

NOMINATIONS

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 2026

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

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:30 a.m., in room SD-419, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. James E. Risch presiding.

Present: Senators Risch [presiding], Ricketts, Daines, Curtis, Shaheen, Murphy, Kaine, Merkley, Booker, and Rosen.

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

Senator RISCH. The U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations will come to order.

Good to see all of you today. We welcome our guests. I remind the people we are glad to have everyone here watching. We have zero tolerance for interruptions, as has been demonstrated quite well in recent times.

Senator Blunt, so good to see you back again. Welcome, good to see you.

Senator BLUNT. Great to be back.

Senator RISCH. Thank you.

I think what we are going to do here is I am going to make a few remarks and then I am going to turn it over to Senator Shaheen.

Then we will hear from each of the—we will have people who do introductions, so you can leave if you would like to leave. Then we will hear from the nominees.

So thank you to the nominees and to especially to the families who also help whenever we have—whenever their spouses or loved ones participate in government operations. The families also provide as much sacrifice as the actual nominees do. So thank you to the families for being here today, too.

Mr. Long, Iceland is a critical partner of the United States in protecting our homeland from threats that could impact us and our allies in the North Atlantic.

Both China and Russia have made their strategic goals in the Arctic clear, and advancing U.S.-Iceland cooperation will be critical to monitoring and deterring their efforts to exert influence over the region's vast resources.

If confirmed as ambassador I encourage you to continue developing our cooperation at Naval Air Station Keflavik. To advance these counter-Russia and China efforts, that will be necessary.

I look forward to hearing how you will work with Iceland to improve our bilateral relationship and other NATO allies on our shared security interests.

Mr. Carl, as you know, historically the United States has been the most generous donor to the United Nations, paying billions every year. Yet, the return on our investment for the American taxpayer is, at best, questionable.

President Trump and Congress have made clear that the status quo at the U.N. and other international organizations is no longer acceptable.

As assistant secretary for international organization affairs you will be responsible for continuing President Trump's strong reform agenda, including the option to withdraw from any of these various U.N. organizations that are not meeting our standards.

In addition to reducing the size of the U.N. and eliminating waste, fraud, and abuse, you will also have to deal with the organization's disgusting obsession with Israel and its deep antisemitism that is within the very foundation.

In 2020 I published a report outlining how we can work with our allies to promote Americans and like minded individuals in these organizations, enabling us to compete with our adversaries.

In your role, I hope you will implement some of these recommendations, and above all, ensure that every taxpayer dollar given to an international organization makes America safer and better off—a heavy lift, to say the least.

Mr. Sweeney, as you know, the Asian Development Bank occupies a unique position among the global development banks in its ability to directly counter China's predatory economic coercion in the region.

In recent years, the ADB has provided high quality alternatives to predatory Chinese loans, yet China remains its third largest shareholder and continues receiving funding from the ADB.

If confirmed, I would like to know how you plan to use the voice and vote of the United States to drive quality development projects that are aligned with U.S. strategic interests.

I would also like to hear your views on how the ADB can work with its member countries and with multilateral institutions to prioritize hard infrastructure projects and energy security in the region.

And finally, Mr. Brooks, if confirmed you will play an important role in overseeing policies related to oceans, space, illegal wildlife trade, and IUU fishing. These are all areas in which China continues to play according to its own rules.

Countries that participate in IUU fishing, including China, not only gain unfair trade advantages but also disrupt the global supply chain and enable other illicit activities like drug trafficking and forced labor.

You will also oversee Antarctic Treaty cooperation and enforcement, as well as U.S. research engagement in Antarctica.

Both Russia and China have long been suspected of conducting military and intelligence activities under the guise of research, and Russia has reportedly conducted commercial resource exploration, all of which violate the Antarctic Treaty.

I look forward to hearing how you will push back on these illicit activities in your role.

Once again, thank you to the nominees. Thank you for your families supporting you, and I would like to now turn it over to the distinguished Ranking Member.

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

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

Welcome to all of our nominees this morning, to your families, and to all of your supporters who are here with you.

Around the world today we are seeing a rollback in the rights and protections of women and girls. We are seeing bans on girls' education, conflict zones where women and girls face sexual violence, laws and policies that restrict women's legal status, property rights, and access to health care and economic participation.

And America's response to these developments matters. Allies look to us to set the course, and if we weaken our position others will hedge or stay silent.

Peacekeeping, humanitarian aid, and the implementation of the law that was passed during the first Trump administration called Women, Peace, and Security, all depend on U.S. engagement, and when we do this well, women and girls and societies are better off. When we do not, they face a greater threat.

In January, this Administration pulled out of more than 66 organizations that included programs that supported child protections, education access, and women's health. This weakened our ability to lead coalitions and protect the rights and safety of women and girls.

That is why who represents the United States on the global stage matters.

Mr. Carl, you have been nominated to serve as the assistant secretary for international organizations, and yet you have expressed views that are deeply concerning for me and for many members of this committee and for many Americans.

These include comments promoting racial supremacy, minimizing the experiences of Jewish people, and warning about a cultural genocide against white Americans.

You have said these descriptions are smears or politically motivated attacks, and we will have a chance to hear from you in your opening statement.

But I can tell you as a woman who has served as both Governor and Senator from State of New Hampshire, I have seen firsthand how expanding opportunity for women strengthens our economy, our communities, and our national security.

And that is not just my opinion. There is data, global data, that shows that women contribute more to their societies, to their families, to their communities, and to their countries. So I find your views about women particularly concerning.

Mr. Long, you have been nominated to serve as our Ambassador to Iceland, a NATO ally, and that has been critical, as the Chairman stated, to U.S. security interests, especially in the Arctic.

I have concerns about your past involvement in questionable tax referral operations and what that says about your judgment.

Despite the jokes you have reportedly made related to Iceland, this is a role that requires seriousness and sound judgment. We do not have the luxury of treating this lightly, certainly not in the environment that we are in right now.

Mr. Brooks, you have been nominated to serve as the assistant secretary for oceans, environmental, and scientific affairs. We have not had a Senate confirmed leader in this role for far too long, and I hope that if confirmed you will continue to advance U.S. leadership in science, technology, and the global rules that shape them.

And finally, Mr. Sweeney, you have been nominated to be director of the Asian Development Bank. This role is critical in advancing U.S. economic priorities in Asia and providing a credible alternative to Chinese state directed development finance.

If confirmed, you will need to work closely with our allies and partners to counter the influence of the PRC at the bank.

I look forward to hearing from each of you.

Thank you.

Senator RISCH. Thank you very much, Senator Shaheen.

We will now have some introductions.

Congressman Mast, welcome to our committee. We are glad to have you here. I think this is your first time here, as I recall.

You will see we run a tight operation here, much like yours on your side. So thanks so much for joining us.

The floor is yours.

**STATEMENT OF HON. BRIAN J. MAST,
U.S. REPRESENTATIVE FROM FLORIDA**

Representative MAST. Chairman Risch, Ranking Member Shaheen, thank you for having me here today. I am happy to repay the favor anytime you want me to put a microphone in front of you at the House. More than happy to bring you over.

Senator RISCH. You know, that is a really bad mistake.

[Laughter.]

Senator SHAHEEN. Especially for you.

Representative MAST. Other members of the committee, thank you also for having me. And you stole the best dressed member of the House of Representatives, Mr. Curtis. If he does not work out for you, we are happy to take him back. We really enjoyed having him.

So in that, I just want to say how much of an honor it is, truly, personally, for me to introduce Dr. Wes Brooks. I have known him since the moment I came to the Hill.

He is a dedicated scholar, a public servant, who has a proven track record of advancing critical environmental efforts in my home State of Florida and beyond.

He has made it a priority to advance himself every day that he has had the chance to work for the people. He is hungry for it.

Without hesitation, I recommend Dr. Brooks as Assistant Secretary of State for oceans and international environment and scientific affairs. He is an inspiring leader who brings with him an extensive background in ecological science and environmental policy.

When Dr. Brooks served as director of Federal affairs for the Florida Department of Environmental Protection, he developed and

led our fight for the restoration of America's Everglades, something so many are familiar with.

In 2022, when Dr. Brooks was appointed by our Governor as Florida's chief resiliency officer, he worked tirelessly to rehabilitate coastal communities, grappling with Hurricane Ian's devastating aftermath.

Dr. Brooks made sure to meet with as many local officials as possible from eight counties in the State, St. John's River Water Management District, across the State. He was everywhere, and he responded to everybody.

I can tell that is something about him. If you call him, he is responsive to you. He will get back to you continually, no matter the time of day. He listened closely, and he learned from each unique community on how his office could best support the recovery efforts that needed to take place.

He understands what it takes to lead and is testament as to his character, is one of the many reasons why I am so proud to call Dr. Brooks a great friend. He now serves as Deputy Assistant Administrator for regulatory and scientific affairs at the EPA.

In this role, he has secured agreements with Mexico, alongside Administrator Zeldin, for resolving the Tijuana River sewage crisis.

All of us know how central OES is in our work in addressing America's most pressing national security challenges. As illegal fishing undermines our allies, polar competition intensifies, and commercialization in space expands, Dr. Brooks is more than ready to shape a new era of preservation and prosperity.

So I could not recommend him more. If you need to call me outside of this and ask for other stories, I am happy to tell you those stories as well.

I could speak about him in length for hours, which I will not do to you today. And as I simply close this, I would say one other thing not related to Dr. Brooks.

If it is of benefit to Mr. Long, I had dinner with him last night. If it is not a benefit to him, I cannot remember the last time I saw him.

[Laughter.]

Senator RISCH. Thank you, Congressman Mast. Thank you so much for coming over and joining us.

I know you have got pressing matters. You are welcome to stay if you would like, but I know you have probably got things you have to do over there. So thanks.

Representative MAST. Let me know how Munich goes if I do not see you there.

[Laughter.]

Senator RISCH. Yes. Good to see you.

Senator Blunt, so good to see you back here. Thank you so much. We are always happy to have you return.

**STATEMENT OF HON. ROY BLUNT,
FORMER U.S. SENATOR FROM MISSOURI**

Senator BLUNT. Chairman, great to be with you. Great to be with my friend Senator Shaheen, my other friends on the committee, and to be here to introduce my longtime friend, Billy Long, to the committee.

Many of you know him. Many of the committee members are going to know him from service in the House and in other ways, but they do not know him as long as I have known him.

Billy and I have been friends for at least 30 years. My wife Abby and his wife Barbara are good friends. Barbara is an important part of the Long team and will be an important part of the Long team and our team in Iceland as well.

We have watched his two daughters grow up. One is a doctor in our hometown in Springfield. One worked for both the House and the Senate here in Washington, and so I come from a lot of understanding of Billy and his strengths.

I saw him build an incredible business as an auctioneer and a Realtor in Springfield, and for 12 years he was my Congressman. When I left the Congress to come to the Senate, Billy took that job, and we were constantly working for things in our part of Missouri as I work for things all over our State.

Billy was a great member of the Energy and Commerce Committee, but he was also very interested in our foreign relationships. The last year he was in the House, Abby and I went to a ceremony that the British—that the Japanese Ambassador was having where he gave Billy what I think is the highest award that can be given to a non-citizen of Japan for his interest and his friendship in Japan.

I think Billy will establish in Iceland a unique opportunity, and as both of you have mentioned, a unique country for us, a very important country for us for a long time, but at this moment maybe more important than it has ever been.

Billy Long will come from the middle of America to a country where relationships really matter, and I guarantee you if he has one strength it is building relationships, understanding what other people are thinking about the issues that impact them, and I think he will be effective both in explaining that to us and explaining our view on these issues to them.

I think Billy will be a great ambassador. Wherever he goes he is a great ambassador, and in this case I think he will be a great ambassador to a very important country, and I am glad to be here today to recommend him to the committee and look forward to him having this opportunity to serve.

Thank you all for letting me be here.

Senator RISCH. Thank you, Senator Blunt. Well done, as always. You are welcome to stay. Obviously, I understand you have other things to do, too. So you are dismissed if you would like to be.

So with that, Senator Daines, I understand you would like the floor.

**STATEMENT OF HON. STEVE DAINES,
U.S. SENATOR FROM MONTANA**

Senator DAINES. Chairman Risch, thank you. Ranking Member Shaheen, thank you as well.

I am delighted to introduce Jeremy Carl from my hometown of Bozeman, Montana. I will get to his professional experience in a bit, but I would like to first share a bit more on his personal side.

I have gotten to know Jeremy well over the past several years. Jeremy has a lovely family—five children, three sons, two daugh-

ters—a wonderful wife, Dr. Anna Carl, an emergency room physician.

We have had a lot of great discussions over the years ranging from everything, very Montana stories of hunting and fishing, as well as politics, and we also share a common admiration for President Reagan.

Jeremy also has had a very distinguished professional career where his work took him from technology to the NGO world, from Yale to Harvard to Stanford—as we say in Montana, go get a good education and then get over it—and in his current role now at the Claremont Institute.

He spent almost a decade as a research fellow at the Hoover Institution at Stanford University where his scholarship was frequently cited by public policy professionals, including Nobel Prize recipients and political leaders from both parties.

Relevant to this committee, he was hired at Hoover directly by the late U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, who worked with President Reagan to win the cold war and with whom he worked closely for a decade on numerous policy issues, working with political leaders and distinguished diplomats from America to India to Israel.

While at Hoover, Shultz praised Mr. Carl’s work, citing his, quote, “mastery of subject matter,” and quote, “the integrity he brought to his work and,” he also added, “his seemingly boundless capacity to explore new avenues of research.”

The clear support and respect that Secretary Shultz had for Jeremy is a very strong endorsement of his candidacy for this important role.

Jeremy also had the privilege of previously serving America as a Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Interior under President Trump in the first Trump administration.

I am very pleased to introduce him to this committee. I look forward to having him serve in this important role.

Senator RISCH. Thanks so much, Senator. We really appreciate that.

And now we are going to hear from each of the nominees. We ask you to keep it to about 5 minutes. If you have things you want to put in in addition to that, we have unlimited room in the record, and we will be happy to include anything that you want to include on the record.

So with that, we will start with you, Mr. Brooks. Your floor is yours.

STATEMENT OF DR. WESLEY BROOKS, OF FLORIDA, TO BE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR OCEANS AND INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL AND SCIENTIFIC AFFAIRS

Dr. BROOKS. Thank you, Chairman Risch, Ranking Member Shaheen, and distinguished members of this committee. I am honored to appear before you today as President Trump’s nominee for Assistant Secretary of State for Oceans and International, Environmental, and Scientific Affairs. If confirmed, I look forward to working with you and your staff.

I am beyond grateful for the opportunity to serve our nation with the trust and confidence of the President and Secretary Rubio. I

am also grateful to so many wonderful family members, friends, and colleagues.

I am honored in particular to be joined here today by a few of the most important people in my life: my amazing wife of more than 13 years, Megan, to whom I owe more than I can ever repay, including sharing with me the two greatest blessings of my life, our daughter Evie and our son, Ford; my mom, who is a living testament to the blessings of liberty and the American dream, having fled Castro's Cuba as a child and working incessantly to provide me with a foundation in life unburdened by that history; and my dad and stepmom, who demonstrated for me day in and day out what lives of honor and service looked like throughout their long careers in law enforcement. Thank you all for your love and ongoing support.

After earning a Ph.D. in ecological science, I had the privilege to advise three members of the Florida congressional delegation on agriculture, energy, environment, trade, and water resources issues: former Foreign Affairs Committee Chair Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, current House Foreign Affairs Committee Chair Brian Mast, and then Senator Marco Rubio, who some of you may be familiar with. I continue to deeply admire each of them to this day.

In 2020, I joined the State's Federal Affairs Office and was later appointed as Florida's Chief Resilience Officer by Governor DeSantis, working across State agencies and local governments to address flood risks and adapt infrastructure to reduce the economic impacts of flooding and hurricanes on communities and businesses across my home State.

Most recently, I have enjoyed serving under Administrator Zeldin and Assistant Administrator Kramer as Deputy Assistant Administrator in EPA's Office of Water.

If confirmed, I will leverage my extensive experience cultivating and sustaining relationships and successfully coordinating across diverse entities to achieve mutually beneficial cooperation that delivers results for the American people.

As you all are aware, the Bureau of Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs was created by Congress in 1973 and given responsibility for, quote, "matters relating to oceans, environmental, scientific, fisheries, wildlife, and conservation affairs." Today, OES is at the forefront of returning us to common sense environmental policy that puts Americans and American workers first.

Under President Trump's leadership, OES protects our national security and economic interests in areas beyond national borders, including the high seas, the Arctic, the Antarctic, and outer space.

Maintaining U.S. leadership and robust diplomacy is critical for the stability and security of the U.S. economy, combating transnational crime and terrorism, and countering the Chinese Communist Party's global ambitions.

If confirmed, I commit to you to drive OES diplomacy on the Administration's priorities, including access to rare earths and critical minerals, OES leadership and deep seabed mining, and the recycling and recovery pillar of the Administration's bilateral critical mineral frameworks support the department's broader Pax Silica

initiative and directly benefits U.S. supply chain security and resilience.

