

## NOMINATION

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TUESDAY, JANUARY 21, 2025

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

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:03 a.m., in room SD-419, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. James E. Risch, Chairman.

Present: Senators Risch [presiding], Ricketts, McCormick, Daines, Hagerty, Barrasso, Cruz, Lee, Scott, Curtis, Cornyn, Shaheen, Coons, Murphy, Kaine, Merkley, Booker, Schatz, Van Hollen, Duckworth, and Rosen.

Senator RISCH. Thank you all for coming this morning, and first of all, let me say a couple things.

I just got back from the White House. Our colleague, Marco Rubio, is fully sworn in and installed, and he was sworn in by Vice President Vance, and things are good.

We are going to start this hearing again, and we welcome the public here. This is a public hearing of the Foreign Relations Committee. We are doing America's work here.

And over the years there has been interruptions, and as I said when I started this meeting last time, the new chairman has zero tolerance for interruptions.

There will be no interruptions. There will be no communicating between anyone in the audience and either the witness or members of this committee.

If there is, I am going to immediately pause the hearing. You will be removed by my good friends here in blue. You will also be banned from coming back here for the next 12 months.

It is important. We respect the First Amendment here. There is all kinds of places you can communicate outside of this room. But we are doing America's business here, and it is important that we focus on it, that we are efficient. We are always short of time, so we ask everyone to respect that. If you do not, there are consequences.

So, with that, Madam Chairman, did you have anything to add to that—Madam Ranking Member?

Senator SHAHEEN. I certainly support making sure that this hearing can be done in an orderly way that allows the witness to testify and allows members of the committee to ask their questions. So, I support the Chairman's efforts.

Senator RISCH. Well, thank you very much.

And with that, I am going to make an opening statement. I will then refer to the ranking member to make an opening statement. We then have some distinguished colleagues to introduce.

Do you have time to sit through our opening statements, or do you want to do your introduction? I know you both have important things you have to do. Your choice.

Senator BOOKER. Let our colleagues go, Mr. Chairman, if I may speak. Let our colleagues go.

[Laughter.]

Senator BOOKER. Do not do that to them.

Senator SHAHEEN. It is not that we want you out of here.

Senator CAPITO. Can we go?

Senator RISCH. Shelley, go ahead. Senator Capito.

**STATEMENT OF HON. SHELLEY MOORE CAPITO,  
U.S. SENATOR FROM WEST VIRGINIA**

Senator CAPITO. Thank you.

Thank you, Chair Risch and Ranking Member Shaheen, for welcoming me to the committee, and I want to thank my good friend Elise Stefanik for honoring me today to have the privilege to introduce her before this distinguished committee. I also want to say what a privilege it is to share the podium with my friend Tom Cotton.

Congratulations also to both of you of your positions on this committee.

It is truly an honor to be here to introduce someone who I admire greatly. The job she has been selected to carry out for President Trump is not an easy one, but it is extremely important.

In its early formation it was believed that the United Nations required U.S. leadership in both its creation and in the actual business of the organization to prevent conflict and to advance freedom.

But lately, when many of us look at the United Nations, this body that is meant to advance values of peace and freedom and human dignity, we do not see those American values reflected.

We see rampant anti-Semitism against the world's only Jewish state as it faces attacks from all directions. We see oppression and aggressive autocrats celebrated and elevated to leadership positions.

We see China, Russia, and Iran empowered at this organization to advance their values, not the values of peace and freedom that Americans stand for.

It is clear that the need to reestablish U.S. leadership at this broken institution. We need to do that. I cannot think of anyone more qualified or more ready to fulfill that role than my friend Elise Stefanik.

I have known Elise for several years during her career in public service, and I am excited to highlight her qualifications for this important role for which she has been nominated.

As a member of the House of Representatives she has shown remarkable leadership. As a member of both the Armed Services and Intelligence Committees she has shown an exceptional command of national security issues.

Elise understands the dangerous world and the growing threats that our country faces, and she has the strength and the skill to

reassert U.S. leadership on the world stage, a world stage that needs moral clarity and leadership now more than ever.

Elise has shown that moral clarity by exposing—she has shown her moral clarity by exposing anti-Semitism on our college campuses. She has shown that moral clarity by posting on social media every single day about the innocent hostages taken by Hamas during the horrific attacks of October 7, more than 450 days later.

The United Nations is a tough place. Well, Elise is from New York, but Elise has never backed down from a challenge. At the time of her first congressional election she was the youngest woman ever elected to the Congress in the United States' history.

She went on to become the youngest woman ever to serve in elected House leadership, and she will competently and skillfully execute for President Trump and for all of the American people at the United Nations.

Additionally, on a personal level Elise is a good mother. You can see her son, Sam, back here, and she is such a good mother that they have Legos on the hold ready to go. A great wife, a great daughter, and a wonderful friend.

Her steady hand and genuine caring nature, combined with her fierce intellect, will bring exactly that person that President Trump and our nation needs at the United Nations.

I look forward to voting to support her when I have the chance, and I thank all of you for the opportunity to have her before you today. Thank you.

Senator RISCH. Thank you very much, Senator Capito. Well said. Senator Cotton.

#### **STATEMENT OF HON. TOM COTTON, U.S. SENATOR FROM ARKANSAS**

Senator COTTON. Mr. Chairman, Senator Shaheen, colleagues, it is my honor to join Senator Capito today introducing my friend and colleague Elise Stefanik as the nominee for Ambassador to the United Nations.

Elise has an outstanding record of fighting for America's interests at home and abroad, and I urge members of this committee to confirm her swiftly, and hopefully, unanimously.

The United Nations today has many problems. Chief among them are Communist Chinese influence and incessant targeting of Israel.

From weeding out anti-Semitism to opposing harmful Chinese and Russian policies, the next U.N. Ambassador must help restore sanity to the United Nations, and I can think of no better person for this role than Elise.

In Congress she has unapologetically stood up to our adversaries and will do the same at the United Nations. As a senior member of the House Armed Services Committee and the House Intelligence Committee, Elise understands the stakes of our competition with Communist China.

She helped stand up the China Task Force in the House which later became the bipartisan Select Committee on the Chinese Communist Party. She also led comprehensive legislation to deter China and strengthen the United States.

I have had the privilege of partnering with Elise on several of these bills, including one to ban Chinese owned tutoring companies at our Department of Defense and another to counter Chinese drones in America.

I am also confident in Elise's ability to stand up for Israel against the United Nations' often blatant anti-Semitism. She has long advocated for billions of dollars for Israeli capabilities like the lifesaving Iron Dome and critical anti-tunneling technology.

Her questioning of college presidents in defense of Jewish students set off shock waves around higher education, resulting in the resignation of the Harvard and University of Pennsylvania presidents.

She has also been a tireless advocate for hostages taken by Hamas. Elise has dedicated her career to public service. She started out working in the Bush White House before joining Congress to serve the people of northern New York.

To her constituents she is best known for working across the aisle to improve the lives of New Yorkers. At the U.N., I know that she will continue to put Americans first.

I commend President Trump for this nomination, and I am grateful to Elise for once again answering the call of duty. I would also like to thank her family, whose steadfast support has led her to this moment.

Elise and her husband Matt are parents to their 3 year old son Sam, who is apparently departing at this very moment.

[Laughter.]

Senator COTTON. I am sure that one day Sam will look at this moment and Elise's future service with much to be proud of even if today, like my boys, he thinks it is mostly boring politics stuff.

So, today I am here to happily and proudly offer my strong support to this dedicated public servant and American patriot, our next ambassador to the United Nations, Elise Stefanik.

She is the right person for the job, and I encourage all of my colleagues on the committee and in the Senate to process her nomination promptly and unanimously.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman and Senator Shaheen.

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

Senator RISCH. Well, thank you, Senator Cotton, and again, well said. So, both of you I know you have got things that you have got to attend to, and we appreciate you coming to the committee and helping us out.

Well, Representative Stefanik, welcome to our committee. You will find us kind and generous most of the time, and we look forward to hearing from you.

Senator Shaheen and I are going to make a few remarks, and then we will yield to you and hear what you have to say.

First of all, let me start by saying there is great difficulty at the United Nations today, and I am confident President Trump's nominee can help bring much needed change.

This is widely recognized by people here up on the Hill. Senator Cotton and Senator Capito both made reference to it. I know you are well aware of it.

One of the unfortunate things, and maybe this hearing will help, is the vast majority—vast majority—of the American people do not recognize the deterioration that has happened at the United Nations and how it has strayed from its original purposes.

There is great difficulty there. I think that we need significant change. As threats from China, Russia, North Korea, and Iran continue to grow, Representative Stefanik, your position will be at the heart of the U.S. efforts to stand up to the authoritarian axis that seeks to undermine the United States at every turn and to ensure our partners and allies are also doing their part. I know you are up to that task.

The U.N. was founded to be a force for peace and stability in the world, an admirable goal. It is not working. Since its founding, the United States has helped shape the U.N. and has supported it in dollars—lots and lots and lots of dollars—and in spirit.

But today the United States remains the largest funder of the U.N. system. We pay 22 percent of the regular budget, and we pay 25 percent of the peacekeeping budget. And what have the American people gotten for these investments? They have chaos, complete dysfunction at the United Nations, and a warped sense of right and wrong.

In place of needed reform, the U.S. is constantly asked to give more to the U.N. But over time the organization has drifted farther away from American values, putting American national security in jeopardy.

Representative Stefanik, I know that President Trump has nominated you to the U.N. because he knows you are not afraid to stand up for the American people, ensure that taxpayer dollars are truly putting America first, and push back against the real problems—constant problems—that plague the United Nations.

As the U.N. has expanded its mission the amount of conflict, waste, fraud, and abuse has grown, and the U.N. Security Council, which is charged with maintaining international peace, security, consensus, and partnership on the many issues the world faces has become a fantasy.

Critical issues that demand the council's attention fall to the wayside. Accountability for Vladimir Putin's invasion of Ukraine, China's grotesque human rights abuses, genocide in the Sudan, regime change in Syria, all go unaddressed by what is supposed to be the leading international organization to resolve these conflicts.

As the authoritarian axis grows and competes against democratic nations, the U.N. will descend back into the paralysis that has marked the cold war if it continues on its course, which it has no indication it is changing.

To make matters worse, our adversaries have weaponized the U.N. against Americans and democratic interests. Prior to the fall of Assad, Putin used the Security Council to block any action to hold the Assad regime accountable for its crimes against humanity.

China has used its malign influence to block attempts to discuss the Chinese government sponsored genocide against the Uyghurs, and they have blocked our ally Taiwan from fully participating in the U.N.

China also manipulates the U.N. personnel system, which we all know, and they have used it to install Chinese diplomats into the U.N. bureaucracy that only serve China's goals and interests.

There is a deep, deep anti-Israel bias within the United Nations that has only grown stronger since Hamas's horrendous, unprovoked attack against Israel on October 7.

This sentiment was spearheaded by the U.N. Relief and Works Agency, UNRWA, which had numerous employees participate in October 7 terrorist attacks and allows schools and facilities to be used by Hamas.

Remember, these are U.S. tax dollars that partially helped fund UNRWA. For years I have led my colleagues on legislation to end the U.S. contributions to this anti-Semitic organization which openly employs terrorists. UNRWA must go.

What I have just described is not what the American people want out of their taxpayer dollars. Our contributions should serve America's interests first, and I know you will bring that message to the United Nations system loud and clear.

Representative Stefanik, I believe it is reasonable to evaluate every U.N. agency to determine if what they are doing is directly beneficial to America and hold them account until the answer is a resounding yes.

Anything less should not be tolerated if these agencies cannot be changed, and at this point the U.S. should seriously examine if further contributions, and indeed, participation in the U.N. is even beneficial to the American people.

I am interested to hear your plans for change at the U.N., and I look forward to seeing the tremendous work I know that you will do for our country and to make the world a safer place for future generations.

Thank you.

Senator Shaheen.

**STATEMENT OF HON. JEANNE SHAHEEN,  
RANKING MEMBER, U.S. SENATOR FROM NEW HAMPSHIRE**

Senator SHAHEEN. Well, thank you, Mr. Chairman, and welcome, Congresswoman Stefanik.

Welcome to your family, who is with you today as well.

Now, whether fighting the spread of infectious diseases or stemming the flow of fentanyl that kills Americans, combating transnational crime that costs Americans billions of dollars, negotiating political settlements to dangerous conflicts, the work of the United Nations directly affects Americans all across this country.

We benefit from U.N. peacekeeping missions that would otherwise fall to the American military. We are better off because of efforts to stabilize societies and provide lifesaving assistance in places like Sudan, Syria, and Ukraine.

And we do not just do this out of the goodness of our hearts. We fund these efforts because they make Americans, as Secretary Rubio said in his hearing, safer, stronger and more prosperous.

Equally important, if we do not do it, our adversaries and competitors will.

Representative Stefanik, welcome again to this committee. Congratulations on your nomination to be U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations.

From working in the Bush administration on the Domestic Policy Council to being the youngest woman elected to Congress, you have strong credentials and the relevant experience for this role.

But today I would really like to hear your vision for the United States at the United Nations. I have certainly taken note of the skepticism in the United Nations expressed by others in the incoming administration and also expressed by your introducers today and Chairman Risch.

In the past you have voted to defund the United Nations and its specialized agencies. Certainly, I would agree that the United Nations is an imperfect body, but the U.N. is also a force multiplier of American taxpayer money.

U.S. disengagement is something our adversaries want, especially Russia and China. At his hearing last week Secretary Rubio said China is our most potent and dangerous adversary, and Beijing's contribution to the U.N. is almost seven times what it was two decades ago.

China has had great success increasing the number of nationals employed at the U.N., and so when we cut back they are ready and very eager to fill that void.

Under the first Trump administration the U.S. withdrew from UNESCO, an agency that among many things combats anti-Semitism and establishes international technology standards that affect our industries.

When we stepped back, Beijing stepped in and is now UNESCO's largest financial contributors. So, I am really interested in your thoughts on how the U.S. can compete with China across every United Nations agency.

One agency at the U.N. that I think is particularly important is the U.N. Population Fund, or UNFPA. Globally, one in every five girls is married before reaching age 18. Too many girls in too many countries, as you know very well, face female genital mutilation and forced child marriage.

UNFPA provides critical reproductive and maternal care. It reaches three times as many countries as our bilateral family planning program, and in some areas like Darfur and Kordofan it is the main provider of life saving reproductive health supplies, things like childbirth delivery kits that reduce infection for women giving birth outside clinical settings. I believe its work is irreplaceable.

Now, if confirmed, I hope we can work together to advance United States interests at the U.N. because when the United States takes a leadership role at the U.N. Americans and people around the world are better off.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I welcome the testimony of Congresswoman Stefanik and hearing her views.

Senator RISCH. Thank you so much, Senator Shaheen.

And Representative Stefanik, the floor is yours.

**STATEMENT OF HON. ELISE M. STEFANIK, U.S. REPRESENTATIVE FROM NEW YORK, NOMINATED TO BE U.S. AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED NATIONS**

Representative STEFANIK. Chairman Risch, Ranking Member Shaheen, distinguished members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, thank you for the opportunity to appear today.

I would also like to thank the Senators from both sides of the aisle who met with me over the past several weeks. It is the honor of my lifetime to earn President Trump's nomination to serve in his Cabinet as U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations.

If confirmed I stand ready to implement President Trump's mandate from the American people to deliver America first, peace through strength, national security leadership on the world stage.

Before I begin I would like to personally recognize my family. We all know in public office that we would not have the opportunity to serve were it not for the support of our loved ones.

I would like to begin with my mom, dad, and brother, Melanie, Ken, and Matty. My dad is here with me today, and my mom and brother are watching closely from upstate New York. There is no question that I would not be here without their lifetime of unconditional love, support, and encouragement, and for that I am forever grateful.

I also want to thank my incredibly supportive husband Matt who is also here, and of course, most importantly, our pride and joy, our 3 year old son, Sam, who made his debut in the U.S. Senate. He is comfortable on the House side. It is new in the Senate. So, thank you for the warm welcome.

Sam is by far our greatest blessing. Of all the titles I have held—Congresswoman, chairwoman, representative or ambassador, if confirmed—my most important title will always be mom.

I appear before you today as a daughter, sister, wife, mother, Congresswoman, a patriotic upstate New Yorker, and a proud American. I believe deeply in the American dream because I have had the opportunity to live it.

I was born and raised in upstate New York, the cradle of the American Revolution. I grew up in a small business family where my parents instilled in me the importance of hard work, ingenuity, and grit.

I was blessed to be the first member of my immediate family to have the opportunity to graduate from college. I graduated from Harvard with honors and then worked at the White House in the West Wing on the Domestic Policy Council and in the Chief of Staff's office.

After nearly a decade working in public policy in Washington, I returned home to work in my family's small business and decided to run for Congress. In 2014 I was elected to Congress, making history as the youngest woman ever elected at the time.

In Congress I have fought tirelessly for the hard working families of New York's 21st District, delivering significant bipartisan results for my constituents.

I was elected by my colleagues to serve as the House Republican conference chair, becoming the highest ranking woman in Congress at the time and the youngest woman of either party to serve in top elected House leadership.



And over the last decade I have served on the House Armed Services Committee, the Intelligence Committee, the House Education and Workforce Committee, and I am proud to be the longest serving woman on both the Armed Services and Intelligence Committees.

On these national security committees I have legislated on a number of critical issues ranging from military readiness, emerging technologies like artificial intelligence, quantum computing, and cyber security, to missile defense.

I have worked to enhance American intelligence capabilities, strengthen our alliances and partnerships and deter our adversaries. On the Education Committee I have been the leader in combating anti-Semitism in higher education.

My oversight work led to the most viewed testimony in the history of Congress. This hearing with university presidents was heard around the world and viewed billions of times because it exposed the anti-Semitic rot in colleges and universities and was a watershed moment in American higher education.

When discussing this nomination with President Trump, the President shared with me that he sees great promise in the United Nations if it focuses on its founding mission of international peace and security.

President Trump has long advocated for peace and no new wars. He delivered the Abraham Accords, the largest step to regional peace in the Middle East in a quarter-century.

If confirmed, I will work to ensure that our mission to the United Nations serves the interest of the American people and represents President Trump's America first, peace through strength foreign policy.

As the world faces crisis after crisis with hostages, including Americans, still held in Hamas's captivity to national security challenges ranging from China, Russia, North Korea, and Iran, it has never been more critical for the United States to lead with strength and moral clarity.

This is especially important regarding our most precious ally, Israel, who faced the bloodiest day for the Jewish people since the Holocaust on October 7, 2023.

As a Member of Congress, I also understand deeply that we must be good stewards of U.S. taxpayer dollars. The U.S. is the largest contributor to the U.N. by far.

Our tax dollars should not be complicit in propping up entities that are counter to American interests, anti-Semitic, or engaging in fraud, corruption, or terrorism.

We must invest in programs to strengthen our national security and deliver results. To increase the efficacy of U.N. programs we must drive reform.

If confirmed, I will be the first U.N. Ambassador in over two decades to come directly from Congress, and I have deep respect and understanding of the oversight and appropriations role of the legislative branch, and I look forward to using my strong House and Senate relationships to deliver these much needed reforms.

We are truly at a critical point in history. The world must be reminded of the key mission of the United Nations and America's role as its formative leader.

Following the devastation, carnage, and holocaust of World War II, the world was desperate for peace, stability, human rights and dignity, and world order.

As outlined in Article I, Chapter I of the U.N. Charter, the purpose of the United Nations is to maintain international peace and security, develop friendly relations among nations based on the shared respect for the principle of equal rights, solve international problems, and harmonize the actions of nations in the attainment of common ends.

The U.N. has not lived up to this founding mission, and we must demand better. It is imperative to ensure strong American leadership at the United Nations.

