

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

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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NOMINATIONS

TUESDAY, JULY 11, 2017

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

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:00 a.m. in Room SD-419, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Todd Young, presiding.

Present: Senators Young [presiding], Gardner, Isakson, Shaheen, Coons, Murphy, Kaine, Markey, and Merkley.

OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. TODD YOUNG, U.S. SENATOR FROM INDIANA

Senator YOUNG. Good morning. This hearing of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee will come to order.

Today we meet to consider the nominations of the following individuals: the Honorable David Steele Bohigian to be Executive Vice President of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation; Mr. Ray Washburne to be President of OPIC; Ms. Kelley Eckels Currie, to be U.S. Representative to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations and Alternate Representative to the Sessions of the U.N. General Assembly; and Mr. Jay Patrick Murray to be Alternate Representative for Special Political Affairs at the United Nations and Alternate Representative to the Sessions of the U.N. General Assembly.

I welcome each of our nominees, as well as your families.

I would also like to welcome our distinguished guests to introduce one of the nominees, the senior Senator from Texas, Senator Cornyn.

Before I do that, I would also like to acknowledge your fellow Texan, my former colleague, a great American, Pete Sessions, a Congressman who kind of showed me the ropes as I was getting started in Congress.

So thank you, Senator Cornyn, for being here today, and I would like to recognize you for your remarks, sir.

STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN CORNYN, U.S. SENATOR FROM TEXAS

Senator CORNYN. Chairman Young and members of the committee, thank you for letting me be here today to introduce my friend and fellow Texan, Ray Washburne.

Today's hearing and the issues at the core of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation come at an opportune time. On the heels of the President's trip overseas and as our country reasserts

its economic role on the global stage, it is important for us to be realistic about how we support our allies. U.S. direct aid is only a small portion of the capital flow that drives the world's economy. Our best tools are frequently found in the private sector, and that is where Ray comes in and his experience.

When you look at his background and dedication, you will see that he is a strong fit for this role. His drive for success started at an early age. His first business venture, I am told, was mowing lawns at age 9 with 20 employees. That is pretty impressive.

And his vision for what can be accomplished with hard work and perseverance started even before that. I am told he keeps a ruler hanging on his office wall from when the Park City Bank and Trust Bank building in Dallas opened when he was 8 years old. He now owns that building and views the ruler as a symbol of one's ability to set goals and find creative potential.

But many across Texas know him for the role he has played in the Dallas economy specifically. After paying his own way through Southern Methodist University, he went on to become one of Texas' most successful real estate investors and entrepreneurs. As the co-founder of MCrowd Restaurant Group, his footprint now spans 40 restaurants, including the perennial Texas favorite, Mi Cocina. He understands the importance of investing not simply for the sake of ownership and profit but for reinvigorating the local economy. One look at Highland Park Village in Dallas, a refurbished shopping center near his alma mater, will show you what I mean by that.

Ray also serves as an adjunct professor at the SMU Cox School of Business where his wisdom and expertise are shared with future generations. And he also lends a hand as a volunteer and board member for organizations around Texas, including the Urban Land Institute, Baylor Health Care System Foundation, the Real Estate Council, and the World Presidents Association.

Alongside his family Ray volunteers for the S.M. Wright Foundation, which serves the most impoverished in Dallas, and Family Legacy in Africa, which encourages education for the region's orphans.

And somehow he manages to balance all of this with his three children at home, who are here today, and with this life partner Heather, who is a formidable business woman in her own right.

I know Ray shares my belief that OPIC is an important tool in the United States' toolkit. It allows us to encourage natural economic growth and stability in areas of the world that need it the most. And while there are certainly changes that can be made, especially when we consider the long-term future of OPIC and the sometimes unbalanced investments made by the United States, Ray, I believe, will be an experienced and dedicated person at the table advocating on behalf of the United States of America.

Once he is confirmed, we can be sure that he will marry the United States' interests and the developing world's potential into an economically sufficient and innovative future.

So thank you, Chairman Young and members of the committee, for giving me the privilege of introducing my friend, Ray Washburne, and I hope the committee will support his nomination.

Senator YOUNG. Thank you, Senator Cornyn. And since the good Senator introduced Mr. Washburne, I will take liberties here and provide a little additional background on the other three nominees.

Mr. Bohigian is the Managing Director of Pluribus Ventures, an advisor to financial services firms in growth companies. Earlier he served on the core management team of Bridgewater Associates, the world's largest hedge fund. Prior to Bridgewater, Mr. Bohigian served as an Assistant Secretary of Commerce. Welcome.

Ms. Currie is currently a senior fellow with the Project 2049 Institute where she specializes in political reform, development, and humanitarian assistance, human rights and other nontraditional security issues in the Asia-Pacific region. She previously held senior policy positions with the Department of State and several international and nongovernmental human rights and humanitarian organizations. Good to have you here.

And Colonel Murray is a retired U.S. Army colonel with distinction in Iraq, the Balkans, the U.S. Embassy Moscow as an advisor in the Bureau of Political Military Affairs at the Department of State and as the U.S. military representative at the United Nations. Good to have you here, Colonel.

Before I go further, I would like to invite Senator Cornyn to depart at your leisure. I know how busy we get around here.

And thank you Chairman Sessions again for your attendance.

Before I turn to Senator Merkley for his statement, in light of the positions today's nominees seek to fill, I would like to make a few brief comments about the U.N. and OPIC.

As you point out in your prepared remarks, Mr. Murray, the United Nations is an entity with much promise. It is also an entity that too often falls short of that promise. I admire Ambassador Haley's efforts to do what she can to seek reform and accountability at the U.N. There is no doubt that having additional high-level appointees at the U.N. will allow for increased U.S. engagement with the United Nations on a reform agenda.

The Ambassador for the Special Political Affairs position will play an important role in peacekeeping reform in particular. This is an area in dire need of reform for missions that fail to fulfill their mandates to missions that outlive their purpose or, worse yet, missions rife with sexual exploitation that victimize those that are supposed to be protected. There is no doubt U.N. peacekeeping reform is long overdue. As you suggest in your prepared remarks, Mr. Murray, both whistleblower protections and training must be strengthened.

The Ambassador to the Economic and Social Council of the U.N. will also play an important role, including potentially in efforts to reform the U.N. Human Rights Council. I would note that our subcommittee held a hearing on the U.N. Human Rights Council on May 25th. As that hearing highlighted, some of the countries with the worst possible human rights records sit on the Human Rights Council using their membership to deflect attention from their egregious human rights abuses, instead attempting to pass judgment on Israel. Addressing this unacceptable status quo should be a top priority.

Those are a few of the reasons I am hopeful that this committee and the larger Senate will process these two U.N. nominations ex-

peditionously so that they can be in a position and get to work before the U.N. General Assembly in September.

As I said, we also have two individuals who have been nominated to lead OPIC. I look forward to discussing OPIC's mission and the increasing importance of the private sector in international development.

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

**STATEMENT OF HON. JEFF MERKLEY,
U.S. SENATOR FROM OREGON**

Senator MERKLEY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. And I am delighted we are holding this hearing as we exercise our advise and consent responsibility. And thank you to each of you for putting yourselves forward to take and consider serving in these important public roles.

In the aftermath of the most destructive conflict in history, the United States worked in concert with its allies and partners to found the United Nations, a body chartered to, quote, save succeeding generations from the scourge of war and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights and to promote social progress and better standards of life and larger freedom. Those are powerful aspirational missions.

And the United Nations has pursued these lofty standards better when guided by American leadership. Confirming nominees to critical roles will help the United Nations fulfill the aspirations that were so well laid out in the beginning.

I have been concerned about the pace of the process for nominating candidates to key positions and am pleased that we are moving forward today with this hearing at the United Nations for the United Nations Economic and Social Council and the United Nations Security Council. I look forward to hearing from all of you in terms of what you see as key changes or objectives that you might bring to your roles.

I am delighted that we now have nominees for the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, or OPIC. OPIC is a self-sustaining U.S. agency that does important work facilitating American investment in emerging markets. I have been long impressed with their work, which is why I was so troubled to see the administration's budget call for OPIC's elimination. Zeroing OPIC is especially problematic as OPIC operates at no net cost to taxpayers and in fact reduces our deficits. Its revenues back to the U.S. Treasury have helped reduce the deficit for 39 consecutive years, including more than \$3.7 billion in deficit reduction over just the past 10 years. So I am excited that these nominations may well signal a reversal in the administration's plans to eliminate the agency, and I certainly look forward to hearing the nominees' views on the administration's plans.

Thank you again for your willingness to serve. I look forward to your comments.

Senator YOUNG. Well, thank you, Senator Merkley.

We will now turn to our nominees. I appreciate your willingness to serve in these important capacities. I would remind you your full statements will be included in the record, without objection.

For your opening statements, let us go in the order that I used earlier. I encourage each of you to start by recognizing any family or friends who may be attending today. Mr. Bohigian?

**STATEMENT OF HON. DAVID STEELE BOHIGIAN, OF MISSOURI,
TO BE EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE OVERSEAS PRIVATE INVESTMENT CORPORATION**

Mr. BOHIGIAN. Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member, and members of the committee, thank you for offering me the opportunity to appear here today. I am honored to be nominated to be the Executive Vice President of OPIC.

I would like to thank the members of the committee and their staff for time they spent with me prior to the hearing.

Thank you too for the invitation to have my family join me here today. My son Steele and younger daughter Caroline are away at camp. I am joined here by my fantastic wife Catherine, who I love more than words can express, and I would note, in particular, my daughter Kate served as Delegate for the United States in model United Nations where she achieved outstanding delegate earlier this year. Thank you for being here.

I also want to thank my parents for supporting me. Every day I am trying to live up to their example of serving their community and their family.

I would also like to recognize my fellow nominees and in particular Mr. Washburne who has been nominated to be the CEO and President of OPIC. As noted earlier, Mr. Washburne is a successful businessman who has a long history of analyzing companies and investments for their potential. He combines a keen business sense with a deep consideration of the impact that businesses will have on the broader community. His superb character has been shaped by a family not only here today but that has served this Nation as Senators, governors, Congressmen, and also includes a Secretary of State and an ambassador. I expect these qualities will serve him well as President and CEO of OPIC.

If confirmed, I hope my government experience and business track record will complement his values and abilities and skills as OPIC seeks to help American businesses succeed in international markets.

Earlier in my career, I had the distinct privilege to serve as Assistant Secretary of Commerce for market access and compliance in the International Trade Administration. My job was to ensure that American companies could compete fairly in international markets. I worked with American businesses and foreign governments to develop an international business climate that created opportunities for American workers and spread American values. In that role, I am proud to have launched the Entrepreneurship Initiative where small businesses could advocate to reduce barriers to trade and open new markets for American goods and services. I am also proud to have led the U.S. Government's first clean energy trade mission where U.S. businesses developed lasting and profitable relationships in China and India. Prior to that role, I was the Director of the Department of Commerce's Office of Policy and Strategic Planning where I advised two Secretaries on economics and energy.

In business, I have helped companies grow and prosper, working across every corporate function from operations to strategy in a variety of roles including founder, CEO, and managing director. I have founded businesses such as an energy efficiency project finance firm and a startup incubator, as well as assisting countless companies enter new markets. I have helped manage some of the world's most innovative financial services firms in a career that has spanned venture capital, private equity, investment banking, and hedge funds. Across these disciplines, I have learned to turn concepts into companies, analyze business prospects, structure projects, develop global supply chains, and evaluate microeconomic and macroeconomic developments. I believe these experiences have helped prepare me to guide the important work ahead.

American businesses operating in international markets deliver opportunities to workers in the U.S. and develop tangible benefits to partner companies, laying the foundation for global peace and prosperity. When the American private sector builds power plants, water treatment facilities, or airports, the benefits are not simply economic. These partnerships lift environmental, social, and governance standards around the world. International connections developed through business lead to deeper cross-cultural understanding and create the conditions for global opportunity and compassion. Throughout Europe, Asia, the Middle East, Africa, and the western hemisphere, American private sector investment has promoted American jobs, American values, and lifted living standards to heights unimaginable in earlier generations.

Almost 250 years ago, the Declaration of Independence boldly asserted that life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness were inalienable rights. I believe these rights are immutable and eternal and underpin values that have spread prosperity and freedom at home and abroad. If I am confirmed, I would be honored to continue that tradition and help advocate for American opportunities in the years ahead.

Mr. Chairman and the committee, thank you for that opportunity.

[Mr. Bohigian's prepared statement follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF DAVID BOHIGIAN

Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member Cardin, and members of the committee, thank you for offering me the opportunity to appear here today. I am honored to be nominated by President Trump to serve as the Executive Vice President of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation.

I would like to thank the members of the committee and their staff for the time they have spent with me prior to the hearing. Thank you too for the invitation to have my family join me here today. While my son Steele and younger daughter Caroline are away at summer camp, I am joined here by my wife Catherine and daughter Kate. Thank you for being here. I also want to thank my parents for supporting me—every day, I'm trying to live up to their example of serving their community and family.

I would also like to recognize my fellow nominees here on the panel. If confirmed, I particularly look forward to working with Ray Washburne, who has been nominated by the President to serve as OPIC's President and Chief Executive Officer.

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Washburne is a successful businessman who has a long history of analyzing companies and investments for their potential. Mr. Washburne combines a keen business with a deep consideration of the impact that business will have on the broader community. His superb character has been shaped by a family that has served this Nation as Senators, Governors and congressmen, and also in-

cludes a Secretary of State and Ambassador. I expect these qualities will serve him well as President and Chief Executive Officer of OPIC.

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In business, I have helped companies grow and prosper, working across every corporate function from operations to strategy in a variety of roles including founder, Chief Executive Officer and Managing Director. I have founded businesses such as an energy efficiency project finance firm and a startup incubator as well as assisting countless companies enter new markets. I have helped manage some of the world's most innovative financial services firms in a career that has spanned venture capital, private equity, hedge funds, and investment banking. Across these disciplines, I have learned to turn concepts into companies, analyze business prospects, structure projects, develop global supply chains, and evaluate microeconomic and macroeconomic developments. I believe these experiences have prepared me well to help guide the important work ahead.

