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# NOMINATION OF HON. KELLY CRAFT, OF KENTUCKY, TO BE UNITED STATES AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED NATIONS

## HEARING

BEFORE THE

## COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS UNITED STATES SENATE

ONE HUNDRED SIXTEENTH CONGRESS

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# NOMINATION OF HON. KELLY CRAFT, OF KENTUCKY, TO BE UNITED STATES AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED NATIONS

**WEDNESDAY, JUNE 19, 2019**

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

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:18 a.m. in Room SD–419, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. James E. Risch, chairman of the committee, presiding.

Present: Senators Risch [presiding], Rubio, Johnson, Gardner, Romney, Graham, Isakson, Barrasso, Portman, Paul, Young, Cruz, Menendez, Cardin, Shaheen, Coons, Murphy, Kaine, Markey, and Merkley.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

Today, the committee will hold a nomination hearing on a very important position. Our nominee today is the Honorable Kelly Craft, currently the Ambassador for Canada, and nominated to be the United States Ambassador to the United Nations.

First, we have two distinguished guests, distinguished and celebrity guests I might add, today. And they are going to introduce our nominee. So we are going to allow them to proceed with their introductions. Usually Senator Menendez and I do our opening statements first, but we are going to postpone because I know that our guest introducers have important business to do.

We are privileged to be joined by Ambassador Craft's home State Senators today, Majority Leader Mitch McConnell. Senator Rand Paul will be here soon to also introduce the nominee.

Senator McConnell, welcome to the United States Foreign Relations Committee, long known for its kindness to its witnesses and for civility. Your steady and thoughtful leadership inspire us all as you sail this ship through the heavy seas we encounter daily here, and we welcome hearing your considered judgment regarding the matter before us today. So, Senator McConnell, the floor is yours.

## STATEMENT OF HON. MITCH MCCONNELL, U.S. SENATOR FROM KENTUCKY

Senator MCCONNELL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, Senator Menendez, members of the committee. I am really pleased to be here this morning to introduce a distinguished stateswoman and leader and, of course, a proud Kentuckian. The Blue Grass is proud of its daughter of our commonwealth. I am confident our entire nation

will be proud of the fine service she will render as our Ambassador to the United Nations.

Of course, most of you are already familiar with Kelly Knight Craft because almost 2 years ago, I came here to introduce her nomination to be Ambassador to Canada. I noted her impressive record of public service. I talked about her unanimous Senate confirmation back in 2007 to serve as an Alternate Representative for our delegation to the U.N. General Assembly. I described how her performance in that role, including her work on the new partnership for Africa's development showed that Ms. Craft is a talented consensus builder, and I predicted that, if confirmed, she would skillfully manage America's relationship with our neighbor to the north.

A week later, her nomination was reported favorably out of this committee on a voice vote, and 1 week after that, she was confirmed by the full Senate, again by a voice vote.

So let us talk about the past 2 years and the impressive record of this first-ever woman to serve as our Ambassador to Canada.

Historically that post is not one that is typically viewed as one of the tougher assignments in the diplomatic corps. But as it would turn out, Ambassador Craft's tenure brought a host of tough issues and thorny questions to the fore, everything from rethinking NAFTA to navigating real differences between Canada's leadership and our administration. The relationship was tested, and by all accounts, our Ambassador rose to the occasion and did an outstanding job.

On economics, she helped achieve the successful trade negotiations that culminated in the USMCA, helped secure a new chapter for the Regulatory Cooperation Council between the two countries, and defended access for U.S. businesses.

On the diplomatic front, her time as Ambassador has seen greater cooperation and coordination on numerous critical fronts. Canada joined the front lines of the new U.S.-led international sanctions on Russia over its actions against Ukraine. Canada has played an important role with the Lima Group, the international coalition committed to a peaceful and democratic transition for Venezuela. And just recently, Ambassador Craft spoke out forcefully when China unlawfully detained Canadian citizens.

This is a record of significant achievement. It reflects hard work, careful study, and great skill. And she has won respect both at home and abroad. The current Premier of Ontario has reflected, quote, every premier I know thinks the world of her. She really proved herself over some tough times. That is the Premier of Ontario.

And watching Ambassador Craft's tenure, a former Canadian to the U.S. has concluded she has done the job very well.

As it happens, I am actually meeting with Prime Minister Trudeau tomorrow to discuss the USMCA. I know that our conversations will only be building on a huge amount of successful work by Ambassador Craft to forge the path.

So, Mr. Chairman, following the successful tenure from Ambassador Nikki Haley, it is vital that our next U.N. Ambassador possess the knowledge, talent, and experience to continue skillfully advancing our nation's interests and values.

So that is why I am proud to say Ambassador Craft is a phenomenal selection by the President. I am proud to support her nomination, and I am really proud to be here this morning to introduce her to all of you.

Thank you very much.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator McConnell. We sincerely appreciate that. And we know how busy you are, so we will certainly excuse you.

We are still waiting for Senator Paul, and when he gets here, we will hear from Senator Paul. But until he does, I will make an opening statement. Then will turn it over to Senator Menendez to make his opening statement.

## OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. JAMES E. RISCH, U.S. SENATOR FROM IDAHO

Today, we will consider the nomination of the Honorable Kelly Craft to be the Representative of the United States to the United Nations and to be the Representative of the United States to the U.N. Security Council and the U.N. General Assembly.

We welcome all of you and thank you, Ms. Craft, for your willingness to serve.

As Senator McConnell has already given an introduction, I will speak for just a few minutes about the importance of this position.

Of the approximate 200 countries the United States is by far the largest donor to the United Nations, providing 22 percent of the U.N. regular budget and 25 percent of the U.N. peacekeeping budget. Compare that to the second largest contributor, China, which pays only 12 percent of the regular budget and 15 percent of the peacekeeping budget. Clearly, the U.S. taxpayer has been extremely generous to the United Nations since its founding in 1945.

Due to the United States' significant support and leadership, we have been some, but not universally successful in pursuing policies which support the interests and values which are shared by many, though not all of the countries around the world.

For example, in the Security Council under President Trump's leadership, the U.S. has been successful at passing the toughest sanctions ever against North Korea and an arms embargo in South Sudan, actions that are in the interest of all human beings and our allies, not just the United States.

However, the Security Council, largely due to Russian and Chinese misbehavior, has failed to make significant progress on some of the most pressing international crises. The United Nations exists to ensure international peace and security, but two of its members are the instigators of insecurity around the globe.

For example, Russia has repeatedly used its veto at the Security Council to shield its brutal ally, the Assad regime, from investigations into war crimes committed in this 8-year long atrocity.

And China blocks consensus on issues related to Burmese complicity in the violence against the Rohingya population.

Because of this impasse at the U.N. Security Council, the humanitarian crises have only increased and become more prolonged.

The U.N. plays a vital role in responding to humanitarian crises. This is where we see and urge burden sharing. While the U.S. remains the largest donor to humanitarian crises across the globe,

the U.N. system pushes other countries to contribute and uses our money as a force multiplier in places such as Yemen and Venezuela.

It is important that the U.S. continue to pressure the United Nations to spend its money efficiently and effectively. The current U.N. Secretary-General has been focused on U.N. reform, and I applaud this effort. It is long overdue and much needed. There needs to be a robust push to eliminate waste, fraud, and abuse in the U.N. system. And, Ms. Craft, we will be looking forward to you pursuing that, which is important to many of us on this committee.

In particular, we should continue to press for peacekeeping reform. While the U.N. has recognized and created a new Department of Peace Operations, we remain concerned about the increase in resources requested in light of the downsizing of some key missions such as Darfur, DRC, and Haiti. While the United States benefits from being a member of the U.N., the United Nations benefits more, much, much more from the United States being a member.

Ms. Craft, I look forward to hearing from you how you can support U.S. leadership at the U.N. to ensure that it promotes the interests and values, especially values, of the United States and of our allies.

I have received some materials in advance of this hearing. I am going to include them in the record.

[The information referred to above is located at the end of this hearing transcript, beginning on page 126.]

The CHAIRMAN. I want to point to just one in particular. I have a letter of support from Gordon B. Giffin, who was the United States Ambassador to Canada under President Clinton. Mr. Giffin states, "I have no doubt that the experience gained over 2 years as Ambassador to Canada has prepared Kelly Craft well for the next assignment. "

With that, I will turn this over to the ranking member, Senator Menendez, for his opening statement.

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

Senator MENENDEZ. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Ambassador Craft, welcome to your second confirmation for a deeply consequential position.

The United States was instrumental in creating the United Nations in the post-war era, built on founding American values of democracy and human rights. Multilateral institutions like the United Nations and NATO have underpinned the peace, prosperity, and stability that the American people have enjoyed for decades. These fundamental values and international institutions, however, are under assault today from actors who seek to exploit them for their own agendas, as well as those who threaten to abandon and undermine them completely.

If confirmed, you will represent the United States at an exceedingly complex time, with China's growing influence at the U.N., Russian adventurism and obstruction on the Security Council, and President Trump's relentless attacks on multilateralism, under-

mining and withdrawing from numerous international agreements and agencies, defunding critical U.N. agencies like the U.N. Population Fund, and cutting contributions to our peacekeeping obligations.

The American people need someone with tenacity, experience, and a deep understanding of the complexities of global affairs and international institutions, who is committed to multilateralism and reforming and strengthening the United Nations, not irreparably damaging it.

So, Madam Ambassador, let me be frank. I have deep reservations about your lack of qualifications for such a complex and challenging role. Historically, U.S. ambassadors to the U.N. have brought significant executive experience or experience working directly in foreign policy.

Before your short stint as Ambassador to Canada, I understand you were active in Kentucky and national party politics, and in 2007, you were an alternate observer delegate to the General Assembly.

Furthermore, during your 1 and a half years as Ambassador, you spent an excessive amount of time absent from Ottawa, leaving your duties to deputies. Madam Ambassador, the most fundamental role of an ambassador is to actively, presently, and wholeheartedly represent and advocate for American interests, American values, and American foreign policy. I find this staggering amount of time away from post very troubling and an abdication of leadership. If confirmed, you would be serving alongside some of the most experienced, seasoned, and sometimes ruthless diplomats from all over the world.

We are confronting myriad challenges in the world today, including multiplying conflicts, climate change, nuclear proliferation, that cut across borders which the United States cannot meet alone. While the U.N. and its subsidiary bodies are far from perfect institutions, they have the power to facilitate remarkable achievements and leverage partnerships.

If you are confirmed, I hope you will address the following priorities:

First, we must actively seek to balance China's influence. This administration's pullback from the U.N. risks enabling China to fill the vacuum by ceding diplomatic ground. China is eager to undermine U.N. human rights mechanisms and impose China's authoritarian world view.

Second, the U.N. must be fair and appropriately condemn human rights abuses and atrocities and stop politically motivated resolutions. One of the persistent weaknesses of the United Nations system has been the biased and ugly approach towards Israel. You must use your voice to end and combat these efforts.

Third, the United States must pay our arrears. The U.N. is in a financial crisis, in part due to U.S. shortfalls. For peacekeeping alone, we are $776 million in arrears. These arrears have accrued in just the last 3 years, from the U.S. paying only 25 percent of peacekeeping costs instead of what we actually owed, 28 percent. Last week, the State Department issued its own report detailing that the U.S. refusal to pay its arrears has, quote—this is the State Department speaking—diminished our ability to pursue U.S. prior-

ities, reduced U.S. ability to promote oversight and accountability at the U.N., reduced standing to promote the candidacy of qualified U.S. citizens to assume senior management roles at the U.N., and impaired the ability of peacekeeping missions to operate. Close quote.

Fourth, the United States must stop seeking to restrict access to sexual and reproductive health and human rights that improve the lives of women, girls, and communities around the world. Most recently, the U.S. egregiously threatened to veto a U.N. Security Council resolution for survivors of gender-based violence over reference to survivors' access to sexual and reproductive health care. That is appalling.

And finally, the U.S. must work to shore up the U.N.'s humanitarian response system, which is under extraordinary stress. We must do so not merely because it is the right thing to do, but because it is profoundly in our national interest to do so. The United States shares the burden with less risk when we address devastating humanitarian crises through the United Nations.

Our national security is strengthened when we are at the table at the U.N., and the U.N. is more effective with American leadership and values on display.

So, Ambassador, I look forward to your testimony today on these pressing issues.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator.

Now we will turn to Ambassador Craft. Welcome. Thank you for being willing to undertake this important engagement on behalf of the people of the United States. The floor is yours.

**STATEMENT OF HON. KELLY CRAFT, OF KENTUCKY, TO BE THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE UNITED NATIONS, WITH THE RANK AND STATUS OF AMBASSADOR**

Ambassador CRAFT. Thank you, Chairman Risch, Ranking Member Menendez, and all members of the committee. Thank you for the opportunity to appear here today.

It is a singular honor to sit before you as President Trump's nominee to serve as U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations.

A special word of thanks, of course, to my Kentucky Senators, Leader McConnell and Senator Paul, for their kind words, as well as their encouragement, wisdom, and support throughout my tenure in Ottawa.

I would like to express my gratitude to President Trump, Vice President Pence, Secretary Pompeo, Ambassador Lighthizer, and Mission Canada for the trust they have shown me as we have worked together to strengthen our bonds with Canada and the Canadian people.

I appear before you today excited at the prospect of representing the United States at the U.N., but also saddened at the thought of leaving my many superb colleagues and counterparts across the northern border.

Mr. Chairman, I am blessed with the most loving and supportive family imaginable. My husband Joe, our family, Ron, Elliott, JW, Mollie, Ryan, Lauren, Kyle, Mia, Stu, Jane, and Wyatt. My siblings Marc and their spouses; Elisabeth, my sister; Micah and her hus-

band Bruce. And five of the shining stars—five out of 11 in our life—we have Jake, Kingsley, Holland, Lachlan, Windsor, and our friend Fifi.

When the President asked me to consider moving to New York to serve as our nation's Permanent Representative to the United Nations, I turned to the people behind me to ask for their guidance and to God for his. If confirmed, I would assume this position knowing that just like the Toronto Raptors and the Kentucky Wildcats, I will have a very deep bench.

I would also assume this position with clear-eyed humility. I have much to learn about the United Nations, a fact I first encountered in 2007 when I served as the Alternate Delegate to the U.N. General Assembly and saw firsthand the complexity of multilateral diplomacy at this unique institution.

I learned then that making progress at the U.N. requires constant attention to relationships, a knack for knowing the bottom line, and a belief in incremental but determined steps forward.

Ultimately, I would have not accepted the President's nomination for this position if I was not certain I was ready for the task at hand. Like the President I have had the honor to serve, I believe the United Nations is a vital institution that is at its best when free nations jointly contribute to its missions around the world.

I was born and raised on a working farm where all living things were valued and treated with kindness. We were that family with a few one-eyed cats and three-legged dogs. We treasured and we protected the land and all those who worked it and walked it. My parents instilled in me a respect for people of all means, occupations, origins, and circumstances. If confirmed, those are the values that will animate my work at the U.N., as they have throughout my personal and my professional life.

And, if confirmed, I will carry with me the respect as I engage all of my 192 counterparts. I will also carry with me several key priorities I have already had the opportunity to discuss with many of you on the committee.

Most notably, the United States must continue the drum beat of reform at the U.N. Of course, the issue of reform has been something of a mantra for members of both parties on this committee and for good reason.

The U.N. system has grown quickly. Its activities have expanded, and its ambitions at times have gotten ahead of accountability. Waste and overlap remain problems. Conduct issues, including sexual exploitation, continue to surface.

Hiring practices are often too opaque, and backroom deals for appointments and contracts continue. None of that is acceptable, and my voice on these matters will be heard whenever and wherever these issues arise. The United Nations needs greater transparency, and U.S. taxpayers deserve it. Reform makes the United Nations stronger, not weaker.

The second priority I will take to New York is a focus on expanding the pool of resources available to the U.N.'s humanitarian network and pushing its agencies to maximize the impact of those resources on the ground where needs are the greatest. There are numerous, massive, and protracted crises from Sudan to Yemen to Syria, and there are new crises that we did not foresee a few years

ago, such as the 4 million Venezuelans that have fled their country in search of safety and sustenance.

The United States has long been the world leader in supporting humanitarian aid, spending more than $8 billion a year through USAID and international organizations such as UNICEF and the World Food Program. But I also believe other responsible nations can and must do more to contribute their fair share, and I will make this point very firm and frequently. Again, the U.N. is stronger, not weaker, when more of its members are invested in the success of its most important work.

Finally, I am a believer in the power of public-private partnerships to unlock opportunity and spur development. If confirmed, I will take to New York a broad network of relationships I believe can fuel new partnerships and expand those with proven track records. Among my areas of strong interest for displaced populations are strengthening prenatal care services for women, improving the quality of early childhood education, and increasing the attention to challenges to elder care. The numbers are colossal. The needs are urgent, and we have a moral and practical obligation to work with other countries to address these crises.

While bolstering humanitarian efforts will be a top priority for me, there is another issue of a global nature that I would like to briefly address. I understand that some members of this committee have raised questions about where I stand on climate change, and though I have spoken to many of you individually about this issue, I would like to repeat my thoughts here publicly.

Climate change needs to be addressed as it poses real risks to our planet. Human behavior has contributed to the changing climate. Let there be no doubt. I will take this matter seriously, and if confirmed, I will be an advocate for all countries to do their part in addressing climate change.

This does not mean, in my view, that the United States should imperil American jobs or our economy as a whole by assuming an outsized burden on behalf of the rest of the world. However, it does mean that we should promote the creativity and innovation that have made the United States a leader in tackling the challenges of our environment and while safeguarding our nation's economic wellbeing.

Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, I believe that the United States must maintain its central leadership role at the United Nations, as it should, and I say this for several reasons.

First, when the U.N. performs, it advances key American objectives, including the promotion of peace and security.

Second, without U.S. leadership, our partners and allies would be vulnerable to bad actors at the U.N. This is particularly true in the case of Israel, which is the subject of unrelenting bias and hostility in U.N. venues. The United States will never accept such bias, and if confirmed, I commit to seizing every opportunity to shine a light on this conduct, call it what it is, and demand that these outrageous practices finally come to an end.

Finally, I believe the United States must remain vigilant in constraining efforts by our strategic competitors to gain influence at our expense. I speak in particular about Russia and China, two nations with cynical approaches to the United Nations.

If confirmed, I will miss no opportunity to draw attention to malign influence at the U.N.; to distinguish American leadership from the corrosive, underhanded conduct of those nations; and to reinforce the values, our values, that were central to the U.N.'s founding.

Mr. Chairman, the United States has been met with many recent successes at the U.N. from historic sanctions against North Korea to a renewed boldness in speaking out against rogue actors. There are successes that I am eager to build upon, and I look forward to working with this committee and benefiting from its collective wisdom and experience.

If given the honor to sit behind the nameplate that reads "United States," you have my word that I will do everything in my power to advance policy that benefits the American people, that contributes to a safer, more prosperous world, and that is grounded in an unwavering commitment to universal human rights and human freedom.

Thank you to all of you for welcoming me here today, and I look forward to your questions.

[The prepared statement of Ambassador Craft follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF KELLY CRAFT

Chairman Risch, Ranking Member Menendez, and all members of the committee, thank you for the opportunity to appear here today.

It is a singular honor to sit before you as President Trump's nominee to serve asU.S. Ambassador to the United Nations.

A special word of thanks, of course, to my Kentucky Senators, Leader McConnell and Senator Paul, for their kind words as well as their encouragement, wisdom, and support throughout my tenure in Ottawa.

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Thank you for welcoming me here today, and I look forward to your questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Ambassador. Certainly good words, well received. We hope that as you take this position, that you will particularly follow through on the reform and cost-cutting that is needed there. Many, many people have talked about it but little gets done, and I have confidence that you are up to the job. So when you go there, I hope you will take that message from this committee.

With that, we are going to go to a round of 5-minute questions based upon the arrival and going back and forth between the minority and the majority party.

With that, will turn it over to Senator Menendez.

Senator MENENDEZ. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Thank you for your testimony, Ambassador.

As I said to you in private and I have raised here in public, I have a concern about excessive absences from post. You gave me your commitment in private, but for the record here, do you commit to providing complete records of all of the time you spent away from post, including the cables approving your leave and your official calendars?

Ambassador CRAFT. Yes, Senator, I do commit to providing you with all the information necessary.

Senator MENENDEZ. Thank you very much.

And I appreciate the information you have provided, but there are a number of discrepancies. From October 23rd of 2017 to June 19th of 2019, we have that you were away more than 300 days away from the post. It is an extraordinary number of absences. The red describes each day that you were away from post.

From March 21st to May 13th, in that short period of time, you were out 45 of 54 days from the post.

Now, there are trips listed as official travel, but some of those trips that you listed as official travel you treated while being home in Kentucky.

And there is additional travel that you appear to have taken that is not reflected in the information you provided. For example, there are several instances where you posted social media messages from places other than Canada, although there is no record of you traveling.

Did you ever travel away from post without requesting approval?

Ambassador CRAFT. No, sir. We requested approval in advance of my travel and were in full compliance with my travel.

Senator MENENDEZ. So you always requested and always received approval for your travel.

Ambassador CRAFT. Yes, sir.

Senator MENENDEZ. Okay. So there may be explanations for all of these, but the bottom line is without the full records, we can evaluate it. So I would urge you, as well as the State Department, to provide these records so that we can move forward with your nomination.

Let me ask you this. Lay out briefly for me the most pressing issues the United Nations faces, as well as areas where you believe the United States should leverage the United Nations in pursuit of our foreign policy priorities.

Ambassador CRAFT. Thank you, Senator, for that question, and thank you for this conversation that we were able to have yesterday afternoon.

I see pressing issues as any issue that involves innocent people throughout the U.N. system throughout the world that are being abused, that are having human rights abuses. I think it is very important that who would have ever thought that today we have so many crises in Venezuela, in Yemen, in Syria, and it is so important that we look after our human rights issues because then that, in turn, is going to be humanitarian issues. So in my opinion, I look at every issue when it involves an innocent civilian as a crisis.

Senator MENENDEZ. Well, I appreciate your response in terms of humanitarian issues, and I would share those with you. But I would expect someone who is the nominee to be the U.N. Ambassador in response to that question to talk about, for example, the challenges of North Korea aggression and nuclear proliferation, the challenges in Libya, a destabilized Libya, the challenges of China's growing influence and ongoing threats from Iran, the challenges of Venezuela. Those are minimally some of the hotspots in the world right now. So when I ask about the most pressing issues—and I certainly embrace the humanitarian issues, but these are the types of issues you will be called upon as the United States Ambassador at the U.N. to be dealing with.

Let me ask you this. What U.N. functions would you describe as being of the greatest value to the United States?

Ambassador CRAFT. Senator, thank you.

I believe that the Security Council is going to be providing the greatest assistance to the U.S. in calling out bad actors and in highlighting anyone that demonstrates anti-Israel bias or anti-Semitism and also reiterate that the Security Council is going to be an area that China and Russia can actually call themselves out by allowing the world to see how they do not assist us in human rights abuses and especially in calling out corrosive behavior, as we have in Iran. It is a moment that we can use to highlight bad actors, whether it be Iran, the Houthi rebels in Yemen, Russia, China, the way they treat the Uighurs. I mean, we have so many crises that the Security Council—it is very important that we be able to use them in establishing sanctions and also in making certain that we tackle human rights abuses every day.

Senator MENENDEZ. One follow-up question. You mentioned the Security Council. It certainly is an essential element of the U.N. There is a whole host of other functions the U.N. has that I would commend to your attention.

But Russia. The President seeks to develop a greater personal relationship with Mr. Putin and Russia. How will seek to avail yourself of that as it relates to Russia at the Security Council?

Ambassador CRAFT. Thank you, Senator.

You know, I am not going there to be Russia's friend. They are not our friend. They undermine us at every opportunity that they have, and you better believe I will keep a clear eye on them and understanding where we can work together, whether it is North Korea or other areas that we need to call them out on. I mean, we have to be very protective of Ukraine. We have to understand that they are propping up the Assad regime. And also their human rights abuses. Our country has applied more sanctions in this administration than have ever been applied on Russia, and I will continue to hold them accountable. We will continue to apply maximum pressure, and if confirmed, I will promise you that we would be shining a light on Russia.

Senator MENENDEZ. Thank you very much.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Senator Paul, we have been anxiously awaiting your arrival. You see we did not wait for you.

Senator PAUL. Being the ever courteous Senator from Kentucky, I will just wait till my turn, and I will just make my remarks with my questions. I am sorry I am late. I was voting in another committee.

The CHAIRMAN. We understand that. Thank you.

Senator Isakson, you are up.

Senator ISAKSON. Thank you very much, Chairman Risch. I appreciate the opportunity.

And welcome, Kelly. We are glad to have you. I say Kelly. I should not say that. I should be very formal, but I know this lady very well and she is a great nominee. She is a great individual and I cherish my relationship with her very much.

First of all, Mr. Chairman, to you and the ranking member, she has been very good in her job as Ambassador to Canada. But she has also been very good, always looking out for the best interest of the United States of America and the best things that the United States of America stands for.

If you listened to her testimony a few minutes ago—and I was listening from a phone booth because I have got a little emergency going on back home. That is why I am running back and forth. She is very much aware of the anti- Semitism problem we have in Europe and around the world. She was forceful in the remarks she made about that, and she knows how to use her voice and her position as an advocate for the right thing to do. And she is someone who, when asked what to do, will always do the right thing. And I think that is the kind of person you are looking for in this job.

I was one of the two people that nominated Samantha Power when Barack Obama appointed her U.N. Ambassador, and I did it in this room right here. I did it because Samantha Power had and I think exhibited in her term there the same type of qualities this lady has. And if you got that kind of a continuation of representation in the United Nations, which is a unique organization to start with, then you need to take advantage of that experience and that ability.

I did not hear. I am probably doing something wrong in the testimony, and I apologize for this. There is a chart over there with a lot of red squares on it. Would you tell me what that is behind Mr. Cardin?

Senator MENENDEZ. Those are absences from post.

Senator ISAKSON. What kind of absences?

Senator MENENDEZ. That is what we are trying to determine.

Senator ISAKSON. Okay. Well, I do not know where she was, but wherever it was it was in the best interest of the United States of America. I can tell you that.

And I think you were doing trade negotiations a lot during that period of time. Is that not right?

Ambassador CRAFT. Yes, sir, Senator. When President Trump first asked me to be the Ambassador to Canada, he made it very clear, as we discussed in your office yesterday, that this was a real job, that we were going to be renegotiating the most important trade partnership in the world with our number one trading partner, Canada. Little did I know that I would be living out of a suitcase most of the time during the trade negotiations, whether it was in Montreal and then moved to Washington. I was part of Ambassador Lighthizer's negotiation team and went back and forth weekly from D.C. to Ottawa and sometimes would be returning to Ottawa on a Wednesday, and then on Wednesday evening be called back to D.C.

You know, I took the oath of office understanding that this job was 24/7, and I intended to make certain that I was going to be representing the American people at the table for the NAFTA negotiations. It was very important to Robert Lighthizer, as he is our USTR trade negotiator, that he have a team that was looking after the best interest of not only our country, but of the relationship that we have with our number one trade partner.

Senator ISAKSON. And everything I can understand about that, you did an outstanding job doing that, and everybody appreciates what you did.

Do you think a U.N. Ambassador is any busier than a United States Senator? It is not a trick question.

Ambassador CRAFT. I think I am only going to be as successful as the relationships I have with all of you busy gentlemen and women. I am looking forward to learning more about your priorities so that I can just be just as busy.

Senator ISAKSON. Well, I just want all the members to think about this on the question of absences. If you looked at my record the last 3 weeks, I have been in Baghdad. I have been in Doha. I have been in Abu Dhabi. I have been in Marietta, Georgia. I went to the funeral of Dick Lugar. I forgot the last place I went. But I have been traveling. France. That is correct with Mr. Cardin. A small little celebration of a great war we won. And we won it again this time, the 75th year in a row, by the way. We always celebrate that victory.

But my point is we go a lot of places too. I mean, my job is here, and it is my duty station. But my duty to my duty station and to my country is to be wherever the job's requirements take me. And just because your job requirements took you somewhere that was not in your office, it does not mean you were not doing your job.

In fact, it may mean you were doing more of your job than anybody else was. You show me somebody who is always sitting in their office, and I will show you somebody who is not doing much.

So I just wanted to bring that up. We did not practice that. We did not practice anything, as a matter of fact. I just wanted to bring that up.

Ambassador CRAFT. And may I add that while I was not in my chair in my office, I have a staff of Foreign Service officers that are second to none. And I felt very confident with my not being in my office because I had people there running the mission, as we discussed, every day. And I must brag on the Foreign Service officers because without them, the mission, even before I arrived, would have not been run so smoothly.

Senator ISAKSON. Just two things. I took too much of my own time, and I apologize, Mr. Chairman. But I would like unanimous consent that the letter from Gordon Giffin, the United States Ambassador to Canada, be submitted for the record. I think the chairman read from that letter.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be submitted.

Senator ISAKSON. And I just want to thank you very much, and I am sorry I went off track a little bit. But I think it is very important, when we have got somebody representing us in the United Nations, they be an engaged person who believes in the things we believe as Americans and work hard to get that done. I think Samantha Power did that. I know you will do it, and I am proud to support you.

Ambassador CRAFT. Thank you, Senator Isakson.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator Isakson.

Senator Cardin?

Senator CARDIN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Ambassador Craft, thank you for your willingness to serve our country. I also want to thank your family for being willing to share you in public service. We very much appreciate that.

I want to make sure that we have a person as our Ambassador at the United Nations that is an advocate for the U.N. We have problems with the United Nations. Make no mistake about it. But it serves a critically important function for U.S. national security. And our Ambassador, our representative to the U.N., needs to be an advocate to make the United Nations as effective as we possibly can with U.S. influence.

So I want to talk about one issue first, and that is the Human Rights Council. I strongly had disagreed with actions in the Human Rights Council. In fact, Senator Portman and I have filed legislation dealing with action in the Human Rights Council. But the question is whether we participate or do not participate as a member of the Human Rights Council, and there is a concern that if we are not at the table, countries such as China or Russia get a much larger audience than if we were there participating.

So I want to get your view as to whether you think it is right for us to walk away from debates in which we cannot win or we are better off staying there making our points and doing the best that we can.

Ambassador CRAFT. Thank you, Senator. And thank you for our meeting the other day, especially talking about the goals of the U.N.

Whether or not we are in the room with the Human Rights Council or a member is really not as important as the ability as the U.S. U.N. Ambassador to use the Security Council as a platform to call out these countries on human rights abuses. If confirmed, I will use the Security Council as a platform and also understanding that it is not acceptable for the Human Rights Council to constantly undermine Israel, to constantly show anti-Israel bias and anti-Semitism.

Senator CARDIN. I agree with you on that. I am not sure the Security Council has the effective way to counter what the Human Rights Council does. The actions, of course, there are subject to consensus with the P5. So if we do not have the permanent council members all in agreement, we cannot get action on the Security Council. So I am not sure that is a substitute. I think using the Security Council is critically important.

But I would just urge your understanding of recognizing we are going to be dealing with nations that do not agree with us in forums sometimes that we cannot control the outcome. Should we participate or walk away?

Ambassador CRAFT. Senator, there are members of the Human Rights Council that are the very members that are committing these horrible human rights abuses.

Senator CARDIN. No disagreement from me on that.

Ambassador CRAFT. I mean, I find it just appalling that we have members of a council that are supposed to be holding accountable.

Senator CARDIN. Let me move on to a second subject.

You gave, I thought, views that I strongly agree with in regards to climate change. And then you said you do not want to assume an outsized burden on behalf of the rest of the world. So I want to drill down on that for one moment because the United States is party to the 1992 U.N. Framework Convention on Climate Change. That is the climate change that is subject right now to discussion by the White House. In that convention, it is basically a convention to come together as a global community to deal with climate issues. There are no specific commitments in the convention itself.

Then 2015 in Paris, there was an agreement reached between now 95 signatories that basically provides for voluntary compliance. There is no enforcement of that.

So where do you—are you concerned by the actions of the United Nations that the United States is assuming an overburdened share, or is this just a concern that you have in the work that you will be doing at the United Nations to make sure that it is a fair burden shared globally?

Ambassador CRAFT. Thank you, Senator.

Obviously, we both agree that burden sharing is very important in the U.N. The U.S. will always be a leader——

Senator CARDIN. I understand. I have a limited amount of time. I do not want to be rude. I would just like to get your view as to the framework, whether we should be working with the global community on climate issues.

Ambassador CRAFT. We feel that being a member of the Paris climate agreement does not—we do not need to be a member in order to show leadership. You know, while we committed very robustly in our commitment to the Paris climate agreement from a financial standpoint, we expected other countries to step up, and while they did commit, they really were not serious. And I feel very strongly, if confirmed, that climate change must be addressed, that we need to balance the American economy with the environment, and we need to really stress to other people the innovation in technology to be used as tools to mitigate climate change. And if confirmed, I will be an advocate in addressing climate change.

Senator CARDIN. We lead by what we do here in America, but we also lead by engaging other countries because we cannot deal with the issues of climate change without actions globally, particularly by the major emitters.

Do you support engaging the global community to deal with climate change? And if Paris was not right, what is right?

Ambassador CRAFT. Thank you, Senator.

Absolutely, I do agree. We need to include and engage everyone in this conversation. But if you think about while we are committing on a robust manner and other people are not serious—we have under-developed countries that are being taken advantage of by China with their technology and innovation that is not for sustainability. It is for ownership. And while the U.S. is committing and other people are out there committing to own under-developed nations, we need to be using our technology and our innovations to show sustainability in under-developed countries. And that is what we do really well.

Senator CARDIN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator.

Senator Rubio?

Senator RUBIO. Thank you.

Good morning, Ambassador Craft. Thank you for being here.

I wanted to close the loop on the travel question. The State Department has rules for travel. Correct?

Ambassador CRAFT. Yes, Senator, they do.

Senator RUBIO. And every trip that you have taken, all the little red—I do not know if it is the red or the white. Every single one of your trips were approved before you took them by the State Department.

Ambassador CRAFT. Yes. They were pre-approved before travel.

Senator RUBIO. And every one of your trips that you took and all of your travel complies with every single guideline the State Department has in place for travel.

Ambassador CRAFT. Yes, Senator.

Senator RUBIO. Of all the trips that you took, how many did you cover from your personal funds?

Ambassador CRAFT. We assumed all responsibility for expenses and travel-related expenses for all of our trips, whether it be diplomatic or personal.

Senator RUBIO. So you personally paid for even official business trips?

Ambassador CRAFT. Yes, we did. All travel expenses.

Senator RUBIO. So it is fair to say you saved the taxpayers money.

Ambassador CRAFT. Yes, we did.

Senator RUBIO. I think I know the answer to this question, but can you be at two places at once?

Ambassador CRAFT. I certainly tried, but that is why we have cell phones.

Senator RUBIO. Here is why I ask. The reason why I ask you is in your time in post in Canada, is the top issue between the—what would you say was the top issue between the U.S. and Canada? My guess would be it would be the trade agreement negotiations.

Ambassador CRAFT. Senator Rubio, renegotiating NAFTA to where we have USMCA today—I mean, I am still the current Ambassador to Canada and will be working this evening with Prime Minister Trudeau who is coming into Washington and will be with him tomorrow. It is very important. We had moments of doubt, and that is why it was imperative that Ambassador McNaughton and myself be present, whether it be in Canada for the meetings or in Washington. And I was not going to let this country down nor Ambassador Lighthizer and the President.

Senator RUBIO. A significant number of these trips up on that board involve negotiations on USMCA that occurred within the United States.

Ambassador CRAFT. Yes. The majority of the negotiations occurred in Washington at USTR.

Senator RUBIO. Did the White House ever deploy you to events around the country to promote USMCA?

Ambassador CRAFT. The State Department would often suggest, whether it be a northern governors and northern premier meeting or different meetings with governors, in order to really stress the importance of our trade with each state because each state—obviously, Canada—I think 33 of them is the number one trading partner.

Senator RUBIO. So the point being, the State Department asked you and suggested that you attend certain events even within the United States to promote a top priority of the administration, which is the USMCA negotiations and agreement.

Ambassador CRAFT. That is correct. Actually I received a lot of invitations, and my office would have to make difficult decisions because I could not be two or three places at once. And they would have to make the decision. And being in Washington was my number one priority, and if that did not interfere with a trip that would be promoting NAFTA or USMCA, then I would most certainly travel.

Senator RUBIO. So the bottom line being it was not possible for you to both be in those negotiations for the USMCA and also at some ceremonial event at a third country embassy at the same time. You had to make a choice, and you prioritized in those cases the top priority of this administration with regards to our relationship with Canada.

Ambassador CRAFT. Yes, Senator. And just talking about attending some of the other events, you know, I think it is really important to whether I was present or, obviously, if I was not, I could not attend. But it is really important to include your team at your

mission. I have 400 members, 400 incredible members, at Mission Ottawa. And it is important for them to have that exposure and to be able to attend. So on many occasions, they would actually ask if they could attend national days or other holiday events throughout Ottawa at the different missions.

Senator RUBIO. And I do not mean to diminish the importance of these events where people socialize and the diplomatic corps gets together. And I cannot speak for the Canadian Government, but I have a sneaking suspicion that if forced to choose between having you here helping focus and help land a trade negotiation with them or having you attend this week's cocktail party at some embassy, which is not an unimportant event and our diplomats need to do that, they would probably have preferred that we prioritize the trade deal is my guess.

Ambassador CRAFT. Absolutely. This was not a time to socialize. This was really a time to work.

Senator RUBIO. I want to ask you about one more priority quickly. What have you done in your capacity as Ambassador to Canada to advance the President's policy towards Venezuela?

Ambassador CRAFT. Thank you, Senator. I know this is very important to you. Who would have ever thought that we have 4 million refugees in Venezuela? It is of real importance with Canada also with the Lima Group, and they were gracious enough—I was able to attend the Lima Group plus 1 meeting in Ottawa. Their ambassador-designee, Vera Blanco, to Canada did not obviously have an embassy because the Maduro government—their appointees are still at the embassy in Ottawa. So we arranged for our meetings to be at my residence so that we could best understand the Latin America countries and the hardships that are being placed on them in taking in refugees, such as Colombia taking in 1 million refugees. And you know, they have humanitarian issues within their own country. And I thought it was very important to allow a place that the ambassador-designee could be heard, and he was very helpful in answering questions and taking back to the interim President Juan Guaido the concerns of the other countries.

It is just so important. There is no other option than for Maduro to leave. And it is just really important for us as Americans to be demonstrating the fact that we do care and that we are engaged.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Coons?

Senator COONS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Ranking Member, thank you.

Madam Ambassador, we do have three hearings going on at the same time on three different committees on which I serve. So I apologize for being out of breath. I literally ran upstairs from an appropriations hearing where we are marking up and advancing I think an important bipartisan amendment now. So my apologies.

Thank you for being here. Congratulations on your nomination and for the work you have done representing us in Ottawa. We had the opportunity to talk about some of the concerns other Senators have raised today.

Our role in the United Nations, both in its founding and leading it and in giving it direction as it is a multilateral entity that helps the world come together to confront the most pressing global challenges, is of significant interest and concern to me. The Trump ad-

ministration has demonstrated repeatedly across a number of lines of engagement a strong preference for unilateral actions and bilateral relationships over multilateralism.

If confirmed, you would be stepping into the most visible and most important role I think our government has in a multilateral institution, literally designed, built, and largely funded by the United States, and at a time when China is asserting its role in multilateral institutions, at least in what they say and, to a larger extent, in what they do. As we discussed, the first time I ever met a Chinese flag rank officer was in a U.N. peacekeeping mission in South Sudan.

So given that China is seeking to fill the vacancy that I would argue our withdrawal from a number of institutions and organizations are creating, in your view do decreases in U.S. contributions to the U.N. and our withdrawal from U.N. bodies, such as Senator Cardin just asked you about, weaken our ability to push back against China's expanding influence and in particular to effectively question and challenge China's human rights violations?

Ambassador CRAFT. Thank you, Senator. And thank you for the opportunity for us to talk about our daughters and the importance of doing the best you can no matter what internship you may happen to take on.

You know, I understand the critics when they say that we have kind of lost the way is why the values that the U.N. was founded upon. I think it is very important to talk about the fact that we were founded with equality, peace, and security, making certain that we take care of social, economic, all issues on the globe and human rights.

That is an issue where we need to be very careful in shining a light on China, the way they treat the Uighurs. Just because they have become the second largest donor, which obviously is a reflection of their economy, at the U.N., we need to be even more cautious and more diligent in the relationship that, if confirmed, I will build with other member states and making certain that they understand that, yes, China is participating in sharing in this burden, as we will always be the leader in contributing to the U.N. and will always take the leadership role. However, with China, as you well know, they have a motive and that is better leverage and taking advantage of some of these under- developed countries through the U.N. system.

Senator COONS. My hope, Madam Ambassador, is that your voice will be loud and clear and consistent in contributing to the U.N. not just our financial contributions but our voice in advocating for human rights. On a bipartisan basis across a number of administrations, the U.N. has been a place where we have pushed back against criticisms and questioning and challenges of actions of key allies and pushed forward on concerns that are not raised anywhere else, nor addressed anywhere else. And it is important to strike the right balance.

I am particularly concerned about what seems to be a withdrawal from a longstanding bipartisan commitment to a two-state solution. Can you tell me about your view of a two-state solution and the central role that the U.N. can and should continue to play in advocating for that as a path forward in the Middle East?

Ambassador CRAFT. Senator, I am going to be—if confirmed, I will support the President's vision for peace and security in the region. This is why it is so important every time any member state or anyone, for that matter, shows any anti-Israel bias or anti-Semitism, that not only do we call them out, but we have to explain that this is slowing the process for peace and security in the region.

Senator COONS. I am going to interrupt because of my short time.

Do you know whether the President's vision for peace and security in the Middle East includes supporting a two- state solution? I do not.

Ambassador CRAFT. Senator, I have not been part of the Middle East peace process, but if confirmed, I will tell you there will be no stronger friend than Kelly Craft and the United States for Israel and no stronger person to promote Israel and normalizing themselves in the system.

Senator COONS. I have two more questions I will ask briefly. You may want to respond in writing afterwards or in some other way. I want to respect the time concerns we have here.

First, being an Ambassador is a full-time, hands-on job, as I am sure has been discussed while I have been at the other hearing. Your representation that a lot of your travel out of Ottawa has been to advance the USMCA, if adequately documented and supported, I am willing to take at face value. But I am concerned about issues that have been raised about your engagement and attendance in Ottawa. New York is even harder. There are even more nations. There is even more work. There is even more direct—and I would hope that you could persuade me that you will be fully and directly engaged and provide the background that would support that.

Last, of all that has broken out now in Uganda, I am concerned that while there are many other pressing issues—and I know I am detaining some of my colleagues and their chance to question. I would welcome hearing from you how you view—this is another opportunity for the administration to lead in a multilateral response, in a global response rather than a unilateral response. Peace in the Middle East, Ebola, human rights, and our role overall in the U.N.—I need to hear from you that you are committed to and understand the value of how we built and how we will sustain this institution.

Thank you, Madam Ambassador. I am well out of time, but I appreciate the chance to continue this discussion.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you want those for the record, Senator Coons?

Senator COONS. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. If it is all right with you, Ambassador.

Ambassador CRAFT. Yes. Thank you, Senator Coons.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you so much.

Senator Cruz?

Senator CRUZ. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Ambassador Craft, welcome. Congratulations on this nomination. Thank you for your distinguished service to our nation serving today as Ambassador to Canada. And I am confident in this new post that you will do an exemplary job. And indeed, I have a word

of encouragement in that it is interesting the principal criticism, as manifested on this colorful chart that the committee has put up—the principal criticism, it seems, leveled against you is that you have traveled and worked too hard in your current post, which I find a not terribly persuasive criticism and pretty strong indication that the end result of this is going to be your confirmation.