American space superiority. Energetic commercial diplomacy on behalf of the American space industry and the promotion of U.S. space capabilities, systems, and services is imperative as we seek to advance the space technologies we have come to rely upon in our daily lives and also seek to maintain the U.S. edge in space as China works to beat NASA back to the moon.

We will also support productive oceans, using coordinated action with like minded nations to combat IUU fishing, including by China's distant water fishing fleet.

I also commit to supporting water security. By supporting regional bureaus and U.S. ambassadors OES can help stabilize water supplies to safeguard industrial supply chains, create U.S. market opportunities, reduce migration, and prevent conflicts.

OES must also defend against global regulatory approaches that stifle innovation and disadvantage U.S. companies.

This includes continuing pressure to oppose aspects of the EU Space Act and supporting a pragmatic agreement to reduce plastic pollution that draws on U.S. waste management successes and protects U.S. jobs and investment.

At its core, the United States is a frontier nation. American ingenuity and optimism have fueled our rise as a global power and our national interests in the oceans, outer space, and the ever deepening interface between biology and technology.


If confirmed, I will ensure that OES is at the leading edge of U.S. efforts to explore, exploit, and defend these vital frontiers so that the 21st century remains an American century.

Thank you for considering my nomination.

NOMINEE COMMITMENT QUESTIONS

**Senate Foreign Relations Committee
Additional Nominee Questions**

1. Do you agree to appear before this Committee and make officials from your office available to the Committee when invited?
Answer: Yes
2. Do you commit to keeping this Committee fully informed about the activities under your purview in a timely manner?
Answer: Yes
3. Do you commit to engaging in meaningful consultation while policies are being developed, not just providing notification after the fact?
Answer: Yes
4. 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
5. 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


Printed Name: Wesley Brooks
Date: February 12, 2026

[The prepared statement of Dr. Brooks follows:]

Prepared Statement of Dr. Wesley Brooks

Chairman Risch, Ranking Member Shaheen, and distinguished Members of this committee, I'm honored to appear before you today as President Trump's nominee for Assistant Secretary of State for the Bureau of Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs. If confirmed, I look forward to working with you and your staff.

I am beyond grateful for the opportunity to serve our nation with the trust and confidence of the President and Secretary Rubio. I'm also grateful to so many wonderful family members, friends, and colleagues.

I'm honored to be joined here today by a few of the most important people in my life. My amazing wife of more than 13 years, Megan, to whom I owe more than I can ever repay, including sharing with me the two greatest blessings in my life, our daughter Evie, and our son Ford. My Mom is a living testament to the blessings of liberty and the American Dream, having fled Castro's Cuba as a child and working to provide me with a foundation in life unburdened by that history. My Dad and stepmom demonstrated for me day in and day out what lives of honor and service looked like throughout their long careers in law enforcement. Thank you all for your love and ongoing support.

After earning a Ph.D. in ecological science, I had the privilege to advise three members of the Florida congressional delegation on agriculture, energy, environment, trade, and water resources issues—Former House Foreign Affairs Committee Chair Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, House Foreign Affairs Committee Chair Brian Mast, and then-Senator Marco Rubio. I continue to deeply admire each of them to this day.

In 2020, I joined the State of Florida's Federal affairs office and was later appointed as Florida's Chief Resilience Officer by Governor DeSantis, working across State agencies and local governments to address flood risks and adapt infrastructure to reduce the risks and economic impacts of flooding and hurricanes on communities and businesses across the State.

Most recently I've enjoyed serving under Administrator Zeldin and Assistant Administrator Kramer as Deputy Assistant Administrator for Regulatory and Scientific Affairs in EPA's Office of Water.

If confirmed, I will leverage my extensive experience cultivating and sustaining relationships and successfully coordinating across diverse entities to achieve mutually beneficial cooperation that delivers results.

The Bureau of Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs (OES) was created by Congress in 1973 and given responsibility for "matters relating to oceans, environmental, scientific, fisheries, wildlife, and conservation affairs" Today, OES is at the forefront of returning us to common-sense environmental policy that puts America, and American workers, first.

Under President Trump's leadership, OES protects our national security and economic interests in areas beyond national borders, including the high seas, the Arctic and Antarctica, and outer space. OES also has a key role in combating transnational threats, like illegal, unreported, and unregulated fishing, transboundary pollution in our air and water, and illegal logging and mining.

Maintaining U.S. leadership and robust diplomacy is critical for the stability and security of the U.S. economy and for countering the Chinese Communist Party's global ambitions.

If confirmed I commit to driving OES diplomacy on the Administration's priorities, including:

Access to rare earths and critical minerals. OES leadership in deep seabed mining and the recycling and recovery pillar of the Administration's bilateral Critical Mineral Frameworks support the Department's broader Pax Silica initiative and directly benefits U.S. supply chain security and resilience.

American Space Superiority. Energetic commercial diplomacy on behalf of the American space industry and the promotion of U.S. space capabilities, systems, and services is imperative as we advance and innovate the space technologies ordinary Americans have come to rely on in their daily lives and seek to maintain the U.S. edge in space as China works to beat NASA back to the Moon.

Productive Oceans. Coordinated action with like-minded nations is needed to combat IUU fishing, including by China's distant water fishing fleet, that threatens global fisheries, maritime security, the \$500 billion U.S. seafood industry, and more than 2.5 million American jobs.

Water Security. By supporting regional bureaus and U.S. Ambassadors, OES can help stabilize water supplies to safeguard industrial supply chains, create U.S. market opportunities, reduce migration, and prevent conflicts and war.

OES must also defend against global regulatory approaches that stifle innovation and disadvantage U.S. companies. This includes continuing pressure to oppose aspects of the EU Space Act, and supporting a pragmatic agreement to reduce plastic pollution, that draws on innovation as a solution and promotes U.S. jobs and investment.

At its core, the United States is a frontier nation—American ingenuity and optimism have fueled our rise as a global power and our national interests in the oceans, outer space, and the ever-deepening interface between biology and technology.

If confirmed, I will do everything in my power to ensure that OES is at the leading edge of U.S. efforts to explore, exploit, and defend all these vital frontiers under its charge so that the 21st Century remains an American Century.

Thank you for considering my nomination.

Senator RISCH. Thank you very much, Mr. Brooks.

Mr. Carl, you are up.

STATEMENT OF JEREMY CARL, OF MONTANA, TO BE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Mr. CARL. Thank you so much, Chairman Risch, Member Shaheen, distinguished members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

I am honored to appear before you today as President Trump's nominee for Assistant Secretary in the Bureau of International Organization Affairs at the Department of State.

I am deeply grateful for the trust that President Trump has placed in me to guard America's interests at the United Nations and broader multilateral system.

If confirmed, I will work to advance this vision by holding the U.N. and international organizations accountable, promoting transparency, and ensuring that the U.S. taxpayers' contributions to these organizations delivers tangible results that align with our national interest.

I would like to begin by acknowledging three people who are, sadly, no longer with us, because without them I would certainly not be sitting before you today.

In my career, I had the tremendous privilege of learning at the side of the late Secretary of State George Shultz, for whom I served as the right hand man for almost a decade while a research fellow at the Hoover Institution at Stanford.

During my time with Secretary Shultz, I collaborated with some of America's and the world's greatest diplomats.

I also want to acknowledge the late Kenyan professor of Harvard University Calestous Juma, who was my first mentor in this field of IO when I was a graduate student, my first professional champion, and the first person who allowed me to work within the U.N. system.

Third, I would like to thank the late Charlie Kirk, who was a peerless leader in the conservative movement, a longtime supporter of me and my work, and a champion of my candidacy for this position. The loss that I feel from his passing, both personally and professionally, is incalculable.

I also want to thank all of my colleagues at the Claremont Institute and in particular Claremont's president, Ryan Williams, who have been so supportive of my work.

And I would like to thank Senator Daines of this committee for his kind introduction and whom I have been privileged to get to know well over the past several years, and who has been a constant source of encouragement and sound advice as I have navigated this process.

Finally, and most importantly, I would like to thank my wife, Anna, and our five children for their support. If I am confirmed, these are the people who are going to suffer the most by my, largely, being absent and from our home in Montana while I am working in Washington, DC, and abroad, and yet they have been unfailingly supportive of me and my desire to serve under President Trump and Secretary Rubio.

As President Trump has said, the U.N. has potential, but it needs renewed focus as it has strayed far beyond its original purpose of solving international disputes peacefully.

The United States must lead this effort to demand accountability and results from the U.N. to move the institution back to its founding purpose.

If confirmed, I will refocus the U.N. system on its foundation—I will work to refocus the U.N. system on its foundational mission.

International organizations exist to advance the interests of sovereign nations. They are not global legislatures or independent sources of moral, legal, or political authority.

By restoring the U.N.'s credibility and effectiveness, we can better protect U.S. interests and foster a more stable and secure world. The inefficiencies within and bureaucratic sprawl within the U.N. and other IOs have long been a source of frustration for member states, including the United States.

These institutions are often burdened by duplicative mandates, bloated budgets, and a lack of accountability for results.

This undermines their ability to deliver on their mission, and if confirmed I will prioritize management reform to streamline operations, eliminate waste, ensure that these organizations operate with the efficiency and effectiveness that our country and taxpayers deserve.

A leaner and more focused U.N. is in America's interest, and I look forward to working with our colleagues at our U.S. missions in New York and other U.N. capitals to achieve that one goal, one that the mission teams are already excelling at right now.

In December, U.S. leadership resulted in the historic staffing and budget cuts at the United Nations, a 15 percent reduction in budget, and an elimination of 2,900 positions. The United States is the largest financial donor to the U.N. system and other international organizations, yet all too often our resources are used to support programs and agendas that run fundamentally counter to our values and interests.

Frequently, our allies do not vote with us while privately signaling their agreement with us. This is unacceptable. American taxpayers should not fund initiatives that undermine America's interests.

Our determination was made clear on January 7 when the President announced that he would withdraw from 66 international organizations that he deemed to be redundant in scope, mismanaged, or incompatible with U.S. foreign policy.

The United States should only engage in international organizations when it advances the national interests. If confirmed, I will work to ensure that every dollar the United States contributes to international organizations is spent wisely and in line with our national priorities.

By taking a principled and strategic approach to our funding, we can ensure that America's voice and values remain at the forefront of the multilateral system.

Distinguished members of this committee, I am confident that with strong leadership and a clear vision, we can ensure that international organizations once again serve as effective tools for advancing peace, security, and prosperity.

I pledge to work to restore the effectiveness and integrity of international organizations while ensuring that they serve the purposes for which they were created. As Secretary Rubio has said, America first does not mean America alone.

Our role in the multilateral system will continue and will indeed be changing, but it does not mean we will not be active in it.

If confirmed, I will dedicate myself to this mission and working in close partnership with Congress to uphold the values and priorities of the American people.

Thank you for your time, your questions, and your consideration of my nomination.

NOMINEE COMMITMENT QUESTIONS

**Senate Foreign Relations Committee
Additional Nominee Questions**

1. Do you agree to appear before this Committee and make officials from your office available to the Committee when invited?
Answer: Yes

2. Do you commit to keeping this Committee fully informed about the activities under your purview in a timely manner?
Answer: Yes

3. Do you commit to engaging in meaningful consultation while policies are being developed, not just providing notification after the fact?
Answer: Yes

4. 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

5. 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

my lcl
Printed Name: Jeremy Carl
Date: February 12, 2026

[The prepared statement of Mr. Carl follows:]

Prepared Statement of Jeremy Carl

Chairman Risch, Ranking Member Shaheen, and distinguished Members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee—I am honored to appear before you today as President Trump’s nominee for Assistant Secretary of the Bureau of International Organization Affairs at the Department of State.

I am deeply grateful for the trust placed in me by the President to advance America’s interests at the United Nations and broader multilateral system. If confirmed, I will work to advance this vision by holding the U.N. and international organizations accountable, promoting transparency, and ensuring that U.S. taxpayer contributions to these organizations deliver tangible results that align with our national interests.

I would like to begin by acknowledging three people who are sadly no longer with us, as without them, I would not be sitting here before you today. In my career, I have had the tremendous privilege of learning at the side of the late Secretary of State George P. Shultz, whom I served as his right-hand man for almost a decade while a research fellow at the Hoover Institution at Stanford University. During my time with Secretary Shultz, I collaborated with some of America’s greatest diplomats, both political appointees and career officials, whose work was an inspiration. I also wish to acknowledge the late Kenyan professor Calestous Juma of Harvard University, who was my first mentor in this field when I was a graduate student, my first professional champion, and the first person who allowed me to work with the U.N. system. Third, I would like to thank the late Charlie Kirk, who was a peerless leader of the conservative movement, a longtime supporter of me and my work, and a champion of my candidacy for this position. The loss that I feel from his passing, both personally and professionally, is incalculable.

I wish to also thank all of my colleagues at the Claremont Institute, in particular, Claremont President Ryan Williams, who has been so supportive of my work, and of me personally. And I would like to thank Senator Daines of this committee, whom I have been privileged to get to know well over the past several years, and who has been a constant source of encouragement and sound advice as I have navigated this process.

Finally, and most importantly, I’d like to thank my wife and my five children for their support. If I am confirmed, they are the people who will suffer the most by my largely being absent from our home in Montana while I am working in Washington, DC and abroad. And yet, they have been unfailingly supportive of me and my desire to serve under President Trump and Secretary Rubio.

As President Trump has said, the U.N. has potential. But it needs renewed focus, as it has strayed far from its original purpose of solving international disputes peacefully. The United States must lead in the effort to demand accountability and results from the United Nations, and to move the institution back toward its founding purpose.

If confirmed, I will work to refocus the U.N. System on its foundational mission. International organizations exist to advance the interests of sovereign nations. They are not global legislatures or independent sources of moral, political, or legal authority. By restoring the UN’s credibility and effectiveness, we can better protect U.S. interests and foster a more stable and secure world.

The inefficiencies and bureaucratic sprawl within the U.N. and other international organizations have long been a source of frustration for member states, including the United States. These institutions are often burdened by duplicative mandates, bloated budgets, and a lack of accountability for results. This undermines their ability to deliver on their missions and erodes the trust of the nations that fund them. If confirmed, I will prioritize management reform to streamline operations, eliminate waste, and ensure that these organizations operate with the efficiency and effectiveness that our country’s taxpayers deserve. I will advance reforms for greater transparency, performance-based budgeting, and a culture of results-driven accountability, including in U.N. peacekeeping operations.

A leaner, more focused U.N. is in America’s interest, and I look forward to working with colleagues at our U.S. missions in New York and other U.N. capitals to achieve that goal—one that the Mission teams are already excelling at. In December, U.S. leadership resulted in historic staffing and budget cuts at the UN: a 15 percent reduction in budget and elimination of 2,900 positions.

The United States is the largest financial contributor to the U.N. system and many other international organizations. Yet too often, our resources are used to support programs or agendas that run counter to our values and interests. Frequently, allies vote against our positions in the U.N. while privately indicating their agree-

ment with us. This is unacceptable. American taxpayers should not fund initiatives that undermine America's interests.

Our determination was made clear on January 7, when the President announced the United States would withdraw from 66 organizations and entities deemed to be redundant in scope, mismanaged, or incompatible with U.S. foreign policy. The United States should only engage in international organizations when it advances America's national interests.

If confirmed, I will work to ensure that every dollar the United States contributes to international organizations is spent wisely and is aligned with our national priorities. This includes redirecting funds away from programs that fail to deliver results or support adversarial agendas and toward initiatives that advance U.S. security, prosperity, and leadership. By taking a principled and strategic approach to our funding, we can ensure that America's voice and values remain at the forefront of the multilateral system.

Distinguished Members of this Committee, I am confident that with strong leadership and a clear vision, we can ensure that international organizations once again serve as effective tools for advancing peace, security, and prosperity. I pledge to work to restore the effectiveness and integrity of international organizations while ensuring they serve the purposes for which they were created. As Secretary Rubio has said—America First does not mean America alone. Our role in the multilateral system will indeed be changing, but it does not mean we won't be active in it.

If confirmed, I will dedicate myself to this mission, working in close partnership with Congress to uphold the values and priorities of the American people. Thank you for your time, your questions, and your consideration of my nomination.

[EDITOR'S NOTE.—Mr. Carl's nomination was withdrawn.]

Senator RISCH. Thank you, Mr. Carl.

Mr. Long, you are up.

**STATEMENT OF HON. WILLIAM LONG, OF MISSOURI, TO BE
AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF
THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE REPUBLIC OF
ICELAND**

Mr. LONG. Thank you, Chairman Risch and Ranking Member Shaheen, another Missourian and from St. Charles, Missouri.

And I do have a bone to pick with you, though, because when we appeared in the Washington Press Club back in 2012 together, you were a lot funnier than I was, and I have never gotten over that.

And also the distinguished members of the committee, some of whom I served with in the House, as Mr. Curtis here and Mr. Daines, and thank you for giving me your time today.

Thank you for the honor and privilege of appearing before you today as President Trump's nominee to serve as the United States Ambassador to Iceland.

I am deeply grateful to the President and Secretary Rubio for the trust they have placed in me with this nomination.

And I want to take a minute to acknowledge my family and all of you that have ever been elected to a position anywhere, whether it is Washington, DC, or back home or whether you were a mayor or city councilman.