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Almost 250 years ago, the Declaration of Independence boldly asserted that life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness were unalienable rights. I believe that these rights are immutable and eternal and underpin values that have spread prosperity and freedom at home and abroad. If I am confirmed, I would be honored to continue that tradition and help advocate for American opportunities in the years ahead.

Mr. Chairman, I welcome the chance to serve our country as the Executive Vice President of OPIC. If confirmed, I look forward to working with you, the other members of the committee, the committee staff, and OPIC's talented and committed professionals to advance our common goals.

Senator YOUNG. Thank you.
Mr. Washburne?

STATEMENT OF RAY WASHBURNE, OF TEXAS, TO BE PRESIDENT OF THE OVERSEAS PRIVATE INVESTMENT CORPORATION

Mr. WASHBURNE. Thank you, Chairman Young, Ranking Member Merkley, and members of the committee. Thank you for the opportunity to appear here today. Thank you also to the members and staff for graciously giving their time to meet with me prior to today's hearing. I also would like to thank my Senator Cornyn for his kind words in support of my nomination and to my local Congressman, Pete Sessions, for his support.

It is a great privilege to address the committee as President Trump's nominee for President and Chief Executive Officer of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation.

I am joined this morning by my wife Heather sitting directly behind me. I would also like to introduce my three children, Hill, Andrew, and Margo. They are students of history, and today is an opportunity for them to see how our great democracy works.

My family has been involved politically and in public service with our republic since the 1850s. My forbearers served as mayors, Congressmen, Senators, governors, ambassadors, and Secretary of State that by example have given me a great desire to serve the American people. I have personally served on city and State boards and commissions. I have been fortunate to have traveled the world extensively and recently have spent a great deal of time in Africa. In particular, my wife, children, and I support an orphanage in Zambia and we have worked there the last two summers and have recently funded the construction of a new K through 12 school for 300 children in the middle of the most distressed areas of the Zambian capital, Lusaka. We continue to support many of the orphans there, and the experience has given me a deep insight into developmental issues in Africa.

I have been an entrepreneur for 37 years. I have paid my way through college at SMU by selling carpet door to door to students, as well as working in construction. I know the value of a dollar both in the hard work it takes to earn it and to not unjustly take risks to lose it. Since graduating from college, I have been involved in financial services, hospitality, manufacturing, and real estate development. In financial services, my experience has included being on the board and loan committee of several banks involving hundreds of millions of dollars of loans and credit facilities. In private equity, I have invested and served on boards of infrastructure, construction, and businesses involved in various equipment and transportation manufacturing. Businesses I have grown have allowed workers to provide for their families, develop their skills, and are cornerstones of the economic fabric of their communities. I believe entrepreneurship promotes values that are integral to the American dream.

In real estate, I have acquired and developed everything from office buildings, warehouses, shopping centers, and land developments. In hospitality, 26 years ago I was a co-founder of a small 10-table restaurant that has grown to over 2,000 employees. Last year we served over 6 million customers.

All these experiences have prepared me well to lead OPIC.

As a businessman, I have dealt with the challenges of running a company, meeting a payroll, and ensuring prudent financial management and risk mitigation. If confirmed, I will use my experience to make OPIC more efficient while being a good steward of the American taxpayers' dollar.

I have seen firsthand how American innovation and American capital can impact developing companies. America's entrepreneurial spirit can improve the well-being of people living in some of the world's most vulnerable countries. When an American business is willing to risk capital, it sends a signal to the rest of the world. It signals to the business community that markets are via-

ble. It signals that American businesses have faith in a country's rule of law and that a country is capable of upholding labor and environmental standards.

I am confident, if confirmed, I can guide OPIC to the path forward as determined by the Congress and the President.

Mr. Chairman, if confirmed, I look forward to working with you, the members of the committee, the committee staff, and my colleagues in the administration to ensure OPIC continues to prudently manage its portfolio while upholding American principles abroad. I will provide steady but adaptable leadership.

In the meantime, I welcome the chance to serve our country as President and CEO of OPIC and look forward to any questions you have today. Thank you.

[Mr. Washburne's prepared statement follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF RAY WASHBURNE

Chairman Young, Ranking Member Merkley, and members of the committee, thank you for the opportunity to appear here today. Thank you also to the Members and staff for graciously giving their time to meet with me prior to today's hearing. I want to thank Senator Cornyn for his kind words in support for my nomination.

It is a great privilege to address this committee as President Trump's nominee for President and Chief Executive Officer of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation. I am joined this morning by my wife, Heather. I would also like to introduce to you my three children, Hill, Andrew, and Margo. They are students of history, and today is an opportunity for them to see how our great democracy works.

My family has been involved politically and in public service with our Republic since the 1850's. My forbearers have served as Mayors, Congressmen, Senators, Governors, Ambassadors, and a Secretary of State. I have personally served on city and state boards and commissions. I been fortunate to have traveled the world extensively and recently spent a great deal of time in Africa. In particular, my wife, children, and I support an orphanage in Zambia and we have recently funded the construction of a new K-12 school for 300 children in the middle of the most distressed areas of the Zambian capital, Lusaka. We continue to support many of the orphans there, and the experience has given me deep insight into developmental issues in Africa.

I have been an entrepreneur for 37 years. I paid my way through college at Southern Methodist University (SMU) by selling carpet door-to-door and working in construction. I know the value of a dollar both in the work that it takes to earn it and not to unjustly take risks to lose it. Since graduating from college, I have been involved in financial services, hospitality, manufacturing, and real estate development. In financial services, my experience has included being on the board and loan committees of several banks involving hundreds of millions of dollars of loans and credit facilities. In private equity, I have invested and served on company boards of infrastructure, construction, and businesses involving various equipment and transportation manufacturing. Businesses I have grown have allowed workers to provide for their families, develop their skills and are cornerstones of the economic fabric of their communities. I believe entrepreneurship promotes values that are integral to the American Dream.

In real estate, I have acquired and developed everything from office buildings, warehouses, shopping centers, and land developments. In hospitality, I was the co-founder of a small 10-table restaurant that has grown to 2,000 employees and served over 6 million customers last year.

All of these experiences have prepared me to lead OPIC.

As a businessman, I've dealt with the challenges of running a company, meeting a payroll, and ensuring prudent financial management and risk mitigation. If confirmed, I will use my experience to make OPIC more efficient while being a good steward of the American taxpayer's dollar.

I've seen firsthand how American innovation and American capital can impact developing countries. America's entrepreneurial spirit can improve the well-being of people living in some of the world's most vulnerable countries. When an American business is willing to risk capital, it sends a signal to the rest of the world. It signals to the business community that markets are viable. It signals that American

businesses have faith in a country's rule of law and that a country is capable of upholding labor and environmental standards.

I am confident, if confirmed, that I can guide OPIC through the path forward as determined by the Congress and the President.

Mr. Chairman, if confirmed, I look forward to working with you, the other members of the committee, the committee staff, and my colleagues in the administration to ensure OPIC continues to prudently manage its portfolio, while upholding American principles abroad. I will provide steady, but adaptable, leadership.

In the meantime, I welcome the chance to serve our country as President and CEO of OPIC and look forward to any questions.

Senator YOUNG. Thank you, Mr. Washburne. It is broadly understood that public administration can be quite challenging, but I cannot imagine it would be any more challenging than selling carpet to college students door to door. [Laughter.]

Mr. WASHBURN. Primarily in the girls' dorms. [Laughter.]

Senator YOUNG. We will move on. Ms. Currie?

STATEMENT OF KELLEY ECKELS CURRIE, OF GEORGIA, TO BE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA ON THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL OF THE UNITED NATIONS, WITH THE RANK OF AMBASSADOR, AND TO BE AN ALTERNATE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE SESSIONS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS

Ms. CURRIE. I am not sure I can follow that.

Chairman Young, Ranking Member Merkley, distinguished members of the committee, thank you so much for the opportunity to appear before you today as President Trump's nominee to be the United States Representative to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations. I am honored to have this opportunity to serve my country and appreciate the confidence President Trump, Secretary Tillerson, and Ambassador Haley have shown in me.

I also want to thank my wonderful family, who is here today, particularly my husband Peter and my children, Mack and Sarah, for all of their support and encouragement; my mother Beth and my step-father, Gene Price, who have come today from Thomasville, Georgia; and my mother-in-law, Dottie Currie, who is very much looking forward to seeing more of her grandchildren in New York, if I am confirmed.

I also have to thank everyone at USUN and the other offices at the State Department and the White House and, of course, the great committee staff here at the Foreign Relations Committee who have helped to guide me through this process.

I also am glad to be here today with my fellow nominee Patrick and hope that we can move through this process together the rest of the way.

Finally, I have to give a shout out to my colleagues from Project 2049 who are here today in the audience.

When I was growing up in small-town south Georgia, enthusiastically participating in model U.N. programs in high school, I never dreamed that I would be asked to represent our great Nation at the U.N. Whether serving as the majority staff director of the congressional Human Rights Caucus or supporting democratic activists in closed societies during my time with the International Republican Institute, I have spent my career working to promote international human rights, human freedom, and human dignity.

Today, the universality of human rights is under attack from resurgent authoritarian regimes that are threatened by the very ideas of freedom of expression, freedom of association, and freedom of religion. Regimes that rule through fear, coercion, and cooptation rather than the consent of the governed will always seek to limit basic freedoms both of their own citizens and of others when possible. Unfortunately, repressive regimes have too often found a safe harbor in the very international bodies that are meant to protect the most vulnerable. This must change if these bodies are to continue to enjoy the support of the American people. If confirmed, I look forward to working with Ambassador Haley and our colleagues at the State Department to advance the protection of human rights worldwide by refocusing the U.N. on the core missions that Senator Merkley spoke so eloquently of earlier.

Among the most critical aspects of America's efforts to elevate and defend human rights and human freedom is our longstanding focus on empowering women and girls. As a mother of a young girl, this issue is of deep personal importance to me. It is vital that girls have equal access to education, women are given equal opportunity in the workforce, and women and girls are protected from sexual violence and exploitation. If these efforts are to succeed, men must be partners in these initiatives. Many of the lead U.N. agencies that address these challenges fall under the ECOSOC umbrella. Unfortunately, overlapping mandates, bureaucratic competition, and other factors have made these U.N. mechanisms less effective than they could and should be. If confirmed, I look forward to working with our global partners to support the full economic and political participation of women and girls.

Another major focus of ECOSOC's work is the global effort to achieve the sustainable development goals. While recognizing the value of the framework established by the SDGs, it is important to realize that achieving a more stable, prosperous, and secure global community also requires tackling political issues implicated in systemic human rights abuses and conflict-related crises. If confirmed, I look forward to working with our partners to see how we can work within this framework while also addressing some of its gaps.

While there are certainly areas for improvement, ECOSOC is a critical forum for the United States to advocate America's human rights, development, and humanitarian values and interests. If confirmed, I will be honored to represent the United States at this important body and will work closely with our partners, as well as with Congress, to demonstrate American leadership in these areas.

Thank you so much for the opportunity to appear before the committee today, and I look forward to taking your questions.

[Ms. Currie's prepared statement follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF KELLEY CURRIE

Chairman Young, Ranking Member Merkley, distinguished members of the committee, thank you for the opportunity to appear before you as President Trump's nominee to be the United States Representative to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations. I am honored have this opportunity to serve my country, and appreciate the confidence President Trump, Secretary Tillerson, and Ambassador Haley have shown in me. I also want to thank my family, particularly my husband Peter and my children Mack and Sarah, for their support and encouragement; my mother Beth and my step-father Gene Price who have come today from Georgia; and

my mother-in-law Dottie Currie who is looking forward to seeing more of her grandchildren in New York. I also have to express my appreciation to everyone at USUN and the other offices at the State Department and the White House who helped guide me through the process.

When I was growing up in small-town South Georgia, enthusiastically participating in model United Nations programs in high school, I never dreamed I would be asked to represent our great nation at the United Nations. Whether serving as the majority staff director of the Congressional Human Rights Caucus or supporting democratic activists in closed societies during my time with the International Republican Institute, I have spent my career working to promote international human rights, human freedom and human dignity. Today, the universality of human rights is under attack from resurgent authoritarian regimes that are threatened by the ideas of freedom of expression, freedom of association and freedom of religion. Regimes that rule through fear, coercion and cooptation rather than the consent of the governed will always seek to limit basic freedoms—both of their own citizens and of others, when possible. Unfortunately, repressive regimes have too often found a safe harbor in the very international bodies that are meant to protect the most vulnerable. This must change if these bodies are to continue to enjoy the support of the American people. If confirmed, I look forward to working with Ambassador Haley and our colleagues at the Department of State to advance the protection of human rights worldwide by refocusing the U.N. on its core mission of promoting genuine international peace and security.

Among the most critical aspects of America's efforts to elevate and defend human rights and human freedom is our long-standing focus on international efforts to empower women and girls. It is vital that girls have equal access to education, women are given equal opportunity in the workforce, and women and girls are protected from sexual violence and exploitation. If these efforts are to succeed, men must be partners in these initiatives. Many of the lead U.N. agencies that address these challenges fall under the ECOSOC umbrella. Unfortunately, overlapping mandates, bureaucratic competition and other factors have made these U.N. mechanisms less effective than they could and should be. If confirmed, I look forward to working with our global partners and the U.N. management to improve the functioning of those agencies that are intended to support the full economic and political participation of women and girls.

Another major focus of ECOSOC's work is the global effort to achieve the Sustainable Development Goals. Providing improved access to food, water, and health care are laudable and important goals, but without broad-based domestically-driven economic growth—not to mention peace, security and responsive, accountable governance—any short-term gains in these areas are likely to be illusory. While recognizing the value of the framework established by the Sustainable Development Goals, it is important to realize that achieving a more stable, prosperous and secure global community also requires tackling political issues implicated in systemic human rights abuses and conflict-related crises. If confirmed, I look forward to working with our partners to see how we can work within this framework while also addressing some of the gaps on political reform.