But let us dive into this criticism a little bit more because I do not think it withstands even the barest of scrutiny.

As I understand it, some of the travel represented up there on that chart included travel to Montreal. Is that correct?

Ambassador CRAFT. Yes, sir.

Senator CRUZ. And Montreal is in Canada.

Ambassador CRAFT. Yes.

Senator CRUZ. Other than the travel to there, it included travel to Calgary. Is that correct?

Ambassador CRAFT. Yes, it did.

Senator CRUZ. And Calgary is in Canada.

Ambassador CRAFT. Absolutely.

Senator CRUZ. I am assuming—I do not know this. I am assuming some of that included travel to Toronto. Is that right?

Ambassador CRAFT. Yes.

Senator CRUZ. So the last I checked, you were not the Ambassador to Ottawa. You were the Ambassador to Canada. Is that right?

Ambassador CRAFT. The Ambassador representing the United States in Canada.

Senator CRUZ. Indeed.

So the beginning argument that if you are traveling around the nation that you were appointed ambassador to and if you were meeting with business leaders, government leaders, community leaders in those various towns, that is somehow a dereliction of duty, you know, I would say you would be a poor ambassador indeed if you went to your office in Ottawa, locked the door, and stayed sitting in your office. That is, indeed, the exact opposite of what one wants an ambassador to do.

As I understand it, a significant portion of that

travel also includes travel to Washington, D.C. to participate in strategy and negotiations for the USMCA. Is that right?

Ambassador CRAFT. Yes, it is.

Senator CRUZ. Is there any policy issue right now between the United States and Canada that is more pressing, that is more urgent, that is a higher priority than ensuring the strong and continued economic friendship, relationship, and trade between the United States and Canada?

Ambassador CRAFT. There is no other issue. It is so important that the Prime Minister is coming in today to further discuss USMCA and how he can help implement and ratify USMCA through his parliament and at the same time through our Congress.

Senator CRUZ. And I guess if you were not a very good ambassador, they might well have just left you in Ottawa. They might well have said, you know, what? We are doing important stuff between the U.S. and Canada, but you know, our ambassador is not

up to snuff, so you just stay up there in the office and we will do the meat of the negotiations. Of course, that is not what they did.

Ambassador CRAFT. You know, I take this very serious. It is a 24/7 job. And every State in the U.S. relies upon our trade partnership with Canada. And if I needed to be in a State to speak to a governor or a legislator or a mayor, everyone is affected by this USMCA, and it was vitally important.

Senator CRUZ. Well, and I will say you and I have known each other a long time. We are friends. I will say anyone that knows you knows that you are tenacious, you are hardworking, you do not know how to do a task halfway, that that is simply not in you to do a task halfway, but rather, if given a task, you are going to dive in with both feet and with all the energy and passion you have. That is how you have done the job as Ambassador to Canada, and I have every confidence that is how you will do the job as Ambassador to the U.N. as well.

Let us take a moment and talk about just how important the job of Ambassador to Canada is. Canada is one of our most important global allies. They are a member of Five Eyes, which means they are one of our most important intelligence partners. U.S. defense arrangements with Canada are more extensive than any other country. We have more than 800 agreements on cooperation across national security. They are one of nine countries that have participated in the U.S.-led F–35 program. And you have been the point person for the past year and a half for U.S. policy with Canada.

Can you describe briefly how you approach that job and what you did to strengthen the friendship and relationship between the United States and Canada?

Ambassador CRAFT. Thank you, Senator.

As you well know, it is vitally important to have this relationship before you go into negotiating. And Ambassador McNaughton was extremely important in including this friendship in this initial respect because if you do not have respect, then when you are sitting at the table and you disagree, then you will not come back and it will not be productive.

You know, we had several issues as far as Five Eyes meetings, especially when it came to China and the use of 5G technology. I am continuing to stress Canada to pay their 2 percent for NATO. So maybe in can say that publicly one more time. And also just the fact that USMCA was so important to all of the Canadians. Everywhere I would go, whether it is Toronto, Calgary, Montreal, Quebec, Prince Edward Island, they would ask me about NAFTA and USMCA—at the time it was NAFTA—and how important it was to them, to their families, to their economy, their community that we, the United States, and Canada has a very healthy trade agreement. So I was available 24/7, as I will be, if confirmed, as the Ambassador to the United Nations.

Senator CRUZ. Thank you, Ambassador.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Senator Cruz.

I appreciate your unpaid advertisement for them spending their 2 percent. We have all tried that. The best person I have seen is the President of the United States. He has done a good job of getting their attention, everybody's attention on that issue.

Senator Shaheen?

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Ambassador Craft, thank you for being here today and for agreeing to consider taking on this difficult position.

I appreciated the opportunity to meet with you yesterday and our conversation and your passionate support for the U.N. system. I think that is absolutely critical to anyone who serves as Ambassador to the U.N.

I also appreciated the opportunity to talk with you about the United Nations Population Fund, or UNFPA, because I believe it plays a vitally important role in providing health services to vulnerable women, to men, and to children in areas of conflict, poverty, or instability. In Venezuela, for example, UNFPA provides hospitals with desperately needed supplies and training to the few doctors that remain on how to deliver babies.

And as we discussed, this work is at risk because of a determination that UNFPA partners with programs in China that promote coercive population policies. I very much appreciated your commitment to look into these reports. I have asked multiple representatives from USAID to the State Department about these reports, and I have seen nowhere any evidence that any partnership exists between UNFPA and supporting programs in China that require abortions for women. So I very much appreciated your commitment to look into those reports.

I would urge you also to meet with the executive director of UNFPA. The United States sits on their executive board. They approve UNFPA's country programs. So I hope that, if confirmed, you will agree to meet with the executive director. Is that a yes?

Ambassador CRAFT. Absolutely. Thank you.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you.

And I also appreciated your agreeing to look into the disturbing reports last summer that the U.S. sought to block a resolution recognizing the importance of breastfeeding at the May 2018 World Health Assembly. Unfortunately, as we discussed, this is not the only concerning instance of attacks by the U.S. mission to the U.N. on women's health.

I would urge you to ensure that if you are confirmed, the U.S. mission to the U.N. that you will lead reasserts its role as the leading proponent of women, of their rights, and of their health around the world. Is that something that you believe is important for the Ambassador from the United States to do?

Ambassador CRAFT. Absolutely. And as we discussed, you know, both of us being mothers of daughters, and as you can see, beautiful granddaughters, it is so important that the U.S. takes the lead in the organizations that promote the health and wellbeing, maternal and child health, and voluntary family planning. And I can give you my word that I will do everything in my power to continue that support through organizations such as USAID, the World Food Program, World Health Program, UNICEF. We have so many wonderful organizations that are built upon success that are allowing women and children to be healthy because, as you know and we have discussed, women and children are what keep our communities thriving, and without them, we will actually lose the economy in those communities. So thank you for sharing yesterday, and

I am looking forward, if confirmed, to working very closely with you on women's issues.

Senator SHAHEEN. Well, thank you very much for that commitment. As we know, it has been the policy of the United States to empower women around the world, and that is good not just because it is the right thing to do, but it improves stability around the world, that women give back more to their families, more to their communities, and more to their countries and contribute to the stability of communities.

In that regard, this committee and this Congress passed—and the bill was signed into law in 2017—the Women, Peace, and Security Act, which is a commitment to ensure that women are part of the negotiating process in conflict areas when peace is being negotiated. The administration just last week put forward a strategy to implement the Women, Peace, and Security Act. I think it is very important, and if confirmed, can you commit to furthering this effort at the U.N., including through bodies such as U.N. Women that promote the implementation of the principles of Women, Peace, and Security?

Ambassador CRAFT. Yes, Senator Shaheen. And I commit that I will be an advocate for women's issues and making certain that we really highlight women and children and young girls so that they too can be strong women and be leaders in their communities and their countries and have the opportunity, as I have, to be, if confirmed, the U.S. U.N. Ambassador.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you very much.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator Shaheen.

Senator Paul?

Senator PAUL. Congratulations on your nomination.

So I was a bit late, but I was trying to introduce my own bill to prevent government shutdowns in another committee. I just could not leave I was so excited about trying to get people to pay attention to this.

Kentuckians are really excited about your nomination. As you know, I supported you to be Ambassador to Canada and will support you to be the Ambassador to the U.N.

But I did want to explore a couple of questions about issues that I think are important with regard to the Middle East.

Do you agree with President Trump that the Iraq war was a giant geopolitical mistake?

Ambassador CRAFT. Senator Paul, we had this discussion in your office, and you know that I understand that President Trump has made the statement that he believes that the Iraq war was a mistake. And if confirmed, I will be following the President's policies.

Senator PAUL. So do you agree with the President?

Ambassador CRAFT. I am not going to second guess the administration, the Bush administration, but I do acknowledge that President Trump has made the statement that he disagrees with our——

Senator PAUL. The reason it is an important question is it is not about history, it is not about something that happened that has no influence over what happens now. It instructs, I think, dozens and dozens of different conflicts around the world.

So, for example, do you think that the regime change in Libya has been to the world's advantage or to our advantage?

Ambassador CRAFT. I think the regime change in Libya has been very important especially because we do have Haftar. We do have different situations going on at the moment. And it is really important that we have a strong presence there.

Senator PAUL. Do you think the world is better off with the regime change and with the current situation in Libya?

Ambassador CRAFT. Well, we have not really had a regime change as of yet——

Senator PAUL. No. I mean, we had a regime change with Qaddafi. We were part of France and the United States toppling Qaddafi. And some, myself included, would argue that we are worse off. I mean, the place is very chaotic. It has been rife with terrorist camps. We now have competing factions. We are now giving arms to Qatar as of last week that Qatar is now giving to one side of the war and we support the other side of the war. We used to support the U.N. sanctioned government. Now we support some of their generals. And to me it sounds like an unmitigated disaster there.

And the reason I mention this is this is what happened Iraq. We toppled a strongman who was not going to get any human rights awards, but he also had stability, and we replaced it with chaos. We now have an Iraq that is more closely aligned with Iran. Iran is stronger because the geopolitical balance is tipped in the favor of Iran with Iraq gone, with Hussein gone.

And so, I think the Iraq war still instructs us on whether Libya was a good idea, and we were a big part of Libya as well.

Now, that was not this President. That was the previous President.

But I think there is still a question and there will be questions that will come before you at the U.N., whether or not regime change in the Middle East is our business and whether or not it has been to our advantage. So I guess the question really is going back to Libya. Do you think regime change has been to our advantage?

Ambassador CRAFT. You know, I believe what is really important is that we show strength, we show deterrence. I mean, we have a situation in Iran with the most corrosive behavior. We have seen no change in their behavior. You are speaking about Iraq. You know, they are trying to take Iraq and make it into a client state. We have a special political mission there.

Senator PAUL. But if the President were here, he would respond and he would say, yes, and Iraq is open to that because an Iraq Shia majority now rules the place because we toppled Hussein. So I mean, we have created the opportunity where Iraq is aligning themselves with Iran. It is not sort of Iran taking over Iraq. It is Iraq having great sympathy for Iran.

And so we just have to think these through because all throughout the Middle East, it has been run by iron-fisted men and no diplomats, no democrats, no people who believe in constitutional Republicans, no Jeffersonians. But they have stability. When we have toppled them, we have gotten instability.

In Syria, hundreds and hundreds of thousands of people fled, and 100,000 people died because of this noble notion that we would get rid of this dictator Assad. Well, it has not worked. That is my whole point.

And the only point I would like to leave you with is that the President feels like the Iraq war was a mistake. He has probably said it 200 times or more. And it instructs what we think about the other wars. And I hope you will take that to heart because really whether or not we get involved in the next Middle Eastern country.

And the only other thing I would say about the Iran situation is realize that for as much of the problems we have with Iran, the stated problems, I think I have got as many or more with Saudi Arabia. They chopped up a dissident with a bone saw. We continue to fuel an arms race that is Saudi Arabia pitting against Iran. Who spreads more jihadism and hatred of Christians and Jews and Hindus around the world? Saudis by far, $100 billion for that worldwide.

So all I ask is it is a complicated world. I do not have all the answers, but realize in the Middle East that there have been a lot of unintended consequences to our involvement.

Thanks.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Markey?

Senator MARKEY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Madam Ambassador, by the way, thank you for the visit in my office.

I sent you a letter on May 3rd, along with Senators Merkley and Whitehouse, asking about your family's nearly $1 billion coal investments and how they might conflict with any climate change discussions that you would have a potential role in at the United Nations. I did the response. It was at 9:59 a.m. this morning. And I would ask, Mr. Chairman, if I can include the questions and the answers in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be included.

[The information referred to is located at the end of this hearing transcript, beginning on page 129.]

Senator MARKEY. I thank you.

But your responses actually do not go to the question which is at the heart of the issue, which is whether or not there is a conflict. And from my perspective, I think it is important for the American people to know that those who are performing their duties can do so in a way that does not have that kind of a conflict.

So I guess my first question to you is, do you believe that your family's coal assets would cause a reasonable person to question your impartiality in matters related to the Paris agreement that is the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change or any other climate issue which is being considered at the United Nations?

Ambassador CRAFT. Thank you, Senator, and thank you for this exact conversation in your office and for the opportunity to have that discussion with you one on one.

As you know, as I have stated, my husband and I have worked very closely with the Office of Government Ethics. And as we did in 2017, we take this agreement very seriously, and we were in full

compliance. We have also again worked very closely with the Office of Government Ethics developing the 2019 ethics agreement and our commitment to abide by each part of this ethics agreement, which we will do. And I give you my word that wherever there is any doubt in my mind as I often did with my 2000 agreement, I will be calling upon the legal counsel provided by the State Department——

Senator MARKEY. I am asking you, though, not your legal counsel, will you recuse yourself from any fossil fuel-related discussions in terms of their impact on climate change in your tenure at the United Nations?

Ambassador CRAFT. Senator, as we discussed, where there is the issue of coal and/or fossil fuels, I will recuse myself in meetings through the U.N. I understand that, if confirmed——

Senator MARKEY. You will recuse yourself.

Ambassador CRAFT. Yes, sir. I understand, if confirmed, that this is a top priority. Climate change is a top priority at the United Nations. And with our ethics agreement, we have made a commitment and I will make a commitment to you that I will recuse myself. I have a team at USUN that is second——

Senator MARKEY. You will recuse yourself from any matter that relates to fossil fuels and climate change at the United Nations.

Ambassador CRAFT. When there is coal in the conversation. We are still waiting for clarity on fossil fuels for that conversation within our ethics agreement. We have asked for clarity on this. But I will give you my commitment that where coal is part of the conversation within climate change at the U.N., I will recuse myself and feel very confident the team at the USUN, the experts that have been working on the climate change issues, specifically fossil fuels and coal, that I feel very confident that they will be able to take my place.

Senator MARKEY. Does your family have oil and gas interests as well?

Ambassador CRAFT. I am not aware. I do not know what our interests are.

Senator MARKEY. Okay. Well, if that was the case, would you recuse from those areas as well?

Ambassador CRAFT. If our ethics agreement called for me to recuse myself, absolutely. I will be in full compliance—I give you my word—with our ethics agreement.

Senator MARKEY. As you know, the United Nations at the end of 2018 concluded that climate change is now an existential threat to the planet, and our own scientists, 13 federal agencies, concluded in November of 2018 that with business as usual, the planet will warm by 9 degrees Fahrenheit by the end of this century and our oceans could rise by 11 feet. So this is clearly a very important issue, and at the heart of it, the scientists believe, is the role that fossil fuels and human activity are playing in it.

Do you think that the United States can effectively steer the debate on climate change if we are the only country that has withdrawn from the Paris agreement? What role could you play as a businesswoman if you withdrew from the board in terms of influencing the decisions of that board? Does that put you in a very awkward position?

Ambassador CRAFT. Senator, no. We withdrew from the Paris agreement because we feel like we do not have to be part of an agreement to be leaders. I mean, we are already seeing a difference. Between 2005 and 2017, we have had 14 percent reduction in emissions. We have the best and the brightest and innovations and technology, as you and I have discussed. And I understand this is an issue that needs to be addressed.

I also understand that fossil fuels has played a part in climate change, and if confirmed——

Senator MARKEY. Do you agree with the U.S. scientists that say that it is largely because of fossil fuels and human activity? That is just in November of 2018, and it is every federal agency.

Ambassador CRAFT. I acknowledge that there is a vast amount of science regarding climate change and the tools and the role that humans have played in climate change.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Romney?

Senator ROMNEY. Thank you, Ambassador Craft, for being here and for considering this very important responsibility.

I begin, Mr. Chairman, by acknowledging a very personal bias here, which is Kelly and I are long-term friends, also with her husband. Senator Cruz indicated that she is tenacious and hard-working. I would add relentless and has great power over people, as evidenced by the fact that her husband has been sitting there without moving for a long, long time. I have never seen Joe Craft sit in one place so long and so uncomfortably I might add, as he is having to do today.

[Laughter.]

Senator ROMNEY. I appreciate the service also——

Ambassador CRAFT. I may have to ask for a ride home after this. So if anyone can offer me a ride after climate change.

Senator ROMNEY. I would also note that your public service is greatly valued and appreciated. And I would also note that your service in the private sector is very much appreciated. I think sometimes we in government assume that we are the ones that are helping the public and doing what is right for the country, but I would note that every dollar we have to spend is only valuable if it represents a good or a service produced in the private sector. And I very deeply appreciate the work that you have carried out in the private sector to provide employment to people and to provide the positive benefits to our country.

I would also note that with regard to your family's involvement and investment in coal, coal happens to represent 70 percent of the power in my home State of Utah. I am very anxious to find ways to reduce our greenhouse gas emissions, but I would note that coal will be for many decades a major source of power in our country and other countries around the world and appreciate those facilities that provide coal in a clean and effective way, providing good jobs to our citizens and power that very much provides for our economy and the economies around the world.

Turning to a couple of questions relating to your appointment, and that is with regard to your priorities at the United Nations. There are many, many things that are going on in the world right now, and I do not know whether you have given thought to the things that you would consider among your highest priorities. It is

perhaps a long list. But would you care to list for us or describe, as you would like, the things that you think are the highest priorities you would have as an Ambassador from the United States to the U.N.?

Ambassador CRAFT. Thank you, Senator. And thank you for your time in catching up on our families in your office. It was actually very refreshing. Thank you.

You know, I have given this a lot of thought because I understand that my time there will not be a lengthy amount of time and that my top three issues were going to be reform, humanitarian needs, and public-private partnership.

You know, we have a Secretary-General in Gutteres who also places reform as a top priority, and I cannot imagine a better partnership and a better teammate to be able to tackle reform. I have spoken to several of my predecessors and also have been reading about the ones that I am going to be walking in their footsteps, and I see each of them that I have spoken to and read about had reform as their top priority. And I think it is very important. We have made small incremental steps, but there is a lot to be done. We owe it to our taxpayers to spend their money wisely and to be stewards of their money and also to make certain that their money is not spent in the U.N. system but out in the field helping the people that are in humanitarian need. I think we need to be very cautious and very careful about duplication in areas within the secretariat.

In order to receive better transparency and accountability, I think it is vitally important that we really emphasize putting Americans, having Americans hired into the system because they are under-represented, and also promoting our allies in the system that share our values because with that, we are going to have greater transparency. As you can see with UNICEF and the World Food Program, we have incredible transparency and accountability and success.

Within humanitarian issues, as you well know, this is something that is very dear to my heart, and I think it is very important that we stress burden sharing. Who would have ever known that we have this sort of time in history where we have so many needs throughout the world, whether it be in Venezuela, Yemen, Syria? I mean, there are so many pressing matters. I think it is important that—I would rather call it success sharing because there is nothing better than to know when you have helped another person. This is just going to be helping hundreds of thousands of people.

And then with public-private partnerships, my husband and I have been very fortunate to have had this experience with the Craft Academy and seen the successes of being able to partner with our State of Kentucky and developing an academy for juniors and seniors in high school in a college program. And I think that I can leverage my relationships and bring them, if confirmed, to the U.N. And the opportunities for under-developed countries for Americans to go in and add sustainability and to create community, especially for women and children and displaced people, it is just vast. And it is actually very exciting because we are a nation that is always the first to arrive and the last to leave, and I am looking forward to bringing more people in that area of success.

Senator ROMNEY. Thank you, Ambassador.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator.

Senator Merkley?

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

Thank you for your testimony.

We had a chance to talk. You expressed a lot of concern about the Rohingya and the genocide. But our State Department has not made a genocide determination. They have decided not to act. And would you push, as U.N. Ambassador, for the State Department to make a genocide determination?

Ambassador CRAFT. Thank you, Senator. I know we both share the concern of the treatment of the Rohingyas. It is unexcusable. It is ethnic cleansing. And I trust in the fact that we do now have someone that has been assigned to investigate and to really keep close all of their findings in hopes of bringing the military commanders and in hopes of having some sort of a judicial system there. I think it is very important, as we discussed, that we make certain that Bangladesh—that they are also in need as they have taken in all of these refugees.

Senator MERKLEY. There is a lot we could examine in this. But I am just asking will you push for the State Department to complete a genocide determination. We are now approaching 2 years since the genocide occurred.

Ambassador CRAFT. Senator, this is not a decision for me to make. This is a decision that is made within the State Department. And I am looking forward to more conversation with you as we do share in the plight of the Rohingyas. And I can assure you that I will be a strong voice on behalf of the Rohingyas.

Senator MERKLEY. Thank you.

Across the world, the U.N. Population Fund has been a critical factor in women's health. We have decided not to fund it as a nation, but it is hugely effective. Our concerns have been about China and about reproductive rights issues that have now been checked out many, many times and found China has completely changed their policies.

Would you support the U.S. enhancing women's health around the women's health around the world by advocating for the U.N. Population Fund?

Ambassador CRAFT. Senator, thank you. As you know and I know, we strongly believe—and it is nice to hear that maybe there is a different view on this now—that the Chinese state institutions were providing—actually being very coercive in abortions. And that is why we withdrew our $35 million and we placed that within USAID. As you well know, the United States—we are leaders in organizations throughout the U.N. in promoting the health and wellbeing of mothers and children, prenatal, postnatal, and voluntary family planning.

Senator MERKLEY. Thank you. I will go on to the next question.

Ambassador CRAFT. If it is correct that there has been proof that the Chinese have not been engaged in UNFPA, I will most certainly look forward to the discussion, if confirmed, at the U.N.

Senator MERKLEY. So the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change found that carbon pollution is responsible for a whole host of impacts. We see them all over Oregon, less snow pack, more forest fires, more acidic ocean affecting our shellfish, our warmer win-

ters, great for pine beetles, terrible for pine trees. President Trump said of their report, I do not believe it. Do you believe it?

Ambassador CRAFT. Senator, I have not seen that report, but I can tell you that we have issues around the world in under-developed nations where we have flooding and drought in different areas that have been attributed to climate change.

Senator MERKLEY. So that was a ?believe it? answer?

Ambassador CRAFT. I have not read that report, and if you do not mind the opportunity, I will be able to read it and answer you in writing.

Senator MERKLEY. Do you believe the core understanding that carbon pollution contributes to climate change?

Ambassador CRAFT. I believe that climate change needs to be addressed, and I believe that fossil fuels do play a role in attributing to climate change.

Senator MERKLEY. Alliance Resource Partners, which your family owns, lobbied the EPA to implement policies that benefit polluting industries at the cost of clean water and air and U.S. leadership on climate. If confirmed, will you go to New York representing the interests of our country, and will you advocate for us to continue to support the commitments we made under the Paris climate agreement?

Ambassador CRAFT. Senator, if confirmed, I will be in full compliance of our ethics agreement.

As you well know, we can be a leader. We are leaders without being a member of the Paris climate agreement. And within that agreement, we are already establishing success without being part of the Paris climate agreement with our innovation and our technology. We have had a 14 percent reduction in emissions since 2005 to 2017, while at the same time our economy has been robust.

Senator MERKLEY. Since we are essentially on track, as you describe, why does it benefit us in terms of international leadership to exit the agreement? Since it had great flexibility and we are on track, what does it benefit America to step out of the role of partnering with other countries to hold them accountable?

Ambassador CRAFT. You know, Senator, we are going to hold people accountable whether we are in an agreement or not. And I think what is proof is the steps we have taken forward to balance our economy and our environment. And I think when other countries see that you can do this and that our economy has grown while, at the same time, taking care of our environment, that is how we show leadership.

Senator MERKLEY. My time is up. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Portman?

Senator PORTMAN. Thanks, Mr. Chairman.

And thank you, Ambassador Craft, for being here today and your willingness to step forward and serve both in Canada where you worked with us a lot on USMCA and now through your nomination to the next job, which would be U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations. It is a huge job.

I was here earlier to hear some of the back and forth, and I have a couple follow-up questions, if that is okay.

One is with regard to USMCA. Can you tell us what you think of that agreement? You were very involved I know on the Canada

side in getting them to make some concessions specifically on their dairy program and broadening the market access for some of our products. What do you think about USMCA?

Ambassador CRAFT. Thank you, Senator, for the opportunity to talk about USMCA. I am still the Ambassador to Canada and very much engaged, as we will be tomorrow for our bilateral meeting discussing USMCA.

First of all, the Canadians are as fierce negotiators as the Americans. We learned that very quickly.

As we discussed, I am a granddaughter of tobacco farmers, and I understand the importance of the emotional aspect when it relates to the agriculture, chapter 3 of USMCA, and was able to really speak with Ambassador Lighthizer and with the President and relay the message that we need to be a little more understanding of the emotional toil that it was taking at the moment on the Canadians when they have to go back to the Quebec area and speak with the dairy farmers. This is an election year for Prime Minister Trudeau, and it was a very emotional topic for them with their dairy farmers.

I think it is really important. It was very successful. And most importantly is it lifted the doubt in the minds of Americans and Canadians, and they were able to feel very secure and confident with their purchases, if they had small businesses or medium-sized businesses, to know that they are going to be supported by USMCA.

Senator PORTMAN. So you support the agreement in its final form that was negotiated?

Ambassador CRAFT. Absolutely, yes, I do.

Senator PORTMAN. And moving on to the issue of boycott, divest, and sanctions, BDS legislation. As you know, Senator Cardin and I have introduced a resolution that actually now has over half of the Senate supporting it, 58 cosponsors. It simply says that these efforts should not be supported because they are an effort to delegitimize Israel and a form of discrimination, in effect.

We have another bill that we introduced last year that also got a lot of support, but we have not introduced it this year until we can have this broader discussion, and that is with regard to the international organizations like the U.N. Human Rights Commission. And we have looked very closely at what the Human Rights Council has done and what they have said with regard to Israel. They have Israel on their permanent agenda, as you know. You talked about that earlier. They have apparently put together a blacklist of companies that do business in Gaza and the West Bank and they levied sanctions against U.S. companies that did business there. We have not seen that yet. It has not come out yet. But we have a deep concern about it.

So I would ask you a couple questions. One, do you agree it is wrong for Israel to be on the permanent agenda? And how can that impede the peace process? But, second, do you feel that the BDS efforts against Israel are contrary to the efforts we are trying to make in the region to have a negotiated peace between Israel and the Palestinians?

Ambassador CRAFT. Thank you, Senator.

On releasing names, I am certain that Michelle Bachelet is being very cautious and she has been working with us on protecting the names of businesses in Israel and outside of Israel just to protect. There is no place to be able to release American businesses or any other businesses, for that matter, that could be harmed by a list being released.

If confirmed, there will be no stronger ally than Kelly Craft for Israel on behalf of the United States. There is no room whatsoever for anti-Israel bias or anti-Semitism. And with the strength of this committee, I am certain that we can defeat any areas, whether it is the Human Rights Council in bringing up anti-Israel bias every opportunity they have or anyplace in the U.N. There is no place for that. And I think that we really need to stress to Israel and promote them. They are the best promoters themselves. They have Start-Up Nation. And they need to be promoted to push themselves and normalize within the U.N. system because they have a lot to offer.

Senator PORTMAN. Well, we look forward to working with you, should you be confirmed, which I believe you will be. I know Senator Cardin and I would like to move forward with that legislation soon and ensure that we do not have that blacklist ever be published because, as you say, it would have a negative impact on a lot of things, including the peace process in my view between Israel and the Palestinians.

On human trafficking, I know you have been involved in this issue and care a lot about it. There is an Office of Drug Control and the Center for International Crime Prevention, which has the responsibility for addressing trafficking. If confirmed, would you pledge to make human trafficking and sex trafficking a key part of your agenda and work to strengthen the efforts of this U.N. body in that regard?

Ambassador CRAFT. Senator, absolutely. Anywhere within the U.N. system where there are human rights abuses, human trafficking, I mean, this affects everyone. I give you my word that I will be a strong advocate combating human trafficking and any human rights abuses.

Senator PORTMAN. Thank you. Good luck.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Senator Kaine?

Senator KAINE. Thank you, Mr. Chair.

And I want to congratulate the Ambassador on her nomination, thank her for her hospitality to many of us who visited the Halifax Security Forum in November.

And I want to just pick up on your last comment, that you will be a strong advocate for human rights in the U.N. system. And I appreciated that aspect of our one-on-one discussion.

I just want to ask you about the news of today, just the news of today. In January, Agnes Callamard was appointed the U.N. Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial Summary or Arbitrary Executions. And she announced she was going to be leading an investigation into the assassination of Saudi citizen, Virginia resident, ?Washington Post? journalist, Jamal Khashoggi.

The report came out today. It is damning, but unfortunately not surprising because it mirrors the CIA's conclusions. I quote, it is the conclusion of the Special Rapporteur that Mr. Khashoggi has been the victim of a deliberate, premeditated execution and extrajudicial killing for which the state of Saudi Arabia is responsible under international human rights law.

Mr. Chair, I would like to introduce the U.N. report into the record, if I may.

The CHAIRMAN. You may.

[The information referred to above can be accessed through the URL below:]

https://www.docdroid.net/VgsDccH/a-hrc-41-crp1-1-converted.pdf#page=2

Senator KAINE. The report finds six violations of international law: the prohibition against arbitrary deprivation of life, the prohibition against extraterritorial use of force, the requirement that states use consular missions for official purposes, the prohibition against torture, the prohibition against enforced disappearance and in killing a journalist, violation of a core tenet of the U.N., the protection of freedom of expression.

The Special Rapporteur determined that there was credible evidence warranting further investigation of high-level Saudi officials, individual liability, including the Crown Prince, and finally, the rapporteur called on the Human Rights Council, the Security Council, and the U.N. Secretary-General to conduct international follow-up criminal investigations to determine individual liability. She has found liability by the state of Saudi Arabia, but she suggests there needs to be individual liability determinations as well.

Do you believe that there should be accountability for the assassination of Jamal Khashoggi both because it is a criminal offense and it is a violation of international law?

Ambassador CRAFT. Senator, you know, we have made it very clear with Saudi Arabia that any human rights abuse is not okay, and they must change this behavior.

Senator KAINE. I want to ask really specifically about Khashoggi because this is now going to be in your wheelhouse if you are confirmed. There is a request that the U.N., including the Security Council, act. So let me just state it again as I did. Do you believe that there should be accountability for the assassination of Jamal Khashoggi?

Ambassador CRAFT. I believe that where this investigation will take us we will follow, and yes, anyone who is responsible. You know, we identified the 17 that were responsible for this heinous crime.

Senator KAINE. The report dramatically challenges that those 17 are responsible and actually says it is higher officials who are responsible. I would encourage you to take a look at it.

But I am encouraged by a portion of your statement that there should be accountability.

Second, should the United States encourage accountability, abstain from requests for accountability, or block requests for accountability?

Ambassador CRAFT. We should definitely always request accountability.

Senator KAINE. Okay. So we should be involved in a request for accountability. And would you agree with me that the accountability for this crime and violation of six principles of international human rights law—should the accountability be placed on whoever's shoulders is in fact responsible regardless of the title that they may hold?

Ambassador CRAFT. I believe the accountability is going to be a decision that I have full faith in the investigative process. I have full faith in the Special Rapporteur.

Senator KAINE. No one should be immune from accountability if they were involved in a crime of this magnitude. Would you agree with me?

Ambassador CRAFT. We will follow where this investigation takes us, and I can guarantee you that the State Department is investigating, the authorities are investigating.

Senator KAINE. There is a question that I know the answer to, but I want to ask you for the record. Can you foresee any circumstance under which the U.S. would plan the execution and dismemberment of a United States citizen at, for example, the U.S. consulate in Montreal?

Ambassador CRAFT. Senator, we are not that sort of a country.

Senator KAINE. So you would agree with me that that would be so contrary to American values and so contrary to international morality that there would never be a circumstance under which the U.S. could plan or tolerate the execution of an American citizen in the U.S. consulate in Montreal. You agree with me on that.

Ambassador CRAFT. Yes, sir, absolutely.

Senator KAINE. As a member of the Security Council—now this has been put into the court of the Security Council, and the U.S. will be the head of the Security Council come December. You said human rights is going to be one of your priorities. Can you give me a commitment that the United States, with you representing it as head of the Security Council, will do everything possible to make sure that the investigations called for here and the accountability that would follow upon such investigations are actively pursued by this country?

Ambassador CRAFT. Absolutely we will, and I will give you my word on this. And we know there is an investigation and we will follow this investigation where it takes us.

Senator KAINE. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Barrasso?

Senator BARRASSO. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Welcome, Ambassador. Great to see you again. Thank you for being here.

What I hear about a lot at home in Wyoming—and you may have as well in Kentucky—the issues of American values, American ideals, American standards, and American sovereignty within the U.N. That is a big issue that continues to come up at home. And I would just ask you a little bit about how you would preserve and protect American sovereignty within the United Nations and your commitment to challenge the actions of the United Nations that run contrary to our values or beliefs, the things that we hold and care about in common here in the United States.

Ambassador CRAFT. Thank you, Senator. As you well know, the U.N. was founded after World War II on U.S. values and those values we hold very close, you know, peace and security, equal rights, human rights, supporting social, economic, humanitarian issues.

I agree that there are critics that say we are not strong on those values. I agree with that. And if confirmed, that will be an area that I will take with me and demand from all of the 192 member states, that we go back and we look at the four founding principles in the U.N. Charter and that we really try to use that as a guideline because doing the right thing as it is listed in those four, there is no compromise. And it does not matter how many years it has been since it has been founded. Doing the right thing with peace and equality, human rights, equal rights, you cannot go wrong.

Senator BARRASSO. At home we say how do you vote. We say we vote based on the Constitution, based on your conscience clearly, your constituents, your country. And I have concerns about the U.N. and I hear it all the time as well at home in terms of our U.S. values and standards not necessarily being met at the U.N. And then we have a significant financial contribution. I think we are the number one country for contributing to the U.N. This is U.S. taxpayer dollars. People say, well, just stop paying your dues to the U.N. Pull out of the funding. As we deal with a large national debt, I would ask your commitment to safeguarding U.S. taxpayer dollars in this new role that I am encouraging you and look forward to your confirmation.

Ambassador CRAFT. Thank you, Senator. If confirmed, I will be a great steward of our American taxpayer dollars.

I just want to share with you I am a firm believer in the United Nations. This may be the only stage for some countries to be able to cry out for help. And you know, we are a leader. We are always the first to be there to help, and we will always be the first. But we have to allow the U.N. as a platform, a healthy platform, for all the other countries that are less fortunate than we are to be able to reach out.

You know, I was just reminded when I was in Senator Gardner's office. There were two individuals. They actually were refugees, Rohingya refugees. And he introduced me to them as the U.S. Ambassador to Canada and then introduced me as the nominee. And the young woman, who is part of a group from Cox's Bazar in protecting women and their rights and making certain that no one is being abused in this area—she just held onto me and she just said thank you. Thank you because I know you are going to help me. And I will give you my word that we will go back to those four founding values because you cannot compromise human rights and equality.

Senator BARRASSO. You know, we share those concerns. I know Ambassador Nikki Haley has commented on that. I think Senator Portman just asked about the whole issue of sexual exploitation and abuse, what you have just outlined there. But we have seen it with U.N. peacekeepers in the past, people that are supposed to be in there providing a peacekeeping role and then taking unfair, undue advantage of people in the wrong way, immoral against every one of our values. So how can the U.N. address the abuse

and the misconduct of the U.N. peacekeepers more effectively? Do you have any suggestions on that?

Ambassador CRAFT. Thank you, Senator. That is a conversation that I have had with Ambassador Haley. And I believe that where she was very strong on the peacekeeping troops is I understand that the renewal is 6 months to a year. You know, we need to be making certain weekly, monthly that they are abiding by the guidelines. They too are stretched very thin. I mean, who would have ever thought we have this up-tick in Ebola in Congo?

We need to make certain that they have the tools to protect the very people they need to be protecting. We need to also make certain that if there is sexual exploitation, that they are immediately sent back to their country and that we are in constant communication with our mission in their home country, and most importantly, that we make very clear to their government that we expect them to investigate and if they are found guilty, to prosecute within their own system and make certain that they are never back out in the field protecting innocent civilians.

Senator BARRASSO. Well, thank you. And congratulations again on your nomination.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Senator Graham?

Senator GRAHAM. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Let me add my congratulations.

You are going to be President Trump's Ambassador to the United Nations, not mine, not anybody else's. So your job is to represent the administration's points of view. Do you agree with that?

Ambassador CRAFT. Thank you, Senator.

I am going to be representing the United States of America and every single person that lives here and Americans that live abroad. I take this so——

Senator GRAHAM. So what policies are you going to advocate?

Ambassador CRAFT. I am going to be advocating the policies of this administration.

Senator GRAHAM. Okay. That is the point. Not everybody in the country. The administration.

Now, here is the way I look at these things. I usually vote for qualified nominees knowing that the policies they will be advocating, if in a Democratic administration, I do not agree with. I think by any reasonable measure, you are a very qualified person. You have been Ambassador to Canada. If you are qualified and not crazy, you usually get my vote. You do not seem to be crazy at all, other than wanting to come here maybe.

The bottom line is I appreciate your willingness to serve the country. And you got to understand that the policies that you will be asked to advocate sometimes all of us will disagree. And that is not the test for me. It is are you capable of representing our country with dignity and intellect. Yes?

Ambassador CRAFT. Absolutely. I have sharp elbows and I will be using them.

Senator GRAHAM. Yes, I believe it. I think you will give the President good, sound advice, maybe something he does not want to hear, but it would be up to him to make the call.

On climate change, I believe in it, think it is real. Man is substantially contributing to it. The Paris accords basically gives China and India a pass. It is aspirational not binding. I do not blame Trump for getting out because the agreement was pretty one-sided.

Do you agree with me no matter what we do in the United States, if China and India—if they do not up their game, it does not matter?

Ambassador CRAFT. You know, I strongly believe in the fact that the U.S. has become a leader without being——

Senator GRAHAM. My question is, is China and India—do they emit more carbon than we do?

Ambassador CRAFT. I understand at the moment, yes, they do. And I also understand that while they did commit to the Paris agreement, as you well know——

Senator GRAHAM. Well, go read the agreement. They did not commit to much.

So I believe climate change is real, but if do not have an agreement, make it real for the people who actually cause more of the problem than we do.

MBS. Let me just say this. I introduced him a couple of years ago in Washington when they gave an award to John McCain for his help to the Kingdom over the years. I have got many friends in Saudi Arabia. I have been there a bunch, usually with Senator McCain. And it breaks my heart that we are where we are.

The Kingdom is a strategic ally, many friends in the Kingdom who are wanting the country to be better. I personally feel betrayed. I feel like that the actions that took place with Mr. Khashoggi showed a lack of respect for their relationship to the United States. Who in their right mind would put us in this box?

We deal with bad people all the time. We dealt with Stalin in World War II, but when the war was over, we did not embrace communism. So there is no amount of oil coming out of Saudi Arabia and there is no threat from Iran that is going to get me to back off. So I just want every strategic partner to know that there is a price to be paid to get into our orbit. He did it. It would not have happened without him. He knew it was going to happen. He wanted it to happen. He caused it to happen. And this is just a tip of the iceberg of other things that are going on in this Kingdom.

So to my friends in Saudi Arabia, you have lost me. You got nobody to blame but yourself. If you want a normal relationship with the United States, try to act normal. And what is going on in Saudi Arabia is not normal. Some teenager is facing being executed because he tweeted or something. It is just crazy stuff, putting the Lebanese Prime Minister in house arrest. It is just nuts. So if you want things to get better in Saudi Arabia, you need to deal with it. And we are going to fight hard to push back.

So after this report is issued, I want you to let the committee know do you believe he did it. You do not have to answer now.

Finally, the war. Do you believe we are at war—the United States?

Ambassador CRAFT. Senator, what I believe is we are showing strong deterrence.

Senator GRAHAM. Are we at war? Who are we at war with? Who are we trying to deter?

Ambassador CRAFT. We need to deter. We need to think about Iran and their corrosive behavior.

Senator GRAHAM. What is the big theme of this war. Radical Islam versus the world.

Ambassador CRAFT. What we need to think about is this corrosive behavior——

Senator GRAHAM. Do you agree with that or not?

Ambassador CRAFT. Excuse me?

Senator GRAHAM. Do you agree that we are at war with radical Islam in many forums?

Ambassador CRAFT. In many forums, yes, and I do believe that we——

Senator GRAHAM. ISIS is a Sunni forum. Iran is a Shia forum. So here is my point. The budget of this administration reduced the State Department's budget. The budget of the State Department was reduced by 20-something percent. How do you end this war without investing in the lives of others? I have been to Iraq and Afghanistan 54 times. If you think you can kill your way out of this mess, you do not know what you are talking about. So how do you take soft power off the table and win what is an ideological struggle? Do you agree with me that the most devastating thing we could do to radical Islam is to build a small schoolhouse in a remote region educating a young girl and giving her a say about her children and a hope for a better life? That will do more damage than a bomb dropped on their heads.

Ambassador CRAFT. You know, we care about—these are humans. These are people.

Senator GRAHAM. Well, why did we reduce our budget by 20-something percent?

Ambassador CRAFT. You know, we are asking for people to step up and share this burden.

Senator GRAHAM. We step down? Is the world safe enough for us to step down?

Ambassador CRAFT. No, sir. We are leaders within the United Nations, and we are leaders around the world.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Johnson?

Senator JOHNSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Ambassador Craft, welcome. I also share my congratulations and apologize for not being here sooner. We held a markup in my Homeland Security Committee where we passed a pretty important piece of legislation that would end government shutdowns, you know, just put us on an automatic glide path with some real deterrent for members to make sure there is discipline for members to actually pass appropriation bills. So that is why I am late.

I am assuming, based on our meeting yesterday—I enjoyed our meeting. I appreciate you taking the time—that we put the travel issue well behind us here.

So the points I wanted to make is I find it interesting that you were an Alternate Delegate to the U.N. General Assembly. I have had that honor three times to be a representative representing the Senate. I hope to be one in the future potentially under your ambassadorship.

So the point I would like to make is as many problems as we have in the U.N.—and there are many—it is also a pretty important forum for world leaders to get together and just discuss their issues, understand each other's perspectives. I have found that opportunity very valuable, being able to get to the U.N. and put together some very high level meetings in a very efficient time period. So as Ambassador, I would just ask you to utilize that mission if I am another representative to set up those meetings so we can, again, understand those perspectives of world leaders.

Ambassador CRAFT. Yes, sir. I think that is why the U.N. is so important, especially during General Assembly. You know, we celebrate the freedom of expression, and I think that is why everybody will be there. They will have the freedom to express. We will have the freedom to meet with one another. And it is really important to be able to have some of these face-to-face, one-on-one, and understand better their needs and issues.

Senator JOHNSON. I want to talk a little bit about the climate change issue from the standpoint of priorities. Again, the U.N. is a far from perfect organization, but there are things that it does and things that we need it to do and we need to do them well.