You all know that these positions, it is hard but it is a lot tougher on your family, and so I want to give a heartfelt shout out to folks that have to hear all about me directly, because when somebody has a problem they do not come up and say, hey, you messed up on this—you messed up on that. But they can come up and say, your husband, your dad, or whatever.

And you also want to get on Roy Blunt's—Senator Blunt's mathematics skills a little bit. He said we have been friends 30 years. Barbara and I got married in 1984—41 years—and I have a signed

auctioneer license in my office that I still hang on the wall from 1982. So that predates 1984 so that would be 40 some odd years now, signed by our Greene County clerk, Roy Blunt.

So we go back a long, long way. And Abby has been an absolute godsend to Barbara whenever we came out. We had no political experience whatsoever.

I come from a business background, 32 years as a real estate broker, 31 years as an auctioneer, not counting the 12 years I was in Congress. Did a talk show for 6 years, and then my 12 years in Congress, and I built up a wealth of friends over that time.

And when I came—when I ran I had never, like I said, held any political office, and I said, I will go 12 years and come home, and if the Senate had an opportunity there, I would try and do 12 years there.

The Senate opened up at the same time Roy was retiring. At the same time my 12 years was up, so I was going home either way, and there was 21 of us in the race and I came in 22nd. So I did not do quite as good as you did, Mr. Curtis.

But you all remember back when Ronald Reagan was elected President, and on his first or second day, the hostages who had been held for 444 days were coming home. He called this guy and he said, hey, I want you standing at the base of that plane. I want you there whenever they get off.

You know what the guy told him? No. He said, why? He said, you are the tie a yellow ribbon guy. Why would you not want to be standing there with me to welcome our troops home?

He said, Mr. President, he said, that would make it about me, and that tells you all you need to know about the gentleman behind me, Tony Orlando. There are not many people that would take that attitude.

Tony was 4F. He could not serve, but he has done more for the veterans in Branson, Missouri, and all around the world for years. Raised \$178 million, I believe, for veterans. One of the best guys I know.

The guy next to him on that side of me, Paul C. Baird, an auctioneer I have known for over 40 years from our time at Certified Auctioneers Institute at University of Indiana.

But he is a world champion auctioneer. He is also a Vietnam veteran. He is on a 100 percent disability, and it is very hard for him to get around. It is very hard for him to get in and out of a car. It is very hard for him to get on a plane.

But he took three plane rides out here just to be with me today. That is the type of friends we are.

Next to him, Lance Walker, another auctioneer. We met in 1979 at auctioneer school. He had a long beard and hair. He was a hippie, and—but him and his wife, Terry, I mean, salt of the earth. Known them that many years.

So I hope that when you are judging me today, you judge me a little bit about the company that I keep, because I have got some very, very good people around me in my life, and I have for years.

But the United States and Iceland share a long history of friendship and cooperation rooted in our shared economic, security, cultural, and human connections. Our diplomatic relationship dates

back to 1941, as you know, when the United States assumed responsibility for Iceland's defense during World War II.

Since then the partnership has only grown and matured, and I have been working very hard to get here today and to be a representative of the United States and Iceland.

If I am confirmed, I will do everything I can. I am known to not be—to work hard, and I will—do not ever invite me anywhere because I will always go, and I want to get all around Iceland.

But as far as priorities, protecting American citizens, as most all ambassadors will tell you, is a prime priority. Enhancing our security cooperation, Iceland plays a critical role in the trans-Atlantic security as a founding member of NATO and a key partner in the North Atlantic.

Third, advancing economic and energy collaborations. Biotechnology is huge in your old area, Ranking Member Shaheen, in biotech there, down in Rolla over in Kansas City. It is also huge in Iceland.

I am a people person. I am a salesman. I do not have any pretenses, or I cannot even say that word, however you say it. But pretense—I do not have any pretenses. I am just me, and I think I have—you know, coming from a sales background, I want to do the best job that I can possibly go. But biotech in Missouri is huge.

Fourth, strengthening the Arctic cooperation, and I am a minute over, and that is bad for me because I am an auctioneer, and I usually talk fast.

So with that, I yield back.

NOMINEE COMMITMENT QUESTIONS

**Senate Foreign Relations Committee
Additional Nominee Questions**

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

Answer: Yes

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

Answer: Yes

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

Answer: Yes

4. 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

5. 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



Printed Name: William Long

Date: February 12, 2016

[The prepared statement of Mr. Long follows:]

Prepared Statement of Hon. William Long

Chairman, Ranking Member, and Distinguished Members of the Committee:

Thank you for the honor and privilege of appearing before you today as President Trump's nominee to serve as the United States Ambassador to Iceland. I am deeply grateful to the President and Secretary Rubio for the trust they have placed in me with this nomination.

I would like to take a moment to acknowledge my family, who have been a source of unwavering support throughout my career.

The United States and Iceland share a long history of friendship and cooperation, rooted in our shared economic, security, cultural, and human connections. Our diplomatic relationship dates to 1941, when the United States assumed responsibility for Iceland's defense during World War II. Since then, our partnership has only grown and matured, and if confirmed I look forward to nurturing and advancing it in the coming years. These ties are underpinned by the over 40,000 Icelandic-Americans who have done so much to enrich our country.

If confirmed, I will focus on four key priorities to further strengthen the U.S.-Iceland relationship:

First, protecting American citizens in Iceland. This is my first and foremost job, and I will work around the clock to ensure our citizens' safety and security. Iceland is among the world's safest countries and has been an exemplary partner in helping American citizens. If confirmed, I will prioritize ensuring U.S. tourists and businesspeople, long-term residents, and members of the embassy community are protected.

Second, enhancing our security cooperation. Iceland plays a critical role in transatlantic security as a founding member of NATO and a key partner in the North Atlantic. The Keflavik Air Base has been a cornerstone of our defense collaboration, providing strategic capabilities for monitoring and responding to emerging threats in the Arctic and North Atlantic regions. If confirmed, I will work closely with Icelandic leaders to ensure our continued cooperation in addressing shared security challenges, including countering malign influence from adversaries and enhancing NATO interoperability.

Third, advancing economic and energy collaboration. Iceland is a global leader in stable, low-cost energy, particularly geothermal and hydropower technologies. These innovations present significant opportunities for collaboration as the United States seeks to strengthen its energy dominance and power the next generation of AI and data centers. Iceland is also a dynamic, innovative economy, where partnerships with U.S. firms offer opportunities to propel both our nations' economic growth. If confirmed, I will prioritize fostering partnerships between American and Icelandic businesses, researchers, and entrepreneurs to drive innovation and create jobs in both countries. Additionally, I will work to expand trade and investment opportunities, ensuring that American businesses have fair access to Iceland's market.

Fourth, strengthening Arctic cooperation. As an Arctic nation, Iceland is uniquely positioned to contribute to the sustainable development and security of this vital region. The Arctic is increasingly at the forefront of global geopolitics, with new challenges and opportunities emerging as sea lanes open and resource exploration intensifies. If confirmed, I will work with Icelandic leaders to promote responsible stewardship of the Arctic, counter growing threats from adversaries, and ensure that the region remains a zone of peace and cooperation.

In conclusion, I am deeply honored by the opportunity to serve as the United States Ambassador to Iceland. If confirmed, I will work tirelessly to advance American interests, protect our citizens, and strengthen the bonds between our two nations. I am committed to fostering a relationship that reflects the shared values and aspirations of our people.

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

Senator RISCH. Well, we usually let the House go over a little bit, Billy, so no problem there.

With that, we will go to Mr. Sweeney.

STATEMENT OF ROBERT SWEENEY, OF TEXAS, TO BE UNITED STATES DIRECTOR OF THE ASIAN DEVELOPMENT BANK, WITH THE RANK OF AMBASSADOR

Mr. SWEENEY. Thank you very much.

Chairman Risch, Ranking Member Shaheen, and distinguished members of the committee, thank you for the opportunity to appear before you today. It is a distinct honor to be considered for the role of U.S. Director of the Asian Development Bank.

I would like to thank President Trump and Secretary Bessent for their confidence in me and for the opportunity to serve in this important position.

I am very grateful to the Senators, their staffs, and the staff of this committee who have taken the time to meet with me.

I have appreciated the opportunity to discuss your priorities, and if confirmed, I look forward to working together to promote the interests of the United States at the Asian Development Bank.

I would also like to thank the members of my family for their love and support.

First, my wife, Maria. I am deeply grateful for Maria's advice, support, and love in all of our 33 years and many adventures together.

Next, our three children, each of whom we could not be more proud—Andrea, Robert, and Kelly. This family has been the bedrock of my adult life without which I am sure I would not be appearing before you today.

I have had the privilege of pursuing a long career in finance centered on international business development and as an executive in banks and financial companies around the world, including in Seoul, Tokyo, and Taipei, among others.

If confirmed, it would be an honor to return to Asia and seek the enhanced relationships that are appropriate to the new challenges and opportunities which we face today.

It would be a special privilege to serve as U.S. Director at the ADB at a time when there is much at stake in the region. China is the second largest economy in the world and is expanding influence through its Belt and Road Initiative and its ADB competitor, the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank.

As Secretary Bessent has emphasized, America first does not mean America alone. At the ADB, the United States should be seeking to support developing country borrowers who are both willing to engage in fair trade with the United States and mutually interested in helping us diversify and fortify supply chains.

If confirmed, I would seek to promote lending policies and development projects that strengthen the economies of the countries involved, leading to a freer and fairer international economic system.

It is also of vital importance that long contemplated reforms of ADB policies and operational efficiency are enacted and accelerated. Secretary Bessent has emphasized the need for the ADB to pursue and intensify procurement reforms, seeking greater transparency and efficiency.

U.S. taxpayers deserve to know that their contributions to the ADB are both productive and efficiently stewarded.

If confirmed as U.S. Director, I will ensure that the ADB maintains its focus on its core economic development goals for the countries it serves. It must do so in a streamlined and transparent structure for operational efficiency.

The U.S. Treasury's role in the ADB is vitally important. As one of the two founding countries and largest equity holders, its leadership can drive policy and operations of the ADB.

As a consequence, it must ensure that the ADB is effective at delivering economic development financing and value, both diplomatic and economic, to both the countries it serves and the U.S. taxpayer.

If confirmed, I will focus on deriving U.S. taxpayer value—shareholder value both in the efficiency of its operations, and opening opportunities for U.S. businesses to deliver results for ADB funded projects.

Finally, I understand and respect the importance of a close working relationship with Congress. If confirmed, I commit to working with Congress on issues surrounding the Asian Development Bank.

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

NOMINEE COMMITMENT QUESTIONS

**Senate Foreign Relations Committee
Additional Nominee Questions**

1. Do you agree to appear before this Committee and make officials from your office available to the Committee when invited?
Answer: Yes
2. Do you commit to keeping this Committee fully informed about the activities under your purview in a timely manner?
Answer: Yes
3. Do you commit to engaging in meaningful consultation while policies are being developed, not just providing notification after the fact?
Answer: Yes
4. 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
5. 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



Printed Name: Robert Sweeney

Date: February 12, 2026

[The prepared statement of Mr. Sweeney follows:]

Prepared Statement of Robert Sweeney

Chairman Risch, Ranking Member Shaheen, and distinguished Members of this Committee, thank you for the opportunity to appear before you today. It is a distinct honor to be considered for the role of U.S. Director of the Asian Development Bank. I would like to thank President Trump and Secretary Bessent for their confidence in me and for the opportunity to serve in this important position.

I am very grateful to the Senators, their staffs, and the staff of this Committee who have taken the time to meet with me. I have appreciated the opportunity to discuss your priorities and, if confirmed, I look forward to working together to promote the interests of the United States at the Asian Development Bank.

I would also like to thank the members of my family for their love and support. First, my wife, Maria; I am deeply grateful for Maria's advice, support, and love in all of our 33 years and many adventures together. Next, our three children, each of whom we could not be more proud: Andrea; Robert; and Kelly. This family has been the bedrock of my adult life, without which I am sure I would not be appearing before you today.

I have had the privilege of pursuing a long career in finance centered on international business development as an executive in banks and financial companies around the world, including in Seoul, Tokyo, and Taipei, among others. If confirmed, it would be an honor to return to Asia to seek enhanced relationships that are appropriate to the new challenges and opportunities which as a nation we face today.

It would be a special privilege to serve as U.S. Director at the ADB at a time when there is much at stake in the region. China is the second largest economy in the world and is expanding its influence through its Belt and Road Initiative and its ADB competitor, the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank.

As Secretary Bessent has emphasized, America First does not mean America alone. At the ADB, the United States should be seeking to support developing country borrowers who are both willing to engage in fair trade with the United States and mutually interested in helping us diversify and fortify supply chains. If confirmed, I would seek to promote lending policies and development projects that strengthen the economies of the countries involved, leading to a freer and fairer international economic system.

It is also of vital importance that long-contemplated reforms of ADB policies and operational efficiency are enacted and accelerated. Secretary Bessent has emphasized the need for the ADB to pursue and intensify procurement reforms seeking greater transparency and efficiency. U.S. taxpayers deserve to know that their contributions to the ADB are both productive and efficiently stewarded. If confirmed as U.S. Director, I will ensure that the ADB maintains its focus on its core economic development goals for the countries it serves. It must do so in a streamlined and transparent structure for operational efficiency.

The U.S. Treasury's role in the ADB today is vitally important. As one of the two founding countries and largest equity holders, its leadership can drive the policies and operations of the ADB. As a consequence, it must ensure the ADB is effective in delivering economic development financing and value, both diplomatic and economic, to both the countries it serves and the U.S. taxpayer. If confirmed, I will focus on deriving U.S. taxpayer shareholder value both in the efficiency of its operations and opening opportunities for U.S. businesses to deliver results for ADB-funded projects. Finally, I understand and respect the importance of a close working relationship with Congress. If confirmed, I commit to working with Congress on issues surrounding the Asian Development Bank.

Thank you again for your time today. I look forward to your questions.

Senator RISCH. Well, thank you very much, Mr. Sweeney.

What we are going to do now is we are going to do a round of questions, 5 minutes each for members, and I am going to start with you, Mr. Brooks.

I want to talk about a subject that generally is not in our wheelhouse, but as everybody knows, every treaty that the United States attempts to enter into has got to go through this committee, regardless of what the subject matter is.

It is not necessarily international, something that we deal with ordinarily, and the one that I want to focus on right now is something that is really, I think, flying below the radar nationally but

is talked about up here to a degree, and that is the effort to reach an agreement—international agreement regarding plastics.

Are you familiar with that effort, I assume?

Dr. BROOKS. I am, Senator.

Senator RISCH. What can you tell us about the current status of the negotiations and anything you can shed light on what the final product may look like?

As you may or may not know, I wrote a letter to the Administration expressing the reservations I have of hearing the discussion—the international discussion that really looks to upstream as opposed to a cyclical solution of the problem.

Your thoughts?

Dr. BROOKS. Thank you very much for that question, Chairman Risch.

I have not read your letter, but if confirmed I certainly look forward—in fact, maybe later tonight I will go home and take a look for it.

What I can tell you is the plastics negotiations have been a very long and unfolding international drama. We just heard word that there is a new chair for the INC elected from Chile.

The United States, this Administration, looks forward to working with them to work toward consensus on an agreement that protects U.S. interests and ultimately solves the plastic pollution problem, again, largely drawing on U.S. innovation, our success with waste management, and ultimately ensuring that products that the American people have come to rely on in their daily lives are available and cost effective.

Senator RISCH. We appreciate that.

First of all, the plastics issue certainly deserves the attention that it is getting. The resolution of it is incredibly important to the plastics industry not only in America but in the world.

Can you talk briefly about the—there is kind of two sides of the debate, as I understand it. One is viewing the upstream side, and the other is looking at the recycling side.

Can you talk briefly about that conflict and whether it is a resolvable conflict or how you view that?

Dr. BROOKS. Yes, that is correct, Senator. So you have a group of countries on the one hand that are looking to establish a global regulatory framework that would seek to ban certain products or certain additives or place caps on the amount of plastics or certain additives in products.

We think this is a really bad approach. The United States manufacturing industry, 26 percent of it is plastics, and so we, as you all know and many of you have been forceful champions for advanced manufacturing and rebuilding America's manufacturing base—we need to hold on to as much of that industry as possible.

And America has shown that we can manage plastic waste well, and we can encourage that management style in other places and raise standards where they are currently lacking.

Senator RISCH. Well said, Mr. Brooks. I hope you will take that argument to the table when you are talking about this on the international stage, and we look forward to seeing if we cannot get some kind of a legitimate treaty or agreement regarding this.

So thanks so much.

Senator Shaheen.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Chairman, I have some letters of opposition and op-eds that are regarding Mr. Carl's nomination. I ask that they be entered into the record.

Senator RISCH. They will be entered 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 SHAHEEN. Thank you. I also ask that certain articles and tweets by him be entered into the record.

Senator RISCH. They will be put 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 SHAHEEN. Thank you.

Mr. Carl, you have argued that feminism has led to a downfall in American society. You have written that the Civil Rights Act has warped American culture.

You have argued that the United States should be a white Christian nation. You also wrote that a post-feminist America is one of falling fertility, rapidly rising out of wedlock births and religious collapse.