I share President Trump's vision of a U.N. reformed by strong America first, peace through strength, and a return to this founding mission of promoting peace and security around the world.

In closing, I will forever be grateful to my constituents in New York's 21st District for giving me the opportunity to serve them as their voice at the highest levels of Congress.

Ten years ago, upstate and north country voters took a chance on a young, first time, unknown candidate who very few believed could win.

So, I just want to thank the hardworking families, small businesses, farms, law enforcement officers, military families, veterans, seniors, so many with whom I have had worked so closely to deliver results on behalf of our communities.

Thank you especially to my extraordinarily dedicated staff in both the district and in Washington offices for serving tirelessly for the past decade.

If confirmed, my family and I are excited for this next chapter to serve on President Trump's Cabinet in this role, and I commit to the American people that I will work my very hardest in the coming years to lead with moral clarity and American values.

Thank you, and I look forward to your questions.

#### NOMINEE COMMITMENT QUESTIONS

*Question.* Do you agree to appear before this Committee and make officials from your office available to the Committee when invited?

Answer. Yes.

*Question.* Do you commit to keeping this Committee fully informed about the activities under your purview in a timely manner?

Answer. Yes.

*Question.* Do you commit to engaging in meaningful consultation while policies are being developed, not just providing notification after the fact?

Answer. Yes.

*Question.* Do you commit to responding to requests for briefings and information requested by the Committee and its designated staff as soon as practicable?

Answer. Yes.

*Question.* Do you agree to ensuring that Chiefs of Mission fully support CODELs and STAFFDELS, with exceptions only for simultaneous or overlapping visits by the President or First Lady of the United States, the Vice President, or the Secretaries of State or Defense?

Answer. Yes.

[The prepared statement of Representative Stefanik follows:]

**Prepared Statement of U.S. Representative Elise M. Stefanik**

Chairman Risch, Ranking Member Shaheen, distinguished members of the Foreign Relations Committee, thank you for the opportunity to appear today. I would also like to thank the Senators from both sides of the aisle who met with me over the past several weeks.

It is the honor of my lifetime to earn President Trump's nomination to serve in his Cabinet as the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations. If confirmed, I stand ready to implement President Trump's mandate from the American people to deliver America First peace through strength national security leadership on the world stage.

Before I begin, I'd like to personally recognize my family. We all know in public office that we would not have the opportunity to serve were it not for the support of our loved ones. I'd like to begin with my Mom, Dad, and brother—Melanie, Ken, and Matty. My Dad is here with me today and my Mom and brother are watching closely from Upstate NY.

There is no question that I would not be here without their lifetime of unconditional love, support, and encouragement and for that I am forever grateful. I want to thank my incredibly supportive husband Matt and of course, most importantly, our pride and joy—our 3 year old son Sam.

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This is especially important regarding our most precious ally Israel who faced the bloodiest day for the Jewish people since the Holocaust on October 7th 2023.

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We must invest in programs that strengthen our national security and deliver results. To increase the efficacy of U.N. programs, we must drive reform. If confirmed, I will be the first U.N. Ambassador in over two decades to come directly from Congress—and I have a deep respect and understanding of the oversight and appropriations role of the legislative branch. I look forward to using my strong House and Senate relationships to deliver much needed reforms.

We are at a truly critical point in history. The world must be reminded of the key mission of the United Nations and America's role as its formative leader. Following the devastation, carnage, and Holocaust of World War II, the world was desperate for peace, stability, human rights and dignity, and world order.

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It is imperative to ensure strong American leadership at the United Nations. I share President Trump's vision of a U.N. reformed by strong America First peace through strength leadership and a return to its founding mission of promoting peace and security around the world.

In closing, I will forever be grateful to my beloved constituents in New York's 21st Congressional District for giving me the opportunity to serve them as their voice at the highest levels of Congress. Ten years ago, Upstate and North Country voters took a chance on a young, first-time, unknown candidate who very few believed could win.

Thank you to the hardworking families, small businesses, farms, law enforcement officers, military families, veterans, seniors, and local elected officials with whom I have worked so closely to deliver results on behalf of our communities. Thank you especially to my extraordinarily dedicated staff in the District and Washington offices for serving tirelessly for the past decade.

If confirmed, my family and I are excited for this next chapter to serve on President Trump's Cabinet in this role. I commit to the American people that I will work my very hardest in the coming years to lead with moral clarity and American values. Thank you and I look forward to your questions.

Senator RISCH. Thank you very much, Congresswoman. We appreciate those remarks.

And what we are going to do now is we are going to do a round of questions. We are going to do 5 minute questions. The ranking member and I have discussed that and agreed to that.

That does not mean it is going to end, if we are going to attempt to do another 5 minute round for those who are anxious to have more questions answered.

So, with that, let me start.

First of all, I was impressed to hear what President Trump has always insisted on and certainly talked to us about, and that is the fact that the founding mission of the U.N. is such a bright and brilliant light.

The difficulty is the execution of their mission bears no resemblance to what their original mission was, which is really unfortunate, and we have in the past, and I hope in the future, rely more and more on doing bilateral and multilateral agreements with other countries without the United Nations and to perform some of the things that the United Nations is attempting to do ourselves.

We are the United States of America. We can do anything, and we certainly can perform those functions. The best example I can give you is the Abraham Accords. The Abraham Accords are prob-

ably going to be looked at in history as a turning point in the Middle East.

It was done under President Trump last time. It was President Trump's administration who was the leading force on this, and the United Nations had absolutely nothing to do with it, and it is a great success in the Middle East, a place where you see very few great successes.

So, we can do these things. We put a tremendous amount of money into the United Nations to do things that we can do. For instance, feeding folks. We do a lot of it ourselves through USAID, but we do a lot through the U.N.

In doing that the U.N. has hired, for instance, UNRWA to do it, an organization I do not want anything to do with. I do not want any connection to UNRWA, and yet here we are working with them.

So, I think there is a lot of things that we can do to start with that will ratchet down the number of people that are clogging the New York streets up there with employees from other places and make it a mission that is our own. Your thoughts?

Representative STEFANIK. Thank you, Chairman Risch.

I wanted to point out—and I am glad you referenced the Abraham Accords. I think we can look to the success of our bilateral relationships and various multilateral partnerships and build on that within the U.N.

For example, we have the Abraham Accords Caucus in the Congress. I think we should consider starting an Abraham Accords Caucus within the United Nations to build on the President's success delivering that historic result, the greatest breakthrough for normalization in the Middle East in over a quarter of a century.

I do share your commitment, Chairman Risch, to being good stewards of U.S. taxpayer dollars and ensuring all of our investments to any foreign policy strategy, and this goes hand in hand with what Secretary Rubio testified, represents our American interest: Does it make America safer, does it make America stronger, and does it make America more prosperous.

So, I hope to work effectively with this committee, our oversight members, and our appropriators to ensure that we deliver reform and ensure that each dollar is going to strengthen our national security.

I think we can look to the programs that are successes, which typically have strong American leadership and voluntary funding. One example is the World Food Programme, which has significant bipartisan support on this committee, in both chambers of Congress, and it is supported by the American people.

And oftentimes the most successful agencies within the U.N., they have transparency, accountability standards, and are led either with strong American leadership or allied countries.

So, that is a bit of feedback to your question.

Senator RISCH. Well, thank you. I appreciate that.

Just very quickly, one of the things that has really concerned me in recent years is we keep getting outvoted at the United Nations, and it turns out that every country has one vote. And then when you look around, and you look at these countries that are voting against us, you find out that you got the Chinese in there spread-

ing money throughout their government to individuals in their government, to projects in these dinky little countries, and they buy their vote.

This is a real problem, and it is the kind of thing that gets us to the point where we cannot even get a resolution that condemns Russia for their invasion of Ukraine in absolute violation of the foundations of the United Nations.

And when the Secretary General comes to see me, I always crank on him and say, look, you guys cannot even get a resolution condemning this. What are you doing for us? How are you making this work? And I get a word salad in response.

Your thoughts on this problem with the Chinese buying off these smaller countries?

Representative STEFANIK. It is no question, Chairman Risch, that the CCP has made significant inroads. This is a long term strategy that they have at the United Nations, and we need to have strong American leadership working with our allies to push back on this.

As you pointed out, every country, no matter what its size, gets one vote. I believe we need to have a strategy to push back particularly on the CCP's inroads within the Global South and even within the Western Hemisphere.

I think we need to build on our, as you said, bilateral partnerships and make sure they understand the importance of a two way partnership with the United States. I also think that the personnel strategy of the CCP has been of particular concern within the U.N.

Senator RISCH. Clearly.

Representative STEFANIK. China has made inroads in placing CCP leaders and Chinese diplomats in positions as head of various sub-U.N. agencies but also at the most junior level. So, we need to have a human capital strategy working with our allies to push back on that.

Senator RISCH. I appreciate your thoughts in that regard, and I certainly have no objection to countries having a vote. What bothers me is that the corruption and the fraud when the Chinese buy off that vote with money is just flat wrong.

Thank you for your thoughts.

Senator Shaheen.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you.

Again, Congresswoman Stefanik, welcome, and thank you for your willingness to continue to serve this country and for your past service in the House.

While I think we would all agree that the U.N. is not perfect, it is a force multiplier for the U.S., and it is a prime example of global burden sharing in times of crisis.

I was pleased to see that the Trump administration will maintain this position, U.S. Ambassador, to the United Nations as a Cabinet level position.

Now, you have talked a little bit about this already in your responses, but how will you make sure that the work of the U.N. is understood to help advance U.S. interests around the world, and more important, how can you help convince Members of Congress who are skeptics that our contributions and leadership in U.N. agencies must continue in order to prevent China, Russia, Iran, and other U.S. adversaries from assuming these roles?

Representative STEFANIK. Thank you so much, Ranking Member Shaheen. I appreciated our opportunity to visit ahead of time.

I will start with your question related to how we convince the American people and elected officials of the importance of investments. I think, as I pointed out to Chairman Risch, doing a review of all of our dollars going into various U.N. agencies and looking at what are most effective.

Typically, UNICEF is another example in addition to World Food Programme. We voluntarily commit, it maintains bipartisan support, and it delivered significant, significant results for millions around the globe, and it strengthens our national security.

So, when it comes to those key questions does it make America safer, stronger, and more prosperous, I believe those are examples of programs that do.

I, clearly, think there are certain programs that are not meeting the mission of the U.N.—the founding principles. UNRWA is an example, and we will likely have a policy disagreement upon that.

But I think we need to roll our sleeves up, deliver reforms, and make sure that our dollars are going to programs within the U.N. that work, that have a basis in the rule of law, that have a basis in transparency and accountability, and strengthen our national security and our partnerships.

Senator SHAHEEN. Well, thank you. I would point out that right now we are not funding UNRWA.

Representative STEFANIK. Absolutely, and I voted to defund UNRWA.

Senator SHAHEEN. One of the things I talked about in my opening statement was UNFPA, so the opportunity to provide family planning, maternal health care, midwife training, interventions to halt child marriage, to address the practice of female genital mutilation, and to help ensure healthy families.

Will you commit to personally reviewing UNFPA's work before the Administration makes any decision about invoking the Kemp-Kasten law?

Representative STEFANIK. Yes. If confirmed, I am committed to doing a review, as I said, across the U.N. programs, but specifically UNFPA.

I think it is very important that we do a full review, as the President announced the executive order today as well regarding all of foreign aid, and I would make sure that we are being good stewards of U.S. taxpayer dollars.

I do want to point out I have a very strong record when it comes to standing up for women's health issues, particularly addressing maternal mortality rates, addressing pre- and postnatal care, addressing infant malnutrition, and I think that is very important, and you have my commitment to do that review, if confirmed.

Senator SHAHEEN. Well, thank you. I appreciate your record on that, and I think it is very important to remind everyone that women make up half of the world's population, and we need to do what we can to ensure that their health is also protected.

In April you said that Vladimir Putin's war in Ukraine constituted genocide—April 2022. You called for the delivery of security assistance to Ukraine.

At the U.N. we have seen inconsistent support for Ukraine. We have seen greater support on initiatives to support Ukraine and less support on initiatives to hold Russia accountable.

If confirmed, can you talk about how you might use your role as U.N. Ambassador to address and punish Russia's ongoing attempted genocide in Ukraine?

Representative STEFANIK. I support President Trump's commitment to bringing this war to a resolution, to stop the killing, and he campaigned on that issue, and he feels very deeply, and I support that, and I believe it falls squarely in line with the founding mission of the United Nations to bring international peace and security.

If you look at my record over the course of my time on the House Armed Services Committee and the House Intelligence Committee, I have a very strong record when it comes to deterring Russia, pushing back on Russia, including during President Trump's term voting for defensive lethal aid to Ukraine.

I believe peace through strength is our strongest deterrence, and I am very proud that during President Trump's first term it was the only President where Putin did not invade another country because of that strong peace through strength leadership and the rebuilding that we passed through the National Defense Authorization Act and President Trump signed into law.

So, I think our effort should be supporting—my effort will be supporting President Trump's mission to bring that to a resolution and to deter Russia in the long term.

Senator SHAHEEN. And so how do we hold Russia accountable for some of the human rights abuses that have happened in Ukraine, for their destruction of infrastructure in the country, for the lives that are lost?

Clearly, this is a war that is only Vladimir Putin's initiative that has started. So, are there things we can do at the U.N. that will hold Russia accountable?

Representative STEFANIK. Certainly, it is going to be important to support President Trump's approach with his special envoy to address and bring that to a resolution, and I will work with the National Security Council and my colleagues in the Cabinet who sit in the national security spaces to use this position at the United Nations to support his strategy and give him maximum flexibility to bring this to a resolution.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator RISCH. Thank you.

Senator Ricketts.

Senator RICKETTS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Congresswoman Stefanik, welcome to the committee, and thank you very much for stopping by my office so we could have a chance to talk before this committee, and I really appreciate your service to our country and look forward to the strong credentials you bring to the table to be our U.N. Ambassador.

Winston Churchill said that the U.N. was set up not to get us to heaven but only to save us from hell, and we have talked about the corruption that is going on there—the mismanagement, the rot,



and so forth—and you have mentioned already this concept that we have to have reform there. That is going to be very important.

And we have also talked about how much American taxpayers put into the U.N.—\$18 billion a year—and to put that in perspective, in 2022 that was more than 185 other member nations combined.

Chairman Risch mentioned the percentages of—22 percent of their overall budget most recently and so forth. So, we invest a lot there. We have talked about these reforms. Do you believe that we can leverage the money that we are putting into the U.N. to drive the reforms?

So, for example, can we say to the United Nations, hey, we are going to put money into these programs if, for example, they establish some of the transparency you were talking about, and if you do not do that, we are pulling our money out? Is that one of the ways that we can drive reforms?

Representative STEFANIK. Absolutely, and I believe we have to. We owe that to American taxpayers to ensure that all of our dollars and investment represent our values and answer the key questions of does it make America safer, stronger, and more prosperous.

So, that is really important to me as an elected official currently, you know, representing—I understand we have to be good stewards of U.S. taxpayer dollars. So, I think that is a key tool for us to demand greater reforms and transparency.

Senator RICKETTS. One of the other things that we have also talked about as well is how Communist China has used the U.N. to push its interests, and the chairman laid out some of the problems with what Communist China is doing.

What can we do to be able to get more U.S. leadership into these different committees to kind of combat that?

Representative STEFANIK. We need to have a strategy, and this came up in virtually every conversation with Senators from both sides of the aisle, and it needs to be a long term strategy working closely with our allies and our partners both at the most junior levels and at this more senior levels within the U.N.

We need to make sure that we are running candidates, either American or allied nations, in the elections process for key leadership posts within the U.N. system.

We need to pay particular attention, I believe, to the technical organizations, whether it is telecommunications, whether it is civil aviation, and another way is we need to ensure Taiwan has maximum meaningful participation in international organizations.

I also believe it is important to ensure that the language, because we have seen China trying to insert their specific language, which is counter to our values—we need to have very strong Mandarin expertise and really keep a close eye on that as well in all the documents and statements coming out of the U.N. system writ large.

Senator RICKETTS. So, do you have specific plans to be able to start recruiting more Americans or allied nations' people into the U.N. to be able to do it?

And I am going to kind of add on to that. Because if you go back to I think between 2009 and 2021, Communist China has increased its employment of its nationals in the U.N. by 85 percent.

So, it is not just about leadership of different agencies, but it is also about how many people just work there in the United Nations, that, of course, it would be naive to think that they are not driving Communist China's agenda through the U.N., whatever role they have.

So, can you talk a little about how the strategy for getting more people—leadership but also how do we recruit more Americans or other allied people just to do the work at the regular U.N.?

Representative STEFANIK. I think we have to have a mission to recruit at the most junior levels to work their way up into the system.

I also think we need to have a strategy working with Secretary Rubio to ensure that we have the highest caliber, which we do, of course, in terms of those that are serving at the U.S. U.N. mission, and also provide that expertise of challenges within the INDOPACOM region.

I think that is very important, and I intend to also have opportunities to partner with—you know, whether it is higher education institutions, whether it is private sector, whether it is opportunities in each of your States or each of House members' districts for ideas that we can help address this long term personnel challenge.

Senator RICKETTS. Yes, I think that is going to be a key thing for us to be able to reach out and find new ways to be able to recruit people in, because if we do not have our people in the U.N., we are just leaving it open to Communist China to be able to do what they are doing, and this is one of the ways they are trying to displace us as the world power as Xi Jinping has laid out very clearly that he wants to do.

So, I look forward to potentially another round of questions.

So, thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator RISCH. Thank you very much, Senator Ricketts.

Senator Coons.

Senator COONS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and thank you, Congresswoman, for your willingness to continue serving. My welcome to your family, to Matt and to Sam, who I hope will get to enjoy some of this hearing in person.

And I enjoyed our conversation and look forward to working with you.

I will just continue briefly on the conversation you were just having with Senator Ricketts.

I think our global network of alliances and partnerships and our values are critical to our strength, stability, prosperity, our security, and we have got a global network of allies. China does not.

They have nervous neighbors. They have client states. They use coercion. But they do not have genuine allies as we do, and so they have made a concerted effort to use the U.N. system to advance their interests, both their different idea and standards for human rights.

We believe in an individual right to liberty. They talk about collective rights. We have different standards. We want 6G to be built out on U.S. and Western friendly standards. They want their standards.

So, I could not agree with you more that fighting for leadership of technical organizations. In the previous Trump administration,

I worked closely with his PTO director to make sure that the World Intellectual Property Organization was not run by a PRC national, and the ITU, as we spoke about.

So, I think it is critical. We do have a strategy. I worked closely with Ambassador Linda Thomas-Greenfield on this.

As the chair of the appropriating subcommittee, Senator Graham and I worked well together with her to increase funding for junior professional officers, to increase funding for the U.S. U.N. mission.

If confirmed, will you commit to continuing this work to make sure that Americans and American friendly leaders compete for and succeed at leading the technical organizations of the U.N. and compete for and succeed at staffing the junior levels of the U.N.?

Representative STEFANIK. Yes. Thank you, Senator Coons, and I enjoyed our discussion.

This is one of my top priorities, and this—you are seeing it came up in, as I mentioned, every single conversation.

I think the success story of successfully having a candidate defeat China's candidate in the Intellectual Property Organization, that is a model that we need to continue to use in these other technical organizations, and there is bipartisan support.

As Tom Cotton mentioned in his opening statement, I was one of the founding members of the China Task Force, which, of course, led to the setting up of the bipartisan China Select Committee. So, there is bipartisan interest.

And I also support your approach of strengthening and building on our strong alliances. Whether it is AUKUS, whether it is building on the relationships within the Quad, whether it is ASEAN, we have an opportunity to build on those organizations, I think, as partnered within the U.N. system.

Senator COONS. Chairman Risch referenced the sometimes frustrating dysfunction of the U.N. Security Council, the fact that both Russia and China have used it to block accountability measures.

