yemen restore stability and counter terrorism, and also to help Saudi Arabia protect its border, which is why the United States is providing logistical and intelligence support to the coalition. At the same time, the United States continues to press the coalition at the highest levels to take appropriate measures to mitigate the impact of the conflict on the civilian population.

Ultimately, a political solution is the only way to end the conflict, and Saudi Arabia understands the imperative of ending this conflict quickly. The United States continues to support U.N. efforts to restart negotiations aimed at reaching a comprehensive peace agreement.

*Question 38.* Is there any solution other than a negotiated settlement?

*Answer.* There is no decisive military solution available to either side to end the conflict—an enduring solution will come through a comprehensive political agreement which will require compromise from all sides. The United States fully supports the ongoing efforts of the U.N. Special Envoy for Yemen, Ismail Ould Cheikh Ahmed, to bring about an end to the fighting and to bring the parties to the conflict back to negotiations as soon as possible.

The United States also does not believe a split between north and south would be sustainable or in the U.S. national interest, and the administration continues to support a unified Yemen. Neither the north nor the south has the resources or political cohesion to endure independently from one another. This would lead to a fracturing of the Yemeni state, worsening the political and security vacuum for AQAP and ISIL to exploit.

*Question 39.* Before the Obama administration used force against ISIS in Surt last fall, it waited for the Government of National Accord to request U.S. military support and ensured that it had identified committed local forces to work on the ground. As ISIS continues to lose ground in Iraq and Syria, the organization will turn to other locations including Libya. In remarks before the Senate Armed Services Committee on March 9, General Waldhauser—Commander of U.S. Africa Command—stated that in Libya, “we must carefully choose where and with whom we work in order to counter ISIS and not shift the balance between factions and risk sparking greater conflict in Libya.”

- What actions might the United States take that could spark greater conflict? In other words, what must we avoid doing?

*Answer.* The United States should avoid any actions or statements that might prejudice—or appear to prejudice—the outcomes of Libya’s national reconciliation process. The roles of individual Libyans must be determined by the Libyans themselves. The United States is concerned about the risk of armed civil conflict in Libya and has urged all parties to exercise restraint. Libyan forces have made progress against ISIS in Sirte and eastern Libya. Renewed fighting between Libyans will distract from the fight against terrorism and create space that ISIS and other violent extremists can exploit. The United States must try to ensure that the political process remains open and inclusive, so that all parties can participate in national reconciliation rather than resorting to violence.

*Question 40.* Does the State Department have a role in ending the conflict in Libya?

*Answer.* It is my understanding that the State Department works closely with Libyan leaders and with regional and international partners to support efforts to broker a political compromise among Libyans and bolster the Libyan Political Agreement as the basis of negotiations and a path to national elections.

Ending the civil conflict in Libya, keeping the Libyans engaged in a political dialogue, and finding a negotiated political solution are essential to building the stability Libya needs to defeat ISIS and other terrorists, address transnational flows of irregular migrants and weapons, rebuild Libya’s economy, and meet the humanitarian needs of the Libyan people. There is no military solution.

*Question 41.* Are there any alternatives to the Government of National Accord that could bring long-term stability to Libya?

*Answer.* I understand most Libyans believe the Libyan Political Agreement must remain the framework for a political solution. There is also growing consensus on the need for negotiated amendments to the Political Agreement.

The United States supports efforts to broker discussions between Prime Minister al-Sarraj’s Government of National Accord (GNA) and eastern Libyan leaders to overcome the impasse. The only way to bring lasting stability is through a Libyan-driven effort to build an inclusive, effective national government and unify national security forces under governmental authority.

*Question 42.* The civil war in South Sudan shows no signs of abating, precipitating a humanitarian disaster. 40 percent of the population currently faces life-threatening hunger; 100,000 face famine. As much as one-third of the population is displaced. The number of refugees fleeing to neighboring countries has more than doubled since July 2016. Uganda hosts almost 900,000 refugees at what has become the largest camp in the world. The only hope I see for turning the tide is a political

solution. I've advocated for a Special Envoy to lead U.S. efforts to help find peace in South Sudan. What role do you see for the U.S. in helping bring peace to this troubled country?

Answer. The United States has played and will continue to play a central role in the effort to bring peace to South Sudan, as the world's youngest country endures its fourth year of civil war. With the eruption of violence in Juba in July 2016, South Sudan's conflict entered a more complex and destructive phase, with Riek Machar's exile to South Africa, the fracturing of the opposition, and the emergence of new armed groups. The urgency of the situation and its attendant humanitarian crisis demand that the United States continue to play its historic leadership role in seeking peace. However, the complexity of the situation means that the United States must redouble coordination and cooperation with key partners, notably the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD), the Troika (Norway and the United Kingdom), the African Union (AU), and the United Nations.

*Question 43.* The civil war in South Sudan shows no signs of abating, precipitating a humanitarian disaster. 40 percent of the population currently faces life-threatening hunger; 100,000 face famine. As much as one-third of the population is displaced. The number of refugees fleeing to neighboring countries has more than doubled since July 2016. Uganda hosts almost 900,000 refugees at what has become the largest camp in the world. The only hope I see for turning the tide is a political solution. I've advocated for a Special Envoy to lead U.S. efforts to help find peace in South Sudan. If confirmed, will you support the appointment of a Special Envoy?

Answer. There are many complex issues at stake in South Sudan—devastating conflict, mass atrocities, famine and widespread food insecurity, counterterrorism, and regional destabilization due to mass population movements—which constitute a threat to peace and stability in east and central Africa. They require a tightly focused policy engagement at a senior level.

The United States is heavily involved in supporting peace efforts and providing assistance to refugees and displaced populations in Sudan and South Sudan and the region.

Given these complex issues, if confirmed, I will explore how we can do better, including consulting with Secretary Tillerson about any proposed future structure to address all issues related to Sudan and South Sudan, and will also take into consideration the results of our internal State Department organizational review.

*Question 44.* Aside from provision of equipment, what steps could the United States take to help improve the Nigerian military's effectiveness in the north east?

Answer. The United States is actively supporting efforts by Nigeria to fight and defeat Boko Haram and its offshoot ISIS-West Africa. In addition to equipment, the United States provides the Nigerian military with advisors. Advisors deployed to Maiduguri, the capital of Borno State and the heart of the Boko Haram and ISIS-WA insurgency, continue to play an important role in advising the Nigerian Army Theater Command Headquarters, which is located there.

I understand the United States also has a robust program of intelligence sharing with the Nigerian military, both in Maiduguri and at the Fusion Cell in Abuja. We are working with Nigerian partners to make our intelligence sharing more timely and even more effective in bolstering Nigerian military operations. Additionally, and in full accordance with the human rights requirements of the Leahy Law, the United States continues to train the Nigerian military on a number of issues, including counterterrorism and human rights. This training has tangibly augmented the effectiveness of the Nigerian Army in its operations, and we look forward to continuing and expanding these training programs.

*Question 45.* What will you do, if confirmed, to ensure that we remain steadfast in encouraging the Nigerian Government to hold those in the military responsible for human rights abuses, including the Zaria massacre of 2015, accountable?

Answer. If confirmed, I will ensure we continue to encourage the Nigerian Government to hold accountable those in the military responsible for human rights abuses. Through high-level diplomatic engagement, we will continue to underscore how human rights abuses by the security forces, as well as impunity for those violations, undermine Nigeria's security goals, tarnish its international reputation, and impede efforts to defeat Boko Haram and ISIS-West Africa. We will also continue to ensure that no assistance is provided to any Nigerian security force unit responsible for human rights abuses, in accordance with the law.

We will continue to press the Nigerian Government on accountability for the Rann bombing. As the investigation is finalized, we will continue to seek full access to the information on the Nigerian investigations and for further corrective actions related to its findings.

*Question 46.* Do you agree with Freedom House's characterization of the state of democracy in Africa? If so, do you believe America has a role to play in working to promote democracy and good governance on the continent?