In October 2024, you stated on the Christian Ghetto podcast that, and I quote, "Jews have often loved to play the victim, that the Holocaust dominates so much of modern Jewish history, and that Jews love to see themselves as oppressed."

In 2024, you wrote that you want America to be a Christian nation, and you continued to make antisemitic and racist comments even after your nomination was announced last year.

You know, Mr. Carl, in this committee, we have heard from many nominees who have said things that we do not agree with. But since your nomination, you have tweeted more than 850 times, appeared on five podcasts, and repeated this language. This is a pattern.

So how can this committee trust that you can represent the United States of America to the rest of the world in an unbiased manner when you have taken no steps to restrain your conduct after your nomination?

Mr. CARL. Senator, thank you very much for this question.

I did not recognize a couple of those quotes, but I will—

Senator SHAHEEN. Well, they are accurate. I can assure you they are.

Mr. CARL. I will take—I will take your word for it that they are in fact accurate, for the record.

Senator Shaheen, I greatly understand the importance of restraint and conduct. I, unfortunately, have to balance that with my current job, which involves advocacy, and I cannot, as I have explained, just totally put away my day job.

I am not being offered a job here yet. I am trying to get, hopefully, to be offered a job.

Senator SHAHEEN. Well, Mr. Carl, it is hard to understand how we can trust you if you cannot even restrain yourself during the period in which you have been nominated.

Mr. Long, thank you for your comments. I am a fellow Missourian, although I was only born in St. Charles. I grew up in Sikeston and lived in Kirksville as well.

But I appreciate what you said about not coming to the House with any political background and being a business person. I understand that.

But I am concerned about comments that you made when you referenced Iceland as the United States' 52nd State. You referred to yourself as the potential Governor of Iceland.

I understand that you intended this to be viewed as a joke, but I would urge you to understand that when you are being considered as an ambassador of the United States that those kinds of jokes are not necessarily viewed by others as funny, and I think that is what we are hearing in Iceland, that there is some real concern about what your views are if you serve as ambassador there.

So I am going to give you an opportunity to correct that rhetoric and to express what you think the ambassador to the country of Iceland should be thinking about in terms of approaching that job and how important it is to recognize the importance of Iceland as an ally of the United States, critical, as I think you did reference in your opening statement, to our own national security.

Mr. LONG. Thank you. And as soon as that—and you say joke or whatever, it was—I was—the way I became apprised of that was from a member of the diplomatic corps from Iceland, and they, you know, explained—they started—I did not even—had not even heard it was in any—you know, and I was shocked because they were just—it was like a three-way, somebody said something, somebody else said something, and yes, I did add the part about the 52nd State, which it was totally inappropriate.

But it was not something that I said as a pronouncement to—that was serious, and whenever the *Arctic News* called the next day and asked me about it, I said there was nothing serious about it. I apologize to anyone that may have been offended by it, and that is all I have to say about it.

So to me, that is what I can do. Senator Feinstein—the late Senator Feinstein—when I was a freshman we were in a meeting over in the—oh, the—cannot even think of the name of the taco place over there that is now closed on the corner.

But the room down there where we meet when Democrats and Republicans want to meet together for joint purposes, and I am a freshman, and here is Dianne Feinstein. And she opened the meeting by saying, now, this is all off the record, is it not?

And I looked at her as a freshman—nobody knew me—to an exalted senator like that, and it is like I said—I said, Senator Feinstein, this is Washington, DC. I said, everything is off the record here unless it is just too good not to tell.

Someone overheard my comment between friends, and they thought they needed to run to a publication and say that, and I am sorry that it happened. I am very sorry it happened, and all I can do—I apologized immediately. I did not try and sugarcoat it or anything else. It was a quip in front of friends.

And so if that is—you know, I just hope that the people in Iceland will give me a second chance to make a first impression and I—you know, you cannot—whenever Tom Eagleton, our Senator

from Missouri, whenever he was picked for Vice President, I remember McGovern saying that he got stuff about things that had happened, and they were talking about dropping him off the ticket. And he said, I am behind Senator Eagleton 110 percent. I am a kid, and I am, like, there is not 110 percent.

So going to Iceland, I plan to put in 100 percent. And when this happened, I thought—I said, no, I cannot put in more than 100, but I am still going to put in 100 percent and do everything I can to let the folks in Iceland know that I have a lot of respect for them.

They have a beautiful country. A lot—700,000 Americans go there every year. I hope I can get that up to a million by the time my term is up if I am fortunate enough to be confirmed here today.

But that is my attitude. I am known to be a very, very good boss, and the post over there, as you know, the smallest one, and the people there have been great to me. They are excited to get me over there at post.

And the State Department said they wanted me to—you know, you are going to lose half your people by midsummer because they rotate out, which is something you have to get used to when you are in Washington, DC.

And they said, we have this lady, Joni, and we want you to have her be your Deputy Chief of Mission and we want you to leave her in there for a year.

And I said, no, and they said, what do you mean? I said, I am not going to be locked into somebody that I do not know for a year. I want to talk to her, visit with her if she comes here, you know, whatever. They did not want me going to Iceland before you are confirmed.

And so we set up a Teams with Karen, who has worked for me since 1990, and she married her husband in 1991. So we have been together longer than her husband.

Barbara, my wife, and us, we got on a Teams with Joni, and at the end of that thing I said, will you be my Deputy Chief of Mission for a year, and she said, no. And I said, why? She said, I want to be for 2 years. And all three of us fell in love with her, and she has agreed to stay for 2 years.

So like I said, a quip that should not have been said, and I apologized for it immediately, and that is all I have got to say on that.

Senator SHAHEEN. Well, thank you. I appreciate your clarification. I think it is an important lesson in diplomacy matters. What we say matters as Americans when we are representing this country.

Thank you.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator RISCH. Thank you, Senator Shaheen.

Senator Curtis.

Senator CURTIS. Thank you.

Mr. Carl, I think I heard in your testimony something very similar to this, but core among U.S. interests at international organizations is the protection of U.S. sovereignty and our national security, and I am sure that we agree on this.

What I did not hear and what is important to me, high among these interests is the protection of our allies, namely Israel and Taiwan, both of which are consistently mistreated in these inter-

national organizations, and as Assistant Secretary for International Organizations, I view one of your core responsibilities to counter the systemic antisemitism and anti-Israel bias in international organizations.

Israel rarely asks for direct military intervention from the United States but it does ask for diplomatic support and helping. So in your podcast of October 24, you said the United States spends too much time and energy on Israel, often to the detriment of our own national interest.

So share with me specifically what is in the U.S. interest that has been harmed by sustained American support of Israel.

Mr. CARL. Senator, thank you for that question. It is a good one, and I think in the context of this particular role, actually we are Israel's closest ally—I mean, in that.

Senator CURTIS. Yes, so how is it—

Mr. CARL. So I think in the U.N. context, I wish the U.N. would stop being antisemitic all the time and so therefore, we could stop. You know, there is a million other problems like the Rohingya, like—

Senator CURTIS. Hold that thought because I kind of want to come back to that. But let me just clarify, do you think it is all one directional, and what I mean by that is it is all U.S. going to help Israel, and do you recognize the intelligence, the military innovations and things like that that come back to the United States?

Mr. CARL. No, I am so glad you mentioned that, Senator Curtis.

So I, as mentioned before, spent 10 years under one of the greatest friends of Israel that the U.S. diplomatic corps has ever had in Secretary Shultz. Charlie Kirk was also probably second to no one in America in terms of—

Senator CURTIS. OK. Let me just rein you in here because that is not going in the direction of my answer. Let me ask this. Do you view diplomatic support as important or critical, or does that fall in the too much time and energy?

Mr. CARL. Senator, I think—thank you for that question. I think diplomatic support of Israel in the U.N. context is absolutely critical.

Senator CURTIS. Are there other allies for whom you believe the United States spends too much time and energy?

Mr. CARL. Senator, it would depend. Thank you for the question, on the situation. But in the U.N. context, I want to be very clear that we have to be by Israel's side because nobody else is going to be by Israel's side, and you see the effects of the systemic antisemitism that is rife throughout the U.N. system. It is one of the reasons that we have withdrawn from several major U.N. organizations.

Senator CURTIS. So do you see how difficult it is for you when approached by these other countries, and you hear that line from them for you to defend what you just said when you have made these other comments?

How do you say to some of these other foreign nations' diplomats when they echo that same thinking that you have echoed that they are wrong?

Mr. CARL. Could you—I am sorry, Senator, I want to make sure that I understand your question.

Senator CURTIS. OK. So let me give you a specific on this same podcast.

Mr. CARL. Yes.

Senator CURTIS. The host—and I understand this is the host, it is not you—

Mr. CARL. Yes.

Senator CURTIS [continuing]. He criticized Jews for claiming special victim status because of the Holocaust. He said that the state of Israel is not a victim but instead a perpetrator and said, “How long are you going to rest on the Holocaust? Because based on how you are treating the Palestinians?”

Now, that was the host. But this was your response: “Right. Right. Yes. No, I mean, I think that is true.”

So given that—

Mr. CARL. Yes.

Senator CURTIS [continuing]. When asked by other diplomats who do come with these agendas that you referred to in your remarks, how do you push back on that when you did not push back on that moderator?

Mr. CARL. Sure, Senator. First of all, thank you for the question, and I would have to review the podcast in question that you are mentioning. I do a lot of podcasts, and I am not familiar with it.

Senator CURTIS. I have given you your exact words.

Mr. CARL. But I am sure that they are accurate. I am sure that they are accurate. I am not questioning that.

Senator CURTIS. Yes. So trust me, those diplomats also know your exact words.

So let me ask you this question. Do you believe that it is remotely acceptable to compare the Holocaust to the war launched after October 7?

Mr. CARL. Absolutely not, Senator.

Senator CURTIS. OK. Well, I am out of time. They only give us 5 minutes. I think you can sense from my questions my concerns.

Mr. CARL. Yes.

Senator CURTIS. You have not been nominated to some random position to a post where your views, for instance, to Iceland, right, where you get a second chance on these issues.

But you are the principal manager of the U.S. multilateral policy. An anti-Israel bias in international organizations is part of—and you know this—of a broader strategy to undermine the United States, our legitimacy.

And so I do not know that I have been convinced that you understand the threat posed to the West in the narrative, and I regret that I am out of time.

So, Mr. Chairman, I will yield.

Senator RISCH. Thank you, Senator Curtis.

Senator ROSEN.

Senator ROSEN. Senator Curtis—well, thank you, Mr. Chair, Ranking Member, for holding this hearing.

And Senator Curtis, I really want to thank you for your comments and your concerns and always for your kindness.

It is much appreciated because I, too today want to speak plainly about the deeply troubling nomination of Mr. Jeremy Carl. It is not a close call. The nomination should alarm every Senator who be-

believes in basic decency, truth, and responsibility that does come with public service, sir.

Mr. Carl is infamous for deleting thousands of his past tweets, but deleting tweets does not delete the many recorded podcast interviews, public speeches, or editorials that he has done.

As many of my colleagues have and will point out, Mr. Carl's vile antisemitic comments are very real, whether or not he tried to erase them or excuse them.

As co-founder and co-chair of the Senate's bipartisan task force for combating antisemitism, the only former synagogue president to serve in the U.S. Senate, and as a Jewish woman and mother, I am especially compelled to call out Mr. Carl's record.

So I am just going to put it in context. In a study released this week by the American Jewish Committee, one in three Jewish Americans state that they have personally experienced antisemitism at least once in the last year.

And last year, another study that found nearly one in five Jewish Americans were assaulted, physically threatened or harassed right here in the United States.

Our own citizens, all of our constituents, everyone, nobody feels safe in their home communities, and I know this is something that Senators on both sides of the aisle really care about. I do know that.

And yet Mr. Carl, despite his long record of problematic statements, has been nominated to lead our country's engagement with every single country in the world through our diplomatic work with international organizations.

Some may try to excuse Mr. Carl's remarks, claiming his words were taken out of context, that he never said them, and that his own heritage protects him from criticism.

So let me be clear. Identity does not excuse antisemitism. Identity does not excuse racism. Identity does not excuse hateful rhetoric regardless of who says them—words matter, as my colleagues have said. Words matter. Character matters. Judgment matters.

And to my colleagues that may consider voting in favor of Mr. Carl's nomination, understand what the vote signals. It tells Americans you are willing to use your sacred vote not just to ignore but to endorse the hateful statements. It tells Jewish Americans they simply do not matter.

And I ask everyone in this room, depending what your age is, many of us here have relatives, parents, who fought in World War II. We know those stories. Thank you for your service. I see a Vietnam veteran in the audience.

But imagine them young or maybe not so young, sitting here today in their uniform. Hard to imagine maybe our parents young, but imagine them young or coming back sitting here today, looking at us, knowing what they fought for.

They are watching us, whether they are there or here.

So Mr. Carl, I would be hard pressed to find any person in this room, not any of my colleagues, who would agree with many of your statements.

I want to quote some of them. "The Jews love to see themselves as oppressed." Another one, "Jews have often loved to play the vic-

tim, rather accept that they are participants in history.” Here is another one. “Hitler is always the convenient kind of bad example.”

“Hitler is always a convenient kind of bad example.” Anyone who had family members who served in World War II, I would have them—I wish they were here to argue with you on that one.

“I am very critical—another thing you said—“of overall political stance and sociology of the Jewish community, particularly in this century. It has been very destructive overall.”

Another quote. “You guys,” referring to the Jews, “are spearheading a lot of bad causes.” OK.

Another quote. “We need to unashamedly criticize and critique them,” referring to the Jews when they are enemies, “without being worried about being called antisemites.”

And finally, in discussing the Holocaust where 6 million Jews, almost half the population—Jewish population—alive at the time were slaughtered, an event that continues to be denied to this day, you say, “The Holocaust kind of dominates just so much of modern Jewish thinking, even today. Everyone has traumas in their past. How much are we going to kind of re-litigate them?”

Say that to the memories of the folks who fought in World War II, fought and died.

So speaking to my colleagues, a vote in favor of Mr. Carl is a full throated endorsement of any and all of these statements. I know everyone cares about the rise of antisemitism here and around the United States and around the world, and if you have empathy for the Jewish community, communities experiencing hate, simply tired of advancing nominees who I doubt will be respected on the world stage, you must vote against Mr. Carl’s nomination.

And I just remember for my father who fought in the war and so many of my family members, I know he is watching. I know other parents are watching. I know our children are watching. I know the world is watching.

And so where will we stand? Where will we stand? What did they fight for? It matters.

My time is up. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator RISCH. Thank you, Senator Rosen.

Senator Merkley is next.

Senator MERKLEY. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, and I share concern about the troubling points of view you, Mr. Carl, have expressed.

Here we are in February, and February often starts with folks attending MLK breakfasts—thinking about some of the points he made for inclusion, and I think a phrase that resonates across America is when he said, I have a dream that my four little children will be judged someday or that we will one day live in a nation where they will be judged not by the color of their skin, but by the content of their character, and yet you devote yourself to judging people by the color of their skin, and I find that type of prejudice unacceptable. And I think it would be absolutely unacceptable for you to represent the United States in an international body.

So I find all of that very, very troubling. But I also find it troubling that your resume is pretty thin for this position. You did serve as Deputy Assistant Secretary for Fish, Wildlife, and Parks.

I am sure there are some international issues that that might resonate for. I do serve as the ranking Democrat on the Interior spending committee so I am very familiar with those issues, but that is a very small piece internationally.

You did serve as a visiting fellow in Resource Development, Energy and Resources Institute in New Delhi; a research fellow at the Hoover Institute on energy.

But I believe, and I will just ask it plainly in case I am mistaken, you have not served for the United States previously on the U.S. mission to the U.N. Is that correct?

Mr. CARL. That is correct, Senator.

Senator MERKLEY. Thank you. And I believe you have not served in an international organization. Is that correct?

Mr. CARL. Senator, thank you for that question.

As I referred to in my opening remarks, I was an official research assistant on several of Professor Juma's at Harvard's international organization related things, related to sustainable development goals.

Senator MERKLEY. Yes, you wrote and you thought about some of these things, but you did not serve in a staff capacity on an international organization.

Mr. CARL. Senator, thank you for that question. That is correct.

Senator MERKLEY. OK. And have you served in any position in a diplomatic role with the State Department?

Mr. CARL. Senator, I have not, although, of course, I had many opportunities to do track two diplomacy while working with Secretary Schultz.

Senator MERKLEY. And do you have a background or expertise—and I know you have some in energy—in nuclear nonproliferation?

Mr. CARL. Senator, I have actually written a book about nuclear power that does go into some of these issues, and I am fairly familiar with nonproliferation issues, although certainly would not call myself an expert.

Senator MERKLEY. I am familiar with your distributed power in the U.S. book, but that is very different from the nuclear nonproliferation issue.

Which role is most important: the U.S. Ambassador to the U.S. mission, the U.S. permanent representative to the United Nations, or the U.S. representative to the General Assembly?

Mr. CARL. I believe it would be the U.S. permanent representative to the U.N. would be the most important.

Senator MERKLEY. Why is that?

Mr. CARL. I believe—and Senator, I may be incorrect on this—that it is simply the highest ranking of those positions.