The General Assembly did pass an overwhelming resolution condemning Russia's brutal invasion of Ukraine, but we could not get it through the Security Council. The Security Council did in September unanimously pass, because of American leadership, a resolution continuing sanctions, visa bans, an arms embargo for Sudan.

So, it is not completely without merit. But one of the things the Biden administration advanced was U.N. Security Council reform to broaden its membership, as you referenced, to include the Global South and to try and move the Security Council more into a functional body.

What are your views on what you should do to continue that agenda?

Representative STEFANIK. Certainly, when it comes to U.N. Security Council reform it is very complex. It is very challenging with both Russia and China and the veto on the P5. I would want to work with this committee, and of course, the President primarily on any proposals for U.N. Security Council reform.

In my opening statement when I was referencing reforms I was mostly talking about ensuring that all of our taxpayer dollars are going to U.N. entities that function very well.

But I am open to having conversations about how to make it work better. I think we need to have a broader strategy, reaching

out to countries within the Global South where China has made significant inroads.

They have done it by building ports. They have done it through telecom. It has really been a whole of government approach, and it is obviously not the U.N. alone.

It is working with Secretary Rubio. It is working with USAID, working with USTR and significant economic investments that are happening in various other countries.

Senator COONS. Do not forget the DFC.

President Trump signed the BUILD Act into law in his first term. The Development Finance Corporation is a critical tool in our tool kit.

Before I conclude, I just want to raise my profound concern about an executive order signed yesterday by President Trump that puts a 90 day pause on all development assistance.

Without clarifying the scope of that, does that include our contributions to UNICEF and the World Food Programme, which I think you would recognize—you did recognize—led by Americans, broad bipartisan support, part of the key mission of the U.N. to promote stability and security by feeding hungry people and bringing stability.

Does that include USAID's support to Ukraine's energy grid as Putin continues to hammer civilians through attacks on the energy grid?

AID's support for getting energy back online in the midst of winter in Ukraine is pretty critical. Does it include Jordan, a sea of stability in a whole area of chaos?

Will development assistance be frozen for 90 days to Ukraine? To our development partnership in the Philippines and the Luzon corridor to compete with China's influence in the region? To Jordan?

I hope we can work together to get some clarity, and I hope where there are obvious partnerships that do advance American national interests that they will move forward quickly.

Representative STEFANIK. Thank you. Thank you, Senator Coons.

Senator RISCH. Thank you.

Senator McCormick.

Senator MCCORMICK. Congresswoman, it is good to see you again. My wife Dina and I have known you for I think more than 20 years, so I am thrilled that the President nominated you for this important role.

Forgive my voice. I think I have been celebrating making America great again a little too much.

[Laughter.]

Senator MCCORMICK. As we discussed when we met in my office, I am deeply troubled by the virulent anti-Semitism and anti-Israel bias at the United Nations, and since Hamas's brutal massacre on October 7 the Jewish community in Pennsylvania and across our country has seen an explosion in hate.

As you know, this is not theoretical for me and for Dina. We live in Squirrel Hill in Pittsburgh where we had the Tree of Life tragedy and a painful reminder of where that hate can lead.

In Congress you have done an incredible job of pushing back against anti-Semitism in our nation's institutions. You exposed the presidents of the three leading universities for their lack of moral

clarity, and I was one of the first to call for the firing of the president of UPenn because of the tough questioning that you forced her and other presidents to leave office.

I am confident you can bring that same fire and effectiveness and leadership to the U.N., and let me start by asking how you will fight back against anti-Semitism and bias against Israel within the U.N. Hamas terrorists have been operating with impunity from UNRWA facilities, and UNRWA employees even participated in the massacre on October 7.

So, beyond funding, how will you work with our allies to end UNRWA's mandate and shift legitimate humanitarian functions to other U.N. organs or trusted NGOs?

Representative STEFANIK. Thank you so much, Senator McCormick, and thank you for your leadership combating anti-Semitism. I know it is important to the American people, and it is important to Pennsylvanians, and something that I am deeply committed to doing in this role.

It is one of the reasons why in my conversation with President Trump I was interested in this position, because if you look at the anti-Semitic rot within the United Nations, there are more resolutions targeting Israel than any other country, any other crisis combined.

And we have significant National Security Council's—the anti-Semitism, whether it is U.N. women failing to condemn Hamas's terrorist attack and terrorist regime against innocent civilian women, using rape and targeting women specifically, taking them hostage.

I am overjoyed that those three young women hostages were returned home. We need to stay committed to ensuring every hostage is brought home. I have met with many hostage families.

This position, we need to be a voice of moral clarity on the U.N. Security Council and at the United Nations at large for the world to hear the importance of standing with Israel, and I intend to do that.

This year will mark the fiftieth year since the disgraceful “Zionism is racism” resolution at the United Nations, and at the time our U.S. Ambassador Daniel Patrick Moynihan spoke out strongly against that disgraceful resolution.

That is the type of leadership that I hope to bring if confirmed to the United Nations, and President Trump has a tremendous record when it comes to standing with Israel, whether it is the Abraham Accords, whether it his commitment to combating anti-Semitism, or recognizing Jerusalem as the eternal capital of Israel. This is a strong, strong record, and I hope to do that at the U.N. if confirmed.

Senator MCCORMICK. Thank you.

As already noted, the Chinese Communist Party has a deliberate strategy to use the U.N. Human Rights Council and other parts of the U.N. system to propagate its false narrative on human rights and legitimize its authoritarian agenda.

How will you push back on the CCP's attempts to co-opt international institutions like the U.N. to undermine U.S. interest?

Representative STEFANIK. Thank you.

As you can see, there is quite a theme here with many Senators raising this deep concern about CCP's inroads and China's inroads broadly in international organizations.

I think it goes back to working with our partners and allies, making sure that we are strengthening those relationships, that we are ensuring that we have a strategy to ensure that the CCP is not able to make inroads at the most senior levels of these technical organizations and of agencies across the U.N. writ large.

This was another of my top priorities that I expressed in each and every meeting with all of the Senators from both sides of the aisle.

Senator McCORMICK. Thank you, and I will try to squeeze in one last question. I was so glad that President Trump withdrew from the U.N. Climate Accords last night.

How will you advocate for American energy dominance and an all of the above approach to energy security at the U.N.?

Representative STEFANIK. Again, I want to make sure that we are representing American values, American interest. I am the United States Ambassador, if confirmed, to the United Nations and that means supporting strong American energy dominance and not giving a free pass to the biggest polluters like China in the world when we have the cleanest water, the cleanest air, and the best record when it comes to an all of the above energy approach, moving back to the successful policies of President Trump in his first term when not only was America energy independent, we were energy dominant. So, that is my commitment.

Senator McCORMICK. Thank you.

Senator RISCH. Thank you, Senator McCormick.

Senator KAINE.

Senator KAINE. Thank you, Mr. Chair, and congratulations, Representative Stefanik, for the nomination.

I really appreciated the meeting that we had in our office. You and I have some political differences, of course, but we talked that day about items on which we agree.

We had some on which we disagreed, and we had a couple of others where you said your position is one that President Trump does not agree with, and I like that candor, and I like the fact that we had a good exchange.

I am grappling with that and some of the partisan comments you have made in the past. An article that I would like to put in the record—a National Public Radio article “How the replacement theory went mainstream on the political right” for May 2022—on Monday morning Stefanik tweeted, “Democrats desperately want wide open borders and mass amnesty for illegals, allowing them to vote.” I would like to put that in the record.

Senator RISCH. Without objection it will be included.

[EDITOR'S NOTE.—The information referred to above can be found in the “Additional Material Submitted for the Record” section at the end of this document.]

Senator KAINE. Now, that was a campaign tweet, and I can separate campaign rhetoric from governing rhetoric. I do not view things like that as disqualifying.

They do raise questions. But at least we had a good meeting. We talked about important issues and shared ideas.

I am going to say something here that I wish I could have said at an Armed Services Committee hearing, but we had it in closed session. All of the Trump nominees who come before the committees on which I sit have agreed to meet with me save one, the Secretary of Defense nominee Pete Hegseth.

He has written that he thinks Democrats are evil. He has written that he thinks Democrats are the adversary, and he refused to meet with any Democrat on the Armed Services Committee save the chairman. Save the chairman.

Yesterday in a closed hearing we were asked to forward his nomination to the floor even though it had not been pending to the committee for sufficient time.

My colleagues asked, hey, why would we give a waiver to someone who would not even agree to meet with us? That that nominee would disrespect Democrats, OK, that is fine. But I did not think my committee colleagues on the Armed Services Committee would have disrespected us.

And I will just say to all of my Republican colleagues here if there is ever a nominee by any President who refuses to come meet with you when you are on the committee of jurisdiction overseeing that nominee, I will publicly raise hell on your behalf.

Nominees should meet with the committees just as Representative Stefanik did, and Representative Stefanik, while I have a question about some of the campaign rhetoric, I am not going to ask you about it because that is in the past.

I do appreciate the fact that you were courteous, informed, civil, and candid in the meeting with me. I told you I had two concerns, engagement and the Western Hemisphere.

You have convinced me that you were nominated for this position not to disengage but to engage, and I appreciate that. In fact, you wanted this position, and you would not have wanted it otherwise, and that is great.

On the Western Hemisphere you are going to be working with the Secretary of State. We approved unanimously yesterday our colleague Senator Rubio.

Senator Rubio talked at some length about a number of topics on the Americas the other day, and I want to ask you about one that is particularly challenging right now, and that is Haiti.

The situation in Haiti is a disaster. You know that. I mean, you have been on these committees overseeing American national security, and you know that issues like Haiti create immigration challenges and all kinds of other challenges that are bad on the humanitarian front and can cause problems for allies like the Dominican Republic and cause problems for us.

We now have a security operation in Haiti being led by Kenyans with the assistance of other nations, with the financial support and assistance of the United States.

Senator Rubio talked at some length here on—last week about how important it was that we stay engaged on that. I would like to know kind of what your thought would be should you be confirmed at the U.N. for what the U.S. can do to try to help Haitians find a next chapter that is a peaceful one.

Representative STEFANIK. Yes. Thank you, Senator Kaine. Appreciate the opportunity to sit down with you.

I know we serve on the National Endowment for Democracy together, and there has been significant bipartisan results delivered through that program funded by Congress.

I wanted to just point out I stand strongly for border security, and that was what the tweet you referenced was related to, and I would point out that in the sector that I represent, the Swanton sector, there was a Border Patrol officer killed in the last 24 hours.

Senator Kaine. Are there any Democratic senators that you think are for open border and mass amnesty for illegal undocumented people?

Representative Stefaniak. Well, I would point out that Democratic think tanks and rhetorics have talked about—

Senator Kaine. I am asking about Senators. Any Democratic Senators you would level that charge against?

Representative Stefaniak. I think there are Democrat Senators who have supported open borders. What I was doing is clarifying when you pointed out a headline from an article—

Senator Kaine. Not a headline. A quote of yours.

Representative Stefaniak [continuing]. Which was related to border security, and we just had an overwhelming popular vote for President Trump where border security was top of the mind.

Senator Kaine. Well, my—

Representative Stefaniak. So, I do stand by my—I think it is important to note I do stand by my rhetoric standing up for strong borders, and the American people overwhelmingly support that.

Related to your question related to Haiti—

Senator Kaine. No, let me—my time is over, so let me just conclude and say this.

When I have been on this committee and in the Senate I was part of a bipartisan deal to put \$46 billion of border security on the table that the House Republican majority killed, and another deal that put \$25 billion of border security on the table in 2018 that President Trump killed.

And I was just part of a bipartisan deal in the last year that was significant about bipartisan border security on the border that President Trump killed.

The notion that Democratic Senators are for open borders and allowing illegal aliens to vote is a fantasy, and so I really appreciate the opportunity to meet with you, but now I have questions about if you would fall for a fantasy. I am going to ponder that.

And I yield back, Mr. Chair.

Representative Stefaniak. I do want to address that, Chairman Risch, if you would give me the latitude to do so.

We are very proud that on the House side we passed H.R. 2, the most significant border security package that Chuck Schumer failed to bring up in the Senate that would return to the effective policies of President Trump, and again, the American people voted loudly and clearly when it came to securing our borders and the failures of the past 4 years.

I am not going to apologize for my commitment to securing the border when I represent a significant part of the U.S., a major sector, the Swanton sector. We have had a skyrocketing of illegals crossing there.



On the issue of Haiti, which I think is important, and it is a bipartisan concern, obviously, it is a humanitarian—significant challenge in our hemisphere.

Working with Secretary Rubio, we need to have a strategy. I am deeply concerned. It is very complex. There is no simple solution, and that is an area where we need to continue to have discussions with the committees of oversight.

I am very concerned on the Intelligence Committee briefings I have received about the crisis in Haiti, so I look to work with Secretary Rubio to support his commitment to the Western Hemisphere, specifically the complexities of the humanitarian challenges within Haiti.

Senator RISCH. Senator Hagerty.

Senator HAGERTY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Congresswoman Stefanik, I just want to congratulate you for being here. I am very pleased to see your nomination to be the next ambassador—the next United States Ambassador to the United Nations, and I look forward to working with you very closely.

Before I get into specific questions, I would like to just ask you a very broad one in terms of what your vision is for the U.S. mission to the United Nations and in terms of our posture at the outset going in and then where you would like to see it 4 years later.

Representative STEFANIK. Thank you so much, Senator Hagerty. It is great to have worked with you over the past few years, and your expertise both having served as an ambassador in the first Trump administration and your incredible work in the U.S. Senate on this committee.

My vision is making sure that we are supporting President Trump's America first, peace through strength agenda, that we are good stewards of U.S. taxpayer dollars, and that we return to the founding mission of the United Nations, which is international peace and security, very much aligned with President Trump's commitment to peace and no new wars.

I think there are reform opportunities that we need to work with this committee, hearing after hearing with various ambassadors have talked about reforms.

I want to roll up our sleeves and get it done, demanding transparency and accountability, actually having the answers of where each taxpayer dollar goes within the U.N., which, as Chairman Risch has referenced in previous hearings, we have not gotten the answer to because there is not that amount of transparency.

Standing with Israel is critically important, particularly as there are hostages still being kept today by Hamas. Pushing back on the CCP, and then strengthening our partnerships and allies, working with Secretary Rubio to make sure that his reform vision for the State Department—that as he said in his hearing, this is not about reforming. It is about improving over the long term. We want to improve to deliver results.

Senator HAGERTY. I appreciate that very much and look forward to working with you in multiple respects to make that happen. One of those areas will be through our commission to modernize and reform—

Representative STEFANIK. Exactly.

Senator HAGERTY [continuing]. The State Department that I look forward to working with Senator Coons as we co-chair that effort.

Let us get to a couple of specifics. Senator McCormick touched on this. I would like to drill a little bit deeper into UNRWA.

This is a particularly problematic organization, in my view. Long before the October 7 Hamas massacre took place I have been calling for the United States to cease funding UNRWA to send a very strong message.

It has been well documented that UNRWA's textbooks teach children to glorify the murder of Jews. Hamas employs UNRWA facilities. They build their own tunnels and facilities underneath them. UNRWA employees even actively participated in the massacre on October 7 of 2023.

In January 2021 the Trump administration announced that less than 5 percent of people registered as refugees with UNRWA actually met the internationally recognized criteria for refugee status. That demonstrates that UNRWA is a fundamental mechanism through which this Israeli-Palestinian conflict is perpetuated.

President Trump rightly stopped sending U.S. taxpayer funds to UNRWA. President Biden decided to reinstate funding without insisting on significant reform, and I was quite disappointed by that.

Congress was correct, I believe, in defunding UNRWA last year. I believe the prohibition should be permanent. My question for you is how do you think you should deal with UNRWA?

How do you think we should address U.S. taxpayer funds having gone to an organization like that that has been directly complicit in terrorism in the October 7, 2023, attack?

Representative STEFANIK. We should never tolerate any U.S. taxpayer funds going toward terrorism. As in my question with Ranking Member Shaheen, I was one of the members that voted to defund UNRWA.

I was one of the leaders in standing for that important appropriations vote, which there is a bipartisan consensus on with significant members, Republicans as well as some Democrats who voted to defund it.

I think we can look to organizations within the U.N. system such as UNHCR, such as World Food Programme, working with USAID, which are proven organizations.

They still need, you know, reform efforts and modernization but do not have the terrorist ties that UNRWA had, particularly that were exposed during the October 7 Hamas attack against Israel, whether it was Hamas's leader Sinwar carrying an UNRWA teacher's passport or whether it was the UNRWA office above a Hamas data center or individuals within UNRWA who participated in the terrorist attack against Israel on October 7.

So, I fully support the President's commitment to defunding, and I am proud to have voted for that in the Congress.

Senator HAGERTY. Great.

I have several more questions but I just want to touch on one last one very quickly, and that has to do with accountability at the World Health Organization.

If you take into consideration the concerns around the COVID pandemic, what happened there, the WHO role there, President

Trump I believe rightly withdrew us from supporting and funding WHO.

President Biden put us back into that—into being a funder, in fact, the largest funder—\$1.3 billion so far to that organization from United States taxpayers.

What are your thoughts on the accountability that we have received so far, and where would you like to take that?

Representative STEFANIK. I support President Trump's decision to walk away from WHO. WHO failed on a global stage in the COVID pandemic for all the world to see and instead spewed CCP talking points that I believe led to not only false information but dangerous and deadly information across the globe.

We cannot tolerate entities that are taken over by CCP propaganda. So, I strongly support. President Trump knows when to engage and knows when to walk away. He was right in his decision to walk away from WHO, and I support that.

Senator HAGERTY. I was pleased to see that action yesterday as well.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator RISCH. Thank you.

Senator BOOKER, you are up.

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

It is good to see you, and I thank you for the time that you gave me in a very hurried inaugural weekend.

Representative STEFANIK. Yes.

Senator BOOKER. It was amazing that we were able to fit that in. And I want to echo some of my Senate colleagues who just said you are very informed and seem to be extraordinarily committed to this task and this goal, and I am grateful for that.

I want to jump in on some of the things we talked about right away. I am so grateful for Senator Kaine bringing up Haiti and the importance for us to come up with some bipartisan foreign policy agenda or strategy to deal with that crisis there.

I want to bring attention to the conflict in Sudan, which has created the largest and fastest growing humanitarian crisis in the world.

We see right now tens of millions of people in need of assistance, the humanitarian crisis from hunger and malnutrition all the way to political destabilization in neighboring nations like Egypt, which are seeing this extraordinary overflow of urgencies as a result of the immigration and displaced people that are landing in that country.

I am deeply concerned about recent reporting from the *New York Times* stating that the SAF has used chemical weapons on at least two occasions, and I am really believing that we are lacking the kind of pressure on a lot of our allies and other nations that are involved in this conflict.

And so this is a real time for, and as I talked about now Secretary of State Rubio, about really aligning a diplomatic strategy in trying to bring about an end to this conflict, which will not be solved ultimately through the use of military conflict and needs a diplomatic solution.

And so for now in the short term the need to protect civilians is paramount, and this is an issue where, obviously, should you be

confirmed you can lead, and I think in my opinion one of the things that it has been lacking from is just a general prioritization.

So, first and foremost, will you commit to prioritizing Sudan and an end to this horrific humanitarian crisis and politically destabilizing reality we see now?

Representative STEFANIK. Yes, absolutely, and I think that is one of the great responsibilities of this role is prioritization of what we speak out against on the world stage at the United Nations, and I am grateful for this committee's bipartisan work on the Sudan Accountability Act.

The Special Envoy position is very important, and raising the awareness within the public of how significant this humanitarian crisis is.

Senator BOOKER. And the challenge we have is there is implicated nations in supplying arms to this conflict. I am wondering if you have some thoughts about how you can use your position to try to bring about an end of the cooperative parties that are fueling the conflict.