Answer. Strong, accountable, and democratic institutions, sustained by a deep commitment to the rule of law, generate greater prosperity and stability, and meet with greater success in mitigating conflict and ensuring security. While the African continent has made important gains in democracy and institution building, those gains are fragile. U.S. Government engagement in the region spans a wide range of country situations, from autocracies to post-conflict states to consolidating democracies. Although elections have become a regular occurrence across the continent, there are still too many countries where the transition to democracy is uneven and slow, and too many leaders who resist relinquishing power. In many countries, corruption is endemic and state institutions remain weak, leading to greater regional instability.

Performance varies widely across the Continent. West Africa, for example, has undergone a significant democratic transition, and the period from 2015 through 2017 saw a host of West African nations peacefully going to the polls, with some, like Cote d'Ivoire and Burkina Faso, experiencing their first peaceful elections or transfers of power in decades. Most notably, in Nigeria, Ghana, Cabo Verde, and Benin opposition candidates were able to win elections and were sworn in as heads of state. This increased democratization has even changed how the region views attempts to cling to power. Proof of this came with the departure into exile of the long-time leader of The Gambia in January 2017 following his defeat at the ballot box. After the former president attempted to ignore the results and cling to power, the Economic Community of West African States sent democratically elected heads of state to demand he step down, threatening diplomatic isolation, sanctions, and even military intervention if he failed to do so. Faced with this unified opposition, the former president agreed to go into exile.

Elections alone do not define a democracy, particularly as some incumbents in Africa and elsewhere narrow or close altogether the space for competition, participation, and a free press long before an election is held. A healthy democracy requires checks and balances, including a strong judiciary and legislature, competitive political parties, a free press, and an engaged civil society.

Recognizing the foundational importance of democracy, human rights, and governance to Africa's future and U.S. foreign policy objectives on the continent, strengthening democratic institutions remains a priority. The United States seeks to advance democracy in Africa by promoting the rule of law, respect for human and civil rights, credible and legitimate elections, a politically active civil society, and accountable and participatory governance. Working in partnership with African Governments and civil society, United States support aims to strengthen governance institutions and to protect the democratic and development gains that have been made across the continent and to prevent democratic backsliding.

*Question 47.* What steps will you take to advance multilateral diplomacy in response to Venezuela's political crisis and coordinate a regional approach to growing humanitarian challenges?

Answer. It is my understanding the United States is working with its international partners to build consensus for a peaceful solution and to see the re-establishment of democratic norms in Venezuela. On April 26, the United States joined a majority of countries in the hemisphere in adopting an OAS resolution calling for an emergency meeting of foreign ministers to discuss the worsening situation in Venezuela, including the humanitarian situation. This follows a U.S.-supported resolution condemning recent actions taken by the Venezuelan Supreme Court to undermine the separation of powers and urging the Government of Venezuela to restore full constitutional authority to the National Assembly.

The United States should continue to call for the release of all political prisoners, the publication and implementation of an electoral calendar to achieve a political resolution to this crisis, as well as respect for the National Assembly.

*Question 48.* How can the U.S. best use targeted sanctions and other tools to hold accountable those Venezuelan officials that are engaged in corruption, drug trafficking, and actions that are destabilizing democratic governance and the rule of law?

Answer. The U.S. Government evaluates, on an ongoing basis, the range of foreign policy tools at its disposal to best achieve its foreign policy objectives and enhance the nation's security. These include sanctions under the Narcotics Kingpin Act, as well as under Executive Order 13692, which implements the Venezuela Defense of Human Rights and Civil Society Act.

Sanctions under that Executive Order target specific persons, including those involved in human rights abuses or violations, undermining democratic processes or institutions, and public corruption, among other things. U.S. sanctions do not target the Venezuelan people or economy as a whole.

I believe the U.S. Government should, of course, encourage Department of Justice investigations of criminal conduct under U.S. law, particularly as it relates to public corruption and drug trafficking.

*Question 49.* Will the United States meet its New START treaty commitments? Does the United States believe Russia in February 2018 will meet its New START Treaty commitments?

Answer. It is my understanding that the United States and Russia will meet the New START Treaty central limits in accordance with the stipulated deadline of February 5, 2018. Senior Russian officials have reaffirmed their commitment to meeting these limits.

The United States continues to monitor Russia's strategic nuclear modernization and implementation of the New START Treaty through the Treaty's verification regime. Without the New START Treaty in force, the United States would lack critical knowledge about the composition and size of Russia's strategic forces and the insights the Treaty provides into Russia's modernization program for its strategic systems.

*Question 50.* Is the Trump administration planning to withdraw from the New START Treaty or to modify it before the treaty expires in 2021?

Answer. It is my understanding the administration is reviewing Russia policy, including the approach to enforcing compliance with arms control treaty obligations. Currently, the administration is focused on reaching the New START Treaty's central limits by February 2018, and will not assess next steps in strategic arms control until after that point.

*Question 51.* Does the Trump administration believe Russia's deployment of a ground based cruise missile is a "material breach" of the INF Treaty?

Answer. The international legal doctrine of material breach allows one party to terminate a treaty or suspend its operation in whole or in part based on, inter alia, another party's violation of a provision essential to the accomplishment of the object and purpose of the treaty. It is my understanding that the administration has not made a determination of material breach at this time. The administration is undertaking an extensive review of Russia's violation of the INF Treaty in order to assess the viability of the Treaty, the potential national security implications for the United States of the violation, and possible responses aimed at imposing costs and denying Russia any advantage from its violation.

*Question 52.* Will you commit to maintaining a separate bureau in the State Department (currently the Bureau of International Security and Nonproliferation) exclusively devoted to preventing the proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) and related materials?

Answer. I am committed to preventing the proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) and related materials. Nonproliferation of WMD has been a pillar of U.S. foreign policy over many decades and it remains in our vital national security interest to prevent and deter the proliferation and use of WMD. If confirmed, I will work closely with Secretary Tillerson on how best to organize the State Department to address proliferation.

*Question 53.* Will you commit to fully funding critical non-proliferation intergovernmental organizations such as the IAEA, OPCW, and CTBT Preparatory Organization at FY 2016 levels?

Answer. I understand that the Department is in the process of determining how to implement the funding reductions called for by the President's FY18 budget request. The Department appreciates Congressional support for funding necessary to meet U.S. commitments, responsibilities, and interests in areas such as this.

*Question 54.* What is your interpretation of Section 4.11 of the Paris Agreement and the flexibility it provides parties to adjust their nationally determined contributions as they see fit? What significance does the word "may" in this section have to the U.S., or any party's ability to adjust their contributions in whatever way they see fit? Do you agree that the presence of the term "may" in this section makes this provision non-binding? If you believe this provision is legally binding please explain your argument.

Answer. This question involves a degree of specificity and technicality with respect to treaty interpretation in the context of the Paris Agreement that would require me to consult with State Department lawyers before providing a response.

*Question 55.* If confirmed as Deputy Secretary, you will be the primary person for State in overseeing and coordinating U.S. security cooperation and assistance to foreign countries, including military exercises and exchanges. Will you devote particular personal attention to this responsibility to fulfill the Secretary's role to oversee all assistance to foreign assistance, including oversight and participation in the formulation of the Department of Defense security assistance projects as allowed by law?

Answer. Yes. State's role in the provision of security assistance is critical to ensuring that all such assistance directly advances a common set of foreign policy goals and accounts for broader U.S. interests in the country, region, and world. At Secretary Tillerson and Secretary Mattis' direction, the Department and DoD are working closely together to optimize the full range of security sector assistance resources and thereby achieve the best possible outcomes for U.S. national security and the American taxpayer. To further this effort, if confirmed, I will devote personal attention to building collaborative relationships between the Department and DoD at all levels, such that all of our assistance efforts are integrated and synchronized in a manner that is strategic, efficient, and reflects our agencies' respective strengths and missions. Where the Department has a legislated role in the planning or approval of DoD assistance programs, I will ensure that the Department has the resources and direction necessary to fulfill that role in a meaningful way, such that all assistance—regardless of the agency managing it—advances a single set of foreign policy objectives and is subject to the same level of rigorous foreign policy oversight.