Senator MERKLEY. That is the role to the Security Council rather than to the U.N. as a whole. The U.S. is a member of IAEA and IOM and ICAO and FOA and ITU.

Which do you think the U.S. should be committed to funding in 2026?

Mr. CARL. Senator, I can simply tell you I have not been party, obviously, to the funding or defunding decisions, although thank you for your question.

I think that it has been the general public statements of the Secretary and others in the Administration that standards bodies of

all types are particularly important, and I would expect that we would be looking to, largely, continue to participate in most all standards bodies. But I have not been part of those deliberations, obviously, as a private citizen.

Senator MERKLEY. So the Administration has publicly committed funding three of those five. Why those three and not the other two?

Mr. CARL. Senator, thank you for that question.

And I simply—as a private citizen, I do not have insight as to why they have chosen to fund other than as the generality that if we felt missions were duplicative, if we felt that U.S. interests were not being looked after, or if we felt that they were being run contrary to U.S. interests, that we did not want to participate in those organizations.

Senator MERKLEY. Are you familiar with which of the three of the five they actually committed to funding?

Mr. CARL. I am sorry, could you repeat the question, Senator?

Senator MERKLEY. Yes. Are you familiar with which of the three of the five that they were committed to funding?

Mr. CARL. Senator, I would assume that we have continued to fund the IAEA, and beyond that I am not familiar.

Senator MERKLEY. OK.

My time is up, so I will yield back. It is a very, very complex assembly of organizations at the United Nations, and recently we withdrew from 66 organizations, 35 non-U.N. and 31 U.N.

And the lack of your previous experience kind of, in that thicket of international connections and lack of experience in some of the key subject matters addressed does concern me as well as your previous comments.

Thank you.

Mr. CARL. Thank you, Senator.

Senator RISCH. Senator Ricketts.

Senator RICKETTS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The U.S. has long raised concerns about the continued lending to communist China through the Asian Development Bank. The rationale is pretty straightforward. Communist China is the world's second largest economy.

It maintains massive foreign exchange reserves, operates some of the largest state directed development banks, and finances global infrastructure through its Belt and Road Initiative.

Yet Communist China continues to receive financing from institutions designed to support developing economies struggling with poverty and infrastructure deficits.

Frustratingly, the Asian Development Bank is no exception. This dual status allows Beijing to benefit from global institutions while undermining the very rules based system those institutions are designed to uphold.

Treasury Secretary Bessent recently reinforced this message by calling for concrete steps to place Communist China on a clear path to graduating from Asian Development Bank's borrowing.

Mr. Sweeney, do you agree with what Secretary Bessent said and that the Asian Development Bank should end Communist China's borrowing of Asian Development Bank funds?

Mr. SWEENEY. Thank you for that question, Senator.

I wholeheartedly agree with that position. As we all know, I believe funding is fungible and funding from the ADB, which is intended to go for economic development and for poverty reduction to places that need it, it is highly inappropriate that that funding be directed to Chinese entities, whether they are state owned entities, whether they are private entities, entities of any sort.

Money is fungible. That money which is not directed toward the—you know, the developing country members and goes to China, which is still classified as a DCM, I do not think that is appropriate.

But yes, Senator, I think it is highly inappropriate, and if confirmed I would be doing everything in my power to, A, advance the longstanding needs to graduate China from the ADB, and second, related but somewhat different is ending the lending—ending lending, right, which is probably a somewhat more immediate possibility.

Senator RICKETTS. So can you provide a few details? Do you have some thoughts about, assuming you are confirmed, what would you do within the governance structure of the Asian Development Bank to be able to stop this sort of lending to Communist China?

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

The first piece of this is that from what I understand—I have not sat in the position. I do not know the details of how graduation works.

But I understand that it is going to need to be a consortium effort to convince China to withdraw. That is different from stopping lending.

But I believe that with our equal partner Japan and other developing countries, which have a personal interest in seeing that lending stop, we will arrive at a program for graduation of China.

Senator RICKETTS. Yes. Let us talk about—you talked about the Belt and Road Initiative, and I mentioned it as well.

Mr. SWEENEY. Yes.

Senator RICKETTS. Last year, the Asian Development Bank announced an investment in a railway along the China-Pakistan economic corridor that was closely affiliated with Communist China's Belt and Road Initiative.

What is especially concerning is this project was previously slated for Chinese financing but ultimately was deemed to be too risky by Beijing. After years of delay, cost overruns, and concerns about Pakistan's debt sustainability, Chinese lenders reportedly stepped back.

The result was that the risk once borne by Chinese policy banks is now being transferred to a multilateral development bank in which the U.S. is a leading shareholder.

Should the Asian Development Bank be acting as a lender of last resort for the Belt and Road projects that fail to meet market or policy bank standards, even by China's own standards?

Mr. SWEENEY. Thank you for that question, Senator.

It should not. It is highly inappropriate. If confirmed, I commit to the committee, to you, to oppose any such lending. It is highly inappropriate.

Senator RICKETTS. Great.

Well, I do want to commend the Asian Development Bank for its recent decision to allow investments in nuclear power projects. This is a significant and overdue shift.

Last year, I led a bipartisan CODEL with Senator Coons to—and Senator Budd to the Philippines. During that trip, we heard about the immense energy security challenges, and it is not just the Philippines—it is other countries as well.

Many of our partners in the region are confronting similar problems affecting their economies and creating economic instability or their impact—their ability to resist disasters, and of course national security issues come with it as well.

Authoritarian competitors understand this vulnerability and actively work to exploit it. The Asian Development Bank's shift, therefore, represents not only an energy milestone but also a strategic opportunity for the United States.

How will you ensure the Asian Development Bank's nuclear financing supports partner countries in addressing urgent energy security needs?

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

We are fortunate to have a country which is second to none, and in my opinion above all in our energy development technologies.

That includes nuclear, and if confirmed, I will work assiduously and tirelessly to ensure that U.S. technology is brought to bear on those issues.

Senator RICKETTS. Great. Thank you, Mr. Sweeney.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator RISCH. Thank you.

Senator Murphy.

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

Thank you all for appearing here today.

Mr. Carl, I think it is just heartbreaking that you have been nominated for this position and that you have reached a panel before the U.S. Senate.

But I do want to give you a chance to go a little bit deeper in your explanations of your personal beliefs. They are directly relevant to your fitness to serve.

You already have had some of your statements read to you, but I would like you to respond to at least a few of them.

One of the things you have said is that anti-white discrimination is the most pervasive and politically salient form of racism today.

So do you continue to believe that anti-white discrimination is more salient than the discrimination faced today by blacks, Latinos, Muslims, or other American groups?

Mr. CARL. Senator, thank you for that question, and thank you also for giving me an opportunity to speak at a little bit of length. I have not necessarily had much opportunity to respond.

Senator MURPHY. I am going to have at least one more question for you, so I will give you a minute or two to respond.

Mr. CARL. Yes. So thanks to the great work of my friend Harmeet Dhillon at—the assistant attorney general of civil rights, I actually think that we have done an incredible job in this Administration of getting rid of certain policies that discriminate particularly against white Americans but also, in some cases, Asian Americans.

Senator MURPHY. Well, just maybe answer my question. Let us rewind, because maybe you will suggest that everything is fine now. Let us rewind a year ago.

A year ago, were white Americans the most discriminated against group in the United States? You said it so do—

Mr. CARL. Yes. Senator, certainly, this is my belief. I am not running away from that. I think that while, of course, all races in different contexts can be subject to really severe discrimination, that when we look at our legal structures white Americans are often very disfavored in overt ways. We are seeing this in the Small Business Administration, many other places.

Senator MURPHY. So your belief is that white Americans face more discrimination, at least prior to the Trump administration fixing this, than black Americans?

Mr. CARL. On average, Senator. Yes, that is correct, and I am not running away from that statement at all.

Senator MURPHY. You have made several statements about your worry regarding the erasure of white culture in America. You know, I understand Irish-American culture. I understand Italian-American culture.

I maybe do not understand white culture as well. Tell me the values—the white values that you believed are being erased by the current American government or prior American governments.

Mr. CARL. Senator, thank you for that question.

I would say that it is not—I did not use the word values. I use the word culture. I think that any time you have large degrees of mass immigration, you are going to have a change in culture if those are—especially if they are coming from culturally dissimilar backgrounds.

And no matter what group it is—if it were in China, it would be the same thing. If it were in New Guinea, it would be the same thing.

Senator MURPHY. Yes, but tell me about what that means. I mean, culture is values, right? It is expressions of identity.

Tell me what is being erased. I mean, give me some examples of what you believe are being erased about white identity. What is white identity to you?

Mr. CARL. Well, Senator, thank you for that.

Senator MURPHY. How is it—tell me how it is different than other identities.

Mr. CARL. Senator, I think the question of identity is something that lots of scholars go into.

Senator MURPHY. Yes, you can do a sermon on identity, but just tell me how you define white identity and what you think is being erased about white identity.

Mr. CARL. Senator, it would have—thank you again for the question and genuinely thank you for finally letting me have a chance to explain some of my comments a little bit.

But I would say that, you know, they could be things like going to a certain type of Christian church and that sort of culture, which is very different.

I mean, you can all be Christians, right, in a certain environment, but African-American Christians might worship differently

than Chinese Christians that might worship differently than white Christians.

Of course, sometimes you have multi-ethnic churches. But things like that, certain types of Anglo derived culture that comes from our history.

Senator MURPHY. Like what?

Mr. CARL. Let me think about this. You know, Senator, I would say if you were to look at the book by one of your former Senate colleagues, "Born Fighting" about the sort of Scotch-Irish military culture and certain, you know, pride that went with that, that would be one example.

Obviously, you could have sub-elements of that culture. You could have Italians, you could have Irish, and those are in many ways more distinct.

Senator MURPHY. But you are worried about white culture. You are not worried about—you are now retreating to ethnic identity. You do not speak about ethnic identity.

You speak about white identity. So tell me the values that stitch together white identity and that make it different than black identity.

Mr. CARL. Senator, again, thank you for the question.

Senator MURPHY. You have spent a lot of time talking about this and writing about this.

Mr. CARL. Yes, no—

Senator MURPHY. You should be able to—you are struggling with this, but you should be fairly easily, I would assume, able to tell us your thoughts on how white identity is different than other kinds of identity and how it is being erased.

Mr. CARL. Senator, again, thank you for the question.

Senator MURPHY. You are welcome.

Mr. CARL. I am just trying to be—I am just trying to be very precise so because I am here in front of a Senate committee.

I would say that the white church is very different than the black church in terms of its tone and style on average. Food ways could often be different. Music could be different.

Senator MURPHY. And those are being erased?

Mr. CARL. Music could be different. If you look at the Super Bowl halftime show, which was not in English this year.

Senator MURPHY. My—so our ability to access white churches or white food or white music is being erased?

Mr. CARL. Senator, again, thank you for the question.

What I would say is the biggest thing because actually, contrary to many of the comments that have been shown, racial nationalists have been very, very critical of my work because they correctly say that I am actually, of course, not a racial nationalist, which I am not.

I am a civic nationalist. I am concerned with the majority common American culture that we had for some time that through particularly mass immigration I think has become much more Balkanized and I think that weakens us.

And again, I am not running away from that comment. I am not apologizing for it.

Senator MURPHY. Well, I am way over my time. I think you are struggling to answer this question, right, because underlying your

beliefs is a sentiment that white culture is just simply better, that minority people are inferior.

Mr. CARL. No, Senator, I have to disagree with that.

Senator MURPHY. But you have not been able to really coherently answer any of my questions about how you define white culture, how you define the threat that is posed.

I appreciate you being very honest that you believe that white Americans are subject to greater amounts of discrimination in this country than black Americans.

I do not think that is a sentiment that is shared broadly on this committee. It is all what makes you just wildly, wildly unqualified to take this post.

I am well over my time. Thank you.

Mr. CARL. Senator, I do appreciate you letting me actually respond. I genuinely do. So thank you.

Senator RISCH. Thank you.

Senator KAINE.

Senator KAINE. Thank you, Mr. Chair.

Mr. Carl, I will follow up a little bit. You gave a speech to the National Conservatism Conference in July 2024 entitled “The Persecution of Whites in America” and one of the things you said was American whites are victims of a cultural genocide. A cultural genocide.

Where to start? So you would agree with me, would you not, that whites are pretty well represented in the U.S. Senate?

Mr. CARL. They are well represented in this body, yes, Senator.

Senator KAINE. And how about in the House of Representatives?

Mr. CARL. Senator Kaine, I do not have those particular numbers. However—

Senator KAINE. But you would agree that they are pretty well represented in the House of Representatives?

Mr. CARL. Senator, I would, again, thank you for the question. I would point out that there were no white Protestants by birth in the 25 Cabinet members under Joe Biden.

Senator KAINE. How about in the ranks of American Presidents throughout history including now? Pretty well represented, whites?

Mr. CARL. Senator—

Senator KAINE. And how about in the ranks of Vice Presidents during American history now? Now, pretty—I mean, whites pretty well represented in that group, right?

Mr. CARL. Senator, thank you again for the question.

Senator KAINE. I mean, I do not think it is hard. How about on the U.S. Supreme Court? Throughout our history and including now, whites are pretty well represented on the U.S. Supreme Court, correct?

Mr. CARL. Senator, will you permit me an opportunity to finish my answer?

I think, obviously, historically, I would, of course, agree with you. Of course, the vast majority of Americans were white at that time. It is now a much more diverse society.

Senator KAINE. Let us focus on right now. How about in the ranks of American Governors? Do you think whites are pretty well represented?

Mr. CARL. Senator, thank you for that question. I would just have to look at the numbers. I do not know.

Senator KAINE. OK. How about this? In the ranks of CEOs of major corporations today? Let us now talk about today. Do you think whites are pretty well represented?

Mr. CARL. Senator, thank you for the question. I suspect that they are probably pretty well represented in that. But there are other areas where they are not as well represented.

Senator KAINE. How about in the ranks of high income people, and we can define it however you want. Let us just say, like, top 10 percent of wealthy Americans. Do you think whites are pretty well represented?

Mr. CARL. Senator, thank you for the question. They would certainly be underrepresented with respect to Asian-Americans, but they would be overrepresented with respect to other groups.

Senator KAINE. Yes. So, you know, a cultural genocide, that is—that is a stiff claim, and it is an interesting one because it is kind of a white victimhood argument. But if I remember my colleague Senator Rosen, she was reading comments to you where you had been saying, man, Jews play the victim. Jews like to be the victim.

And yet you are making a claim that whites are victimized by a cultural genocide when all the statistics would say, not just in history but today, that whites are very well represented at every level of every institution. They are very well represented in the incomes of Americans. And that does not mean each person is high income or each person is a Supreme Court justice.

But you could look institution after institution in this country, and the facts completely rebut the notion that whites are victimized by a cultural genocide.

I have a question for Mr. Long I want to get to.

Mr. Long, we have had a little controversy in the last couple of weeks about Iceland. President Trump gave a speech in Davos, and he said, “I am helping NATO until the last few days when I told them about Iceland. They loved me.

“The problem with NATO is that we will be there for them 100 percent but I am not sure that they will be there for us. They are not there for us in Iceland, that I can tell you.

“Our stock market took the first dip yesterday because of Iceland. So Iceland has already cost us a lot of money.” Now, the White House said the President did not mistake Greenland and Iceland. Senator Rubio at a hearing here last week or 2 weeks ago said the President mistook Greenland and Iceland.

But let me ask you this. Do you know of any problem we have with Iceland? Has Iceland cost us a lot of money? Did Iceland cause our stock market to decline?

Are you aware of any facts that would support that Iceland has cost U.S. a lot of money or hurt our stock market?

Mr. LONG. Everything. We will not take this against my time, I guess. But do you not have a nexus to Missouri also, like—

Senator KAINE. I do.

Mr. LONG. I thought—

Senator KAINE. I am a Mizzou grad.

Mr. LONG. You got two here now. I got a couple of opportunities.

But Senator, everything that I have been given to understand, everything I have been studying the last 6 months, Iceland is a very good ally, as you know, and we have been with them since day one when no one else was.

Senator KAINE. So and actually this is important and I think—so you have not in your conversations with folks with the Trump administration been told in any way that Iceland is a problem, Iceland is costing us money, Iceland is hurting our stock market. Is that correct?

Mr. LONG. I have not been told that, no, and I think just the opposite. I think Iceland is a very—we were talking earlier. I am not sure if you were in the room or not, but about—

Senator KAINE. Well, you were talking about how you regretted the 52nd State thing. That is right when I—

Mr. LONG. The economy and the biotechnology that they have in Missouri—the State of Missouri—as you know, in St. Louis, Rolla, Kansas City, huge in biotech, and I am excited to get over there and get—you know, have opportunities to get things going.

But I am a—you know, I am a people person. I was an auctioneer, a real estate broker, salesman, and I enjoy people. I just do. And I—if you go over to the House and check through the Democrats that are still there that was there when I was there, I had as many friends on the Democrat side of the aisle as I do—

Senator KAINE. I am over time, but I am—but I am just really glad to hear that you have not been given any, you know, warning or instruction or expression of concern from the Administration that Iceland is a problem. Because I think they are an ally.