From my standpoint, one of the missions of the U.N. is to try and alleviate human suffering. I think when we talk about climate change, we are talking about potentially alleviating human suffering caused by weather and the effects of potential climate change. By the way, the climate is always changing.

Are you familiar with the Bjorn Lomborg's Copenhagen Consensus?

Ambassador CRAFT. Senator, he is a friend of ours.

Senator JOHNSON. Good.

So he completely believes in manmade climate change. I may be a bit more skeptical in terms of man's total impact. But he also understands that there are limited resources. And if your goal is to alleviate human suffering, there are far better ways of spending limited human resources. For example, PEPFAR, digging wells, killing mosquitoes so you prevent malaria.

So I guess I would just ask you in your position as U.N. Ambassador to take a look at the priorities, recognize we have limited resources, and doing everything you can to help the U.N. reform itself so it concentrates on those things that are most effective both cost-efficiency-wise but also effective at alleviating human suffering.

Ambassador CRAFT. Yes, sir. You have my word. And that is why it is so important that not only as a steward of our taxpayer, American taxpayer, I feel responsible for the countries also that are contributing because we want them to see success. And we want them to have skin in the game. And when they feel successful and they feel like they are part of success and they are part of making a difference in the hundreds of thousands of lives that are desperate, then we are going to have, I hope, more and more countries on board. And if not for the U.N. and all of the organizations and the fact that we are the leaders, where would all of these people be? And I am a strong believer in knowing that we can use the U.N. for American leadership as our platform to really stress to other countries step up, we need you. This is about human dignity. And

I give you my word, if confirmed, that I will be a huge advocate for transparency and for making certain that our dollars are not spent in the U.N. system but spent in the field helping the very people who are desperate for humanitarian aid.

Senator JOHNSON. Well, I appreciate that.

I primarily came here just to express my support for your nomination. Thank you for your past services, Ambassador to Canada, for helping negotiating what I think is an incredibly important trade deal, USMCA. And just thank you for your willingness to serve in this future capacity. So thank you.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Ambassador CRAFT. Thank you, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator Johnson.

Senator Young?

Senator YOUNG. Hello, Ambassador. I am so grateful for your past service as well and excited that you are prepared to take on this new role.

I wanted to ask you. There has been a lot in the news about recent events with Iran and the Gulf. Do you believe that current legal authority exists for the United States to go to war with Iran?

Ambassador CRAFT. Thank you, Senator. Thank you for the time to meet last week.

I believe that we need to show deterrence. I mean, if you look at Iran and their corrosive behavior, their behavior has not changed, which has been very apparent by the recent actions. We have to really be concerned about their participation in Yemen. They are continuing to supply military intervention to the Houthi rebels. We have a crisis there with hundreds of thousands of people starving. And with our strategic partner in the Middle East, Saudi Arabia, and their led coalition in Yemen, this has helped the World Food Program with access to the hundreds of thousands of people. I mean, you have got Iran propping up the Assad regime turning a blind eye——

Senator YOUNG. Iran is a very bad actor——

Ambassador CRAFT. Can you imagine? You have got——

Senator YOUNG.—a leading state sponsor of terror. I am sorry to interject here. My time is somewhat limited, though.

So, yes, we absolutely need to show deterrence vis-a- vis Iran. We need to deal with the worst humanitarian crisis since the late 1950s in China, which is in Yemen as you very correctly pointed out. And we need to work with our partners and allies to ensure that Iran does not continue its adventurous and dangerous behavior, putting our service members, our assets, and the global economy at risk.

But do you believe we have the legal authority to go to war with Iran? Under Article 1, Section 8 of the Constitution, it says that Congress declares war. There is an existing authorization for the use of military force dated back to 2001.

My own belief is that before the United States were to go to war with Iran, Congress would have to be briefed about the justification for that, and Congress would need to vote on that matter.

Ambassador CRAFT. Thank you, Senator, for raising this particular issue.

I understand that when we have an imminent threat, the President makes this decision. If not that, then I also understand—and I know the importance of consulting with Congress when it comes to something as important as this decision.

Senator YOUNG. So absent an imminent threat, you agree that a vote by Congress would be required to authorize use of military force.

Ambassador CRAFT. Yes. I agree we need to be consulting with Congress. This is a very important decision that affects the lives of not just Americans but a lot of innocent people.

Senator YOUNG. I want that consultation to be followed up, just for the record, with a vote by Congress under Article 1 of the Constitution. So we will look forward to working with the State Department and the National Security Advisor and the President and others on that important matter.

The United States, Ms. Ambassador, is under-represented among the professional staff at the United Nations, something you, no doubt, have been briefed on. How do you plan to address this if you are confirmed?

Ambassador CRAFT. Thank you, Senator.

You know, I think we need to highlight the successes of the areas where we are represented by Americans, whether it is UNICEF, you know, with Henrietta Fore, UNICEF with Governor Beasley. We just had someone appointed to the ICC to investigate and to gather and keep the information in Burma with the Rohingya refugees, which is so vitally important. And I feel very confident in knowing that when we have an American and we can show that there is greater transparency, which provides accountability and obviously more effectiveness, throughout the U.N. system—and this is an issue that I will bring up with Secretary Gutteres. We are under-represented. And I understand that with the percentage of our contribution level, we are nowhere near having the Americans in the system. And we need to be very cognitive of the fact that China is placing their individuals being hired throughout the system, and that is a real issue.

Senator YOUNG. Clearly, you understand my concern.

Ambassador CRAFT. Oh, yes, I do.

Senator YOUNG. And that thematically is very much linked to my concern about the U.S. withdrawal from certain U.N. organizations that is coinciding with Chinese expansion in the multilateral fora.

I do not disagree with withdrawal from, say, the Human Rights Council. There is only so long that you can remain a member of that organization when you have gross violators of human rights that call themselves members and try and effect change from within. So I actually think it was the right decision.

But I also have concerns—there is a little tension here—that China is seeking to now shape the world's human rights and other agendas with its particular viewpoint through that very organization.

So how can the United States effectively challenge China's view of human rights and perhaps challenge its rival economic system at the United Nations?

Ambassador CRAFT. Thank you, Senator. Obviously, that is something we discussed in your office, and it is really important.

You know, China is the second largest contributor now at the U.N. We are still the leader and we will be. We have to keep in mind that because of their economy is why they now have stepped up contributing as the second largest contributor.

They also have ulterior motives and they are looking for leverage. They are looking for leverage within the U.N. system, within the other 192 member states, especially the under-developed countries. You know, they are taking their Belt and Road Initiative—and I understand we cannot match that dollar per dollar. And thank you, everyone here, for the BUILD Act. I think it is really important that we focus on areas that we can negate China in under-developed countries with our BUILD Act, with public-private partnerships, with leading people with sustainability, not with predatory lending.

So I understand your concern and share your concern, and if confirmed, I will most certainly develop the relationships within the U.N. body to make certain that the smaller countries understand we are here for you, we are here to help you with longevity to build communities. China is not.

Senator YOUNG. Well, I am chairman of the Multilateral Institutions Subcommittee here on Foreign Relations. So I will have oversight over all of these matters really, and I look forward to supporting you in your efforts and working together so that we can create a broader and deeper coalition and then apply our collective leverage against China's predatory economic practices, against gross human rights violators so we do not normalize the sort of human rights violations that others might attempt to normalize in this international forum.

So thank you once again for your past service and your interest in serving, and I look forward to our work together.

Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator.

Senator Menendez?

Senator MENENDEZ. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Madam Ambassador, let me just say for the record I supported your nomination. I do not support everybody who comes before this committee. I supported expediting your nomination for a business committee meeting. And I supported your nomination on the floor of the United States Senate. So even though you are a political appointee, it meant nothing to me. So I hold no ill will.

But my job as the ranking member is to vet every candidate that comes before us. So in that spirit, let me just take my line of questioning a little further.

You know, there is an old adage that as a lawyer if you have the facts on your side, you argue the facts. You have a war on your side, you argue the law. And if you have neither the facts nor the law, you bang on the table and create a diversion.

Now, Senator Cruz is a very good lawyer. The problem with his line of questioning is that the State Department told us that the 300 days that I have questioned you about was reported as 300 days outside of Canada. It did not include travel inside of Canada. So that line of questioning to suggest that a good part of this is you were traveling in Canada—and you should be traveling in Canada—I have no dispute you should be traveling in Canada. But the

300 days was travel outside of Canada not because I say it, but because the State Department says it.

So I look at that, and I see that the new USMCA negotiations were completed at the end of September 2018. Yet, as you can see from the chart, your absences from post seem to only increase in frequency after the time of the negotiations being completed. How do you explain that?

Ambassador CRAFT. Senator, while we may have reached the deadline of September 30th of 2018 for USMCA, there were many more conversations we were having to iron out issues that we agreed upon at that last hour on September 30th that we would continue to speak about.

I can tell you now that I did not enjoy living out of a suitcase. We had finally made our residence in Ottawa a home just in time that I had to pack up bags and go back and forth. That was no fun. But I took my oath of office very seriously and understanding that I am available 24/7 wherever——

Senator MENENDEZ. Well, let me——

Ambassador CRAFT. I beg your pardon?

Senator MENENDEZ. Let me ask you then in pursuit of that. I am sure you did not enjoy living out of a suitcase.

But there were five rounds of negotiations that occurred after you became Ambassador in October 2017. Yet, it appears from the summary provided by the State Department that you only attended one of those five rounds. Are those records correct?

Ambassador CRAFT. No, sir. The rounds that occurred in Washington were continuous. I did attend the round in Montreal because as I——

Senator MENENDEZ. Did you attend all five rounds of negotiations——

Ambassador CRAFT. No, sir. No, sir. No, sir, I did not. I attended the round in Montreal.

Senator MENENDEZ. This is why we need the information so hopefully—I am not sure we will—we can get past this issue because this is a global stage you are going to be on. Canada is a really important assignment. This is a global stage. There are huge global issues. There is no more important position I can think of other than the Secretary of State than the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations. And as someone who has practiced foreign policy for 27 years in Congress, this is real important to me. I know what it means. So that is why I am pursuing this.

You know, the first thing is you need to be there in order to meet the challenges. So I have to understand that better. I hope we can get to that point that I do.

I have some final questions on substance.

Let me ask you. You said in response to Senator Graham—he was asking about Iraq. You said you are going to follow the President's policy. I understand that. President Trump has made a whole host of disparaging comments about U.N. member states. In tweets, he has referred to the Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau as very dishonest and weak. He has called Europe a total mess. He said that Germany is a captive of Russia. Do you agree with those statements?

Ambassador CRAFT. Senator, the President has his own way of communicating. I can assure you that my relationships that I will build, if confirmed at the U.N.——

Senator MENENDEZ. I understand. Believe me, I am painfully aware of the President's form of communicating. The question is, do you believe in those statements? Yes or no.

Ambassador CRAFT. This is a gotcha question, and I am not going to go there. What I believe——

Senator MENENDEZ. It is not a gotcha question. You are going to be at the United Nations. You are going to be on the Security Council and at the General Assembly with a whole host of the countries. You are going to have to work through these things. So about a simple thing, you can say I do not personally believe that. It is a challenge. Right?

Ambassador CRAFT. I can assure you that I will be speaking to everyone with utmost respect in representing the United States.

Senator MENENDEZ. Let me ask you. If you are confirmed, can you pledge that you will not use your post as Ambassador to the United Nations to provide diplomatic protection for Saudi Arabia, but use your voice and your vote to raise concerns about the conduct of the Saudi-led coalition in Yemen, to press for accountability on the brutal murder of Jamal Khashoggi, to end the fact that the Saudis use child soldiers?

Ambassador CRAFT. Senator, I can give you my word that I do not care who it is, what country it is, if there is a human rights abuse, I will most certainly shine the light, call them out, however you want to put it. You can guarantee that I will be the first there to say this has to stop because——

Senator MENENDEZ. I appreciate that. But specifically as to my question as to the Saudis, will you use your voice and your vote in these instances to stand up for what you are telling me more globally? You will use your voice and your voice to stand up to express the concerns. There is a huge humanitarian catastrophe going on in Yemen. There is clearly the murder of a journalist that needs to be addressed. There is clearly the use of child soldiers, which I know in your heart, as a mother, you cannot even believe is something that should be used. So will you use your voice and your vote in that regard?

Ambassador CRAFT. Senator, I will use my voice when Saudi Arabia commits human rights abuses. You better believe I will be using my voice.

Senator MENENDEZ. Thank you.

Now, lastly—I am going to submit a whole bunch of questions for the record and I look forward to substantive responses from you and maybe a follow-up visit.

Ambassador CRAFT. Sure.

Senator MENENDEZ. You mentioned very well, by the way, the question of humanitarian issues. You shared the same story you shared previously with me about the Rohingya and the first time you met anybody from the Rohingyas—with Senator Gardner.

We have the greatest displacement since World War II of people in the world, over 70 million people displaced because they flee violence, oppression, persecution. What do you believe is the role that we should be playing as it relates to dealing with that challenge?

Ambassador CRAFT. Dealing with the Rohingya challenge specifically?

Senator MENENDEZ. Rohingya but beyond, the 70 million people who are displaced in the world who are, in essence, refugees. What is the role that you would advocate as the U.S. Ambassador at the U.N.? What should we be doing and leading on?

Ambassador CRAFT. Senator, I understand the emotions because I feel the same way about this issue, as we discussed in your office. I cannot fathom, from looking at these children, what it must be like for a mother to feel so desperate to have to leave their country or, worse, put an innocent child in the hands of a human smuggler, thinking they are going to go to the promised land. And that is why it is so important in the U.S. that we be very vigilant and with our humanitarian aid, that we demand for transparency, because as you know, our dollars have to be spent very wisely. These are people. We have to remember they are people. They are not just refugees or migrants of immigrants. They are people. And I can pledge to you that I will use everything in my power to make certain that the U.S. is always the first on the ground and the last to leave.

Senator MENENDEZ. I appreciate that. I would just say to you it would be helpful, if you are confirmed, your advocacy within this administration. One of the things we should be doing is admitting some more—we are at the lowest level in our nation's history of accepting refugees. You cannot lead in the world at the U.N. and advocate for other countries to do what we fail to do ourselves. And so this is a challenge that you will find at many different moments. How you work your way through that challenge is going to be incredibly important as to how successful you can be on behalf of the United States of America.

And I will look forward to some of the answers to the questions I am posing in writing. Thank you very much.

Ambassador CRAFT. Thank you, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator Menendez.

Ambassador Craft, thank you very much. You have been very patient with all of us and we appreciate your testimony.

The record will remain open until the close of business on Thursday.

And with that, this meeting is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 12:35 p.m., the hearing was adjourned.]

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## Additional Material Submitted for the Record

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED TO HON. KERRY CRAFT BY SENATOR ROBERT MENENDEZ

*U.N. Peacekeeping Arrears*

As you know, the U.N. is in a financial crisis, largely owing to shortfalls of U.S. contributions. For peacekeeping alone, we are $776 million in arrears. As I outlined at your nomination hearing, for the past three years, the U.S. has paid only 25 percent of peacekeeping costs instead of what we actually owed—28 percent. Just a few days ago, the State Department provided a report detailing the negative impact of arrears. All of this was corroborated by the Secretary-General when he was here a few weeks ago.

In December, all Member States agreed at the U.N. to new peacekeeping rates. For the U.S., the new peacekeeping rate dropped to 27.8 percent The U.S. voted in

support of these rates and the U.S. mission to the U.N. even put out a fact-sheet touting how we benefit from them. Now its Congress' turn to act and lift the cap. Over the past 25 years, Congress has lifted it many times—we must do so again this year.

*Question.* Will you pledge to work with Congress on this issue so we can pay at the rate that the U.S. agreed to just a few months ago?

Answer. If confirmed, I am committed to working with Congress on the issue of funding for U.N. peacekeeping operations.

*Question.* Do you agree that this should be a priority for the U.S.?

Answer. Yes, I agree that this is a very high priority for the United States and the American people.

*China at the U.N.*

As I've said before, I agree with the President about the scope and scale of the challenge China presents to us and to the international community. We cannot just be confrontational with China we need to actually be competitive.

In the past several years, the U.S. has withdrawn from UNESCO, the U.N. Human Rights Council, the Arms Trade Treaty, to name a few. It has also underfunded our PKO obligations, and we continue to be behind in our arrears. And yet we express surprise that China appears to be taking advantage of the void we are creating at the U.N. and in international institutions and organizations more broadly.

*Question.* Do you agree that this is a challenge for the U.S.?

Answer. There are aspects of China's behavior at the U.N. that are a challenge for the United States, as well as other countries that seek to uphold all aspects of the U.N. Charter and other foundational documents. The United States and China are both permanent members of the U.N. Security Council, and we seek to work with China where our interests overlap. However, in areas such as protection of human rights, we have deep differences. I believe it is incumbent upon us, as well as other member states, to uphold the U.N. Charter and subsequent commitments that we have all made. In places where China has attempted to change the rules we must be firm.

*Question.* What will you do to regain the lost ground?

Answer. I do not believe that we have lost ground at the U.N. The United States remains an indispensable partner of the international community, including at the U.N. and its associated bodies. We are by far the largest donor in both assessed and voluntary contributions and a permanent member of the Security Council. The narrative that China is somehow supplanting the United States at the U.N. or within the multilateral world is incorrect. We remain engaged to promote progress across a wide range of global issues.

However, we cannot take our position or allies for granted. If confirmed, I will continue to build coalitions of like-minded member states to protect U.N. rules and standards. As the global leader, we must also be prepared to stand alone and on principle. I will not hesitate to defend our positions and values.

*Question.* How will you assure that our values and principles—and not Beijing's—continue to animate the United Nations?

Answer. Our values and principles have brought unprecedented global peace and prosperity since the founding of the U.N. Individual liberty and representative government remain the best way to ensure that peace, security, and prosperity continue. If confirmed, I will not hesitate to emphasize that message, and to use our leadership and position within the U.N. system to promote our values and principles. Although Beijing has sought to change the narrative, the evidence is overwhelming that the values we espouse are the best solution in the long term. The United States has much to be proud of with respect to our continued global leadership. I will not hesitate to tell that story, and continue our leadership.

*Question.* What concrete steps do you believe we can take to confront China's influence?

Answer. We must not allow our allies and partners to succumb to China's narrative that we are in retreat from our position of global preeminence. The evidence does not support this, so we must be forthright in correcting it. The United States remains the single largest donor to the U.N., both in assessed and voluntary contributions. We are the indispensable partner. Across the multilateral system, our support is critical to fulfilling global mandates. Where China has sought to erode norms at the U.N. or its associated organizations or coopt them, we have pushed

back, often times with coalitions of like-minded member states. If confirmed, I will be extremely vocal in our support of the U.N. Charter, human rights, and global peace, security, and prosperity.

*Question.* In which U.N. bodies do you think we have a comparative advantage over China?

Answer. I sincerely believe we have a comparative advantage over China in most U.N. bodies. We have built strong coalitions based on shared values. These values are at the heart of the U.N. Charter and other foundational documents. We also remain a major donor for many of the bodies to which we are party, through both assessed and voluntary contributions. For instance, the United States is the top donor to the U.N.'s humanitarian relief operations, helping the most vulnerable and needy worldwide. Our engagement remains crucial for many of these organizations to fulfill their mandates. As such, we retain a comparative advantage within the U.N. bodies.

*Question.* The security situation in Libya continues to deteriorate, and General Heftar's push into Tripoli risks undermining regional stability. Do you agree?

Answer. Yes. The fighting in Tripoli is endangering civilians, damaging civilian infrastructure, degrading U.S.-Libya cooperation against terrorism, and fueling a worsening humanitarian situation. Lasting peace and stability will only come through a political solution.

*Question.* Then do you believe the United States made the right decision in joining Russia to veto a resolution calling for a ceasefire and return to a political process?

Answer. The United States did not veto a U.N. Security Council Resolution on Libya. The United States continues to call for a ceasefire and return to the political process. As the U.N. Special Representative of the Secretary-General continues his efforts at mediating a ceasefire, I would plan, if confirmed, to consult with Council members to evaluate how and when the Council could best support a political resolution to the conflict.

*Question.* How do you plan to engage with Special Representative Ghassan Salame? What more can the United States do in pressing for a negotiated settlement?

Answer. U.S. diplomats in Washington, Tunis, and New York engage on a regular basis with SRSG Salame and the United States supports his ongoing efforts to help avoid further escalation and chart a path forward that provides security and prosperity for all Libyans. If confirmed, I will continue to ensure U.S. diplomatic efforts are closely coordinated with the U.N., and will encourage other Member States to support U.N. mediation.

*Question.* Russia has used its veto power at the U.N. to block action on many of the most pressing conflicts facing the world today, including Ukraine and Syria, where it is a party to the conflict. What will be your strategy for dealing with Russia's consistent obstructionism at the U.N.? Do you see any areas for potential cooperation with Russia at the U.N.?

Answer. Russia attempts to use the United Nations to advance its narrow national interests and legitimize its authoritarian worldview. Moscow uses its knowledge of the U.N. system, veto power, and combative public diplomacy to block P3 positions (United States, United Kingdom, and France) on high profile issues including Syria, Venezuela, and Iran.In response to Russia's efforts to assert its authoritarian worldview through the United Nations, the United States works with like-minded partners, including the P3, to counteract Russian influence in the U.N. system. This requires American negotiators at respective U.N. missions to remain vigilant in identifying positions and concepts that run counter to U.S. interests while actively engaging partners to achieve outcomes that advance U.S. foreign policy. That said, should Russia approach an issue in a manner consistent with U.S. interests, I would be prepared to work with them.

*Question.* Russia's invasion and occupation of Crimea is illegal under international law, period. The issue of Crimea has come before the U.N., and, as U.S. Ambassador to the U.N., you should do everything you can to see Crimea returned to Ukrainian control in accordance with international law. However, several reports came out last June saying President Trump believes that Crimea is Russian because everyone who lives there speaks Russian. This is an unacceptable position and an affront to Ukraine's sovereignty. Do I have your commitment to defend Ukraine's sovereignty at the U.N. regardless of what the President says?

Answer. Secretary Pompeo unequivocally reiterated U.S. policy in his July 2018 Crimea Declaration: "we do not, and will not, recognize Russia's purported annexation of Crimea." On February 27, in connection with the fifth anniversary of Russia's occupation of Crimea, Secretary Pompeo underscored the U.S. position: "Crimea is Ukraine and must be returned to Ukraine's control. We will never accept anything less than the full restoration of Ukraine's territorial integrity." Within the context of the U.N. Security Council, the United States remains vigilant in combatting Russian attempts to normalize its purported annexation of Crimea. We will continue to work with Ukraine and likeminded partners to shed light on Russia's brutal occupation and ensure Russia returns control of Crimea to Ukraine.

*North Korea*

Today, North Korea has greater nuclear and ballistic missile capabilities than when President Trump entered office, and those capabilities continue to grow unconstrained our alliance of pressure itself is fraying, with China, Russia and others continuing to engage economically with Pyongyang. While you won't be responsible for North Korea policy or negotiations, if confirmed you will have significant responsibility for several key issues related to North Korea at the UN.

*Question.* What do you think the criteria should be for humanitarian exemptions for North Korea sanctions?

Answer. The United States is deeply concerned about the well-being of the North Korean people and the humanitarian situation in North Korea, which is the result of the DPRK regime's choice to prioritize its unlawful WMD and ballistic missile programs over the welfare of its own people.

U.S. policy is to ensure that the strict implementation of sanctions does not impede the delivery of legitimate humanitarian assistance to the North Korean people. The United States will continue to work with the United Nations 1718 Committee to closely review requests for exemptions and licenses for the delivery of assistance to the DPRK and expects humanitarian aid organizations to meet international standards for access and monitoring of their programs.

*Question.* Do you think the recent North Korean SRBM test was a violation of UNSCR sanctions? If it was, do you think the administration should press the UNSC to take appropriate action? What action?

Answer. U.N. Security Council Resolutions prohibit the DPRK from conducting launches using ballistic missile technology. U.N. Security Council Resolutions also require North Korea to abandon its nuclear and ballistic missile programs. The Trump administration is engaged in a diplomatic effort to eliminate the DPRK's U.N.-prohibited WMD and ballistic missile program and has built unprecedented international support for our efforts to achieve the final, fully verified denuclearization of North Korea.

The United States cooperates and coordinates closely on North Korea not just with our regional allies, the Republic of Korea and Japan, but with Canada, Australia, UK, France, Germany, and our other European allies. China and Russia share our goal of achieving the final, fully verified denuclearization of North Korea. This resounding international consensus has resulted in strong, unified action from the U.N. Security Council that experts in 2016 had predicted would be impossible.

*Question.* Why has the administration—which professes to be pursuing a policy of "maximum pressure"—failed to press the UNSC to take action on a violation of sanctions?

Answer. We continue to press countries around the world to fully implement U.N. Security Council resolutions to underscore to North Korea that the only way to achieve the security and development it seeks is to forsake its weapons of mass destruction and their means of delivery.

*Question.* How will you work to get the 1718 Committee to accept more designation proposals?

Answer. The United States engages regularly with the members of the Security Council to make our case for designation at the 1718 Committee. We will continue to engage in these discussions regularly and seek to apply the greatest pressure possible through the committee.

The State Department also engages countries bilaterally around the world to take action to ensure global implementation of U.N. Security Council obligations. We are cooperating with many countries to enable decisive action against entities involved in DPRK sanctions evasion activity.

If confirmed I will work to ensure that the 1718 Committee accepts as many U.S. designation proposals as possible and advances international efforts led by the United States to achieve the final, fully verified denuclearization of the DPRK.

*Question.* How will you work with both like-minded and "the others" on the 11718 Committee—both multilaterally in committee meetings and in bilateral meetings—to advance U.S. goals on DPRK? What are the U.S. goals on DPRK?

Answer. Our goal is to achieve the final, fully verified denuclearization of the DPRK, as committed to by Chairman Kim in Singapore. As President Trump has said, he believes Chairman Kim will fulfill his commitment to denuclearize.

The State Department works with the 1718 Committee and members of the Security Council to achieve a consensus on the need to fully implement U.N. Security Council resolutions—both in sanctions imposed and in the need for the DPRK to eliminate its unlawful WMD and ballistic missile programs. We use bilateral meetings with members of the Council to present additional information we have and persuade them to support the U.S. position on the need to continue to fully implement sanctions on DPRK. We use the open meetings and Security Council discussions regarding the 1718 Committee to engage countries around the world for action to continue to hold the DPRK accountable for its unlawful WMD and ballistic missile programs and ensure global implementation of U.N. Security Council obligations. Through the U.N., we are cooperating with many countries to take decisive action against entities involved in DPRK sanctions evasion activity.

international efforts led by the United States to achieve the final, fully verified denuclearization of the DPRK.

*Question.* Do you agree that any candidate for office in the United States who is presented with information on an opponent from a foreign power should report that to the FBI?

Answer. Yes.

*Syria*

Russia has repeatedly vetoed Security Council action to resolve conflict and prevent atrocities against civilians in Syria, atrocities in which it is complicit. Divisions within the Security Council have also halted the body's ability to bring the conflict to a negotiated end as the regime consolidates gains across the country. Currently, there remains a great need for both humanitarian assistance and access to the besieged population in Idlib, where the regime and its Russian and Iranian backers are pounding civilians and civilian infrastructure as the rest of the world watches in horror.

*Question.* Given that one of Assad's main enablers wields a veto in the Security Council, how will you seek to use the United Nations to help secure an end to hostilities, and address atrocities by the regime and its backers in Syria?

Answer. The only end to the conflict in Syria is a political solution in line with U.N. Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 2254. Through regularly-scheduled meetings on Syria in the U.N. Security Council, we will continue to work with allies to press Member States to recognize this in practical steps taken in and outside the Council, including deescalating the violence in Idlib and convening the Constitutional Committee.

Until the Assad regime and Russia take concrete steps toward a full, immediate, and verifiable de-escalation in Syria, the United States will continue to apply pressure through all possible means to isolate the regime and its allies. We are using a whole of government approach in this effort, including the recent Treasury Department designations of 16 Syrian individuals and entities, demonstrating our commitment to promoting accountability for persons who support the Assad regime and undermine peace, security, and stability.

*Question.* How will you work with members of the Security Council to gain humanitarian access to all affected populations inside Syria?

Answer. The continuation of destruction and violence on the civilian population and civilian infrastructure in Syria, particularly in Idlib, is inexcusable. Through regularly-scheduled meetings on Syria in the U.N. Security Council, we continue to press Member States on the critical importance to maintain cross-border aid deliveries across all agreed border crossings in accordance with U.N. Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 2449.

There is no substitute for cross-border operations, which are the most transparent, most effective, and most efficient way to bring humanitarian assistance to those in Syria who need it most. No actor on the ground should politicize U.N. hu-

manitarian operations, nor use it as a weapon, as the Assad regime and Russia have done.

*Iran*

Iran continues to foment chaos and instability throughout the region. From Syria and Lebanon to Iraq to Yemen, Iran and its proxies menace our allies and partners, destabilize governments and are complicit in atrocities and humanitarian nightmares.

Regarding Iran's nuclear program

*Question.* Given the way the administration's abrupt withdrawal from the JCPOA has alienated many of our allies, what leverage does the U.S. have at the U.N. to address Iranian regional aggression?

Answer. A key element to the administration's Iran policy is strong diplomatic engagement with our partners and allies, including via the U.N. and other multilateral bodies. U.S. allies and partners in Europe, the Gulf, and Asia share our assessment of the full magnitude of the Iranian regime's malign behavior. On the U.N. Security Council, the United States works closely alongside other member states to implement multilateral counter-proliferation efforts against Iran and to address Iran's hostile regional activity. Iran's destructive actions will only serve to further isolate it on the international stage.

*Question.* How can we address the fact that the arms embargo provisions of the JCPOA will expire in 2020?

Answer. While the JCPOA does not provide for any arms embargo on Iran, the provisions of U.N. Security Council Resolution 2231 (2015) that obligate all States to prevent the supply, sale, or transfer of arms or related materiel to Iran unless approved in advance on a case by case basis by the U.N. Security Council expire no later than October 2020. We have made clear to the other members of the Security Council that these important provisions should be extended. We will continue to underscore the serious challenge Iran poses to international peace and security and the need to prevent the onward proliferation of destabilizing weapons to Iran.

*Question.* How will you engage with the IAEA to ensure that it has adequate inspections of all necessary nuclear sites?

Answer. We remain closely engaged with the IAEA to ensure it has all necessary resources to carry out its critical verification and monitoring role in Iran. We have made clear that Iran must cooperate fully with the IAEA, including by providing unqualified access to any location requested by the IAEA. The IAEA has the authority to request access to any location in Iran—civil or military—to verify Iran's declarations under its Additional Protocol and Comprehensive Safeguards Agreement when a question or inconsistency has arisen. The IAEA also has a fundamental responsibility to pursue any new concern about undeclared nuclear material or safeguards-relevant activities, and we have full confidence that the Agency and its highly skilled and professional inspectors will do so appropriately.

If confirmed, I will work closely with Ambassador Jackie Wolcott and her team at the U.S. Mission to International Organizations in Vienna (UNVIE) to promote and support U.S. policy on these questions.

*Question.* What U.N. mechanisms do you think can be the most effective in confronting Iran's non-nuclear behavior?

Answer. Addressing Iran's malign behavior is a top priority of this administration and crucial to the stability of the region. During the "Ministerial to Promote a Future of Peace and Security in the Middle East," held in Warsaw, Poland February 13-14, foreign ministers and representatives from 62 nations and entities, including Israel, came together to advance common interests around terrorism, proliferation, and the escalation of conflicts in the region. The destabilizing activities of Iran were highlighted in all of these areas, and Warsaw participants discussed how we could respond to Iran's actions. A key element to the administration's Iran policy is strong diplomatic engagement with our partners and allies, including via the U.N. Security Council. Iran's destructive actions will only serve to further isolate it on the international stage.

*Question.* Iran continues to violate U.N. arms embargoes, supplying weapons across the region. How do you plan to work to enforce those arms embargoes?

Answer. Maintaining Security Council solidarity on these issues will be a key priority if I am confirmed. Inhibiting the flow of weapons to terrorists and rogue regimes should be a commitment around which the word can rally, and I will be attentive to any potential relaxation within the Council.

*Question.* How do you plan to address the fact that Iran continues to test ballistic missiles in violation of the U.N. Security Council?

Answer. The Secretary has been clear: Iran must end its proliferation of ballistic missiles and halt further launching or development of nuclear-capable missile systems. Iran's pace of missile launches did not diminish after implementation of the JCPOA in January 2016 and was among the many reasons the administration chose to cease participation in that agreement. Iran has conducted multiple ballistic missile launches since this time as it continues to prioritize its missile development in defiance of U.N. Security Council Resolution 2231. We continue to relay our strong concerns to the U.N. Secretary-General and the U.N. Security Council in response to Iran's dangerous missile development and proliferation.

*Israel*

Historically, the United States has played a critical role in standing up for Israel and combatting biased, one-sided resolutions and other actions across the U.N., including the Security Council, General Assembly, and organizations like UNESCO and the U.N. Human Rights Council. The U.S. has also advocated against Palestinian attempts to unilaterally establish permanent member status, which should only happen after a mutually agreed two-state solution with Israel.

*Question.* How do you to plan to approach standing up for Israel at the U.N.?

Answer. President Trump has declared emphatically that his administration will always stand with Israel. If confirmed, I am wholly committed to maintaining the longstanding, strong U.S. support for Israel at the United Nations. The United States has consistently opposed every effort to delegitimize Israel or undermine its security at the United Nations, and I will continue to do so with vigor. I will work to ensure this support is comprehensive, including in the Security Council and General Assembly. I will work to broaden the focus of the Security Council's monthly debate on the Middle East away from Israel, and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and toward malign actors in the region, such as Iran and Syria.

I will maintain the U.S. opposition to the annual submission of a disproportionate number of unfair resolutions biased against Israel. The one-sided approach to these resolutions damages the prospects for peace between Israel and the Palestinians by undermining trust between the parties and failing to create the kind of positive international environment critical to achieving peace. The United States consistently opposes "foreign occupation" language in U.N. texts and works with Israel to explore possibilities of changing references to "foreign occupation" so the references are not Israel-specific. Under my leadership, if confirmed, the U.S. Mission to the U.N. in New York also will focus on identifying and removing anti-Israeli statements in other U.N. texts, and we will support qualified Israeli candidatures for U.N. positions when appropriate. I also will continue my practice, and my predecessors', of working constructively with our Israeli diplomatic counterparts, and specifically the Israeli Mission to the United Nations.

*Question.* Given that the United States has pulled funding for various U.N. institutions, what leverage does the U.S. have to counter anti-Israel bias at the U.N.? How would you advocate against anti-Israel bias at the U.N.?

Answer. Anti-Israeli bias is pervasive throughout the U.N. system. The Trump administration has pushed back against the unfair treatment of Israel at the United Nations, and the United States has always strived to counter bias against Israel within the U.N. system. As I stated in my testimony, the United States will never accept such bias, and if confirmed I commit to seizing every opportunity to shine a light on this conduct, call it what it is, and demand that these outrageous practices finally come to an end. It is a core U.S. priority to counter anti-Israel bias and ensure that Israel, as with any other member state, is treated fairly at the UN.

As we strive to counter bias against Israel at the United Nations, the United States has many strengths. For example, we remain the largest contributor to the United Nations, a permanent member of the Security Council, and the U.N. host country to the United Nations Organization and to the U.N. community in New York. U.S. diplomats working at the United Nations in New York and on U.N. issues around the world are among the most active of any country. We take every opportunity possible to demand that not only elements of the U.N. System, but also representatives of other member states, stop these biased and one-sided attacks and abandon the abhorrent anti-Israel biases that we see much too often.

Here are specific measures that I will continue if confirmed: I will remain focused on countering anti-Israeli efforts, including General Assembly resolutions. I will oppose premature Palestinian attempts to join U.N. and related bodies. And, I will call attention to the role of malign regional actors, such as Hamas, in undermining ef-

forts to reach a comprehensive peace agreement between Israel and the Palestinians. I also will work to broaden the focus of the Security Council's monthly debate on the Middle East away from Israel, and the Israeli- Palestinian conflict, and toward malign actors in the region, such as Iran and Syria.

If confirmed, I also will strongly support Israel's affirmative efforts to normalize its participation within the United Nations, and the country's positive diplomatic agenda there. I also will continue my predecessors' work to increase Israel's representation in U.N. positions.

Under President Trump, the United States has continually opposed U.N. resolutions that unfairly target Israel. President Trump withdrew the United States from the U.N. Human Rights Commission which has repeatedly shown an abhorrent anti-Israel bias. The administration strongly supports efforts to expand ties between Israel and neighboring Arab states, particularly those in the Gulf.

*Question.* In spite of repeated violations, the ceasefire brokered by U.N. Special Envoy Martin Griffiths around Hudaydah has held and the Houthis have withdrawn their forces. However, prospects for a broader peace remain grim. What steps can the U.S. take at the U.N. to ease tensions and return the parties to the negotiating table for a political solution?

Answer. The United States can continue diplomatic engagement in New York and the region to ensure continued U.N. Security Council support for U.N. Special Envoy Martin Griffiths' efforts to mediate between the Yemeni parties to reach a political settlement to end the conflict. In December, the U.S. Mission to the U.N. shaped the language of and voted for U.N. Security Council Resolution 2451, endorsing the agreements the parties reached in Sweden, and Resolution 2452, establishing and resourcing a monitoring force to verify the Hudaydah ceasefire and redeployments. In June, the United States called on the Houthis to demonstrate good faith in the political process, and for Iran to cease supplying the Houthis with weapons to attack its neighbors, and underscored that said attacks threaten to derail progress toward a political agreement. The United States can continue to support U.N.-led political negotiations by renewing the monitoring mandate of the U.N. Mission to support the Hudaydah Agreement (UNMHA) and supporting future resolutions supporting the Special Envoy's efforts.

*Question.* How can the U.S. work through the U.N. to ensure humanitarian access throughout Yemen?

Answer. The United States has continued to call on all parties to ensure unimpeded commercial and humanitarian access to and throughout Yemen so critical food, fuel, and medicine reaches Yemenis who need it the most. Since October 2017, the United States has provided nearly $721 million towards the response in Yemen, and this aid reaches Yemenis through the U.N. and other implementing partners. In January 2018, the United States worked with the World Food Program and Saudi-led Coalition to deliver mobile cranes to Hudaydah port to increase throughput capacity there. We will continue to remain in close contact with the U.N. and its agencies to monitor humanitarian access.

*North Korea Human Rights*

For many years, the U.S. permanent representative at the U.N. led efforts to have the Security Council debate the human rights situation in North Korea. Your predecessor, Ambassador Nikki Haley, pledged during her confirmation process to work to hold such debates on an even more frequent basis. In actual fact, however, she only worked to have one in late 2017, and in 2018 no debate was held at all. These debates are important events which communicate to the North Korean government that the international community, even as it seeks a diplomatic solution to North Korea's weapons proliferation, remains concerned about human rights issues—and that the U.S. will not give the government a pass in exchange for actions on other issues, including proliferation.

*Question.* Will you pledge that, if you are confirmed, you will work to hold regular debates on North Korea human rights issues at the Security Council, and at least more than once a year?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work to hold regular debates on North Korea's human rights record and persistent issues at the U.N. Security Council.

*Question.* How do you plan to advance accountability for the North Korean regime's crimes? What avenues for accountability do you think the United States should pursue?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work to advance human rights and accountability in the DPRK through support for documentation efforts; fostering the free flow of infor-

mation into, out of, and within the DPRK; and increased international pressure on the DPRK to respect human rights.

If confirmed, I will support the documentation, advocacy, and accountability work of the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights field office in Seoul, as well as the work of the U.N. Special Rapporteur on Human Rights in the DPRK. I will support strong language, including on accountability, in the annual U.N. Third Committee resolution and will work with to ensure that the DPRK's human rights record continues to be discussed by the Security Council.

*Question.* Will you pledge to use the U.S. seat on the General Assembly's Fifth Committee to ensure that funding is not cut to the U.N.'s offices working to collect evidence of North Korean government abuses and crimes against humanity, including the Seoul office of the U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights?

Answer. If confirmed, I will support and promote efforts, including those of the Seoul office and the U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights, to collect evidence of North Korean human rights violations and abuses.

*Nicaragua*

Earlier this month, the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights documented that in Nicaragua, there was a "disproportionate use of force by the police, sometimes resulting in extrajudicial killings; enforced disappearances; torture and sexual violence, as well as widespread arbitrary or unlawful detentions, occasionally by pro-government armed elements with the acquiescence of authorities." Although there have been ongoing negotiations between the Nicaraguan Government and the Nicaraguan opposition-with the Government of Nicaragua agreeing to release 56 activists from prison-there are groups that have documented at least 700 people remain detained in connection with anti-government protests.

*Question.* What is your assessment of the role of the U.S. U.N. mission in addressing the Nicaraguan crisis?

Answer. It is the role of the U.S. Mission to the U.N. to be apprised of the situation, and to foster active discussions with other member states, including members of the Security Council, to identify opportunities to highlight the need for increased international attention on Nicaragua. The U.S. Mission to the U.N. has raised the issue of government repression in Nicaragua at the Security Council, most recently in September 2018. However, with no regular Nicaragua- focused meeting at the Security Council, these meetings are ad hoc, and require a minimum of nine affirmative votes to convene. Several member states on the Council remain vehemently opposed to any public discussion of the situation in Nicaragua. As such, these meetings often depend on emergent events to encourage Security Council member states to seek a meeting.

*Question.* If confirmed, how will you advocate for political prisoners in Nicaragua?

Answer. The U.S. Mission to the U.N. in Geneva hosted an event in April that featured panelists from civil society and the Organization of American States (OAS) who discussed the deterioration of the human rights situation in Nicaragua since the crackdown on peaceful protesters and civil society in 2018, and the need for accountability. The United States called for the immediate and unconditional release of prisoners of conscience in May, during Nicaragua's session of the U.N.'s Universal Periodic Review. If confirmed, I will continue to advocate through U.N. bodies for the immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners in Nicaragua, and will support these efforts in in other regional fora, including the OAS.

*Central America*

The UNHCR has provided repeated documentation about women and children in Central America, including on its reports titled Women on the Run and Children on the Run.

*Question.* Do you believe that women, children and families migrating from Central America are fleeing conditions of violence, including gender-based violence?

Answer. Yes. I believe that many women, children, and families migrating from Central America are fleeing conditions of violence, including gender-based violence.

*Question.* Do you believe that the United States should actively work to address the conditions of violence driving women, children and families to flee Central America?

Answer. Yes. I believe that the United States should actively work to complement, and not supplant, the efforts of Central American governments to address the root causes of violence driving women, children, and families to flee. The U.S. Strategy for Central America aims to address the security, governance, and economic drivers

of illegal immigration and illicit trafficking. The President has also made it clear he believes Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador should do more to stop the flow of illegal immigrants to the United States. We expect the Northern Triangle governments to keep their commitments to address the conditions of violence that contribute to illegal immigration to the United States.

*Question.* Do you believe that U.S. foreign assistance can play a role in addressing these issues? How, and what should that role be?

Answer. We believe that the governments of Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador are responsible for the lives and well-being of their citizens, especially vulnerable women and children. We expect the Northern Triangle governments to keep their commitments to stem illegal immigration to the United States. Political will and strong partnership are critical to ensuring the success of any foreign assistance program. The President has concluded that these programs have not effectively prevented illegal immigrants from coming to the United States. We need to spend U.S. taxpayer dollars wisely and where they will be most effective.

*Question.* Do you believe cuts to U.S. foreign assistance limit our ability to address these issues?

Answer. We expect the governments of Honduras, Guatemala, and El Salvador to take responsibility for the economic prosperity and security of their own citizens, especially for women and children. In the absence of adequate commitments and actions by these governments to stop illegal immigration to the southern border of the United States, the President directed the Department to redirect new foreign assistance to the Northern Triangle. If confirmed, I will support the administration's requests that these countries make the needed political and institutional reforms that will guarantee the safety and well-being of their citizens in their home countries.