While there are certainly areas for improvement, the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations is a critical forum for the United States to advocate America's human rights, development, and humanitarian values and interests. If confirmed, I will be honored to represent the U.S. at this important body, and work closely with our partners, as well as with Congress, to demonstrate American leadership and to further American values and interests.

Thank you for the opportunity to appear before the committee today. I look forward to taking your questions.

Senator YOUNG. Thank you, Ms. Currie.
Colonel Murray?

**STATEMENT OF JAY PATRICK MURRAY, OF VIRGINIA, TO BE
ALTERNATE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED STATES OF
AMERICA FOR SPECIAL POLITICAL AFFAIRS IN THE UNITED
NATIONS, WITH THE RANK OF AMBASSADOR AND TO BE AN
ALTERNATE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED STATES OF
AMERICA TO THE SESSIONS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY
OF THE UNITED NATIONS**

Mr. MURRAY. Chairman Young, Ranking Member Merkley, distinguished members of the committee, I am honored to appear before you today as the President's nominee to serve as the Alternate Representative for Special Political Affairs at the United Nations. I am grateful to President Trump, Secretary Tillerson, and Ambassador Haley for this opportunity.

I am also grateful to have some friends and family in the audience I would just like to introduce: my nephew Clay, his wife Heidi, and my sharp-as-a-tack great niece Rebecca sitting right here; also some good friends that are here today, Jackie Wolcott, Jim Gilmore, Sherry Simmons, David Norcross, and Laurie Michael. And, Kelley, I also appreciate the opportunity that we have had to go through this together and, if we are confirmed, to work side by side at the United Nations.

It was the honor of my life to serve my country in uniform for almost 25 years. And while I have retired from the Army, that solemn oath to support and defend the Constitution has no expiration date. If confirmed, I pledge I will take those same values to the United Nations where I will work tirelessly to defend American national interests and protect our sovereignty.

Upon its creation after World War II, the United Nations was seen as a mechanism for peace and stability around the world, and since that time, we have seen the United Nations provide lifesaving food and medicine globally, help the weak and the most vulnerable, and send peacekeepers into some of the most dangerous and volatile corners of the world.

However, the U.N. also retains a culture of mismanagement, inefficiency, and too often a lack of accountability. An organization that ignores the activities of grave human rights abusers while repeatedly and unfairly assailing one of our greatest allies Israel. As we look around the world, it is clear that the United Nations Security Council leaves a great deal to be desired in fulfilling its mandate to maintain international peace and security. So there is certainly much work to be done, and American leadership and American values at the United Nations will be essential as we move forward.

I am grateful for Ambassador Haley's leadership at the United Nations pressing for vital reforms, insisting on the fair treatment of Israel, and defending global freedoms. We face a myriad of global challenges, including a devastating famine across Africa and Yemen, the growing threat of North Korea, and the ongoing conflict in Syria. Currently there are some 100,000 peacekeepers deployed around the world, including in some very volatile places such as Mali, South Sudan, and the Central African Republic. The American taxpayer foots 29 percent of that bill, making our contribution far and away the largest of any United Nations member state. And while we appreciate the vital role of those peacekeepers, the

scourge of sexual exploitation and abuse threatens to undermine that role and permanently damage the reputation of the U.N.'s blue helmets. Indeed, when peacekeepers prey upon the very people they are ostensibly there to protect, it is not only vile and wrong, but the viability of the peacekeeping operation itself is greatly diminished. If confirmed, I will fight to ensure that the U.N. finally holds those responsible, both the individuals and the troop-contributing countries, publicly to account and work to improve training efforts at home and whistleblower protections in the field.

Additionally, based upon my previous experience, I believe the Security Council must take a goal-oriented approach to peacekeeping. Instead of allowing peacekeeping operations to perpetuate for decades, I think we should establish mandates with clear objectives and hold both the leadership and the host parties responsible for accomplishing those objectives so that we can declare victory and go home. We owe that not only to the troops in the field and the citizens that they are there to protect but also to the American taxpayer.

I have a strong background of military, political, and diplomatic experience. Army Foreign Area Officers have long been described as America's soldier statesmen. I proudly served as a Foreign Area Officer at numerous embassies around the world and at the Department of State in the Bureau of Political Military Affairs and later at the U.S. mission to the United Nations. I participated in frequent Security Council deliberations pertaining to international peace and security, peacekeeping operations, and other issues. If confirmed, I will be involved with these and other similar issues at the United Nations.

I am grateful for Ambassador Haley's leadership to the U.N., and once again, I am honored to be considered for this post, for the opportunity to work under her leadership. I believe we are at a tipping point where the injection of strong American leadership and values can make a powerful, positive difference. A secure, stable world is decidedly in America's national interest.

Thank you for the opportunity to appear before this committee today, and I look forward to your questions.

[Mr. Murray's prepared statement follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF JAY PATRICK MURRAY

Chairman Young, Ranking Member Merkley, distinguished members of the committee, I am honored to appear before you today as the President's nominee to serve as the Alternate Representative for Special Political Affairs at the United Nations. I am grateful to President Trump, Secretary Tillerson, and Ambassador Haley for this opportunity.

It was the honor of my life to serve my country in uniform for almost twenty-five years. While I've retired from the Army, that solemn oath to support and defend the Constitution has no expiration date. If confirmed, I pledge to take those same values to the United Nations, where I will work diligently to defend American national interests and protect our sovereignty.

Upon its creation after World War II, the United Nations was seen as a mechanism for peace and stability around the world. Since that time, we've seen the United Nations provide lifesaving food and medicine globally, help the weak and most vulnerable, and send peacekeeping troops into some of the most dangerous corners of the world. However, the U.N. also retains a culture of mismanagement, inefficiency, and a lack of accountability. An organization that ignores the activities of grave human rights abusers while repeatedly and unfairly assailing one of our

greatest allies, Israel. And as we look around the world, it is clear that the United Nations Security Council leaves much to be desired in fulfilling its mandate to maintain international peace and security. So there is certainly much work to be done, and American leadership and values at the United Nations will be essential moving forward.

I am grateful for Ambassador Haley's leadership at the United Nations, pressing for vital reforms, insisting on fair treatment of Israel, and defending global freedoms. We face myriad global challenges, including a devastating famine across Africa and Yemen, the growing threat of North Korea, and the ongoing conflict in Syria. Currently there are some 100,000 U.N. peacekeepers deployed around the world, including in volatile places like Mali, South Sudan, and the Central African Republic. The American taxpayer foots 29 percent of that bill, making ours far and away the largest contributing nation. And while we appreciate the vital role of peacekeepers, the scourge of sexual exploitation and abuse threatens to undermine that role and permanently damage the reputation of the U.N.'s blue helmets. Indeed, when peacekeepers prey upon the very people they are ostensibly there to protect, it is not only vile and wrong, but the viability of the peacekeeping operation is greatly diminished. If confirmed, I will fight to ensure that the U.N. finally holds those responsible, both the individuals and the troop contributing countries, publicly to account, and work to improve training efforts at home and whistleblower protections in the field. This must be stopped.

Additionally, based on my previous experience I believe the Security Council must take a goal-oriented approach to peacekeeping. Instead of allowing peacekeeping operations to perpetuate for decades, we should establish mandates with clear objectives, and hold both the leadership and the host parties responsible for accomplishing those objectives so that we can declare victory and go home. We owe that not only to the troops in the field and the citizens they are there to protect, but also to the American taxpayer.

I have a strong background of military, political and diplomatic experience. Army Foreign Area Officers have long been described as America's "Soldier-Statesmen." I proudly served as a Foreign Area Officer at numerous embassies around the world, at the Department of State in the Bureau of Political Military Affairs, and later at the U.S. Mission to the United Nations as the American Military Representative to the United Nations Military Staff Committee. I participated in frequent U.N. Security Council deliberations pertaining to international peace and security, Peacekeeping Operations, and other issues. If confirmed, I will be involved with these, and other similar issues at USUN. I am grateful for Ambassador Haley's leadership at the United Nations, and once again, I am honored to be considered for this post, and for the opportunity to work under her leadership. I believe we are at a tipping point, where the injection of strong American leadership and values can make a powerful, positive difference, not only in an institution with so many shortfalls yet so much promise, but also for those most vulnerable around the world. A secure, stable world is decidedly in America's national interest.

Thank you for the opportunity to appear before this committee today. I look forward to taking your questions.

Senator YOUNG. Thank you, Mr. Murray.

Before I proceed, I would just like to acknowledge the presence of Governor Jim Gilmore in the audience. I did not see you earlier, sir. Thank you for your service.

We are going to proceed with questions, 7-minute rounds, and I will begin with Ms. Currie.

Ms. Currie, in your prepared statement, you note that a major role of the United Nations Economic and Social Council is the global effort to achieve the sustainable development goals. Some of these 17 goals include zero hunger and clean water and sanitation. When I consider these worthy goals, I cannot help but think of the urgent crisis in Yemen. What is your assessment of the situation in Yemen, Ms. Currie?

Ms. CURRIE. Thank you for asking about the famine and the humanitarian crisis in Yemen and for your excellent work with Senator Cardin introducing your resolution on the four famines and all the attention that you have brought to the issue of the four famines. These complex humanitarian disasters, all of which are man-

made, have been almost invisible despite their huge proportions. It is quite amazing that millions of people are at risk of starvation, imminent risk of starvation, and the world has barely paid attention to it.

The United States, through the generosity of the Congress, has supported a \$1 billion contribution to the UNOCHA appeal of \$5.6 billion, but we have been, I think, disappointed by the lack of participation by other partners and hope to see that stepped up.

In Yemen, this is one of the most complex of the four because of the presence of different groups that are fighting and the involvement of external actors, including the United States and the Saudis. So there is a huge conflict element obviously here. If confirmed, this is going to be a top priority, working on not only Yemen but the other three famine or near-famine states and working very closely with my colleague, if he is confirmed with me, to coordinate both the kinetic aspects of responding to these disasters, as well as the humanitarian.

Senator YOUNG. So continuing with Yemen, let us consider the sustainable development goal of zero hunger. According to the U.N., there are 6.8 million people in Yemen on the brink of starvation. These people are not worried about sustainable development goals a decade from now. Of course, they are worried about where their next meal is going to come from, where their family's next meal is going to come from, their friends', and so forth.

Consider the sustainable development goal of clean water and sanitation. Due in part to the lack of both of these, it is estimated that about 300,000 people in Yemen have now been infected with cholera, with more than 1,700 deaths. The scale of this crisis demands action not fatalism, and it sounds as though you have an action orientation. So that is fantastic.

You spoke to the lack of participation of partners vis—vis this crisis. According to the U.N. Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, the Yemen 2017 humanitarian response plan is only 33 percent funded. We still need \$1.4 billion.

Now, there are a number of countries, a number of partners that have nominally participated. They have committed to give more funds to Yemen to help address this crisis. They have committed to take action with great fanfare, and yet the money is still slow in arriving.

If confirmed, Ms. Currie, will you look at the situation in Yemen and consider what countries that you can press to fulfill their financial and moral obligations in Yemen?

Ms. CURRIE. Absolutely, Senator Young. If confirmed, this will, as I said, be one of the top priorities for the ECOSOC office. It already is a major priority of the ECOSOC team in New York.

The unwillingness or inability of various actors to constrain their own forces that are harassing and making it impossible to deliver humanitarian assistance is one of the key factors. So, again, working with my colleague in Special Political Affairs, we have to tackle all of this. As you note, this a manmade famine. This is a famine that results from a conflict and not a natural disaster or weather event. And, therefore, most of the routes to resolving this famine lie in the political sector and dealing with the political crisis in Yemen.

Senator YOUNG. So I do not want to linger on Yemen because I want to have enough time to pivot to OPIC briefly. But there is another concrete action you can take. It is something I have been working on and it pertains to U.S.-funded cranes. These are cranes that are needed in the major port of Hodeidah in Yemen to offload food and medical supplies and help mitigate, help stanch this ever-growing humanitarian disaster. And there are things, as I see it, that can be done.

If confirmed, will you look at this situation regarding the cranes working with our office and others and consider pressing the Saudi Government at the U.N. to permit delivery of these cranes?

Ms. CURRIE. Absolutely, I pledge to do that, if confirmed.

Senator YOUNG. Thank you.

Mr. Washburne and Mr. Bohigian, thanks for meeting with me in the office yesterday. Let me ask the question that may be on the minds of multiple members.

In its fiscal year 2018 budget request, the Trump administration has proposed the elimination of OPIC. At the same time, you both have been nominated to lead OPIC. Can you concisely, in light of this uncertainty, indicate how you view your nomination and the role you would play at OPIC? Mr. Washburne?

Mr. WASHBURNE. Thank you, Chairman. That is the elephant in the room question. I am a builder and creator of jobs, and the President and his team know that I am a builder. I am not someone to sit there and look at an organization and wind down.

But in light of that, the mission of OPIC is something that I believe in. I feel like I have got the right experience to grow it and continue to take its mission forward. But given the light that the President has proposed, I am willing to work with the committee and the administration in any way that you dictate us to go. OPIC currently has \$22 billion in projects in 162 countries. So to shut it down and flip a switch just would not be practical to do. And so, if confirmed, I look forward to growing it and proving to the committee, Congress, and the administration that OPIC is a valuable entity to go forward with.

Senator YOUNG. Well, I for one am encouraged by that response. And you rightly point out that someone would still be needed to manage the existing portfolio.

Mr. Bohigian, anything to add to that, sir?

Mr. BOHIGIAN. Thank you for that excellent question and the excellent answer.

I would just say that President's budget, obviously, is the start of the process, and if confirmed, Mr. Washburne and I look forward to being part of the conversation that Congress and the administration will have in the months ahead.

Senator YOUNG. Thank you.

Mr. Merkley?

Senator MERKLEY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Murray, as you know, the Alternate Representative for Special Political Affairs plays an important role in negotiating U.N. Security Council resolutions. Few tasks in diplomacy are more difficult than negotiating resolutions on critical peace and security issues with 14 other council members. It is made all the more difficult by the veto power enjoyed by four other members, including

two, China and Russia, that are often at odds with our values. If confirmed, how do you intend to rally support at the council for U.S. interests?