Thanks, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. LONG. They are a big ally. Thank you.

Senator RISCH. Thank you.

Senator Booker.

Senator BOOKER. Mr. Carl, I never thought I would have somebody that made a lot of the statements that you have made before the U.S. Senate, and I would love to discuss some of your comments.

You are going to be working with international organizations. Do you think one race is superior than another race on the planet Earth?

Mr. CARL. Senator, absolutely not.

Senator BOOKER. You do not? So do you think that America would be weaker if it was, say, 40 percent Jewish?

Mr. CARL. Senator, absolutely not in and of itself. I think the problem—

Senator BOOKER. Well, why did you qualify that? What do you mean in and of itself?

Mr. CARL. No, Senator, if you would let me finish.

I do not—I believe that unity, as President Trump has said, rather than diversity is a greater strength.

Senator BOOKER. But why not simply say it does not matter what percentage of our population is Jewish?

Mr. CARL. Senator, it certainly does not matter.

Senator BOOKER. It does not matter?

Mr. CARL. Senator, as—if I could finish. As somebody of Jewish origin myself, and I do want to take this moment to say because

there have been some comments made, one of my weaknesses—and we have discussed some that you may think in general are weaknesses—is sometimes I take an idea too far, and I made some comments in interviews about minimizing the effect of the Holocaust that were absolutely wrong, and I am not going to sit here and defend them here.

I just want to be very, very clear on that point. Again, had I been in Germany in that time, even though I am a sixth generation American, but had I not, you know, I would have been killed just like anybody else.

Senator BOOKER. I have heard you say that you regret some of your comments about Jews.

Mr. CARL. Absolutely.

Senator BOOKER. Do you regret any other comments about any other races?

Mr. CARL. Senator, you would have to reference a certain comment, but I am certainly not a perfect person, and I am sure that I have made—

Senator BOOKER. Do you regret any of your comments about Latino Americans?

Mr. CARL. Senator, I am sure that if you read me every single comment I have made about a group there would be some that upon consideration—

Senator BOOKER. So you stipulate for this body that you have in your past made comments about Jews and Latinos, and perhaps, blacks that you, perhaps, regret?

Mr. CARL. Senator, thank you for the question.

As a Calvinist who believes that we are all infinitely sinful and only redeemed through grace—

Senator BOOKER. But you—see, sir, we are sending you into a very diverse world.

Mr. CARL. Yes.

Senator BOOKER. And you cannot say unequivocally that America it does not matter what our racial makeup is. You believe it matters what the racial makeup of America is?

Mr. CARL. Senator—

Senator BOOKER. Do you believe it matters, yes or no, what the racial makeup of America is?

Mr. CARL. Senator, to echo President Trump, I believe in unity rather than diversity.

Senator BOOKER. I do not want you to echo President Trump. I want you to answer my question, yes or no. Does it matter what the racial makeup of America is?

Mr. CARL. Senator, I will stand on my comment. Thank you.

Senator BOOKER. What is your comment? Answer the question, yes or no.

Mr. CARL. Echoing President Trump, I believe unity rather than diversity is a strength.

Senator BOOKER. So you have a problem if America grew to be more Latinos than white people?

Mr. CARL. Senator, the individual group is not important. This is a cross societal—

Senator BOOKER. Why—and what do you mean when you say that you believe in the great replacement theory?

Mr. CARL. Senator, thank you for that question.

This refers to the intentional demographic replacement of Europeans in Europe. It was invented by Renaud Camus who was a French scholar.

Senator BOOKER. You think there is an active effort to, quote/unquote, “replace” Americans right now?

Mr. CARL. Senator, I think the Democratic Party through its immigration policies has certainly shown signs of that.

Senator BOOKER. And I do not understand that. So you are saying that if more Americans are black or Latino Americans, that that somehow weakens America because it puts whites in a minority?

Mr. CARL. Senator, I never said anything like that nor do I actually believe that. I want to be very clear that regardless of country, if people generally share more in common that is——

Senator BOOKER. Can I read you what you have said? Because it sounds like this. You said “the great replacement is real, and they are going to try to make you pay for it.”

Who is they?

Mr. CARL. Senator, thank you for that question. I simply do not know from you reading that one isolated comment.

Senator BOOKER. So this is the problem. You make the most incendiary comments that you admit that you regret about Jews, about Latinos, about blacks, and you sit here and say that you do not have a world view that somehow our country is weakened based upon the populations of each.

In fact, you say in your writings that it is a threat to the United States of America and create an us versus them, and the only interpretation I can have of us versus them is it is white people against others, which sounds deeply racist to me. That somehow you think our country’s greatness depends upon its ethnic diversity as long as white people have more numbers than others.

That does not sound like a nation that was founded with the belief that all people are created equal and equal before the eyes of God. It sounds like you have a racial hierarchy. There is no way for me to read this in any other way.

Mr. CARL. Senator——

Senator BOOKER. You have said our country based upon religious diversity, based upon ethnic diversity, based upon racial diversity, you have indicated that somehow those make America weaker or stronger, that God forbid our nation grows in population that then you suddenly say, I am aggrieved, and they are trying to replace us.

This is the United States of America. We are one nation under God, but you cut us up and divide us along racial lines.

Mr. CARL. Senator, respectfully, I do not think that they do.

Senator BOOKER. Sir—sir, sir, you cannot use the word respectfully because you do not respect me.

Mr. CARL. Oh, no, actually I do.

Senator BOOKER. You look upon me as my color of my skin. You say holidays like Juneteenth are racial hustles. Do not come here and hustle me.

Mr. CARL. Senator——

Senator BOOKER. You have said statements that other nations are going to look upon you and read plainly when you go to a country of a different religion or ethnicity. You have discriminated against Jews in your writing, you have discriminated against others, and then you claim yourself as a victim.

Mr. Chairman, I have never seen such a blatantly racist individual who does not even deny that he has made these statements but wants to tell us that he regrets them, and yet still believes that this body, who is committed to principles of equality, who is committed to ideals of our Founders, that you are not in direct violation to the ideals and values and principles.

And the last thing I want to say, I watched people beat others when they attacked the Capitol, viciously attacked police officers.

Brian Sicknick, a New Jersey resident, was beaten near death and would die days later, and you say those violent felons—you literally have said that they were treated worse than people during Jim Crow.

When thousands of Americans were lynched, murdered, beaten, and killed, you equate Capitol Hill rioters with receiving worse treatment than Americans during Jim Crow, which even some of the worst people who participated in that violence and beatings have come forward decades later and said, "I was wrong."

It is shameful that when this body ran for its life, when they had gallows for the Vice President put outside, when they tried to stop the peaceful transfer of power, that you would equate those people to the folks that were victimized and terrorized by white nationalist organizations like the KKK.

Sir, you have no decency. You have no honor. You say inflammatory things because you think it will ingratiate you to those who are paying your salary, and you sit here before me and try to wrap yourself in the American flag.

Well, I believe in this nation. I believe in the principles. I believe in those who fought and died for our country.

You disgrace that legacy and the ideals that we all swear an oath to uphold that does not believe in one nation for one people and another people.

Dear God, I pray for us if we let somebody like you represent us to the diverse nations of the world as representing the values of our country.

Mr. Chairman, I yield.

Mr. CARL. Senator, I absolutely deplore Jim Crow, but I do not agree with the characterization that you have done of my views.

Senator RISCH. The record will remain open until close of business tomorrow. If there are any questions that are put into the record, I would appreciate it if you would respond to the record or respond to the questions as quickly as you can.

I want to thank all of you and all of the families who are here today for submitting yourself for a potential nomination by the President, and I will include in the record all letters of support and other matters we received regarding any of the nominees.

And again, thanks from the committee. With that, committee is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 12:17 p.m., the hearing was adjourned.]

Additional Material Submitted for the Record

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO DR. WESLEY BROOKS BY SENATOR JAMES E. RISCH

Question. To what extent has the reorganization of OES been implemented?

Answer. As I am not a member of the Department of State, I do not yet have the details on the Department's reorganization.

Question. What priorities do you intend to focus on as Assistant Secretary, if confirmed, to make the bureau streamlined and effective?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to driving OES diplomacy on the Administration's priorities to ensure that OES is at the forefront of common-sense environmental policy that puts America, and American workers, first. I will do so in line with the President's Management Agenda to ensure the bureau prioritizes diplomacy and programs that deliver results.

Question. How will you increase inspections of Chinese and Russian research stations in Antarctica as well as other treaty enforcement actions to ensure these nations adhere to the Antarctic Treaty?

Answer. The United States was a leader in the Antarctic region even before the signing of the Antarctic Treaty in 1959, and has continued to be a leader in maintaining the Antarctic region for peace and science, consistent with the Antarctic Treaty. The United States uses all tools available to safeguard American economic and national security in Antarctica, including maintaining our unmatched footprint, superior logistical capability, and economic dominance.

The United States has conducted more inspections of foreign stations than any other party to the Antarctic Treaty, including an inspection of five foreign facilities in January of this year. If confirmed, I commit to continue to use the Antarctic Treaty's verification and transparency tools to ensure all parties are conducting their activities for peaceful purposes only, and will instruct my team to match future Antarctic Treaty inspections to national security needs.

Question. Do you believe US scientific and research presence in Antarctica is sufficient to preserve US science leadership, particularly in light of the expansion of Chinese presence?

Answer. The United States was a leader in the Antarctic region even before the signing of the Antarctic Treaty in 1959, and has continued to be a leader in maintaining the Antarctic region for peace and science, consistent with the Antarctic Treaty.

China's footprint in Antarctica is expanding, but the U.S. footprint in Antarctica dwarfs China's and all others. Over 3,000 people come through the U.S. Antarctic Program each year, while all other countries combined bring about 2,000. The three U.S. year-round stations together have about 1,400 total beds compared to China's 240 and Russia's 335.

The U.S. National Science Foundation manages the U.S. Antarctic Program, which supports U.S. scientific research in Antarctica.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO DR. WESLEY BROOKS BY SENATOR JEANNE SHAHEEN

Climate Change

Question. If confirmed, will you commit to ensuring that decisions under your purview on international climate, environmental, and ocean issues are guided by sound, peer-reviewed scientific evidence?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to ensuring decisions are informed by gold standard science and rigorous analysis, consistent with this administration's direction. I will ensure my team carefully evaluates scientific and technical information while accounting for U.S. national interests, economic impacts, energy security, and American workers' livelihoods.

I will ensure the Department maintains appropriate rigor in evaluating evidence, consulting with U.S. Government scientific agencies and relevant experts. Ultimate policy choices should reflect the full range of strategic, economic, and national security considerations necessary to advance American competitiveness and sovereignty in international forums.

Question. In your role as Deputy Assistant Administrator for Policy at EPA, what involvement have you had over the past year in matters related to the U.S.-Mexico water treaty, deep-sea mining and the EPA's decision to overturn the 2009 greenhouse gas endangerment finding?

Answer. As Deputy Assistant Administrator for Regulatory & Scientific Affairs at EPA's Office of Water, I was involved in developing and executing a strategy to achieve a 100 percent solution to the Tijuana River sewage crisis that also expedited construction targets for key wastewater infrastructure. This included direct participation in bilateral negotiations to secure a new Memorandum of Understanding and the signing of Minute 333, a historic new agreement between the United States and Mexico.

With respect to deep seabed mining, I have led the Office of Water's engagement with prospective mining companies that have submitted seabed mineral license applications to NOAA under the Deep Seabed Hard Mineral Resources Act (DSHMRA), and our Federal interagency partners. Pursuant to DSHMRA interagency consultation, the EPA has statutory water permitting program equities that may be affected by the activities proposed in such license applications, including under the Clean Water Act (CWA) and the Marine Protection, Research, and Sanctuaries Act (MPRSA). The EPA has been working to obtain any additional information necessary for water permitting from the applicants, as required by applicable statute or regulation.

EPA's Office of Water was not substantively involved in Agency rulemaking related to the 2009 endangerment finding, and I have not participated in any meetings or contributed to any decisions related to that issue.

International Agreements

Question. How does withdrawing from international environmental and scientific forums, where adversaries such as China and Russia, along with nearly every other country, participate in shaping the future global economy, serve the United States' strategic and economic interests?

Answer. I understand the review of international organizations and agreements carried out pursuant to Executive Order 14199 carefully considered whether continued U.S. participation was warranted as well as the risks of U.S. withdrawal, particularly with regards to our adversaries.

If confirmed, I will work with our partners to prevent China, Russia, and others from using the U.N. to advance their interests at the expense of the United States.

Environmental Crime

Question. How do you envision OES continuing its leadership role in the U.S. government's interagency efforts to combat transnational environmental crimes, including wildlife trafficking, illegal logging and associated timber trade, and illegal mining, and how will you coordinate with other Federal agencies and international partners through diplomatic engagements and multilateral organizations to disrupt these networks?

Answer. OES will deepen its leadership in combating transnational environmental crimes that undercut legitimate American businesses, threaten U.S. national security, and bolster our adversaries.

OES will continue to strengthen its whole-of-government coordination to address environmental crimes, including convergence with drug trafficking, human smuggling, and other threats to the United States. As co-chair of the 16-Federal agency Presidential Task Force on Wildlife Trafficking, OES will promote efficiency by improving communication, streamlining operations, and eliminating redundancies while coordinating bold action through our global network of embassies abroad.

In addition, OES will work closely with USTR to support its efforts to monitor and enforce transnational environmental crimes, both through existing free trade agreements (FTAs) and the agreements on reciprocal trade (ARTs).

OES will leverage international partnerships, bilateral engagements and, where appropriate, lead interagency delegations to multilateral fora to advance international coordination and information-sharing, and ensure that other nations share the financial burden of combating these crimes, which impact us all.

Illegal, Unreported and Unregulated Fishing

Question. How will you ensure OES continues to play its central role in implementing the Maritime SAFE 5-year Strategy to Combat Illegal, Unreported, and Unregulated (IUU) fishing and how would you strengthen OES engagement with partners, including other governments, to combat IUU fishing and improve overall management of global fisheries?

Answer. If confirmed, I would ensure that OES fulfills its congressional mandate under the Maritime SAFE Act by maintaining the Department's central role in implementing the whole-of-government approach to counter IUU fishing and related maritime security threats. I would prioritize OES' leadership of the interagency working group, co-chaired by the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) and the U.S. Coast Guard, and I would continue to use the 5-Year National Strategy to drive coordinated action within the interagency. I would also work with our U.S. missions and country teams to deliver results on the ground.

To strengthen engagement with partners, if confirmed, I would direct OES to highlight bilateral cooperation with key nations in the Indo-Pacific, Latin America, and Africa where China's distant water fishing fleet poses the greatest threat to global fisheries management. This would include expanding the role of technology in combating IUU fishing by building partnerships with the private sector to leverage new and existing technologies and tools and providing capacity-building assistance for investigations and prosecutions. I would also prioritize U.S. efforts to promote transparency initiatives through Regional Fisheries Management Organizations, including traceability systems that expose IUU activities, hold bad actors accountable, and create a level playing field for American fishermen and the U.S. seafood industry.

RESPONSE TO AN ADDITIONAL QUESTION FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO DR. WESLEY BROOKS BY SENATOR PETE RICKETTS

U.S. Foundation for Natural Security and Counter Terrorism

Under-funded national parks in the Global South are often a hotbed for insurgencies and terrorists. They are also targeted by Communist China for illegal wildlife trafficking and logging. To address this, Congress recently authorized the creation of the U.S. Foundation for Natural Security & Counter Terrorism. The foundation will leverage private sector philanthropy to enhance Federal resources and accelerate critical projects for conservation in vulnerable areas. While implementation of the foundation is slowly moving forward, statutory timelines are not being met.

Question. Will you prioritize fully implementing this public-private Foundation and supporting its important work?

Answer. I appreciate your interest in this issue. If I am confirmed, my team and I will work with you to address any outstanding concerns with USFNSC.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO JEREMY CARL BY SENATOR JEANNE SHAHEEN

[EDITOR'S NOTE.—We received no response from Jeremy Carl to the following questions from Senator Shaheen.]

In-Office Policy

Question. If confirmed, do you plan to commute regularly between your home in Montana and Washington, DC?

[No response received.]

Question. Do you commit to working in-person at the Department of State for 40 hours per week, consistent with Trump administration policy?

[No response received.]

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO JEREMY CARL BY SENATOR CORY A. BOOKER

[EDITOR'S NOTE.—We received no response from Jeremy Carl to the following questions from Senator Booker.]

On August 31, you tweeted the following: "Going down the aisle boarding the plane and I heard a flight attendant say to a woman behind me 'So cute! How old is your baby?' And she said 'Six weeks. And there's another one a few passengers behind me.' And I started thinking about how if I were seat-

ed near either woman I would tell her that it was totally OK if the baby cried a lot and that babies were a great blessing. A minute or two later I turned around and saw a seemingly completely able bodied woman carrying a dog. Massive modernity L."

Question. Do you disavow this statement?

[No response received.]

Question. If not, why not?

[No response received.]

You wrote the following: "Historically, we were both a nation that subscribed to certain creeds and was overwhelmingly of European origin."

Question. Do you disavow this statement?

[No response received.]

Question. If not, why not?