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RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD  
SUBMITTED TO JOHN SULLIVAN BY SENATOR JAMES E. RISCH

*Question 1.* Do you support completing the Export Control Reform Initiative?

Answer. I support the modernization of the U.S. export control system and look forward to being briefed by the Department's experts on the status of the Export Control Reform Initiative. As a general matter, I believe it is important that we provide all American industries with a level playing field.

*Question 2.* What is the status of the proposed rule to transfer to Commerce the export licensing responsibility for commercial and sporting products currently on the USML categories I, II, and III?

Answer. I understand the Department is finalizing the rule for three remaining categories of controls, and plans to obtain guidance to publish them. It intends to solicit public comment, as it did for the other 18 categories. This process was requested by U.S. industry members, including the firearms and ammunition industry, to help ensure the rules are clear and implementable.

*Question 3.* Please provide the timeline for when the State Department will publish its proposed rule to transfer export licensing of commercial and sporting firearms and ammunition products currently on the USML categories I, II, and III to the Commerce Department's CCL?

Answer. I understand the Department is in the process of obtaining guidance for publication and to have the rule included in an upcoming issue of the Federal Register. The Department does not have an exact timeline for publication at this time because revisions to the U.S. Munitions List (USML) require contemporaneous publication of a companion rule by the Department of Commerce, and because of required interagency and intra-Executive approvals for publication in conjunction with an ongoing review of regulatory activities. If confirmed, I look forward to working towards an expeditious publication.

*Question 4.* Do you support continuing the QDDR process at the State Department?

Answer. The previous administration implemented a Quadrennial Development and Diplomacy Review (QDDR). The QDDR process is an exercise to assess how we can be more efficient, effective, and accountable. As discussed in my confirmation hearing, the world has changed in the 21st century and the way the Department is organized has not kept pace. I look forward to supporting the Secretary's review of the current structure of the State Department to see how we can better meet these challenges.

*Question 5.* As you know, the Department of Defense issues the QDDR as part of a series of documents produced used to help inform a Planning, Programming, Budgeting process. If you keep the QDDR process, will you also take the additional

steps of drafting similar long-term strategic budget and other planning and programming documents?

Answer. The Department of State and USAID are mandated by the Government Performance and Results Modernization Act of 2010 to produce an agency-level strategic plan. The strategic plan is a long-term, multi-year strategy that outlines our goals and objectives, and which provides direction and guidance in the formulation of our budget and other planning and programming processes. I understand the State Department is in the development stages of this strategic plan. This process has already guided formulation of our FY 2018 budget and will provide key inputs to our FY 2019 budget, as well as the concurrent reorganization. I look forward to working with the Secretary to ensure the Department's management priorities are strategically aligned with policy guidance and direction to meet our core mission across our global organization.

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RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD  
SUBMITTED TO JOHN SULLIVAN BY SENATOR ROBERT MENENDEZ

*Question 1.* What role do you see the United States playing in Venezuela?

Answer. The Venezuelan people aspire to a free, democratic, and prosperous country, and the United States should continue to strongly support those aspirations. The U.S. Government should remain engaged with a broad range of Venezuelan society and our international partners to insist that the Venezuelan Government respect its democratic institutions.

The U.S. Government should call on the Government of Venezuela to fulfill its obligations to promptly hold elections, respect the rightful authority of the National Assembly, provide for the immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners, and tend to the humanitarian needs of the Venezuelan people. The United States, in concert with a majority of other countries in the hemisphere, adopted an OAS resolution calling for an emergency meeting of foreign ministers to review the situation in Venezuela and offer humanitarian assistance to the Venezuelan people.

*Question 2.* How can we leverage the OAS and our regional alliance to address this crisis?

Answer. The United States is working with its international partners to build consensus for a peaceful solution and to see the re-establishment of democratic norms in Venezuela. The United States joined a majority of countries in the hemisphere on April 26 in adopting an OAS resolution calling for an emergency meeting of foreign ministers to discuss the worsening situation in Venezuela. This follows a U.S.-supported resolution condemning a series of Venezuelan Supreme Court actions to undermine the separation of powers and urging the Venezuelan Government to restore full constitutional authority to the National Assembly.

The United States should continue to call for the release of all political prisoners, the publication and implementation of an electoral calendar to achieve a political resolution to this crisis, and respect for the National Assembly.

*Question 3.* We have an opportunity to achieve a peaceful resolution of the long festering and untenable situation in Cyprus. Positive Turkish engagement and support of this process is vital, as is that of International Organizations and the U.S.

- How do you view the current, ongoing Cyprus settlement talks held under UN auspices?

Answer. The United States continues to fully support the Cypriot-led, UN-facilitated process under UN Special Adviser Espen Barth Eide. We support efforts by the parties to reach a settlement to reunify Cyprus as a bi-zonal, bi-communal federation, which would benefit all Cypriots as well as the wider region. Greek Cypriot leader Nicos Anastasiades and Turkish Cypriot leader Mustafa Akinci have made considerable progress in their negotiations over the last two years toward achieving a settlement. These negotiations are the best chance in decades to achieve a lasting and comprehensive solution.

*Question 4.* We have an opportunity to achieve a peaceful resolution of the long festering and untenable situation in Cyprus. Positive Turkish engagement and support of this process is vital, as is that of International Organizations and the U.S.

- Do you support a reunified Cyprus with a single sovereignty, single international personality and single citizenship; and with its independence and territorial integrity safeguarded as described in the relevant U.N. Security Council resolutions?

Answer. In their February 2014 Joint Declaration, Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot leaders agreed to negotiate a settlement based on a bi-zonal, bi-communal federation rooted in political equality. They also agreed that a reunified Cyprus, as a member of the United Nations and of the European Union, would maintain a single international legal personality, a single sovereignty, and a single united Cyprus citizenship. The United States continues to support Cypriot-led, UN-facilitated efforts to achieve a negotiated settlement based on these principles and those established through relevant United Nations Security Council Resolutions and other high-level agreements.

*Question 5.* We have an opportunity to achieve a peaceful resolution of the long festering and untenable situation in Cyprus. Positive Turkish engagement and support of this process is vital, as is that of International Organizations and the U.S.

- Will you maintain U.S. high-level engagement on this issue?

Answer. Yes. The United States supports the reunification of Cyprus as a bi-zonal, bi-communal federation consistent with UN Security Council Resolutions. If confirmed, my role would be to advance the longstanding U.S. policy of supporting reunification efforts. The administration has continued high-level U.S. engagement in support of current settlement talks: Secretary Tillerson telephoned Greek Cypriot leader Nicos Anastasiades and Turkish Cypriot leader Mustafa Akinci early in his tenure, and in March Under Secretary for Political Affairs Tom Shannon hosted UN Special Advisor Espen Barth Eide for consultations in Washington and later met with Republic of Cyprus Foreign Minister Ioannis Kasoulides. As a friend to all Cypriots, the United States engages with all parties, and I would continue to encourage all relevant stakeholders—including Greece and Turkey—to negotiate constructively to reach a just and lasting settlement.

*Question 6.* While Turkey remains a critical NATO ally, Turkish President Erdogan recently consolidated his power through a referendum the OSCE assessed suffered from a lack of transparency among other concerns. According to the Committee to Protect Journalists, Turkey was the top jailer of journalists worldwide. What steps do you think the United States should take to directly address these human rights concerns in Turkey?

Answer. The United States remains committed to a strong bilateral relationship with Turkey. It is in the U.S. national interest for Turkey to be a stable, prosperous, and reliable ally. The United States has long supported Turkey's democratic development. Respect for the rule of law, freedom of the press, and transparency are pillars of a successful democracy and provide Turkey with the potential for expanding its partnership with the United States. If confirmed, I will raise these important points directly with senior Turkish officials.