Mr. MURRAY. Thank you for that question, Senator Merkley.

That is one of the huge challenges with the Security Council, and we have seen it play out in places like Syria where Russia has become so isolated within the Security Council and the world when it comes to resolution after resolution after resolution that they have vetoed. And that is part of the way the Security Council is set up. It requires us to have extensive conversations and deliberations before we put forward a resolution, and also, I think this is somewhere where we can get help from the United States Senate, as well as the administration, in dealing directly with Russia, in this case, or when it comes to North Korea, with China.

Senator MERKLEY. So it is a very complex and difficult task, and if you are in this position, I wish you well in representing the United States.

Let me turn to a different question. When we met before, you expressed doubt on whether human activities are causing climate disruption. Let us set that aside. Let us just acknowledge that 2016 was warmer than 2015 was warmer than 2014, whether or not it was caused by human activities. Many national security experts believe that this climate disruption is a threat multiplier leading to increased instability around the world as societies clash over resources. Do you share that view of many national security experts? And your thoughts on how to address that issue in the context of the United Nations.

Mr. MURRAY. I appreciate your leadership on this issue and the discussion that we had in your office.

As Ambassador Haley has said, climate change needs to have a role, a position at the table, and when we are discussing these important issues, that we should make sure that is a metric that we include, and I agree with that.

Senator MERKLEY. Let me turn to the challenge of our peacekeeping missions, which you have mentioned would be an important responsibility. The U.N. peacekeeping operations are tasked with increasingly complex mandates, and some, like MINUSMA in Mali, operate in places where there is no peace to keep. Are U.N. peacekeeping forces the right tool to address complex security situations like those present in Mali?

Mr. MURRAY. Mali is the most dangerous peacekeeping operation. We have had, I believe, 77 peacekeepers killed to date. And you are right. The peace is not so much there to keep.

This is where I believe the Security Council has to play an important role when they start to look at a peacekeeping operation. Obviously, you want to get somebody in there for humanitarian reasons and to protect the most vulnerable, and at the same time, if you design a mandate that oversteps its bounds, then you are setting a peacekeeping operation up to fail. And I believe that is incumbent upon the Security Council to plan that carefully and then to resource it properly.

One of the foundations that goes back to the founding of the U.N., when you put in a peacekeeping operation, the host parties or the host country needs to be in agreement with that. It is one

of the problems we are having in southern Sudan, or South Sudan now, is we have a government that is actually hindering this process. I traveled to southern Sudan with the Security Council a few years back, also to Darfur where we see the same issues with the host country government actually being a hindrance. And so those are some things that the Security Council needs to take very seriously and balance across from the need to protect the most vulnerable and to deliver humanitarian assistance.

Senator MERKLEY. So often after a peacekeeping mission begins, facts on the ground can change. Are there any peacekeeping missions that you would put forward as examples of ones that should be shut down?

Mr. MURRAY. Currently we are up to 15 peacekeeping operations. Now we recently shut down successfully the Ivory Coast and Liberia, which if it continues to plane as it is, I think will be another successful mission when that closes down in March of 2018.

So I think the Security Council has the responsibility to look at the mandates that come up either biannually or annually. That is when we should have a lot more flexibility to tweak these peacekeeping operations, to tweak the mandates, and also to hold the leadership, as well as the troop-contributing countries, responsible to fulfill their mandate. As I mentioned in my testimony, it would be great to have a political solution so that we can accomplish that, as appears to be the case in Liberia, for example, and then we can shut that peacekeeping operation down, maybe transition it into a political operation to continue with some institution building and then that frees up troop-contributing countries and troops to go elsewhere such as Mali where right now—the size of Texas—we have only about 10,000 or 11,000 peacekeepers. So those are the balances and the criteria I think that the Security Council needs to look at when it comes to peacekeeping operations.

Senator MERKLEY. You mentioned the mission in South Sudan, UNMISS. And one of the things that developed there is that people were fleeing violence and tens of thousands descended on the compounds in Juba seeking shelter and as fighting spread outside the capital, several other UNMISS bases became de facto displacement camps referred to as protection of civilians sites. And currently UNMISS is providing physical protection to more than 200,000 civilians at six sites around the country.

It raises a whole host of questions about how the mission has been transformed. But do you support this role of the U.N. in providing this protection to these civilians, and is this a strategy or this tool, the protection of civilians, that should perhaps be used elsewhere?

Mr. MURRAY. That is a very good and a very difficult question, Senator Merkley.

You look at all of those POCs, as you pointed out, where there are some almost a quarter of a million citizens being protected by peacekeepers. I do not want to pull them out because that makes those citizens vulnerable. That makes the most vulnerable at risk. At the same time, I think it is important to look at what we do at the outset with a mandate, and I think a lot more pressure is needed on the leadership and the disparate parties down in South Sudan in order to mitigate these threats to the individuals, to

carve out a political solution, and then move toward implementing that solution.

Senator YOUNG. Thank you, Mr. Murray.

Senator Isakson?

Senator ISAKSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I would like for the record to reflect that while I was a little bit late to the committee, I was right on time to hear Ms. Currie speak. She is from Thomasville, Georgia. I think I met her in 1990 in the Thomasville Rose Parade in Thomas County, Georgia when I was running for Governor of Georgia, and she was a senior at the University of Georgia. Is that not right?

Ms. CURRIE. Actually we met in Professor Charles Bullock's class in 1990 when you were running for Governor, and you came and spoke. I was not in the Rose Parade. I was busy at school, but yes, we did meet in 1990.

Senator ISAKSON. Well, I do not forget a pretty face, and I knew we had met somewhere. And when you run for Governor of Georgia, you always start in Thomasville at the Rose Parade and work your way up to Atlanta by the end of the race.

But we are very proud to have you nominated and we are glad to have you here. We are glad to have all of you here. And I am going to have a question for you in just a minute.

Mr. Murray, I really appreciate your answer in response on the question about should we be involved in peacekeeping missions and your reflection on the issues of those 15 that we currently have in the world. Is that right?

Mr. MURRAY. Yes, Senator, 15.

Senator ISAKSON. I was the second Member of Congress to ever go to Darfur, and if any of you have ever been to Darfur, you thank God there is a peacekeeping mission of the United Nations because if they were not there with mostly South Korean troops and a couple other smaller countries like that, countries like the United States would be implored because of our social conscience to do it or take on that effort in one way or another. So while the U.N. is problematic in a number of ways in things that it does, it can be central to solve problems that seem insolvable. And I appreciate your attitude towards the peacekeeping missions. I hope you will work to make them as accountable as possible. But we cannot turn our back on the least fortunate in this world, those that are as oppressed as the people in Darfur because somebody somehow has got to come to their aid. And I would like any comments you might have on that.

Mr. MURRAY. Well, thank you very much for that, Senator. I spent some time in Darfur as well, and I completely concur with your assessment. When you have a group called Janjaweed there, which translates into "devils on horseback," preying on the local populace, this is why we have a United Nations. And I think they have been pretty effective.

Also, one of the reasons I like Darfur, as well as what is going on in Somalia, is our evolving ability to work with regional groups. The Darfur peacekeeping operation, Senator, as you know, is a hybrid with the African Union, and we have actually drawn down some of the U.N. troops because we built up those African Union

troops. The same with what is going on in Somalia with the fight against terrorist groups there like Al Shabaab.

So these are the kind of things that are exciting to me, if I am confirmed, that we can work with regional groups, as well as evolve peacekeeping and how we look at it in the Security Council with the Department of Peacekeeping Operations and the Department of Field Support in order to make it more efficient, more nimble and maybe save a few taxpayer dollars at the same time.

Senator ISAKSON. Well, the U.N. is not a very popular institution in Georgia, and a lot of people think we waste a lot of money sending it to the U.N. But if you have ever seen the role they play in these peacekeeping missions, as you mentioned in South Sudan, with the conference peace agreement where we tried to make a difference there, which obviously fell apart in large measure, but you would appreciate the work that they do for the world. And one of these days, this effort is going to materialize into friends of the United States, friends of peace and liberty, not the type of evil things that are going on in Africa right now.

Ms. Currie, you are an honor graduate of the University of Georgia, magna cum laude or cum laude, one of the two.

Ms. CURRIE. Just cum laude.

Senator ISAKSON. Neither one of which I achieved.

Senator Kaine. Thank you, Laude.

Ms. CURRIE. Just cum laude, sir. Thank you.

Senator ISAKSON. After leaving the University of Georgia, I note she had a quick stint on Hilton Head Island, which everybody ought to go through once in their life, to earn a living waiting on tables. But from there you went straight to Washington and went straight where?

Ms. CURRIE. I came to work on the Hill, sir, and I worked for my home State Congressman from Georgia, Sanford Bishop, for a year and then went to work for a great Member of Congress, who I had interned with, John Porter in the House.

Senator ISAKSON. Yes. Sanford is a great Representative from our State, and John Porter is one of the finest people you would ever want to meet and did so much good in the arena that you are going to be working in so much in terms of the United Nations.

Ms. CURRIE. I could not agree with you more, sir.

Senator ISAKSON. With regard to the United Nations, my plea to all of you is to help elevate the influence and the role of the United States in the operation of the United Nations. Every time they do good things, they turn around and appoint somebody like Iran the head of the Human Relations Council or Committee and do something that is just unfathomable consideration-wise. But it is a valuable tool for us.

I know in OPIC and the number of investments that the United States makes around the world where we can use the economic power of the United States and invest in things that create jobs and opportunity for people in oppressed countries and depressed communities, then we are going to help create more and more friends around the world.

Lastly, from time to time, there is a critical vote that makes a large difference in which way the body politic goes in the world today. One of those big issues in the next few years ahead is going

to be the Palestinian issue, which raises its head oftentimes in the United Nations. As you interact with the countries you will be interacting with particularly, Mr. Murray, some of the things you have talked about in terms of those countries, their votes are going to be critical to us to help us influence the direction of the U.N. in terms of which way we go in terms of Palestinian recognition or no recognition thereof or something in between. So I urge you to keep in mind the perspective of not just your job for what it is at ECOSOC, but also the job to win more friends and influence more of our enemies on the U.N. stage so that when they go to vote, they will vote with a positive image of the United States of America and what we are trying to accomplish through the U.N. rather than be an obstacle for us on the issues we stand for like Israel and other things like that.

So I wish you the best. I am proud of your nomination. We are glad to have another Georgian come in. If I can ever help you, let me know.

Ms. CURRIE. Thank you so much, Senator Isakson. It is a great honor to have your support, and I really appreciate your kind words especially about Thomasville, my wonderful hometown. I think that actually may have been my sister Emily who was in the Rose Parade that year. I will have to ask my mom. She is back here. So maybe she can clarify all that.

But, yes, the issues that you raise are critically important for the work that we will be doing. And I take your message very much to heart and, if confirmed, look forward to working with you and the rest of the committee members to implement these things.

Senator ISAKSON. Congratulations to all of you and best wishes.

Senator YOUNG. Senator Shaheen?

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Thank you all very much for your willingness to serve this country.

Mr. Washburne, I was encouraged by your comments about taking over at OPIC with the idea of growing the agency and being more productive because I was very distressed when I saw the budget proposal from this administration that would phase out OPIC, an organization that I believe has been very important to businesses throughout the country. In New Hampshire, we have about \$115 million in projects that have helped small businesses in our State, and it has been very important.

So can you share with us whether you have any understanding with the administration about what your role will be as the head of OPIC? Was there a request from the administration when they nominated you for this position that you would phase out the agency as President?

Mr. WASHBURNE. Thank you, Senator, for the question.

No, there was never any specific discussion at all about phasing the agency out. Again, I run a private business in Dallas. I got a great life. I do not need to come up here and shut something down. I am a builder and a grower. And if I thought I was coming up here just to melt something away, I would melt in Dallas in the heat today. [Laughter.]

Senator SHAHEEN. Well, again, I am encouraged to hear that.

You know, one of my favorite statistics is about the number. We have only about 1 percent of small and medium-sized businesses who do business overseas, and yet large businesses have that opportunity every day. And one of the challenges I believe we have is to help those small businesses, in particular, through organizations like OPIC, through the EXIM Bank. They have been so important to success for smaller and medium-sized businesses in successfully trading overseas. And so I hope that you will continue that role as the head of OPIC and with Mr. Bohigian that the two of you will preside over an expansion of OPIC in a way that helps small businesses in this country create jobs because that is our goal.

I wanted to ask you, Ms. Currie. I was very pleased to see your statement about the importance of empowering women, something that I think is absolutely critical, and as we look at how do we raise the economic prosperity of countries around the world, we know that empowering women is a very important piece of that, that women tend to give back more not just to their families but to their communities and that that is important in developing economic opportunities.

One of the areas where I think it is very important to help empower women is—where the U.N. has been very important is through UNFPA because they have provided women access to the ability to determine their—to plan their families and that affects everything from domestic violence to what kind of job opportunities they get in the future to their education.

So can you tell me whether you think we should continue to support UNFPA in funding?

Ms. CURRIE. Thank you for that question, Senator Shaheen.

As you know, according to the Kemp-Kasten determination that the Department made, they are rescinding \$32 million in funding to UNFPA. And those funds will be redistributed through global health programs by USAID so that there will not be breaks in service and that women will continue to have access to important family planning and other care that they need to manage their lives, birth spacing, and all of the key issues that you raise that make it possible for women to engage economically, politically, and to fully participate in the lives of their countries.

If confirmed, I look forward to participating in the discussion in the next fiscal year and looking at the Kemp-Kasten determination and whether UNFPA has made the kinds of reforms that will allow us to participate in their work again. And that is all I can offer to do at this point.

Senator SHAHEEN. The experts that I have talked to have suggested that Kemp-Kasten is not an issue with UNFPA, that that is a red herring and that in fact the ability to distribute those dollars through other organizations to be as effective is really not going to achieve the same outcomes. Do you think we are going to be able to be as effective by distributing dollars through those other organizations?