Representative STEFANIK. Absolutely. I mean, we will have to have strong conversations led by the President and Secretary Rubio with the UAE, the Egyptians, the Saudis, and that will be critical.

I am not going to get ahead of the Secretary of State and the President but certainly will be supporting them at the U.S.-U.N. mission to do so.

Senator BOOKER. OK. And then just the ideas of refugee assistance in the area and some of the specific—as we talked about, some of the specific U.N. agencies that really are the lead in providing that, and it is concerning to me—and I heard Senator Coons point this out—this idea of pausing some of this aid at this time for 3 months could have sort of a cataclysmic impact not just on the humanitarian crisis but also on the stability of some of our allies in that region, specifically from the Chad-Sudan border to Egypt as well, some of the life saving work done by UNHCR, the World Food Programme and more.

And I am just wondering if you could share with the committee some of your thoughts about how to navigate the urgent importance of these U.N. agencies and your ongoing work.

Representative STEFANIK. I think, again, World Food Programme is a very successful program. It is results focused. Its significant voluntary funding piece is a testament to that and the significant bipartisan support, and it is beneficial to America from a national security perspective but also from an agricultural perspective, from an agribusiness manufacturing perspective, as well an American work force perspective.

So, I think we need to look at all of our programs, do an assessment of do they answer the questions of does it make America stronger, safer, more prosperous.

That should be our guiding light, and America first peace through strength, and I am very committed to ensuring that all the U.S.-U.N. programs that we do that assessment, and where America leads I think we are going to come out on top in terms of the efficacy.

Senator BOOKER. And I will just say in conclusion because my time is up, the challenge we often have is we are reactive to crises,

that if investments were made early on in the stability of nations we could have done much better, and in many ways with this global power contest between us and the Chinese we allow them to get advantages from our lack of even engagement or focus.

The continent of Africa is the future in terms of humanity. One out of every four people on the planet Earth will be from the African continent by 2050. It seems that the Russians and the Chinese understand that because they are playing large and significant, and I would say, a profoundly disrupting force there.

And so having a person in the position in which you are nominated for who is focused on the continent, who is engaged and making sure that we as the United States protect our interests, things that make us safe, strong, and prosperous and understand that as we look to the future we have to be in now in helping to avert not only the crises that often begin to destabilize regions and cause fertile ground for terrorism and government overthrows, but also start to develop the bonds of trust and partnership that are necessary for long term prosperity for us and many of the extraordinary nations who want to ally with us and not the Chinese.

Mr. Chairman, thank you.

Senator RISCH. Thank you, Senator Booker.

Senator CURTIS.

Senator CURTIS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member. It is great to be here.

Representative Stefanik, I enjoy calling you that, at least for now. I feel like I have a little bit of advantage over so many having served with you in the House and bring nothing but good comments about your service there and favorable impressions of your work there.

I also enjoyed serving with you on the first China Task Force and appreciate your work in protecting Taiwan and protecting Israel and to talk just a little bit about Taiwan first and China first.

U.N. Resolution 2758 shifted recognition of China at the U.N. from Republic of China to the People's Republic of China but did not really address Taiwan and their status and their sovereignty.

China has been since working to reinterpret the resolution to reassert sovereignty over Taiwan and particularly in international organizations. One example of this that kind of jumps out is International Civil Aviation Organization.

They have implied Taiwan as part of China in a press release, and this was most noticeably evident during a viral World Health Organization interview at the height of COVID-19.

When a Hong Kong journalist asked about Taiwan's pandemic response, the official avoided the question about Taiwan stating, "We have already talked about China and all parts of China," implying Taiwan was part of China.

I think the American taxpayers—I think you and I would agree on this—should not be subsidizing the salaries of people who undermine America's allies.

So, can we talk specifically about how we counter China's influence in the United Nations, specifically ensuring that Taiwan gets fair treatment as it comes to China?

And there is a lot of organizations—world organizations—that Taiwan can belong to and would love to just hear your thoughts on that.

Representative STEFANIK. Yes. Thank you so much. It is great to see you on this side of the Capitol now, Senator Curtis. It was a real privilege to serve with you for many years in the House. You and I have worked extensively on this issue, both setting up the China Task Force which led to the bipartisan Select China Committee.

As I mentioned in some of the previous questions, I am committed to making sure that Taiwan has the most maximum meaningful participation within the U.N. system as it should in all international organizations.

We have to be vigilant both in the long term and the short term to make sure that China is not able to make significant inroads with the CCP in international organizations.

I also want to point out that I have a record on this issue legislatively. Over the past decade I have voted consistently in support of defensive aid to Taiwan.

I believe deeply in deterrence to avoid war in the Indo-Pacific, and you can look at—you know, whether it was the last major vote we took on that defensive aid package I voted in support of it.

Senator CURTIS. Yes. Thank you, and would love to help you in those efforts. I think it is very important for the U.S. and for our taxpayers.

I sponsored a bill over in the House that would actually require the State Department to rank the agencies in the U.N. by order of importance, and you can see on one hand we have the Security Council where it is important for us to have a veto vote, and then UNRWA, and yet the State Department insists that these are all equal and all important in the U.S. interest.

I understand the President plans to defund some of these. Can you give me a sense from your perspective how you begin to with your team, limited resources, figure out which of these agencies are actually important and in the best interest of the United States and which ones we need to address?

Representative STEFANIK. Thank you.

We want to do a full assessment of all the U.N. subagencies and making sure that every dollar goes to support our American interest.

As the U.S. Ambassador I believe that is my responsibility to stand up and support the American people and President Trump's America first peace through strength.

In terms of our assessment before—as this confirmation process, for example, the U.N. Security Council is in a different position than UNRWA, which I think should be at the bottom of the list, and I have voted to defund UNRWA, and we have discussed that extensively today.

But I am interested in that bill and in seeing the outcome of that bill. I would like to see a ranking, and we want to do that assessment, working with Secretary Rubio and working with President Trump and the National Security Council, to make sure that the programs we are funding represent our values.

Senator CURTIS. Sometimes back home you hear the calls to defund United Nations, and it is more nuanced than that, and so to the extent that we can better clarify which of these agencies are helpful and in the U.S. interests and which are not I think would be terrific.

Representative STEFANIK. And I think connecting it to the American people directly. For example, take the World Food Programme—connecting that to our American farmers. I have a very agricultural district.

That is important to make that connectivity to the American people who are very interested in where their taxpayer dollars are going as they should be.

Senator CURTIS. Thank you very much.

I yield my time.

Senator RISCH. Thank you, Senator Curtis.

Senator Murphy.

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

Thank you very much, Representative, for your commitment to the country and your willingness to serve. I deeply appreciate the work that you have done to combat anti-Semitism.

I appreciate your commitment to bring that work to the United Nations. I think it is a cancer both domestically and internationally.

You and I worked together over the last year and a half to dramatically increase funding for the not for profit security grant program that sends money to synagogues and Jewish community centers to invest in security upgrades. I am heartbroken that we need to do that, but it is an important moment to support those communities.

I agree that it is a problem you will confront at the U.N. It is also a problem, as you have raised, domestically, both on the right and the left. I think anti-Semitism work is best when we call out what is happening on both sides of the aisle.

What do you think of Elon Musk, perhaps the President's most visible advisor, doing two heil Hitler salutes last night at the President's televised rally?

Representative STEFANIK. No. Elon Musk did not do those salutes. I was not at the rally, but I can tell you I have been at many rallies with Elon Musk, who loves to cheer when President Trump says we need to send, you know, our U.S. space program to Mars.

Elon Musk is a visionary. I am looking forward to his work in DOGE, the Department of Government Efficiency, and look forward to looking how we can be more efficient and effective.

But that is simply not the case, and to say so is—the American people are smart. They see through it. They support Elon Musk. We are proud to be the country of such successful entrepreneurs. That is one of our greatest strengths as Americans.

Senator MURPHY. Let me share with you what a few Americans have said about it. Evan Kilgore, a right wing political commentator, wrote on X, "Holy crap . . . did Elon Musk just Heil Hitler at the Trump Inauguration Rally? This is incredible. We are so back."

Andrew Torba, who is the founder of the right wing Christian nationalist social platform Gab, said, "Incredible, things are happening," as he as he amplified the visual.

The Proud Boys chapter in Ohio posted the clip on a Telegram channel with the text, "Heil Trump." A chapter of the white nationalist group White Lives Matter, posted it on Telegram, "Thanks for hearing us, Elon. The White Flame will rise again."

I could keep going. Over and over last night white supremacist groups and neo-Nazi groups in this country rallied around that visual. Does it concern you that those elements of the neo-Nazi and white supremacist element in the United States believe that what they saw last night was a neo-Nazi salute?

Representative STEFANIK. What concerns me is this is what you—these are the questions you believe are most important to ask to the U.N. Ambassador.

I have a very strong record when it comes to combating anti-Semitism. We just had a historic election where President Trump earned historic support from American voters because of his strong leadership combating anti-Semitism, which has been a scourge across the country, skyrocketing since October 7.

So, I intend to bring moral clarity to this position and continue to speak out as a voice, as a beacon of light condemning anti-Semitism at the United Nations, which is representative of President Trump's record and President Trump's promises that he made on the campaign trail.

Senator MURPHY. You are right. These are the questions I choose to ask, because I think that your work and the Administration's work on anti-Semitism only comes with real impact and credibility if it holds both right and left accountable.

I simply do not believe that if a member of the Squad made that same gesture last night that there would not be commentary from you and others.

So, I want to make sure that our work has credibility, and credibility comes with calling anti-Semitism and anti-Semitism behavior out when it comes from both the right and the left.

Let me just turn to one issue that has come up several times and ask you for a quick response. The decision to leave the WHO I think is a mistake, but I think you would agree that we are going to need to still find a way to play a role internationally in global public health standards. We do not want to let the Chinese essentially set those rules for us because ultimately pandemics will find a way to us.

Can you commit to this committee, notwithstanding the decision to leave the WHO, that you are going to make sure we find a way to have impact on the global stage when it comes to global public health rules?

Representative STEFANIK. I support President Trump's decision to leave WHO. I have a record of that. But yes, I think we need to be the leader in terms of global health. I think that is very important, and there are programs within the U.N. that are very committed to global health. We are the leader when it comes to global health. We need to absolutely continue to be so.

Senator MURPHY. Great.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator RISCH. Thank you very much.

Next up we have Senator Cornyn. You are up next.

Oops, I am sorry.



Senator Scott, I am sorry. You were here at the gavel.

Thank you.

Senator SCOTT OF FLORIDA. Thank you, Chairman.

First, congratulations on your appointment to be Ambassador to the U.N. President Trump made a great choice in nominating you. You are the perfect person to carry out his America first policies on the world stage and defend our best interests.

Representative Stefanik, the United States helped fund the United Nations, and the goal was always a forum for the world governments, especially the great powers, to be able to establish and keep peace, if possible.

This is, clearly, not what the U.N. is today. It has been, in many of our eyes just a complete failure. So, what are your thoughts?

Representative STEFANIK. I think that the U.N. has not lived up to its founding mission of international peace and security, and when I discussed this potential role with President Trump, he said there was great potential if it returns to that founding mission.

If you look at the anti-Semitism and the amount of resolutions targeting Israel, that is not meeting the mission of international peace and security.

So, I also think being good stewards of U.S. taxpayer dollars, looking at the organizations within the U.N. system that work, that function, that are results based, that are transparent, accountable, and the American people support them, that they support our national security strategy, versus there are parts within the U.N. that I am deeply concerned about that I think are very in need of reform.

Senator SCOTT OF FLORIDA. Thank you.

Now on to Israel. The U.N. has a long history of disproportionately targeting Israel with resolutions, inquiries, and sanctions, specifically Agenda Item 7 which mandates the discussion of alleged Israeli human rights abuses at every session.

This agenda item is unique to Israel. It is not applied to any other nation like China, Russia, Iran, North Korea, Cuba, Venezuela, who all have documented severe human rights abuses.

Given the U.N. U.S. funding indirectly supports investigations and resolutions that single out Israel, what is your plan to increase transparency and accountability in the allocation of U.N. resources and American taxpayer dollars?

Representative STEFANIK. I think this is a key question that I want to work with this committee. The chairman has spoken extensively in various hearings about the importance to know where every dollar goes within the U.N. system, and that is my commitment to do so, to deliver that transparency and accountability as part of this process assessing all of our U.N. programs, our funding, to see if they are effective, and if they are supportive of American values, and then if they are not then we need to have serious conversations with our appropriators.

Senator SCOTT OF FLORIDA. Thank you.

Many U.N. member states with barbaric human rights records are quick to criticize Israel while avoiding scrutiny for their own bad behavior. How do you plan to hold them accountable?

Representative STEFANIK. I think holding them accountable with our voice is very important. Speaking out. That was one of the les-

sons in the committee hearing with higher education, with the colleges and universities.

When you speak out with moral clarity, the world and the American people listen. We need to ensure we have that moral clarity with our U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations every single day.

Senator SCOTT OF FLORIDA. In recent years there have been calls to withdraw or reduce U.S. funding to U.N. agencies that are clearly anti-U.S., anti-West, and support the hostile states that use the U.N. for themselves and against us.

What actions are available to you to make clear that the United States will no longer accept being treated this way at an international organization we, largely, fund?

Representative STEFANIK. I think President Trump is the strongest commander in chief in terms of he knows when to negotiate and he knows when to walk away when organizations are counter to our national security or counter to American interests, whether it is the WHO or whether it is other organizations within the U.N. system like UNRWA, and I hope to support his leadership in this role.

Senator SCOTT OF FLORIDA. So, I look forward to your tenure at the U.N. I assume you will be there for President Trump's entire term. At the end what would you consider to be your success? What would you hope to say you accomplished in your 4 years?

Representative STEFANIK. I would hope to accomplish support of President Trump's America first, peace through strength. I would also hope to accomplish significant reforms, to demand results and efficacy of every dollar that goes to the U.N.

For decades this committee on a bipartisan basis has talked about the importance of reform. We need to get that done.

I think it fits squarely with this Department of Government Efficiency and one of the major issues that the President campaigned upon, and I also want to make sure that every U.S. taxpayer dollar goes to support making America stronger, safer, and more prosperous, working directly with the Secretary of State to do so.

And President Trump campaigned on peace and no new wars. He is the President of peace and no new wars. I also think we have a unique opportunity, for example, to build on the success of the Abraham Accords in this second term, and I hope to support that in this role.

Senator SCOTT OF FLORIDA. Thank you. You are going to do a great job.

Thank you, Chairman.

Senator RICKETTS [presiding]. Senator Rosen.

Senator ROSEN. Well, thank you, Senator Ricketts, for filling in for Chairman Risch, and Ranking Member Shaheen for holding this hearing today.

And thank you, Congresswoman Stefanik, for your decade of service in the House, for volunteering to serve our country in this new role. I enjoyed working with you when we were on the House Space Science and Technology Committee. I want to congratulate you again on your nomination.

And I do really appreciate your comments today about how you will tackle anti-Israel bias at the U.N. which, of course, I am also extremely concerned about.

But it is precisely because of that bias that I believe we must lean in to leadership at the United Nations, not diminish our role, and as you and I discussed last week, if we are not at the table our seat will be taken by someone who does not share our values and does not defend our allies.

And so I am going to move on to some other questions that have not been asked, and I am going to move on to Lebanon because there is a lot going on.

The U.N. Security Council Resolution 1701 states there should be no armed presence in southern Lebanon other than the Lebanese Armed Forces. UNIFIL is charged with monitoring and enforcing this resolution.

But instead of disarming, Hezbollah has expanded its military presence, stockpiled weapons, constructed tunnels, often outmatching UNIFIL peacekeepers or not mandated for broad offensive actions, especially against a terrorist group like Hezbollah.

Even in the wake of Israel's successful degrading of Hezbollah forces and the LAF moving into southern Lebanon it is clear that something has to change. UNIFIL must support the effort if more of these achievements are to be sustained.

So, Congresswoman Stefanik, how can the U.S. ensure that U.N. Security Council Resolution 1701 is fully enforced, and how will you work within the U.N. system to ensure that UNIFIL can play a significant support role in maintaining security in Lebanon?

Representative STEFANIK. Thank you, Senator Rosen. It is a very important question. I am glad you raised it.

UNIFIL has not met its mission. It has failed, as we have seen the digging of the tunnels, as we have seen tens of thousands of rockets from Hezbollah into Israel, and we have had tens of thousands of Israeli families who have had to leave their homes in northern Israel because of the rockets.

We need to ensure that UNIFIL is a peacekeeping mission that we need to do an assessment of. It has failed in its mission, and we are going to have to have a strategy, moving forward.

I do think this is an opportunity with the effective operations of Israel against Hezbollah and Hamas leadership to continue to build on that success, to not have these regimes of terror continue to grow in those regions.

Senator ROSEN. Well, thank you. I look forward to working with you on that.

And staying in the region, I want to focus on Syria for a moment because the U.N. Security Council also has an opportunity to play a critical role in supporting Syria's political transition following the fall of Assad's brutal regime.

The U.S. had previously supported U.N. Security Council Resolution 2254 which provided a roadmap for an inclusive nonsectarian Syrian government.

But this resolution was passed nearly a decade ago, and a lot has changed in the last 10 years. So, what do you think the role of Security Council Resolution 2254 should play in Syria's future if it is outdated?

You are going to—I know you will take a look and review it. Do you have an opinion about what might need to change or how we respond to recent developments?

Representative STEFANIK. I think it is a starting point that we need to look at. Obviously, this is a significant change within the region, within the Middle East with the Assad regime, which I condemned consistently during my time in Congress—the brutality, the human rights, the chemical weapons used against the Syrian people.

We need to be cautious and judicious with the new leadership in Syria. We cannot allow it to be a den of terror against its own people.

So, I would view that as a starting point as we discuss this on the National Security Council and as the President makes his decisions for the best approach when it comes to our approach to Syria.

Senator ROSEN. And being sure that we deliver that humanitarian aid that we need.

I want to finish my last few seconds talking about UNESCO and artificial intelligence.

So, the field of artificial intelligence rapidly evolving. Again, critical we have a seat at the table to develop shared AI standards, guardrails, best practices. UNESCO has become an important forum for global conversations around the ethical development and use of AI and produced the first ever global standards on AI ethics in November 2021.

We know China has made a concerted effort to increase its engagement with standard setting bodies including UNESCO, and do you agree that Chinese influences in international AI standards pose a national security risk for the United States, and how would you go about working on artificial intelligence standards?

Representative STEFANIK. Yes, I am deeply concerned about China's standards within the AI framework. I think we need to win the AI race. This is an issue that I have worked extensively on on a bipartisan basis on the House Armed Services Committee. I helped stand up the Joint AI Center within DOD.

We need to work with the private sector as well to unleash our AI capabilities to be the world leader and work with partners. I think this is a real opportunity to work with partners and allies around the world to make sure that our standards, based upon the ethical use of AI, that that is the approach.

When it comes to UNESCO this will be a decision at the presidential level, but certainly I understand the importance of U.S. leadership when it comes to AI in global standard setting.

Senator ROSEN. Thank you.

Thank you, Madam Chair.

Senator RICKETTS. Senator Cornyn, we will go to you now.

Senator CORNYN. Ms. Stefanik, as you pointed out, the United Nations has a long and shameful history with regard to its treatment of our ally Israel, and you alluded, and I think quite appropriately, to the Daniel Patrick Moynihan statement about the 1975 resolution basically calling Zionism a form of racism.

And I think history has remembered that as a Moynihan moment, and I look forward to many Stefanik moments during your tenure there at the United Nations. I am pleased to support your nomination.

I have a couple of questions, one about Iranian nuclear aspirations and the other about Russia. First, let me start with Russia.

We know that Mr. Putin does not honor any obligations of the Russian Federation dating back to 1994 with the Budapest Memorandum where he said they would protect Ukrainian sovereignty in exchange for relinquishing their nuclear weapons.