*Question 7.* In its 2016 National Drug Threat Assessment, the Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) identified Mexican transnational criminal organizations as the "greatest criminal drug threat" to the United States. As you know, the State Department plays a central role in coordinating U.S. counternarcotics assistance and Mexican criminal organizations continue to illegally traffic South American cocaine and a growing volume of Mexican-produced heroin and Mexican- and Chinese-produced fentanyl into the U.S.—which is fueling opioid addiction and an alarming number of overdoses across the U.S.

- As we cannot resolve this challenge alone, if confirmed, what strategies will you employ to work with the Government of Mexico to combat these criminal organizations and the illegal drug trade?

Answer. Building on prior security collaboration and under Secretary Tillerson's leadership, it is my understanding the State Department is working with the Government of Mexico to identify new opportunities to combat transnational criminal organizations, including by focusing on disrupting their business model. This includes exploring new ways to strengthen criminal investigations of money laundering, build Mexico's capacity to criminally prosecute and sanction financial crimes, and work jointly on detecting and interdicting bulk cash shipments from the United States into Mexico.

The United States and Mexico are working together with Canada through the North American Dialogue on Drug Policy to develop a greater understanding of drug flows and drug threats within North America and are working more closely to address them. For example there is agreement to improve cooperation by: (1) sharing results of research and analysis of heroin, fentanyl, methamphetamine, and precursor chemicals; (2) exploring ways to better track cross-border financial transfers; and (3) coordinating our messaging to countries outside of North America that impact the illicit opioid threat in our continent.



*Question 8.* Violence in Mexico, particularly the homicide rate has increased dramatically over the past year. Alarming, Mexico has seen an increase of targeted attacks against journalists and media outlets. Mexican courts have failed to successfully prosecute and convict 99 percent of cases that involve journalists being killed. A free press and the freedom of speech form the bedrock of any democratic society. We have a number of programs through the State Department aimed at both supporting free press in Mexico and strengthening the rule of law.

- Do you believe these programs are effective?

Answer. Yes, but they can be improved. U.S. programs have been effective, and if confirmed, I will ensure the Department of State continues to work with Mexico to improve them. We should remain committed to working with Mexico on supporting a free press and strengthening the rule of law. USAID and the State Department's Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor have played a key role in supporting the Government of Mexico in standing up its Protection Mechanism that provides protection measures to more than 600 human rights defenders and journalists. If confirmed, I will advocate for increased protection and apply lessons learned from international best practices in protecting freedom of expression. I support USAID's engagement with civil society groups that advocate for threatened human rights defenders and journalists.

In addition to these programs, I will consistently raise the issue of press freedom and rule of law with Mexican officials and in public messaging.

As Mexico has embarked on an essential set of reforms to its justice sector, the United States, through the Merida Initiative, has provided essential support by targeting every facet of the criminal justice system, including: law enforcement professionalization, strengthening judicial institutions, training prosecutors and judges, and improving the corrections system.

*Question 9.* Do you believe that the United States should commit resources and attention to strengthening institutions in Mexico including a strong, independent judiciary?

Answer. Yes. Through the Merida Initiative, the United States and Mexico have forged a multi-faceted partnership to combat organized crime and drug trafficking and to support Mexico's efforts to strengthen its security institutions, enhance rule of law, improve border security, and promote respect for human rights. A transparent, efficient, and effective criminal justice system in Mexico is essential to the administration's goal of dismantling transnational criminal organizations. It also strengthens the rule of law by protecting due process, promoting assistance to crime victims, and strengthening human rights. As Mexico has embarked on this essential set of reforms, the United States has provided essential support by targeting every facet of the criminal justice system, including: law enforcement professionalization, strengthening judicial institutions, training prosecutors and judges, and improving the corrections system. If confirmed, I will ensure the Department of State continues to work with Mexico in these important areas.

*Question 10.* How do you plan to engage with the Government of Nicaragua?

Answer. The Department of State has repeatedly expressed concerns about the state of democracy in Nicaragua. Previous U.S. Government statements have consistently criticized the flawed electoral process, which precluded the possibility of free and fair elections. If confirmed, I would ensure the Department of State continues to press the Nicaraguan Government to uphold democratic practices, including press freedom and respect for universal human rights, consistent with its commitments under the Inter-American Democratic Charter.

At the same time, the U.S. Government should continue to advance U.S. national security and economic interests in Nicaragua through engagement with the Nicaraguan Government, civil society, and private sector on issues such as countering illegal migration, countering narco-trafficking, and ensuring a favorable climate for U.S. businesses.

Despite being the second poorest country in the hemisphere, Nicaragua enjoys a robust trade relationship with the United States. Since the Dominican Republic-Central America-United States Free Trade Agreement entered into force in 2006, U.S. exports to Nicaragua have increased over 100 percent from \$625 million in 2005 to \$1.47 billion in 2016, supporting almost 9,000 jobs in the United States.

If confirmed, I will continue to strengthen the U.S. partnership with the Nicaraguan people and work on their behalf to achieve a more prosperous, secure, and democratic Nicaragua.

*Question 11.* Do you believe we should do more to empower civil society in Nicaragua?

Answer. Strong civil society organizations (CSOs) are critical to strengthening institutions and building a vibrant and functioning democracy. Nicaragua's democracy and human rights CSOs struggle to remain operational in a country that has restricted political space.

USAID supports media programs that mentor young journalists and increase citizen advocacy for independent media, the right to freedom of expression, and access to public information. USAID programs also teach cybersecurity techniques to help protect CSO members and their organizations.

Department of State programs that support civil society seek to: improve citizen security through community engagement, prevent drug abuse and violence among at-risk youth, prevent trafficking in persons through education and raising awareness, increase advocacy of the rule of law, and prevent domestic violence and improve services for victims.

*Question 12.* The US and Taiwan have maintained a strong and mutually beneficial relationship based on the Taiwan Relations Act (Public Law 96-8) and Six Assurances. Recognizing Taiwan's capacity and willingness to contribute to important global issues, Congress has passed legislation requiring the State Department to support Taiwan's participation in international organization such as the World Health Organization (WHO). After Taiwan first woman president Tsai Ing-Wen took office last year, Taiwan has experienced increasing pressure from Beijing constricting its participation in international organizations. How do you and the administration plan to support Taiwan's international participation?

Answer. If confirmed, I will support Taiwan's membership in international organizations that do not require statehood. In organizations that require statehood for membership, I will support Taiwan's meaningful participation, and this includes ICAO, INTERPOL, WHO, and the more than 60 international organizations in which Taiwan participates. I am committed to supporting Taiwan as it seeks to expand its already significant contributions to addressing global challenges.

I believe the United States has a deep and abiding interest in cross-Strait peace and stability. The benefits that stable cross-Strait ties have brought to both sides of the Taiwan Strait, the United States, and the region have been important. Both sides of the Taiwan Strait should understand the value of stable cross-Strait ties and work to establish a basis for continued peace and stability. If confirmed, I will encourage authorities in Beijing and Taipei to engage in constructive dialogue that seeks a peaceful resolution of differences acceptable to the people on both sides of the Taiwan Strait.

*Question 13.* How do you plan to engage with the relatively new Haitian Government?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work to understand the top priorities of the new Haitian administration. Ongoing U.S. support for job creation initiatives that create opportunities beyond the capital of Port-au-Prince can help improve political and economic conditions in Haiti.

The scheduled termination of the UN Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH) in mid-October and transition to a successor mission focusing on the rule of law, police development, and human rights is an important opportunity for Haiti to increasingly take responsibility for maintaining a stable security environment with UN Police support. May 9, 2017

*Question 14.* What changes do you think can be made in our diplomatic and development efforts to best utilize American resources and personnel in Haiti?

Answer. With a new, democratically-elected government in Haiti and a Haitian President who is keenly familiar with the role that the private sector and foreign direct investment can play in building sustainable economic growth, there is a window of opportunity to lessen Haiti's dependence on foreign aid.