*Question.* If confirmed, what steps would you personally take to address the issues of violence in Central America?

Answer. My understanding is Central America suffers from high levels of crime and violence. If confirmed, I will work to urge Central American governments to do more to reduce crime and violence broadly, and also urge them to address the pervasive issues of gangs, human smuggling, and corruption. I will encourage other governments and actors to support these efforts as well.

*Question.* As the humanitarian crisis in Venezuela is spiraling out of control, with the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees now reporting that more than 4 million Venezuelans refugees have fled the country. However, as the situation rapidly approaches the scale of the Syrian refugee crisis and threatens regional stability and security, UNHCR has received less than 10 percent of the funding it has called for in order address the Venezuelan catastrophe.

- What specific steps will you take in order to increase U.S. contributions and secure additional funding from our partners?

Answer. I understand that since FY 2017, the United States has provided more than $256 million in assistance for Venezuelans to complement the efforts of host countries in the region who welcome them, including more than $213 million in humanitarian assistance and $43 million in economic and development assistance. The United States is providing the lion share of contributions to the U.N. Regional Refugee and Migrant Response Plan for Venezuela, and I understand is actively engaging with other countries to contribute more.

*Question.* The humanitarian crisis in Venezuela is spiraling out of control, with the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees now reporting that more than 4 million Venezuelans refugees have fled the country. However, as the situation rapidly approaches the scale of the Syrian refugee crisis and threatens regional stability and security, UNHCR has received less than 10 percent of the funding it has called for in order address the Venezuelan catastrophe.

- Do you believe the United States has provided enough funding to support UNHCR efforts to date?

Answer. I understand that since FY 2017, the United States has provided more than $256 million in assistance for Venezuelans to complement the efforts of host countries in the region who welcome them, including more than $213 million in humanitarian assistance and $43 million in economic and development assistance. This includes contributions to UNHCR, IOM, UNICEF, and U.N. Women through the U.N. Regional Refugee and Migrant Response Plan for Venezuela. The United States is currently providing the lion share of contributions to the U.N. plan and I understand is actively engaging with other countries to contribute more.

*Question.* As the humanitarian crisis in Venezuela is spiraling out of control, the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees now reports that more than 4 million Venezuelan refugees have fled the country. However, as the situation rapidly approaches the scale of the Syrian refugee crisis and threatens regional stability and security, UNHCR has received less than 10 percent of the funding it has called for in order address the Venezuelan catastrophe.

- Do you believe that the Trump administration's decision not to provide Temporary Protected Status for Venezuelan migrants and refugees impacts our ability to encourage other countries to keep their doors open to Venezuelan migrants?

Answer. I understand that the authority to make decisions regarding TPS resides with the Secretary of Homeland Security, after consultation with appropriate agencies. If confirmed I will continue to engage with our partners to encourage burden sharing, including the hosting of Venezuelans forced to flee the crisis in Venezuela.

*Question.* As President Maduro refuses to give up his grip on power, there is a growing body of evidence that his regime is involved in crimes against humanity.

- Given that Venezuela is a party to the Rome Statute, what steps will you take in order to support accountability for crimes against humanity?

Answer. I strongly support accountability for the Maduro regime's human rights conduct. While the United States is not party to the Rome Statute and does not engage with the ICC, I would support any action that ensured a full investigation of the regime's conduct and associated accountability.

*Question.* If confirmed, will you support the growing push for accountability at the ICC?

Answer. If confirmed, I would work in close consultation with my Security Council counterparts and the administration to determine the course most likely to result in genuine accountability for the Maduro regime.

*Reproductive Rights*

I have serious concerns around U.S. policies restricting access to sexual and reproductive health and rights globally. On top of State Department policies such as the use of a false justification to defund UNFPA and the massive expansion of the Global Gag Rule, U.S. negotiators at the U.N. have been taking an unprecedented hardline position against including long-standing agreed language on sexual and reproductive health access for communities worldwide. This includes the recent and egregious threat to veto a U.N. Security Council Resolution for survivors of gender-based violence over reference to survivor's access to sexual and reproductive health care.

*Question.* Given that access to sexual and reproductive health services, as well as the full protection of sexual and reproductive rights, is a key component to any conversation about women's empowerment, how will you work to ensure that the U.S. is not erecting additional barriers on sexual and reproductive health and rights globally?

Answer. The administration has concerns about the terms "sexual and reproductive health services" and "sexual and reproductive rights." The use of these phrases by U.N. agencies and U.N. affiliates often implies abortion. The administration will do everything possible to protect and respect the sanctity of life around the globe.

In its advocacy for women, the administration continues to hold to the commitments laid out in the 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women's Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action as well as in the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development's Program of Action. The United States moreover remains the largest bilateral donor of women's health and family planning assistance worldwide. Moving forward at the United Nations and elsewhere, the administration will continue to build consensus with a wide group of Member States on clear terminology that would better promote women's health without also promoting abortion. We are committed to focusing on the health care and health educational needs of women, men, girls, and boys, including adolescents, while avoiding issues that do not enjoy international consensus and do not support human dignity.

*Question.* President Trump has made a number disparaging comments about U.N. member states. In tweets, he has referred to Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau as "Very dishonest & weak," called Europe "A total mess!"

- Do you personally agree with these statements?

Answer. I believe the President speaks with clarity about America's national security interests.

*Question.* Is this how the U.S. should be conducting diplomacy?

Answer. This administration is determined to advance American security and prosperity by pursuing an ambitious diplomatic agenda. It has been an honor to conduct diplomacy between the United States and Canada during my tenure, and if confirmed, I look forward to promoting the President's vision for renewed American leadership at the United Nations.

*Question.* How do you plan to keep U.S. alliances strong with some of our closest partners, including those who have been the target of the President's verbal attacks?

Answer. I know firsthand from my tenure as U.S. Ambassador to Canada that America's alliances and partnerships have never been stronger. During my tenure as U.S. Ambassador to Canada, I had the good fortune to develop deep relationships with my Canadian counterparts. Like most friends and partners, we did not always agree. However, under those disagreements, we knew that our bond remained ironclad and that we would work together to achieve lasting and impactful solutions to any challenges we faced.

*Iran Nuclear*

The Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency Yukiya Amano recently reported Iran has begun ramping up its production of nuclear fuel and is on the road to expanding its stockpiles of nuclear material beyond the 300kg cap set in the JCPOA. In addition, the U.N. arms embargo against Iran will expire in 2020.

*Question.* Can you explain what steps at the U.N. the United States should take to curtail Iran's nuclear program and to keep the arms embargo in effect?

Answer. A key element to the administration's Iran policy is strong diplomatic engagement with our partners and allies, including via the U.N. Security Council. Iran's destructive actions will only serve to further isolate it on the international stage.

*Question.* Do you believe the United States has the leverage it needs to gain international support for these efforts given our unilateral withdrawal from the JCPOA?

Answer. The United States' cooperation with allies and partners on threats emanating from Iran remains robust. Our allies and partners, including in Europe, the Gulf, and Asia, share the same assessment as the United States on the full magnitude of the Iranian threat. Under the President and the Secretary's direction, we are working with our allies and partners around the world to counter Iran's nuclear and proliferation threats, support for proxies and terrorist groups, and serious human rights violations. We continue to work with nations around the world to counter the totality of the Iranian regime's destabilizing behavior.

*Question.* Will our allies who are still in the agreement support tough measures to combat Iran's ballistic missile program and malign regional activities?

Answer. The remaining JCPOA participants have a clear interest in efforts to counter Iran's destabilizing activities. The United States works closely with our European allies to address the serious threats posed by Iran's ballistic missile program and its malign regional behavior. For example, the United States facilitated efforts-in close conjunction with the UK, France, and Germany-to raise concerns to the U.N. Security Council and to the broader international community in response to Iran's ballistic missile tests and firing of space launch vehicles over the past year. The United States prioritizes diplomatic engagement efforts that hold Iran accountable and further politically isolate the regime on the world stage.

*Syria Chemical Weapons Attacks*

While I disagreed with many of your predecessors views, I welcomed Amb. Haley's willingness to lambast Syria and Russia for killing scores of men, women, and children with chemical weapons and bombs. We should not forget that while the world has turned away from the Syria conflict, the Russian government continues to support the Assad regime and has ramped up its efforts to block all U.N. activities to investigate and punish the Syrian regime for its use of chemical weapons.

*Question.* Can you assure me you will use your platform at the U.N. to champion human rights and to defend innocent civilians from chemical weapons attacks?

Answer. As Americans, championing human rights and defending innocent civilians are but two examples of our most deeply held values, and two areas in which I am very passionate. If confirmed please rest assured that I will consistently and loudly use my platform to champion human rights and defend innocent civilians.

Further, if confirmed, I firmly commit to using all available means at my disposal to highlight the terrible human toll inflicted by chemical weapons.

*Question.* Will you support the efforts of the Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW) to investigate and identify the culprits beyond chemical weapon attacks in Syria and other locations around the world?

Answer. Yes, absolutely. OPCW plays a critical role in promoting accountability for such heinous acts, and its technical capacity must be sustained as a deterrent to others who might be inclined to use such terrible weapons.

*Question.* Will you pledge that, if confirmed, you will work with allies to hold debates in the U.N. Security Council on the Burma military's ongoing abuses against Rohingya and other ethnic minorities, and seek a Security Council resolution that obligates the Burmese government to begin complying with U.N. requests to the government, including for access to areas in which the military has committed crimes against humanity, war crimes, and other abuses?

Answer. If confirmed, I would like to hold a regular debate in the U.N. Security Council on the ongoing abuses against Rohingya and other ethnic minorities in Burma, a regular meeting in the Security Council requires consensus. Unfortunately, with China protecting Burma from international criticism, and holding the power of a veto, regularly scheduled meetings are unlikely. I will strive to raise the issue when possible, and to support ad hoc meetings so that these issues remain in the international community's focus. The U.S. Mission to the U.N. has successfully held several ad hoc meetings with the support of other U.N. Security Council member states, most recently in February of this year. I intend to continue working with other member states that share our concerns.

*Question.* Will you pledge that, if confirmed, you will use the U.S. seat at the General Assembly Fifth Committee to ensure that funding is not cut to the U.N.'s Independent Investigative Mechanism for investigating human rights abuses in Myanmar?

Answer. If confirmed, I will use the voice and influence of the U.S. Mission to the United Nations in the Fifth Committee of the General Assembly to support adequate funding for the Independent Investigative Mechanism. In addition, I note that U.N. Secretary-General Guterres recently named American Nicholas Koumjian as the first head of the Independent Investigative Mechanism for Burma—an important step that if confirmed I will monitor closely.

*Saudi Arabia*

In April 2016, Ban-Ki-Moon, then U.N. Secretary General, placed the Saudi-led military coalition in an annex list to his annual report on children and armed conflict, citing abuses against children in the war in Yemen. In June, however, after Saudi Arabia threatened to withdraw hundreds of millions of dollars in assistance to vital U.N. programming if the coalition was not removed from the list, Ban removed the coalition "pending the conclusion of [a] joint review" of the report.

With the report's release pending, this issue is set to come to a head once again.

Two years ago, the Secretary General undermined the credibility of the children and armed conflict report and the U.N. system in general by failing to resist financial blackmail to stay off the list of shame, aka the list of governments that use child soldiers. The issue is now relevant again as the report—and therefore list—is expected in the coming days.

*Question.* If you are confirmed, do you commit to preventing Saudi Arabia and any other country from using financial blackmail to pressure U.N. offices?

Answer. Maintaining the integrity of the U.N. System is essential to is ability to achieve its broader mission. If confirmed, I will work closely with the Secretary General and fellow U.N. Member States to ensure that no country exerts undue influence on U.N. reports.

If confirmed, can you pledge that you will not use your post as ambassador to the U.N. to provide diplomatic protection for Saudi Arabia, but instead use your voice and vote to raise concerns about the conduct of the Saudi-led coalition in Yemen and to press for accountability on the brutal murder of Jamal Khashoggi?

Answer. If confirmed, I will serve the American people and champion American values. The administration has been clear that the killing of Jamal Khashoggi was antithetical to these values, and that a credible, fair, and transparent Saudi judicial process is an essential step in accounting for Mr. Khashoggi's murder. On Yemen, the administration is clear-eyed about humanitarian suffering in Yemen and will continue to work with the Saudi-led Coalition—as well as the Republic of Yemen

Government, U.N., and other actors—to support a political solution to end that conflict.

*Question.* Ambassador, do you agree that the Global Magnitsky Act, which allows the U.S. to impose serious sanctions on those who commit gross human rights abuses, is an important tool and that U.S. enforcement of it sends a critical message that the U.S. will not let such abuses go unpunished? What message does it send, then, that the U.S. has not complied with its own law when it comes to the brutal murder of Jamal Khashoggi?

Answer. The United States was the first country to take significant action to promote accountability in the case of Jamal Khashoggi's murder; under the Global Magnitsky sanctions program, we aggressively pursued individuals who had a role in the killing of Jamal Khashoggi. I must note, however, that provision 1263(d) of the Global Magnitsky Human Rights Accountability Act—regarding a report and determination referenced in the October and November letters to the President—has not been delegated by the President to the Department of State or another agency.

*Question.* Just this week, the U.N. Special Rapporteur released her report into Khashoggi's death. She found Khashoggi was the "victim of a deliberate, premeditated execution, an extrajudicial killing for which the state of Saudi Arabia is responsible under international human rights law" and that there is "credible evidence, warranting further investigation, of high-level Saudi officials' individual liability, including the Crown Prince's." She also recommended that the U.S. issue a Magnitksy determination as to the Crown Prince's responsibility. If confirmed, you will be encouraging other countries to comply with international law as well as their own laws.

- Shouldn't the U.S. comply with its own law and set an example for standing up for human rights rather being complicit in the cover up of Khashoggi's murder?

Answer. I wholeheartedly concur that upholding U.S. law is paramount. The United States was the first country to take significant action to promote accountability in the case of Jamal Khashoggi's murder; under the Global Magnitsky sanctions program, we aggressively pursued individuals who had a role in the killing of Jamal Khashoggi. I must note, however, that provision 1263(d) of the Global Magnitsky Human Rights Accountability Act—regarding a report and determination referenced in the October and November letters to the President—has not been delegated by the President to the Department of State or another agency. In addition to Global Magnitsky sanctions, we continue to take action on individuals connected to Mr. Khashoggi's killing. On April 8, 2019, the Secretary publicly designated sixteen Saudi officials under Section 7031(c) of the Department's Appropriations Act. This designation was based on credible information that these individuals were involved in gross violations of human rights regarding to the killing of Jamal Khashoggi. We also continue to be clear with Saudi Arabia that it has not yet provided a credible and transparent accounting of Khashoggi's death. We are neither reducing our attention on Mr. Khashoggi's murder, nor ruling out appropriate steps to promote accountability for anyone who was involved in the murder, including at the highest levels of the Saudi government.

*Sexual Violence in Conflict*

On April 23, 2019, the Security Council held an open debate on conflict-related sexual violence. In the weeks leading up to the meeting, Germany led a draft resolution to strengthen the international response to the use of rape in war. In the final stages of negotiations around the text, the U.S. threatened to veto the resolution unless it completely removed references to sexual and reproductive health. Even after a compromise was reached—one that omitted the language around sexual and reproductive health, but referenced a previous resolution that does—the U.S. doubled down and refused to accept any language that recognized that victims of rape in war should have access to sexual and reproductive health services. The Trump administration believes this implies access to abortion. The resolution was ultimately adopted without any language on access to sexual and reproductive health services, a major blow to the global women's rights movement.

*Question.* Sexual Violence in Conflict: How would you respond to the criticism that at present the United States is undermining women's human rights at the Security Council?

Answer. In our interventions at the Security Council and in other U.N. fora, the United States has consistently condemned sexual violence in conflict. We work toward achieving consensus on Security Council documents that promote women's human rights and safety in efforts to maintain international peace and security.

Through the historical leadership of the United States and our close partners, the Council has built a robust framework recognizing that women are disproportionately impacted by conflict and are indispensable leaders in resolving it. From making peacekeeping more effective to countering terrorism, the United States is at the forefront of efforts in the Council to integrate a recognition of women's essential roles in achieving these goals.

The U.S. National Security Strategy and the newly-released Strategy on Women, Peace, and Security reinforce this legacy and provide additional reaffirmation that promoting women's human rights and empowerment is essential to U.S. diplomacy and global leadership. Under this administration's leadership, the Security Council for the first time in history issued a resolution connecting respect for human rights to international peace and security. More recently, our co- sponsorship of the resolution on "Persons with Disabilities in Armed Conflict," which was unanimously adopted by the Security Council, broke new ground in bringing to the Council's attention the concerns of persons with disabilities, including women with disabilities.

*Question.* There are decades of international consensus that women's access to sexual and reproductive health is foundational to promotion of their human rights. Do you agree that sexual and reproductive health are fundamental to women's human rights?

Answer. The administration is a defender of, and donor to, programs to improve the health, life, dignity, and well-being of women. The United States is the world's largest bilateral donor for essential health care and voluntary family planning assistance.

The administration strongly supports the empowerment of women and efforts to promote their access to health care, whether or not they are mothers, across the lifespan. The administration does so by funding overall health and gynecologic health care, including care that relates to sexual function and reproduction. This includes maternal health, through promoting healthy timing and spacing of pregnancy. It also includes the prevention and treatment of sexually transmitted infections and their complications, including HIV; the prevention and treatment of fistula and female genital mutilation and cutting; and other health care needs specific to women and girls that do not include abortion.

*Question.* The humanitarian crisis in Venezuela is spiraling out of control, with the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees now reporting that more than 4 million Venezuelans refugees have fled the country. However, as the situation rapidly approaches the scale of the Syrian refugee crisis and threatens regional stability and security, UNHCR has received less than 10 percent of the funding it has called for in order address the Venezuelan catastrophe. What specific steps will you take in order to increase U.S. contributions and secure additional funding from our partners?

Answer. I understand that since FY 2017, the United States has provided more than $256 million in assistance for Venezuelans to complement the efforts of host countries in the region who welcome them, including more than $213 million in humanitarian assistance and $43 million in economic and development assistance. The United States is providing the lion share of contributions to the U.N. Regional Refugee and Migrant Response Plan for Venezuela, and I understand is actively engaging with other countries to contribute more.

*Question.* The U.N. is a complex multilateral institution. What do you consider the U.N.'s strengths and weaknesses? What do you think are the most important provisions of the charter? Please provide detailed, concrete answers.

Answer. The United Nations is the only international organization open to all countries that holds a mandate to address major threats to global peace and security. It possesses the ability to establish, coordinate, and execute mandates relating to peacekeeping, humanitarian assistance delivery, and mediation. Its senior leadership also recognizes the need for—and is taking action on—institutional reforms. Despite its shortcomings, the Security Council remains the most effective global body to address challenges to international peace and security.

The U.N. faces structural and institutional challenges, to include U.N. General Assembly ineffectiveness, Security Council paralysis from Syria to Yemen, and the continued election of highly problematic countries to lead major U.N. bodies. The U.N. has been unwilling to confront U.N. member states' anti-Israel bias. Weak oversight of U.N. bodies remains a challenge. The burden a small number of countries bear to fund a disproportionate share of the U.N. regular and peacekeeping budgets does not reflect the ability of many of the 193 member states to pay more each year.

The United States is clear-eyed about the U.N.'s many weaknesses, and if confirmed, I will continue to identify steps to improve the institution and push for their implementation.

*Question.* On what policy matters should the U.S. stand firm at the U.N.? On what matters should we be willing to compromise and, if so, how and how much? Please provide detailed, concrete answers.

Answer. The United States should continue to stand firm on our overall commitment to the core values of the U.N. Charter—to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, to reaffirm faith in human rights and the dignity and worth of the human person, to maintain international peace and security, and to promote economic advancement for all people. While we remain committed to advancing the ideals in the U.N. Charter, we will never surrender our interests to an unelected, unaccountable, global bureaucracy. The United States will continue to unapologetically advance its own values and interests in the U.N. system. President Trump underscored this message during his September 2018 address to the U.N. General Assembly, and it is our primary orienting value as we engage with the UN.

Other countries, however, also remain focused on advancing their own interests in the U.N. system. Because the U.N. is a global membership body, we often cannot stop countries who pose the greatest threats to global peace and security from running for U.N. leadership positions. While it is the prerogative of each country to determine how to engage at the U.N., we can determine whether the United States should remain in these institutions. The United States withdrew from the Human Rights Council in 2018, a body whose membership includes some of the worst human rights abusers. We have, however, decided to remain in a number of other bodies that include problematic countries, assessing that our role can help improve the institution.

*Question.* In what circumstances should the U.S. government seek multilateral solutions to problems?

Answer. The United Nations is important to U.S. national security interests. Engagement in the U.N. can multiply our effectiveness and spread the costs of international action. However, we will always look for the most effective means to advance our national interests. In many regards, it is in our interest to partner where we can with the United Nations, while working to reform the U.N. in a serious and meaningful way, particularly on peacekeeping, budget, management, and development issues, as well as on ending the disturbing anti-Israel bias that permeates much of the U.N. system.

Our engagement with the United Nations advances U.S. interests in concrete ways. First, our support for U.N. peacekeeping protects U.S. security interests while sharing costs and risks with other member states. U.N. peacekeeping missions deploy to countries such as the Central African Republic and South Sudan, where U.N. troops advance U.S. interests in protecting civilians and promoting regional stability.

Second, our engagement in U.N. bodies, including the Security Council and the General Assembly, as well as the Economic and Social Council in New York, highlights our priorities and holds others accountable. For example, we have demanded accountability for the use of chemical weapons in Syria, and we have promoted General Assembly resolutions on North Korea, Syria, and Iran that have been adopted with broad cross-regional support. The United States actively defends Israel from unbalanced criticism throughout the U.N. system. Further, our role on the Executive Board of key U.N. funds and programs—including UNDP, UNICEF, and U.N.-Habitat—helps ensure that their work is targeted, cost-effective, impactful, and efficient.

Third, we support the United Nations as it leads the international response to humanitarian emergencies around the globe, such as in Syria, South Sudan, the Lake Chad Basin, and many other places. At a time when the world faces the risk of famine in no fewer than six countries, as well as the largest movement of forcibly displaced persons since the Second World War, the United Nations' humanitarian leadership role has never been more important.

Finally, the U.N. system includes a range of technical and specialized agencies that are central to setting international standards and norms in numerous fields that have a direct impact on the safety, security, and economic well-being of our citizens, including for example in intellectual property, civil aviation, shipping, telecommunications, and nuclear safety and security.

*Question.* What lessons do you think have been learned from the ways in which the U.S. has engaged with the U.N.? Please provide detailed, concrete answers.

Answer. In the 75 years since the founding of the United Nations, we have learned that a close partnership with the United Nations strengthens U.S. security, prosperity, and effectiveness. We have learned that the United Nations can play an important role in addressing global peace and security issues—from the Gulf to the Balkans, and from North Korea to Iran. We have observed that the United Nations can be a forum where individual sovereign states acting in areas of broad agreement can pool their political and material resources to address difficult transnational challenges.

However, we have also concluded that the United States must continue to push the institution to reform in order to remain relevant in the 21st century, particularly in the areas of U.N. peacekeeping; U.N. budget, management, and development issues; and the disturbing anti-Israel bias that permeates much of the U.N. system. The Security Council has too often failed to act on issues that are central to its mandate, including the conflict in Syria. We have seen that when U.N. solutions do emerge, however, they can occasionally inappropriately limit U.S. sovereign decision-making. We remain concerned that the U.N.'s members continue to elect autocratic or otherwise unsuitable countries, or nationals of such countries, to positions of authority or influence in U.N. bodies, reducing the ability of those bodies to pursue their missions with credibility.

*Question.* In December 2018, the U.N. General Assembly endorsed the Global Compact on Refugees—an agreement aimed at creating stronger and fairer responses to refugee situations around the world. One year later, in December 2019, UNHCR is convening a Global Refugee Forum at which U.N. Member States will be making concrete pledges and contributions toward the objectives of the Compact. As the U.S. Ambassador to the U.N., will you plan to not only participate in the Global Refugee Forum, but also support the delivery of concrete pledges from the U.S. government?

Answer. The United States is the global leader in supporting humanitarian assistance and refugees. Through the U.N., and other global partners, we work with refugees all over the world to assist them as close to their home countries as possible. But no single country or organization alone can meet these needs. In order to better address current and future forced displacement around the world, a more diverse and broader base of actors and donors is needed. If confirmed, I will continue to support our efforts to work collaboratively with regard to humanitarian assistance for refugees and displaced persons.

*UNSC on Russia in Central Africa Republic (CAR)*

As Russia actively cultivates its economic, security, and diplomatic footprint on the African continent—since 2015, securing at least 20 military cooperation agreements across Sub-Saharan Africa—it has deployed more than 200 military and private security personnel to CAR since 2017, training locals on Russian weaponry secured through an exemption to the United Nations Security Council arms embargo. In congressional testimony earlier this year, the Commander of U.S.. Africa Command, General Thomas Waldhauser portrayed CAR as an example of "Russia's more militaristic approach in Africa," in which "oligarch funded, quasi mercenary military advisors" had secured mineral rights in exchange for weapons.

*Question.* What is your view of these developments across the continent, and more specifically Russia's influence and activities in CAR?

Answer. Russia's activities in the region seek to present Moscow as an alternative partner for these countries, reasserting Russia as an international power with global reach. I believe that Russia is using CAR as a test case to refine its larger strategy for engagement and expanding its influence, including against the United States and other Western powers. We continue to work to ensure that Russian activities and efforts do not jeopardize the United States' own objectives of supporting a durable peace, reduction in humanitarian emergency, and the re-establishment of institutions in CAR.

*Question.* The U.N. Security Council will review the arms embargo measures on CAR by the end of September, looking at progress in areas including reform of its security sector and management of its weapons. If confirmed, what specific issues will inform the position will you take on the U.N. Security Council lifting arms embargo restrictions on CAR?

Answer. The U.N. Security Council has established clear benchmarks for CAR to guide the Security Council in reviewing the arms embargo measures, including security sector reform (SSR), the disarmament, demobilization, reintegration and repatriation (DDRR) process, and the management of weapons and ammunition. I wel-

come these benchmarks, and I look forward to reviewing the CAR government's progress in each of these three areas.

*Question.* If confirmed, will you support another exemption for Russia to continue its activities in the security sector in CAR?

Answer. The U.N. Security Council territorial arms embargo on CAR requires Member States to request an exemption to donate weapons to the Government of CAR if the donation will contribute to security sector reform. The Government of Russia obtained arms embargo exemptions from the Security Council for two large donations in 2017 and 2018 because these weapons were a critical element of capacity-building for the armed forces of the CAR (the Forces armées centrafricaines, or FACA). I support capacity-building of the FACA because it is critical to establishing security and stability throughout the territory of CAR. The donation of civilian contractors to train members of the security forces of CAR requires Security Council notification, but not approval.

*International Development*

The U.S. is one of the world's most generous donors of development assistance in the world. Our model for providing assistance is driven by needs, as indicated by the host countries where our development missions are present, and we have set the global standard for socially responsible international development.

*Question.* What role do you believe U.S. international development missions and development assistance play in U.S. foreign policy and how does it cut across or factor into the work of the U.S. Ambassador to the U.N.?

Answer. A major U.S. foreign policy objective is to promote peace, security, and prosperity around the world. U.S. international development assistance is an integral part of U.S. Government efforts to achieve this objective. If confirmed, I will ensure that our development assistance through the United Nations will continue to help advance our foreign policy interests worldwide, including poverty eradication, good governance, rule of law, conflict prevention and recovery—the necessary foundation for building peaceful, secure, and prosperous societies.

*Question.* What circumstances could arise within the U.N. General Assembly framework wherein you might consider or propose withholding development assistance to a country for its conduct in the U.N. General Assembly.

Answer. The U.S. Government will continue to take a hard look at our foreign assistance and whether the countries that receive our aid and benefit from our security are also working in support of U.S. values and interests. At the U.N., if confirmed, I would continue to hold outlaw regimes and bad actors to account. I will not accept anti-Israel bias and will take action when U.S. contributions are disrespected and when U.S. values are under threat. Foreign aid will go to countries that serve American interests. The American people pay 22 percent of the U.N. budget and in spite of this generosity, the rest of the U.N. votes with us only about 30 percent of the time. If confirmed, I assure you I would work to ensure a return on our investment in the U.N. system.

*Question.* In your testimony, you said that "climate change needs to be addressed, as it poses real risk to our planet. Human behavior has contributed to the change in climate-let there be no doubt." I appreciate this view and would like to better understand your views on the threats climate change poses to global security and stability, and how you will approach these issues with U.N. delegates from highly vulnerable countries.

- Do you support the finding of the 2018 National Climate Assessment that climate change represents a significant security risk to the United States?

Answer. As Ambassador to Canada, I have not been engaged with the National Climate Assessment. If confirmed, I will support decisions that are informed by the best scientific assessments as we develop and implement relevant international policies.

*Question.* Do you support the U.S.'s application of consensus climate change science and modelling to U.S. security assessments and planning?

Answer. If confirmed, I will support decisions that are informed by the best scientific and intelligence assessments as we develop and implement relevant international policies.

*Question.* What, if any, rationale would justify changing the U.S.'s historical utilization and practices around climate change science?

Answer. While I do not anticipate that these issues will arise in the context my responsibilities at the United Nations, if confirmed, I would support decision-making that is informed by the best scientific and intelligence assessments as we develop and implement relevant international policies.

*Question.* Do you believe members of the U.S. Intelligence Community should operate and develop security assessments and recommendation free from any political influence, including any scientific assessments regarding the effects of climate change?

Answer. Yes.

*Question.* During your nomination hearing, in responding to Sen. Cardin's question about U.S. leadership on climate change and U.S. participation in the Paris Agreement you stated that "we need to balance the American economy with the environment."

- What do you mean, specifically?

Answer. I support a balanced approach that promotes economic growth and improves energy security while protecting the environment. The United States continues to be a world leader in providing affordable, abundant, and secure energy to our citizens, while protecting the environment and reducing emissions through job-creating innovation. This success is largely due to the development and deployment of innovative energy technologies, including nuclear, shale gas, renewables, battery storage, and more efficient vehicles. By promoting affordable, reliable, and clean energy, as well as energy efficiency, we are creating domestic jobs and supporting overseas market opportunities for U.S. companies. For example, the U.S. energy industry employed approximately 6.5 million Americans in 2017 and created over 430,000 new jobs in the last two years.

*Question.* Do you believe that environmental protection and economic growth represents an either/or choice for America? If yes, why?

Answer. No. By promoting affordable, reliable, and clean energy, as well as energy efficiency, we are creating domestic jobs and supporting overseas market opportunities for U.S. companies.

For example, the U.S. energy industry employed approximately 6.5 million Americans in 2017 and created over 430,000 new jobs in the last two years.

*Question.* Given that the U.S. appears on track to withdraw from the Paris Agreement, a process that may start in earnest this November, I would like your thoughts on the following:

- How are you preparing to explain this position to the rest of the U.N.?

Answer. The U.S. position with respect to the Paris Agreement has not changed and is well known to other countries. The United States intends to withdraw from the Paris Agreement, absent the identification of terms for participation more favorable to the United States. The President emphasized concerns about the economic costs of the previous administration's pledges under the Paris Agreement, compared to costs borne by our major competitors. Irrespective of our position on the Paris Agreement, the United States will continue to be a world leader in providing affordable, abundant, and secure energy to our citizens, while protecting the environment and reducing emissions through job-creating innovation. The United States will continue to assist our partners around the world to reduce emissions, to adapt to climate change, and to respond to natural disasters.

*Question.* Do you think that the U.S. posture on the Paris Agreement could create challenges for you in garnering support for U.S. resolutions at the U.N.?

Answer. No, the U.S. position on the Paris Agreement is well-known, and in no way diminishes our determination to use important U.N. venues to advance our national security or, in my view, our ability to rally support for same.

*Question.* Do you believe there are no consequences for withdrawing from multiparty agreements such as the Paris Agreement?

Answer. I believe the United States should maintain its leadership and influence in multilateral policy forums, including international climate change negotiations, regardless of our position on the Paris Agreement. If confirmed, I will seek to maintain U.S. leadership to advance and protect U.S. economic and environmental interests, including by participating in ongoing international climate change negotiations to ensure a level playing field for all countries. We will continue to work with other countries to reduce greenhouse gas emissions and enhance resilience in ways that drive innovation and market-friendly solutions, while ensuring energy security.

*Question.* During your nomination hearing, you asserted that, "We withdrew from the Paris Agreement because we feel like we don't have to be part of an agreement to be leaders."

- Do you believe the U.S. is immune to decisions made under the Paris Agreement that will certainly have lasting and significant effects on the global economy? During your nomination hearing, you asserted that, "We withdrew from the Paris Agreement because we feel like we don't have to be part of an agreement to be leaders."

Answer. I support the President's decision for the United States to withdraw from the Paris Agreement absent the identification of terms for participation more favorable to the United States. The United States will continue to protect and advance its interests as a Party to the U.N. Framework Convention on Climate Change and is continuing to participate in international climate change negotiations to protect and advance U.S. interests. I agree that the United States should lead and engage in negotiations to ensure that international environmental and climate approaches evolve in a manner that is consistent with and not counter to U.S. interests. If confirmed, I will ensure that the United States remains engaged on the issue of climate change to advance and protect U.S. interests, working with other countries to help drive innovation and market-friendly solutions, so that our efforts to protect the environment and grow our economy are mutually supportive.

*Question.* How, specifically, is the U.S. currently leading when it comes to climate change?

Answer. The United States continues to be a world leader in providing affordable, abundant, and secure energy to our citizens, while protecting the environment and reducing emissions through job-creating innovation. The United States is a world leader in protecting the environment and in reducing greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions. U.S. net GHG emissions dropped 13 percent from 2005-2017, even as our economy grew over 19 percent.

*Question.* Last month, I sent a letter to Secretary Pompeo requesting clarification of State's stance towards U.N. Special Rapporteurs. The letter stated that: "Engaging with U.N. Special Rapporteurs is an essential part of U.S. global leadership and demonstrates our commitment to addressing complex human rights issues and the rule of law both at home and around the globe. The credibility of the work of U.N. Special Rapporteurs depends heavily on their ability to apply the same international standards to all countries, including democracies. By shutting out U.N. Special Rapporteurs, the United States risks undermining a foundational value of the United Nations as well as human rights progress globally and will be seen as empowering repressive regimes, like China and Russia, who seek to delegitimize internationally accepted human rights norms." Could you tell me whether there is a policy in place with regards to responding to inquiries and visit requests from U.N. special procedures, and if so, what that policy is? If confirmed, will you ensure that Congress is kept in the loop on this issue?

Answer. We continue to cooperate with U.N. special procedures. Given the broad range of mandates and requests, our policy is to prioritize our substantive interactions to ensure that engagement maximizes the promotion of U.S. goals and objectives. In the past three months, we have sent six replies to inquiries from Special Rapporteurs, working groups, and the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights. We continue to respond as we receive new correspondence. We also routinely meet in person with mandate holders, as we did very recently with Daniela Kravetz, the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in Eritrea.

*Question.* Do you believe that the United States should provide lethal armaments to countries that have used prior transfers of such armaments in repeated violations of the law of armed conflict?

Answer. I believe all such strategic decisions should be taken thoughtfully, and that the administration has demonstrated just such an approach. That does not mean that recipient nations are in any way immune from attention to how those weapons are employed.

*Question.* What efforts will you make at the United Nations and with U.N. Member States to increase the role of human rights considerations, as well as commitments only to export arms for responsible use by recipients, and critical assessments of legitimate defense needs of recipients, in their arms export decisions?

Answer. The United States factors human rights considerations, as well as commitments only to export arms for responsible use by recipients, and critical assessments of legitimate defense needs of recipients, into our arms export decisions. The

U.N. Programme of Action similarly includes such considerations for exports of small arms.

*Question.* Will you press for a "no undercut" agreement among major arms exporting states in which when one state refuses to export a particular type of armament, other states will pledge not to undercut that decision in their own exports without extensive consultation?

Answer. The membership of the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) and the Wassenaar Arrangement includes many but not all major arms exporters. The MTCR has a no-undercut policy that applies to denials of MTCR Annex (control list) items. The Wassenaar Arrangement debated the possibility of a no-undercut provision for over 15 years, recently deciding that such a no-undercut provision would not reach consensus. The U.S. has no plans to introduce a no- undercut provision for arms exports within the Wassenaar Arrangement or elsewhere. However, the U.S. conducts bilateral discussions to prevent undercut on specific arms exports.

- What impact would a failure to extend the New START Treaty have on the Nuclear Non- Proliferation Treaty Review Conference occurring in 2020?

Answer. The United States is continuing to evaluate the possibility of New START extension, but our immediate and primary focus is on securing a more ambitious and robust deal that addresses a broader set of the challenges we face in a security environment that has deteriorated since New START was signed in 2010. Factors that take into account what is best for the U.S. national interest must drive our actions moving forward on New START treaty extension and the NPT Review Conference in 2020. States Party to the NPT should recognize the shared interest we all have in the NPT, irrespective of the pace of disarmament.

Could the United States argue we were still fulfilling our Article 6 requirement under the NPT if no arms control discussions are occurring between the United States and Russia?

Answer. Under Article VI of the NPT, Parties undertake to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to nuclear disarmament. Article VI does not specify the form of such efforts, or a timeline. The United States has a strong record of accomplishment in this regard, having reduced its arsenal 88 percent from its Cold War high, through both negotiated agreements and commitments, and unilateral measures. We continue to engage with Russia on a range of issues relating to the poor international security environment we see today.

*Question.* Will the Nuclear Ban Treaty become a more viable option for non-aligned states if the NPT Review Conference is unable to reach a consensus?

Answer. The Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW) is not, and will not become, a viable option for facilitating disarmament regardless of what happens at the NPT Review Conference. No state possessing nuclear weapons will sign the Treaty, and the Treaty will not result in the elimination of a single nuclear weapon. The United States will seek a consensus outcome, but the ability to reach consensus is not the litmus test for a successful Review Conference. Past Review Conferences have reached consensus roughly half the time, but the commitment of States Party to the NPT has remained strong.

*Question.* Please provide a complete list of meetings you attended regarding USMCA negotiations, including any formal rounds of negotiations. Please provide a complete list of dates, locations, and attendees.

Answer. I was engaged in often-daily USMCA/trade-related meetings, negotiations, and discussions during my tenure as Ambassador to Canada. Many of these meetings and telephonic discussions were spontaneous or arose with little advance notice following planned negotiation sessions. They do not appear on my schedule. I attended the formal round of negotiations in Montreal on January 29, 2018. During the period of most active negotiations, I took part in countless meetings and discussions related to USMCA/trade issues, working with U.S. officials, participating in negotiations with U.S. and Canadian officials, or traveling to discuss the negotiations with U.S. and Canadian stakeholders. The U.S. participants in these meetings variously included the President, USTR Lighthizer, Senior Advisor Jared Kushner, the Secretary of State, USTR officials, State Department officials, and Commerce officials. The Canadian participants included Foreign Minister Freeland, Canadian Ambassador MacNaughton, senior members of Prime Minister's Office, and other Canadian trade officials. The list below provides further detail on my participation in scheduled USMCA/trade related meetings.