[No response received.]

Question. If yes, why?

On August 25, 2025, you tweeted the following: "I've said it before, but it bears repeating. If one party can import millions of people ILLEGALLY and the other party, when elected, cannot expeditiously deport those same illegal immigrants, then you are living in a left-wing oligarchy, not a democracy."

Question. Do you disavow this statement?

[No response received.]

Question. If not, why not?

[No response received.]

On May 7, 2023, you tweeted the following: "I would rather be a black man on trial for the assault of a white man in 1930s rural Mississippi than I would be a right-winger in DC today on trial for political crimes."

Question. Do you disavow this statement?

[No response received.]

Question. If not, why not?

[No response received.]

On July 20, 2021, you tweeted the following: "Yep. P.S. If you're a white person celebrating Juneteenth, you've already surrendered."

Question. Do you disavow this statement?

[No response received.]

Question. If not, why not?

[No response received.]

On June 19, 2021, you tweeted the following: "There is no "peaceful coexistence" we are going to have when our opposition is led by people like this. We either win or die."

Question. Do you disavow this statement?

[No response received.]

Question. If not, why not?

[No response received.]

On July 28, 2021, you tweeted the following: "Dems R the real fascists."

Question. Do you disavow this statement?

[No response received.]

Question. If not, why not?

[No response received.]

On March 9, 2021, you tweeted the following: "More overt Democrat racism snuck into the "COVID Relief" bill. Anyone who supported this monstrosity is evil."

Question. Do you disavow this statement?

[No response received.]

Question. If not, why not?

[No response received.]

On October 1, 2022, you tweeted the following: "U.S. will no longer deport illegal aliens for being here illegally. The treason party strikes again."

Question. Do you disavow this statement?

[No response received.]

Question. If not, why not?

[No response received.]

On January 10, 2021, you tweeted the following: "Donald Trump addressed a political rally and said 'I know that everyone here will soon be marching over to the Capitol building to peacefully and patriotically make your voices heard.' Pelosi attempted a military coup and must be prosecuted."

Question. Do you disavow this statement?

[No response received.]

Question. If not, why not?

[No response received.]

On January 8, 2021, you tweeted the following: "The real coup was against Trump not by Trump."

Question. Do you disavow this statement?

[No response received.]

Question. If not, why not?

[No response received.]

On September 10, 2019, you tweeted the following: "Dear Trump Admin: Stop whining and complaining about judicial supremacy and start ignoring illegal judicial rulings. America is not a Kritarchy, no matter how much the left wishes it were."

Question. Do you disavow this statement?

[No response received.]

Question. If not, why not?

[No response received.]

On October 28, 2021, you tweeted the following: "The great replacement is real. And they're going to try to make you pay for it"

Question. Do you disavow this statement?

[No response received.]

Question. If not, why not?

[No response received.]

In 2021, you tweeted the following: "I'm sure #George Floyd is looking up from hell right now and he is so proud of America."

Question. Do you disavow this statement?

[No response received.]

Question. If not, why not?

[No response received.]

In 2021, you tweeted the following: "I'm sorry, from the first moment, the #GeorgeFloyd case has been pure world. He was a violent felon, drug addict, and thug, who resisted lawful arrest and, like many of that description, met an unfortunate end."

Question. Do you disavow this statement?

[No response received.]

Question. If not, why not?

[No response received.]

In the past, you stated the following: "Only in a world would America care about this case, would the Minneapolis mayor weep at Floyd's vulgar gold casket and would this be a national news story."

Question. Do you disavow this statement?

[No response received.]

Question. If not, why not?

[No response received.]

In the past, you stated the following: “Only in a world would politicians of the ruling party valorize Floyd or pretend that his death was the result of “systemic racism” or some similar absurdity when all empirical evidence shows that interracial violence goes overwhelmingly in the other direction.”

Question. Do you disavow this statement?

[No response received.]

Question. If not, why not?

[No response received.]

In the past, you stated the following: “Only in a world would be talking about George Floyd at all. A nation that treats the claims of George Floyd’s partisans as serious arguments is a nation that is dying. A nation that accepts violence following this verdict is a nation whose funeral bell has already been rung.”

Question. Do you disavow this statement?

[No response received.]

Question. If not, why not?

[No response received.]

On April 28, 2023, you tweeted the following: “If the U.S. were a serious nation, Weingarten would be tried for crimes against America’s children and would get the death penalty. Randi Weingarten”

Question. Do you disavow this statement?

[No response received.]

Question. If not, why not?

[No response received.]

On September 9, 2021, you tweeted the following: “It’s time to #impeachandimprison @Joe Biden.”

Question. Do you disavow this statement?

[No response received.]

Question. If not, why not?

[No response received.]

On December 23, 2023, you tweeted the following: “There is a pathological war on white people in America. It’s time decent people wake up and fight against it.”

Question. Do you disavow this statement?

[No response received.]

Question. If not, why not?

[No response received.]

On February 15, 2024, you tweeted the following: “As I documented (and @TuckerCarlson cited), of the first 97 Federal Judges confirmed by Biden, we had 22 black women and only five white men. If you don’t like DA Fanni Willis, wait until you see the Fanni Willis Federal judiciary.”

Question. Do you disavow this statement?

[No response received.]

Question. If not, why not?

[No response received.]

In the past, you tweeted the following: “We’ve tried chain migration. We now need to try chain deportation”

Question. Do you disavow this statement?

[No response received.]

Question. If not, why not?

[No response received.]

In your book The Unprotected Class: How Anti-White Racism is Tearing American Apart, you wrote the following: “They speak to a nation where too often just the color of your skin puts your life at risk.’ Biden, needless to say, did not provide any data or evidence for this assertion, largely because it was factually absurd.”

Question. Do you believe that Black Americans are not discriminated against due to the color of their skin?

[No response received.]

Question. Do you still believe President Biden’s assertion that “too often just the color of your skin puts your life at risk” is “factually absurd”?

[No response received.]

In your book The Unprotected Class: How Anti-White Racism is Tearing American Apart, you wrote the following: “Finally, a few words as to why this book is necessary: America is in the midst of a rapid demographic and even civilizational transformation. Large numbers of whites, living either in disproportionately white areas or white enclaves in more diverse areas, are in denial about the degree to which they have been replaced as the dominant ethnic group across much of America.”

Question. Do you disavow this statement that white people are being replaced as the dominant ethnic group across much of America?

[No response received.]

Question. If not, why not?

[No response received.]

In your book The Unprotected Class: How Anti-White Racism is Tearing American Apart, you wrote the following: “While election integrity is a serious and real issue, much of the cry we’ve heard lately about ballot fraud is really at its heart a complaint about ‘America fraud’—the fact that many whites cannot acknowledge that a combination of the civil rights revolution and a flood of immigrants over the last sixty years, many from places with thin-to-nonexistent ties to America’s core ethnic communities and cultural and social traditions, now wield tremendous political power, which they are using to advantage their group over whites.

“What happens when those largely historically responsible for building American society and its institutions go from a dominant position to just one group among many, and a legally and culturally disfavored group at that?

“Simply put, what does a post-white America look like, especially when that post-white America actively denigrates much of the cultural, political, and social legacy that built the country? And can America and its institutions survive such a transformation?

“If we do not correct the course we are on, I fear we are headed for the civil strife and racial violence that has characterized so many other multiracial countries over the centuries, including, in the past, our own.”

Question. Please give examples of “America’s core cultural and social traditions.”

[No response received.]

Question. Do you disavow the above passage quoted from your book?

[No response received.]

Question. Do you believe it is possible to have multiple ethnicities living side-by-side with shared mutual respect, recognition, and opportunity?

[No response received.]

In your book The Unprotected Class: How Anti-White Racism is Tearing American Apart, you wrote about “natural rights under the Constitution.” You also talk about people who are “refusing to give” natural rights to “us.”

Question. Who is “us” in this statement?

[No response received.]

Question. Who do you believe is refusing to give “us” natural rights?

[No response received.]

Question. Do you believe that all American citizens, regardless of race or ethnicity, have what you refer to as “natural rights” under the Constitution?

[No response received.]

Question. Do you disavow this passage from your book?

[No response received.]

In your book The Unprotected Class: How Anti-White Racism is Tearing American Apart, you wrote: “What is clear is that the post-1965 immigration boom, rather than serving as a continuation of longstanding American policy, was a spectacular repudiation of that policy. Over the last six decades, America’s government has created a new American people. Democrats, who have not won the white vote since 1964, simply elected another people and attacked any white person who complained as a racist.”

Question. What do you mean when you say “America’s government has created a new American people”?

[No response received.]

Question. Do you disavow this passage from your book, yes or no?

[No response received.]

In your book The Unprotected Class: How Anti-White Racism is Tearing American Apart, you wrote: “A recent survey of Asian Americans found that almost 80 percent did not ‘completely agree’ that they belonged in the United States, with higher percentages feeling that way among younger cohorts who grew up in a much more diverse and accepting America. Older generations, likely to be actual immigrants with lower language skills and less engagement with American culture, are more likely to believe they belong in America. These findings should give us pause and lead us to examine the public discourse around race in America today and why it has veered so far from reality.”

Question. What do you mean by “actual immigrants” in the above statement?

[No response received.]

Question. Why does the following statement give you pause? “Older generations, likely to be actual immigrants with lower language skills and less engagement with American culture, are more likely to believe they belong in America.”

[No response received.]

Question. Do you disavow this passage from your book?

[No response received.]

In your book The Unprotected Class: How Anti-White Racism is Tearing American Apart, you wrote: “Another challenge is that while Democratic politicians have increasingly waged an all-out assault on the rights of white Americans, Republicans have been tepid defenders of them at best.”

Question. Do you disavow this passage from your book?

[No response received.]

In your book The Unprotected Class: How Anti-White Racism is Tearing American Apart, you wrote: “While some GOP lawmakers have stiffened their spines in recent years, and an increasing number of GOP political and media figures have called out anti-white racism in direct terms (Tucker Carlson, Charlie Kirk, and Matt Walsh have been particular stalwarts), the default Republican response to repeated racial insult has been to say, ‘I don’t see race/color,’ even in the face of obvious anti-white animus.”

Question. Do you disavow this passage from your book?

[No response received.]

Question. Do you still stand by the following public statement: “My forthcoming book The Unprotected Class . . . is entirely devoted to the rise of anti-white discrimination and racism in America. This rise in racism has been enabled by our DEI and affirmative action regime, and is fundamentally anchored in metastasizing civil rights law and, perhaps even more importantly, subsequent rulings from the unaccountable administrative state.”

[No response received.]

On January 27, 2024, you wrote the following in the American Conservative: “Yes, it is true that Claremont President Ryan Williams and my colleague Scott Yenor have written that the Civil Rights Act, and, most importantly, its administrative and jurisprudential interpretations ‘have warped American law and culture and traded one set of racial preferences for an-

other.’ That is a wholly accurate statement, and in a sane society, would not be controversial.”

Question. Do you disavow this statement?

[No response received.]

Question. If not, why not?

[No response received.]

On November 20, 2023, you wrote the following in the American Mind: “There are implications to this surrender. As Hillsdale’s Thomas West notes, a serious Christian nationalism must engage in a potentially unpopular challenge to existing civil rights laws, which “frequently limit religion as practiced outside of the narrow realm of ‘religion as such Civil rights laws protect the right of unwed mothers, gays, and transgenders to non-discrimination—which means religious schools or businesses may be required to admit them or hire them, contrary to their Christian moral convictions.” In such a situation, where Christianity cedes the public square to state atheism, it can become functionally impossible “to follow and teach in daily life the moral beliefs of Christianity as understood by most believers.”

Question. Do you disavow this statement?

[No response received.]

Question. If not, why not?

[No response received.]

On July 9, 2024, you stated the following at the National Conservative Conference: “I don’t think it’s possible to talk about any of this without talking about civil rights, and there are some questions on our side of the aisle as to whether we should use civil rights law or fundamentally reform it. I think the answer is both. We need to use it right now for aggressive lawfare—but we also need to fundamentally transform a set of laws that were designed for a world that no longer exists. We have a very different set of problems today, and I think that’s obviously going to be a big political lift, but I think it’s a necessary political lift.”

Question. Do you disavow this statement?

[No response received.]

Question. If not, why not?

[No response received.]

On November 1, 2024, you wrote the following in the American Mind: “If Trump does not concentrate first and foremost on destroying the people who tried (and failed) to destroy him, his presidency is unlikely to be a long-term success.”

Question. Do you disavow this statement?

[No response received.]

Question. If not, why not?

[No response received.]

In March 2023, you posted the following statement on X: “The Capitol riot defendants had it worse than Black Americans in the Jim Crow South.”

Question. Do you disavow this statement, yes or no?

[No response received.]

Question. Do you regret posting this statement, yes or no?

[No response received.]

On May 13, 2025, you wrote the following in the American Mind: “White Americans already pay billions each year to subsidize our cross-border invasion and cultural erasure. If we don’t fight harder, we will soon be subsidizing our own expropriation.”

Question. Do you disavow this statement?

[No response received.]

Question. If not, why not?

[No response received.]

On April 29, 2024, you wrote the following in the Fox News Opinion: “The result: among America’s children, less than half are non-Hispanic White. Within approximately two decades, America as a whole is projected to become majority-minority. The Great Replacement isn’t a conspiracy theory; it is, as 2024 GOP Presidential candidate Vivek Ramaswamy observed, ‘just the basic immigration policy of the Democrats.’”

Question. Do you disavow this statement?
[No response received.]

Question. Will you stop espousing the tenets of the debunked “Great Replacement Theory”?

Question. If not, why not?
[No response received.]

On February 17, 2022, you wrote the following in the American Mind: “By bringing in millions of people whose traditions are often foreign to those of the West, the Great Replacement threatens a culture that my children’s ancestors have lived in and helped to build for generations-especially since the ideology of patriotic assimilation has largely been abandoned for multiculturalism.”

Question. Do you disavow this statement?
[No response received.]

Question. If not, why not?
[No response received.]

On July 9, 2024, you stated the following at the National Conservatism Conference: “What does a post-white America look like, especially when a post-white America actively denigrates much of the cultural, political, and social legacy that built the country? Can America and its institutions survive that kind of transformation? How do we avoid the sort of civil strife and ethnic violence that has characterized a huge percentage of multiethnic societies in the past?”

Question. Do you disavow this statement?
[No response received.]

Question. If not, why not?
[No response received.]

On February 19, 2025, you stated the following at the Hillsdale College lecture: “I basically argue that white flight was the only form of ethnic cleansing in which the victims were really blamed.”

Question. Do you disavow this statement?
[No response received.]

Question. If not, why not?
[No response received.]

On October 28, 2021, you tweeted the following: “The great replacement is real. And they’re going to try to make you pay for it.”

Question. Do you disavow this statement?
[No response received.]

On July 4, 2024, you said: “American whites are victims of a cultural genocide.”

Question. Do you disavow this statement?
[No response received.]

Question. If not, why not?
[No response received.]

On July 4, 2024, you said: “We do have anti-white persecution in America.”

Question. Do you disavow this statement?
[No response received.]

Question. If not, why not?
[No response received.]

On July 4, 2024, you said: “But if I say It’s OK to Be White, I might as well just put on my KKK hood right now. I think that’s indicative of how whiteness is viewed by society.”

Question. Do you disavow this statement?

[No response received.]

Question. If not, why not?

[No response received.]

On July 9, 2024, you wrote the following in the American Mind: “I can understand why Modi wants India to be a Hindu nation, because I want America to be a Christian nation, defined not in total but in part by its European historic identity.”

Question. Do you disavow this statement?

[No response received.]

On May 19, 2022, in “The American Conservative,” you wrote: “Elite white voters who support the Democrats are supporting a party that rhetorically despises them and works against their fundamental material interests. Contrast the treatment of white men within the Democratic Party to the status of white American men outside of Democratic Party politics. This is not a stable equilibrium.”

Question. Do you disavow this statement, yes or no?

[No response received.]

On February 17, 2022, you wrote the following in “The American Mind”: “Instead, what America should attempt is what race and ethnicity scholar Eric Kaufman has referred to as a ‘whiteshift,’ wherein many Americans with multiethnic backgrounds will come to adopt the mores and traditions of, and to identify with, America’s founders and history. Already we see this in a significant number of the children of white and minority mixed marriages. But our current culture discourages this, providing both legal and cultural incentives for these children to claim a non-white identity.”

Question. Do you disavow this statement, yes or no?

[No response received.]

On the “Conversations That Matter” podcast on December 29, 2025, you stated the following: “My follow up book . . . is all about liberal white people and how destructive of forces they’ve been [to white people in the workforce] . . . you are giving minorities a free pass and you know, you’re not looking at demographic change and the role that that all played in some of these things—it’s important to hold all the groups that were involved in discriminating—and continue to be involved in discriminating—against white men, young white men in particular, to account . . . that minority role is important.”

Question. Do you disavow this statement?

[No response received.]

On the No Country for White Men podcast, on December 17, 2025, you stated the following four quotes:

“ . . . If the left has found me to be a little bit of a pain or difficulty, and I certainly hope they have, because I want to be their enemy . . . But because the regime told me, basically, because you’re white, you’re male, you’re conservative, we have no interest in you, you know, I had to go fight against the regime . . . ”

“It actually kind of does matter how much we—you—share a historical religion, or historical culture, a historical sort of social framework with the people who founded and built this country.”