If confirmed, I would urge Haiti to pursue its development and growth priorities. That means taking steps to attract and increase domestic and foreign investment, which will in turn fuel economic opportunity and growth and, ultimately, generate revenue for the Haitian state.

In the near-to-medium term, however, Haiti will continue to need the support of its international partners, including the United States, to address the economic, social, and security challenges facing the country. U.S. assistance plays an important role in addressing these goals.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD  
SUBMITTED TO JOHN SULLIVAN BY SENATOR MARCO RUBIO

*Question 1.* What role should universal values, including human rights, the right to religious freedom, and the promotion of representative democracy and freedom of the press, play in U.S. foreign policy and determining the U.S. national security interest?

Answer. As I said in my testimony before the committee, I believe our greatest national asset is our commitment to the fundamental values expressed at the founding of our nation: the rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. These basic human rights are the bedrock of our republic and at the heart of American leadership in the world.

*Question 2.* Do you commit to supporting U.S. sanctions against the Maduro Government in Venezuela? Would you support expanding U.S. sanctions against the Maduro Government?

Answer. I am committed to evaluating on an ongoing basis the range of foreign policy tools at our disposal that can best achieve our objectives, enhance our national security, and improve the dire situation in Venezuela. These include sanctions under Executive Order 13692, which implements the Venezuela Defense of Human Rights and Civil Society Act. Sanctions under that Executive Order target specific persons, including those involved in human rights abuses or violations, undermining democratic processes or institutions, and public corruption, among other things. Such U.S. sanctions do not target the Venezuelan people or economy as a whole.

*Question 3.* Do you commit to working with regional partners, as well as with regional bodies such as the Organization of American States (OAS), to restore democracy in Venezuela?

Answer. Yes. The United States is working with its international partners to build consensus for a peaceful solution and to see the re-establishment of democratic norms in Venezuela. If confirmed, I will continue to prioritize these efforts. On April 26, the United States joined a majority of countries in the hemisphere in adopting an OAS resolution calling for an emergency meeting of foreign ministers to discuss the worsening situation in Venezuela, including the humanitarian situation. This follows a U.S.-supported resolution condemning recent actions taken by the Venezuelan Supreme Court to undermine the separation of powers and urging the Government of Venezuela to restore full constitutional authority to the National Assembly.

The U.S. Government should continue to call for the release of all political prisoners, the publication and implementation of an electoral calendar to achieve a political resolution to this crisis, as well as respect for the National Assembly.

*Question 4.* If and when Venezuela enters a post-Maduro era and also returns to the path of democracy, do you commit to supporting foreign assistance funding to hasten the country's return to self-determination, representative democracy, and a free-market economy?

Answer. Yes. The U.S. Government wants the Venezuelan people to thrive under representative democracy. The FY 2017 appropriation provides support for democracy in Venezuela, consistent with current USAID programs.

*Question 5.* Do you support current U.S. sanctions against Russia? Do you believe that U.S. sanctions should remain in place until Crimea is rightfully returned to Ukraine and Russia stops supporting separatists in eastern Ukraine?

Answer. I understand United States sanctions are carefully coordinated with those of our European partners to impose costs on Russia for its aggression in Ukraine and its occupation of Crimea. These sanctions have helped discourage Russia and the separatists it supports from attempting to seize more Ukrainian territory and helped keep Russia at the table to negotiate a peaceful resolution under the Minsk Agreements.

*Question 6.* Will you pledge to implement fully the Sergei Magnitsky Act and support the designation of additional Russian officials for their roles in human rights abuses as the U.S. Government obtains new evidence of such abuses?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I will support the Department's implementation of the Sergei Magnitsky Act, continuing the work the Department has done since 2013 to list anyone who meets the criteria set forth in the Act. The Department believes the Act is a valuable tool to help combat impunity for gross violations of human rights in Russia. The Russian people, like people everywhere, deserve a government that supports transparency and accountability, equal treatment under the law, and the ability to exercise their rights without fear of retribution.

*Question 7.* Would you commit to supporting the continuation of the State Department's efforts to empower civil society organizations in Russia and other authoritarian countries around the world?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I will continue the Department of State's efforts to empower civil society in Russia. The Department continues to raise in public statements and private discussions our serious concerns about the human rights situation in Russia. Although the space for civil society and free media in Russia has become increasingly restricted, Russian organizations and individuals continue to express a desire to engage with the United States. As long as this continues to be the case, the United States will support opportunities for direct interactions between Russians and Americans, including through peer-to-peer, educational, cultural, and other regional programs that provide exchanges of best practices and ideas on themes of mutual interest.

The Russian people, like people everywhere, deserve a government that supports an open marketplace of ideas, transparent and accountable governance, equal treatment under the law, and the ability to exercise their rights without fear of retribution. The United States continues to call on the Government of Russia to uphold its international obligations and commitments to promote and protect human rights and fundamental freedoms, and to cease restrictions on the work of civil society organizations in Russia.

*Question 8.* If Congress passes a bill that imposes visa bans and asset freezes on those responsible for the commission of serious human rights abuses in any territory, forcibly occupied or otherwise controlled by Russia, would you advise the President to sign it?

Answer. The Secretary has been clear that our foreign policy will continue to be guided by our values, including the defense of human rights. Subject to the need to review the precise terms of any legislation before making a recommendation, if confirmed I am committed to doing all we can as a nation to promote and protect human rights in the areas described.

*Question 9.* The United States has long served as a global leader in advancing women's equality and empowerment. Central to this is the work of the Office of Global Women's Issues in the State Department. Can you assure us that this administration will maintain the Office of Global Women's Issues and the critical programming, policy and diplomatic work that it does?

Answer. The integration of gender into the State Department's foreign policy efforts has never been more critical. The United States has put gender equality and the advancement of women and girls at the forefront of U.S. foreign policy, and the Secretary's Office of Global Women's Issues has played a central role in ensuring the Department has the know-how and the appropriate processes to strategically incorporate gender into policies and programs. As I stated at my confirmation hearing, you have my commitment that women's issues will remain a priority of the Department.

*Question 10.* Will you support ensuring that women's issues, such as ending child marriage and promoting access of girls to education, are included in larger foreign policy discussions, where appropriate?

Answer. Yes. The incorporation of gender considerations into foreign policy planning and execution is strategic and imperative. It is a fundamental tenet of our foreign policy that when women are able to participate politically and economically to the same degree as men, societies are more prosperous, stable and secure. As I told Senator Shaheen, "women's health, women's education, women's empowerment, pay dividends many times over." You have my commitment that these issues will remain a priority of the Department.

*Question 11.* Will it be your policy and intention to honor the pledges, commitments, and obligations made by your predecessors at the U.S. Department of State with respect to American participation in international fairs and expositions abroad occurring prior to September 30, 2017?

Answer. I am not familiar with any pledges, commitments, or obligations made by previous State Department officials with respect to American participation in international fairs and exhibitions. If confirmed, I will be happy to work with you and your staff to learn more about your concerns and what resolutions are permissible under current law.

*Question 12.* Enacted in 1979, the Taiwan Relations Act remains cornerstone of relations between the United States and Taiwan. For decades, both parties have benefited from a strong security and economic relationship. However, this relationship has not benefited from sufficient high-level communication due to the self-im-

posed restrictions that the United States maintains on high-level visits with Taiwan. Will you commit to encouraging exchanges between the United States and Taiwan at all levels? How will you push this forward?

Answer. I understand that many U.S. officials, including Cabinet-level officials, have visited Taiwan when they have had substantive business to conduct in order to further U.S.-Taiwan relations as stipulated by the Taiwan Relations Act. These visits are consistent with the U.S. Government's one-China policy.

Also, consistent with longstanding practice, the United States allows transits by Taiwan leaders to provide for the safety, security, comfort, and dignity of the traveler. Senior Taiwan leaders occasionally travel through North America to and from destinations in Central and South America and the Caribbean.