DETAIL OF AMBASSADOR CRAFT'S PARTICIPATION IN SCHEDULED USMCA/TRADE RELATED MEETINGS

| Date | Location | Attendees (included, but not limited to) |
|---|---|---|
| Nov 01, 2017 | Westin Hotel, Ottawa, Canada D | AMB David MacNaughton (margins of joint appearance at Canada-US State of Relationship Conference) |
| Dec 04, 2017 | Ottawa, Canada | Dinner meeting with AMB David MacNaughton |
| Dec 13, 2017 | Quebec City, Canada | Premier Philippe Couillard |
| Dec 15, 2017 | Washington, DC | Dinner meeting with AMB David MacNaughton |
| Dec 19, 2017 | Ottawa, Canada | Foreign Minister Chrystia Freeland and Secretary Rex Tillerson |
| Jan 16, 2018 | Vancouver, Canada | Secretary Rex Tillerson |
| Jan 28, 2018 | Fairmont Queen Elizabeth, Montreal | USTR Lighthizer and Delegation |
| Jan 29, 2018 | Hotel Bonaventure, Montreal | USTR Lighthizer and Foreign Minister Chrystia Freeland |
| Feb 04, 2018 | Ottawa, Canada | Hosted Sen. Dan Sullivan and Lt. Gov. Byron Mallot |
| Feb 05, 2018 | Ottawa, Canada | AMB David MacNaughton (margins of joint appearance at Canadian Energy Conference) |
| Feb 10, 2018 | Quebec City, Canada | Premier Philippe Couillard |
| Feb 13, 2018 | Ottawa, Canada | Hosted Rep. Pete Sessions |
| Feb 15, 2018 | Bowling Green, KY | Lunch with Bowling Green Chamber of Commerce and remarks at Western Kentucky University |
| Feb 22, 2018 | Washington DC | Dinner meeting with AMB David MacNaughton and invited Governors |
| Feb 23, 2018 | Canadian Embassy, Washington DC | AMB David MacNaughton, Premier Philippe Couillard, Deputy Secretary of Energy Dan Brouillette and invited CEOs |

DETAIL OF AMBASSADOR CRAFT'S PARTICIPATION IN SCHEDULED USMCA/TRADE RELATED MEETINGS—Continued

| Date | Location | Attendees (included, but not limited to) |
|---|---|---|
| Mar 26, 2018 | Ottawa, Canada | Hosted business roundtable with Governor Eric Holcomb |
| Mar 26, 2018 | Ottawa, Canada | Hosted Rep. Elise Stefanik |
| April 04, 2018 | Ontario Legislature, Toronto | Premier Kathleen Wynne |
| April 04, 2018 | City Hall, Toronto | Toronto Mayor John Tory |
| April 04, 2018 | Toronto | AMB David MacNaughton |
| April 05, 2018 | White Sulphur Springs, West Virginia | POTUS (per White House request, same morning) |
| April 24, 2018 | Washington DC | Canadian negotiating team; USTR Lighthizer and U.S. negotiating team |
| April 25, 2018 | Washington DC | Canadian negotiating team; USTR Lighthizer and U.S. negotiating team |
| April 26, 2018 | Washington DC | Canadian negotiating team; USTR Lighthizer and U.S. team; Trilateral Session |
| April 27, 2018 | Washington DC | USTR Lighthizer |
| May 07, 2018 | Washington DC | Canadian negotiating team; USTR Lighthizer and U.S. negotiating team |
| May 08, 2018 | Washington DC | Canadian negotiating team; USTR Lighthizer and U.S. negotiating team |
| May 08, 2018 | Washington DC | Dinner meeting with Larry Kudlow |
| May 09, 2018 | Washington DC | Canadian negotiating team; USTR Lighthizer and U.S. negotiating team |
| May 10, 2018 | Washington DC | Canadian negotiating team; USTR Lighthizer and U.S. negotiating team |

DETAIL OF AMBASSADOR CRAFT'S PARTICIPATION IN SCHEDULED USMCA/TRADE RELATED MEETINGS—Continued

| Date | Location | Attendees (included, but not limited to) |
|---|---|---|
| May 11, 2018 | Washington DC | Canadian negotiating team; USTR Lighthizer and U.S. negotiating team |
| May 25, 2018 | Minister's Office, Ottawa, Canada | Foreign Minister Chrystia Freeland |
| June 08, 2018 | Charlevoix, Quebec, Canada | White House Officials (margins of G7 Summit) |
| June 08, 2018 | Charlevoix, Quebec, Canada | POTUS and Prime Minister Justin Trudeau |
| June 15, 2018 | Minister's Office, Ottawa, Canada | Foreign Minister Chrystia Freeland |
| June 15, 2018 | Ottawa, Canada | Hosted Sens. Crapo-Klobuchar CODEL |
| June 18, 2018 | CN Tower, Toronto | KY Commissioner of Agriculture Ryan Quarles & delegation |
| June 19, 2018 | Woodbine Club, Toronto | KY Commissioner of Agriculture Ryan Quarles & delegation |
| June 20, 2018 | Washington DC—Gaylord Convention Center | Governor Scott Walker and AMB David MacNaughton (margins of Select USA Investment Summit) |
| June 20, 2018 | Washington DC—Canadian Embassy | AMB David MacNaughton |
| June 20, 2018 | Washington DC | Dinner meeting with Governor Eric Holcomb & delegation |
| June 21, 2018 | Washington DC—Gaylord Convention Center | Governor Pete Ricketts and Canadian delegation |
| June 21, 2018 | Washington DC—Gaylord Convention Center | Governor Matt Bevin and Canadian delegation |
| June 21, 2018 | Washington DC | Dinner meeting with Governor Bevin and foreign EU Ambassadors |
| July 14, 2018 | Toronto, Canada | Premier Doug Ford |

DETAIL OF AMBASSADOR CRAFT'S PARTICIPATION IN SCHEDULED USMCA/TRADE RELATED MEETINGS—Continued

| Date | Location | Attendees (included, but not limited to) |
|---|---|---|
| July 17, 2018 | Detroit, Michigan | Governor Rick Snyder and Minister Amarjeet Sohi (margins of Gordie-Howe Bridge groundbreaking ceremony) |
| Aug 06, 2018 | Washington DC | AMB David MacNaughton |
| Aug 06, 2018 | Washington DC | USTR Lighthizer |
| Aug 06, 2018 | Washington DC | Jarod Kushner |
| Aug 06, 2018 | Country Club, NJ | Dinner meeting with POTUS and Jarod Kushner |
| Aug 12, 2018 | Stowe, Vermont | Premier Wade MacLauchlan and Paula Biggar, Minister of Transportation, Infrastructure, Energy & Status of Women |
| Aug 12, 2018 | Stowe, Vermont | Premier Phillippe Couillard and Harold Fortin, Director, Intl & Canadian Relations, Cabinet of the Premier |
| Aug 13, 2018 | Stowe, Vermont | Spoke to Governors and Premiers at New England Governors and Eastern Canadian Premiers Conf |
| Aug 13, 2018 | Stowe, Vermont | Governor Phil Scott |
| Aug 13, 2018 | Stowe, Vermont | Premier Dwight Ball |
| Aug 16, 2018 | Prince Edward Island, Canada | Dinner meeting with Premier Wade MacLauchlan and invited CEOs |
| Aug 20, 2018 | Ottawa, Canada | Premier & Mrs Doug Ford (Dinner and overnight AMB Residence) |
| Aug 27, 2018 | Oval Office, White House, Washington DC | POTUS, USTR Lighthizer, Jarod Kushner (margins of US-Mexico announcement) |
| Aug 28-30, 2018 | Washington DC | USTR Lighthizer |
| Sept 04-07, 2018 | Washington DC | USTR Lighthizer |

DETAIL OF AMBASSADOR CRAFT'S PARTICIPATION IN SCHEDULED USMCA/TRADE RELATED MEETINGS—Continued

| Date | Location | Attendees (included, but not limited to) |
|---|---|---|
| Sept 09, 2018 | Ottawa, Canada—AMB Residence | Embassy's senior leadership |
| Sept 10, 2018 | Premier's Office, St John's, Canada | Premier Dwight Ball |
| Sept 11-13, 2018 | Washington DC | USTR Lighthizer |
| Sept 13, 2018 | Washington DC | AMB David MacNaughton |
| Sept 13, 2018 | Washington DC | US Chamber President & CEO Tom Donahue |
| Sept 13, 2018 | Washington DC | Leader Mitch McConnell and Speaker Paul Ryan |
| Sept 19, 2018 | Washington DC | Lunch meeting with Premier Doug Ford and AMB David MacNaughton |
| Sept 19-20, 2018 | Washington DC | Canadian negotiating team; USTR Lighthizer and U.S. negotiating team |
| Sept 30, 2018 | Washington DC | USTR Lighthizer |
| Oct 01, 2018 | Washington DC | USTR Lighthizer |
| Oct 01, 2018 | Rose Garden, White House, Washington DC | POTUS, USTR Lighthizer, Jarod Kushner (margins of announcement) |
| Oct 11, 2018 | White House, Washington DC | POTUS |
| Oct 22, 2018 | State Department, Washington DC | Secretary Mike Pompeo |
| Oct 26, 2018 | Niagara-on-the-Lake, Canada | AMB David MacNaughton (margins of joint appearance at Ontario Chamber of Commerce's Economic Summit) |
| Oct 26, 2018 | Niagara-on-the-Lake, Canada | Lunch meeting with Premier Doug Ford and AMB David MacNaughton |

DETAIL OF AMBASSADOR CRAFT'S PARTICIPATION IN SCHEDULED USMCA/TRADE RELATED MEETINGS—Continued

| Date | Location | Attendees (included, but not limited to) |
|---|---|---|
| Nov 06, 2018 | Ritz-Carlton Hotel, MONTREAL | Foreign Minister Chrystia Freeland (margins of Fortune's Most Powerful Women Conference) |
| Nov 17, 2018 | Halifax, Canada | Host working dinner for Congressional Delegation (margins of Halifax International Security Forum) |
| Nov 22, 2018 | Calgary, Canada | University of Calgary interview and discussion |
| Nov 22, 2018 | Calgary, Canada | Lunch meeting with Calgary AmCham |
| Nov 23, 2018 | Alberta, Canada | Gave remarks and participated in trade discussions at the World Cup Business Forum |
| Nov 29, 2018 | Toronto, Canada | Dinner meeting with AMB Nimrod Barkan and AMB David MacNaughton |
| Dec 01, 2018 | LtGov Office, Toronto, Canada | Ontario Lt. Governor Elizabeth Dowdeswell |
| Dec 06, 2018 | Covington, Kentucky | AMB David MacNaughton (margins of joint appearance at the CSG National Conference) |
| Dec 14, 2018 | White House, Washington DC | Larry Kudlow |
| Dec 18, 2018 | Ottawa, Canada—US Embassy | AMB David MacNaughton |
| Jan 17, 2019 | Canadian Embassy, Washington DC | AMB David MacNaughton |
| Jan 17, 2019 | Washington DC | Dinner meeting with Mick Mulvaney |
| Jan 18, 2019 | State Department, Washington DC | Jarod Kushner |
| Feb 08, 2019 | Toronto, Canada | Lunch with Premier Doug Ford |
| Feb 14, 2019 | Toronto, Canada | Dinner with Premier Doug Ford |

DETAIL OF AMBASSADOR CRAFT'S PARTICIPATION IN SCHEDULED USMCA/TRADE RELATED MEETINGS—Continued

| Date | Location | Attendees (included, but not limited to) |
|---|---|---|
| Feb 20, 2019 | Washington DC | USTR Lighthizer |
| Feb 21, 2019 | Washington DC | Premier Doug Ford, CABC Conference on USMCA |
| Feb 22, 2019 | Washington DC—Marriott Marquis | Governors on the margins of National Governors Assoc Winter Meeting |
| Feb 22, 2019 | Washington DC | USTR Lighthizer |
| Feb 22, 2019 | White House, Washington DC | Vice President Pence |
| Feb 22, 2019 | White House, Washington DC | Larry Kudlow |
| Feb 22, 2019 | Washington DC | Lunch meeting with Marty Obst and AMB David MacNaughton |
| Feb 28, 2019 | Minister's Office, Ottawa, Canada | Foreign Minister Chrystia Freeland |
| March 14, 2019 | Toronto, Canada | Dinner meeting with AMB David MacNaughton |
| March 22, 2019 | Ottawa, Canada | Lunch meeting with Premier Doug Ford |
| April 17, 2019 | Premier's Office, Toronto, Canada | Premier Doug Ford |
| May 02, 2019 | Washington DC | Vice President Pence and VP Chief of Staff Marc Short |
| May 30, 2019 | Ottawa, Canada | Vice President Pence |
| June 20, 2019 | White House, Washington DC | POTUS, Prime Minister Trudeau, Secretary Pompeo, John Bolton |

*Question.* During your travel outside of Canada, and specifically when you were in Kentucky, what procedures did you have in place to ensure you could be reached and to engage in any classified discussions or receive classified material?

Answer. Discussions and material at the Sensitive But Unclassified level were conducted/conveyed through State Department approved communication channels directly to me whenever I was away from Ottawa. Classified material was conveyed to me as needed when I was in Washington through offices at the State Department using Department-approved secure channels. A need to convey classified material to me on occasions when I was in Kentucky never arose. If there should have been

a requirement to do so, materials would have been communicated to nearby USG federal offices for me to access.

*Question.* For what period of time was there an Acting DCM at U.S. Embassy Ottawa?

Answer. There was an Acting DCM at Embassy Ottawa from the time of DCM Elizabeth Aubin's departure on January 5, 2018, until the arrival of DCM Rick Mills on November 10, 2018. The duration of this gap was unanticipated. Mr. Mills was officially paneled to the Ottawa position in mid-April 2018, but State Department leadership elected to keep him in Armenia as U.S. Ambassador through October 2018. The State Department leadership and I were confident in the abilities of the Senior Foreign Service Officers available to serve as Acting DCM at Mission Canada during this several month period before Mr. Mills arrived. I knew Mr. Mills was an experienced officer at the Minister-Counselor grade, whose leadership skills would help Mission Canada, so I chose to wait for his postponed arrival rather than begin a new search for an alternate DCM who would not have served the Mission's specific needs as well.

*Question.* While there was an Acting DCM, who was in charge at Embassy Ottawa when you were away from post? How did you ensure that your absence did not affect any of the operations at the Embassy or the ability to meet the Embassy's mission?

Answer. While away from Post, I remained in communication with the Acting DCM providing policy guidance and monitoring the Mission's operations. When I was outside of Canada, the Acting DCM became Chargé d'Affaires, with responsibility for day-to-day operations of the Mission. The Embassy officers who served as Acting DCM/Chargé d'Affaires under my direction were all members of the Senior Foreign Service with experience serving as a DCM. These officers provided me, regardless of my location in Canada or in the United States, with regular updates through State Department communication channels on the Mission's work as well as consulted with me on issues that required my guidance and input.

*Social Media.*

As a U.S. Ambassador, you are charged with representing the interests of the American people and communicating the viewpoints of the U.S. Government overseas. This includes on any official social media profiles you have. As a recent review by the State Department Inspector General found, a number of Ambassadors have not complied with the Department's social media policies.

*Question.* As a U.S. Ambassador, you are charged with representing the interests of the American people and communicating the viewpoints of the U.S. Government overseas. This includes on any official social media profiles you have. As a recent review by the State Department Inspector General found, a number of Ambassadors have not complied with the Department's social media policies. Have you reviewed the Department's policies?

Answer. Yes.

*Question.* Do you commit to following them going forward?

Answer. Yes.

*Question.* What are some examples of the types of posts that you understand would require review by the Department?

Answer. I understand the Department's guidance on content for official public communications, and will abide scrupulously with that guidance. I have reviewed the Hatch Act, the prohibition on endorsements, and social media retention requirements, and should a circumstance arise when additional clarity is needed, I will not hesitate to seek Department guidance.

*Question.* Do you commit to seeking review of any social media posts on a personal account that could be considered a matter of Departmental concern?

Answer. I do not currently possess any personal social media accounts, but should that ever change, I will abide scrupulously with all related Department guidance.

Conflicts on Issues Affecting Fossil Fuel Industries

Alliance Resource Partners, the company that your husband Joseph Craft is both the Chief Executive Officer and President of, is the U.S.'s third largest coal extraction company. The company reports to have sold 40.4 million tons of coal in 2018 (according to the Energy Information Agency's carbon calculation formula determining that one ton of coal produces 2.86 tons of carbon dioxide) or the equivalent of 115.5 million tons of CO2, and reports to control 1.7 billion tons in coal reserves (or 4.8 billion tons of CO2).

*Question.* Do you recognize the potential for a conflict of interest to arise based on the extensive interests and investments held by you, your spouse, and Alliance Resource Partners?

Answer. Yes. I recognize that matters could arise that pose a conflict of interest based on my spouse's and my financial interests. I will remain vigilant and recuse myself from taking official actions on any matter that would pose a conflict of interest.

*Question.* How, specifically, and in your own words, not just reciting your ethics agreement, do you intend to ensure that you will avoid participating in any matter that could give rise to a potential conflict of interest?

Answer. If I am confirmed, I will consult with Ethics Officials in the Department's Legal Adviser's Office to ensure I am aware of the range of issues that could pose a conflict of interest and to implement a thorough strategy to assist in avoiding such conflicts. In particular, I will, with the assistance of the Ethics Officials, institute a screening arrangement that will identify my financial interests and direct pertinent staff to refer potentially conflicting matters to appropriate USUN officials for action. In addition, I will personally screen matters that come before me and I will recuse myself from those matters that would conflict with my financial interests.

*Question.* At your nomination hearing, you stated that you would recuse yourself on matters "when there is coal in the conversation." How do you plan to determine what matters involve coal versus non- coal issues? How will you make that determination on climate change issues? Who will be making that determination? Do you plan to seek review by the Office of the Legal Adviser?

Answer. As noted above, if confirmed, I will consult with Ethics Officials in the Department's Legal Adviser's Office to ensure I am well-prepared to identify issues that could pose a conflict of interest. In order to identify potential conflicts in advance, my staff will get an agenda of meetings regarding climate or energy issues whenever possible before I attend. If the meeting involves the coal industry or bears on the coal industry or would otherwise pose a potential conflict, my staff will schedule the meeting with another USUN official. If my staff is uncertain as to whether coal interests are at issue, my staff will contact Department Ethics Officials for their advice. I too will also seek assistance from the Department's Ethics Officials if I am uncertain as to whether my involvement in a specific climate change matter would create a potential conflict of interest.

*Question.* At your nomination hearing, regarding recusals, you stated that "we are still waiting for clarity on the fossil fuels, for that conversation within our ethics agreement." Who is making that determination? What information is being used to make that determination, and who is providing it?

Answer. If confirmed, I plan to consult with Department Ethics Officials for further guidance on the range of issues that could affect fossil fuels and pose a conflict of interest for me. Ultimately, I am responsible for avoiding conflicts of interest and I will seek the guidance of the Department's Ethics Officials and enlist the support of my staff to assist in that regard.

*Question.* On any matter related to climate change that you don't plan to immediately recuse yourself from, will you commit to seeking guidance or approval from Office of the Legal Advisor or the Office of Government Ethics before participating? Do you commit to providing any such determination to this committee in each instance?

Answer. I will consult with the Department's Ethics Officials on those matters involving climate change where there is a potential for conflict.

*Question.* At your nomination hearing, in response to a question about whether your family has oil and gas interests, you replied, "I do not know."

- If you do not know the extent of the Alliance Resource Partners' and your spouse's interests, then how were you able to ensure that the Department and the Office of Government Ethics had all relevant information to determine there is no potential conflict of interest?

Answer. I will ensure that I understand the nature of my spouse's and my financial interests in order to avoid taking any actions that would create a conflict of interest. In addition, my screening arrangement will assist in avoiding the potential for conflicts of interest.

*Question.* If you do not know the extent of the Alliance Resource Partners' and your spouse's interests, then how can you determine which U.N. matters you could participate in that would not present a conflict?

Answer. I will ensure that I understand the nature of my spouse's and my financial interests in order to avoid taking any actions that would create a conflict of interest. In addition, my screening arrangement will assist in avoiding the potential for conflicts of interest.

*Question.* According to Alliance Resource Partners' most recent 10K filed with the Securities and Exchanges Commission, the company owns mineral interests "in premier oil & gas producing regions in the United States." Based on an acquisition in January 2019, ARP now owns interests that include more than 2,500 barrels of oil equivalent per day. ARP has also previously acquired other oil and gas minerals. Do you commit to recuse yourself from all matters involving oil and gas interests?

Answer. I commit to recusing from matters that conflict with my spouse's or my financial interests, including any particular matters that would affect ARP's oil and gas interests, and I will seek guidance from the Department's Ethics Officials when necessary to assist in that regard.

*Question.* For the record, please provide a complete list of all Alliance Resource Partners' interests, including companies, holdings, and industries.

Answer. Alliance Resource Partners LP is a Delaware limited partnership listed on the NASDAQ Global Select Market under the ticker symbol "ARLP." As a publicly traded company, ARLP is required to make certain public disclosures in its SEC filings. The filings include detailed listings and descriptions of ARLP's interests, subsidiaries, holdings, and industries. ARLP's SEC filings for the most recent ten years can be found on its website: http://www.arlp.com/sec-filings.

*Question.* Do you commit to respond promptly to all requests for information by members of this committee?

Answer. Yes. I will work through the Department's Bureau of Legislative Affairs to respond to Congressional requests.

*Question.* Do you commit to appear before this committee upon request?

Answer. Yes.

*Question.* If you become aware of any waste, fraud, or abuse in the Department, to you commit to report it to the Inspector General?

Answer. I am committed to the highest standards of government accountability. Should I become aware of any waste, fraud, or abuse I will report it to the appropriate Department authorities to include the Inspector General.

*Question.* If the Department is providing information to a requester through the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) pertaining to your office that is also responsive to one of my requests for information, do you commit to provide that information to my office?

Answer. Yes. I will work with the Bureau of Administration and the Bureau of Legislative Affairs to coordinate making information available to your office. Please note as well that the Department publishes its FOIA releases in a virtual reading room at https://foia.state.gov/.

*Question.* If the Department is providing information to a Member in the U.S. House of Representatives that is also responsive to one of my requests for information, do you commit to also provide that information to my office?

Answer. I commit to work through the Bureau of Legislative Affairs to address your requests for information. I understand that the Department has a long standing practice of addressing requests from Congress individually.

*Question.* Please list any outside positions and affiliations you plan to continue to hold during your term of appointment.

Answer. If confirmed, as I did during my tenure as U.S. Ambassador to Canada, I intend to remain a member of The Giving Pledge. Additionally, as I did during my tenure as U.S. Ambassador to Canada, I remain a Co-Founder of the Craft Academy, located at Morehead State University. I ended any other outside positions or affiliations prior to being sworn in as U.S. Ambassador to Canada in 2017.

*Question.* Have you ever been an officer or director of a company that has filed for bankruptcy? If so, describe the circumstances and disposition.

Answer. No.

*Question.* If you leave this position before the completion of your full term or the next presidential election, do you commit to meeting with the committee to discuss the reasons for your departure?

Answer. Yes.

*Question.* Has anyone ever made a formal or informal complaint or allegation of sexual harassment, discrimination (e.g., racial, ethnic, religious, etc.), or inappropriate conduct against you, in a workplace or any other setting? If so, please describe the nature of the complaint or allegation, your response, and any resolution, including any settlements.

Answer. As a supervisor and Chief of Mission, I take the responsibility to provide a safe and healthy work environment very seriously. Further, as a matter of principle, I believe that every setting should be a safe and healthy environment for people to live, work, and enjoy themselves. To that end, I have never received any formal or informal complaints or allegations of sexual harassment, discrimination, or inappropriate conduct against me in a workplace or any other setting.

*Question.* Have you ever addressed concerns or allegations of sexual harassment, discrimination (e.g., racial, ethnic, religious, etc.), or inappropriate conduct made against any employee over whom you had supervisory authority? If so, please describe the outcome and actions taken.

Answer. As a supervisor and Chief of Mission, I take the responsibility to provide a safe and healthy work environment very seriously. During my tenure as a supervisor in various organizations, there have never been concerns or allegations of sexual harassment, discrimination, or inappropriate conduct made against any employee over whom I had supervisory authority.

*Question.* Do you agree that any targeting of or retaliation against career employees based on their perceived political beliefs, prior work on policy, or affiliation with a previous administration, is wholly inappropriate and has no place in the federal government? If confirmed, what will you do to ensure that all employees under your leadership understand that any retaliation, blacklisting, or other prohibited personnel practices will not be tolerated?

Answer. Yes, I absolutely agree that any targeting of or retaliation against career employees based on their perceived political beliefs, prior work on policy, or affiliation with a previous administration, is wholly inappropriate and has no place in the federal government. Based my experiences serving as the U.S. Ambassador to Canada and preparing for the position of U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations, I can say with conviction that I have the utmost respect for the career staff at the U.S. Department of State and other foreign affairs agencies. My team at Mission Canada is incredible, and it has been one of the greatest honors of my life serving our country alongside them. Additionally, based on the experience I have had while preparing for the role of U.S.-U.N. Ambassador, I believe that I will feel the same about the team at U.S.-U.N. as well as those I have engaged from Main State.

If confirmed, I am fully committed to ensuring that all employees under my leadership understand that any retaliation, blacklisting, or other prohibited personnel practices will not be tolerated. I personally will deliver this message to my team and I will also be sure to make myself readily available if there are any complaints or allegations of this nature. Any allegations or complaints will be investigated and, if the allegations or complaints are credible, appropriate measures will be taken.

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## RESPONSES TO FOLLOW-UP QUESTIONS SUBMITTED TO AMBASSADOR CRAFT BY SENATOR MENENDEZ

*Financial Interests*

*Question.* I previously asked you the following: "For the record, please provide a complete list of all Alliance Resource Partners' interests, including companies, holdings, and industries." You responded by referring me to the SEC filings on Alliance Resource Partners' website.

Respectfully, citation to a third party internet site is not sufficient.

- For the public record, please provide a complete list of Alliance Resource Partners' interests, including companies, holdings, and industries. This may be provided in whatever format is easiest, but it should include a discernible list of the nature and extent of the company's interests that is in a form appropriate for and conducive to publishing as part of the hearing record.

Answer. Alliance Resources Partners LP is a Delaware limited partnership listed on the NASDAQ Global Select Market under the ticker symbol "ARLP." As a publicly traded company, ARLP is required to make certain public disclosures in its

SEC filings. The filings included detailed listings and descriptions of ARLP's interests, subsidiaries, holdings, and industries. ARLP's SEC filings for the most recent ten years can be found on its website: http://www.arlp.com/sec-filings.

The most useful and comprehensive list of ARLP's filings are located within the company's 2018 10-K, which is filed every year as required. Part 1, Item 1, entitled "Business", lists and explains ARLP's interests. The relevant portion of that document (entitled "Attachment A") is attached here.

Further, a complete list of all ARLP's subsidiary companies are identified on Exhibit 21.1 to the Company's 2018 10-K. This exhibit (entitled "Attachment B") is attached for the public record. The rest of ARLP's 10-K can be found on this portion of its website: http://www.arlp.com/Doc/Index?did=50142656.

[The information referred to above follows:]

## PART I

### ITEM 1.BUSINESS

#### General

We are a diversified natural resource company that generates income from coal production and oil & gas mineral interests located in strategic producing regions across the United States. We are currently the second largest coal producer in the eastern United States with eight underground mining complexes in Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Maryland and West Virginia as well as a coal loading terminal in Indiana. We market our coal production to major domestic and international utilities and industrial users. We have grown historically primarily through expansion of our coal operations by adding and developing mines and coal reserves in these regions. In addition, we generate royalty income from mineral interests we own in premier oil & gas producing regions in the United States, primarily the Anadarko, Permian, Williston and Appalachian basins.

ARLP, a Delaware limited partnership, completed its initial public offering on August 19, 1999 and is listed on the NASDAQ Global Select Market under the ticker symbol "ARLP." We are managed by our sole general partner, MGP, a Delaware limited liability company, which holds a non-economic general partner interest in ARLP. Prior to the Simplification Transactions, MGP was a wholly owned indirect subsidiary of AHGP. Alliance GP, LLC ("AGP"), which is indirectly wholly owned by Mr. Craft, was the general partner of AHGP prior to the Simplification Transactions and became the direct owner of MGP as a result of those transactions. See discussions under Partnership Simplification regarding changes in ownership of ARLP and MGP as a result of the Exchange Transaction and Simplification Transactions.

#### Simplification Transactions

On July 28, 2017, the conflicts committee ("Conflicts Committee") of the board of directors ("Board of Directors") of MGP and AGP's board of directors approved a transaction to simplify our partnership structure. Pursuant to that transaction, which closed on the same date, MGP contributed to ARLP all of its incentive distribution rights ("IDRs") and its 0.99% managing general partner interest in ARLP in exchange for 56,100,000 ARLP common units and a non-economic general partner interest in ARLP. In conjunction with this transaction and on the same economic basis as MGP, SGP also contributed to ARLP its 0.01% general partner interest in both ARLP and the Intermediate Partnership in exchange for 28,141 ARLP common units collectively (the "Exchange Transaction").

On February 22, 2018, our Board of Directors and the board of directors of AHGP's general partner approved a simplification agreement (the "Simplification Agreement") pursuant to which, among other things, through a series of transactions (the "Simplification Transactions"):

i. AHGP would become a wholly owned subsidiary of ARLP,
ii. all of the issued and outstanding AHGP common units would be canceled and converted into the right to receive the ARLP common units held by AHGP and its s
iii. in exchange for a number of ARLP common units calculated pursuant to the Simplification Agreement, MGP's 1.0001% general partner interest in our Intermedia MGP's 0.001% managing member interest in our subsidiary, Alliance Coal, would be contributed to us, and
iv. MGP would remain ARLP's sole general partner and would be a wholly owned subsidiary of AGP, and thus no control, management, or governance changes v business would occur.

The Simplification Agreement and the transactions contemplated thereby were approved by the written consent of approximately 68% of the holders of AHGP common units outstanding as of April 25, 2018, the record date for the consent solicitation. On May 31, 2018, ARLP, AHGP and the other parties to the Simplification Agreement completed the transactions contemplated by the Simplification Agreement.

As part of the Simplification Transactions, (i) each AHGP common unit that was issued and outstanding at the effective time of the Simplification Transactions was canceled and converted into the right to receive a portion of the ARLP common units held by AHGP and its subsidiaries, and (ii) SGP became the sole limited partner in AHGP. Each outstanding AHGP common unit, other than certain AHGP common units held by the Owners of SGP, converted into the right to receive approximately 1.4782 ARLP common units held by AHGP and its subsidiaries. The remaining AHGP common units held by the Owners of SGP were canceled and converted into the right to receive 29,188,997 ARLP common units which equaled (i) the product of the number of certain AHGP common units held by the Owners of SGP multiplied by 1.4782, minus (ii) 1,322,388 ARLP common units. In addition, ARLP issued 1,322,388 ARLP common units to the Owners of SGP in exchange for causing SGP to contribute to ARLP its remaining limited partner interest in AHGP, which included AHGP's indirect ownership of a 1.0001% general partner interest in the Intermediate Partnership and a 0.001% managing member interest in Alliance Coal, resulting in an overall exchange ratio to the Owners of SGP equal to that of the other AHGP unitholders. Upon the issuance of ARLP common units to the Owners of SGP in exchange for the limited partner interest in AHGP, ARLP became a) the sole limited partner of AHGP and b) through AHGP, the indirect owner of a 1.0001% general partner interest in the Intermediate Partnership and a 0.001% managing member interest in Alliance Coal.



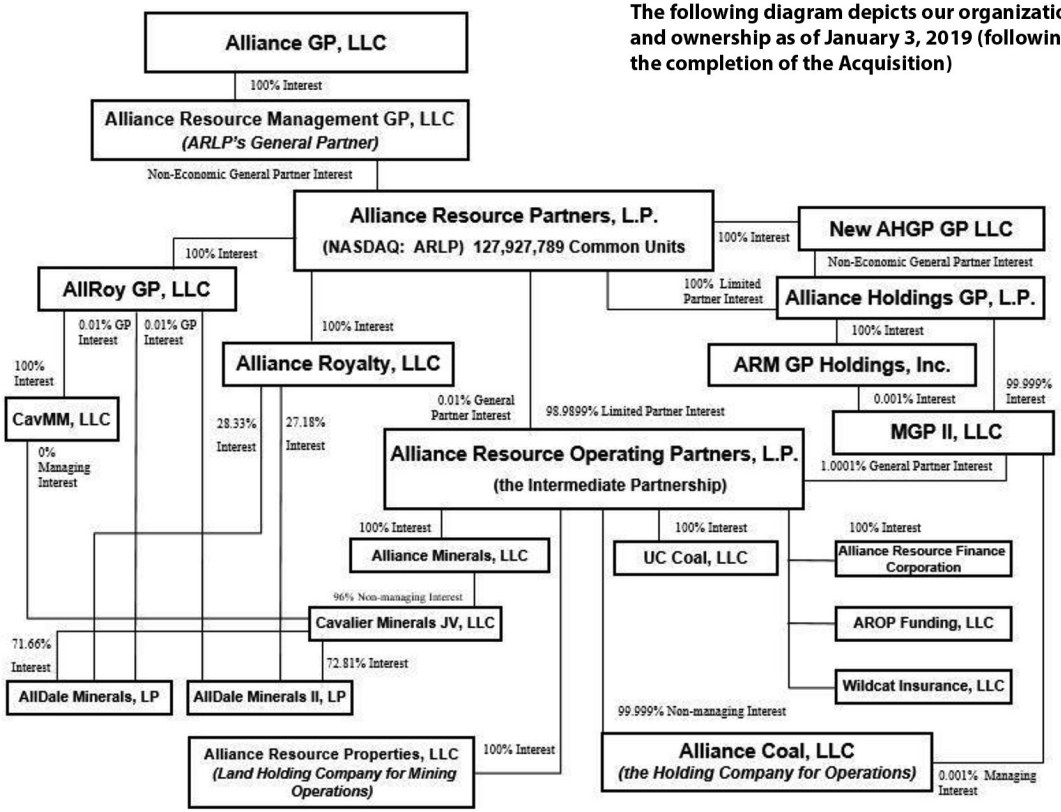
**AllDale I & II Acquisition**

On January 3, 2019 (the "Acquisition Date"), ARLP acquired the general partner interests and all of the limited partner interests not owned by Cavalier Minerals JV, LLC ("Cavalier Minerals") in AllDale Minerals LP ("AllDale I") and AllDale Minerals II, LP ("AllDale II", and collectively with AllDale I, "AllDale I & II") for $176.0 million, which was funded with cash on hand and borrowings under our revolving credit facility (the "Acquisition"). ARLP indirectly owns a 96.0% non-managing member interest and a non-economic managing member interest in Cavalier Minerals. The Acquisition provides ARLP with diversified exposure to industry leading operators and is consistent with our general business strategy to pursue accretive acquisitions.

**Kodiak Redemption**

On January 26, 2019, Kodiak Gas Services, LLC ("Kodiak") provided notification that it intended to redeem our preferred interest for $135.0 million, which is inclusive of an early redemption premium. On February 8, 2019, we received the cash proceeds of the redemption.

**The following diagram depicts our organization and ownership as of January 3, 2019 (following the completion of the Acquisition)**



Our internet address is *http://www.arlp.com*, and we make available free of charge on our website our Annual Reports on Form 10-K, our Quarterly Reports on Form 10-Q, our Current Reports on Form 8-K, Forms 3, 4 and 5 for our Section 16 filers and other documents (and amendments and exhibits, such as press releases, to such filings) as soon as reasonably practicable after we electronically file with or furnish such material to the SEC. Information on our website or any other website is not incorporated by reference into this report and does not constitute a part of this report.

The SEC maintains a website that contains reports, proxy and information statements, and other information for issuers, including us. The public can obtain any documents that we file with the SEC at *http://www.sec.gov*.

**Mining Operations**

At December 31, 2018, we had approximately 1.7 billion tons of coal reserves in Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Maryland, Pennsylvania and West Virginia. We produce a diverse range of steam and metallurgical coal with varying sulfur and heat contents, which enables us to satisfy the broad range of specifications required by our customers. In 2018, we sold a record 40.4 million tons of coal and produced 40.3 million tons. The coal we sold in 2018 was approximately 28.1% low-sulfur coal, 40.1% medium-sulfur coal and 31.8% high-sulfur coal. Based on market expectations, we classify low-sulfur coal as coal with a sulfur content of less than 1.5%, medium-sulfur coal as coal with a sulfur content of 1.5% to 3%, and high-sulfur coal as coal with a sulfur content of greater than 3%. In 2018, approximately 68.2% of our tons sold were purchased by United States electric utilities and 27.8% were sold into the international markets through brokered transactions. The balance of our tons sold were to third-party resellers and industrial consumers. For tons sold to United States electric utilities, 100% were sold to utility plants with installed pollution control devices. The BTU content of our coal ranges from 11,400 to 13,200.

The following chart summarizes our coal production by region for the last five years.

| | Year Ended December 31, | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Coal Regions** | **2018** | **2017** | **2016** | **2015** | **2014** |
| | | | (tons in millions) | | |
| Illinois Basin | 29.9 | 27.3 | 25.4 | 32.0 | 30.9 |
| Appalachia | 10.4 | 10.3 | 9.8 | 9.2 | 9.8 |
| Total | 40.3 | 37.6 | 35.2 | 41.2 | 40.7 |

The following map shows the location of our coal mining operations:


**Illinois Basin Operations:**

1. HAMILTON COMPLEX
Hamilton Mine
Mining Type: Underground
Mining Access: Slope & Shaft
Mining Method: Longwall
& Continuous Miner
Coal Type: Medium/High-Sulfur
Transportation: Barge, Railroad
& Truck

2. RIVER VIEW COMPLEX
River View Mine
Mining Type: Underground
Mining Access: Slope & Shaft
Mining Method: Continuous

4. GIBSON COMPLEX
a. Gibson South Mine
b. Gibson North Mine
Mining Type: Underground
Mining Access: Slope & Shaft
Mining Method: Continuous
Miner
Coal Type: Low/Medium-Sulfur
Transportation: Barge, Railroad
& Truck

5. WARRIOR COMPLEX
Warrior Mine
Mining Type: Underground
Mining Access: Slope & Shaft
Mining Method: Continuous

7. HENDERSON/UNION
RESERVES
Mining Type: Underground
Mining Access: Slope & Shaft
Mining Method: Continuous Miner
Coal Type: Medium/High-Sulfur
Transportation: Barge & Truck

**Appalachian Operations:**

8. MC MINING COMPLEX
a. Excel Mine No. 4
b. Excel Mine No. 5 (in development)
Mining Type: Underground
Mining Access: Slope & Shaft
Mining Method: Continuous
Miner

10. PENN RIDGE RESERVES
Mining Type: Underground
Mining Access: Slope & Shaft
Mining Method: Longwall
& Continuous Miner
Coal Type: High-Sulfur
Transportation: Barge & Railroad

11. METTIKI COMPLEX
Mountain View Mine
Mining Type: Underground
Mining Access: Slope
Mining Method: Longwall
& Continuous Miner
Coal Type: Low/Medium
Sulfur - Metallurgical

Miner
Coal Type: Medium/High-Sulfur
Transportation: Barge & Truck

3. DOTIKI COMPLEX
Dotiki Mine
Mining Type: Underground
Mining Access: Slope & Shaft
Mining Method: Continuous
Miner
Coal Type: Medium/High-Sulfur
Transportation: Barge, Railroad
& Truck

Miner
Coal Type: Medium/High-Sulfur
Transportation: Barge, Railroad,
& Truck

6. SEBREE COMPLEX
Onton Mine (Idled)
Mining Type: Underground
Mining Access: Slope & Shaft
Mining Method: Continuous
Miner
Coal Type: Medium/High-Sulfur
Transportation: Barge & Truck

Coal Type: Low-Sulfur
Transportation: Barge, Railroad,
& Truck

9. TUNNEL RIDGE COMPLEX
Tunnel Ridge Mine
Mining Type: Underground
Mining Access: Slope & Shaft
Mining Method: Longwall
& Continuous Miner
Coal Type: Medium/High-Sulfur
Transportation: Barge & Railroad

Transportation: Railroad
& Truck

**Other Operations:**
12. MOUNT VERNON
TRANSFER TERMINAL
Rail or Truck to Ohio River Barge
Transloading Facility

***Illinois Basin Operations***

Our Illinois Basin mining operations are located in western Kentucky, southern Illinois and southern Indiana. As of December 31, 2018, we had 2,331 employees, and we operate five active mining complexes in the Illinois Basin.

*Hamilton Mining Complex.* Our subsidiary, Hamilton County Coal, LLC ("Hamilton"), operates the Hamilton mine, located near the city of McLeansboro in Hamilton County, Illinois. The Hamilton mine is an underground longwall mining operation producing medium/high-sulfur coal from the Herrin No. 6 seam. Initial development production from the continuous miner units began in 2013, longwall mining began in October 2014 and we acquired complete ownership and control in 2015. Hamilton's preparation plant has throughput capacity of 2,000 tons of raw coal per hour. Hamilton has the ability to ship production from the Hamilton mine via the CSX Transportation, Inc. ("CSX"), Evansville Western Railway and Norfolk Southern Railway Company ("NS") rail directly to customers or to various transloading facilities, including our Mt. Vernon Transfer Terminal, LLC ("Mt. Vernon") transloading facility, for barge deliveries.

*River View Complex.* Our subsidiary, River View Coal, LLC ("River View"), operates the River View mine, which is located in Union County, Kentucky and is currently the largest room-and-pillar underground coal mine in the United States. The River View mine began production in 2009, and utilizes continuous mining units to produce medium/high-sulfur coal. River View's preparation plant has throughput capacity of 2,700 tons of raw coal per hour. Coal produced from the River View mine is transported by overland belt to a barge loading facility on the Ohio River.

*Dotiki Complex.* Our subsidiary, Webster County Coal, LLC ("Webster County Coal"), operates Dotiki, which is an underground mining complex located near the city of Providence in Webster County, Kentucky. The complex was opened in 1966, and we purchased the mine in 1971. The Dotiki complex utilizes continuous mining units employing room-and-pillar mining techniques to produce medium/high-sulfur coal. Dotiki's preparation plant has throughput capacity of 1,800 tons of raw coal per hour. Coal from the Dotiki complex is shipped via the CSX and Paducah & Louisville Railway, Inc. ("PAL") railroads and by truck on United States and state highways directly to customers or potentially to various transloading facilities, including our Mt. Vernon transloading facility, for barge deliveries.

*Gibson Complex.* Our subsidiary, Gibson County Coal, LLC ("Gibson County Coal"), operates the Gibson South mine, located near the city of Princeton in Gibson County, Indiana. The Gibson South mine is an underground mine and utilizes continuous mining units employing room-and-pillar mining techniques to produce low/medium-sulfur coal. The Gibson South mine's preparation plant has throughput capacity of 1,800 tons of raw coal per hour. Production from the Gibson South mine is shipped by truck on United States and state highways or transported by rail on the CSX and NS railroads from the Gibson North rail loadout

facility directly to customers or to various transloading facilities, including our Mt. Vernon transloading facility, for barge delivery. Production from the mine began in April 2014.

Gibson County Coal also operates the Gibson North mine, an underground mine also located near the city of Princeton in Gibson County, Indiana. The Gibson North mine began production in November 2000 and utilizes continuous mining units employing room-and-pillar mining techniques to produce low/medium-sulfur coal. The Gibson North mine was idled in December 2015 in response to market conditions but resumed production in May 2018. The Gibson North mine's preparation plant has throughput capacity of 700 tons of raw coal per hour. Production from the Gibson North mine is shipped by truck on United States and state highways or transported by rail on the CSX and NS railroads directly to customers or to various transloading facilities for barge delivery.

*Warrior Complex*. Our subsidiary, Warrior Coal, LLC ("Warrior"), operates an underground mining complex located near the city of Madisonville in Hopkins County, Kentucky. The Warrior complex was opened in 1985, and we acquired it in February 2003. Warrior utilizes continuous mining units employing room-and-pillar mining techniques to produce medium/high-sulfur coal. Warrior's preparation plant has throughput capacity of 1,200 tons of raw coal per hour. Warrior's production is shipped via the CSX and PAL railroads and by truck on United States and state highways directly to customers or potentially to various transloading facilities, including our Mt. Vernon transloading facility, for barge deliveries. In July 2018, Warrior completed the transition from the No. 11 seam to the No. 9 seam.

*Sebree Complex*. On April 2, 2012, we acquired substantially all of Green River Collieries, LLC's assets related to its coal mining business and operations located in Webster and Hopkins Counties, Kentucky, including the Onton No. 9 mining complex ("Onton mine"). The Onton mine was operated by our subsidiary, Sebree Mining, LLC ("Sebree"). The Onton mine was idled in November 2015 in response to market conditions. For information regarding Onton's remaining coal reserves, please read "Item 2. Properties – Coal Reserves".

*Alliance Resource Properties*. Alliance Resource Properties and its subsidiaries own or control coal reserves that it leases to certain of our subsidiaries that operate our mining complexes.

*Alliance WOR Properties, LLC*. In September 2011, and in subsequent follow-on transactions, Alliance Resource Properties' subsidiary, Alliance WOR Properties, LLC ("WOR Properties"), acquired from and leased back to White Oak Resources LLC the rights to approximately 309.6 million tons of proven and probable medium/high-sulfur coal reserves.

*Other*. In December 2014 and February 2015, WKY CoalPlay, LLC or its subsidiaries ("WKY CoalPlay"), which are related parties, entered into coal lease agreements with us regarding coal reserves located in Henderson and Union Counties, Kentucky ("Henderson/Union Reserves") and Webster County, Kentucky. For more information about the WKY CoalPlay transactions, please read "Item 8. Financial Statements and Supplementary Data – Note 18 – Related-Party Transactions."

*Pattiki Complex*. Our subsidiary, White County Coal, LLC ("White County Coal"), operated Pattiki, an underground mining complex located near the city of Carmi in White County, Illinois. We began construction of the complex in 1980 and operated it until it ceased production in December 2016. We are currently performing reclamation activities at the complex. For information regarding Pattiki's remaining coal reserves, please read "Item 2. Properties – Coal Reserves".

*Hopkins Complex*. The Hopkins complex, which we acquired in January 1998, is located near the city of Madisonville in Hopkins County, Kentucky. Our subsidiary, Hopkins County Coal, LLC ("Hopkins County Coal") operated the Elk Creek underground mine until it ceased production in April 2016. For information regarding Hopkins' remaining coal reserves, please read "Item 2. Properties – Coal Reserves".

***Appalachian Operations***

Our Appalachian mining operations are located in eastern Kentucky, Maryland and West Virginia. As of December 31, 2018, we had 881 employees, and we operate three mining complexes in Appalachia with one mine currently under development.

*MC Mining Complex.* The MC Mining Complex is located near the city of Pikeville in Pike County, Kentucky. We acquired the mine in 1989. Our subsidiary, MC Mining, LLC ("MC Mining"), owns the mining complex and controls the reserves, and our subsidiary, Excel Mining, LLC ("Excel") conducts all mining operations. The underground operation utilizes continuous mining units employing room-and-pillar mining techniques to produce low-sulfur coal. The preparation plant has throughput capacity of 1,000 tons of raw coal per hour. Substantially all of the coal produced at MC Mining in 2018 met or exceeded the compliance requirements of Phase II of the Federal Clean Air Act ("CAA") (see "—Regulation and Laws—*Air Emissions*" below). Coal produced from the mine is shipped via the CSX railroad directly to customers or to various transloading facilities on the Ohio River for barge deliveries, or by truck via United States and state highways directly to customers or to various docks on the Big Sandy River for barge deliveries. MC Mining's Excel Mine No. 4 is anticipated to deplete its reserves in 2020.