Ms. CURRIE. Well, as you know, I was not part of the discussion or the decision. So I would have to refer you back to the State Department and the people who did make that determination, what

the basis for their determination that UNFPA was in violation of the Kemp-Kasten provisions.

And I think that USAID has excellent partners in women's health and global health that they can utilize, and they are working very hard. And I would refer you to them about how they plan to continue to provide these services.

Senator SHAHEEN. Well, thank you. I look forward to seeing your ongoing efforts to continue to work to empower women because I think that is a critical piece of what we need to do and what we need to do if we are going to provide economic opportunities around the world.

Mr. Murray, I am very pleased to hear your comments about the importance of peacekeeping missions. This committee had a chance to meet with Secretary-General Gutierrez not too long ago where he talked about the importance of reforming the peacekeeping operations. And I know he is working very closely with Ambassador Haley to try and do that.

But one of the concerns I have is that one proposal to try and reform peacekeeping would be to decrease the resources that are available. Is that something that you believe is important as we look at all of the challenges we have around the world, that cutting off their money is a way to reform them?

Mr. MURRAY. I appreciate that question, Senator.

In terms of the budget with peacekeeping operations, what we have seen since Ambassador Haley has arrived at the United Nations as our Permanent Representative, they have negotiated a new budget, and it is \$500 million less than it was last year. And part of that comes from some cost savings, a couple of things that we have already mentioned such as the hybrid operation in Darfur where the African Union is taking a larger role, enabling us to pull some U.N. troops out, saving money there, closing down the operation in Ivory Coast, transitioning the operation in Haiti from a peacekeeping operation into something that is more institution building, especially with regard to rule of law and having more police forces there than troops. And finally Liberia, which I alluded to earlier, is on a glide path to close in March of next year after they hopefully go through some elections which, by the way, if they have successful elections, this is the first time since 1944 that Liberia will have had a peaceful transition of power. So those are the kinds of cost savings, Senator, that I think that we should look for, and that is all under the rubric, as I was mentioning earlier, about goal-oriented peacekeeping with a defined political objective that we can achieve and then declare victory and go home.

Senator YOUNG. Thank you, Mr. Murray.

Senator Coons?

Senator COONS. Thank you very much, Senator Young, Senator Merkley, for convening this hearing and to our four nominees before us today for your willingness to serve or continue serving our Nation. I was grateful for the opportunity to meet with several of you before today's hearing.

I support the Overseas Private Investment Corporation. I had the same question that Senator Shaheen did about the tension between the administration's budget proposal and the intentions of Mr. Washburne and Mr. Bohigian. And I was pleased to hear your

answer, and I was encouraged by our private conversation before this and by your opening statement and by the impressive dedication that you and your family have shown to engaging personally in the work of building in the developing world.

More and more of the money that is making a difference in the developing world comes from private sector sources. And so I think having at the helm folks in OPIC who understand the importance of development finance and the disciplines of the private sector could be a real contribution.

There is also a huge demand for more development financing, and our competitors in Asia and in Europe recognize that. And so the developing nations of Africa, Latin America, and Asia have increasingly looked to Chinese and European sources rather than American because ours are so limited. I am hopeful that we will work together in a bipartisan way on this committee not to reduce the scope and capability of OPIC but to actually expand it and to strengthen it. I hope to see us take up legislation to reform and improve the way that the United States Government pursues development finance, and I am pleased we had an opportunity to discuss those ideas. So let me jump into that, if I might.

Mr. Washburne, can you just explain to me and to critics not here I think today the value of OPIC and why it returns value, not just money to the Treasury, but value to the American people and whether you believe that it crowds out activity in the private sector as some critics of OPIC have suggested?

Mr. WASHBURNE. Thank you, Senator Coons, and thank you for your time and our discussions last week.

As we discussed in the meeting, OPIC has a very unique—it is not crowding out people in other countries. We are actually crowding in. And what I mean by that is we are going to countries where banks will not go, companies will not go. Companies do have to put a substantial amount of risk capital in place which sitting on loan committees of banks, I always like to see. I never like to see someone to get 100 percent loans. They have got risk capital in place. But before someone can acquire a loan guarantee, political risk insurance, they have to prove—it is a very, very stringent underwriting process that you have to go through at OPIC to show that you cannot get money from any other source or insurance product from anywhere else.

We currently have \$22 billion out. Only \$4 billion of that is in insurance. And so a lot of the criticisms come in the political risk insurance. But there are some countries you just cannot get insurance in at all, and without OPIC there to do it to protect American interests, there would be no way we could go in there and do business.

Senator COONS. I think as you demonstrated, you know by time spent in Lusaka and elsewhere in the developing world, that in countries like that, if we want there to be an American private sector footprint, without OPIC it is not going to happen. I agree with you.

I would be interested in hearing from both of you, if I might, what reforms to OPIC you would pursue, if confirmed, to make it more effective, how you plan to convince other administration officials of OPIC's positive and constructive role in mobilizing private

sector development, and what work you might want to do with this committee to help advance those reforms or improvements.

Mr. BOHIGIAN. Thank you, Senator, for that opportunity.

I believe OPIC represents the best in American values, and the administration has opened a process whereby we can reexamine across the Government how to reform agencies such as OPIC. So I know Mr. Washburne and I look forward to being part of that discussion.

Additional authorities for OPIC could include what counterparts in development finance institutions overseas have such as direct equity investments, which is something that the development community in the United States has long looked for to be able to promote American jobs here, as well as American values abroad. When you look at, as you mentioned earlier, our European and Chinese counterparts who are truly investing trillions of dollars in these sort of efforts, America is ready for a 21st century OPIC.

Beyond that, critics have called OPIC market-distorting, and we believe that over the last 15 years, many of those objections have been answered, whereas Mr. Mosbacher, who is here in attendance today as a former President of OPIC, Mr. Watson, as well as Elizabeth Littlefield, have worked with this committee and Congress to ensure that at a transactional level, as Mr. Washburne stated, each and every transaction is looked at for any sort of market distortion, including a certification on the insurance side, that this business will not distort the market. That is true through the Office of Investment Policy, through the President's office, through the board, and through oversight through committees such as this.

In addition, critics have also said that we need to look at the ability for having additional tools throughout reorganizing the U.S. Government. That could include working with the Millennium Challenge Corporation more closely, USAID more closely, and certainly through coordination with the board of OPIC in the inter-agency process.

So I think this conversation that this committee has led in conjunction with the President's budget proposal truly allows OPIC the chance to begin a conversation about what development finance should look like in the 21st century. And if confirmed, I welcome that conversation.

Senator COONS. Well, I am optimistic that both of you will find in your engagement with OPIC that there is a thorough and rigorous review process, a motivated and capable staff, and that this is a role that we should be working together to strengthen so that we can be a more effective partner in development around the world, and I look forward to doing that with both of you.

I have additional questions for the other two witnesses, but my time is up and I will either submit them for the record or wait for a second round. Thank you.

Senator YOUNG. Thank you, Senator Coons.

Senator Kaine?

Senator Kaine. Thank you, Mr. Chair.

And thanks to all. Congratulations to all for your appointments—or your nominations. We would not presume for your nominations but each of you have a significant public service record.

I am going to pretty much focus on the OPIC question too. There is an old line that everything that needs to be said has been said, but everybody who needs to say it has not said it yet. And I want to emphasize the importance of OPIC in Virginia.

Before I do, I want to acknowledge one of my predecessors as Governor of Virginia. Governor Gilmore is here. And I think, Mr. Chair, you acknowledged him too, a fine public servant. I just want to recognize him.

OPIC really helps a lot of Virginia businesses. I do not get lobbied from Virginia businesses saying this is a bad thing. It should be reduced. It should be shut down. I know there are some criticisms in the ether about OPIC, but this is not what I am hearing from Virginia businesses. What I am hearing about OPIC and similar agencies like the EXIM Bank is, frankly, we need more support, and this is really critical to enabling private sector businesses in America to succeed. So I am confused with the budgetary proposal.

First, let me just make sure I am right about this. The quote from the President's budget on this is that they want to engage in activities to, quote, initiate orderly wind-down activities. And there is money allocated in the 2018 budget proposal, \$60.8 million to, quote, initiate orderly wind-down activities.

My understanding is that OPIC is not a drain on the general fund budget, but OPIC actually returns money to the general fund budget. Am I correct about that?

Mr. WASHBURNE. Yes, sir, approximately \$300 million a year.

Senator Kaine. \$300 million. \$2.3 billion has generated for the federal budget in the last 6 years. I mean, this is returning dollars.

The pronunciation of your name, sir.

Mr. BOHIGIAN. Bohigian. It took me 5 years to learn.

Senator Kaine. You were talking about sort of critics' arguments about OPIC. Have either of you had discussions with the administration? What did they say about the reason that they want to wind down OPIC?

Mr. BOHIGIAN. I think within the administration there is a range of opinions that you would expect from any executive branch. Certainly, if confirmed, we look forward to continuing those conversations with executive branch officials. But I think if you look at the OPIC budget page in particular, they have left open the opportunity to reform OPIC. They say that over almost 10 years OPIC has not had the chance of reauthorization, which has left it open to critics who are looking for reform. So I think it is a first step in putting OPIC on a 21st century footing.

Senator Kaine. Mr. Washburne?

Mr. WASHBURNE. As you mentioned, with this committee and also with Congress, in our meetings with several members around this table, we hear the same thing back. You know, 75 percent of OPIC's loans are to small businesses. Less than 8 percent is to Fortune 500 companies. It has less than a 1 percent loan loss. I mean, when you look at that—

Senator Kaine. Which any private lender would just kill for that. Would they not? I mean, it is fantastic.

Mr. WASHBURNE [continuing]. It has staff of around 250 people. It is an amazing group they put together. They have been in business since 1971. It is really a shining example for what government

could be. And that is why I am excited about going in. I do not have to reform it from the standpoint of something that has issues.

The reform we want to bring in is more of bringing it into the 21st century on financing mechanisms because when it was set up originally, it was a leftover after the Marshall Plan and USAID and it was formed on its own. Really more than anything else it was a political risk insurance facility to have for people to go into developing countries where no one would go into.

Well, the way businesses evolve today, people look at the expertise of OPIC to go into some third world countries like, as I mentioned earlier, Zambia which we know well. American businesses are not going to go in there. And this is a way to have a soft diplomacy. It is a great foreign policy tool for the U.S. Government, and we think it is something that we are excited to get in and try to find some other financing vehicles we can put with the toolbox we have and expand its scope.

Senator KAINE. I think everybody on this committee is very familiar with arguments about this sector is crowding out my sector. We all are in tug of wars between banks and credit unions, for example. They are crowding me out. No, they are crowding me out. We just do not hear this about OPIC. We are not hearing from private sector financial institutions or others that OPIC is blocking other private sector entities from being involved. So I am puzzled about this one, but I am heartened by your discussion that comments with the administration suggest an openness to reform.

This is part of a bigger pattern. We are grappling, for example, with an overall State Department, USAID budget that is dramatically reduced. And when we have talked to the Secretary of State about it, I would have felt really good if he had said we need to reform how we spend. We can spend more effectively. Instead, what we are being told is we cannot spend that money anyway. I know what other nations are doing around the world in terms of trying to build relationships, invest, find allies, find trade. I know what they are spending. And so when there is an attitude that, well, we do not need these agencies, it causes me great concern.

So I am heartened by your discussion that maybe, you know, 10 years after the last reauthorization, it is time to think about reforms that can make the dollars that we do spend on OPIC, the effort that we pay to OPIC even more productive.

And with that, I am going to cede the rest of my time. My colleagues and I—we would love to work together with you on reform to make OPIC even more effective. But I know this. Virginia businesses will consider it a real loss to them. Just to extend beyond, we are in a global economy now. Your ability to find deals and customers around the world is a sine qua non of being economically powerful. And if you remove organizations and institutions that help you do that, we are really just—it is like eating our seed corn. We are going to hurt ourselves. So let us help our businesses, not hurt them, and if reform is part of it, you will find a lot of willing partners. If a wind-down is part of it, I think there is going to be some significant opposition to that.

Mr. WASHBURNE. Yes, sir.

Senator KAINE. Thanks, Mr. Chair.

Senator YOUNG. Well, I thank my colleagues for their thoughtful comments and questions. I understand Senator Merkley would like an additional 5 minutes. So we will give him a second round, and I believe everyone else is fine. So Senator Merkley?

Senator MERKLEY. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Murray, I think it is probably good to give you a chance here to address one of your comments that may come up among members, and that is when you wrote that government is a massive parasite putting us on a path to civil unrest—I am summarizing and shortening it—a failed government of career politicians of both parties have the problem. And then you go on to call for an Article V convention.

In this case, as you talk about government being this problem, how will you in your position at the U.N. make sure that our U.N.-governmental team does not become part of the problem?

Mr. MURRAY. Thanks for the opportunity to address some comments from my book. The intent of those comments had to do with my concern as a private citizen at that time with our excessive federal debt. I have heard a former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, as well as Senator Hillary Clinton, mention that our federal debt is one of the biggest, if not the biggest, threats to our national security. And as an individual who spent his adult life in the military, that was of great concern to me. And that was the nature of those comments. I am looking for a way to mitigate that.

Senator MERKLEY. Thank you.

Ms. Currie, I want to go back to the question that Senator Shaheen was asking about, the UNFPA, Family Planning Association. It has a record in the Zaatari refugee camp in Jordan of facilitating care for 7,400 women who gave birth to 7,400 babies without a single baby or mother dying, which is rather extraordinary in a refugee zone. And they work in areas of conflict and refugee camps around the world in pursuit of enabling children to get a good start in life with the type of health care that they have been providing. Would it not make sense to keep empowering the UNFPA?

Ms. CURRIE. Thank you for the question, Senator Merkley.

Again, as I said with Senator Shaheen, I was not part of those discussions. I would have to refer you back to the people at the State Department who made the determination under Kemp-Kasten that UNFPA was not the appropriate vehicle for U.S. funding for family planning internationally. And my understanding is that USAID is working hard to try to make sure that there are not gaps in service and that the organizations—as you know, UNFPA also contracts out much of its work to other organizations, and it is possible for the United States through USAID and other mechanisms to fund those same organizations bilaterally rather than through the multilateral vector of UNFPA.