More recently he has not only engaged in an unprovoked and barbaric attack against Ukraine in violation of that very agreement but also engaged in a de facto annexation of Belarus.

What do you think our policy should be in dealing with Mr. Putin? My view is that he is not going to stop as long as he feels like he has an opportunity to reestablish the Russian Empire, something he has said he aspires to do.

What do you think our national policy with regard to Mr. Putin should be and his territorial aspirations?

Representative STEFANIK. Sure. So, I can point to my record. I have been very strong in support of our deterrence efforts through the National Defense Authorization Act that we have passed on a bipartisan basis.

I would point to President Trump's success in his first term. As I pointed out, he is the only modern President where Putin did not invade another country, and that is because of the strong leadership that President Trump brings every day.

We did not see that with our previous President in President Joe Biden, and I think the catastrophic withdrawal led to this cascading of weakness around the globe, and of course, one of the after effects was Russia's decision to invade Ukraine.

I think the President needs to have maximum flexibility to bring this resolution to an end, a peaceful resolution stopping the killing, stopping the bloodshed.

He campaigned on this issue, and certainly, Secretary Rubio testified extensively on this issue as well. So, I want to support his commitment to do so through his special envoy and his decisions as President.

Senator CORNYN. It seems like the Biden administration has tried to use diplomacy without the credible use threat, at least of the use of force. Do you think diplomacy works without deterrence?

Representative STEFANIK. I think you need to have deterrence. I think deterrence is key. You are talking to a member who has been on the House Armed Services Committee, who has served on the House Intelligence Committee.

I think deterrence is our strongest way to ensure that we have peace. I have been proud to help rebuild our U.S. military in the first term of President Trump when he signed the National Defense Authorization Act in my district at Fort Drum.

So, I am a deep believer in deterrence. Diplomacy is very important as well, and that is one of the reasons why I think it is important that this position serve at the Cabinet level, and I am honored that the President nominated me to be in his Cabinet in this position.

Senator CORNYN. As you know, because you have a record dealing with U.N. Security Council Resolution 2231 adopted as part of that deal, the Iranian nuclear deal in 2015 was to snap back sanctions if Iran violated the agreement, which it has clearly done time and time again.

President Trump sought to initiate those snapback sanctions in August 2020, but it was not successful at the time. In 2023 you signed a bipartisan letter, as you will recall, to the British, French, and German leaders urging them to immediately initiate the snapback mechanism.

How important do you think it is that that snapback occur, and what threat is there to the region and to world peace of Iran acquiring a nuclear weapon?

Representative STEFANIK. Oh, it is the most significant threat to world peace and specifically to the region, and I have a long record on this issue. I think it will be an important tool to consider in the President's tools kit as he pushes back on Iran.

If you look at the success in his first term of the maximum pressure campaign on Iran, we had the Iranian regime—he had the Iranian regime at its weakest point, and what we have seen with the hundreds of billions of dollars sent to Iran during the last President is you have an emboldened Hamas who committed the bloodiest day for the Jewish people since the Holocaust on October 7.

You had an emboldened Hezbollah which, luckily, successfully, Israel has continued to eradicate the terrorists of both Hamas and Hezbollah, and that is funded by Iran.

So, it has a cascading effect across the region. One of the greatest breakthroughs to push back on Iran is the Abraham Accords and building upon that success.

Also using our energy policy, and President Trump was a visionary in this space, understanding that energy policy is national security around the world.

Senator CORNYN. Thank you.

Senator RICKETTS. Senator Van Hollen.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Representative Stefanik, it was good to meet with you the other day. We discussed many of the important issues you will face at the United Nations, and I was pleased to hear you say that despite your voting record in the House, you support funding for the United Nations and most of its agencies, and we agreed that U.S. disengagement from the United Nations would simply cede lots of territory to our adversaries.

Sadly, President Trump's decision to leave the World Health Organization will do just that. I believe it will make us less safe. Viruses do not respect national boundaries.

Also, much false information has been spread about UNRWA this morning. I simply urge all my colleagues to go read the U.S. intelligence assessment of UNRWA, an organization that Cindy McCain, the head of the World Food Programme, has described as, quote, "indispensable."

One issue that you will immediately face at the U.N. are discussions and resolutions regarding the ongoing conflicts in the Middle East, and I associate myself with Senator Rosen's comments about the importance of enforcing U.N. Security Resolution 1701 along with other U.N. Security Council resolutions.

Like you I have met with the hostage families, many of them, and I commend President Trump and special Middle East Envoy Steve Witkoff for the role they played in finally securing the agree-

ment to release the hostages and enter into a ceasefire. It is essential that they achieve its full implementation.

I would like to discuss your views about what people refer to as the day after in Gaza and beyond. President Trump has an opportunity to bring some light at the end of a very dark tunnel we find ourselves in, the latest chapter being the horrific Hamas attacks of October 7.

The President has said he wants to bring long term peace and security to the region. Clearly, Hamas can have no role in that future, but long term peace must include security, self-determination, and dignity for Israelis and Palestinians alike.

When we talked in my office you agreed that we should stand up and protect universal human rights and human rights and self-determination for all people including both Israelis and Palestinians, and I would just like to hear you today say that that is your view.

Representative STEFANIK. To put that view in the context of the day after question, I think President Trump is uniquely positioned at this very challenging moment to bring peace to the region, to eradicate terrorists of Hamas and Hezbollah, to protect Israel's national security.

If you look at the failures, we have given billions of dollars—and this is just the bilateral aid to the Palestinians—and it has been abused by Hamas.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. Representative Stefanik, it was a very simple question. I am just asking you if you agree with the statement that in order to achieve long term peace and stability in the Middle East that we have to secure the human rights and rights of self-determination for both Israelis and Palestinians. That is a yes or no.

Representative STEFANIK. I support human rights for all, and I think it is a disgrace that Hamas and Hezbollah have stripped human rights of the Palestinian people, and we need to ensure that we are standing up for human rights and Israel is standing up for human rights. It is a beacon of human rights in the region.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. So, we agree with that. I asked you in my office also about whether Palestinians have the right of self-determination. My understanding was you said yes. You have a different answer today?

Representative STEFANIK. That was not the direct question that we discussed. I said the Palestinian people——

Senator VAN HOLLEN. Do you believe the Palestinians have the right of self-determination?

Representative STEFANIK. I believe the Palestinian people deserve so much better than the failures that they have had from terrorist leadership.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. We agree on that. It is a pretty simple question. I take it——

Representative STEFANIK. And I believe we need peace in the region. Of course they deserve human rights.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. So——

Representative STEFANIK. I want to ensure that, number one, we bring the hostages home. I want to——

Senator VAN HOLLEN. So, do all of us, Representative Stefanik. Let me just ask you—I have 30 seconds left. I am really surprised

by answers in my office, but I did ask you whether you subscribe to the views of Finance Minister Smotrich who I——

Representative STEFANIK. Of who? I am sorry.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. Smotrich. This is the Israeli Finance Minister Smotrich, and the former National Security Minister Ben-Gvir who believe that Israel has a biblical right to the entire West Bank, and in that conversation you told me that, yes, you shared that view. Is that your view today?

Representative STEFANIK. Yes.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. OK. I think when it comes to this very difficult issue, if the President is going to succeed at bringing peace and stability to the Middle East we are going to have to look at the U.N. Security Council resolutions—not just the ones on Lebanon, which we should enforce, but other U.N. Security Council resolutions.

And it is going to be very difficult to achieve that if you continue to hold the view that you just expressed, which is a view that was not held by the founders of the state of Israel who were secular Zionists, not religious Zionists.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator RISCH [presiding]. Thank you, Senator Van Hollen.

From the great State of Montana, Senator Daines.

Senator DAINES. Chairman, thank you.

Also, Ms. Stefanik, congratulations on your nomination, and thank you for being here today. I am very pleased to see President Trump placing such a strong emphasis on this very important position of Ambassador to the United Nations.

It is important for the United States to be active at the table at the U.N. to protect and advance U.S. interests. It is hard to imagine that the United Nations, which was born out of the tragedy of the Holocaust, would become a significant voice, an instrument of anti-Semitism.

That is exactly what has happened. Not only has the U.N. General Assembly condemned Israel's right to defend itself and demanded Israel end unlawful presence in occupied Palestinian territory, but it has also attempted to recognize Palestine as a state, and programs such as UNRWA have actively assisted terrorists.

I remember being in the Hezbollah terror tunnels in late August 2023, seeing what was planned. In fact, we walked down with IDF soldiers to see spray paint in Arabic, "On our way to Jerusalem," and little did we know when we were touring those Hezbollah terror tunnels in northern Israel between Israel and Lebanon that weeks later the worst terror attack in Israel's history would occur October 7, 2023.

Congresswoman Stefanik, if confirmed you will have to be a stalwart advocate for U.S. interests, and by the way, I could not be more pleased with President Trump's moral clarity on these difficult issues as it relates to what is happening in Israel.

Secretary Rubio—great to see him sworn in today, you as being our next Ambassador to the United Nations, Ambassador Huckabee nominated for Israel. This will be a great team that has moral clarity on these difficult issues.

You will be a stalwart advocate for our interest among an organization that continually advocates against American values despite



existing only because of the United States' financial contributions to its budget.

Congresswoman Stefanik, the U.N. has had no greater demonstration of their ineffectiveness than its failure to prevent Iran from advocating in their nuclear weapons program.

In your opinion how could the United States as a member of Security Council encourage the U.N. to take actions to curb the advancements of Iran's nuclear program?

Representative STEFANIK. I think this is related to the question by Senator Cornyn—consideration of snapback sanctions, continuing to be a strong voice, pushing back against Iran, supporting the President's maximum pressure campaign, which was so successful in the first term that we will see a continuation of in this term.

And I think that is also the critical step to take to stop the axis of terror in the region, as Iran is the number one funder of Hamas and Hezbollah and the Houthis, which is destabilizing the region.

I also think building on the success of the Abraham Accords—I mentioned this earlier in the hearing—we have an Abraham Accords Caucus here, starting an Abraham Accords Caucus in the United Nations with countries who understand the importance of bringing peace and normalization to the region.

Senator DAINES. You know, and I remember that visit in late August in my last trip to Israel since the attacks but meeting with Bibi Netanyahu.

The optimism coming off the Abraham Accords with the possibility of restoring normalized relations between Saudi Arabia and Israel there was great hope and optimism, of course, shattered—shattered—not by the Israelis, but by this horrible terror attack by Hamas.

A number of my colleagues have asked about your plans for changing the staffing dynamics and putting forward more U.S. candidates for postings.

Congresswoman, I am very supportive of this, but how do you plan to push back against individuals like the Secretary General who lowered flags to half-staff for the Butcher of Tehran, their late president?

Representative STEFANIK. We are going to push back with strong moral clarity. We are going to push back with President Trump's America first, peace through strength as the United States Ambassador at the United Nations and the number one funder. We are going to push back strongly and clearly.

Senator DAINES. I appreciate your moral clarity, your strong leadership, your 10 years in the U.S. House. Pleased to serve with you on the Hill, and you will be a great Ambassador to the United Nations.

Thank you.

Senator RISCH. Thank you very much.

Senator BARRASSO.

Senator BARRASSO. Thanks so much, Mr. Chairman.

Congresswoman Stefanik, congratulations. I believe you are going to be terrific.

A couple of things I wanted to talk to you about. You know, Israel has continually been subjected to biased resolutions and politically motivated investigations at the United Nations.

The U.N. so called Human Rights Council has a standing agenda item, and that standing agenda item is called Item No. 7 and it exclusively targets Israel. It makes it the only member of the U.N.—the only member state singled out in this manner.

The council consistently devotes excessive time—I think time at all is excessive—in criticizing Israel while often overlooking the atrocities in countries like Iran, like Syria.

In 2024 alone the U.N. General Assembly adopted 17 different resolutions against Israel compared to only six against the whole rest of the world.

I mean, it is astonishing that this is going on in the U.N. So, what are your views on Item 7, and what steps would you think to do in terms of removal of this from the permanent agenda?

Representative STEFANIK. We need to work to remove it from the permanent agenda. This is counter to our national security interests. It is counter to our values, and this is emblematic of the anti-Semitic rot that is pervasive within the U.N. system.

I am a big believer in transparency. We saw over the course of exposing, frankly, the failed leadership at college campuses the importance of providing a spotlight when there is a lack of moral clarity, because the American people strongly support the U.S.-Israel relationship.

They understand the moral case and the importance of Israel and how we should not be funding or supporting or giving any platform, frankly, like the standing agenda item.

Senator BARRASSO. Are there things you have in mind in terms of how we can pay greater attention to the true human rights situations that are taking place in Iran, in Syria, and have the U.N. be forceful at all?

Representative STEFANIK. Yes. We should have—you know, when previous U.S. Ambassadors chaired the Security Council for their month, human rights was on the agenda item.

I want to make sure that that continues to be a priority, speaking out on human rights issues, which there is significant bipartisan records of both sides of the aisle coming together to really raise the awareness and speak with that moral leadership from the United States of America on these humanitarian crises and speaking up for human rights.

Senator BARRASSO. You have answered a number of questions about China today, and this is a question I want to ask you. I asked the same question to Senator Rubio the other day, because I think China continues to have an unfair advantage due to the definition of China being the status listed as a developing nation as opposed to the second largest economy in the world.

To me it is not a developing nation, which has huge advantages as a result of that in terms of funding and the ability to borrow money and others on the world stage.

So, do you believe that China is a, quote, “developing nation,” and what is your plan to ensure that China is no longer able to exploit what I believe is an inaccurate label currently at the U.N.?

Representative STEFANIK. No, and they have exploited not only that inaccurate label but they are the greatest perpetrators of intellectual property theft. They are the most significant national security challenge.

I think generationally this will be the greatest challenge that my generation faces, and I think that we have an opportunity, because if you look at the bipartisan focus and concern on ensuring that we not only meet this challenge, but that our values—we continue to strengthen our partnerships and allies around the globe. I think we have an opportunity to deliver real bipartisan results in this space.

Senator BARRASSO. I think you used the words accountability, transparency. I know that is the way you acted in Congress with this.

The U.S. contributes, what, 22 percent of the U.N. total budget right now. How are you going to ensure that that financial burden at the U.N. are actually shared more equitably in accordance with current economic realities?

Representative STEFANIK. Well, first of all, working directly with members of the House and the Senate with our oversight members and specifically the appropriators is very important.

I think, as I discussed, doing an assessment of all of our funds, ensuring that we are being good stewards of U.S. taxpayer dollars, that we are looking at results based entities within the U.N. system, organizations that support American interest, America first peace through strength, and working with our national security team to do so.

I want to provide this committee with full transparency about where every dollar is going within the U.N. system, which, frankly, this committee has not gotten before, and we deserve that as good stewards of U.S. taxpayer dollars.

Senator BARRASSO. I believe I one time heard you say we are the nation of the United States, not the United Nations, and how are you going to preserve and protect American sovereignty within the U.N.?

Representative STEFANIK. I deeply support American sovereignty, and I know that I am going there to be, if confirmed, the Ambassador of the United States to the United Nations, and not the other way around, and I will always stand up for American values.

Senator BARRASSO. Thank you. Congratulations.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator RISCH. Thank you, Senator Barrasso.

Senator Lee, thank you for joining us. The floor is yours.

Senator LEE. Thank you very much. Good to be back on the committee.

Representative Stefanik, congratulations on your nomination.

You know, to start off with I will say that I have made no secret about the fact that I have got a healthy degree of skepticism about the United Nations.

In fact, I have introduced a bill to defund it. But I believe you are properly equipped and prepared to handle the challenges within the United Nations between now and whenever we might have the wisdom to defund it, should that occur, and I look forward to working with you on that and on your efforts to reform it from within during your time, should you be confirmed.

Now, the United States is one out of 193 member states belonging to the United Nations. In this setting the U.S. will, obviously, need to engage with allies and bring about any needful, proper reforms within the U.N.

Who do you consider our best allies within the U.N. system?

Representative STEFANIK. The Brits are a very important ally in the Security Council. Israel is a key ally. I think we need to continue to make inroads with developing countries within South America and Africa. It is important to build on the success.

China has had a significant effort to try to peel off those votes in the General Assembly. So, I think we need to approach it that every—you know, every country has one vote, and I know that as a House member no matter what your district is you have one vote. We need to build up and build our coalitions.

Japan is, obviously, a key ally. Australia is a key ally. But on the P5 the Brits, we share so many values and are incredibly important. French are also an important ally as well.

And then Israel. Israel is a huge priority for me and making sure that the rest of the world knows that the U.S. stands strongly with Israel.

Senator LEE. And how would you describe the attitude of the United Nations as a whole toward Israel?

Representative STEFANIK. I would say it is anti-Semitic.

Senator LEE. Anti-Semitic. My thoughts exactly.

And that is a problem, given the U.S. relationship with Israel. It is a problem that the United Nations takes such a hostile approach.

It is also concerning that within the United Nations Security Council we have people who, let us just say, do not share our interests who have veto power. How does that limit our ability to effect significant change within the United Nations?

Representative STEFANIK. It is a significant challenge. It is a challenge that the Ambassador—and if confirmed we will face every day with China and Russia's veto on the P5, and it is a challenge that we are going to need to continue addressing.

It is important to speak out and stand up for American values and be a voice representing the United States of America at the Security Council. But it is a challenge.

Senator LEE. The International Criminal Court maintains a liaison office at the U.N. headquarters in New York, and as you are aware, the U.S. granted the U.N. what it refers to as an inviolable headquarters district in 1947.

The U.N. and the ICC also maintain a negotiated relationship agreement that obligates them to cooperate and exchange information. But, of course, as you know the U.S. is not a party to the ICC, and with very good reason. I hope we never ratify that.

In light of this, what are your thoughts on the cooperative relationship between the U.N. and the ICC, and would you support a negotiation of the United Nations headquarters agreement to clarify that the U.N. should not be housing other international organizations to which the U.S. is not a party, particularly those organizations that take positions hostile to the interests of the United States?

Representative STEFANIK. Well, thank you for the question, Senator.

I have a significant record pushing back on the ICC. First of all, we are not party to it. It has targeted U.S. service members as well as targeting Israel, and we just passed on the House side important legislation pushing back on the ICC's disgraceful anti-Semitism.

I want to take a look at what you just proposed. I am open to assessing that, and I want to work with our oversight members to do so.

I do think it is important to make sure that no U.S. taxpayer dollars, that there is any connection to that because it is counter to our values.

Senator LEE. Right, and therein lies one of the problems. We are the largest donor nation to the United Nations. We also are in a situation in which most of the money that we contribute is voluntary, not mandatory.

Nobody else comes close to what we dole out, and yet many of our interests are contravened by things that the U.N. does or has been doing, has been inclined to do, and that creates a problem.

The problem is compounded further by virtue of how a lot of this money makes its way to the U.N. We put somewhere—something in the neighborhood about \$20 billion a year in there, and so, yes, we can say we do not want our money going to X, Y, or Z but it all gets put into a large sort of balloon, and what we might take out here they might use somewhere else, and so we are still funding a lot of things that are hostile to our interests.

So, would you support tailored funding cuts, and if so, how would you bring about those cuts to make sure that it does not just come out in the wash somewhere else?

Representative STEFANIK. Yes, I would support tailored cuts. I want to work with our appropriators specifically on how we can be most effective and judicious in making those cuts. But it goes back to one of my main goals if confirmed to this position as being good stewards of U.S. taxpayer dollars and representing American values.

Senator LEE. Great. Thank you very much.

I see my time has expired. Thank you, Chairman.

Senator RISCH. Thank you, Senator Lee. Thank you for your view on the ICC. There is a lot of us share the same view.