Our subsidiary, Excel, has begun development activity for MC Mining's Excel Mine No. 5 and currently anticipates deploying total capital of approximately $45.0 million to $50.0 million over the next 12 to 18 months. MC Mining controls the estimated 15 million tons of coal reserves assigned to the Excel Mine No. 5 and Excel will conduct all mining operations. The underground operation will utilize continuous mining units employing room-and-pillar mining techniques to produce low-sulfur coal with an expected annual production capacity of 1.3 million tons. MC Mining plans to utilize its existing underground mining equipment and preparation plant to produce and process coal from the Excel Mine No. 5 and expects to ship coal produced from the mine to various transloading facilities on the Ohio River and the Big Sandy River for barge deliveries or directly to customers via the CSX railroad and by truck. We expect the development plan for the new Excel Mine No. 5 will provide a seamless transition from the current MC Mining operation.

*Tunnel Ridge Complex.* Our subsidiary, Tunnel Ridge, LLC ("Tunnel Ridge"), operates the Tunnel Ridge mine, an underground longwall mine in the Pittsburgh No. 8 coal seam, located near Wheeling, West Virginia. Tunnel Ridge began construction of the mine and related facilities in 2008. Development mining began in 2010, and longwall mining operations began at Tunnel Ridge in May 2012. The Tunnel Ridge preparation plant has throughput capacity of 2,000 tons of raw coal per hour. Coal produced from the Tunnel Ridge mine is a medium/high-sulfur coal and is transported by conveyor belt to a barge loading facility on the Ohio River. Through an agreement with a third party, Tunnel Ridge has the ability to transload coal from barges for rail shipment on the Wheeling and Lake Erie Railway with connections to the CSX and the NS railroads.

*Mettiki Complex.* The Mettiki Complex comprises the Mountain View mine located in Tucker County, West Virginia operated by our subsidiary Mettiki Coal (WV), LLC ("Mettiki (WV)") and a preparation plant located near the city of Oakland in Garrett County, Maryland operated by our subsidiary Mettiki Coal, LLC ("Mettiki (MD)"). Mettiki (WV) began continuous miner development of the Mountain View mine in July 2005 and began longwall mining in November 2006. The Mountain View mine produces medium-sulfur coal, which is transported by truck either to the Mettiki (MD) preparation plant for processing (including for shipment into the metallurgical coal market) or directly to the coal blending facility at the Virginia Electric and Power Company Mt. Storm Power Station. The Mettiki (MD) preparation plant has throughput capacity of 1,350 tons of raw coal per hour. Coal processed at the preparation plant can be trucked to the blending facility at Mt. Storm or shipped via the CSX railroad, which provides the opportunity to ship into the domestic and international thermal and metallurgical coal markets.

*Penn Ridge.* Our subsidiary, Penn Ridge Coal, LLC ("Penn Ridge"), holds coal reserves in Washington County, Pennsylvania, estimated to include approximately 56.7 million tons of proven and probable high-sulfur coal in the Pittsburgh No. 8 seam. Development of the project is regulatory and market dependent, and its timing is open-ended pending obtaining all required regulatory approvals, sufficient coal sales commitments to support the project and final approval by the Board of Directors.

**Royalty Operations**

***AllDale Partnerships***

On November 10, 2014, Cavalier Minerals, in which Alliance Minerals, LLC ("Alliance Minerals") owns a 96.0% non-managing member interest, acquired a 71.7% limited partner interest in AllDale I and subsequently acquired a 72.8% limited partner interest in AllDale II. AllDale I & II were created to acquire oil & gas mineral interests in various geographic locations within producing basins in the continental United States. In February 2017, our subsidiary, Alliance Minerals, committed to directly invest $30.0 million in AllDale Minerals III, LP ("AllDale III") and as of December 31, 2018, Alliance Minerals had no remaining commitment to AllDale III. AllDale III was created to acquire oil & gas minerals in the same geographical locations as AllDale I & II. AllDale III, together with AllDale I & II are considered the ("AllDale Partnerships.")

As discussed in the **AllDale I & II Acquisition** section above, on January 3, 2019, ARLP acquired the AllDale I & II general partner interests and all of the limited partner interests in AllDale I & II not owned by Cavalier Minerals. As a result of the Acquisition and our previous investment held through Cavalier Minerals, ARLP now owns 100% of the general partner interests and approximately 97% of the limited partner interests in AllDale I & II. AllDale I & II control approximately 43,000 net royalty acres strategically positioned in the core of the Anadarko (SCOOP/STACK), Permian (Delaware and Midland), Williston (Bakken) and Appalachian basins. As of January 3, 2019, there were 3,823 gross producing wells generating production net to ARLP's interest of approximately 2,523 barrels of oil equivalent per day. In addition, there were 529 wells being drilled on ARLP's acreage and another 903 permitted well locations.



**Other Operations**

***Mt. Vernon Transfer Terminal, LLC***

Our subsidiary, Mt. Vernon, leases land and operates a coal loading terminal on the Ohio River at Mt. Vernon, Indiana. Coal is delivered to Mt. Vernon by both rail and truck. The terminal has a capacity of 8.0 million tons per year with existing ground storage of approximately 60,000 to 70,000 tons. During 2018, the terminal loaded approximately 6.5 million tons for customers of Gibson County Coal and Hamilton.

***Coal Brokerage***

As markets allow, Alliance Coal buys coal from our mining operations and outside producers principally throughout the eastern United States, which we then resell. We have a policy of matching our outside coal purchases and sales to minimize market risks associated with buying and reselling coal. In 2018, we did not make outside coal purchases for brokerage activity.

***Matrix Group***

Our subsidiaries, Matrix Design Group, LLC ("Matrix Design") and its subsidiaries Matrix Design International, LLC and Matrix Design Africa (PTY) LTD, and Alliance Design Group, LLC ("Alliance Design") (collectively the Matrix Design entities and Alliance Design are referred to as the "Matrix Group"), provide a variety of mining technology products and services for our mining operations and certain industrial and mining technology products and services to third parties. Matrix Group's products and services include miner and equipment tracking systems and proximity detection systems. We acquired Matrix Design in September 2006.

***Compression Investment***

On July 19, 2017, Alliance Minerals purchased $100 million of Series A-1 Preferred Interests from Kodiak, a privately-held company providing large-scale, high-utilization gas compression assets to customers operating primarily in the Permian Basin. On February 8, 2019, Kodiak redeemed the preferred interests held by Alliance Minerals for $135.0 million cash which is inclusive of an early redemption premium.

***Additional Services***

We develop and market additional services in order to establish ourselves as the supplier of choice for our customers. Historically, and in 2018, outside revenues from these services were immaterial.

**Coal Marketing and Sales**

As is customary in the coal industry, we have entered into long-term coal supply agreements with many of our customers. These arrangements are mutually beneficial to us and our customers in that they provide greater predictability of sales volumes and sales prices. Although many utility customers recently have appeared to favor a shorter-term contracting strategy, in 2018 approximately 69.1% and 68.9% of our sales tonnage and total coal sales, respectively, were sold under long-term contracts (contracts having a term of one year or greater) with committed term expirations ranging from 2019 to 2026. As of February 14, 2019, our nominal commitment under long-term contracts was approximately 17.3 million tons in 2019 and 17.2 million tons in 2020. The commitment of coal under contract is an approximate number because a limited number of our contracts contain provisions that could cause the nominal commitment to increase or decrease; however, the overall variance to total committed sales is minimal. The contractual time commitments for customers to nominate future purchase volumes under these contracts are typically sufficient to allow us to balance our sales commitments with prospective production capacity. In addition, the nominal commitment can otherwise change because of reopener provisions contained in certain of these long-term contracts.

The provisions of long-term contracts are the results of both bidding procedures and extensive negotiations with each customer. As a result, the provisions of these contracts vary significantly in many respects, including, among other factors, price adjustment features, price and contract reopener terms, permitted sources of supply, force majeure provisions, and coal qualities and quantities. Virtually all of our long-term contracts are subject to price adjustment provisions, which periodically permit an increase or decrease in the contract price, typically to reflect changes in specified indices or changes in production costs resulting from regulatory changes, or both. These provisions, however, may not assure that the contract price will reflect every change in production or other costs. Failure of the parties to agree on a price pursuant to an adjustment or a reopener provision can, in some instances, lead to early termination of a contract. Some of the long-term contracts also permit the contract to be reopened for renegotiation of terms and conditions other than pricing terms, and where a mutually acceptable agreement on terms and conditions cannot be concluded, either party may have the option to terminate the contract. The long-term contracts typically stipulate procedures for transportation of coal, quality control, sampling and weighing. Most contain provisions requiring us to deliver coal within stated ranges for specific coal

characteristics such as heat, sulfur, ash, moisture, grindability, volatility and other qualities. Failure to meet these specifications can result in economic penalties, rejection or suspension of shipments or termination of the contracts. While most of the contracts specify the approved seams and/or approved locations from which the coal is to be mined, some contracts allow the coal to be sourced from more than one mine or location. Although the volume to be delivered pursuant to a long-term contract is stipulated, the buyers often have the option to vary the volume within specified limits.

The international coal market has been a substantial part of our business with indirect sales to end users in Europe, Africa, Asia, North America and South America. Our sales into the international coal market are considered exports and are made through brokered transactions. During the years ended December 31, 2018, 2017 and 2016, export tons represented approximately 27.8%, 17.4% and 4.5% of tons sold, respectively. We use the end usage point as the basis for attributing tons to individual countries. Because title to our export shipments typically transfers to our brokerage customers at a point that does not necessarily reflect the end usage point, we attribute export tons to the country with the end usage point, if known.



**Reliance on Major Customers**

During 2018, we derived approximately 10.9% of our total revenues from Louisville Gas and Electric Company. We did not derive 10.0% or more of our total revenues from any other individual customer during 2018. For more information about this customer, please read "Item 8. Financial Statement and Supplemental Data – Note 20 – Concentration of Credit Risk and Major Customers."

# Section 9: EX-21.1 (EX-21.1)

EXHIBIT 21.1

LIST OF SUBSIDIARIES

First Tier Subsidiary:

Alliance Holdings GP, L.P. ("AHGP") (100% limited partnership interest)
Alliance Resource Operating Partners, L.P. ("AROP") (98.9899% limited partner interest)
Alliance Royalty, LLC ("Alliance Royalty") (100% membership interest)
AllRoy GP, LLC ("AllRoy") (100% membership interest)
New AHGP GP, LLC (100% membership interest)

Second Tier Subsidiaries:

AllDale Minerals, LP (AllRoy holds a 0.01% general partner interest; Alliance Royalty holds a 28.33% limited partner interest; Cavalier holds a 71.66% limited partner interest)
AllDale Minerals II, LP (AllRoy holds a 0.01% general partner interest; Alliance Royalty holds a 27.18% limited partner interest; Cavalier holds a 72.81% limited partner interest)
Alliance Coal, LLC ("Alliance Coal") (AROP holds a 99.999% non-managing membership interest)
Alliance Minerals, LLC ("Alliance Minerals") (AROP holds a 100% membership interest)
Alliance Resource Finance Corporation ("Alliance Finance") (AROP holds a 100% membership interest)
Alliance Resource Properties, LLC ("Alliance Resource Properties") (AROP holds a 100% membership interest)
ARM GP Holdings, Inc. (AHGP holds 100% of the outstanding capital stock)
AROP Funding, LLC (AROP holds a 100% membership interest)
CavMM, LLC (AllRoy holds a 100% membership interest)
MGP II, LLC (AHGP holds 99.999% interest; ARM GP Holdings, Inc. holds 0.001% interest)
UC Coal, LLC ("UC Coal") (AROP holds a 100% membership interest)
Wildcat Insurance, LLC (AROP holds a 100% membership interest)

Third Tier Subsidiaries: (Alliance Coal holds a 100% membership interest in (or holds 100% of the outstanding capital stock of) each of the following third-tier subsidiaries)

Alliance Design Group, LLC
Alliance Land, LLC
Alliance Service, Inc.
Backbone Mountain, LLC
CR Services, LLC
Excel Mining, LLC
Gibson County Coal, LLC
Hamilton County Coal, LLC
Hopkins County Coal, LLC
MC Mining, LLC
Mettiki Coal, LLC
Mettiki Coal (WV), LLC
Mid-America Carbonates, LLC
Mt. Vernon Transfer Terminal, LLC
Penn Ridge Coal, LLC
Pontiki Coal, LLC
River View Coal, LLC
Rough Creek Mining, LLC
Sebree Mining, LLC
Steamport, LLC
Tunnel Ridge, LLC
Warrior Coal, LLC
Webster County Coal, LLC
White County Coal, LLC

Cavalier Minerals JV, LLC (CavMM holds a 0% managing interest; Alliance Minerals holds a 96% non-managing interest)

(Alliance Resource Properties holds a 100% membership interest in each of the following third-tier subsidiaries)

ARP Sebree, LLC
ARP Sebree South, LLC
Alliance WOR Properties, LLC

(UC Coal holds a 100% membership interest in each of the following third-tier subsidiaries)

UC Mining, LLC
UC Processing, LLC

Fourth Tier Subsidiaries:

CR Machine Shop, LLC (CR Services, LLC holds a 100% interest)
Matrix Design Group, LLC (Alliance Service, Inc. holds a 100% interest)
WOR Land 6, LLC (Alliance WOR Properties, LLC holds a 100% interest)

Fifth Tier Subsidiary:

Matrix Design International, LLC (Matrix Design Group, LLC holds a 100% interest)

Sixth Tier Subsidiary:

Matrix Design Africa (PTY) LTD (Matrix Design International, LLC holds a 100% interest)

All of the above entities are formed or incorporated, as the case may be, under the laws of the State of Delaware except for the following which are formed or incorporated in the following jurisdictions:

Wildcat Insurance, LLC – Oklahoma
Steamport, LLC – Kentucky
Matrix Design Africa (PTY) LTD – South Africa
Alliance Minerals, LP – Texas
Alliance Minerals II, LP – Texas

*Question.* What steps have you taken while serving as Ambassador to Canada to ensure that you do not participate in any matters that would implicate any of your or your spouse's financial interests? Please be detailed.

Answer. I spelled out in my ethics agreement for that position the various commitments I made to ensure compliance with my obligations under federal ethics law.

I participated in several briefings with ethics staff, received extensive ethics training, and filed all required financial disclosures. During my tenure as Ambassador, I have taken great pains to avoid any conflicts between my official functions and my financial interests and those of my husband, including related to his business activities. Additionally, upon taking the position as Ambassador, I instituted a screening arrangement that listed those entities that required recusals. Pursuant to that arrangement, key staff members were provided a copy of the screening arrangement to assist in identifying matters that I should not participate in. When questions have arisen regarding my involvement in activities, Embassy staff or I have consulted with State Department ethics officials.

*Question.* At your nomination hearing, regarding recusals, you stated that "we are still waiting for clarity on the fossil fuels, for that conversation within our ethics agreement."

- Who is making that determination?
- What information is being used to make that determination, and who is providing that information?

Answer. Prior to my nomination to serve as U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, I completed a nominee financial disclosure report, which was reviewed closely by State Department ethics officials, who in turn consulted with the Office of Government Ethics. I understand that my financial interests and those of my husband, including companies involved in energy and extractive resources, can give rise to a conflict of interest. I signed an ethics agreement for this position, spelling out those commitments I would undertake upon confirmation in order to comply with federal ethics law. However, I also recognize that it is impossible at this juncture to identify all of the matters that will come before me if I am confirmed, and I plan to consult with the State Department ethics team going forward regarding any potential concerns about working on matters involving the energy sector.

*Question.* According to records you provided to the Committee, you have participated in more than a dozen meetings with executives of energy and oil companies. Given that you stated in your hearing that you did not know the full extent of the interests held by your spouse or Alliance Resource Partners, please provide a detailed explanation of how you ensured there was no potential or actual conflict of interest in any of these meetings.

Answer. As noted above, during my tenure as Ambassador, I have taken great pains to avoid any conflicts between my official functions and my financial interests and those of my husband, including related to his business activities, and I instituted a screening arrangement to help identify matters that I should not participate in. When I had any question regarding my ethics obligations, I consulted with State Department ethics officials. Looking to the future, the full extent of the interests I hold and that my spouse holds is set forth in my financial disclosure report. I will use my nominee report and subsequent reports as guides going forward to ensure that I am not working on matters involving those companies in which I or my spouse has a financial interest. As in Ottawa, I plan to institute a screening arrangement to help identify matters that could pose a conflict of interest. Moreover, to the extent there are ever any questions on this, I will consult with State Department ethics officials.

*Question.* Recently-released emails (attached) demonstrate that on at least one occasion when you corresponded with U.S. government officials on an environmental issue, your spouse, who is head of the third-largest coal company in the United States, was also on the email chain, and replied from his company (arlp.com) email address.

- Has your spouse been included on, or participated in, any communications regarding any U.S. Government matters related to energy or environmental issues? If so, please provide copies of any such communications.

Answer. The communication in question relates to an urgent request I received from the Government of Canada for information on the status of funding for the Great Lakes Restoration Initiative—a project of unique value to both the United States and Canada. In order to expedite an answer to this question, my husband connected me to officials within the EPA, and on December 8, 2017, I spoke with EPA Administrator Pruitt to seek that information.

I presume that the EPA chose to copy my husband on its December 8 follow-up email to me because of his help in connecting me with the Administrator. However, he does not play a role in official U.S. government business, whether related to energy issues or otherwise.

*Question.* According to records you provided the Committee, your spouse appears to have attended several meetings with you and energy officials from both the U.S. and Canadian governments, as well as with energy executives from the private sector.

- Has your spouse been included on any communications (including phone calls and emails) or participated in any meetings in which environment or energy issues were discussed? If so, please provide copies of any such communications. For any meetings, please include a list of participants, topics discussed, purpose of meeting, your spouse's role, and any cables and notes related to such meetings.

Answer. My husband plays no role whatsoever in official U.S. government business, whether related to energy issues or otherwise.

*Question.* Did your spouse participate in any of the following meetings or phone calls? If so, please include a list of participants, topics discussed, purpose of meeting, your spouse's role, and any cables and notes related to such meetings.

- Phone call with EPA Administrator Scott Pruitt on December 8, 2017.
- Meeting with the CEOs of Alcoa & Rio Tinto, Premier Couillard, and Deputy Secretary of Energy Brouillette on February 23, 2018.
- Meeting with EPA Administrator Scott Pruitt on February 23, 2018.
- Meeting with the Right Honorable Stephen Harper on July 09, 2018.

Answer. Please see the confidential supplement for this response.

*Question.* Documents seen by the Committee also indicate that you may have used a personal email address to correspond with government officials while you were Ambassador to Canada.

- Was this correspondence (attached), with officials from the Environmental Protection Agency, in your official capacity as Ambassador?

Answer. Yes.

*Question.* Did you ever use a personal email address with a signature referring to your title of Ambassador? If so, please explain the purpose of doing so and a description of how you ensured full compliance with the Federal Records Act.

- Have you ever used any personal email account(s) to conduct or correspond about any official State Department or U.S. government business? If so, please provide copies of any such communications, as well as a description of how you ensured full compliance with the Federal Records Act.

Answer. Yes, there have been instances, particularly early in my tenure as Ambassador, when use of my personal mobile device was necessary due to recurring problems with my Departmentprovided mobile device. In those instances, I made it my habit to copy my State Department email to ensure appropriate record keeping. I am also aware of a small number of instances in which my State email address was not included in such messages. Those instances reflect honest oversight by me, my staff, or others who initiated email communications.

*Question.* Committee staff understands that during the week of March 19, 2019, you were scheduled to hold a public diplomacy event at the Manor Park Elementary School in Ottawa.

- Was this event scheduled?
- Was this event canceled? If so, what was the reason for cancelling the event?

Answer. Please see the confidential supplement for this response.

*Question.* You stated at your confirmation hearing that you always requested and always received approval for your travel. According to the records you provided the Committee, it appears there are four trips you took for which you did not receive approval from the Department to travel: December 15-17, 2017, to DC and Kentucky; February 14-20, 2018, to DC and Kentucky; July 20-22, 2018, to Kentucky; and September 03-07, 2018, to Kentucky and DC.

- If the Department approved these trips, please provide the approval cables.
- If they were not approved, why did you travel without approval?
- It appears you submitted a request for one of these trips but did not receive an approval. Is this correct? Can you explain?

Answer. Please see the confidential supplement for this response.

*Question.* According to the records you provided the Committee, it appears that you extended your travel out of the country approximately eight separate occasions

without approval, including the following dates: October 31, 2017, in Oklahoma; January 16, 2018, in Oklahoma; March 12, 2018, in Kentucky; May 14, 2018, in Kentucky; October 1, 2018, in DC; November 29, 2018, in Kentucky; March 4, 2019, in Kentucky; and March 11, 2019, in Kentucky.

- Please explain why you extended your travel on these occasions.
- On each occasion, did you inform the Embassy and the Department that you would extend your travel?
- If the Department approved these extensions, please provide the approval cables.
- If they were not approved, why did you extend your travel without approval?

Answer. Please see the confidential supplement for this response.

*Question.* According to the records you provided the Committee, it appears that on approximately ten separate occasions you traveled to locations not approved by the Department. These include October 29-30, 2017, in Oklahoma, when you were approved to be in Kentucky; December 27-29, 2017, in Oklahoma, when you were approved to be in Kentucky; March 23-25, 2018, in Kentucky, when you were approved to be in Georgia; November 28, 2018, in Kentucky, when you were approved to be returning to post from Oklahoma; and March 3, 2019, in Kentucky, when you were approved to be returning to post from New York.

- Please explain why you traveled to locations not approved by the Department.
- On each occasion, did you inform the Embassy and the Department that you would be travelling to a non-approved location?
- If the Department approved these additional locations, please provide the approval cables.
- If these additional locations were not approved, why did you travel to additional locations without approval?

Answer. The Department requests that chiefs of mission formally request permission to be absent from Post for official or personal reasons. The cables that were provided to you reflect this practice. Chiefs of mission typically also include background on the purpose of the travel to include an itinerary so that the Department is aware of a chiefs of mission's plans but itineraries can be adapted and do not trigger a formal requirement to re-seek permission to be absent from Post. Within these guidelines, specific approval for specific locations is not required.

*Question.* According to the records you provided the committee, it appears that many of your trips outside of Canada were not approved by the Undersecretary for Political Affairs.

- Please explain why these trips were not approved by the Undersecretary.

Answer. Approval or clearance from the Under Secretary for Political Affairs is only required if there is a "dual absence" from Post, meaning that both the Ambassador and the Deputy Chief of Mission are absent from Post at the same time. As a result, approval or clearance from the Under Secretary for Political Affairs would not be required for travel when the Deputy Chief of Mission was not also absent from Post. Thus, the trips you reference did not require approval from the Under Secretary for Political Affairs.

*Question.* According to 3 FAH-1 H-1425.1 Requests for Permission to Leave Country, absences for more than 26 workdays away from post must be approved by the Under Secretary for Management. If there was not a confirmed Under Secretary for Management at the time of these approvals, we understand that standard procedure would be for the Acting Under Secretary for Management to handle such approvals. Based on the records you provided the Committee, it does not appear that the Under Secretary or Acting Under Secretary for Management approved your absence. However, the Undersecretary for Political Affairs did approve some of your trips.

- Can you explain?

Answer. Only absences during a calendar year for more than 26 workdays, i.e., during established work hours on established workdays, require approval from the Under Secretary for Management. Given that the allotted 26 workdays away from post were not exceeded, approval from the Under Secretary for Management was not required. Additionally, as noted in the previous question, approval or clearance from the Under Secretary for Political Affairs is required for a "dual absence" from Post. This approval was sought and received when required.

*Question.* According to 3 FAH-1 H-1425.1 Requests for Permission to Leave Country, "[i]n certain geographical areas where travel to neighboring countries does not place the chief of mission, or other U.S. representative overseas with the rank of

Ambassador, beyond easy rapid communications with the Department or post, the chief of mission, or other U.S. representative overseas with the rank of Ambassador, may request standing permission from the appropriate geographic bureau in the Department to perform such short trips as may be necessary."

- Did you request standing permission from the appropriate geographic bureau in the Department to perform short trips to the U.S. as may be necessary? If so, please provide your permission request and the approval documentation.

Answer. The provision you cite is discretionary ("may request"). I did not seek this more permissive type of clearance from WHA, but instead followed the higher, more restrictive standards that I have documented.

*Question.* According to the records you provided the committee, you spent at least 180 partial or full days in Kentucky or Oklahoma since you became U.S. Ambassador to Canada.

- Is this accurate? If so, please explain why spending this number of partial or full days in Kentucky or Oklahoma was warranted when, as you stated in your hearing, you "had finally made our residence in Ottawa a home."

Answer. I have greatly enjoyed my tenure as Ambassador to Canada, including living and working in Ottawa. At the same time, I maintain residences in Kentucky and Oklahoma and have personal responsibilities there. Travel to the U.S. included personal milestones such as monitoring final construction of and moving belongings into a home, my daughter's wedding, and the birth of a grandchild.

Many times travel to Kentucky and Oklahoma took place on the margins of official travel to Washington, D.C., when proximity made it practical to stop in Kentucky or Oklahoma, or on Friday afternoons after I completed work at the Embassy and planned a personal weekend in one of my other residences. During the ambassadorial training course, the candidates were informed that weekends were their personal time, and I occasionally used my personal time to manage responsibilities in Kentucky and Oklahoma. This engagement in no way diminished my commitment to serve as the Ambassador, my effectiveness in that role, or the fondness I have for my Ottawa home.

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RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO HON. KELLY CRAFT BY SENATOR BENJAMIN L. CARDIN

*Question.* What are your most meaningful achievements to date in your career to promote human rights and democracy? What has been the impact of your actions?

Answer. Respect for the dignity and sanctity of all life has been my guiding principle since childhood, and that principle shapes my views on human rights and freedoms to this day. I believe firmly that in the absence of human rights and fundamental freedoms, desperation and discontent find fertile ground. It is on such ground that conflict finds traction, and humanitarian crises are born and fueled.

If confirmed, I will take that principle to New York, as I did to Ottawa, will use the full power of my voice and position to speak on behalf of those without voice, and expose the world's human rights abusers to the harsh light of international scrutiny.Additionally, one of the most important ways to promote democracy is to be an active participant in our great American experiment. Throughout my life, starting with my father, I have learned the importance of participating in elections by supporting candidates in whom you believe, volunteering on campaigns in your own community, and speaking up against inequities regardless of political repercussions.

*Question.* What are the most pressing human rights issues at the United Nations? What are the most important steps you expect to take—if confirmed—to promote human rights and democracy issues at the U.N.?? What do you hope to accomplish through these actions?

Answer. Violations and abuses of human rights and fundamental freedoms are serious and require attention. At present, the most pressing of these include the massive and systematic violations and abuses occurring in China, where over one million Uighurs, ethnic Kazaks, Kyrgyz, and other Muslins in Xinjiang have been detained in camps since April 2017. We remain gravely concerned by the horrors perpetrated by the Assad regime in Syria, where hundreds of thousands of Syrian civilians have been detained, and over 120,000 reportedly remain missing as a result of an ongoing effort to silence calls for reform and change. In Venezuela, the illegitimate Maduro regime thwarts the democratic aspirations of millions through vio-

lence and repression, all the while starving its own people. In Burma, atrocities committed against Rohingya Muslims have recently displaced more than 730,000 Rohingya refugees to Bangladesh alone.

If confirmed, I will rally fellow U.N. member states—as did my predecessor—to press jointly for changes in state practice and, as we have recently done with the case of Burma, to support, on a case-by-case basis, independent UN monitoring and investigation mechanisms to establish accountability and end impunity. I would also continue to press U.S. concerns regarding the violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the right to freedom of religious belief, peaceful assembly and association, and freedom of expression.

Upholding these fundamental freedoms is a prerequisite for global development and stability, which, in turn, helps guarantee U.S. national security.

*Question.* 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 at the U.N. in advancing human rights, civil society and democracy in general?

Answer. As we have seen in the unfortunate case of the U.N. Human Rights Council, it is often too easy for malign actors to become part of U.N. mechanisms, only to block criticism and thwart consensus on the need for meaningful engagement and reform. It will be critical, moving forward, to take a serious look at reforming the functioning of U.N. mechanisms and, if confirmed, I would be honored to lead these efforts on behalf of the United States.

*Question.* Do you commit to bring to the committee's attention (and the State Department Inspector General) any change in policy or U.S. actions that you suspect may be influenced by any of the President's business or financial interests, or the business or financial interests of any senior White House staff?

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

*Question.* Do you commit to inform the committee if you have any reason to suspect that a foreign government, head of state, or foreign-controlled entity is taking any action in order to benefit any of the President's business or financial interests, or the interests of senior White House staff?

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

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

Answer. Yes. I, too, believe that a diverse workforce is key to ensuring a productive and creative team. If confirmed, this is exactly the type of team I will aim to foster. To that end, I will endeavor to reflect the diversity of our great nation by striving to promote equal opportunity for our officers, including women and those from historically marginalized groups, if confirmed as Permanent Representative to the United Nations.

*Question.* What steps will you take to ensure each of the supervisors in your staff are fostering an environment that is diverse and inclusive?

Answer. If confirmed, I will lead by example by fostering a culture of acceptance and inclusivity that ultimately reflects a whole-of-mission commitment to diversity and inclusion. To achieve a diverse and inclusive workforce I will strive to implement appropriate procedures for support and mentoring of staff, fully comply with federal non-discrimination laws and regulations in our throughout the entirety of the Mission, and clearly communicate the importance of complying with established protocols and procedures while also celebrating diversity and differences amongst the team.

*Question.* Do you agree that principled engagement with the U.N. is beneficial to our country on the whole?

Answer. Yes, I absolutely agree that principled engagement with the U.N. is beneficial to the United States and the American people.

*Question.* How would you build on former Ambassador Haley's successes at the U.N., and what would you do differently in the role, if confirmed?

Answer. If confirmed, I look forward to building upon Ambassador Haley's record of success. In particular, I believe it is crucially important for the United States to continue demanding accountability and performance by U.N. peacekeeping missions.

Ambassador Haley's efforts in this regard resulted in cost savings, improved mission mandates, and sustained attention to unacceptable conduct issues.

*Question.* How do you leverage U.S. commitments to achieving these Sustainable Development Goals with recent trends in U.S. funding for the U.N.?

Answer. The 2030 Agenda is a voluntary framework for global development that has served as a guide for the U.N. development system in its support to Member States. If confirmed, I would work towards ensuring that our resources are used effectively and efficiently and that our contributions towards the U.N. development system continue to drive development outcomes and diminish the need for foreign assistance in the long run. The United States remains the largest single provider of Official Development Assistance. If confirmed, I would work with partners across the U.N. system to showcase U.S. global leadership through our policies, partnership, innovations, and calls to action.

*Question.* If confirmed, do you pledge to encourage robust U.S. funding to help advance these goals?

Answer. If confirmed, I would work towards ensuring that our resources are used effectively and efficiently and that our contributions towards the U.N. development system continue to drive development outcomes and diminish the need for foreign assistance in the long run. The 2030 Agenda calls for shared responsibility and the mobilization and effective use of domestic resources and strong partnerships with the private sector. I would continue to engage with both the international community and the private sector to address both the burdens and opportunities inherent in tackling global development challenges.

*Question.* As U.S. Ambassador to the U.N., what will be your commitment to consulting with and engaging in dialogue with Congress and civil society on critical issues, especially on the SDGs and human rights?

Answer. If confirmed, I look forward to benefitting from the wisdom and experience available from Members of Congress and civil society, and will look for frequent opportunities to engage with the widest range of available expertise.

*Question.* Now that we've given up our seat at the table, what is your strategy for ensuring that we advance U.S. priorities and initiatives at the U.N.?

Answer. If confirmed, I will firmly and vocally advance U.S. priorities and initiatives at the United Nations, in the Security Council and elsewhere. I do not believe that we have given up our seat, and will work hard to demonstrate continued U.S. leadership whenever and wherever possible.

*Question.* In your view, has the U.S. been more effective at pushing back against anti-Israel bias since leaving the Human Rights Council?

Answer. The United States has been consistent over many years in prioritizing effective efforts to push back against anti-Israel bias around the world, including at the Human Rights Council (HRC) in Geneva, and at the U.N. headquarters in New York. The U.S. withdrawal from the HRC in 2018 did not change that. The myriad problems with the HRC have been well documented, including its unconscionable bias against Israel. Since its creation, the Council has adopted more resolutions condemning Israel than against the rest of the world combined. Ambassador Haley spent more than a year trying to reform the HRC. Her team met with more than 125 member states to press vigorously for HRC reform. The U.S. withdrew from the HRC as promised after the numerous opponents of HRC reform ensconced on the Council, including some of the worst sources of anti-Israel rhetoric, blocked the reforms. Nevertheless, the U.S. withdrawal from the HRC was not a retreat from our human rights commitments, from Israel, or from combating anti-Israel bias. U.S. diplomats remain in Geneva pushing back daily against anti-Israel bias at every opportunity, and we have redoubled our efforts to do so in New York as well. As I stated in my testimony, the United States will never accept such bias, and if confirmed I commit to seizing every opportunity to shine a light on this conduct, call it what it is, and demand that these outrageous practices finally come to an end. It is a core U.S. priority to counter anti-Israel bias and ensure that Israel, as with any other member state, is treated fairly at the U.N.

*Question.* What is your strategy for being an effective advocate for U.S. human rights priorities and to support Israel from outside the Council?

Answer. If confirmed, I will continue to support Israel and pursue a robust human rights agenda at the United Nations General Assembly's Third Committee as well as other U.N. bodies, as the United States did during the other periods when we were not a Human Rights Council member.

We will also redouble our efforts to bring a balanced approach to human rights issues to the Security Council, as we did during our last presidency when we held the first ever session on the linkage between human rights abuses and threats to international peace and security.

In addition to bilateral engagement on human rights, we will continue to work to advance human rights in regional forums, like the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, the Organization of American States, and other bodies. Similarly, we will continue to consult closely with our allies on taking actions not only to address the most egregious country situations, but also to challenge the anti-Israeli bias that has infected the U.N. system.

*Question.* Following the U.S.' withdrawal from the Human Rights Council, states, especially China, have rushed in to fill the vacuum. It has already pushed through resolutions endorsing its vision of a human rights paradigm in which States refrain from criticizing one another. Now it is working to dissuade Council members from pursuing a resolution criticizing its persecution of Muslim Uighurs in Xinjiang. What is your approach to countering China's actions at the Human Rights Council?

Answer. Following the U.S. principled withdrawal from the Human Rights Council (HRC) in June 2018, the United States no longer participates in HRC activities. This includes working, publicly or privately, to influence the language or direction of resolutions put before the HRC.

However, the United States has not abandoned advocacy for global human rights. On China's persecution of Uighurs and other ethnic and religious minorities in Xinjiang, the United States and partner countries in Geneva hosted an event on this issue in March of this year. The widely attended event featured testimony from experts and a survivor that highlighted the magnitude and severity of the crisis. The State Department and the U.S. Mission to the U.N. have also been active, both publicly and privately in advocating for U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights Michelle Bachelet to visit Xinjiang with unrestricted access.

The United States is, and will remain, the strongest advocate for the promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms. If confirmed, I will continue in the path trodden by my esteemed predecessors, who understood how critical human rights protections are to the maintenance of global peace and security.

*Question.* If confirmed, what is your strategy to more effectively engage with smaller nations whose votes are just as important on many issues before the U.N.?

Answer. If confirmed, I will prioritize outreach to smaller nations who may not have frequent opportunity to interact with the U.S. Permanent Representative. Relationship-building will be a continuous objective, and while that doesn't guarantee support in U.N. venues, it does help ensure that American views and perspectives are known, respected, and understood.

*Question.* Do you believe that the U.S. should play a leadership role in addressing climate change?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I will work to ensure that the United States advances and protects U.S. economic and environmental interests, including by participating in ongoing international climate change negotiations to ensure a level playing field for the United States.

*Question.* Do you have a specific strategy to engage smaller island nations facing the impacts of climate change? The Marshall Islands in particular?

Answer. If confirmed, I will engage proactively with the small island states to learn more about the particular challenges they face as a result of the changing climate.

*Question.* The U.N. is in financial crisis right now and a big reason is connected to U.S. shortfalls. In December, all Member States agreed at the U.N. to new peacekeeping rates. For the U.S., the new peacekeeping rate dropped to 27.8% The U.S. voted in support of these rates and the U.S. mission to the U.N. even put out a fact-sheet touting how we benefit from them. Over the past 25 years, Congress has lifted the cap many times. Will you pledge to work with Congress on this issue so we can pay at the rate that the US agreed to just a few months ago?

Answer. If confirmed, I am committed to working with Congress on the issue of funding for U.N. peacekeeping operations.

*Question.* If confirmed, how will you use the U.S.'s Security Council seat to support continued enforcement of sanctions to prevent international transfers of arms that could be used in the commission of war crimes, genocide, or terrorist attacks?

Answer. Maintaining Security Council solidarity on these issues will be a key priority if I am confirmed. Inhibiting the flow of weapons to terrorists and rogue regimes should be a commitment around which the word can rally, and I will be attentive to any potential relaxation within the Council.

*Question.* If confirmed, how will you use the U.S.'s Security Council seat to support continued enforcement of North Korea sanctions?

Answer. If confirmed, I will continue to use the U.S. seat on the Security Council to hold the DPRK accountable for its continued violation of U.N. Security Council Resolutions through its unlawful nuclear and ballistic missile programs, and to press for the full implementation of U.N. Security Council Resolutions worldwide until the final, fully verified denuclearization of the DPRK, as committed to by Chairman Kim in Singapore. I will also work closely with my State Department colleagues to ensure strong bilateral engagement with countries to point out lapses in implementation of the sanctions, and press for strong and continued sanctions enforcement.

*Question.* Do you support the work of the U.N. Panel of Experts on North Korea, who are tasked with assessing global compliance with these measures, investigating cases of sanctions busting, and providing information to help strengthen enforcement?

Answer. We support the work of the U.N. Panel of Experts on the implementation of U.N. sanctions on the DPRK, as its public reporting helps governments around the world to stay informed and implement sanctions imposed on North Korea. The Panel of Experts' analyses expose ongoing violations of the sanctions regime, emphasize the obligation of all member states to implement U.N. sanctions, and demonstrate the need for continued vigilance against entities involved in DPRK sanctions-evasion activity. The United States takes the Panel of Experts' allegations of U.N. sanctions violations seriously, and engages with countries around the world to pressure the DPRK and ensure global implementation of U.N. Security Council obligations.

*Question.* Will you be an advocate for adequate funding and access of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) in North Korea in the event that a diplomatic agreement is reached on that country's nuclear program?

Answer. The United States strongly supports the vital work of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), including its efforts to plan and prepare for a resumption of safeguards and verification activities in North Korea if called upon to do so. While matters related directly to IAEA funding are under the primary purview of Ambassador Jackie Wolcott, who heads the U.S. Mission to the International Organizations in Vienna (UNVIE), if confirmed, I will support Ambassador Wolcott and work to ensure that the IAEA has the resources it needs to carry out its mandate.

*Question.* What concrete measures will you take to protect those individuals who are on the frontlines of defending human rights in Guatemala?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work with my Department of State colleagues to advance the protection of human rights defenders in Guatemala, and elsewhere in the world, and hold human rights abusers to account. We will continue to promote the uses of accountability mechanisms such as the Global Magnitsky Act and section 7031(c) of the 2018 Department of State, Foreign Operations, and Related Programs Appropriation Act, against the perpetrators of abuses. We will also continue speaking out to condemn the wave of violence against embattled human rights defenders and urge the Guatemalan government to prioritize the defense of human rights in the country.

*Question.* This [in reference to the previous question which asked, "What concrete measures will you take to protect those individuals who are on the frontlines of defending human rights in Guatemala?"] is just one example of attacks unfolding globally against human rights defenders. If confirmed, do you commit to vocalize this broader issue both privately and publically?

Answer. Protecting and supporting human rights defenders (HRDs) is a key priority of U.S. foreign policy. The United States supports HRDs as they work to protect human rights and fundamental freedoms, advocate for government transparency and accountability, promote rule of law, and expose corruption. HRDs, as well as their families, friends, and associates, are often harassed, detained, interrogated, imprisoned, tortured, and killed for doing the work of promoting accountability and protecting human rights. If confirmed, I will commit to supporting the

efforts of HRDs to promote and defend human rights and fundamental freedoms without undue restriction and free from reprisals against them or their families.

*Question.* What other specific actions do you pledge to take to help protect human rights defenders around the globe?

Answer. The United States works to strengthen institutional frameworks for the promotion of human rights, protection systems for human rights defenders (HRDs), rule of law, and communications and collaboration between governments and civil society. At the U.N., the United States strongly supports resolutions that address the freedoms of expression and association and the right to peaceful assembly, as well as a biennial resolution on the situation of HRDs. The United States also uses foreign assistance, visa restrictions, and multilateral and bilateral engagement to promote accountability and support partners in implementing reforms. The United States partners with other donor governments to provide emergency financial assistance to embattled civil society around the world, with a goal of enabling these individuals and groups to return to their vital work of advocating for the advancement of human rights and fundamental freedoms in their countries. If confirmed, I will commit to supporting the efforts of HRDs to promote and defend human rights and fundamental freedoms without undue restriction and free from reprisals against them or their families.

*Question.* Do you believe that the crimes in Burma amount to crimes against humanity or genocide?

Answer. I am deeply concerned about and appalled by the Burmese military's ethnic cleansing of Rohingya and the ongoing humanitarian crisis, as well as the military's egregious human rights abuses throughout Burma. The process for deciding whether and when to make a determination that certain acts may amount to genocide, crimes against humanity, or ethnic cleansing, has historically been reserved within the Executive Branch to the Secretary of State. If confirmed, I will seek to advise the Secretary on such a determination as it fits into the Department's overarching objectives of easing the humanitarian crisis, seeking accountability for those that committed atrocities, deterring future such atrocities, and addressing root causes of violence.

*Question.* Will you pledge to support international actions that seek to address the ongoing genocide in Burma in your position?

Answer. If confirmed, I would use my position to work with like-minded countries and regional partners to press the government of Burma to grant unhindered humanitarian and media access to Rakhine State and areas experiencing violence, pursue accountability for those responsible, and implement reforms that will prevent the recurrence of atrocities and other human rights violations and abuses. I would also continue to support established U.N. mechanisms, including the International Investigative Mechanism for Myanmar, the U.N. Special Rapporteur on Myanmar, and the U.N. Special Envoy to Myanmar. The United States has played a key role in creating and funding these mechanisms and has supported their efforts to seek justice for victims.

*Question.* In what ways will you engage on the Security Council to promote this issue?

Answer. If confirmed, I would support and lead efforts at the Security Council that advance the Department's overarching objectives of easing the humanitarian crisis, seeking accountability for those that committed atrocities, deterring future such atrocities, and addressing root causes of violence. Specifically, I would encourage other donors to give generously to humanitarian efforts; continue the United States' leadership on multilateral accountability efforts; and press the government of Burma to undertake overdue reforms in Rakhine State to enable the voluntary return of Rohingya and prevent future crises.

*Question.* If confirmed, how do you propose to use your position to resolve the Rohingya refugee crisis?

Answer. If confirmed, I will continue the Department's efforts to engage, influence and lead actions of the international community, including with like-minded states, non-traditional partners, and international organizations, to resolve the Rohingya crisis and advance U.S. interests and values in Burma. I will seek to support efforts and mechanisms at the United Nations to foster accountability for human rights abuses and violations in Rakhine State and other areas of Burma. These include the Independent Investigative Mechanism for Myanmar, the U.N. Special Envoy to Myanmar and the U.N. Special Rapporteur on the human rights situation in Myanmar.

*Question.* What measures will you employ to ensure that the Government of Bangladesh and Burmese government are consulting with Rohingya refugees regarding their futures?

Answer. Thanks to Congress's leadership and generosity, the United States is the leading contributor of humanitarian assistance in response to the Rohingya crisis, having provided nearly $542 million since the escalation of violence in August 2017. If confirmed, I would work to ensure that any repatriation of Rohingya is voluntary, safe, dignified, and sustainable. Further, I would use forums at the United Nations to highlight the ongoing plight of Rohingya refugees, the generosity of Bangladesh in hosting more than one million refugees, and the urgent need for Burma to address the root causes of the crisis to create the conditions that would allow for voluntary, safe, dignified, and sustainable returns.