And I would add further that I think that the United States is always open, and it has been my understanding over the years that this issue has come up in various contexts where I have worked on it, whether it was on the Hill as an appropriations staffer when a lot of this legislation was coming up, that we are always trying to work with UNFPA to try to deal with the problematic issues, which in this case is, my understanding is, a finding related to China and the coercive elements of their family planning program.

Senator MERKLEY. So I would just like to note that UNFPA, for the record, does not provide any financing for abortions, does not conduct any abortions, and has had an extraordinary record of supporting successful pregnancies and births in very difficult settings.

And I think there will be children and women hurt by this decision. And I know you referred me back to others, but I was looking for your opinion on it. But I will not put you under further pressure on it since you have had a couple chances to respond to it.

But let me ask about something different. We have 20 million people facing starvation, a high threat of starvation over the next 6 months due to the four famines. And ECOSOC's humanitarian affairs segment is a unique platform that brings together the member states, U.N. organizations, humanitarian and development partners, the private sector, and affected communities. Has the U.N. responded quickly enough and, if you will, effectively enough, or what more should be done? And should we commit more resources, more United States resources?

Ms. CURRIE. The four famines, as we have all discussed, is an epic tragedy and failure of multiple political actors to conduct themselves in a humane fashion. The conflicts that are driving these famines are not going to be solved by humanitarian assistance. We can only attempt to alleviate the human suffering in the short term, but the long-term answer to these problems is political in nature.

UNOCHA very quickly worked together with other humanitarian actors, including the ICRC, to come up with a coordinated appeal. Unfortunately, as Senator Young said, the response has not been what one would hope, especially considering the involvement of certain countries in some of these conflicts and their ability to marshal substantial resources to improve the situation. Not just financial resources but also use their own influence to make access easier and more safe and get the resources to the people who need them the most.

The fact that in Yemen 60 percent of the population is food insecure is beyond belief. This is not something that is going to be solved quickly. The political solutions need to be addressed in the Security Council and through the political mechanisms, bilateral, multilateral, whatever we can throw at this problem. We need to be working them.

But on the humanitarian side, I think that the effort that UNOCHA is trying to put together with its partners is sufficient to meet the short-term needs. It is just a question of the member states coming up with the resources, and if confirmed, I really hope I can work with you to help marshal other countries, other partners to bring those resources to bear so that we can all tackle this together because we cannot solve it ourselves. The United States cannot resolve these problems. We need a lot of teamwork from a lot of other actors who are more involved in them directly.

Senator MERKLEY. Thank you.

Senator YOUNG. Thank you, Senator Merkley, to you and your team for your continued partnership on this sub committee.

I want to thank our nominees again for your thoughtful responses and for your testimonies.

For the information of members, the record will remain open until the close of business on Thursday, including for members to submit questions for the record. We ask the nominees to respond as promptly as possible. Your responses will also be made a part of the record.

I want to note the presence of Senator Gardner for the record.

And with the thanks of the committee, this hearing is now adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 11:27 a.m., the hearing was adjourned.]

Additional Material Submitted for the Record

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO DAVID BOHIGIAN BY SENATOR BENJAMIN L. CARDIN

Human Rights

Question 1. What are the most important actions you have taken in your career to date to promote human rights and democracy? What has been the impact of your actions?

Answer. As Assistant Secretary of Commerce, one of my proudest efforts was an initiative that I launched to provide forums for small businesses around the world to exercise freedom of speech and to petition their government. The Entrepreneurship Initiative convened small businesses from the United States and host countries (including Brazil, Mexico, China and India) to speak directly to foreign government officials to press for pro-growth economic policies. I have always considered freedom of speech and the right to petition one's government among the most fundamental human rights. The very nature of entrepreneurship and job creation helps develop more democratic and engaged citizens. I am deeply gratified to see the impact of this project. Launched as a joint venture between the Department of Commerce and the Kauffman Foundation, the initiative attained global reach. According to the website, over 120 heads of state and ministers from more than 60 countries supported Global Entrepreneurship week in 2013.

Emoluments:

Question 2. 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. If confirmed, I intend to follow the law and all appropriate procedures. Should questions about legal or ethical issues arise, I will consult with the lawyers and ethics officials at OPIC.

Diversity

Question 3. Research from private industry demonstrates that, when managed well, diversity makes business teams better both in terms of creativity and productivity. What is your plan to ensure that the workforce in your agency, at all levels, is diverse, and how do you plan to ensure supervisors and managers are equipped to manage their teams effectively?

Answer. My fellow nominee and I are united in our commitment to diversity at OPIC. Creating a more diverse workforce isn't just the right thing to do it is the smart thing to do. Diversity can bring innovation to the marketplace of ideas, which is particularly important at a development institution, like OPIC, that works in every region of the world. We believe OPIC should lead by example if it is going to represent American values abroad.

If confirmed, we will continue OPIC's current practices that include : (1) use of special hiring flexibilities to improve its competitiveness with the public and private sectors; (2) outreach initiatives to reach a highly qualified and diverse workforce with the skills needed for OPIC's mission-critical occupations; (3) communicating its EEO/diversity policy, program and OPIC's employment needs to all sources of job applicants; (4) increasing recruitment of veterans and persons with targeted disabilities as a means of achieving the 2 percent Federal goal for disability employment;

and (5) increasing the representation of minorities and women in OPIC's officials and managers categories. Our focus on these commitments will support OPIC's continuing efforts to diversify its workforce, improve the overall representation of employees in the various EEO groups, and to remain a model employer.

Question 4. The federal workforce has made progress in hiring diverse professions in most agencies. There is, however, work to be done to cultivate work environments where all employees feel valued and included. What plans do you have to ensure your agency leverages the diversity of its employees and develops an inclusive work environment?

Answer. Prior experiences and challenges enrich a person's ability to think creatively and problem solve, which are qualities essential to OPIC's continued success. We believe diversity also fosters a sense of community which can strengthen communication within the workplace and ultimately enhance efficiency and effectiveness by encouraging people to work together to maximize resources and minimize time. It is important for leadership to imbue these ideals by consistently respecting and cultivating differences at the highest levels, and we, if confirmed, will work to ensure that OPIC upholds these ideals.

Our goal is for OPIC to remain a model employer and have an inclusive workforce. We will ensure OPIC supports workplace diversity. OPIC will continue to focus on recruiting, retaining, and promoting a highly qualified and diverse workforce, based on merit and equal employment opportunity. Training managers and administrative support staff will be key to this effort. OPIC will comply with relevant EEO statutes and regulations, including the No FEAR Act (Notification and Federal Employee Antidiscrimination and Retaliation Act of 2002). OPIC will continue to train its workforce on the various Federal anti-discrimination statutes, which also will help to promote workforce inclusiveness.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO RAY WASHBURNE BY SENATOR BENJAMIN L. CARDIN

Human Rights

Question 1. What are the most important actions you have taken in your career to date to promote human rights and democracy? What has been the impact of your actions?

Answer. The most important actions I have taken in my career to promote human rights involve my family's volunteer work in Zambia. When my family and I first stepped foot in Lusaka in 2014, we were immediately struck by the lack of basic fundamental human rights. On our very first day, we visited the compound of Chaisa and observed the rampant poverty, pollution, and devastating hunger that stretched across this shantytown of approximately 100,000 Zambians.

My family's humanitarian work thus has focused primarily on the children of Zambia. We volunteer for an organization which houses over 700 orphans on the outskirts of Lusaka, and also provides medical care and other support to approximately 7,000 Zambians each summer. The funding that our family has committed to the organization provides for the care of over fifty orphans, including expenses to cover the child's school, food and housing. Most recently, our family has funded the construction of a school for three hundred students in the heart of Chaisa that is being built on the property of a former brothel.

My work in Zambia has opened my eyes to the positive impact that America can achieve by devoting time and resources to projects in the developing world. If confirmed, I am confident that the perspective I have gained in Zambia will serve me well as the Chairman and CEO to ensure that OPIC's projects continue to promote human rights and democracy around the world.

Emoluments

Question 2. 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. If confirmed, I intend to follow the law and all appropriate procedures. Should questions about legal or ethical issues arise, I will consult with the lawyers and ethics officials at OPIC.

Diversity:

Question 3. Research from private industry demonstrates that, when managed well, diversity makes business teams better both in terms of creativity and productivity. What is your plan to ensure that the workforce in your agency, at all levels, is diverse, and how do you plan to ensure supervisors and managers are equipped to manage their teams effectively?

Answer. My fellow nominee and I are united in our commitment to diversity at OPIC. Creating a more diverse workforce isn't just the right thing to do it is the smart thing to do. Diversity can bring innovation to the marketplace of ideas, which is particularly important at a development institution, like OPIC, that works in every region of the world. We believe OPIC should lead by example if it is going to represent American values abroad.

If confirmed, we will continue OPIC's current practices that include: (1) use of special hiring flexibilities to improve its competitiveness with the public and private sectors; (2) outreach initiatives to reach a highly qualified and diverse workforce with the skills needed for OPIC's mission-critical occupations; (3) communicating its EEO/diversity policy, program and OPIC's employment needs to all sources of job applicants; (4) increasing recruitment of veterans and persons with targeted disabilities as a means of achieving the 2 percent Federal goal for disability employment; and (5) increasing the representation of minorities and women in OPIC's officials and managers categories.

Our focus on these commitments will support OPIC's continuing efforts to diversify its workforce, improve the overall representation of employees in the various EEO groups, and to remain a model employer.

Question 4. The federal workforce has made progress in hiring diverse professions in most agencies. There is, however, work to be done to cultivate work environments where all employees feel valued and included. What plans do you have to ensure your agency leverages the diversity of its employees and develops an inclusive work environment?

Answer. Prior experiences and challenges enrich a person's ability to think creatively and problem solve, which are qualities essential to OPIC's continued success. We believe diversity also fosters a sense of community which can strengthen communication within the workplace and ultimately enhance efficiency and effectiveness by encouraging people to work together to maximize resources and minimize time. It is important for leadership to imbue these ideals by consistently respecting and cultivating differences at the highest levels, and we, if confirmed, will work to ensure that OPIC upholds these ideals.

Our goal is for OPIC to remain a model employer and have an inclusive workforce. We will ensure OPIC supports workplace diversity. OPIC will continue to focus on recruiting, retaining, and promoting a highly qualified and diverse workforce, based on merit and equal employment opportunity. Training managers and administrative support staff will be key to this effort. OPIC will comply with relevant EEO statutes and regulations, including the No FEAR Act (Notification and Federal Employee Antidiscrimination and Retaliation Act of 2002). OPIC will continue to train its workforce on the various Federal anti-discrimination statutes, which also will help to promote workforce inclusiveness.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO KELLEY CURRIE BY SENATOR BENJAMIN L. CARDIN

Question 1. What are the most important actions you have taken in your career to date to promote human rights and democracy? What has been the impact of your actions?

Answer. I spent nearly five years working for Congressman John Porter as his staff director for the Congressional Human Rights Caucus and as his foreign operations appropriations associate. One of my greatest accomplishments during that time was the integration of our human rights advocacy into the foreign operations bills on a range of issues, including: limiting military assistance to countries over human rights abuses by their security forces; tightening restrictions on Burma; and expanding financial support to democracy and human rights promotion efforts, especially regarding Tibet, Burma and East Timor. I also helped to develop an "adopt a political prisoner" program that paired Members of Congress with Chinese and Tibetan political prisoners, and encouraged the Members to advocate for improved treatment and release of their 'adopted' prisoner. I vividly remember the day that

I met Jigme Sangpo, the long-serving Tibetan political prisoner our office had adopted, after he was released and exiled to Switzerland on medical parole. It was one of the highlights of my life to see him free.

After leaving Capitol Hill to work for the International Republican Institute (IRI), I was fortunate to work on implementing several of the initiatives we had legislated. As the program officer managing several of IRI's programs in Southeast Asia, I worked to help set up IRI's operations in Indonesia and Timor Leste, providing key electoral and governance assistance to those countries at the time of their democratic transitions. I also managed IRI's support to the Burmese democracy movement at a critical juncture, when the military junta was engaged in one of its most severe crackdowns. When Aung San Suu Kyi was released from house arrest in 2001, we arranged for video equipment to be provided to the National League for Democracy. They used this equipment to document Daw Suu's travels around the country, showing that she and the NLD retained their strength at the grassroots. This equipment also documented the attack on the NLD at Depayin, in which Aung San Suu Kyi was nearly killed.

It also was during this period that I helped some former Burmese political prisoners to launch an organization to provide humanitarian support to, and conduct documentation and advocacy on behalf of, Burma's thousands of political prisoners. Today, the Assistance Association for Political Prisoners (AAPP) is one of the most important civil society organizations in the country and a key player in promoting legal reform as part of Burma's transition, but before 2012 it was literally a lifeline for hundreds of political prisoners and their families. Over the past four years, Project 2049 has coordinated US support for AAPP through a grant from the Department of State's Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor.

In addition to AAPP, I have worked with a number of other important Burmese organizations and individuals who are helping to push forward human rights and democracy in that country.

My work with them has been among the most consequential and personally fulfilling I have done, even as the outcome remains unclear. By supporting the work of catalytic Burmese organizations and individuals through funding and demand-driven technical assistance, the small grants project we have been running at Project 2049 is helping to lay a strong foundation for a genuine democratic transition in Burma.

My work on human rights in China and Tibet since leaving the Congress has been rather less rewarding in terms of broader outcomes but no less so in terms of the amazing advocates and human rights defenders I have had the privilege to work with. While focused on empowering Chinese and Tibetan voices, I have tried to find ways to keep pushing these issues even as the space for international advocacy on them has diminished over the past two decades. In the Office of the Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues under Ambassador Paula Dobriansky, we worked to institutionalize the Tibetan Policy Act in U.S. policy and get important funding to efforts to preserve Tibetan culture inside Tibet. After leaving the State Department, I led the research, writing and editing of a report on cultural genocide in Tibet published by the International Campaign for Tibet. I have also continued to work with my human rights colleagues to keep human rights on the U.S. policy agenda with China, including by linking up my security-focused colleagues at Project 2049 with Chinese human rights defenders on research projects.