Any court that wants to be a court has to know right from wrong, and for the ICC to proclaim some kind of moral equivalency between Israel and Hamas is ridiculous.

They cannot have any kind of standing in a judiciary or legal system with that kind of a view. So, thank you for your view in that regard.

Senator Schatz.

Senator SCHATZ. Thank you, Chairman.

Ms. Stefanik, nice to see you again. Thanks for taking the time.

Speaking of every country having a vote, we had a pretty constructive conversation about the Pacific Island nations with which we have, I think, made some progress in terms of engagement, but it is kind of a mixed bag because of the PRC influence, and I would just like to hear you say in public what we discussed in private,

which is that it is important that we remain engaged in all these little nations, which are sovereigns and all do have a vote at the U.N. for strategic purposes.

When we talk about the Asia Pacific region we tend to talk about South Asia, East Asia, very little about the countries that occupy the Pacific Ocean, and I am wondering if you can talk about that.

Representative STEFANIK. Yes, absolutely, and considering the importance of the region, all regions are important but the threat of a rising China in the region, it is increasingly critical that the U.S. continue to strengthen our partnerships, our diplomatic outreach to all countries big and small within INDOPACOM, and it is a commitment to do so within the Pacific Islands that you and I discussed, and it is deeply tied to your State's national security, as you know.

Senator SCHATZ. Sure is. You know, there are kind of two theories of the case around how to use the U.N. to counter PRC influence, and I think you and I are on the same page as it relates to what to do next.

My own judgment, and then you can tell me if you agree with this, is that to the degree and extent that we want to engage in muscular diplomacy, muscular foreign policy, muscular defense policy, it is not actually in our interest to recede away from all these U.N. bodies, and obviously, Senator Lee and I probably disagree about the U.N. itself and some of the policies that it has made.

But I think that we would be cutting off our nose to spite our face if we just go away from these international convenings, and so—because China is not going away. They are trying to run the meetings, and to the extent that we withdraw—I know WHO is a done deal. I know Paris is a done deal. Fair enough. Elections and consequences and all that.

But I am worried that we are going to just get out of the room and then relegate ourselves to observer status and then wonder why we are losing the battle in the room, and I just want to know if you are committed to staying in those rooms, to fighting for American priorities and values, rather than sort of taking your marbles and going home.

Representative STEFANIK. I think it is very important that we stay in those rooms, particularly the technical organizations like telecommunications, intellectual property, civil aviation.

There was a discussion earlier about artificial intelligence. We need to lead with our standards and our values, and frankly, the world is looking for us to lead, and that is an important tool in our national security toolkit.

And I look forward to working with Secretary Rubio and his strong record of being a strong voice in the U.S. Senate now that he is confirmed as Secretary of State. So, certainly, there will be policy disagreements. I support the President's decision.

But we need to push back in the short term and long term against the CCP's inroads, and we need to do so with people as well, both at the lowest level, the starting entry levels within the U.N. system but also the senior level and heads of these sub-U.N. agencies.

Senator SCHATZ. Thank you for that.

I know Senator Coons may have covered this a little bit. I understand there is a 90 day pause on all aid and again, elections and consequences—like, every President comes in and pauses all pending regulations and all the rest of it.

But some of this is going to have material consequences pretty quickly, and we do not have 90 days when it comes to our military partnerships.

People do not have 90 days when it comes to humanitarian assistance, and I am just wondering how we navigate through the absolute prerogative that a President has to set their own policy course versus 90 days could be too long for some communities and countries.

Representative STEFANIK. Thank you for the question. I support the President's executive action. I think it is important that we be strong voices for the American taxpayer and ensure that all of our investments go to specific results strengthening our national security, making America strong, safe and prosperous, and bringing peace through strength.

If confirmed, I will work within the National Security Council and with the President and Secretary of State to ensure that we have the strong tools that we need within the United Nations to work with Secretary Rubio on our broader national security strategy that the President has laid out for the American people.

Senator SCHATZ. Yes. I guess what I am trying to figure out is, can we agree that 90 days may be too long and that, if confirmed, you are going to try to figure out where to turn the spigot back on?

Because right now this is a rather—this is a blanket freeze, and I presume some of the things that are frozen are going to get unfrozen. It would be better if we could unfreeze some of these things in 20 days rather than 90 because there are real geopolitical consequences to freezing all aid for 3 months.

Representative STEFANIK. Thank you, Senator Schatz.

I do support the President's executive order. We will work on the National Security Council to make sure that all the tools that are needed to protect our national security and the diplomatic piece is an important an important part of that.

When it comes to the U.N. I have confidence that the President is going to make sure that we have the tools we need to protect our national security.

Senator SCHATZ. I liked your answer to the previous question better, but thank you very much.

Senator RISCH. Senator Schatz, actually you raise a good point. When you do a blanket executive order like that, sometimes the law of unintended consequences takes over.

Having said that, every one of these executive orders can be amended, and we have a history of amending them, both sides, over years.

So, I am not as concerned about that, but it is a valid and legitimate point. Thank you so much.

Senator Cruz, you are up.

Senator CRUZ. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Congresswoman, congratulations on your nomination. You are going to be terrific.

I want to go back to a topic you discussed with Senator Cornyn. I want to focus on Iran's push to build a nuclear arsenal, which poses, I think, the most immediate and acute threat to American national security.

When the Ayatollah chants "Death to America" he means it, and I believe he would absolutely detonate a nuclear weapon over an American city if he could.

The Trump administration got Iran's nuclear program in a box and kept it there. President Trump withdrew from the catastrophic Obama Iran nuclear deal in 2018. He imposed maximum pressure in 2019.

He invoked the U.N. snap back mechanism in the U.N. Security Council Resolution 2231 to reimpose international sanctions in 2020.

For that entire time Iran was deterred from making significant advances on their nuclear program. They did not even enrich uranium above 5 percent or cascade advanced centrifuges.

Starting in November 2020 the Iranian regime gambled that it could start rushing to a nuclear arsenal and the incoming Biden administration would let them. Unfortunately, that proved correct.

In November the regime approved a new law calling for major nuclear advances. In January they started enriching at 20 percent at Fordow, the underground enrichment bunker built into a mountain that the Obama Iran nuclear deal left open.

The incoming Biden administration responded with appeasement. In February, immediately after being inaugurated, they rushed to the U.N. to rescind President Trump's snapback, again, allowing international sanctions to expire.

For the next 4 years the Administration continually dismantled pressure on the regime and refused to impose sanctions. We know the result.

Today the Ayatollah has achieved a nuclear breakout time of zero. We now face the very real possibility of an Iranian nuclear arsenal.

I do not believe that this is a threat the U.S. can tolerate, and I am confident that both the President and Secretary of State Rubio agree.

I asked Secretary of State Rubio whether he intends to go to the United Nations, and again trigger the snapback mechanism as a part of his written testimony to this committee.

Here was Secretary Rubio's response. Quote, "I believe it is in our national security interest for the U.N. Security Council to snap back the sanctions that were suspended under the JCPOA. I will execute the President's guidance and work with our allies to ensure that snapback takes place."

First, do you agree with Secretary Rubio's assessment that it is in the national security interest of the United States to snap back those sanctions?

Representative STEFANIK. Yes.

Senator CRUZ. Talk about how you would execute a strategy to do so either unilaterally or working with allies.

Representative STEFANIK. We will have to—that will be a strategy that I develop with the National Security Council in tandem with Secretary Rubio and President Trump to work with our allies



within the United Nations, within the Security Council, and there are allies that are already considering this and looking at it, and that has been publicly reported.

But obviously, pushing back on Iran is a top priority. It was a success during President Trump's first term, and we have seen the catastrophic results and loss of life during the previous 4 years when you have had an emboldened Iran that has led to directly the October 7 terrorist attack against Israel and Hezbollah firing tens of thousands of rockets against Israeli civilians.

Senator CRUZ. Let us move to another topic. You and I talked about the deep rot in the United Nations when it comes to supporting terrorism against America and our allies, especially Israel.

As you discussed with Senator McCormick, UNRWA has for decades provided material support for Hamas and other terrorist groups in Gaza. The World Health Organization has also been deeply complicit in the use of hospitals by Hamas for terrorist activities including for the holding of hostages.

The complicity of these organizations deepened after October 7. The Biden administration embraced UNRWA and the World Health Organization. Congress prohibited the Biden administration from funding UNRWA, but the administration officials circumvented that prohibition by using UNRWA infrastructure.

Yesterday the President rightly and immediately withdrew our participation from them. I think that was a critical first step, but the next step is to enable American citizens to hold these organizations accountable.

We currently have a very odd legal environment where these organizations enjoy more sovereign immunity than states and thus are shielded from accountability.

Last Congress I introduced the LIABLE Act and was joined by four current members of this committee including—as well as Secretary of State Rubio.

The bill will allow American victims of terrorism and their family to sue international organizations that support terrorism against this. I will soon reintroduce it in this Congress.

What is your understanding of the role these organizations have played in facilitating terrorism against Americans, Israelis, and our allies?

Representative STEFANIK. Well, UNRWA—there were individuals in UNRWA who participated, who executed, and committed terrorist acts against Israel on October 7. Sinwar, the leader of Hamas, carried an UNRWA passport. You had a Hamas data center under UNRWA headquarters.

So, the rot is deep. Congress made the right decision. I was proud to be one of the leaders when it came to defunding UNRWA, and I am committed to holding them accountable and working with the U.S. Senate and the U.S. House and the President if that legislation passes.

Senator CRUZ. Terrific. Thank you.

Senator RISCH. Thank you, Senator Cruz.

Senator DUCKWORTH.

Senator DUCKWORTH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Congresswoman Stefanik, it is good to see you again. When we met last week we talked about your strategy for jumping in and

getting up to speed among the many career diplomats at the United Nations.

What can you say here today about how you will tackle that problem set of facing people who have been there for a long time and who may have long established relationships and experience at the U.N. headquarters?

Representative STEFANIK. I think it is very important to build on their significant experience. Right now there is the transition happening. If confirmed, I hope to dig in and gain their expertise, particularly the regional expertise that many of the officials within the State Department serving at the U.S. U.N. mission.

It is very important, particularly in the technical aspects and some of the technical organizations and some of the regional challenges within the U.N. system.

Typically, the deputy permanent rep is a career although presidentially appointed, and I will support the President's nominee. But our hope is that that will bring career expertise from within the State Department and an understanding of the U.N. system.

Senator DUCKWORTH. Will you commit to proactively engaging the rotating members of the Security Council and investing time, particularly in relationships throughout those who represent the Global South?

Representative STEFANIK. Yes, that is very important. It was an issue that you and I discussed, Senator, and was actually asked in previous parts of this hearing. It is incredibly important.

If you look at China's inroads in the Global South, it is one of the greatest challenges that we face when you look at the U.N. voting habits of various countries. So, we need to build upon our regional organizations and push back on Chinese influence in that region, and that starts with engagement.

Senator DUCKWORTH. Thank you.

Shifting gears to Southeast Asia, the crisis in Myanmar feels like it is only escalating as the years pass since the Tatmadaw took control in 2021.

Millions of people are internally displaced, and there are hundreds of thousands of Karen displaced in Thailand and nearly a million Rohingya displaced into Bangladesh.

Although we have had U.N. Security Council Resolution 2669 since 2022, ASEAN's Five-Point Consensus since 2021, and increasing sanctions targeting the military junta, there is no sign to an end in sight for this crisis.

It has also created a ripe environment for criminal activity with cyberscam centers engaging in human trafficking and enriching themselves by targeting people with fraud.

This has a major economic impact, including on people here in the United States who find themselves targeted. If confirmed as U.N. Ambassador what ideas would you have to get after some of the challenges that make up this really complex case?

I am not asking you to singlehandedly solve the conflict, but can you touch on how you would work with regional bodies like ASEAN especially under the Malaysian chairmanship year, or Thailand, our longest treaty ally of the United States, or the Philippines where we have a security alliance—U.N. subagencies or other enti-

ties to break through the stalemate we, the world, find ourselves in when it comes to Myanmar?

Representative STEFANIK. Yes. Thank you so much for the question.

This needs to be among the top priorities when it comes to standing up with human rights, and I am grateful for the Congress and the Senate for having such a bipartisan record when it comes to standing up for human rights.

I hope to return that to a top priority when the U.S. has the opportunity to chair the Security Council, and I think building on these regional organizations like ASEAN is very important.

I myself led a delegation with House Armed Services Committee colleagues, House Intelligence colleagues. We went to Thailand.

We have gone to other ASEAN countries on that visit, and working with them within the region because it is so important to the security in the region and the values that we strongly support in the region.

You point out Thailand as our longest ally, oldest ally in the region. That is a very important relationship, and you have my commitment to continue to build on that.

And I also think, you know, ASEAN in this particular human rights challenge that you pointed out, but I think we ought to build on these international organizations like AUKUS, the Quad, writ large within the U.N. because I think that helps continue to expand our ability to deliver diplomatic results.

Senator DUCKWORTH. Thank you. I very much look forward to working with you in your new position. Congratulations.

Representative STEFANIK. Thank you, Senator Duckworth.

Senator DUCKWORTH. I yield back, Chairman.

Senator RISCH. Thank you, Senator Duckworth.

Senator Sheehan.

Senator SHAHEEN. Well, thank you, Mr. Chairman. I had a couple more follow up questions.

Let me also, though, first recognize Congressman Joe Wilson, who I am sure is here in support of Congresswoman Stefanik. So, nice to have representation from the House Foreign Affairs Committee. Thank you.

Congresswoman, the U.N. Security Council recently renewed the mandate for EUFOR Althea in Bosnia and Herzegovina through November 2025. It has been a constant challenge, and I worry that the U.N. backed peacekeeping mission is needed now more than ever, perhaps in greater force because of the Republic of Srpska leader Milorad Dodik, who is sanctioned by the U.S., and he continues his secessionist threats.

So, if confirmed, will you commit to building consensus for maintaining that peacekeeping mission in the long term?

Representative STEFANIK. Yes.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you.

Another area that I am concerned about is the work of the International Organization on Migration and the U.N. Refugee Agency, which is supporting thousands of displaced from the Russian occupied territory.

We know we have about 7 million Ukrainian refugees globally, 3.6 million internally displaced in Ukraine. Moldova, which is

sandwiched between Ukraine and has significant Russian influence, hosts refugees that are equivalent to 5 percent of its population. It is dependent on U.N. humanitarian support especially.

So, if confirmed, will you continue to support these critical humanitarian operations in Ukraine and Moldova?

Representative STEFANIK. I think it is important that we take a look at all of our U.N. entities and all of our U.N. agencies to make sure that they deliver results and represent our values, and I want to work with the National Security Council and Secretary Rubio to do an assessment, make sure that it is results focused, and get back to you once we do that. But I want to work with Marco on that.

Senator SHAHEEN. Good. Well, that is fair, and I think it is in our interest to help ensure that those countries who are impacted by the fallout from the conflict have the support to be able to withstand Russian influence so that they do not also fall as the result of conflict.

And let me also register my support for the UNIFIL mission. Again, I think it is one that we need to examine and see how we ensure that they continue to be a strong bulwark against Hezbollah and what is happening in Lebanon. But we need to ensure that there is somebody there to address the peacekeeping that needs to continue now as the result.

Lebanon has actually made some real progress in getting a president in place and a prime minister who are outside of the influence of Hezbollah. I think anything we can do to ensure that continues is really important.

With that said, I also want to go back to Syria because you talked a little bit about your—the concern about HTS, and what they will continue to do in Syria has come up in the questioning.

The fall of Assad probably dealt as big a blow to Iran and Russia as anything that has happened in the Middle East in recent years, and I think it is important for us to think about how we fill that vacuum, because if we do not, or if those people who support freedom support the opportunity for self-determination for the Syrian people, then we know that Iran and Russia and other players will come back in to the region.

So, can you talk a little bit about how you think we can ensure that humanitarian aid continues to get through into Syria and that the U.N. can engage to ensure that we do not have our adversaries filling that vacuum?

Representative STEFANIK. I am deeply concerned about our adversaries filling that vacuum. I also think that it is important that we continue to ensure that there is not another reign, frankly, of terror against the Syrian people.

It is very complex. There are open questions, and I want to work with Secretary Rubio and President Trump to ensure we have a real verification process. To go back to Reagan, “trust but verify.”

I think that is really, really important before I make any commitments here today, and certainly I am not going to get ahead of the President.

There is no question that Assad’s fall is a major blow to Iran, and it is an opportunity in the region for people that have been human rights abuse, have been slaughtered by the Assad regime,

the use of chemical weapons, and that is over the course while I have been in Congress as we push back, and I credit President Trump for his effective military response to when Assad used chemical weapons.

So, I think I need to—I will commit to this committee that I am going to work with the National Security Council but will support the President's approach in a very unique and this moment in time where there is real opportunity. But we want to make sure that there is not terror.

Senator SHAHEEN. I appreciate that, and I look forward to working with you, and again, I think time is of the essence here, and we do not have a lot of time to look at what the options are before our adversaries move in.

Thank you.

Senator RISCH. Thank you. Good point, Senator Shaheen.

Anything else for the good of the order?

Senator LEE. One very brief follow up.

Senator RISCH. One very brief follow up.

Senator.

Senator LEE. Just wanted to ask you, what do you see as your most important lever or levers within the United Nations should you be confirmed as our Ambassador to the U.N.? What are your most important levers to wield authority to bring about reform?

Representative STEFANIK. I think our vote on the Security Council and the fact that we are the biggest funder. We need to stand up for our values, American values, at the United Nations, and I said earlier in my testimony if confirmed I will represent the United States.

That is the responsibility and that is what I am hoping to do. But it is the U.N. Security Council vote as well as our funding, and the, you know, transparency and accountability that should come along with our funding.

Senator LEE. Great. Thank you so much.

Thank you, Chairman.

Senator RISCH. Thank you, Senator.

Senator Duckworth, you had a follow up?

Senator DUCKWORTH. Yes, thank you.

Just one question, Congressman Stefanik. It is really about the rights of persons with disabilities and people with disabilities around the world.

I think the United States is in a very unique position to lead, and I think this is a place where you can work with other nations at the United Nations when it comes to issues that persons with disabilities face around the world, discrimination and the like.

We still are dealing with unexploded ordnances from the Vietnam war in places like Laos and Vietnam and Cambodia. Have you thought a little bit about what work you would do when it comes for the issue of persons with disabilities in your role as our U.N. Ambassador?

Representative STEFANIK. Absolutely, Senator, and I thank you for your leadership on this issue, working with so many Senators across the aisle.

I think it is a very important way that America can lead when it comes to human rights and human dignity, and I hope to bring

that leadership, and I know that Secretary Rubio during his testimony committed to that as well from the State Department approach.

So, I hope to be a strong partner in doing so.

Senator DUCKWORTH. Thank you.

I yield back, Mr. Chairman.

Senator RISCH. Thank you very much.

At this point I am going to order the letters of support and matters related thereto regarding Congressman Stefanik into the record. They will be placed in the record.

[EDITOR'S NOTE.—The information referred to above can be found in the "Additional Material Submitted for the Record" section at the end of this document.]

Senator RISCH. I am going to leave the record open until 5 p.m. tomorrow evening in case there are questions for the record from members of the committee.

So, with that, our thanks to you. Thank you for spending time with us here today, and unless there is anything else for the good of the order the committee is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 12:33 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 REPRESENTATIVE ELISE M. STEFANIK BY SENATOR JAMES E. RISCH

##### *World Health Organization*

*The World Health Organization is a deeply flawed organization in serious need of reform. Numerous "expert panels" have acknowledged that the organization needs to return to its foundational roots as a normative agency, yet the organization continues to seek enhanced authorities. This includes efforts to promote WHO leadership in the governance structure of an international pandemics accord, to elevate the role WHO plays in global supply chain management, and to increase mandatory contributions from member states.*

*Question.* If confirmed, what role will you play in advancing a reform agenda at the WHO?