If confirmed, I will continue to encourage exchanges between the United States and Taiwan to advance substantive cooperation across all areas of our relationship.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD  
SUBMITTED TO JOHN SULLIVAN BY SENATOR RON JOHNSON

*Question 1.* It is my understanding that there are currently around 75,500 employees at the Department of State, made up of around 11,000 Civil Service employees, 14,000 Foreign Service employees and 50,500 locally employed staff. How has the total number of State Department employees, as well as the subcategories of Civil Service, Foreign Service and locally employed, changed over time? Can you provide year-by-year State Department employment numbers as far back as possible for total number of employees as well as for the three aforementioned subcategories?

Answer. Attached are year-by-year State Department employment numbers showing the total number of employees as well as Civil Service, Foreign Service, and locally employed staff.

Department of State Employment Counts

Year	Civil Service Full-Time Permanent	Foreign Service Full-Time Permanent	Total Full-Time Permanent	Locally Employed (LE) Staff
FY1961*	5,315	8,712	14,027	9717
FY1962*	4,865	8,809	13,674	9969
FY1963*	5,103	9,127	14,230	9997
FY1964*	4,934	9,154	14,088	10135
FY1965*	5,061	9,493	14,554	9574
FY1966*	4,077	10,904	14,981	10340
FY1967*	3,717	11,351	15,068	12312
FY1968*	3,717	10,272	13,989	11334
FY1969	3,749	9,735	13,484	10967
FY1970	3,746	8,932	12,678	10702
FY1971	3,698	8,994	12,692	10618
FY1972	3,523	8,588	12,111	10491
FY1973	3,646	8,313	11,959	10486
FY1974	3,611	8,526	12,137	10538
FY1975	3,588	8,719	12,307	10091
FY1976	3,440	8,969	12,409	10158
FY1977	3,462	8,993	12,455	10164
FY1978	3,290	9,207	12,497	10183
FY1979	3,347	9,065	12,412	9718
FY1980	3,438	9,236	12,674	9374
FY1981	3,634	9,378	13,012	9283
FY1982	3,764	9,406	13,170	9244
FY1983	3,952	9,395	13,347	9240
FY1984	4,314	9,153	13,467	9399
FY1985	4,500	9,441	13,941	9605
FY1986	4,448	9,637	14,085	9637
FY1987	4,579	9,490	14,069	9490
FY1988	4,677	9,232	13,909	9455
FY1989	4,933	8,918	13,851	9165
FY1990	5,197	8,814	14,011	8933
FY1991	5,181	8,830	14,011	9379

## Department of State Employment Counts—Continued

Year	Civil Service Full-Time Permanent	Foreign Service Full-Time Permanent	Total Full-Time Permanent	Locally Employed (LE) Staff
FY1992	5,318	8,896	14,214	9412
FY1993	5,622	8,792	14,414	9412
FY1994	5,436	8,512	13,948	8512
FY1995	5,208	8,207	13,415	8207
FY1996	5,247	7,936	13,183	9555
FY1997	5,225	7,724	12,949	9508
FY1998	5,165	7,769	12,934	9510
FY1999	5,498	8,169	13,667	7192
FY2000	7,200	9,283	16,483	N/A
FY2001	7,193	9,326	16,519	N/A
FY2002	7,368	10,089	17,457	N/A
FY2003	7,731	10,579	18,310	N/A
FY2004	7,831	10,988	18,819	N/A
FY2005**	8,092	11,238	19,330	37924
FY2006**	8,270	11,397	19,667	37092
FY2007**	8,784	11,467	20,251	37089
FY2008**	9,328	11,656	20,984	37089
FY2009**	9,614	12,257	21,871	41658
FY2010**	10,039	13,008	23,047	43632
FY2011**	10,645	13,518	24,163	44491
FY2012**	10,760	13,774	24,534	45475
FY2013**	10,960	13,833	24,793	45970
FY2014**	10,874	13,984	24,858	46648
FY2015**	10,921	13,941	24,862	48033
FY2016**	11,147	13,980	25,127	49736
3/31/ 2017	10,978	14,029	25,007	49736

\*\*Full-time" employees were reported between 1961 and 1968

\*\*LE Staff counts included both Direct Hires and Personal Service Agreement (PSAs) contractors after 2005

\*\*\*FY 2000 reflects integration of U.S. Information Agency (USIA) and Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA) into State

**Question 2.** Can you provide year-by-year statistics going as far back as possible on the number of Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) requests submitted to the State Department and to the federal government as a whole? Can you also provide the annual number of backlogged FOIA requests for the State Department and the federal government as a whole for as far back as possible?

Answer. Attached are current and historical data on FOIA requests submitted to the Department of State and to the federal government as a whole. I understand that the Department has taken a series of concerted actions to improve the program and reduce the backlog. The Department and other executive branch agencies publish a number of annual reports regarding their FOIA processing efforts. The Government-wide information can be found at <https://www.justice.gov/oip/reports-1>. If confirmed, I look forward to working with you to continue to improve the Department's FOIA responsiveness.

## Department of State FOIA Data

May 12, 2017

Fiscal Year	Number of FOIA Requests Received (Section V.A of FOIA Annual Report)		FOIA Backlog (Section XII.D.(2) of FOIA Annual Report, when available)*	
	State	Federal Government	State	Federal Government
2017	**15,209	***.	**16,921	***.
2016	27,961	788,769	22,664	115,080
2015	24,837	713,168	20,626	102,828
2014	19,696	714,231	10,045	159,741
2013	18,753	704,394	8,669	95,564
2012	18,521	651,254	10,464	71,790
2011	14,298	644,165	8,078	83,490
2010	30,206	597,415	20,519	69,526
2009	10,717	557,825	8,784	77,377
2008	5,909	****605,491	4,327	133,295
2007	5,078	21,758,651	3,430	217,237
2006	4,937	21,412,571	3,218	251,314
2005	4,602	19,950,683	2,728	220,097
2004	3,951	-	1,996	-
2003	3,438	-	3,008	-
2002	3,134	-	5,343	-
2001	3,761	-	6,214	-
2000	3,611	-	5,782	-
1999	3,716	-	5,241	-
1998	3,355	-	5,349	-

\*The FOIA Annual Report format has changed over time; the section mentioned is from the current report.

\*\*As of May 12, 2017.

\*\*\* Data not yet available for entire government reporting.

\*\*\*\*Government-wide reporting requirements changed this year to focus solely on FOIA requests, not all information access requests such as Privacy Act requests.

The data provided above is from the Department of State FOIA Annual Reports (<https://foia.state.gov/Learn/Reports.aspx>) and Department of Justice Office of Information Policy Website (<https://www.justice.gov/oip/reports-1>) with the exception of the 2017 data.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD  
SUBMITTED TO JOHN SULLIVAN BY SENATOR JOHN BARRASSO

**Question 1.** If confirmed, will you support the elimination of all U.S. funding for the United Nations' Green Climate Fund?

Answer. The administration's FY 2018 budget does not include funding for the Green Climate Fund (GCF). In general, the United States should ensure that all assistance to foreign countries and international organizations advances U.S. interests.

**Question 2.** If confirmed, will you support the elimination of all U.S. funding for the Global Climate Change Initiative?

Answer. The FY 2018 request does not include funding for the Global Climate Change Initiative (GCCII). In general, the United States should ensure that all as-

sistance to foreign countries and international organizations advances U.S. interests.

*Question 3.* Would you recommend that the United States stay in any agreement that would strengthen foreign economies at the expense of American workers and line the pockets of developing nations with billions of American taxpayer dollars?

Answer. The United States should prioritize U.S. interests in all of its interactions with foreign countries and should evaluate possible participation in international agreements on that basis.

*Question 4.* Do you support the administration submitting the international climate change agreement developed in Paris to the Senate for its advice and consent?

Answer. I understand the United States submitted an instrument of acceptance to the Paris Agreement in September 2016. The Agreement entered into force in November 2016. I have not studied closely the legal issues related to the United States' acceptance of the Paris Agreement and would want the opportunity to consult with the State Department's lawyers before offering a considered opinion.