Question 2. What are the most pressing human rights concerns in ECOSOC today? What are the most important steps you expect to take—if confirmed—to advance human rights and democracy at ECOSOC and with its member countries? What do you hope to accomplish through these actions?

Answer. The U.N. Economic and Social Council does not formally deal with human rights questions on its agenda. However, the Economic and Social Affairs section of the United States Mission (informally known as the ECOSOC Section) covers human rights issues that come up in the Third Committee of the General Assembly.

The most pressing human rights concerns in the General Assembly's Third Committee today include Iran, the Russian occupation of Crimea, the egregious abuses in the Syrian conflict, and the continuing human rights violations and abuses in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Of course, the protection of human rights is deeply intertwined with international peace and security, and situations in many countries, including for example the Democratic Republic of the Congo, are also addressed in other U.N. committees as well.

In order to advance human rights and democracy at ECOSOC, I believe the U.S. resolution, advanced at the 2015 United Nations General Assembly, on strengthening the role of the United Nations in enhancing periodic and genuine elections

and the promotion of democratization must remain a key priority. Other important resolutions facing the United Nations include those on the protection of journalists, protection of human rights defenders, the report of the United Nations Human Rights Council, including reporting on reform progress, and the resolution on freedom of religion and belief. If confirmed, I will continue to vigorously advocate for resolutions that advance these priorities.

As always we will lobby like-minded states to improve the vote count on country-specific resolutions and to pursue the same priorities as ours; a large number of votes in favor sends a strong message about the global community's commitment to these issues. It is essential that the international community address human rights violations and abuses in these priority countries and regions, as they have a direct impact on U.S. security and prosperity.

Question 3. If confirmed, what are the potential obstacles to addressing the specific human rights issues you have identified in your previous response? What challenges will you face by ECOSOC member countries in advancing human rights, civil society and democracy in general?

Answer. There are several potential obstacles to addressing human rights concerns in the aforementioned crises. Russia is unlikely to cooperate on resolutions regarding Crimea and Syria, and we must continue to urge China to play a constructive role with regard to the human rights and humanitarian issues in the DPRK. A critical step in addressing these issues, as well as those mentioned in my previous response, is to enlist member states to play constructive roles, including by voting affirmatively for country-specific resolutions that hold human rights offending countries accountable for their actions, as well as resolutions that call for the protection of human rights defenders and participation by civil society. At the same time, we must continue to maintain cross-regional support for resolutions on the human rights situation in those countries despite opposition from Russia and others, something we have historically been quite successful in achieving.

Question 4. Are you committed to meeting with human rights, civil society and other non-governmental organizations in the U.S. and with local human rights NGOs from ECOSOC member countries?

Answer. The United States has long been a leader in championing the participation of NGOs, human rights defenders, journalists and others from civil society at the UN, and I intend to prioritize these issues during my tenure. If I am confirmed, I absolutely plan to engage closely with human rights, civil society, and other non-governmental organizations. Leadership on respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms is not possible without continued, close, and sustained contact with such organizations, whether they be based in the United States or in other ECOSOC member nations. If confirmed, I will regularly consult with such groups, pay attention to the challenges they face in their operations as well as the issues they address, and work closely with them to advance human rights at the United Nations Economic and Social Council.

I am very concerned about the efforts undertaken by a number of governments to suppress the legitimate activities of civil society, including by human rights defenders, NGOs and journalists within the U.N. If I am confirmed, I will work hard to address reprisals against civil society representatives for their engagement with U.N. or other international human rights mechanisms. I will also address the lack of NGO accreditation by the U.N. ECOSOC NGO Committee.

Question 5. 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. I commit to comply with all ethics laws, regulations, and rules, and to raise concerns that I may have through appropriate channels.

Question 6. Research from private industry demonstrates that, when managed well, diversity makes business teams better both in terms of creativity and productivity. What will you do to promote, mentor and support your staff that come from diverse backgrounds and underrepresented groups?

Answer. Throughout my career, I have benefitted personally and professionally from working with colleagues with diverse backgrounds and experiences. My personal approach to staffing is to find the best person for the job regardless of race, gender, religious or other background, but I have always gone out of my way to seek and promote candidates from underrepresented groups and diverse backgrounds. I have also found it deeply rewarding to mentor young women in the field of foreign and security policy. As staffing positions become available, if confirmed, I will work

with the human resources officials of the Department to ensure that we are drawing from the broadest and most diverse candidate pool possible to ensure that USUN's ECOSOC team continues to lead the way as a rewarding and exciting office that showcases the best of America's federal workforce.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO JAY MURRAY BY SENATOR BENJAMIN L. CARDIN

Question 1. What are the most important actions you have taken in your career to date to promote human rights and democracy? What has been the impact of your actions?

Answer. Thank you for this question. Most of my professional life has been serving in the U.S. Army. One important lesson I've learned in my service is that human rights are a core component of international peace and stability. Indeed the abuse of human rights is often the underlying cause of strife and violence. Additionally, facilitating democracy and representative government also serves to minimize human rights abuses.

While serving in the Balkans I worked with the Organization of Security and Cooperation in Europe as an on-the-ground election observer in order to facilitate free and fair elections. In Kosovo, I also worked directly with the Kosovo Liberation Army in order to transform it into the peacetime Kosovo Protection Corps, as well as to help with institution building that would ultimately lead to Kosovo's independence. On my personal time, I frequently visited the local orphanage in Pristina, delivering food, blankets, bedding and toys.

While serving at the United Nations, one of my roles was to work with the Department of Peacekeeping Operations and Troop Contributing Countries in order to deploy and maintain peacekeeping operations around the world. At that time we were focused on Darfur and Sudan. I deployed to both locations in order to get an on-the-ground perspective and to talk with government officials, the local population, and visit the refugee camps there. I also traveled to the African Union Headquarters in Ethiopia where we helped to negotiate what is now the hybrid U.N.-AU peacekeeping operation in Darfur. I understand the linkages between military/peacekeeping operations and the focus on human rights. If confirmed, I pledge to maintain that focus in the Security Council, and I look forward to working with you and this committee.

Question 2. What are the most pressing human rights issues in U.N. peacekeeping operations and security cooperation activities? What are the most important steps you expect to take—if confirmed—to promote human rights and good governance in U.N. peacekeeping operations and security cooperation activities? What do you hope to accomplish through these actions?

Answer. One of the most pressing issues in U.N. peacekeeping is the issue of sexual exploitation and abuse. Over the last several years, the U.N. has taken important steps to uphold the zero tolerance policy for sexual exploitation and abuse, especially in peacekeeping missions. The U.N. has instituted stronger vetting procedures and improved training for peacekeepers, enhanced transparency through regular public reporting on allegations, and strengthened accountability measures, including those outlined in Security Council resolution 2272. These measures should be continuously strengthened, expanded, and rigorously implemented.

During his first six months, the Secretary-General has already demonstrated his strong commitment to addressing sexual exploitation and abuse. I support his attention to and prioritization of this issue, especially the renewed focus on putting victims first. I commend the work of the Special Coordinator, Jane Holl Lute, and her efforts to ensure that the U.N.'s approach to sexual exploitation and abuse is truly a system-wide strategy.

If confirmed, I would continue to support the U.N.'s recent work in developing minimum standards for investigations and prosecutions of sexual exploitation and abuse. Member states must be more accountable, and more transparent, in their pursuit of justice for their nationals responsible for sexual exploitation and abuse. They must hold themselves, as well as the U.N., to the highest standards of accountability. By promoting a policy of zero tolerance, I hope we can preserve and promote the credibility and the legitimacy of U.N. peacekeeping and ensure the protection of civilians on the ground.

Question 3. If confirmed, what are the potential obstacles to addressing the specific human rights issues you have identified in your previous response? What chal-

lenges will you face in peacekeeping operations and security cooperation activities in advancing human rights, civil society and democracy in general?

Answer. One of the biggest challenges in U.N. peacekeeping today is holding troop- and police-contributing countries (TCC/PCCs) accountable for poor performance, including but not limited to cases of sexual exploitation and abuse. Certain TCCs have been reticent to properly investigate and punish incidents of sexual exploitation and abuse, even when they have been informed of these incidents by the U.N. In a letter to the Secretary-General on June 14, Ambassador Haley noted the importance of sending a strong message to all troop- and police-contributing countries that performance will be monitored, and when it is found lacking, there will be accountability. Subsequently, the U.N. broke new ground by calling for the repatriation of troops from the Republic of Congo on the basis of the U.N.'s zero-tolerance policy for sexual exploitation and abuse. Ultimately, ROC responded by withdrawing the troops from the mission. I strongly support the highest standards of accountability and a performance-based approach in deciding which TCC/PCCs will participate in U.N. peacekeeping.

More broadly, the United States continues to face challenges negotiating the human rights, civil society, and democracy components of U.N. peacekeeping missions in the Security Council given that not all Council members, host countries, or regional neighbors share this priority. The United States continually faces difficult negotiations with China and Russia over the inclusion of human rights advisors in missions, and host countries such as Sudan often fail to provide visas and access to human rights personnel. If confirmed, I will work to resolve these obstacles so that the U.N. can meet its ideals and advance our interests.

Question 4. Are you committed to meeting with human rights, civil society and other non-governmental organizations in the U.S. and with local human rights NGOs in countries with peacekeeping operations and security operations?

Answer. Absolutely. The perspective of non-governmental organizations both in the United States and in countries with peacekeeping and security operations is invaluable in helping to understand the context in which we are operating. Non-governmental organizations that cover human rights, humanitarian issues, democracy, and peacebuilding are frequently on the forefront of providing in-depth reporting and analysis on important conflict dynamics and often have access to remote locations where others do not. If confirmed, I would adopt and widely encourage the practice of meeting with them.

Question 5. If confirmed, what steps will you take to pro-actively support the Leahy Law and similar efforts, and ensure that provisions of U.S. security assistance and security cooperation activities reinforce human rights?

Answer. If confirmed, I will support continued implementation of the Leahy Law. I am aware that under the Leahy Law, the United States Government is prohibited from providing assistance to any unit of another country's security forces if the Secretary of State has credible information that the unit committed a gross violation of human rights. This law is well known around the world, and is an important component of our foreign policy. It provides the opportunity for open dialogue on human rights as well as an incentive for positive behavior. It is important to note that the law permits the Secretary of State to resume assistance to foreign security force units previously deemed ineligible if he determines that the foreign government is taking effective steps to bring the responsible members of the security forces unit to justice. This mechanism encourages foreign security partners to investigate credible allegations and hold accountable those responsible.

Question 6. 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. I commit to comply with all ethics laws, regulations, and rules, and to raise concerns that I may have through appropriate channels.

Question 7. Research from private industry demonstrates that, when managed well, diversity makes business teams better both in terms of creativity and productivity. What will you do to promote, mentor and support your staff that come from diverse backgrounds and underrepresented groups?

Answer. Thank you for this question. I agree completely with your supposition regarding the value of diversity. I've experienced it firsthand throughout my military career. I've served alongside of soldiers from diverse ethnicities and faiths. What we discovered is that regardless of background, we all wore the same uniform and we were all Americans.

Over a decade of my service was deployed overseas, where I worked with military and political counterparts from multiple nations and faiths. I also served for almost five years at the United Nations where diversity is the norm. So I've seen the power and value of diversity firsthand. And that is precisely why, if confirmed, that I commit to promote, mentor and support individuals on my staff who come from diverse backgrounds and underrepresented groups. I believe it is the right thing to do, it is the American thing to do, and it will also enable us to be more successful within the U.N. Community.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO JAY MURRAY BY SENATOR EDWARD J. MARKEY

Question 1. Colonel Murray, on July 11, 2016 you published a piece focused on domestic and national security in Newsmax. You concluded it by saying: "Come November it's your choice sheep. Vote with the sheepdogs, or vote with the wolves," implying that a vote for your candidate's opponent was a vote for those who would attack the American people.

- Why did you choose such extremely divisive rhetoric to characterize the national security choice before the American electorate in last year's election?
- Do you stand by your characterization of the American electorate as "sheep"?

Answer. Thank you for the opportunity to clarify. I wrote this article while I was a private citizen. It was not the intent of the article to be derogatory towards Americans. I have the utmost respect for the American electorate, indeed all Americans, so much so that for some twenty-five years I put my life on the line to protect and defend them.

Question 2. Colonel Murray, in your book *Government is the Problem* you portrayed those serving in Congress as being adverse to the interests of the American people, describing those in serving in public office as being "like cunning bacteria." By contrast, Ambassador Haley has consistently expressed an attitude of personal collegiality and mutual respect, and an understanding of the role and oversight responsibilities of Congress.

- Do you still stand by the views expressed in your book about those serving in Congress?
- Do you believe members of Congress are "like cunning bacteria"?
- Do you agree to work with members of this committee and our staffs as we exercise our constitutional responsibility for oversight of the Executive Branch's conduct of foreign relations?
- Will you respond promptly and completely to our questions and requests for information?
- Do you recognize why many people see a propensity toward the kind of extreme, divisive, and inflammatory rhetoric that you've used in your publications as disqualifying for the position of third-ranking U.S. diplomat at the United Nations?

Answer. Thank you for this question. I hold both members of Congress and the institution in the highest regard. I wrote the book while I was a private citizen.

One important lesson I learned while serving in the Army is that there are no political parties in the military—only Americans. I believe that is the case with the practice of diplomacy as well. Writing articles as a private citizen in the midst of a heated political campaign is one thing. Service to country is very different, and I understand that difference.

Over a decade of my military service was overseas, including in my capacity as a military attaché working daily with host country military and political counterparts. I also served at the United Nations for several years as the American representative to the U.N. Military Staff Committee. I learned that my words and actions as an American are watched very closely. That is a responsibility that is larger than self; I've felt it before and I take it very seriously. If confirmed, I pledge to serve in a capacity that is worthy of my post and of my country. I also commit to work with you and this committee to the utmost of my ability.