*Question.* A High-Level Commission on Health Employment and Economic Growth called by the U.N. Secretary-General in 2016 concluded that investments in health have a nine-fold return and accounted for about one quarter of economic growth between 2000 and 2011 in low- and middleincome countries, having an outsized impact for women, who make up about 70% of the health and social workforce worldwide. Simultaneously, the world faces a projected shortfall of 18 million health workers by 2030, which threatens to derail the tremendous progress the United States has spearheaded in saving lives around the world and also leaves us more vulnerable to infectious disease threats like Ebola. How will you prioritize U.S. leadership at the U.N. to help spur the investments needed in health employment to drive global economic growth and women's economic empowerment while simultaneously tackling our greatest global health challenges?

Answer. The United States welcomed the Report of the High-Level Commission on Health Employment and Economic Growth; we continue to support its important recommendations regarding measures to address the global shortfall of trained health workers. The Commission's work has helped guide action that advances employment and economic growth in low- and middle-income countries. The U.N. action has been led by the World Health Organization.

Answer. WHO's Global Health Workforce Network is a key mechanism to implement the Commission's recommendations through WHO's five-year action plan. We support these efforts to help countries grow their health workforce and share data on workforce issues for decision making.

*Question.* Over the last two years, the United States has staked out positions on sexual and reproductive health and rights during negotiations on important resolutions and outcome documents that have alienated our allies. The most egregious example was during the Security Council resolution on Sexual Violence in Conflict that the United States almost vetoed until two last-minute changes. The first was removal of the mechanism that would have allowed women who had been victims of sexual violence in conflict access to health care and other forms of redress. The second was removal of the words ″sexual and reproductive health and rights.″ As someone that has worked closely with our Canadian allies the past two years, you understand the time and commitment it takes to get consensus on diplomatic agreements. Can you commit to this committee that you will work closely with our allies to ensure these important resolutions and outcome documents will be given the appropriate attention and that you will protect the rights of women and girls around the world?

Answer. The United States is committed to promoting the rights and well-being of women. In negotiating U.N. documents, U.S. delegation members often include senior officials and subject matter experts who seek to work constructively with other Member States toward achieving consensus.

The administration has concerns about terminology related to sexual and reproductive health that do not enjoy international consensus. The use of these phrases by U.N. agencies and U.N. affiliates often implies abortion. The administration will do all it can do to protect and respect the sanctity of life around the globe.

In its advocacy for women, the administration continues to hold to the commitments laid out in the 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women's Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, as well as in the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development'sProgram of Action. The United States moreover remains the largest bilateral donor of women's health and family planning assistance worldwide.

*Question.* UNFPA has long counted on U.S. generosity and guidance in expanding its programs. From a maternal health clinic in the Za'atari refugee camp in Jordan that delivered 10,000 babies without a single maternal death, to leading the U.N.

system's efforts to end child marriage, U.S. bilateral efforts are amplified by UNFPA, and the other way around. UNFPA has been on the forefront of working with the private sector to deliver on a world that ends obstetric fistulas and providing access to contraceptives for any woman who desires them. Will you commit to actually going to see the work of UNFPA as Ambassador to the U.N. and giving this committee a real answer as to why the U.S. has defunded a program that does not provide access to abortion and continues to call out forced abortions and female infanticide as human rights abuses?

Answer. As we discussed in during our visit in your office, I am wholly committed to maternal and child health programs and organizations across the globe. If confirmed, I will look into the questions you posed and welcome further discussion.

*Question.* A May 2019 report of the Safeguarding Health in Conflict Coalition documents at least 973 attacks on health workers, health facilities, health transports, and patients in 23 countries in conflict around the world in 2018—from the DRC to Yemen, Syria, to the Philippines. At least 167 health workers died and at least 710 were injured. This marks an increase in the number of documented attacks compared to 2017, when the Coalition reported 701 such attacks. What is the role of the United States in ensuring compliance of U.N. Security Council Resolution 2286 passed in May 2016 to document and conduct investigations of attacks on health workers and facilities?

Answer. The United States has repeatedly urged member states to renew their commitment to the implementation of U.N. Security Council resolution 2286, which the Security Council passed unanimously in 2016. The Security Council demanded that the international community mobilize in an effort to prevent attacks on health services in armed conflict and hold those responsible for such attacks accountable. Three years later, however, a staggering number of attacks on health facilities, health workers, ambulances, and patients continue to take place across the globe. Impunity for such violations and abuses must come to an end. The United States strongly supports efforts to promote access to humanitarian relief, including medical care, for civilians in situations of armed conflict. If confirmed, I will work with other members of the U.N. Security Council to ensure the full implementation of resolution 2286.

*Question.* What more can and should be done to ensure that health workers and the civilians they serve are protected in humanitarian emergencies?

Answer. The United States is a leader in promoting the safety and security of humanitarian personnel as well as the protection of U.N. personnel. Last year we cosponsored a General Assembly resolution on this matter, which we felt sent a message of concern and solidarity to the many courageous people who risk their lives to deliver humanitarian assistance to the millions of people across the world who suffer as a result of natural disasters and armed conflict, and other crises. Humanitarian health workers put their own lives in jeopardy to save the lives. The U.S. acknowledges that there have been far too many casualties and deaths among humanitarians who were working to reach people in need, in particular in Syria, Afghanistan, and South Sudan.

To underline our message, the U.S. routinely calls on parties to armed conflict to comply with their obligations under international humanitarian law, and to take every action to provide unhindered access to humanitarian organizations and to respect their independence and neutrality. Humanitarian workers cannot be perceived as affiliated with any side of the political divide, as such perceptions present risks to workers, their beneficiaries, and life-saving programs. Respecting humanitarian principles of neutrality, impartiality, and independence are essential for the effectiveness of humanitarian aid, as well as for workers' personal security.

*Question.* International Human Rights NGOs play a critical role in highlighting abuses and pressing for accountability in many forums including the United Nations. Will you commit to working closely with human rights and humanitarian civil society organizations and to briefing the NGO Working Group on the Security Council (as almost all your predecessors have done?)

Answer. The United States strongly supports the participation of civil society organizations in the work of the U.N. and giving them a voice in the U.N. system. As a member of the U.N. Committee on Non-Governmental Organizations, the United States works to ensure that NGOs that meet the applicable criteria gain U.N. accreditation to participate in U.N. fora and events and contribute to the U.N.'s work. Because of the membership and increasing politicization of the committee, obtaining U.N. accreditation has been particularly difficult for human rights and humanitarian organizations. The practice of some committee members of block-

ing certain organizations based on their political views restricts which NGOs obtain U.N. accreditation. Moreover, some U.N. member states block the participation of human rights and humanitarian organizations in highlevel U.N. meetings and summits by establishing a ″no objection″ procedure. If confirmed, I will support efforts to increase the participation of civil society, including human rights and humanitarian organizations, in the U.N.'s work and to eliminate the abusive ″no objection″ procedure. Additionally, the U.S. Mission to the U.N. has welcomed engagement with NGOs, including through the NGO Working Group on the Security Council, and I would look forward to continuing that productive relationship if confirmed.

*Question.* Armed conflict, political instability, climate change, and other factors have led to an unprecedented growth in global humanitarian needs. U.N. agencies like the World Food Program (WFP), U.N. Refugee Agency (UNHCR), U.N. Children's Fund (UNICEF), and U.N. Population Fund (UNFPA) are leading the global response, providing food, shelter, medical care, education, maternal health care, and other forms of life-sustaining aid to tens of millions of people around the world. The U.S. helped create these agencies, and has long been the largest donor to U.N. humanitarian appeals. Do you believe that it is important for the U.S. to continue to work with the U.N. to address humanitarian crises around the world?

Answer. I understand that the United States continues to be the single largest donor of humanitarian assistance, having provided more than $8 billion in FY 2018, and the preponderance of our humanitarian assistance is provided through multilateral channels—most of them U.N. agencies. With the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees having reported this week that displacement has doubled in just the past 20 years, U.S. policy goals for humanitarian assistance increase in importance. These go beyond saving lives and easing suffering through efficient and effective humanitarian assistance, to include increasing burden-sharing, driving reforms in the humanitarian system, and funding more activities and programs that demonstrate coherence between relief and development. The U.N. is a major focus of these efforts.

*Question.* Due to the ever-increasing scale of needs in recent years-brought on by conflict in Yemen, Syria, Iraq, South Sudan, DR Congo, Myanmar, and Afghanistan, among other places-UN humanitarian appeals are chronically underfunded. If confirmed, will you press for the U.S. to continue to provide robust financial support to the work of these activities, and will you push other countries to do the same?

Answer. Yes, I will. I understand that the United States continues to be the single largest donor of humanitarian assistance, having provided more than $8 billion in FY 2018. With the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees having reported this week that displacement has doubled in just the past 20 years, U.S. policy goals for humanitarian assistance increase in importance. These go beyond saving lives and easing suffering through efficient and effective humanitarian assistance, to include increasing burden-sharing, driving reforms in the humanitarian system, and funding more activities and programs that demonstrate coherence between relief and development.

*Question.* On December 19, 2018, the U.N. General Assembly voted to endorse the Global Compact on Migration (GCM). The U.S. was one of the few countries that voted against. The GCM paves the way for an ordered international response to migration and would serve as a template to ensure the rights and dignity of migrants around the world. Do you support U.S. opposition to the GCM?

Answer. I understand that the United States does not support the Global Compact on Migration (GCM) or the process that led to it because they included goals and objectives inconsistent and incompatible with U.S. law, policy, and the interests of the American people. As the U.S. national statement on the GCM noted, ″While the United States honors the contributions of the many immigrants who helped build our nation, we cannot support a 'Compact' or process that imposes or has the potential to impose international guidelines, standards, expectations, or commitments that might constrain our ability to make decisions in the best interests of our nation and citizens.″ Further, I understand there is lack of consensus among U.N. member states regarding the GCM. When it came up for endorsement at the U.N. General Assembly on December 19, 2018, the United States, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Israel, and Poland voted against it, another 12 other countries abstained, and 24 did not vote.

*Question.* The United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) is an important United Nations agency in the mainstreaming of human rights throughout the U.N. system, and is tasked with promoting and protecting human rights in all U.N. member states. The U.N. Special Procedures system plays

a vital role in protecting human rights via the work of Special Rapporteurs, Independent Experts and Working Groups, among other such mechanisms. On January 4, the Guardian reported that the U.S. Department of State has quietly ended its cooperation with these experts. Will you commit to ensuring that the U.S. delegation collaborates and supports the work of the OHCHR and that of special procedures mandate holders, including in cases when they are investigating potential human rights violations in the United States?

Answer. We continue to cooperate with U.N. special procedures. Given the broad range of mandates and requests, we prioritize our interactions to ensure that engagement maximizes the promotion of U.S. objectives. In February, the Department met twice with the SpecialRapporteur for extrajudicial, summary, or arbitrary executions, at her request, to discuss the Global Magnitsky sanctions program and her inquiry into the killing of Jamal Khashoggi. Over the past several months, Department officials and our Missions in New York and Geneva have also met with numerous mandate holders, including: the Independent Expert on the Central African Republic; the Special Rapporteurs on Burma as well as Freedom of Religion or Belief, among others.

*Question.* All 193 U.N. member states are subject to a Universal Periodic Review (UPR) of their human rights record once every 4.5 years by the U.N. Human Rights Council. This presents a valuable opportunity to hold all member states accountable for their human rights track record. Will you champion continued participation in this process?

Answer. Yes. The UPR process is a valuable tool: each of the 193 U.N. member states reviewed has the opportunity to state actions taken to improve the human rights situations in their countries, and to provide an assessment of the human rights situation in other countries. We take this process seriously, as we view it as a powerful means to shine a spotlight on human rights violations and abuses, recommend concrete actions to prevent such violations and abuses, and to follow up on implementation of recommendations.

*Question.* The U.S. is coming up for its third review under the UPR in April/May 2020 [the 36th session of the UPR working Group]. Will you commit to supporting U.S. cooperation with the review?

Answer. Yes. The United States is rightfully proud of its human rights record. It has served and will continue to serve as a model for other nations. Our previous reports have discussed that record, including areas of strength, such our record on core freedoms of speech, association and belief. We have also previously addressed a range of challenges, including issues of discrimination and topics related to civil liberties in the context of national security. The U.S. UPR report is just one element of a broad U.S. effort to engage broadly, substantively, and constructively on human rights issues.

*Question.* The U.S. has been a leader and important voice at the U.N. in support of the work of human rights defenders (HRDs) worldwide, publicly calling out states that violate their rights, including in the context of counter-terrorism. Currently we are witnessing increasing physical and legislative attacks on HRDs across the world—they are frequently detained, tortured and even killed because of their work. If confirmed, will you commit to increasing political support given by the U.S. Mission to HRDs, using opportunities at the U.N. to publicly denounce states for violations whenever and wherever they occur, and ensuring that HRDs have access themselves to U.N. mechanisms?

Answer. The United States supports the U.N. Declaration on the Right and Responsibility of Individuals, Groups and Organs of Society to Promote and Protect Universally Recognized Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, more commonly called ″The Declaration on Human Rights Defenders.″ To do their vital work, human rights defenders (HRDs) must be able to exercise their fundamental freedoms of expression, movement, and association, and their right to peaceful assembly. Their work is a critical safeguard against threats from repressive powers, corrupt actors, autocratic regimes, and backsliding democracies. An open, empowered, and fully functioning civil society, inclusive of all types of HRDs, is critical to healthy democracies. Where their ability to work freely is weakened, human rights abuses and violations, discrimination, and corruption flourish. If confirmed, I will commit to supporting the efforts of HRDs to promote and defend human rights and fundamental freedoms without undue restriction and free from reprisals against them or their families.

*Question.* As Yemen is now the biggest humanitarian disaster in the world, a direct result of the three-year long Saudi and UAE coalition-led war, it is imperative

that the Security Council take immediate action to not only improve the situation on the ground but make sure that human rights violators are held to account. Resolution 2451 was adopted by the Council at the end of last year, but it did not mention accountability. If confirmed, will you push for a follow-up resolution that calls on those who committed gross human rights violations to be held to account?

Answer. The United States encourages all parties to the conflict to adhere to international human rights law, and supports efforts to ensure that violators are held accountable, including by allowing media and NGOs access to Yemen to report on and document allegations of human rights abuses. The Department of State and USUN continue to support the efforts of U.N. Special Envoy for Yemen Martin Griffiths to mediate between the parties to reach a political settlement that will end the conflict and dire humanitarian crisis. In December, the United States shaped the language of and voted in favor of U.N. Security Council Resolution 2451 to endorse the agreements the parties reached in Sweden to build momentum for their implementation. The timing and content of follow-on Resolutions will be driven by the U.N. Special Envoy, and the United Kingdom, which is the penholder for Yemen in the Council. If confirmed, I will continue to support language that facilitates and supports the Special Envoy's efforts on the U.N.-led political track to end the conflict.

*Question.* The conflict raging in Libya has shown blunt disrespect of International Humanitarian Law, with actions by parties that could amount to war crimes under international law. Would you commit to promoting the protection of the human rights of the civilian population affected by the current conflict even if that would mean criticizing actions by parties to which the President has recently expressed support?

Answer. The ongoing fighting in Tripoli has exacerbated an already troubling situation for human rights in Libya. A ceasefire in Tripoli and a return to U.N. political mediation are necessary to address the deteriorating humanitarian situation, support human rights, and build democratic institutions. If confirmed, I will stand against impunity, and support efforts to bring to justice those responsible for atrocities in Libya. Accountability not only provides justice for victims of past violations and abuses, but also signals that future violations and abuses will not be tolerated.

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RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO HON. KELLY CRAFT BY SENATOR JEANNE SHAHEEN

*Question.* Thank you for your commitment to look into the evidence used to underpin the determination against the U.N. Population Fund (UNFPA) under the Kemp-Kasten Amendment; I look forward to hearing more about the results of your examination. I also appreciate your commitment to meet with the Executive Director of UNFPA. Will you further commit to discussing with UNFPA leadership the ways in which UNFPA can change its programming in order to avoid another negative and devastating Kemp-Kasten determination? Will you also commit to meet with the Executive Director of U.N. Women expeditiously upon your arrival at the United Nations, should you be confirmed?

Answer. I understand your deep concerns related to these issues and admire your leadership with regard to promoting women, girls, and families. If confirmed, I will look into the questions you posed regarding UNFPA. I would also welcome the opportunity to meet with the Executive Director of U.N. Women, if confirmed.

*Question.* On March 30, 2017, the State Department made a negative Kemp-Kasten determination against UNFPA because UNFPA "continues to partner with the [National Health and Family Planning Commission] on family planning." Unfortunately, UNFPA's work in conflict areas and places of instability has become more critical since the determination. UNFPA programs provide vital health services and protection services. If confirmed, will you look into ways that the U.S. government can work with UNFPA to continue to provide these services, even if the Kemp-Kasten determination is sustained?

Answer. As we discussed in during our visit in your office, I am wholly committed to maternal and child health programs and organizations across the globe. If confirmed, I will look into the question you posed and welcome further discussion.

*Question.* Do you believe that climate change is a real and present threat to our health, environment, economy, and way of life?

Answer. I believe that climate change needs to be addressed, as it does pose very real risks for our planet and all its living creatures.

*Question.* On March 5, 2019, 58 intelligence leaders, combatant commanders and national security officials as well as former secretaries of Defense and State who served in Republican and Democratic administrations wrote a letter to President Trump concerning national security threats related to climate change. Do you agree with these military leaders and former officials that climate change is a threat to the national security of the United States?

Answer. I am aware of this letter, including that it was signed by former intelligence leaders, combatant commanders, and national security officials. I agree with them that climate change poses very real risks and must be addressed.

*Question.* Do you believe the United States should be working with the global community to address the economic, environmental and health impacts of climate change?

Answer. I believe that there are numerous international venues where climate-related issues can and should be discussed. If confirmed, I look forward to participating in some of these discussions, where I will underscore American ingenuity and innovation as important tools to mitigate the impacts of climate change.

*Question.* During your verbal testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on June 19, 2019, you said that if confirmed, you would be an advocate in addressing climate change. Please describe how, if confirmed as the United States Representative to the United Nations, you would advocate for effective climate change action.

Answer. If confirmed, I will use important U.N. venues, including the Security Council, to highlight American leadership on climate-related issues, underscoring a balanced approach that unlocks research and innovation while safeguarding the American economy. I believe this model offers the best hope for tackling climate change and its related challenges.

*Question.* In 1992, the United States ratified the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), an international treaty with a global objective to "stabilize greenhouse gas concentrations in the atmosphere at a level that would prevent dangerous anthropogenic interference with the climate system." In 2015, members of the UNFCCC, including the United States, adopted by consensus the Paris Agreement, aimed at limiting global warming to less than two degrees Celsius, and pursue efforts to limit the rise to 1.5 degrees Celsius. On April 22, 2016, the United States became a signatory to the Paris Agreement, and accepted it by executive order on September 3, 2016. Do you support the United States' involvement in the Paris Agreement? If not, how do you suggest the United States contribute to efforts to reduce global emissions contributing to climate change?

Answer. I agree with the President, who examined the Paris climate agreement and determined that it was a bad deal for the United States. While the U.S. made a significant and serious commitment in that agreement, others, including China and India did not make similarly stringent commitments. The United States does not need to be a part of such an agreement to show real leadership on climate change, and if confirmed I will focus the U.N.'s attention on the power of American ingenuity and innovation to mitigate the impacts of climate change.

*Question.* On June 1, 2017, President Trump announced his intention to withdraw the United States from the Paris Agreement. In accordance with Article 28 of the Paris Agreement, the earliest possible effective withdrawal date by the United States is November 4, 2020. The United States is still obligated to maintain certain commitments under the UNFCCC, such as continuing to report its emissions to the U.N. If confirmed, will you ensure that the United States continues to meet its obligations under the Paris Agreement?

Answer. The President has made it clear that the United States will withdraw from the Paris Agreement, absent better terms for the United States. It is my understanding that while the United States remains a Party to the UNFCCC, the United States is not taking on burdens or financial pledges in support specific to the Paris Agreement.

*Question.* During his June 2, 2017, President Trump also announced his intention to negotiate our way back into Paris or "negotiate a new deal." If confirmed, would you support efforts to negotiate an agreement for the United States to remain in the Paris accords?

Answer. As the U.S. Ambassador to Canada, I have not been engaged in internal U.S. deliberations on this matter, so I do not have further information to share on this subject at this time. Irrespective of our position on the Paris Agreement, the United States will continue to be a world leader in providing affordable, abundant, and secure energy to our citizens, while protecting the environment and reducing emissions through job-creating innovation.

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RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO HON. KELLY CRAFT BY SENATOR CHRISTOPHER A. COONS

*Question.* What can and should the United States do to lead an international response to the outbreak of Ebola in the Democratic Republic of Congo? What role should the United Nations and MONUSCO play in that response?

Answer. The U.S. is a leading donor and we are providing extensive technical support to responders in the DRC and neighboring countries. I firmly commit to continue our active engagement with our international partners to ensure sufficient financial resources are dedicated to the crisis, and also to ensure sufficient Ebola vaccine supply is available if the outbreak escalates. U.N. system-wide involvement is critical to address the complex humanitarian crisis in Ebola-affected areas of the DRC. MONUSCO secures routes for humanitarian access, provides escorts and some protection for humanitarian personnel, and operates security evaluation centers to assess threats along with a Tactical Operations Center to manage responses to violence.

*Question.* Does the United States Government still support a two state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict? Do you personally support Israeli annexation of the West Bank?

Answer. This administration continues to work towards a comprehensive and lasting peace between Israel and the Palestinians that offers a brighter future for all. The President has said very clearly that the United States will support any solution that the parties can live with. That includes a two-state solution, if the two parties agree. I understand that no plan for annexation of the West Bank has been presented by Israel to the administration.

*Question.* How does the United States' withdrawal from United Nations agencies and going deeper into arrears by not paying our assessed contribution help the United States maintain influence at the United Nations and push back on China's attempts to increase its own influence?

Answer. The United States Government remains the largest contributor to the United Nations. Already this fiscal year, for example, the Department has contributed $550 million for the U.N. regular budget. China, the next largest contributor, has provided $335 million. During the current U.N. peacekeeping financial year, the Department has provided nearly $2 billion for U.N. peacekeeping operations. China has provided approximately $900 million.

If confirmed, I will work to ensure that U.S. national interests are well represented at the United Nations.

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RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO HON. KELLY CRAFT BY SENATOR TOM UDALL

*Question.* In January the Department of Defense stated, "The effects of a changing climate are a national security issue with potential impacts to DoD missions, operational plans, and installations."

DoD followed up this conclusion with a lengthy discussion on possible impacts to almost two-thirds of military bases throughout the world, including Kirtland Air Force Base and White Sands Missile Range in New Mexico, and McConnell Air Force Base in Kansas.

- Do you disagree with Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff General Dunford that climate change is, "in the category of sources of conflict around the world and things we'd have to respond to?" Or with former Secretary Mattis who said, "Climate change is impacting stability in areas of the world where our troops are operating today?" If so, why do you disagree?

Answer. I believe that climate change is a complex global challenge. If confirmed, I will continue to work to protect U.S. national security interests and address complex security and environmental challenges.

*Question.* Will you recommend to the President, the Secretary of State, and the National Security Advisor, that they seek an authorization from Congress as required by the Constitution before entering into any hostilities with Iran?

Answer. The administration does not seek war with Iran. The President, the National Security Advisor, and the Secretary of State have been clear about this. However, we have been equally clear that if American citizens or interests are threatened or attacked, we will respond in an appropriate fashion. Any action we take with respect to Iran will be lawful. As the situation with Iran continues to evolve, we are committed to engagement with Congress, especially regarding matters of national security.

*Question.* Will you recommend to the President, the Secretary of State, and the National Security Advisor that the United States seek the approval of the U.N. Security Council prior to entering into any hostilities with Iran?

Answer. The administration does not seek war with Iran. The President, the National Security Advisor, and the Secretary of State have been clear about this. However, we have been equally clear that if American citizens or interests are threatened or attacked, we will respond in an appropriate fashion. A key element to the administration's Iran policy is strong diplomatic engagement with our partners and allies, including via the U.N. Security Council. Iran's destructive actions will only serve to further isolate it on the international stage.

*Question.* Do you agree with statements made by Secretary Pompeo in Poland that "You can't achieve stability in the Middle East without confronting Iran.?" Or would you endorse statements from Prime Minister Netanyahu in Poland that we're "sitting down together with Israel in order to advance the common interest of war with Iran."?

Answer. Addressing Iran's malign behavior is a top priority of this administration and crucial to the stability of the region. During the "Ministerial to Promote a Future of Peace and Security in the Middle East," held in Warsaw, Poland February 13-14, foreign ministers and representatives from 62 nations and entities, including Israel, came together to advance common interests around terrorism, proliferation, and the escalation of conflicts in the region. The destabilizing activities of Iran were highlighted in all of these areas, and Warsaw participants discussed how we could respond to Iran's actions.

*Question.* Do you believe that closing the southern border, as President Trump proposed, is a realistic option under any current circumstances?

Answer. President Trump is committed to securing our southern border, as am I. There is an urgent border security and humanitarian crisis at our southern border. A comprehensive approach is necessary to further improve security on the border. I understand that the State Department is engaged in an ongoing dialogue with our Mexican partners to ensure coordination and to exchange information on joint efforts to secure and modernize the border, and if confirmed, I will prioritize efforts to address these issues to resolve the crisis.

*Question.* Our southern border increasingly looks like a war zone, like Germany with the Berlin Wall or the DMZ on the Korean peninsula. We have border patrol agents harassing and separating families, and caging children. Members of the military supporting a made up emergency. When the reality is that U.S. border communities are just as safe—and often safer—than anywhere else in our country. This —is reminiscent of how enemies treat one another. Is Mexico the enemy of the United States? Do you believe our country is "full" as the President has said and that we should not accept any more asylum seekers or immigrants?

Answer. Mexico is a vital and valued partner of the United States. We work together on a wide range of issues, including trade, border security, stemming the flow of illegal immigration and cooperation on counternarcotics. Illegal immigration is a challenge shared across the globe and, if confirmed, I will work with all our partners on this issue.

The United States is a welcoming home for immigrants. In the last year alone, we welcomed more than 1.1 million legal immigrants to our country and our communities. The United States is proud of this legacy. We are also proud to be a nation of laws and a nation with recognized and respected borders.

*Question.* Do you believe that the U.S. should separate children from their families when they arrive here seeking asylum, in order to deter them?

Answer. Illegal immigration is a challenge shared across the globe. The Department of State promotes safe, well-managed, and legal immigration. If confirmed, I will work with all of our partners on this important issue. For more information on U.S. immigration enforcement policies, I would refer you to the Department of Homeland Security.

*Question.* Do you agree with 5 former U.S. Southern Command generals who wrote a statement earlier this year saying, "cutting aid to the region will only increase the drivers [of migration] and will be even more costly to deal with on our border"?

Answer. The President has made it clear that he believes that Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador should do more to stop the flow of illegal immigrants to the United States. We expect the Northern Triangle governments to keep their commitments to stem illegal immigration to the United States. Political will and strong partnership are critical to ensuring the success of any foreign assistance program. We need to spend U.S. taxpayer dollars wisely and where they will be most effective.

*Question.* Would you recommend to the President to cut Central American funding which is designed to stop the root causes of the problems in these countries that are leading to these asylum seekers?

Answer. We are following the President's decision to stop obligations of new funding to the countries of El Salvador, Honduras, and Guatemala. He has made it clear that these countries need to do more to stop the flow of illegal immigrants to the United States. The governments of the Northern Triangle need to take immediate and concrete action to demonstrate their commitment to addressing the crisis at our southern border. The President has concluded that these programs have not effectively prevented illegal immigrants from coming to the UnitedStates.

*Question.* In January the Department of Defense stated, "The effects of a changing climate are a national security issue with potential impacts to DoD missions, operational plans, and installations."

Answer. DoD followed up this conclusion with a lengthy discussion on possible impacts to almost two-thirds of military bases throughout the world, including Kirtland Air Force Base and White Sands Missile Range in New Mexico, and McConnell Air Force Base in Kansas.

*Question.* Do you disagree with Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff General Dunford that climate change is "in the category of sources of conflict around the world and things we'd have to respond to"? Or with former Secretary Mattis who said, "Climate change is impacting stability in areas of the world where our troops are operating today"? If so, why do you disagree?

Answer. I believe that climate change is a complex global challenge. If confirmed, I will continue to work to protect U.S. national security interests and address complex security and environmental challenges.

*Question.* All of the IAEA inspectors who are in the field today receive training from our nuclear experts at the national labs on how to identify violations to the Nonproliferation Treaty. Will you engage with the national labs and the National Nuclear Security Administration to address key issues regarding nonproliferation and take a science based approach to countering would be proliferators in the future?

Answer. Our national laboratories provide technical expertise and unique facilities and capabilities that are critical to strengthening the global nonproliferation regime and protecting our national security. If confirmed, I will work with Ambassador Wolcott at the U.S. Mission to the International Organizations in Vienna (UNVIE) and other colleagues at the Departments of State and Energy, the National Nuclear Security Administration, and other agencies to ensure that we leverage our national laboratories to advance strong nonproliferation policies and programs, including those that train IAEA inspectors.

*Question.* What is your stance on key multilateral treaties that the United States is signatory to but has not ratified..for example: Would you support the ratification of the U.N. Convention on the Law of the Sea and do you agree that ratifying it would give the United States a stronger hand to address Chinese violations and illegal annexations of islands in the South China Sea? Would you support ratification of the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities. in order to ensure that U.S. standards for access by disabled individuals are adopted throughout the world?

Answer. Whether particular multilateral treaties advance U.S. interests must be assessed on a case-by-case basis. During my tenure as Ambassador to Canada, I have not had occasion to review closely the Law of the Sea Convention or the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities. If confirmed, I would intend to consider these treaties in more detail in the context of any deliberations the administration might have regarding them. With regard to the rights of persons with disabilities, the United States remains a strong supporter of the rights of persons with disabilities, and was pleased to co-sponsor the June 19 U.N. Security Council resolution on the Protection of Persons with Disabilities in Conflict. With regard to the Law of the Sea Convention, I will support examination of the issue of U.S. accession to the Convention, bearing in mind the national interests of the United States, including in the context of challenging Chinese actions in the South China Sea, and taking into account concerns that have previously been raised.

*Question.* During the Presidential campaign, President-elect Trump made several very troubling statements and comments indicating that in the context of counterterrorism he would support waterboarding and other types of torture. Do you think those practices violate international prohibitions on torture and war crimes, and if so, will you urge the administration to avoid such violations?

Answer. This administration strives to comply with international law in all of its counterterrorism efforts. This includes adherence to the United Nations (U.N.) Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment. The U.N. Security Council (UNSC) has affirmed through various resolutions that Member States must ensure measures taken to counter terrorism comply with all of their obligations under international law, and in particular international human rights law. In addition, the United Nations Global Counterterrorism Strategy (U.N. GCTS), a General Assembly resolution adopted by consensus in 2006 and reviewed every two years to guide U.N. counterterrorism work, emphasizes respect for human rights and the rule of law as one of its core pillars. These resolutions underscore that respect for human rights, fundamental freedoms, and the rule of law are complementary and mutually reinforcing with effective counterterrorism measures. If confirmed, I will work to ensure that the United States complies with all of its international law obligations and promotes full implementation of UNSC resolutions and the U.N. GCTS, especially their provisions on respect for human rights.

*Question.* A bipartisan group of Senators, including Republicans and Democrats on this committee, have cosponsored legislation to remove restrictions on U.S. citizens' ability to travel to Cuba and to authorize U.S. companies to facilitate greater internet access inside Cuba. Do you believe that current restrictions on the rights of U.S. citizens to travel to Cuba enhances the cause of freedom for the Cuban people? If so, please explain how preventing interaction between U.S. and Cuban citizens, by banning U.S. citizens from the right to travel does so?

Answer. On June 4, the administration took action to curtail non-family travel, or "veiled tourism," by U.S. travelers to Cuba through updates to regulations administered by the Departments of Treasury and Commerce. Specifically, these changes end group people-to-people travel and prohibit travel by passenger and recreational vessels like cruise ships, yachts, and private aircraft to Cuba.

Unfortunately, U.S. travelers' money spent in Cuba under authorized people-to-people categories using the modes of travel mentioned above often benefitted the Cuban military, which owns enterprises that dominate the country's tourism sector and include many popular restaurants, hotels, and other sites. These are the same people supporting illegitimate dictator Nicolas Maduro in Venezuela and repressing the Cuban people on the island.

This administration believes the best way to support the Cuban people's quest for freedom is to increase pressure on their government by cutting off its sources of funding, and we are determined to do so. Lest anyone forget, tourism to Cuba has long been prohibited by statute, as memorialized in the Trade Sanctions Reform and Export Enhancement Act of 2000. U.S. travelers wishing to travel to Cuba may do so for lawful purposes, such as visiting family, supporting the Cuban people, or undertaking humanitarian efforts, or participating in academic exchanges, and the changes announced earlier this month do not restrict their ability to do so.

I would refer you to the Departments of Commerce and Treasury for further details.

*Question.* Do you support allowing U.S. companies to expand internet access inside Cuba so that the Cuban people can have greater access to information that isn't currently available on the island?

Answer. Yes. I share the administration's efforts to support the Cuban people through the expansion of internet services while discouraging changes that would only deepen the Cuban regime's control over the Cuban people's actions and access to information. If confirmed, I would encourage freedom of expression, independent media, and internet freedom so that the Cuban people can enjoy the free and unregulated flow of information.

*Question.* Do you agree that the U.S. should help support private entrepreneurs in Cuba with training or other assistance, so they can build businesses, market their products and services, and compete with state-owned enterprises?

Answer. It is the policy of this administration to amplify efforts to support the Cuban people, including through the expansion of free enterprise in Cuba. Given the statutory limitations on the provision of assistance for Cuba, the U.S. government currently provides such support through public diplomacy initiatives that facilitate cooperation and the exchange of information.

For example, the U.S. government supports professional exchange programs like the International Visitor Leadership Program, to expose Cuban entrepreneurs to a variety of business models and networks that support small business growth.

*Question.* Will you abstain when the U.N. General [Assembly] Resolution pertaining to the statutory U.S. embargo on Cuba is brought up for a vote?

Answer. The United States has consistently voted against the U.N. General Assembly Resolution condemning our embargo on Cuba. The resolution distracts from the true problems facing the Cuban people and shifts blame away from the Cuban Government's own policy failures. I will continue to stand up for the human rights and fundamental freedoms of the Cuban people, even if it means standing alone at the United Nations.

This annual resolution incorrectly singles out the United States as the cause of Cuba's economic, social, and political issues. The Cuban economy, however, will not thrive until the government permits a free labor market, empowers entrepreneurs, respects intellectual property rights, allows unfettered access to information via the internet, opens its state monopolies to private competition, and adopts sound macroeconomic policies.

*Question.* Do you support the New START agreement with Russia and how will you work with Russia to ensure that the agreement is followed? Will you recommend to Secretary Pompeo and President Trump that the United States work to extend the New START treaty with Russia?

Answer. The President has charged his national security team to think more broadly about arms control, to include additional countries and a broader range of weapon systems. New START's limits on Russia's strategic nuclear force, establishment of data exchanges, and its verification provisions contribute currently to U.S. national security. The administration is reviewing whether to seek an extension of the Treaty. Central to that review is evaluating whether extension is in the U.S. national interest in the evolving security environment, including considerations related to Russia's ongoing development of new strategic offensive arms, nonstrategic nuclear weapons, and serial noncompliance with its arms control obligations, as well as China's continuing nuclear modernization.

*Question.* The NNSA has made tremendous progress with the stockpile stewardship program. In short, our science based efforts to confirm that our stockpile is safe, secure, and reliable have worked.and have negated the need for testing of nuclear weapons. During the debates to consider the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, this was a significant barrier because the science had not yet matured. Now that the science has matured, will you advocate to the Trump administration that they support the ratification of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and will you visit with our experts at NNSA to learn more about the stockpile stewardship program?

Answer. The administration has made clear that it does not intend to pursue ratification of the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (CTBT). The administration will therefore not request reconsideration of the Treaty by the Senate. The Stockpile Stewardship Program is an essential tool in our efforts to maintain a safe, secure, and reliable stockpile. I am always prepared to learn more about this program and its accomplishments from NNSA and, if confirmed, will work closely with Ambassador Wolcott and her team at the U.S. Mission to International Organizations in Vienna (UNVIE) to support U.S. efforts and policy in this area.

*Question.* Article 23 of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights states that "Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his [or her] interests." The United States is a signatory to the declaration and has

been an advocate for labor rights around the world. You were quoted as saying "We discourage any companies that have unions from wanting to come to South Carolina because we don't want to taint the water" and have been referred to as a "union buster." Do you support the Declaration of Human Rights, and, more importantly, will you work to reinforce the United States' protection of labor rights around the world?

Answer. The right to organize a labor union is part of the fundamental rights of assembly and association and expression. Ensuring U.S. trade partners respect internationally recognized worker rights and adhere to high labor standards promotes a level playing field for U.S. workers and helps create stronger trading partners for the United States. If confirmed, I will support workers' rights, including their ability to form and join independent trade unions of their choice.

*Question.* Are settlements that break up the possibility of a future contiguous Palestinian state harmful to achieving a two state solution in your opinion? And, do you support Israel's legalization of previously illegal (under Israel law) Israeli settler outposts in the west bank and do you think this is harmful towards ultimately achieving a two state solution? Will you recommend to the President and Secretary Pompeo that the United States oppose further annexation of the West Bank and that the United States continue to support a two-state solution?

Answer. As the President has said, while the existence of Israeli settlements in the West Bank is not in itself an impediment to peace, further unrestrained settlement activity does not help advance peace. With regard to West Bank annexation, as Special Representative Greenblatt said, we do not believe it is helpful to contemplate unilateral steps by any of the parties before theUnited States has presented our vision for a lasting and comprehensive peace. I understand that no such annexation plan has been presented by the Government of Israel to the administration.

*Question.* Venezuela experts believe that the most likely positive outcome short of regime change would probably involve the Maduro regime coming to an agreement with the legitimately elected National Assembly in some sort of governing coalition to stabilize the freefall in Venezuela. Will you support such an effort at the U.N., and how will you work to bring this about?

Answer. The goal of the administration is the restoration of democracy in Venezuela. This can only happen through free and fair elections. Maduro is incapable of overseeing a democratic transition, as we witnessed with the illegitimate 2018 elections. He and his associated undermine democratic institutions and harms those who support them. Maduro has used the promise of "negotiation" to delay real change time and again. Maduro's refusal to step down and let a transitional government take over is the only thing preventing the suspension of sanctions, preparations for free and fair elections, and the formation of a transitional government.

During my tenure as U.S. Ambassador to Canada, I engaged frequently with Interim President Guiado's Ambassador-designee, including hosting a lunch in his honor with our regional counterparts to help legitimize him within the diplomatic community and provide a space where we all could better understand the situation on the ground in Venezuela as well as highlight the issues facing neighboring countries as they accept and support refugees fleeing the country. In addition, I continuously pressed the Canadian government to credential theAmbassador-designee so he could fully take up the mantle of leadership related to his duties.

If confirmed, I intend to work with members of the Security Council and other member states to highlight the need for immediate and impartial humanitarian assistance, aid for Venezuelans who have fled to neighboring countries, and the protection of Venezuelans against abuses of their human rights by the Maduro regime. I will also work with any partners who share the desire to see the people of Venezuela get the government they want, as well as the opportunity to rebuild economic opportunity and prosperity.

*Question.* India recently tested an anti-satellite weapon, creating debris throughout low earth orbit that could endanger the international space station and other assets in outer space. What is your plan to address the proliferation of various weapons that could pollute orbits with debris and cutoff access to space as a result? How will you work with the U.N. Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space to achieve this result?

Answer. The United States is aware of Indian Government statements that its ASAT test was designed to mitigate space debris hazards, and that the test was conducted at a low altitude to limit resulting debris. We also note Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi's statement that India remains against an arms race in space.

We will continue to closely monitor the remaining debris from India's ASAT test to ensure the safety of assets on orbit and human spaceflight activities such as the International Space Station. The issue of orbital debris is an important concern because a safe and sustainable space environment allows current and future generations to reap the benefit that space provides.

The United States remains committed to working in the U.N. Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space as well as in other bilateral and multilateral engagements such as the U.N. Office for Outer Space Affairs to mitigate the operational effects of orbital debris. As part of our strategic partnership, the United States will continue close engagements with India on shared interests in space, including collaboration on scientific and technical issues, safety and security, and human space exploration.

*Question.* What is your assessment of current negotiations ongoing at the U.N. Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space? What are your proposals to improve our working relationship with this body?

Answer. The U.S. believes that COPUOS should continue to remain a key multilateral forum for fostering constructive discussion which strengthens the safety, stability, and sustainability of outer space activities. In this regard, we welcome the committee's recent adoption at its 62nd session of 21 Guidelines for the Long-Term Sustainability of Outer Space Activities, which were agreed on the basis of consensus after eight years of extensive work by a wide range of delegations. American private sector and governmental experts took a leadership role in this work.

The Trump a dministration is committed to taking a leadership role in follow-on work by COPUOS on the practical implementation of the 21 voluntary, non-legally binding guidelines and will engage in additional bilateral and multilateral discussions with spacefaring nations to improve spaceflight safety. If confirmed, I will work closely with Ambassador Jackie Wolcott and her team at the U.S. Mission to International Organizations in Vienna (UNVIE) to support and advance U.S. priorities in this area.

*Question.* How will you address the international threat of election interference from Russia with our allies at the United Nations, and will you utilize the U.N. Security Council to highlight Russian election interference before the 2020 election?

Answer. Foreign efforts to undermine democratic processes are unacceptable and require a whole-of-government response. The Department of State works closely with other departments and agencies, as well as closely with Allies and partners, to protect our nation against potential interference in our election processes.

As the lead foreign policy agency, we communicate to governments that their behavior is unacceptable, work with our interagency partners to impose costs in response, and build international coalitions to deter foreign interference activities and to share best practices.

Wherever appropriate and necessary, the United States works with like-minded partners to push back against Russian efforts in the United Nations that run counter to our national interests.

*Question.* What measures will you take to address Brazilian plans to deforest large areas of the rainforest, as well their efforts to reduce the rights of indigenous people who live in the Amazon region and its tributaries?

Answer. If confirmed, I will seek to maintain U.S. leadership to advance and protect U.S. economic and environmental interests, including by participating in ongoing international climate change negotiations to ensure a level playing field for all countries. While I am by no means an expert on the deforestation issue you note, I pledge to explore the matter, including potential U.N. intersections.

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RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO HON. KELLY CRAFT BY SENATOR TIM KAINE

*Saudi Arabia*

*Question.* During your nominations hearing, you committed to do everything possible to make sure that the investigations the U.N. called for into the murder of Saudi citizen and Virginia resident Jamal Khashoggi, and the accountability that would follow such investigations, are actively pursued by the U.S., no matter where the investigations lead or who is deemed culpable saying, "We should definitely always request accountability. I have full faith in the special rapporteur. We will follow wherever this investigation leads us to." How specifically will you support the

Special Rapporteur's recommendations to the Human Rights Council, the Security Council or the U.N. Secretary-General to conduct an international follow-up criminal investigation to determine individual liability and identify options towards judicial accountability on Khashoggi's execution? Do you agree with the report's conclusion that the State of Saudi Arabia is responsible for this murder? Will you commit to briefing me within six months, or following any significant U.N. action taken on this report, whichever comes first?