*Answer.* President Trump made a commitment to all Americans that he will always put America First. On his first day in office, President Trump issued an Executive Order "Withdrawing the United States from the World Health Organization" on January 20, 2025, which indicates that the United States intends to withdraw from WHO. I support this E.O. and will remain in regular contact with your office to keep you apprised of the implementation of this E.O. I will always ensure that U.S. involvement in the United Nations system is based on the principles of making America safer, stronger, and more prosperous.

*Question.* What reforms would you prioritize?

*Answer.* President Trump issued Executive Order "Withdrawing the United States from the World Health Organization" on January 20, 2025, which indicates that the United States intends to withdraw from WHO. One of the President's reasons for this is because WHO has failed to adopt urgently needed reforms. I support this E.O. and will remain in regular contact with your office to keep you apprised of the implementation of this E.O. I will always ensure that U.S. involvement in the United Nations system is based on the principles of making America safer, stronger, and more prosperous.

*Question.* What role, if any, should the WHO play in the governance structure of an international pandemic accord?

*Answer.* President Trump issued Executive Order "Withdrawing the United States from the World Health Organization" on January 20, 2025, which indicates that the United States intends to withdraw from WHO. The Order also states that while withdrawal from the WHO is in progress, the Secretary of State will cease

negotiations on the WHO Pandemic Agreement, and actions to effectuate such agreement will have no binding force on the United States. I support this E.O. and will remain in regular contact with your office to keep you apprised of the implementation of this E.O. I will always ensure that U.S. involvement in the United Nations system is based on the principles of making America safer, stronger, and more prosperous.

*Question.* Under what conditions, if any, would you support increasing U.S. assessed contributions to the WHO?

*Answer.* President Trump issued Executive Order “Withdrawing the United States from the World Health Organization” on January 20, 2025, which indicates that the United States intends to withdraw from WHO. The Order also states that the United States will pause the future transfer of any U.S. Government funds, support, or resources to WHO. I support this E.O. and will remain in regular contact with your office to keep you apprised of the implementation of this E.O. I will always ensure that U.S. involvement in the United Nations system is based on the principles of making America safer, stronger, and more prosperous.

#### *Abortion*

*Pro-abortion groups consistently seek to manipulate the U.N. system, including its various bodies, funds, programs, and specialized agencies, to create a presumed “right” to abortion.*

*Question.* Is access to abortion a fundamental human right?

*Answer.* No.

*Question.* Is there a subset of human rights specifically assigned to women, to include “reproductive health rights,” that include abortion?

*Answer.* No.

*Question.* If confirmed, will you uphold all U.S. laws prohibiting the use of U.S. foreign assistance to perform or promote abortion overseas, including through the UN’s various bodies, funds, programs, and specialized agencies?

*Answer.* Yes, if confirmed, I will follow the law.

*Question.* If confirmed, will you seek to re-join the Geneva Consensus Declaration, which asserts that all lives are sacred and that there is no international “right” to abortion?

*Answer.* The President has publicly stated he wants to re-join the Geneva Consensus Declaration. If confirmed, I will work to ensure this declaration is implemented and that there is no international “right” to abortion.

#### *Western Hemisphere*

*Question.* If confirmed, what steps would you take to support cooperation between the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the governments of El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras to enhance their refugee settlement capacity?

*Answer.* If confirmed, I would work with the Congress and the State Department to strengthen cooperation between UNHCR and other humanitarian partners in the region with the governments of El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras to promote solutions to displacement, such as local integration. I would also work with USAID and development partners to improve security and economic opportunities for refugees, returnees, and other displaced persons to allow their safe and sustainable integration in these countries and prevent illegal migration to the United States.

*Question.* If confirmed, do you commit to use the voice and vote of the United States at the United Nations to bring perpetrators of human rights abuses in Venezuela to justice?

*Answer.* If confirmed, I will review this issue, confer with the President, and provide regular updates to your office.

#### *Africa*

*Question.* Over the past year, I have raised concerns about UNSCR 2719, which permits UN-assessed contributions to fund African Union-led peace support operations. I emphasized the need for safeguards, including requiring Security Council approval for relevant mandates, capping assessed contributions at 75 percent of a mission’s budget, and necessitating a U.S. veto. When the Council took up the mandate of the AU-led Somalia peacekeeping mission (AUSOM) in December, I insisted the U.S. veto any transition to assessed contributions under UNSCR 2719. What is your position on UNSCR 2719, particularly regarding Somalia? Will you

commit to consulting with me and this Committee on any proposals to apply UNSCR 2719 to African peace missions?

Answer. If confirmed, I will assess the decision's impact on this Administration's priority of making America safer, stronger, and more prosperous. I will commit to consulting with you and your Committee during those deliberations and on any future proposals to apply UNSCR 2719.

*Question.* The Biden Administration has expressed reluctance to be "isolated on the Security Council" on Africa-related matters, including advancing U.S. priorities and using the veto when necessary (e.g., in the case of UNSCR 2719). What is your approach to collaborating with like-minded partners to ensure Security Council outcomes on Africa align with U.S. policies? Are you prepared to threaten or use the veto if U.S. objectives are unmet?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work to ensure that United Nations Security Council outcomes on Africa align with U.S. policies will be guided by a clear objective to promote peace abroad and security and prosperity here at home. To do so, we will develop an outreach strategy to reach out to countries in the Global South and build on our global network of alliances and partnerships.

If confirmed, I will work to reach consensus with other Security Council members to advance President Trump's America First, Peace through Strength priorities and will not hesitate to leverage our right to veto when American interests are at stake.

#### *Europe*

*Question.* How will you use the United States' vote and role at the United Nations to push back against false Russian narratives about the conflict in Ukraine, promote accountability for war crimes and atrocities, and engage other U.N. members to resist siding with Russia?

Answer. If confirmed, I will use the platform of the United Nations Security Council and General Assembly to support President Trump's efforts to bring peace to the region.

*Question.* How will you use your role at the U.N. to ensure that there is maximum oversight and accountability over U.S. assistance to Ukraine and other partners affected by the conflict that is provided via U.N. institutions, mechanisms, and partners?

Answer. As Ambassador to the United Nations, one of my main goals is being a good steward of U.S. taxpayer dollars and representing American values. I will work with President Trump, others in his administration and with Congress to ensure that we deliver reform and ensure every dollar serves to strengthen our national security. I will prioritize continuous and scrupulous oversight of U.N. institutions, demanding transparency and accountability, on all UN-provided assistance to foreign countries. I will ensure strengthened U.S. leadership on oversight of all U.S. funding of organizations throughout the U.N. system.

#### *Asia/Indo-Pacific*

*Question.* What will be your priorities for countering China's influence at the United Nations, particularly in entities like the U.N. Security Council, Human Rights Council, and technical bodies like the World Health organization or the Food and Agriculture Organization?

Answer. If confirmed, I will review this issue, confer with the President, and be in regular communication with your office.

*Question.* Do you commit to countering transnational repression by China at the United Nations and pushing back on China's efforts to undermine Taiwan's meaningful participation in international organizations? How will you approach these issues?

Answer. If confirmed, I will use my role to counter transnational repression by China at the United Nations. I will work to counter PRC attempts to prevent Taiwan from participating in international organizations. This includes PRC attempts to insert specific language that aims to prevent Taiwan's meaningful participation, and PRC pressure on U.N. officials to implement Beijing's preferences with regard to Taiwan.

If confirmed, I will also work with our allies and partners to ensure Taiwan has the maximum meaningful participation within the U.N. system, including in U.N. specialized and technical agencies, as it should in all international organizations.

#### *Assessed Contributions*

*Question.* For the Regular Budget, the U.S. has been assessed at a fixed rate of 22 percent since the Helms-Biden agreement was negotiated in 1999 (\$636.6 million



in fiscal year 2020). The U.S. is followed by China (12 percent) and Japan (8.5 percent). If confirmed, can you commit to this committee that you adhere to this cap and ensure in future scales of assessments under your tenure that the United States does not exceed 22 percent?

Answer. In December, the United Nations General Assembly agreed to preserve the 22 percent ceiling for the next 3 years (2025, 2026, 2027). If confirmed, I will confer with the President and relevant officials and remain in regular communication with your office as we approach the next scales negotiations in 2027.

*Question.* For the Peacekeeping budget, the U.S. was assessed at a fixed rate of 26.9 percent in the last scales of assessment. This exceeds the 25 percent cap enacted in 1994 and which has since been only enforced by Republican administrations. If confirmed, do you commit to adhering to the 25 percent cap which is U.S. law?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I will ensure that U.S. payments for U.N. peacekeeping do not exceed the 25 percent cap in U.S. law.

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RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED  
TO REPRESENTATIVE ELISE M. STEFANIK BY SENATOR JEANNE SHAHEEN

*Executive Order Pausing Foreign Assistance*

*As written, President Trump's Executive Order pausing foreign assistance for 90 days cover all foreign assistance, including foreign military sales, global health, humanitarian, development, counter-narcotics, and democracy assistance. A pause in obligations and disbursements has global national security implications, including for foreign military sales to Israel; bilateral and multilateral humanitarian assistance for Sudan and Haiti; counter-narcotics assistance to Mexico to address fentanyl trafficking; economic support for Ukraine to harden its energy grid; and global health assistance to detect and respond to Monkeypox outbreaks in Central Africa.*

*Question.* Does the foreign assistance pause in the January 20, 2025, Executive Order cover all foreign assistance accounts, including Foreign Military Sales, Humanitarian Assistance, Economic Support Funds, Counter-Narcotics, and Global Health Assistance? Are any accounts excluded from the E.O.?

Answer. As Secretary Rubio told this committee during his confirmation hearing: every dollar we spend, every program we fund, every policy we pursue must be justified by the answer to one of three questions: Does it make America safer? Does it make America stronger? Or does it make America more prosperous? The President's executive order is clear that foreign development assistance programs shall be paused pending a review to be conducted within 90 days and that reviews of each foreign assistance program shall be ordered by the responsible department and agency heads under guidelines provided by the Secretary of State, in consultation with the Director of OMB.

*Question.* Will you utilize the waiver authority to provide humanitarian resources to support people impacted by the crises in Sudan, Haiti, Ukraine, Burma, and Gaza, as well as other places?

Answer. I understand that the waiver authority in the executive order is in the purview of the Secretary of State and not the position to which I have been nominated. Accordingly, it would not be appropriate for me to speculate on decisions the Secretary may undertake.

*Question.* Do you agree that a continuation of the assistance pause would conflict with Congress' constitutional authority to appropriate funding and the Impoundment Control Act?

Answer. The Department will obligate funding appropriated by Congress consistent with applicable law, including the Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act of 1974.

*Women, Peace, and Security*

*In 2000, the U.N. Security Council formally recognized the role of women in peace and security, unanimously adopting resolution 1325, which addresses the situation of women in armed conflict and calls for their participation at all levels of decisionmaking on conflict resolution and peacebuilding. Still, the Secretary General reported that out of 31 agree-*

*ments reached in 2023, only eight included provisions specifically relating to women, girls, gender, or sexual violence.*

*Question.* How do you believe the U.S. should approach and prioritize the role of women in peace, security, and conflict?

*Answer.* The United States was the first country in the world to pass comprehensive legislation to address the disproportionate impact of conflict on women and girls through the Women, Peace, and Security Act signed by President Trump in 2017. This important global agenda recognizes the expansive evidence demonstrating the link between the protection and the status of women and girls, and peace and stability in countries. If confirmed, I will work closely with the Secretary's Office of Global Women's Issues, and others across the Department, to prioritize the safety of women and girls in conflict and crisis and support their meaningful participation in all decisionmaking and security processes.

*Question.* How can we work with our U.N. partners to ensure that women are included in global peace and security decisionmaking and not in a siloed or sidelined mechanism that checks the box?

*Answer.* As the highest-ranking woman on both the House Armed Services Committee and the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, I have long advocated for the robust participation of women in the national security decision-making process not just because they are women, but because we benefit from a diverse group of voices. If confirmed, I will engage with U.N. agencies and member states to strongly advocate for the full, equal, and meaningful participation of women in U.N. processes as leaders, negotiators, and peacebuilders. I will work to ensure the best person for the job always has a seat at the table and has their voice heard.

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RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED  
TO REPRESENTATIVE ELISE M. STEFANIK BY SENATOR JEFF MERKLEY

*Question.* Taiwan's exclusion—even under observer status—from United Nations (UN) agencies and programs is deeply concerning, as it hinders the world's ability to develop comprehensive and effective solutions to a growing set of transnational issues. If confirmed, what are three specific U.N. specialized agencies that you would prioritize supporting Taiwan's participation in? How would Taiwan's participation in each named agency support U.S. foreign policy priorities?

*Answer.* If confirmed, I will not limit Taiwan's participation within the United Nations system to just three entities. I will work to ensure Taiwan has the maximum meaningful participation within the United Nations system, including in U.N. specialized and technical agencies, as it should in all international organizations. Providing Taiwan with a seat at the table in these specialized and technical agencies allows the United States to establish an international coalition of deterrence toward further Chinese aggression and highlights the diplomatic and economic support of Taiwan. By elevating Taiwan and allowing them to participate in the U.N. System, we can show the contrast of freedom and democracy with Communist China's authoritarianism.

*Question.* We have all been heartened by the recent ceasefire deal between Israel and Hamas—including the release of Israeli hostages who will finally return home to their families. It is also important the U.S. lead in addressing the humanitarian crisis in Gaza, which has been devastating for Palestinian civilians. If confirmed, which U.N. agencies do you believe should be tasked with providing this urgent humanitarian assistance, what roles would they play, and how would the U.S. Mission to the U.N. support this effort?

*Answer.* If confirmed, I will work closely with the responsible departments and agencies under the direction provided by the President and the guidelines established under the Secretary of State to identify and support United Nations humanitarian agencies whose assistance aligns with the foreign policy of the President of the United States.

*Question.* What does the U.N. Declaration on Human Rights mean to you? If confirmed, what steps would you take to ensure that human rights are foundational to the U.S. Mission's activities across U.N. agencies and programs?

*Answer.* It has never been more critical for the United States to lead with strength and moral clarity. I said in my testimony, the world must be reminded of the key mission of the United Nations and America's role as its formative leader.

Following the devastation, carnage, and Holocaust of World War II, the world was desperate for peace, stability, human rights and dignity, and world order. If confirmed, I will tirelessly stand for American values and American strength as I advocate for our national interest within the U.N. and with U.N. member states and push the U.N. to return to its original mission of establishing peace and security and protecting human rights around the globe.

*Question.* China's consistent efforts to mischaracterize Resolution 2758 has been very concerning for both the U.S. executive and legislative branches. What steps would you take to ensure that China's attempts to conflate its own national doctrine with international consensus is called out and corrected?

*Answer.* China has used its malign influence to prevent Taiwan from meaningfully participating in the United Nations. If confirmed, I will work to counter China's attempts to manipulate the U.N. personnel system and install Chinese diplomats and members of the Chinese Communist Party into the U.N. bureaucracy who seek to undermine Taiwan's meaningful participation. As I mentioned in my testimony, I want to utilize Mandarin-language experts, scrub draft resolutions from the beginning to ensure Communist China does not try to include language normalizing their authoritarian actions, and I want to develop a robust human capital strategy that places U.S. citizens throughout the U.N. system, top to bottom.

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RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED  
TO REPRESENTATIVE ELISE M. STEFANIK BY SENATOR BRIAN SCHATZ

*After more than 20 months of unrelenting conflict and grave violations of international humanitarian law, Sudan's catastrophic hunger is deepening, violence is continuing unabated, humanitarian access remains constrained by the warring parties, the spillover effects on regional countries dealing with their own internal humanitarian crises are growing, and external actors are fueling the war with limited and delayed attempts at accountability. As international diplomacy continues to fail and the conflict fragments further, there is no end in sight for the humanitarian catastrophe; 30 million people will need humanitarian assistance in Sudan in 2025—five million more than in 2024 and the largest figure in recorded history. (CARE)*

*Question.* As U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, how will you ensure the U.N. Security Council can return to a place of consensus on the Sudan file, particularly on humanitarian access and protection of civilians?

*Answer.* If confirmed, I will use the platform of the United Nations Security Council to bring more attention to Sudan, particularly on humanitarian access and protection of civilians.

*Question.* Will you support and champion regular briefings from civil society to the Security Council on the crisis in Sudan?

*Answer.* If confirmed, I will support regular briefings from civil society to the United Nations Security Council on the crisis in Sudan.

*Question.* Can you commit to support a visit of the UNSC to Sudan and Chad to increase international attention on the crisis and foster collective diplomacy?

*Answer.* If confirmed, I will explore every option at my disposal to increase international attention on the crisis and foster collective diplomacy.

*In your hearing, you vowed that, if confirmed, you would work to counter the growing influence of the People's Republic of China (PRC) within the United Nations. In recent years, the PRC has aggressively tried to curtail participation by Taiwan in international organizations, including U.N. bodies, while also luring away Taiwan's remaining diplomatic allies through economic coercion and corrupt practices.*

*Question.* How can the United States strengthen its support for Taiwan's engagement in international organizations, where it can meaningfully contribute to global peace and security in support of U.S. interests?

*Answer.* China has used its malign influence to prevent Taiwan from meaningfully participating in the United Nations. If confirmed, I will work to counter China's attempts to manipulate the U.N. personnel system and install Chinese diplomats and members of the Chinese Communist Party into the U.N. bureaucracy who seek to undermine Taiwan's meaningful participation.

I will also work to counter PRC attempts to insert language in U.N. products that is contrary to our values and that aims to prevent Taiwan from participating in international organizations, and to push back against Chinese pressure on U.N. Secretariat officials to implement Beijing's preferences. I will also work with our allies and partners to ensure Taiwan has the maximum meaningful participation within the U.N. system, including in U.N. specialized and technical agencies, as it should in all international organizations.

*A free press is a fundamental American value. The absence of U.S. Government support for accountability efforts by the U.N. and press freedom defenders only undermines U.S. leadership. Promoting press freedom globally, protecting journalist safety, and advancing international laws and norms can directly support U.S. principles and interests.*

**Question.** Can you commit to urging international support at the U.N. for journalists' access to Gaza, which has been curtailed since of Israel started military operations there, now that a ceasefire is holding?

**Answer.** The United States supports and advocates for free and independent media around the world. If confirmed, I commit to press relevant actors to enhance journalists' protection and ensure that journalists can report freely and safely.

*For decades, the United Nations Command (UNC) has helped maintain an armistice between North and South Korea by ensuring multinational rear forces are ready to support troops on the peninsula in case of war.*

**Question.** If confirmed, how would you support the UNC and similar active, goal-oriented U.N. missions that embody the UN's founding mandate to advance international peace and security?

**Answer.** If confirmed, I will bring attention to the mechanisms that the United Nations Command (UNC) continues to provide to preserve the cessation of hostilities on the Korean Peninsula. I will support the function of all UNC Member States, and the ROK as the host nation, in managing, implementing, and enforcing the terms of 1953 Armistice Agreement.

*People everywhere are experiencing the impacts of more frequent and severe extreme weather and coping with these devastating events is even harder if you're a developing country. Pacific Island leaders say that this is top of mind and a space where the United States can offer an alternative to China's debt-trap diplomacy. In his confirmation hearing, Senator Rubio noted that the Millennium Challenge Corporation and the Development Finance Corporation can leverage private sector engagement to improve resilience in the Pacific Islands.*

**Question.** What do you think we should be doing to support the resilience of developing countries, including the strategically located Pacific Islands?

**Answer.** As Secretary Rubio noted in his confirmation hearing, the Pacific Islands are important to the United States due to their geographic location and their robust presence in international forums including the U.N. and the Pacific Islands Forum. We want to ensure that our Pacific neighbors remain free, secure, and friendly to U.S. interests. The United States has long been engaged in supporting disaster risk reduction and resilience programs aimed at saving lives and reducing the impacts of disasters worldwide, including in the Pacific. If confirmed, I will work with the Pacific Islands and other Indo-Pacific partners to increase the security and resilience of the region that we all share.