Question 3. Colonel Murray, the President has nominated you for a critically important position representing the United States at the United Nations, including in the Security Council. Yet you seem to take a pretty dim view of that organization and of multilateral diplomatic initiatives generally.

In your book *Government is the Problem* you blasted the “Obama regime” for pursuing a range of multilateral initiatives that are “arguably designed to constrain American power and wealth by chipping away at our sovereignty.”

- Do you still believe that multilateral diplomacy and agreements undermine U.S. sovereignty?

Answer. Thank you for the opportunity to clarify. In the course of my military service at the State Department and at the United Nations, I was constantly involved in multilateral initiatives, including in the Security Council, the General Assembly and inside the Secretariat. I know the strengths and weaknesses of those bodies very well, having been directly involved for several years.

Moreover, as a soldier I served for over six years in NATO. I also worked directly with the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe on multiple occasions as an election observer in the Balkans. In Iraq, I was part of the Multi-National Force—Iraq. I am a graduate of the George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies, an Institute that brings together military and political leaders from more than 152 countries. In short, I have a great deal of experience serving in multilateral organizations and initiatives.

I wrote the book while I was a private citizen. While I may have been critical of multilateral institutions, it was because I know the potential they have, but they sometimes fall short when it comes to human rights and the maintenance of international peace and security. Those principles are not only the right thing to do, but they directly serve U.S. interests. If confirmed, I will work tirelessly to further those ideals, and I look forward to working with you and this committee to do so.

Question 4. In May 2016 you wrote in Newsmax that “David Petraeus’s recent opinion piece in *The Washington Post* entitled ‘Anti-Muslim bigotry aids Islamic terrorists’ targeted Donald Trump’s recommendation about curbing Muslim immigration. The retired general’s accusations are typical of the rash of strawman arguments now common from the Obama/Clinton camps.”

And in March 2016 you wrote in Newsmax that “Muslims now comprise almost 25 percent of the Brussels population. Most have not assimilated and have no intention of doing so. At worst they’re planning to kill their infidel neighbors, at best they protect and harbor those who are doing the killing.”

- Why have you made these kinds of generalized accusations against Muslim people?
- How do you plan to work with your Muslim counterparts at the United Nations?

Answer. Thank you for the opportunity to clarify. Any inference of generalized disparagement of a single group, including Muslims, is both hurtful and inaccurate. I’ve served proudly and successfully alongside my Muslim counterparts on multiple occasions and locations throughout my adult life. In Kosovo, I worked extensively with Kosovar Albanian Muslims in support of their transition to a sovereign nation. In ethnically and religiously diverse Bosnia, I worked with Muslims, Orthodox Christians and Catholics to build a united military inclusive of all groups. In Iraq, I worked with a confidence-building committee comprised of Sunni, Shia, and Kurdish military officers. At the U.N., I worked with numerous Muslim military and political counterparts, including from Troop Contributing Countries, in order to successfully deploy Peacekeeping Operations. When I was a candidate for public office, I met with numerous Muslim groups, listened to their concerns and appreciated their support. I wish to make it clear that I have respect and tolerance for the Muslim faith.

If confirmed, I look forward to working with my Muslim counterparts, as well as my counterparts of all faiths at the United Nations in support of international peace and security.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO JAY MURRAY BY SENATOR JEFF MERKLEY

Question 1. Colonel Murray, in our meeting before your confirmation hearing you expressed doubts about the human impact on climate disruption and on the need to “act fast” to address the issue. You indicated we should wait for the results from scientists, however 97 percent of scientists have affirmed that climate change is occurring. We are already seeing the impacts of climate disruption around the world. 2016 was the hottest year on record and some countries have already relocated citizens due to climate change, creating the world’s first climate refugees. Additionally, national security experts, including military leadership at the Pentagon, have

warned that climate change poses a range of threats from the impact on U.S. installations around the world, to global health trends, to international dynamics in the Arctic, and as a “threat multiplier,” leading to increased instability around the world as societies clash over resources that become scarcer and scarcer.

- Do you believe climate change poses a national security threat?
- If so, do you believe the United States should be a leader in helping find global solutions?
- What role should the United Nations play in helping combat climate disruption?
- Will you commit to discussing climate disruption with your foreign counterparts and to look for areas of international cooperation?

Answer. Thank you for this question, I respect your leadership on this issue. As Ambassador Haley has remarked and as I also stated in response to your question during my confirmation hearing on 11 July 2017, climate change should always be on the table as one of the factors we consider. If confirmed, I look forward to working with you regarding the appropriate roles that the U.N. should play regarding climate change.

Question 2. In various articles you make derogatory remarks about members of Congress, including members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Do you stand by these statements? Do you feel attacks on Senators are appropriate for diplomats? How will your statements attacking both individual Senators and Senators of a group impact your ability to work constructively with members on both sides of the aisle?

Answer. Thank you for this question. I hold Members of Congress in the highest regard, and I deeply appreciate Members’ of Congress service to our Nation. I wrote that in my capacity as a private citizen.

I am grateful to Ambassador Haley for having the confidence in me to fulfill this role. If confirmed, I pledge to serve in a capacity that is worthy of my post and of my country. I also commit to work with you and all members of this committee, regardless of party, to the utmost of my ability.

Question 3. You have also referred to government and Senators as “massive parasites,” “cunning bacteria,” and a “problem.” Do you believe members of the House and Senate are bacteria or parasites?

Answer. Thank you for allowing me the opportunity to clarify. I hold Members of Congress, regardless of party, in the highest regard. If confirmed, I commit to working with you and this committee to the utmost of my ability.

Question 4. Do you recognize this rhetoric could be unhelpful for a diplomat at the United Nations?

Answer. Thank you for the opportunity to clarify. Writing as a private citizen is very different from serving the country. I understand that my words and actions while representing the United States are watched very closely. That is a responsibility that I have proudly and successfully borne in the past while serving at the U.N. and abroad. I take it very seriously. It is an honor to be considered for this post, and I am grateful to Ambassador Haley for having the confidence in me to serve in this role. If confirmed, I pledge to serve in a capacity that is worthy of my post and of my country.

Question 5. I have appreciated Ambassador Haley’s personal collegiality and mutual respect. She has made a concerted effort to consult regularly with Congress, calling the Senate Foreign Relations Committee her “board of directors.” Do you share her sentiment and approach?

Answer. Thank you for this question. I agree completely with Ambassador Haley’s approach and appreciate the professional, respectful relationship that has developed. If confirmed, I pledge to pursue the same approach and look forward to working with you and the entire Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Question 6. There are reports that the Trump administration has directed agencies to ignore oversight requests from Democrats and only respond to requests for information from the Chair of committees of jurisdiction. Will you commit to consulting regularly with this committee? Will you respond promptly and completely to questions and requests for information from both parties?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to furthering the same respectful approach that Ambassador Haley and Secretary Tillerson have pursued with you and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, regardless of party. One important lesson I learned while serving in the Army is that there are no political parties in the military—only Americans. I believe that should also be the case with diplomacy.

Question 7. The administration is working to better match peacekeeping missions and mandates while simultaneously cutting costs for the U.N.’s peacekeeping activi-

ties. Cost efficiency is important, but so is ensuring that U.N. peacekeeping missions have sufficient troops and resources to carry out their mandates. How is the administration balancing cost savings with mission effectiveness? Are there any existing missions that you would recommend strengthening?

Answer. To ensure each mission is appropriate to the situation in each country and advancing the Security Council's objectives, the United States has invited U.N. Security Council members to join in evaluating every U.N. peacekeeping mission as its mandate comes up for renewal through the lens of the five peacekeeping principles Ambassador Haley articulated in April: 1) missions must support political solutions, 2) host country strategic consent is critical, 3) mandates must be realistic and achievable, 4) clear sequencing and exit strategies are required at all stages, and 5) missions and mandates must be adjusted where Security Council objectives are not achieved.

Throughout this process, the United States seeks to strengthen all missions by ensuring they are appropriately resourced and designed to respond to the unique circumstances of the environments in which they are operating, and to implement Security Council mandates efficiently and effectively.

Question 8. The Obama administration successfully launched an effort to generate new troop contributors and new force capabilities for U.N. peacekeeping operations, highlighted during a high-level event at the 70th Session of the U.N. General Assembly in 2015. Do you plan to continue the Obama administration's efforts? How important do you believe it is to improve the quality and capability of U.N. peacekeeping forces?

Answer. It is crucial to continue to improve the quality and capability of U.N. peacekeeping forces. U.N. peacekeeping helps share the cost of collective security in some of the most dangerous and difficult environment around the world.

The 2015 U.S.-led peacekeeping summit generated the pledges needed to ensure strategic force generation in U.N. peacekeeping. It was followed by the 2016 UK-hosted Defense Ministerial and a French Ministerial on Peacekeeping in French-Speaking Environments. These events helped maintain momentum for continued reform, identifying ways to improve the planning and performance of U.N. peacekeeping operations, including by generating new pledges and reviewing previous pledges to fill personnel and capability gaps, increasing women's participation, tackling sexual exploitation and abuse, improving rapid deployment and training, and developing performance-based management systems.

In November, Secretary Mattis will co-host with Canada the 2017 U.N. Peacekeeping Defense Ministerial in Vancouver. This ministerial is another important step in U.S. efforts to make U.N. peacekeeping more effective, particularly at the operational level. The ministerial is an important opportunity to generate additional pledges to fill shortfalls in ongoing U.N. peacekeeping missions, as well as provide the Secretary-General with an opportunity to report on progress made in implementing peacekeeping reforms and chart a course for reforms to be implemented throughout 2018. If confirmed, I would strongly support this effort and continue to exercise U.S. leadership to ensure much-needed reform of U.N. peacekeeping.

Question 9. The Obama administration, in conjunction with South Korea and other partners, successfully added the human rights situation in North Korea to the U.N. Security Council's agenda, meeting on the topic most recently in December 2016. Ambassador Haley has also made the nexus between human rights and peace and security a focus of her work at the Council. Do you support this approach? What would you do to make human rights a focus at the Council?

Answer. As Ambassador Haley emphasized in the U.N. Security Council in April, the protection of human rights is deeply intertwined with international peace and security and should be addressed by the Council accordingly. Human rights violations and abuses are not merely the byproduct of conflict, but are often the trigger. Violations of human rights by states exacerbate violence and instability that can spill across borders. The Security Council should continue to address human rights, as it has through reporting on peacekeeping and special political missions, sanctions, and dedicated sessions on the worst human rights abusers, as well as consider the connection between human rights and security more broadly.

If confirmed, I will redouble efforts to ensure that U.N. peacekeeping and political missions are working to fulfill their mandates related to protection of civilians, and monitoring and reporting on human rights violations and abuses. I will also work within the U.S. Mission to the United Nations to amplify the Council's voice on human rights abuses and violations in countries on the Council's agenda such as North Korea, Venezuela, and the Democratic Republic of Congo, and will use the platform of the Security Council to reinforce the work of the U.N. Human Rights Council.

Question 10. The Obama administration and members of Congress from both parties have continuously prioritized U.S. national security interests including by fighting terrorists like Al-Qaeda and ISIS. In a July 18, 2016, article you state that the “left” believes “volves like ISIS are just misunderstood victims.” Do you think Democratic members of the House and Senate are sympathetic to ISIS?

Answer. I hold Members of Congress, regardless of political party, in the highest regard. I do not believe that any Member of Congress is supportive of ISIS. If confirmed, I pledge to work with all members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in a timely and respectful manner.

Question 11. We are seven months into the Trump administration and we have yet to see any new comprehensive strategy for Syria, Afghanistan or the broader fight against ISIS. Do you think broad strategy on these issues includes the United States leading partner nations in these efforts?

Answer. On January 28 the President directed Secretary of Defense Mattis to work with interagency partners to conduct a 30-day review of the U.S. Government’s strategy to defeat ISIS, and identify ways to accelerate it. The Department of State was DOD’s primary partner in drafting a strategic framework and, as the White House has announced, it was delivered to the White House on February 27 for consideration and broader discussion.

Question 12. As you may be aware from 2009–2017 the unemployment rate dropped from 10 percent to 4.6 percent, there were 75 continuous months of job growth with 11.3 million new jobs created, and the federal budget deficit as share of gross domestic product went down from 9.8 percent to 3.2 percent. Yet, in a November 2, 2016, article you state that Obama’s “presidency has been a shambles by every conceivable metric both at home and abroad.” Given these metrics, do you still support that statement, or do you think these were an improvement?

Answer. Thank you for this question. President Obama inherited a very difficult economic situation upon taking office in 2009. My function while writing as a private citizen was to debate issues such as this. If confirmed, my role at the United Nations will be markedly different, and I am very clear about that. If confirmed, I pledge to serve in a capacity that is worthy of my post and of my country.

Question 13. Under the Affordable Care Act, 20 million people nationwide gained health insurance, Medicaid was expanded, and the exchanges were established. The result was access to lifesaving affordable care for low income individuals and families, those suffering from chronic illness, and people with preexisting conditions. That being said, you have referred to the Affordable Care Act as “devastating to the middle class.” Do you still believe these results to be “devastating”?

Answer. Thank you for this question. My function while writing as a private citizen was to debate issues such as the Affordable Care Act. If confirmed, my role at the United Nations will be markedly different, and I am very clear about that. If confirmed, I pledge to serve in a capacity that is worthy of my post and of my country.

Question 14. In a July 18 article you make an endorsement of Mr. Trump for President by saying we need “A president who will focus on bringing Americans together instead of fomenting division for political gain.” At the time of writing, Mr. Trump and his campaign used divisive rhetoric against women, Muslims, Hispanics and other minority groups. Do you think that type of rhetoric is helpful for bringing people together?

Answer. I believe that we should strive to bring our nation together. Our diversity can be an asset. Throughout my career I’ve served alongside service members and Foreign Service Officers from diverse ethnicities, genders, and faiths. I’ve experienced the value of diversity firsthand. I am honored that Ambassador Haley has the confidence in me to serve in this role at the United Nations. If confirmed, I pledge to serve in a capacity that is worthy of my post and of my country.