Answer. The Department shares your conviction that those responsible for this horrific act must be held accountable. The United States was the first country to take action to promote accountability, when on October 23 the Department placed visa restrictions on those suspected of involvement in the murder. On November 15, the Administration imposed financial sanctions on Saudi officials who had a role in the murder under the Global Magnitsky sanctions program. On April 8, the Secretary further designated Saudi government officials under Section 7031(c) of the Department of State, Foreign Operations, and Related Programs Appropriations Act of 2019. The Department will continue to utilize these tools as appropriate. The United States supports U.N. Special Rapporteur Agnes Callamard's mandate to investigate extra-judicial, summary, or arbitrary executions. Department officials met with Callamard as she drafted her report on Jamal Khashoggi's killing, and we are reviewing her report closely. I would be pleased to brief you on any updates at the first appropriate moment.

*Question.* In December 2017, the Trump administration pulled out of the Global Compact on Migration (GCM), a framework of best practices for nations to deal with the new reality of migration patterns, akin in its approach to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The U.S. became the sole nonparticipant in discussions to shape and finalize the compact. Since its adoption in December 2018, GCM signatories have been meeting and leveraging the convening power of the U.N. to apply pressure to put words into action. For example, in March, Ecuador, the Philippines, and Bahrain convened 89 U.N. member states, including the UK, Russia, Canada, Mexico, and Germany, focused on making the compact a reality at the local level. In January, Ethiopia, which hosts Africa's second-largest refugee population, changed its law to allow refugees to access primary education, health services, some job markets, and financial services. This is an example of the tangible outcomes that stem from U.N. norm-setting agreements/discussions like the Global Compact on Migration. Do you support the administration's decision to pull out of the Global Compact on Migration? Will a goal of yours be to have the U.S. rejoin the Global Compact on Migration?

Answer. I understand that the United States does not support the Global Compact on Migration (GCM) or the process that led to it, because they included goals and objectives inconsistent and incompatible with U.S. law, policy, and the interests of the American people.As the U.S. national statement on the GCM noted, "While the United States honors the contributions of the many immigrants who helped build our nation, we cannot support a 'Compact' or process that imposes or has the potential to impose international guidelines, standards, expectations, or commitments that might constrain our ability to make decisions in the best interests of our nation and citizens." Further, I understand there is lack of consensus among U.N. member states regarding the GCM. When it came up for endorsement at the U.N. General Assembly on December 19, 2018, the United States, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Israel, and Poland voted against it, another 12 other countries abstained, and 24 did not vote.

*Question.* The administration pulled the U.S. out from the U.N. Human Rights Council (UNHRC) last June. While the UNHRC is not a perfect institution and complaints of anti-Israel bias are real, U.S. membership on the Council has delivered a number of positive results over the years such as: dispatching a team to investigate atrocities committed by ISIS in Iraq; bringing attention to the dire human rights situation in Iran; authorizing a groundbreaking investigation into human rights violations in North Korea; and taking action on a variety of other human rights crises in Myanmar, Yemen, South Sudan, Democratic Republic of Congo, Burundi, and Eritrea, to name a few. Will you commit to reassess the U.S. posture towards the UNHRC and to telling me if you would recommend the U.S. rejoin within six months of your tenure, if confirmed?

Answer. The United States withdrew from the U.N. Human Rights Council (UNHRC) because of concerns related to its focus and composition, We noted then that "Countries that aggressively violate human rights at home should not be in a position to guard the human rights of others" and that the Council's persistent, unfair bias against Israel detracts attention and resources away from the HRC's man-

date to promote universal respect for the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms. If meaningful reforms are undertaken by member states that address our longstanding concerns with the Human Rights Council, we would consider the possibility of reengaging at that time.

The United States has, for decades, led global efforts to promote human rights, including through multilateral institutions. We will continue to pursue a robust human rights agenda at the United Nations General Assembly's Third Committee as well as other U.N. bodies, as we did during other periods we were not a HRC member. We will also redouble our efforts to bring human rights issues to the attention of the Security Council, as we did during our 2018 presidency, when we held the first ever session on the linkage between human rights abuses and threats to international peace and security.

*Question.* Do you support a two-state solution to the Israel-Palestinian conflict and will you commit to working in support of such a solution if confirmed? Do you agree that the United States could not support a state that promotes different rights for different people be it ethnicity, religion or otherwise? Do you agree that the United States should always stand for and champion equal rights for every person?

Answer. This administration continues to work towards a comprehensive and lasting peace between Israel and the Palestinians that offers a brighter future for all. The President has said very clearly that the United States will support any solution that the parties can live with. That includes a two-state solution, if the two parties agree. As a general matter, the Administration believes that all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights, as stated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Promoting human dignity and liberty represents the very best of our traditions and values.

*Question.* In 2018, the administration ended all U.S. funding for the U.N. Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA), an organization that provides critical services including education, health care, and food aid to destitute Palestinian refugees in the West Bank, Gaza, Lebanon, and Jordan, with over 50% of its budget applied towards education. While other donor countries covered the shortfall, UNRWA has not had sufficient funds for emergency assistance to respond to the ongoing economic crisis in Gaza or to expand its lauded education program to reach more students. Do you support UNRWA's mandate to provide critical services to destitute Palestinian refugees? If so, do you support the Administration's decision to defund U.S.contributions to UNRWA?

Answer. We made have made it clear that the United States will no longer bear a disproportionate share of UNRWA's costs. While several donors increased their contributions in 2018, including UAE, Kuwait, Qatar, and Saudi Arabia, UNRWA's business model—which is tied to an expanding community of beneficiaries—is unsustainable. Palestinians deserve better than a service provision model that operates in permanent crisis mode. We are ready to explore with key regional partners how the United States can assist in transitioning UNRWA services to host governments, or to other international or local non-governmental organizations as appropriate.

*Question.* One of the emblematic institutions created to address corruption and impunity in Guatemala is the U.N.-backed International Commission Against Impunity in Guatemala (CICIG). Since 2007, CICIG has identified more than 600 elected officials, businesspeople, and bureaucrats in corruption and broke up 60 criminals' networks in the country. On January 7, 2019, President Morales announced that his administration would unilaterally cancel the international agreement that established CICIG, defying Constitutional Court orders in what amounts to a technical coup. Do you agree that CICIG has contributed significantly to combating the culture of impunity and corruption in Guatemala in the last 12 years? Do you pledge to support the continued work of CICIG, and other justice and anti-corruption mechanisms in Guatemala at the U.N.? Will you raise concerns about attacks on CICIG or other mechanisms and support measures to defend these bodies?

Answer. I understand that CICIG made contributions to anti-corruption efforts in Guatemala, and that over time CICIG also showed both flaws and limitations. Rule of law, reduced corruption, an end to impunity, and respect for democratic principles are key to security, stability, and prosperity, not only in Guatemala, but throughout the region and the world. The United States will continue to work with the authorities and other partners in Guatemala on these and other matters of mutual importance.

*Question.* Do you agree with the spirit and substance of the San Jose Action Statement? What action do you plan to take at the U.N. to address forcible displacement around the world, which currently affects nearly 71 million people?

Answer. The United States supports regional actions to respond to mixed migratory movements.If confirmed, I am committed to working with governments and other partners, such as the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees and International Organization for Migration, to increase the capacity of asylum systems in transit and destination countries and promote safe, well-managed, and legal migration.

*Question.* UNHCR and other U.N. bodies face difficult choices in how they navigate the political landscape in Syria to reach vulnerable populations and deliver humanitarian assistance. Since 2016, some of these organizations have faced accusations that pro-regime bias affects the assistance they deliver and the information they provide beneficiaries, including refugees. Will you push for greater transparency on neutrality of U.N. operations in Syria?

Answer. We are aware of these reports and follow them very closely. The State Department and USAID places the highest priority on ensuring that the funding it provided to partners is used wisely and effectively to reach millions people in need of humanitarian assistance each month in Syria, and that humanitarian agencies observe the principle of neutrality. The Syria context is extremely challenging and is subject to elevated risks. To mitigate risk and coordinate relief, State Department and USAID meet regularly with U.N. and other partners to discuss programming, issues that impede humanitarian activities, and partners' risk mitigation mechanisms.

We continue to call on the Syrian regime to provide full, unhindered, and sustained humanitarian access throughout Syria for the nearly 12 million people in need of support, who make more than half of Syria's population.

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RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO HON. KELLY CRAFT BY SENATOR EDWARD J. MARKEY

*Question.* As U.S. Ambassador to the U.N., what will be your commitment to consulting with and engaging in dialogue with Congress and civil society on critical issues?

Answer. If confirmed, I look forward to benefitting from the wisdom and experience available from Members of Congress and civil society, and will look for frequent opportunities to engage with the widest range of available expertise.

*Question.* How will you ensure that the U.S. retains its influence on the U.N. Security Council in the long term and doesn't risk alienating other member states that have traditionally been U.S. allies in the promotion of human rights, democracy, and peace and security?

Answer. If confirmed, it will be a high priority will be to establish strong working relationships with the entire Security Council, with particular attention to my British and French counterparts, as well as sustained outreach to the elected membership to ensure that American influence remains central to the Council's activities.

*Question.* The current administration has promoted a more transactional view of foreign aid. Jon Lerner, who served as Ambassador Haley's deputy, recently stated that by allowing member states to vote in opposition to the U.S. position sends the message there is no price to be paid for crossing us. Do you agree with his idea that foreign aid should be directly linked to whether nations supports us at the U.N.?

Answer. I believe that cooperation with the United States, including support on important votes at the United Nations, should be a factor we consider when reviewing our foreign assistance commitments. I also believe that we should engage our counterparts to build relationships before votes take place. If confirmed, I am committed to fostering relationships with my counterparts at the United Nations and, when needed, will remind them that U.S. foreign assistance should not be taken for granted.

*Question.* In countries around the world, there are criminal penalties associated with exercising sexual and reproductive health and rights. LGBTI people are criminalized for who they love and are regularly prosecuted or incarcerated for consensual same sex sexual conduct or in places like Indonesia, Chechnya, and Egypt. There are also women who are in jail in places like El Salvador and Senegal for having miscarriages or abortions. These are gross human rights violations.

Meanwhile, in February, Ambassador Grenell announced an initiative to support the decriminalization of same sex conduct abroad. This was echoed by a tweet by the President just a few days ago "honoring" pride month. This appears to be inconsistent with the administration's posture towards LGBTI communities abroad. Just a few weeks ago, the Department had barred missions and embassies abroad from displaying the Pride flag alongside the American flag. Last month, the Secretary expanded the global gag rule, which has shuttered HIV clinics serving gay men and transgender people abroad. The United States continues to erase trans people in international agreements, substituting words like "gender equity" with "equality between girls and boys."

- How can the administration claim to support LGBTI rights externally while undermining the rights of LGBTI people through its policy and diplomacy?

Answer. The Department has been clear and consistent in affirming that human rights are universal, and that no one should face violence, criminalization, or severe official discrimination because of their LGBTI status or conduct. We will continue to stand up and speak out in support of the human rights and fundamental freedoms of LGBTI persons in all corners of the globe, including in Indonesia, Chechnya, Egypt and other contexts as well, and to press for perpetrators of human rights violations and abuses to be held accountable. Further, the Department will continue to provide strong U.S. programmatic and emergency support for LGBTI human rights defenders and civil society organizations working to counter violence, severe official discrimination, and criminalization of LGBTI conduct or status.

*Question.* As U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, would you raise concerns about laws that criminalize same-sex relationships and women's personal health decisions in public and private settings?

Answer. Department policy focuses on deterring and responding to violence against LGBTI persons, supporting efforts to decriminalize LGBTI status or conduct, and working to prevent and combat severe official discrimination. President Trump's National Security Strategy explicitly states that the United States will support efforts to advance women's equality and protect the rights of women and girls. This administration will do all we can to protect and respect the sanctity of life all across the globe. As the world's largest bilateral donor of women's health and family planning assistance worldwide, the United States remains committed to helping women and their children thrive. If confirmed, I will continue to work to advance these policy issues at the U.N.

*Question.* The Senate—particularly members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee—have been very active in bringing attention to and calling for action to address the Rohingya crisis. There are now over 900,000 Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh, including half a million children, who have fled horrific violence. In a joint statement last week, the U.S. and Bangladeshi governments made clear the need to "address the root causes of the crisis, and to create the conditions necessary for the voluntary, safe, dignified, and sustainable repatriation." Given the current environment in Burma, prospects for such returns seem a long way off.

- As we approach the two-year anniversary of the extreme violence against the Rohingya that happened in August 2017, what will you prioritize at the U.N. to support the needs of those who have been displaced and to advance a sustainable, long-term resolution to the crisis?

Answer. If confirmed, I will continue to support U.S. efforts that will improve the situation for Bangladeshi host communities, Rohingya refugees, others internally displaced, and all people in Burma, including accountability for those responsible for the atrocities committed. If confirmed, I will continue to call on the government of Burma to fully implement the Annan Commission recommendations, including recommendations related to access to citizenship and freedom of movement. If confirmed, I will also support efforts and mechanisms at the United Nations to foster justice and accountability for human rights abuses and violations in Rakhine State and other areas of Burma. These include the Fact Finding Mission for Myanmar, the Independent Investigative Mechanism for Myanmar, the U.N. Special Envoy to Myanmar, and the U.N. Special Rapporteur on the human rights situation in Myanmar.

*Question.* As ethnic cleansing does not have legal implications, nor does it seem to comport with the existing evidence documenting crimes against humanity or genocide, do you support a legal determination on the atrocities the Burmese military has committed against the Rohingya?

Answer. Describing the circumstances of the Rohingya as ethnic cleansing does not prejudge any potential further analysis on whether other mass atrocities took place, including genocide or crimes against humanity. If confirmed, I will not let this matter fade from the global agenda.

*Question.* Do you believe that these crimes amount to crimes against humanity or genocide?

Answer. I believe there must be accountability for those responsible for the horrific treatment of the Rohingya population. I note that U.N. Secretary-General Guterres recently named American Nicholas Koumjian as the first head of the Independent Investigative Mechanism for Burma—an important step that if confirmed I will monitor closely.

*Question.* Will you pledge to support international actions that seek to address the ongoing genocide in Burma in your position?

Answer. I support the Secretary-General's attention to this issue, including by appointing a qualified American to lead the Investigative Mechanism. If confirmed, I pledge to follow this matter closely, and particularly the humanitarian condition of Rohingya refugees and the status of the ongoing investigation.

*Question.* In what ways will you engage on the Security Council to promote this issue [violence against Rohingya in Burma]?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work with Security Council partners to ensure that Burma remains on the agenda, and that meaningful sessions are used to return international attention to the ongoing suffering of the Rohingya people.

*Question.* The United Nations Fact Finding Mission, the U.S. Government, and several non-governmental organizations have documented the Burmese military's killing of tens of thousands of Rohingya, cases of summary executions, mass rapes, and burnings of villages, which led to the displacement of over 700,000 to neighboring Bangladesh. Today, over 900,000 Rohingya refugees reside in makeshift camps in Bangladesh without access to formal education, employment, healthcare, or freedom of movement. Meanwhile, the absence of adequate lighting and lack of secure, gender-segregated latrines and washrooms have exacerbated the risks of gender-based violence, particularly for women and girls.

- In your position, how will you ensure that the basic human rights of the Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh are met, including rights to food, livelihood, health care, and freedom of movement and education?

Answer. Thanks to Congress's leadership and generosity, I understand the United States is the leading contributor of humanitarian assistance in response to the Rohingya crisis, having provided nearly $542 million since the escalation of violence in August 2017, of which nearly $464 million is for programs inside Bangladesh. This money funds programs that save lives. It helps provide protection; emergency shelter; water, sanitation, and hygiene; healthcare; psychosocial support; food and nutritional assistance; non-food items; site management and development; education, and access to livelihood opportunities to approximately one million beneficiaries in Bangladesh, most of whom are Rohingya women and children from Burma, and the related needs of Bangladeshi host communities. If confirmed, I will support efforts of the United Nations and its partners to ensure that human rights and humanitarian needs of Rohingya refugees are met, while durable solutions are being pursued, given that conditions in Rakhine State are not yet conducive for voluntary, safe, dignified, and sustainable returns.

*Question.* Additionally, given that the most effective way to permanently resolve the Rohingya refugee crisis is by restoring their citizenship in Burma and ensuring safe, dignified and voluntary repatriation process, how do you propose to use your position to resolve the Rohingya refugee crisis in a more permanent manner?

Answer. If confirmed, I will continue the Department's efforts to engage, influence, and lead actions of the international community, including with like-minded states, non-traditional partners, and international organizations, to resolve the Rohingya crisis and advance U.S. interests and values in Burma. I will support efforts and mechanisms at the United Nations to foster justice and accountability for human rights abuses and violations in Rakhine State and other areas of Burma. These include the Fact Finding Mission for Myanmar, the Independent Investigative Mechanism for Myanmar, the U.N. Special Envoy to Myanmar, and the U.N. Special Rapporteur on the human rights situation in Myanmar. If confirmed, I will also continue to call on the government of Burma to fully implement the Annan Commission recommendations, including recommendations related to access to citizenship

and freedom of movement, and to create the conditions that would allow for voluntary, safe, dignified, and sustainable returns.

*Question.* What measures will you employ to ensure that the Government of Bangladesh and Burmese government are consulting with Rohingya refugees regarding their futures?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work with U.N. bodies, like-minded countries, and other partners to call upon the governments of Bangladesh and Burma take into account Rohingya refugees' views regarding their futures in the development of long-term plans. I will also work to ensure that any repatriation of Rohingya is voluntary, safe, dignified, and sustainable and would use my position to underscore this international tenet. If confirmed, I will highlight the ongoing plight of Rohingya refugees, the generosity of Bangladesh in hosting more than one million refugees, and the urgent need for Burma to address the root causes of the crisis to create the conditions that would allow for voluntary, safe, dignified, and sustainable returns.

*Question.* What are your views on these two commissions for justice? As U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, how would you imagine the U.S. Government should interact with the commissions? How would you ensure and support effective international measures for justice and accountability?

Answer. If confirmed, I will support credible domestic and international mechanisms that genuinely hold accountable any individuals responsible for atrocities in Burma and that seek justice for victims of human rights abuses and violations. Those impartial investigations must prioritize the safety and security of victims and witnesses. In addition, I will work with allies and likeminded partners to support efforts and mechanisms at the United Nations to foster accountability for human rights abuses in Rakhine State and other areas of Burma.

*Question.* How do you propose to protect and promote democratic norms and ideals in a country where the military is conducting human rights abuses with impunity and the space for civic engagement is shrinking?

Answer. I believe the United States plays an irreplaceable role in partnering with the people of Burma in their quest to transition from military dictatorship to a civilian-led democracy. If confirmed, I will call for the establishment of civilian control of the military and support efforts to address the root causes of violence in all regions of Burma. As justice and accountability are essential for Burma's democratic transition, if confirmed, I will also support efforts aimed at holding accountable those responsible for the violence, atrocities, and crimes in Rakhine State as well as in other areas in Burma.

*Question.* Do you support robust sanctions pressure to enhance our diplomacy with respect to North Korea?

Answer. Yes. Sanctions on North Korea are indispensable to the effort to secure its final, fully verified denuclearization.

*Question.* When other Security Council members say that new U.N. sanctions on North Korea aren't needed because the United States doesn't seem willing to enforce the current multilateral regime, how will you respond?

Answer. If confirmed, I will take every opportunity to reinforce to my Security Council counterparts the continuing necessity for rigorous and enforced U.N. sanctions on North Korea.

*Question.* Do you agree that CICIG has contributed significantly to combating the culture of impunity and corruption in Guatemala in the last 12 years?

Answer. Yes, though over time CICIG showed both flaws and limitations.

*Question.* Do you pledge to support the continued work of CICIG, or other justice and anti-corruption mechanisms, in Guatemala?

Answer. Rule of law, reduced corruption, and an end to impunity are key to security, stability, and prosperity, not only in Guatemala, but throughout the region and the world, and the United States will continue to work with committed Guatemalan partners to build capacity to fight corruption

*Question.* Will you raise concerns about Morales' attacks on CICIG or other mechanisms and support foreign policy measures to defend these bodies?

Answer. It is important that the Guatemalan government respect democratic institutions, rule of law, and separation of powers as mandated by the Guatemalan

constitution. The United States looks forward to working with the Government of Guatemala on these and other matters of mutual importance.

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RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO HON. KELLY CRAFT BY SENATOR JEFF MERKLEY

*Question.* In your nomination hearing, you pledged to Senator Todd Young (R-IN) that the administration would "consult" with Congress prior to making a decision to use military force against Iran. You did not directly answer Senator Young's question on whether the administration would seek explicit authorization from Congress for the use of military force against Iran. Do you agree that the 2001 and 2002 Authorizations for the Use of Military Force (AUMF) do not provide authorization for the use of military force against Iran? If so, will the administration consult with Congress and seek its explicit approval for the introduction of U.S. armed forces into hostilities with Iran?

Answer. The administration has not to date interpreted either the 2001 or 2002 AUMFs as authorizing military force against Iran, except as may be necessary to defend U.S. or partner forces engaged in counterterrorism operations. The President, the National Security Advisor, and the Secretary of State have been clear about this. However, we have been equally clear that if American citizens or interests are threatened or attacked, we will respond in an appropriate fashion. Any action we take with Iran will be lawful. As the situation with Iran continues to evolve, we are committed to engagement with Congress, especially regarding matters of national security.

*Question.* If confirmed, will you advocate for the United States to make a genocide determination on the atrocities committed against the Rohingya?

Answer. We are deeply concerned about and appalled by the Burmese military's ethnic cleansing of Rohingya and the ongoing humanitarian crisis that has ensued. The process for deciding whether and when to make a determination that certain acts may amount to genocide, crimes against humanity, or ethnic cleansing, has historically been reserved to the Secretary of State.

Regardless, as Secretary Pompeo has said, "the most important thing we can do is get both accountability and behavior change." If confirmed, I will continue to support the U.N. mechanisms designed to investigate and preserve evidence as part of our collective effort to get justice for the victims and their families.

*Question.* In your nomination hearing, you stated that the United States is committed to human rights. In what specific U.N. forum or fora—outside of the U.N. Security Council—will you advocate for human rights now that the United States is no longer member of the Human Rights Council?

Answer. The United States has, for many decades, led global efforts to promote human rights, often through multilateral institutions. We will continue to pursue a robust human rights agenda at the United Nations General Assembly's Third Committee as well as other U.N. bodies, as we did during the periods we were not a Human Rights Council member. We will also redouble our efforts to bring human rights issues to the attention of the Security Council, as we did during our presidency when we held the first ever session on the linkage between human rights abuses and threats to international peace and security.

In addition to building on a history of bilateral human rights engagement, we will also continue to work to advance human rights in regional forums, like the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, the Organization of American States, and other multinational and multi-stakeholder bodies. Similarly, we will continue to consult closely with our allies on taking actions to address the most egregious country situations.

*Question.* If confirmed, will you pledge that the United States will maintain its voluntary contributions to the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty Organization (CTBTO) and the Preparatory Committee (PrepCom) as well as refrain from any action to un-sign the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT)?

Answer. The administration has made clear that it does not intend to pursue ratification of the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT). The administration will therefore not request reconsideration of the Treaty by the Senate. However, we will continue to support the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty Organization Preparatory Commission (CTBTO PrepCom) and its development and operation of the International Monitoring System (IMS) and its supporting systems.

The President's budget continues to fully fund our assessment to the PrepCom, and the U.S. assessed contribution far outweighs other State Signatories, many of which are chronically in arrears.

*Question.* If confirmed, will you work to reverse State Department policy that interprets a child born of a married same-sex couple abroad as being "out of wedlock" under the Immigration and Naturalization Act (INA)? During your tenure as Ambassador to Canada, how many children born abroad in Canada, of legally married U.S. same-sex couples, have been denied in their applications for U.S. Passports at U.S. consulates in Canada?

Answer. We are committed to treating every U.S. citizen who seeks our assistance overseas fairly and in accordance with U.S. law. There has never been and there is not now a Department of State policy that classifies children of same-sex couples differently for citizenship purposes than other children born abroad. In adjudicating citizenship acquisition for children born abroad, the Department treats any child who is biologically related to only one parent in a marriage as having been born out of wedlock. This interpretation is consistent with the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA) provisions regarding transmission of citizenship and definition of birth in wedlock and represents longstanding policy.

Regarding the second part of the question, the Department does not track whether a child's parents are same-sex so we cannot provide that data. However, I can assure you that the Department applies the law consistently worldwide, including in Mission Canada during my tenure as ambassador. The Department makes citizenship determinations for all children born abroad using the same criteria under the INA, regardless of the sex or sexual orientation of their parents, and does not discriminate against same-sex couples or their children.

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RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO HON. KELLY CRAFT BY SENATOR CORY A. BOOKER

*Question.* Given the volatile security environment due to the Ebola crisis, will you ensure that MONUSCO's mission budget is not cut?

Answer. I share your concern about the Ebola crisis in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and am committed to maintaining a close and careful eye on the situation there. If confirmed, I will use the voice and influence of the U.S. Mission to the United Nations in the Fifth Committee of the General Assembly to support appropriate funding for the MONUSCO mission budget.

*Question.* What additional should the U.S. take into consideration—in concert with MONUSCO—to protect health workers and secure treatment facilities in the region?

Answer. The United States is working closely with the U.N. and MONUSCO, the DRC, the WHO, and other partners to address the critical need to protect health workers and treatment facilities, while avoiding perceptions that could exacerbate community resistance. MONUSCO provides several types of security assistance to the Ebola response, including securing humanitarian access, protection for personnel, assessing threats, and operating a Tactical Operations Center to address security incidents. The United States also prioritizes local engagement to address community feedback, increase ownership of response activities, and address broader needs for community acceptance and ensure humanitarian access.

*Question.* Do you believe that the U.S. should call for a suspension of the drawdown, given the current political crisis in Sudan? Do you believe UNAMID's exit plan for next year is still appropriate?

Answer. The United States is closely following developments in Sudan. UNAMID's current mandate, which expires on June 30, expresses support for a joint recommendation by the Secretary-General and the African Commission Chairperson on drawdown provided there is no significant change in security and key indicators are met. The United States is closely engaged with Security Council members and considering all options that will bring long-term peace and stability to Darfur. If confirmed, I will work to ensure that U.N. peacekeeping missions are as effective and efficient as possible, and are working to advance U.S. peace and security interests in each case.

*Question.* If security conditions in Darfur or Sudan more broadly deteriorate significantly, what would you do, as the U.S. representative at the U.N.?

Answer. The United States' commitment to the people of Darfur and Sudan in general has remained steadfast since the outset of violence in the early 2000s, and we have played a leading role at the U.N. in bringing attention and coordinating international response to the crises there. We have consistently advocated for an end to violence, dialogue between the government and opposition groups, justice and accountability for civilians who have borne the brunt of violence, and solutions to the root causes of this protracted conflict. If confirmed, I will ensure the United States remains a leading voice in the U.N. for long-term peace, stability, and security, and use the tools at my disposal in the U.N. to press for positive change in Darfur and Sudan.

*Question.* Do you think the U.S. has a lead role to play with respect to Sudan, as is it did during the height of the Darfur crisis or in facilitating the Comprehensive Peace Agreement?

Answer. Yes, the United States continues its role as a leading nation in coordinating efforts to achieve peace in Sudan, working with its partners in the region, the Troika (U.S., UK and Norway) and with the U.N. and African Union (AU). In early June, the State Department appointed Ambassador Donald Booth as U.S. Special Envoy for Sudan to help lead U.S. efforts in support of long-term peace and stability in Sudan. We are working closely with the AU, Ethiopia, and other partners to support a mediated resolution to the current crisis in Sudan and the formation of a civilian-led interim government.

*Question.* What do you believe to be the role of the United Nations in investigating the use of force against peaceful protestors in Khartoum? As ambassador, how would you approach the current situation in Sudan?

Answer. Sudan's Transitional Military Council (TMC) is responsible for the safety and security of its citizens, and for the actions of its security forces. We call on the TMC to hold those responsible for the brutal attacks perpetrated by the security forces, led by the Rapid Support Forces, to account. We have called for a credible and independent investigation of the recent attacks against civilians in Sudan. Regrettably, the Sudanese Transitional Military Council has rejected offers for a multilateral investigation, and said that its Attorney General is investigating the attacks. While we await their findings, this rejection of an impartial multilateral support undermines the credibility of this effort. Separately, we have supported the deployment of U.N. monitoring teams to investigate allegations of human rights violations and abuses in Darfur.

If confirmed, I would support the continuation of such efforts in Sudan and any other U.N. engagement that was consistent with U.S. approaches and policies.

*Question.* What role should the U.S. play in promoting greater respect for ensuring the safety of humanitarian organizations and their workers?

Answer. The United States is a leader in promoting the safety and security of humanitarian personnel as well as the protection of U.N. personnel. I believe the United States should continue to be a strong supporter of the U.N. Department of Safety and Security, which has enabled more than 1,000 high-risk humanitarian operations in active conflict zones. We will continue to press for more efficient, effective, transparent, and accountable humanitarian assistance, including through U.N. security management. In addition, in 2018 the United States was proud to cosponsor General Assembly resolution 73/137 on the safety and security of humanitarian personnel and the protection of U.N. personnel. That resolution sent a message of concern and solidarity to the many courageous people who risk their lives to deliver humanitarian assistance to the millions of people across the world who suffer as a result of natural disasters, armed conflict, and other crises. I believe the United States should continue to play such a leadership role. That includes continuing to call on parties to armed conflict to comply with their obligations under international humanitarian law, and to take every action to provide unhindered access to humanitarian organizations and to respect their independence and neutrality.

*Question.* What is your plan to reaffirm a U.S. commitment to international humanitarian law (IHL), including the protection of humanitarian action?

Answer. The United States is a leader in promoting the safety and security of humanitarian personnel as well as the protection of U.N. personnel. We are also a leader in promoting compliance with international humanitarian law, and we will continue to reiterate our strongest condemnation of all violations of international humanitarian law. We will continue to insist that all States comply strictly with the obligations applicable to them under international humanitarian law, and emphasize the need for all parties to armed conflict to take all required measures to avoid civilian casualties and to protect civilian populations. In addition, the United States

will continue to be a strong supporter of the U.N. Department of Safety and Security, which has enabled more than 1,000 high-risk humanitarian operations in active conflict zones. Finally, we will continue to use the U.N. as a forum for securing access for humanitarian organizations.

*Question.* Do you agree that we must incorporate climate change into our national security strategy, and will you do so to the fullest extent of your ability if confirmed?

Answer. I believe that climate change needs to be addressed, as it does pose very real risks for our planet and all its living creatures. If confirmed, I will promote the American ingenuity and technological innovation that for decades has made the United States a leader in tackling the challenges of our natural environment—all while safeguarding our nation's economic wellbeing.

*Question.* Early in Ambassador Haley's tenure, USUN appointed a civil society delegate representing an organization (C-Fam) with a history of extreme anti-LGBTQ rhetoric and advocacy, and with a track record of making outrageous claims to justify efforts to restrict access to even the most basic reproductive health services globally. Can you assure me that you will not appoint representatives of organizations that promote harassment, discrimination, violence, or a nonrights based approach as U.S. civil society delegates at the U.N.?

Answer. If confirmed, I will not tolerate harassment, discrimination, or violence of any kind. There is no place for that sort behavior in the workplace or any other setting.

## CORRESPONDENCE RECEIVED IN SUPPORT OF AMBASSADOR CRAFT'S NOMINATION

*Letter from J.D. Irving, Co-Chief Executive Officer, J.D. Irving, Limited*

**J.D. Irving, Limited**

P.O. Box 5777, 300 Union Street, Saint John, New Brunswick, Canada, E2L 4M3
Tel.: (506) 632-7777

June 18, 2019

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

Dear Majority Leader McConnell,

I write in support of Ambassador Kelly Craft's nomination by President Trump to be the United States Permanent Representative to the United Nations.

By way of introduction, J.D. Irving, Limited employs approximately 16,000 employees in the United States and Canada. Our Company has a number of production facilities in the United States including in New York, North Dakota, Maine and Georgia.

I have had the pleasure of working with Ambassador Craft in her role as Ambassador to Canada. She has provided great support and advice to us with regard to our very important trading relationship with the United States, and she has facilitated important discussions with senior US Government officials.

Our company, and I personally, strongly support Ambassador Craft's nomination to be the United States Permanent Representative to the United Nations.

Yours very truly,
J.D. Irving, Limited

James D. Irving
Co-Chief Executive Officer

*Letter supporting Amb. Craft's nomination, from Gordon D. Griffin, Global Vice Chair, Denton's, U.S. LLP, Atlanta, GA*

大成DENTONS

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June 17, 2019

The Honorable Jim Risch
Chairman
Committee on Foreign Relations
483 Russell Building
United States Senate
Washington, DC 20510

The Honorable Robert Menendez
Ranking Member
Committee on Foreign Relations
528 Hart Senate Office Building
United States Senate
Washington, DC 20510

**Re: Nomination of Kelly Craft - Nominee for Ambassador to the United Nations**

Dear Senator Risch and Senator Menendez:

I am taking the liberty of submitting this written expression of support for the nomination of my friend Ambassador Kelly Craft as our U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations. I am advised that the policy of the Committee is to permit only current and former members of the Senate to speak in the nominee's behalf so I thought a brief writing might be in order.

I am Gordon Giffin of Atlanta, Georgia. The last time I appeared before this Committee was July 1997 for my own nomination to be U.S. Ambassador to Canada, nominated by President Clinton. I have enormous respect for the history and traditions of the U.S. Senate having spent 5 and a half years as a young lawyer as Legislative Director and Chief Counsel to U.S. Senator Sam Nunn, one of the truly great members of this body.

In case it is not evident from that brief bio, I am a practicing Democrat. You may wonder why in today's political climate I am moved to support a Republican nominee for the important post of Ambassador to the U.N. Frankly, the politics give me no pause. However, as a committed Duke Blue Devil Basketball fan, Kelly's emotional commitment to Kentucky basketball did cause a brief hesitation.

The role of U.S. Ambassador is just that - a representative of our country, not a political party. Those of us who have had the honor to serve in that position understand that as a fundamental tenet. While I was nominated by President Clinton I had the added honor of serving for four months as Ambassador under President Bush. When someone of talent, character and generous spirit is presented to represent us in an important international role we should celebrate their willingness to serve, not debate their political background. Kelly Craft is such a nominee and that is why I am pleased to express unqualified support for her. I am also of the view that an ambassador equipped with a sense of how our political system works and with the relationships at the top of our government to be in a direct dialogue with decision makers is extraordinarily suited to advance our nation's interests. Kelly Craft is so equipped.

We don't have to guess if Kelly Craft can be an effective U.S. Ambassador, she has already done it. I actually believe that the best job a President can bestow is U.S. Ambassador to Canada. I have observed Kelly fulfill those responsibilities with substance, style, grace, confidence and effectiveness - and let me note that being President Trump's ambassador to Canada has been no walk in the park. As we say in the south, Ambassador Craft has done us proud during challenging times.

It is important to recognize that Kelly Craft was an integral part of the negotiation of the USMCA. As someone who knows a lot about NAFTA and how that agreement has transformed the North American neighborhood for the better, we should take note of the critical role Ambassador Craft played in delivering the updated and improved agreement. We know Kelly can represent our country well because we have watched her do it.

I know there will be questions about statements she has made and her policy views. All of us in our public roles have tripped over answers to questions - the point is did we learn from the experience. I have no doubt that the experience gained over the past two years as Ambassador to Canada has prepared Kelly Craft well for the next assignment. Further, I know from my own experience, ambassadors execute policy, they do not make it.

So my bottom line is that our process must encourage and facilitate good people to aspire to public service. I worry that we may be losing sight of that principle in the current Washington context. That concern is my motivation for expressing myself on this nomination. Kelly Craft has represented our country well in Canada and can certainly do so at the United Nations. That is my conclusion as a citizen, unrelated to my politics. I am proud to commend her to you and I sincerely trust that the vote to recommend her to the full Senate will be as bi-partisan as mine was several years ago.

Sincerely,

Gordon D. Giffin

Gordon D. Giffin
Global Vice Chair

## LETTER SENT TO AMBASSADOR CRAFT BY SENATORS EDWARD J. MARKEY, JEFF MERKLEY, AND SHELDON WHITEHOUSE[1]

**United States Senate**
WASHINGTON, DC 20510

May 3, 2019

Ambassador Kelly Knight Craft
Ambassador to Canada
U.S. Department of State

Dear Ambassador Craft:

Since you have been nominated to serve as U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, we are writing to seek additional information about your views on the Paris Agreement and international climate policy, as well as any potential conflicts of interest you may have.

As our U.N. Ambassador, you would be responsible for representing the United States at the United Nations on matters affecting international cooperation and action to address the climate crisis. Given your family's business relationship with Alliance Resource Partners, the third largest coal producing company in the Eastern United States, where your husband serves as President and Chief Executive Officer, we need assurances that, in connection with U.N. activities related to climate change, you will put our nation's interests ahead of your personal financial interests.

The Paris Agreement — reached in Paris, France at the Conference of the Parties in 2015 — is a historic effort to unite the world's countries in the fight against climate change. Under the agreement, all parties have committed to reducing greenhouse gas emissions to prevent the rise of global average temperatures by 2° Celsius or more — a level that climate scientists have determined will avert catastrophic environmental changes that would put millions of lives at risk and cause trillions of dollars in economic losses worldwide.

On June 1, 2017, President Trump announced that he would move to withdraw the United States from this landmark agreement, becoming the only signatory to change its position and oppose this monumental effort. Other countries party to the agreement continue to ramp up their climate-protection efforts, seizing the opportunities that a clean energy economy presents. For example, in 2017, China committed to spending $360 billion on renewable power sources through 2020, creating more than 13 million clean-energy jobs.

There is overwhelming scientific consensus that human activity from the burning of fossil fuels is the primary cause of climate change and its worsening effects. In fact, in November 2018, thirteen federal agencies of the Trump administration published the National Climate Assessment, which concludes that climate change is happening now. Despite the insurmountable evidence, you have said publicly that you believe "both sides" of climate science.

[1] These questions and Ambassador Craft's responses are located in this transcripts section on Additional Questions Submitted for the Record.

Your financial disclosures show that you personally have over $63 million invested in oil, gas, and coal assets. You also hold substantial rights to coal mining royalties in various states, including Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia. According to an April 2018 filing with the Securities and Exchange Commission, your husband, Joseph Craft, owns or controls 44,773,040 shares of coal producer Alliance Resource Partners, worth more than $900 million at the March 8, 2019 market price. In its 10-K form filed with the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission for fiscal year 2018, Alliance Resource Partners made the following representations:

- "The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change met in Paris, France in December 2015 and agreed to an international climate agreement (the 'Paris Agreement'). Although this agreement does not create any binding obligations for nations to limit their GHG emissions, it does include pledges to voluntarily limit or reduce future emissions. These commitments could further reduce demand and prices for our coal."[1]
- "Our results of operations are primarily dependent upon the prices we receive for our coal, as well as our ability to improve productivity and control costs. The prices we receive for our production depends upon factors beyond our control, including . . . the impact of domestic and foreign governmental laws and regulations, including environmental and climate change regulations and regulations affecting the coal mining industry and coal-fired power plants, and delays in the receipt of, failure to receive, failure to maintain or revocation of necessary governmental permits."[2]
- "Enactment of laws or passage of regulations regarding emissions from the combustion of coal by the United States, states, or other countries, could also result in electricity generators further switching from coal to other fuel sources or additional coal-fueled power plant closures. For example, the agreement resulting from the 2015 U.N. Framework Convention on Climate Change contains voluntary commitments by numerous countries to reduce their GHG emissions, and could result in additional firm commitments by various nations with respect to future GHG emissions. These commitments could further disfavor coal-fired generation, particularly in the medium- to long-term."[3]

Given your financial interests and the position that you seek to hold, by May 15, 2019, please provide answers to the following questions:

1. Do you acknowledge that climate change caused by humans is real? If not, why not?
2. Do you acknowledge that climate change is occurring now and impacting citizens of the United States? If not, why not?
3. Why have you said that there are "both sides" to the scientific debate on climate change? Please describe in detail your understanding of the "sides" and their positions on climate

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[1] ALLIANCE RESOURCE PARTNERS, L.P. Form 10-K for the fiscal year ended December 31, 2018, p. 18, available at https://www.sec.gov/Archives/edgar/data/1086600/000155837019000892/arlp-20181231x10k.htm

[2] *Id.* at 28-29.

[3] *Id.* at 31-32.

change, including the evidence (and the sources of this information) supporting the arguments that anthropogenic climate change is not occurring.

4. Do you agree with President Trump that the United States should withdraw from the Paris Agreement? If so, why?
5. Please provide any documents that you have received from Alliance Resource Partners, Concho Resources Inc., Continental Resources Inc., WKY CoalPlay LLC, Pioneer Natural Resources Company, Magellan Midstream Partners, the National Mining Association, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers, or the American Petroleum Institute about the topic of climate change.
6. Please provide any documents you have reviewed that estimate, project, analyze, or otherwise assess the effect of international climate agreements on the value of fossil fuel assets in your financial portfolio, including but not limited to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change.
7. With respect to former Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) Administrator Scott Pruitt:
    a. Please identify all meetings that you or any of your or your husband's business interests have had with Mr. Pruitt since January 1, 2010, including the dates, participants, agendas, and any notes taken.
    b. Please provide any correspondence between you or any of your or your husband's business interests and Mr. Pruitt.
    c. Please identify any donations you or any of your or your husband's business interests have made to Mr. Pruitt or any outside spending groups affiliated with him, including the date, amount, recipient, and purpose.
    d. Please identify any gifts you or your or your husband's business interests have given to Mr. Pruitt and his family, including the date, the type of gift, and its value.
    e. Please identify any work Mr. Pruitt has done for you or your or your husband's business interests, including the date(s) of the work, the type of work, and any compensation Mr. Pruitt received for such work.
8. Please provide a transcript of the April 24-26, 2017 Executive Committee meetings of the National Mining Association (NMA), including the meeting at which the Board of Directors voted 26-5 to urge President Trump to withdraw from the Paris Agreement.
9. On April 25, 2017, a spokesperson for the EPA referenced a discussion between Scott Pruitt and the NMA on "problems with the Paris Agreement." Please explain when and where this discussion occurred, who participated in it, and summarize its substance.

Ethics in Government Act regulations promulgated by the Office of Government Ethics require federal employees take steps "to avoid an appearance of loss of impartiality in the performance of [her] official duties."[4] Specifically, the regulations state:

> Where an employee knows that a particular matter involving specific parties is likely to have a direct and predictable effect on the financial interest of a member

[4] 5 C.F.R. § §2635.501(a).

> of [her] household . . . and where the employee determines that the circumstances would cause a reasonable person with knowledge of the relevant facts to question [her] impartiality in the matter, the employee should not participate in the matter unless [she] has informed the agency designee of the appearance problem and received authorization from the agency designee in accordance with paragraph (d) of this section.[5]

Considering these requirements in the context of the recent financial disclosures made by Alliance Resource Partners:

10. Have you sought any advice as to whether 5 C.F.R. § 2635.502(a) applies to your participation in any decisions related to the Paris Agreement, the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, or any other U.N. work related to climate change? If so, please explain in detail.
11. Please explain whether international climate agreements will have a direct and predictable effect on the financial interest of you or a member of your family.
12. Do you believe you and your husband's oil, gas, and coal assets would cause a reasonable person with knowledge of your and your husband's assets to question your impartiality in matters related to the Paris Agreement, the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, or any other U.N. work related to climate change?
13. If appointed U.N. Ambassador, do you intend to seek a § 502(d) authorization to participate in matters related to the Paris Agreement, the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, or any other U.N. work related to climate change?

Sincerely,

Edward J. Markey
United States Senator

Jeffrey A. Merkley
United States Senator

Sheldon Whitehouse
United States Senator

[5] *Id.* at § 2635.502(a).

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