*Question 5.* In your legal opinion, is the Paris climate agreement a treaty? Why or why not?

Answer. I have not studied closely the legal issues related to the United States' acceptance of the Paris Agreement and would want the opportunity to consult with the State Department's lawyers before offering a considered opinion.

*Question 6.* Do you think it serves the interests of this country to establish a precedent that international commitments are made in a manner designed to thwart the constitutionally derived oversight role of the U.S. Senate?

Answer. If confirmed, I look forward to consulting with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on the respective roles of the Executive and Legislative Branches in assessing the appropriate course for concluding any international agreement.

*Question 7.* Do you believe staying in an agreement that was specifically constructed to thwart the United States Senate's constitutional role of advice and consent would make it more or less likely for similar actions to happen again in the future?

Answer. If confirmed, I look forward to consulting with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on the respective roles of the Executive and Legislative Branches in assessing the appropriate course for concluding any international agreement.

*Question 8.* As Deputy Secretary of State, would you ensure that the State Department is promoting all forms of energy projects across the globe, including oil, gas, and coal?

Answer. The State Department will use its diplomatic tools to promote energy projects internationally, including oil, gas, and coal. The State Department will work to make sure that U.S. investors and industry from all segments of the energy sector compete on a level playing field with foreign competition in emerging markets.

*Question 9.* If confirmed, are you committed to opposing all recognition of a Palestinian state in international bodies and organizations, outside of a peace agreement with Israel?

Answer. Yes. The United States position is that the only way for the Palestinians to achieve real statehood is through a mutually acceptable peace agreement with Israel. If confirmed, I would recommend that the President continue to oppose Palestinian membership in international bodies and organizations in the absence of a mutually acceptable peace agreement with Israel.

*Question 10.* How will you hold the Palestinians accountable for their efforts to use the United Nations, its agencies, and affiliated organizations to bypass the peace process?

Answer. The U.S. Government's approach to managing issues related to Israeli-Palestinian peace efforts in multilateral fora is guided by several priorities: supporting Israel's affirmative efforts to normalize its role in the international community; preserving space for a mutually acceptable peace agreement between the two parties; combatting anti-Israel bias and efforts to delegitimize Israel in the UN system; protecting the United States' ability to fund and participate in international organizations; and countering efforts to expand the scope of actions against Israel.

If confirmed, I would continue to vigorously pursue this approach, oppose Palestinian membership in UN organizations prior to a mutually acceptable peace agreement with Israel, and support the enforcement of laws prohibiting funding to international organizations that do so.



*Question 11.* Do you support multilateral institutions providing financing for all energy resources especially the most affordable, reliable and abundant forms of energy?

Answer. The Department of the Treasury has the jurisdiction for the formulation and implementation of the U.S. stance on lending policies at multilateral financial and development institutions. The Department of State provides foreign policy guidance and technical expertise during this process. The Department supports an all-of-the-above energy strategy, which will inform our interaction within the interagency on multilateral institutions' financing energy projects.

*Question 12.* Will you commit to ensuring that multilateral institutions allow public financing of high efficiency power stations fueled by coal?

Answer. The Department of the Treasury has the jurisdiction for the formulation and implementation of the U.S. stance on lending policies at multilateral financial and development institutions. As the administration works to address multilateral institutions' policies affecting financing for energy projects, the Department of State will engage in the interagency to underscore the importance of considering all types of energy.

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RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD  
SUBMITTED TO JOHN SULLIVAN BY SENATOR EDWARD J. MARKEY

*Question 1.* Do you agree with Secretary Tillerson that the best way to resolve the North Korean nuclear threat is through direct negotiations? Or do you share Vice President Pence's belief that North Korea must agree to denuclearize before any negotiations occur?

Answer. Our objective remains a denuclearized Korean peninsula. We remain committed to directly addressing the threat North Korea's UN-proscribed ballistic missile and nuclear programs pose to peace and security. The United States remains open to credible talks on the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula; however conditions must change before there is any scope for talks to resume.

As Secretary Tillerson said in New York, "We will not negotiate our way back to the negotiating table with North Korea. We will not reward their violations of past resolutions. We will not reward their bad behavior with talks. We will only engage in talks with North Korea when they exhibit a good-faith commitment to abiding by the Security Council resolutions and their past promises to end their nuclear programs."

It is important that the leaders of North Korea realize that their current pathway of nuclear weapons and escalating threats will not lead to their objective of security and economic development. That pathway can only be achieved by denuclearizing and abandoning their weapons of mass destruction.

*Question 2.* Do you think the United States should stay in the Paris agreement? Do you think climate change should remain a priority for U.S. international engagement?

Answer. I understand that there is an ongoing discussion within the administration concerning continued participation in the Paris Agreement. As a general matter, the United States is best served and its interests protected when it has a seat at the table.

Climate change is a global problem that requires a global response. No one country is going to solve it alone. The President and the Secretary have stated that they want a foreign policy that reflects American interests and that works for America. Global leadership should not come at the expense of U.S. competitiveness or our national security.

*Question 3.* What value do you believe America's global climate leadership has in terms of national security and economic competitiveness?

Answer. Climate change is a global problem that requires a global response. No one country is going to solve it alone. The President and the Secretary have stated that they want a foreign policy that reflects American interests and that works for America. Global leadership should not come at the expense of U.S. competitiveness or our national security.

*Question 4.* What diplomatic costs and risks do you foresee if the United States were to withdraw from the Paris Agreement?

Answer. More than 190 countries signed the Paris Agreement, indicating their intention to join, and 145 countries have already joined. An analysis should include the impact on U.S. relations with those countries.

*Question 5.* Do you believe the United States should continue to provide technical assistance to developing nations to ensure they monitor their greenhouse gas emissions according to the highest standards possible to help ensure that we know whether they are meeting their commitments under the Paris Agreement?

Answer. I understand that the administration is reviewing U.S. international climate change policy, including climate-related assistance and this question will be looked at in that context. In general, the United States should ensure that all assistance to foreign countries advances U.S. interests.

*Question 6.* If confirmed what will you do to ensure robust U.S. diplomatic engagement with all the parties to preserve peace and stability in Northern Ireland?

Answer. The United States remains firmly committed to the Northern Ireland Peace Process, including the 1998 Good Friday Agreement and subsequent agreements. I believe we should continue to engage all parties and communities to work together to build a better, shared future. Our Consulate in Belfast promotes reconciliation, two-way trade and investment, and cultural exchanges.

*Question 7.* Do you agree that the United States must take the lead to protect members of the LGBT community from discrimination and abuse worldwide?

Answer. Yes. As is made clear in the founding documents of the United States, all people should be protected from discrimination and violence, and must be free to exercise their universal rights, including their fundamental freedoms of expression, association, peaceful assembly, and religion. Discrimination and violence against members of any community or group hampers economic development, public health, and social cohesion.

Protecting universal human rights is a central element of U.S. foreign policy and national security interests, and if confirmed I will work to advance human rights for all persons.

*Question 8.* What steps do you think the State Department should take to strengthen that leadership?

Answer. I know that the State Department is already working to combat discrimination and violence against members of the LGBT community globally, as an integral component of the Department's human rights and democracy strategy. This includes efforts aimed to respond to discriminatory legislation through bilateral diplomacy, empowering human rights defenders to address these challenges, building consensus with like-minded government partners, and elevating the voices of the most at risk in partnership with a broad coalition of allies, including in the private sector.

*Question 9.* Do you believe that it serves U.S. national interest to cut the State Department's budget by nearly a third?

Answer. As Secretary Tillerson told the Department workforce in a written letter, the State Department's budget request addresses the challenges to American leadership abroad and the importance of defending American interests and the American people. It acknowledges that U.S. engagement must be more efficient, that our aid must be more effective, and that advocating the national interests of our country must always be our primary mission. Additionally, the budget is an acknowledgment that development needs are a global challenge to be met not just by contributions from the United States, but through greater partnership with and contributions from our allies and others. The Secretary has initiated a process to draw a new budget blueprint that will allow us to shape a Department ready to meet the challenges that we will face in the coming decades. We will do this by reviewing and selecting our priorities, using the available resources, and putting our people in a position to succeed.