President Trump promised the American people who elected him a return to energy dominance. If confirmed, I will work to help him keep this promise through diplomacy that prioritizes this clear and worthy goal.

**Question.** How does helping address the top priorities of partner countries help strengthen U.S. ability to partner with them to advance other U.S. security and economic interests?

**Answer.** If confirmed, I will put American priorities first, while working with partner countries to advance our shared security and economic interests. When aligned with American values and interests, I believe we can drive toward outcomes that are in line with the America First principles laid out by President Trump and ensure the U.S. is safer, stronger, and more prosperous.

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RESPONSE TO A QUESTION FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED  
TO REPRESENTATIVE ELISE M. STEFANIK BY SENATOR JACKY ROSEN

*Question. WOMEN IN UKRAINE:* The women of Ukraine courageously helped lead the country's Euromaidan revolution, and since that time, women have made notable gains in Ukraine's security and political spheres. Tragically, Putin's illegal and unjustified invasion of Ukraine has subjected women and girls in the country to heightened risks of gender-based violence, conflict-related sexual violence, and exploitation due to a lack of basic safety and security. I had the honor of meeting a group of impressive Ukrainian women when I visited the Polish border at the beginning of the war, and I believe women like those I met will be key to ending the conflict.

How will you work with the UN to ensure that women in Ukraine are not only protected as this conflict continues, but also empowered to play a meaningful role in all decisions related to crisis response, reconstruction, and peacebuilding?

*Answer.* As the highest-ranking woman on both the House Armed Services Committee and the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, I have long advocated for the robust participation of women in the national security decision-making process not just because they are women, but because we benefit from a diverse group of voices. If confirmed, I will engage with UN agencies and member states to strongly advocate for the full, equal, and meaningful participation of women in UN processes as leaders, negotiators, and peacebuilders. I will work to ensure the best person for the job always has a seat at the table and has their voice heard.

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*Submitted by Senator Tim Kaine*

DONATE

POLITICS

## How the 'replacement' theory went mainstream on the political right

MAY 17, 2022 · 5:00 AM ET



Domenico Montanaro



Former President Donald Trump speaks during the American Freedom Tour on Saturday in Austin, Texas.  
*Brandon Bell/Getty Images*

Following the shooting in Buffalo, N.Y., focus has been trained on the "replacement" theory, also known as "white replacement" theory.

That's because a white man, who killed 10 Black people and injured three others, posted a 180-page document online that promulgated racist conspiracy theories often referred to as the "great replacement."

And he allegedly used the conspiratorial idea that minorities were and would be replacing whites as a reason to justify what he did. The FBI is investigating it as a hate crime.

"I want to be clear, for my part, from everything we know, this was a targeted attack, a hate crime, and an act of racially motivated violent extremism," FBI Director Christopher Wray said Monday.



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**RACE**

**The 'Great Replacement' conspiracy theory isn't fringe anymore, it's mainstream**



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**NATIONAL**

**President Biden will travel to Buffalo Tuesday to meet with shooting victims' families**

"Replacement" theory began in white supremacist circles, but has since moved more mainstream on the political right in this country and among many Republicans, explicitly or implicitly.

We explore that and how former President Donald Trump used it for political gain in a Q&A with an expert below, but, first, some background.

**That mainstreaming of the theory has been building for a long time politically.**

It can be seen by implication, for example, at least as far back as the "White Hands" ad that late North Carolina Sen. Jesse Helms ran during his 1990 reelection campaign.

"You needed that job, and you were the best qualified, but they had to give it to a minority because of a racial quota," a narrator in the ad says as a man crumples up a piece of paper.

Jesse Helms "Hands" ad



YouTube

**Since that time, changing demography has roiled American politics.**

The country has become browner and more diverse. In 1990, for example, the population of whites not of Hispanic origin was about 76% of the U.S. population. Today, that is down to 60%.

Whites are heading toward minority status in the United States, even if all immigration was shut down today. In 2018, U.S. Census estimates showed for the first time that whites dropped to below 50% of the under-15 population.



That change is largely due to migration of Latinos and Asian Americans. Latinos are the largest-growing group, while Asian Americans are the fastest growing.



#### NATIONAL

**The 2020 census had big undercounts of Black people, Latinos and Native Americans**

#### **Some politicians have tried to exploit a diversifying country to scare white Americans.**

"I believe without a shadow of a doubt this is the last election," former Rep. Michele Bachmann, who failed to win the GOP presidential nomination in 2012, told the Christian Broadcasting Network's David Brody three months before the 2016 presidential election. "This is it. This is the last election. And the reason why I say that, David, is because it's a math problem. It's a math problem of demographics and a changing United States."

That's right in line with "replacement" theory, and Trump — who made immigration the foundation of his 2016 presidential campaign and arguably catered to and weaponized white grievance unlike any candidate in U.S. history — ran with it.

"I think this will be the last election that the Republicans have a chance of winning," Trump told Brody backstage at the Values Voter Summit shortly after Bachmann made the remarks, "because you're going to have people flowing across

the border, you're going to have illegal immigrants coming in, and they're going to be legalized, and they're going to be able to vote and once that all happens you can forget it."

After Trump lost the 2020 presidential election, in an effort to bolster his lie that he actually won when he didn't, he lied and said there were "illegal immigrant voters" in the election, which, of course, is not true.

Trump was later kicked off Twitter for the amount of misinformation and disinformation he was putting on the platform.

**Conservative media amplified the message.**

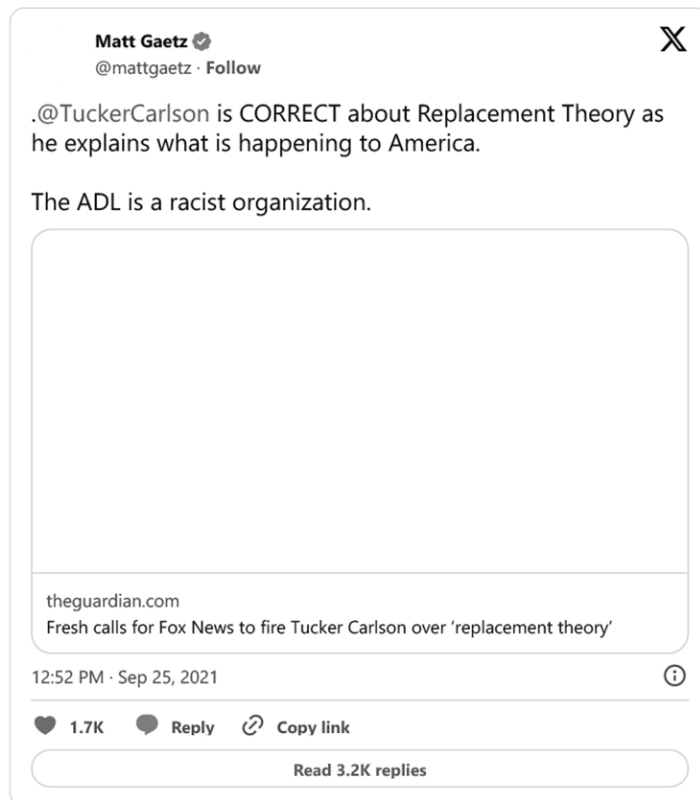
Republicans have become more explicit about embracing the actual words, helped by the amplification of Fox News, particularly prime-time host Tucker Carlson. Rather than implying it, as many on the right previously had, Carlson is explicit — even if he denies somehow that he's talking about the "racist fantasy," as he called it.

But just look at his words:

"I know that the left and all the little gatekeepers on Twitter become literally hysterical if you use the term 'replacement,'" Carlson said in April 2021, "if you suggest that the Democratic Party is trying to replace the current electorate, the voters now casting ballots with new people, more obedient voters from the third world. But they become hysterical because that's what's happening actually."

After that, the Anti-Defamation League called for Carlson to be pulled off the air.

That prompted Rep. Matt Gaetz, R-Fla., to actually call the Anti-Defamation League "a racist organization."



Carlson's employer, Fox News, defended its most-watched host. And then, here was Carlson in September:

"In political terms, this policy is called the 'great replacement,' the replacement of legacy Americans with more obedient people from faraway countries."

Fox continues to defend Carlson, saying he does not advocate violence. Fox also *successfully* defended him in court in a 2020 defamation case, saying, he literally can't be believed.



#### POLITICS

**GOP leadership has enabled white nationalism, Liz Cheney says**

#### **Some Republicans are on the defensive.**

After the Buffalo shooting, Republican Reps. Adam Kinzinger of Illinois and Liz Cheney of Wyoming pointed at GOP leadership for enabling this attitude among their lawmakers and voters.

Kinzinger specifically called out House No. 3 GOP leader Elise Stefanik of New York, saying she "pushes white replacement theory." The criticism centers on Facebook ads Stefanik's campaign committee ran, one of which read:

*"Radical Democrats are planning their most aggressive move yet: a PERMANENT ELECTION INSURRECTION. Their plan to grant amnesty to 11 MILLION illegal immigrants will overthrow our current electorate and create a permanent liberal majority in Washington."*

Stefanik, an upstate New York congresswoman, decried the shooting in Buffalo, but pinned it on an uptick in "violent crime" rather than the racist ideology to which the shooter ascribed.

"Any implication or attempt to blame the heinous shooting in Buffalo on the Congresswoman is a new disgusting low for the Left, their Never Trump allies, and the sycophant stenographers in the media," Stefanik senior adviser Alex DeGrasse said in a statement. "The shooting was an act of evil and the criminal should be prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law."

On Monday morning, Stefanik tweeted: "Democrats desperately want wide open borders and mass amnesty for illegals allowing them to vote."

Democrats — and some Republicans — say it's not about electoral politics, but that there's a broken immigration system that needs to be fixed with a path to

citizenship for those immigrants in the U.S. illegally to come out of the shadows — and pay taxes.

### **The GOP has changed drastically on immigration.**

It wasn't long ago that then-President George W. Bush, a former border-state governor (Texas), as well as the late Sen. John McCain, also from a border state (Arizona), advocated for comprehensive immigration reform.



#### **POLITICS**

**Immigration advocates warn of midterm risks for Democrats if Title 42 isn't lifted**

During the Obama administration, a comprehensive plan actually passed the Senate with 68 votes, including many Republicans.

But that was nearly a decade ago. Trump ran on building "the wall," and the GOP hardline on immigration, which had always been latent, took hold as the party's policy — and a principal motivator to get the base to the polls.

**Republicans — and conservative media consumers — are more likely to believe in the tenets of "replacement."**

The sentiment is catching on, especially among Republicans.

A recent, large-sample AP/NORC poll found that a third of respondents agreed that there is a group of people in this country who are trying to replace native-born Americans with immigrants who agree with their political views.

Almost half of Republicans said so, compared to about one in five self-identified Democrats.

Belief that replacement is happening is also higher among viewers of right-wing media like OANN, Newsmax and Fox News than other outlets.

**"Replacement" theory may have started in white supremacist circles, but the ground was laid for Trump to use white grievance to his political advantage. Here's how...**

Casey Kelly — a professor at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln who has studied Trump's language and is the author of *Apocalypse man: The death drive and the rhetoric of white masculine victimhood* — helped explain.



#### POLITICS

**Trump escalates racist rhetoric and plays on white grievance at recent rallies**

This conversation took place months before the Buffalo shooting, but just after a rally in which Trump said that white people were being asked to get to the "back of the line" for therapeutics in New York — something that was far exaggerated.

The Q&A has been lightly edited for clarity and length:

**MONTANARO:** Where did "white replacement" theory or the "great replacement" theory begin and how much has Trump been pushing it, at least implicitly?

**KELLY:** Certainly in white supremacist circles there's been a longstanding theory of white genocide or the great replacement, which is that by way of immigration laws that bring over large numbers of, quote, and I use this term of quotations, of high-fertility immigrants, meaning the idea that they are more likely to reproduce at greater rates than white populations, that that's an intentional effort to replace white people with diversity, with different people from different countries and people from different racial backgrounds. And that is longstanding.

There's lots of different roots, both in European white nationalism and American white nationalism, of that theory making its way throughout the culture. And what's interesting is that I don't know to what extent he's [Trump] aware of it, but I certainly know that his arguments are consistent.



NATIONAL

**Distribution of white supremacist propaganda is increasingly coordinated, ADL says**

If people are steeped in that culture, if they're aware of this this idea-- and people like Tucker Carlson will sort of trot out these talking points that came from white nationalists on his own show. So they do have a mainstream presence.

But he doesn't sort of call them that or cite them in a way that explicitly references it. But that's where that theory originates. And so when he talks about issues of displacement and replacement, that certainly resonates with people who, if they are steeped in white supremacist discourse, have absolutely heard this idea. And they're having the [former] president of the country who is also aligning and saying things that are, if they're not directly referencing it, are consistent with that theory.

**MONTANARO: How does Trump capitalize on feelings of white resentment?**

**KELLY:** One of the, I think, primary appeals of Trump is that he basically could take these abstract feelings of being dispossessed and displaced. And these are feelings that were felt over the decades, where automation and outsourcing were essentially destroying the Rust Belt of America, the places where there was manufacturing and industry in the United States. And that is a structural transformation in the economy that, while it happens to affect people in rural America, it was not designed as an explicit attempt to dispossess white Americans — even though that was the effect it's tended to have.

And so what he tends to do is to frame that dispossession of rural America. He attempts to frame it as if it were an explicit, racially motivated discrimination against white people, a sort of reverse discrimination or victimage. And he, of course, sort of blames Democrats for this, that it was a sort of systematic, structural effort to dispossess white America, to displace America, as they knew it. And so what he does — what he did — that is both troubling but also is effective, is he reframed the experiences of alienation that many people in rural America have, the belief that the culture doesn't reflect who they are anymore and that there are a lot of difference in otherness that they don't quite understand.

And that's happening concurrently with a burgeoning opioid crisis combined with the collapse of infrastructure and manufacturing and good quality union jobs in rural areas of the country. He enables them to view that as a systematic dispossession, that it's by design to hurt them, because it's an effort by



progressives to institute their version of America, which is supposedly fundamentally different than their version of America.

And what he offers then is to alleviate their victimhood by putting them first, saying that for a change — they've been told that "they have white privilege" and that "whiteness is a problem" — but what has happened is that it's resulted in discrimination against white people. And so the way that he sells what is objectively bad things that are happening to people in rural America, he reframes them in a way that makes them feel like it's an identity politics, that actually there's a concerted effort on the part of progressives to supplant the values of rural white America with progressive values that don't necessarily match with their understanding of what America is — and that it's a purposeful effort and that it's malicious, that it's evil in its intent to displace white Americans. And so what he gets them to do is think about themselves as victims of this social change that, while regrettable in many ways, were not explicitly designed as racial discrimination against white people.

**MONTANARO: He seems to have knack for identifying the things that will particularly play well as grievances.**

KELLY: Trump seems to have a nose for white victimhood, meaning that he is very effective at finding issues that can easily be reframed as reverse discrimination against white people, meaning that he can sniff out white resentment, and he can tap into it by pointing out the ways in which certain kinds of social, economic, cultural and political change, whether they be the restructuring of the U.S. economy from outsourcing or whether they be a culture-war issue like the "war on Christmas" or about Confederate monuments and people wanting to take away people's history, he can find those moments that are big changes that may displace certain views of America that change and evolve America.

He is really good at representing those as a systemic effort to displace and discriminate against white people, which makes him so effective at garnering white resentment.

**MONTANARO:** Trump, of course, wouldn't be president if this line of reasoning didn't resonate with a base of supporters. Race seems to be at the underpinning of all of this. What should people know about that?

**KELLY:** I don't think that all of his supporters are racist. Really, what I think that what he does well is he frames issues that that sort of allows people to see their identities as being aggrieved in the way that other racial identities in America are aggrieved.

And so what he does effectively, I think, is permit white people who may have no overt white supremacist commitments to think about themselves as being discriminated against the same way that Latinos or African Americans may have been discriminated against. And therefore, they have entitlement to some sort of redress.

republicans   white supremacy   donald j. trump



*Submitted by Senator James E. Risch*

## SERGEANTS BENEVOLENT ASSOCIATION

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January 20, 2025

Vincent J. Vallelong  
President

Edmund J. Small  
Vice President

Edward Geary  
Treasurer

William Morrissey  
Recording Secretary

Anthony Borelli  
Financial Secretary

Donald Kipp  
Health & Welfare  
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John Collins  
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Catherine Kunst  
Marshal

Sergeant-At-Arms

The Honorable Jim Risch  
Chair,  
Foreign Relations Committee  
United States Senate  
Washington, DC 20510

The Honorable Jeanne Shaheen  
Ranking Member,  
Foreign Relations Committee  
United States Senate  
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Mr. Chairman & Senator Shaheen:

I am writing on behalf of the more than 13,000 active and retired members of the Sergeants Benevolent Association (SBA) of the New York City Police Department to offer our strong support for the nomination of Elise Stefanik to serve as the next U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations. We have had the privilege of working with Rep. Stefanik throughout her tenure in Congress, and we know that she possesses the leadership experience our nation needs at this critical time.

Throughout her tenure in Congress, Rep. Stefanik has held senior positions on the House Committee on Armed Services and the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, as Co-Chair of the Congressional Counter-Terrorism Caucus, and served as Chair of the House Republican Conference. We know that she will be a strong and forceful advocate at the U.N. for addressing the threats we face from international terrorism and the flow of fentanyl and other dangerous narcotics across our borders. That's because as a fellow New Yorker, Rep. Stefanik has witnessed the devastating consequences of terrorism and illicit drugs across our state and nation.

After her election to Congress, Rep. Stefanik became a leader in ensuring the federal government continues to address the ongoing health crisis among first responders to the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. She has simultaneously worked to provide our national intelligence and federal, state, and local law enforcement officers with the tools and resources they need to prevent and mitigate the threats posed by international terrorist organizations. Rep. Stefanik has also supported the passage of legislation to keep our nation safe from the scourge of transnational criminal organizations who poison our communities. This includes her support last Congress for the SBA-supported "HALT Fentanyl Act," which would permanently place fentanyl-related substances under Schedule I of the Controlled Substances Act.

The SBA is proud to endorse Rep. Stefanik's nomination because now, more than ever, our nation needs leaders who prioritize the rights and safety of American citizens. We therefore respectfully request that this Committee and the Senate prioritize the expeditious confirmation of Rep. Stefanik to this important position.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Vincent J. Vallelong".

Vincent J. Vallelong  
President

*Submitted by Senator James E. Risch*



**Independent Women Supports the Confirmation of Elise Stefanik as Ambassador to the United Nations**

January 17, 2025

Dear Senators,

Independent Women, which advances policies that enhance opportunity and well-being, fully supports the confirmation of Elise Stefanik to serve as Ambassador to the United Nations. President Trump deserves the team he wants so that he can carry out the directive given to him by the American people.

There is no question that Ms. Stefanik is incredibly qualified to serve as UN ambassador.

As a congresswoman, Ms. Stefanik has been a strong advocate for combating the threats to our national security and will stand up for our nation's best interests at the United Nations. Independent Women has had the pleasure of partnering with Ms. Stefanik during her tenure as a congresswoman: She is consistently willing to listen, thoughtful, principled, and a smart and strategic advocate for her cause.

Independent Women is proud to support the nomination of such a qualified nominee to serve as UN Ambassador. We urge senators to provide Ms. Stefanik with a fair and respectful hearing and to confirm her as Ambassador to the United Nations.

Respectfully,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'HRH'.

Heather R. Higgins  
CEO  
Independent Women's Voice

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Carrie Lukas'.

Carrie Lukas  
Vice President  
Independent Women's Voice