*Question 10.* Many of the President's proposed cuts target foreign aid programs. While many people mistakenly assume that foreign aid takes up a large proportion of the overall federal budget, it actually accounts for less than one percent. And while the United States gives more in foreign aid than any other country in absolute terms, we give less than other countries as a percentage of our economy.

When I visited West Africa last year, I saw the crucial work that brave Americans working for the U.S. Agency for International Development were doing. As you said when we met, seeing crates being unpacked with the words, "from the American people" written on them has a powerful impact. So it is important to remember that this is not just charity—foreign aid expands our influence without shedding a drop of blood. Doing good makes us great and keeps us safe.

- Do you believe that foreign aid and the U.S. Agency for International Development play important roles in preserving U.S. global influence and serving U.S. national interests?

Answer. The State Department and USAID work on behalf of the American people to further our national security objectives while promoting our values around the world. As Secretary Tillerson said when he came before this committee, to achieve the stability that is foundational to peace and security in the 21st century, American leadership must not only be renewed, it must be asserted. Our foreign assistance is a critical component of this and it keeps us safe while promoting American leadership and values and supports a more prosperous and healthy global community. As the primary implementer of development assistance, USAID has a model of partnering with host countries, NGOs, the private sector, and other international and multilateral donors, which enhances our leadership in the world and our national security. I am committed to making the State Department and USAID the preeminent force to protect and promote American values in the world, and to utilizing foreign assistance to preserve U.S. global influence.

*Question 11.* Do you agree with Secretary Tillerson that we should deemphasize our values when dealing with regimes that do not share them?

Answer. Secretary Tillerson affirmed at his nomination hearing that the U.S. must continue to display a commitment to personal liberty, human dignity, and principled action in foreign policy. He assured the committee that under his leadership the Department will work aggressively to advance human rights for everyone. I certainly agree. Our commitment to American values does not waver, no matter what regime we are dealing with.

*Question 12.* If confirmed as Deputy Secretary, what will you do to ensure that the State Department continues to advance democracy, human rights, and the rule of law?

Answer. As I pledged during my confirmation hearing, I am committed to making the State Department the preeminent force to protect American values and promote American values in the world. And will seek to do so using all of the assets available to the Department.

*Question 13.* Will you maintain women's rights as a priority for the Department, and ensure that women's and girls' issues are considered in every project undertaken by the State Department?

Answer. The State Department remains committed to continuing the important work of advancing the status of women and girls globally through diplomatic and programmatic activities. As I stated in my testimony, you have my commitment that women's health, women's education, women's empowerment, will remain a priority of the Department.

*Question 14.* Will you pledge to support the law fully and help ensure that women, including those raped by ISIS terrorists, and who depend on U.S. foreign assistance, will have access to safe abortion services if they wish to terminate their pregnancies?

Answer. If confirmed, I will faithfully execute the law, including as it relates to abortion. I understand the Department of State and USAID are continually working to ensure maximum effectiveness in combating poverty and improving the health and status of women and girls, including the survivors of sexual violence. If confirmed, I will insure that the Department of State and the U.S. Agency for International Development continue to take this issue very seriously.

*Question 15.* Will you pledge to ensure that women who depend on U.S. foreign assistance who face a life-threatening pregnancy and will die without a safe termination procedure will have access to it?

Answer. If confirmed, I will faithfully execute the law as it relates to abortion. I understand the Department of State and USAID are continually working to ensure maximum effectiveness in improving the health and status of women and girls.

#### *Foreign Service*

*Question 16.* Your written testimony movingly described your personal connection to the Foreign Service and of the sacrifices and dangers many of these brave Americans and their families have faced in many parts of the world. Your uncle, Ambassador William Sullivan, had an extremely distinguished career as an American diplomat. I share your admiration for the men and women of the U.S. Foreign Service.

In visiting countries around the world, I am always impressed with the knowledge, judgement, and dedication of Foreign Service personnel. And I have seen that these patriotic Americans do their job with skill and professionalism regardless of

whether they are serving a Democratic or a Republican president. The Foreign Service Dissent Channel is designed to ensure that a wide range of views are considered in making policy. Use of the Dissent Channel does not indicate disloyalty to the president or an attempt to undermine his policies.

- As Deputy Secretary, will you ensure that Foreign Service personnel and their families receive the support they need to do their jobs?

Answer. Yes, that will be an extremely high priority for me. As I said in my confirmation hearing, I look forward to participating in Secretary Tillerson's review of the mission of the Department of State with the intent of bringing the Department into the 21st century to address the challenges we face today. If confirmed, my goal will be to ensure the Department, including the Foreign Service, is organized and has the tools to carry out U.S. foreign policy. That review must consider the important sacrifices and essential roles played by Foreign Service families in the careers of our diplomatic personnel.

*Question 17.* Your written testimony movingly described your personal connection to the Foreign Service and of the sacrifices and dangers many of these brave Americans and their families have faced in many parts of the world. Your uncle, Ambassador William Sullivan, had an extremely distinguished career as an American diplomat. I share your admiration for the men and women of the U.S. Foreign Service.

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- Will you listen to the views and recommendations of the State Department's career personnel as you formulate your own views on key positions and represent the Department in interagency deliberations?

Answer. Yes.

*Question 18.* Your written testimony movingly described your personal connection to the Foreign Service and of the sacrifices and dangers many of these brave Americans and their families have faced in many parts of the world. Your uncle, Ambassador William Sullivan, had an extremely distinguished career as an American diplomat. I share your admiration for the men and women of the U.S. Foreign Service.

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- Will you ensure that career State Department employees do not suffer from political retribution for expressing their views through the Dissent Channel and similar mechanisms?

Answer. Yes, I am fully committed to the Dissent Channel, which is established in the Department's Foreign Affairs Manual (FAM). For over forty years, the Dissent Channel has served as a vehicle for the State Department's U.S. citizen employees to express dissenting or alternative views on substantive issues of policy to the Department's most senior leadership without fear of penalty. It exists because the State Department has a strong interest in facilitating open, creative, and uncensored dialogue on substantive foreign policy issues within the professional foreign affairs community and a responsibility to foster an atmosphere supportive of such dialogue. Pursuant to the FAM, Dissent Channel messages, including the identity of the authors, are a most sensitive element in the internal deliberative process and are to be protected accordingly.

#### *Appointments*

*Question 19* The Trump administration has been unusually slow to nominate qualified individuals to serve in government. According to the Washington Post, out of 556 key positions requiring Senate Confirmation, 465, or 83 percent, do not even have a formal nominee.

The situation is even worse at the State Department, where there have only been 10 nominations for 119 positions requiring Senate confirmation. That's 91 percent of positions that do not even have a formal nominee. Many of these are crucial am-

bassadorships, including to many of our closest allies, such as France, Germany, and South Korea.

The unfilled positions also include five of six under secretaries and all but two one of the Department's 23 regional and functional assistant secretaries. They include the Assistant Secretary for Diplomatic Security, who ensures the safety of our diplomats and their families. And the Under Secretary for Arms Control and International Security Affairs, who negotiates nuclear treaties and ensures that other countries comply with them.

This unprecedented lack of personnel makes it hard for foreign governments to talk to the United States, and it breeds strategic incoherence, since we lack the key people responsible for formulating and executing our foreign policy.

- If confirmed as Deputy Secretary, one of your key roles will be management of the Department. How you plan to address this critical failure to fill the Department's vital posts?

Answer. As I said during my confirmation hearing, I commit, if I am confirmed, to making sure that personnel appointments and nominations are moved forward as quickly as possible. In the meantime, the State Department is fortunate to have a deep bench of career professionals ably filling posts across the Department.

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