“I have friends . . . from kind of non-traditional minorities but who grew up in very traditional American places where they were surrounded by a bunch of white guys when they were growing up, a lot of those guys . . . I might look at that person and say, they’re not from a historical American population but those guys are pretty darn American and if they marry someone from a more historic American background and have kids, those kids are probably going to be very American.”

“You could have the perfect ethnic background by the standards of people who would be ethno-nationalists, but if you’re a communist and all these other things, then I don’t consider you a good American either . . . it’s a bal-

ance, so I look at how much in various categories having to do with your background, your views, everything else, the more you have in common with these traditional American people and ideas, the more American I'm going to consider you."

Question. Do you disavow each of these four quotes copied above?

[No response received.]

Question. If not, which of these quotes above do you still endorse?

[No response received.]

On February 19, 2025, you stated the following in the Hillsdale College lecture: "Anti-white discrimination is not the only form of racial discrimination or racism today. But, I do argue in my book, that it's the most pervasive and politically salient form of racism today."

Question. Do you disavow this statement?

[No response received.]

Question. If not, why not?

[No response received.]

On February 19, 2025, you stated the following in the Hillsdale College lecture: "It's 2025, nobody needs to be reminded that slavery was bad, nor does anybody object to have it presented in context."

Question. Do you disavow this statement?

[No response received.]

Question. If not, why not?

[No response received.]

On February 19, 2025, you stated the following in the Hillsdale College lecture: "The origins [of the Tuskegee experiments] were very likely not racist at all."

Question. Do you disavow this statement?

[No response received.]

Question. If not, why not?

[No response received.]

On February 19, 2025, you stated the following in the Hillsdale College lecture: "People are being scared of being called racists, and I'm trying to tell people to just get over it because they are not going to stop calling you racist, I promise. If you do something that is useful, they will call you racist. Like, if they stopped calling me a racist, I'd be really nervous. I'd be like, 'what am I doing wrong?'"

Question. Do you disavow this statement?

[No response received.]

Question. If not, why not?

[No response received.]

In the past, you stated the following on the Christian Ghetto podcast: "Christians see Jews overall in a very positive light ... Jews tend to see Evangelical Christians in a very negative light ... I think it reflects poorly on the Jewish community ..."

Question. Do you disavow this statement?

[No response received.]

Question. If not, why not?

[No response received.]

In the past, you stated the following on the Christian Ghetto podcast: "I mean, Hitler is always the convenient bad example ..."

Question. Do you disavow this statement?

[No response received.]

Question. If not, why not?

[No response received.]

In the past, you stated the following on the Christian Ghetto podcast: "Jews have often loved to play the victim rather than accept that they are participants in history ... of course there are times they are victims but there are times they are perpetrators."

Question. Do you disavow this statement?

[No response received.]

Question. If not, why not?

[No response received.]

On October 30, 2024, you stated the following on the Christina Ghetto podcast: "The Holocaust dominates so much of modern Jewish history ... it's very unhealthy ... for the people who survived it, of course they can and should tell their stories ... but now when you're getting to this next generation, everyone has traumas in their past, how much are we going to re-litigate them?"

Question. Do you disavow this statement?

[No response received.]

Question. If not, why not?

[No response received.]

In the past, you stated the following on the Christian Ghetto podcast: "Jews love to see themselves as oppressed ... speaking generally, as I want to stress ... speaking communally and in a society in America that has not oppressed Jews ... Jews have not been oppressed here, as a whole, and they are very powerful in society ... this is not conspiracies, look at the percentage of billionaires in America ... Jews are very over represented. That Jews are the downtrodden here doesn't match with reality."

Question. Do you disavow this statement?

[No response received.]

Question. If not, why not?

[No response received.]

In the past, you stated the following on the Christian Ghetto podcast: "Jews are more susceptible to political radicalisms of all types."

Question. Do you disavow this statement?

[No response received.]

Question. If not, why not?

[No response received.]

In the past, you stated the following on the Christian Ghetto podcast: "Jewish actors love the Groypers because they are so discrediting to anyone who would ask questions."

Question. Do you disavow this statement?

[No response received.]

Question. If not, why not?

[No response received.]

In the past, you stated the following on the Christian Ghetto podcast: "I don't really believe in Judeo-Christian, you know like, I think America is a Christian nation. It is a nation that has always had Jews in it ... but the Christian-Zionism ... I think these have all been really negative ... I have a pro-Israel view of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, I just don't think we should be that involved in it ... Nor do I accept that Israel is our greatest ally."

Question. Do you disavow this statement?

[No response received.]

Question. If not, why not?

[No response received.]

In the past, you stated the following on the Will Spencer Podcast: "It's a very freighted thing in any sort of Jewish family to convert to Christianity ... it would be easier to convert to Satanism."

Question. Do you disavow this statement above, yes or no?

[No response received.]

Question. If not, why not?

[No response received.]

In the past, you stated the following on the Conversations That Matter Podcast: "There are also clearly other times where you do need to step back and you need say, well, are there other things going on, in Jewish communities or in subsets of Jewish community, that, um, have pushed some of this over time ... You do have this disproportionate nature particularly of left-wing Jews who have been involved in some of these anti-white actions ..."

Question. Do you disavow this statement?

[No response received.]

Question. If not, why not?

[No response received.]

In the past, you stated the following on the Conversations That Matter Podcast: "When you look at these anti-Semitism protests on campus that really a lot of this is down-stream of, Jews are considered white and these groups don't like white people ... the white guys are the bad guys."

Question. Do you disavow this statement?

[No response received.]

Question. If not, why not?

[No response received.]

During the "Christian Ghetto" podcast, Episode 22, you stated: "In regards to Jewish communal feelings on the Holocaust: "Everyone has traumas in their past, how much are we going to relitigate it ... I find it distasteful."

Question. Do you disavow this statement above, yes or no?

[No response received.]

In "The American Mind" on May 23, 2023, you wrote: ". . . that transgenderism is not simply the latest culture war social issue. It is a fundamental transgression against God and nature ... And both in theory and in practice, the beliefs which transgenderism demands can only be described as demonic." (The American Mind, May 23, 2023)

Question. Do you disavow this above statement, yes or no?

[No response received.]

Your repost on X copied below publicly amplified and signaled support for Christopher F. Rufo's post.

Question. Do you disavow this statement copied below, yes or no?

[No response received.]



Your repost (copied below) publicly amplified and signaled support for the following statement by Christina Pushaw.

Question. Do you continue to endorse the substance of this statement posted below?

[No response received.]



Your repost (copied below) publicly amplified and signaled support for these statements posted by Sean Davis and Katie Pavlich.

Question. Do you continue to endorse the substance of these two statements, yes or no?

[No response received.]



Your repost (copied below) publicly amplified and signaled support for the following post by Matt Walsh.

Question. Do you continue to endorse the substance of this statement, yes or no?
[No response received.]



Your repost (copied below) publicly amplified and signaled support for the following posts by @realchrisrufo.

Question. Do you disavow the post below?
[No response received.]



Do you disavow the substance of the post below that you retweeted?
[No response received.]



RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO HON. WILLIAM LONG BY SENATOR JAMES E. RISCH

Question. What threat do you assess that Russia and China pose to the U.S. in the Arctic and High North, and how will you work with Iceland to prioritize responses to them?

Answer. The Arctic is a growing feature of Russia and China’s “no limits” friendship. Russia has augmented its hard power by rebuilding cold war bases and increasing military exercises’ tempo and complexity. China has pursued greater economic and soft power influence through its “Polar Silk Road” while stepping up joint military activity. If confirmed, I will partner with Iceland to facilitate increasing NATO’s High North presence to maintain stability in one of the world’s most strategically significant areas and support commercial outreach and joint ventures for U.S. firms to counter China’s economic efforts.

Question. While Iceland does not have a military, it plays an important part in NATO’s collective security. How will you engage with your counterparts from other NATO nations to ensure U.S. security interests are prioritized in Iceland?

Answer. Iceland’s new security and defense policy frames NATO and the bilateral U.S.-Iceland defense relationship as Iceland’s two core security pillars. I am grateful to Iceland for advancing U.S. security, from hosting P-8A aircraft, to facilitating submarine port visits, to running Icelandic Air Policing with NATO Allies. If confirmed, I will work closely with Iceland’s government and other NATO Allies to ensure personnel and resources are allocated to U.S. priorities in Iceland—air and maritime domain awareness, infrastructure for naval and air assets, and secure communications—and ensure the Arctic remains secure.

Question. How will you advance U.S.-Iceland economic relations, especially with regard to its subjection to European Union trade policy and rapidly growing U.S. tourism in the country?

Answer. If confirmed, I will advocate for U.S. firms’ free, fair, and open access to the Icelandic market, urging the Icelandic government to adopt laws and regulations that provide a level playing field for our businesses. I and Embassy staff will constantly be on the lookout for commercial opportunities and advocate for U.S. firms as permitted by law. If confirmed, I will also provide timely information for U.S. tourists and seek to address any challenges that emerge.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO ROBERT SWEENEY BY SENATOR JAMES E. RISCH

The President’s fiscal year budget requested \$43.6 million to fully fund its commitments to the Asian Development Fund.

Question. What is your view of the U.S.’s role within the ADB, and what should the U.S.’s priorities for cooperation with the ADB be?

Answer. As one of the ADB’s two largest shareholders, the United States has a leadership role at the ADB. I will seek to focus the Bank on its core mission of reducing poverty and increasing economic growth. Expanding access to affordable and reliable energy is important to both of these goals and there is significant scope for the United States to help the ADB in this area.

Country self-reliance and graduation should also be the ultimate goal of all the ADB’s lending operations. Countries should have a clear path to grow out of reliance

on ADB support, and we should view it as a sign of success when countries graduate. If confirmed, I will press the Bank to implement its graduation policy, support countries in achieving self-reliance, and concentrate resources on poorer, less credit-worthy countries where support is most needed and impactful. I believe it is important to work with other like-minded shareholders on the ADB Board to advance these development objectives.

Question. The ADB's policy on funding fossil fuel projects has flip flopped over the years. Given its relative lack of experience in funding LNG and nuclear projects, how can the ADB increase its competitiveness and support for projects critical to regional energy security?

The ADB should position itself to meet the scale and range of energy demand from clients, which includes LNG and nuclear. I understand that the ADB completed an update to its Energy Policy in November 2025, which took steps to meet energy demand in the region by allowing the Bank to make new investments in midstream and upstream gas and finance nuclear for the first time. However, there remains work to be done at the ADB to ensure that arbitrary barriers and climate targets don't prohibit gas projects from moving forward. Nuclear is extremely important but very complex, so I will encourage the ADB to work with other MDBs to advance nuclear power in a coordinated and thoughtful manner. The ADB needs to build its own technical capacity in nuclear, explore technical engagement with nuclear experts, and coordinate with other MDBs, so that it is best positioned to support nuclear projects effectively.

Question. If confirmed, what would be your priorities for countering coercive Chinese capital, particularly in heavily exposed places like Papua New Guinea or Kiribati?

The ADB must prioritize its resources on poorer countries with less access to capital, continue providing appropriate and transparent financing terms, and reduce red tape while still delivering high-quality projects that build countries' own capacity and self-reliance. This will allow ADB to continue offering a strong alternative for these countries to lower-quality, unsustainable, and non-transparent financing from China. The ADB should fully implement its new procurement rules to improve development outcomes and make it harder for Chinese state-owned enterprises to unfairly limit procurement competition in exposed places like Papua New Guinea and Kiribati. If confirmed, I will prioritize coordination with the USG and explore opportunities to counter Chinese influence and efforts to rig ADB procurement. I will particularly focus on outreach to U.S. companies and advocate for U.S. commercial interests in ADB funded procurement.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO ROBERT SWEENEY BY SENATOR JEANNE SHAHEEN

PRC Competition

Question. Despite being the third largest shareholder at the Bank, China continues to be one of the Asian Development Bank's top borrowing countries. How do you envision working with allies and partners within the Bank to set policies, particularly in the Bank's next strategy document, to wean the PRC off its heavy borrowing from the Bank?

Answer. There is no justification for China to continue receiving ADB resources. If confirmed, I will work to put China on a rapid path to zero borrowing from the ADB. I will also work with my U.S. Government colleagues and likeminded international partners to identify more opportunities for ADB financing in countries with more acute needs for ADB's support.

Question. The Asian Development has made significant progress in changing its procurement polices away from lowest cost, which tended to benefit PRC firms, to procurement practices based on best value. Can you tell us how you will ensure that work continues? What more can be done to bring U.S. and allied companies to compete more effectively for Asian Development Bank projects?

Answer. If confirmed, I will advocate for and closely monitor improvements to ADB's procurement policy to ensure they are fully implemented. I will also watch closely to identify any additional gaps in the procurement process requiring reform. I will also work with Treasury, ADB's North American Representative Office, and colleagues at State and Commerce to boost business outreach to U.S. companies and to help them compete more effectively for ADB projects.

Your Priorities at the Asian Development Bank

Question. The Administration has continually pointed to the importance of development finance institutions to take the place of traditional U.S. development assistance. What will be your goals in advancing the development mission of the Asian Development Bank?

Answer. The ADB should return to its core mission of poverty reduction and economic growth, support access to affordable and reliable energy, and improve quality of investment financing through better procurement outcomes. ADB has removed its prohibition on financing nuclear power and has increased quality procurement approach. If confirmed, I will work closely with the ADB to see these policies translate into tangible and high quality projects, including with the input from U.S. experts and enterprises. The ADB has made positive steps, but must continue focusing on its core missions and delivering greater development impact in the region.

Question. The Administration has committed to an “all of the above” energy approach. Does “all of the above” include clean energy technology, and how will you work to implement that approach at the Bank and be responsive to borrowing countries’ energy needs, irrespective of whether they are fossil fuels or clean energy?

Answer. I agree that ADB should take an approach to energy that is technology neutral, which means considering all technological options to best advance affordable, reliable, and secure energy access in Asia. This approach is fundamental to achieving economic growth and poverty reduction. All-of-the above includes renewable energy, when it is economically appropriate and wanted by countries. If confirmed, I will encourage the ADB to develop a robust pipeline of energy projects, which given the scale and diversity of the region will certainly include a diversity of energy sources.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO ROBERT SWEENEY BY SENATOR BILL HAGERTY

On Investment to Counter Chinese Exploitation:

In 2019, the Hanjin shipyard at Subic Bay in the Philippines ceased operations and was scheduled for sale. Leading bidders included firms with ties to the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). It was only through the help of a U.S. firm and an associated public-private partnership that this critical port infrastructure was kept in allied hands. The Asian Development Bank (ADB) can also help countries avoid the sale of strategic assets to China by providing an alternative source of financing for key projects. Such efforts make it harder for Beijing to spread its malign influence and to undermine the sustainable development goals in Asia.

Question. Will you commit to ensuring that the ADB approaches infrastructure financing—particularly in strategically sensitive sectors such as ports, shipyards, energy, and digital connectivity—with a clear understanding that the Chinese Communist Party actively uses economic leverage to gain strategic footholds?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I look forward to working with the Administration, the Committee, and likeminded countries on the ADB Board to advance this understanding; boost ADB’s role as a source of transparent, high-quality financing that provides borrowing countries a strong alternative to CCP-influenced financing; and increase ADB-financed business opportunities for U.S. companies while encouraging a shift away from procurement that prioritizes the lowest bid and disproportionately favors China’s subsidized state-owned enterprises.

Question. Will you commit to advocating for ADB financing decisions structured to counter coercive or CCP-linked projects?

Answer. Yes, if confirmed, I am eager to use my position to help counter coercive or CCP-linked projects. The ADB can play an important role as an alternative to Chinese financing, offering not only financial resources but also higher quality standards and technical support for projects.

On Asian Development Bank Financing for the People’s Republic of China:

The ADB is an institution established to promote economic development and reduce poverty among developing nations in Asia. Yet today, the ADB continues to provide financing to the People’s Republic of China, a country that the World Bank classifies as an upper-middle-income economy—well past the income level traditionally associated with MDB lending eligibility.

Question. Do you agree that China—given its economic status and strategic posture—should no longer be eligible for ADB financing?

Answer. There is no justification for China to continue receiving ADB resources. If confirmed, I will work with U.S. Treasury, other U.S. Government agencies, ADB Management, and other like-minded shareholders on the ADB Board to seek an end of lending to and graduation for China.

Question. What priorities should the ADB prioritize instead—particularly for lower-income developing member countries facing greater development challenges than China?

Answer. ADB should prioritize its resources on poverty reduction, economic growth, private sector jobs, and access to reliable energy in poorer, less creditworthy countries that are members of the ADB. This is where ADB support is most needed and impactful.

On Advancing Nuclear Energy:

The ADB recently revised its energy policy to allow the financing of nuclear energy projects for the first time in its history. Nuclear reactors deliver 24/7 power with the reliability and scalability required by Artificial Intelligence and other modern technologies and manufacturing processes. This represents an opportunity for the United States and other ADB members—like Japan—who are working together to develop and deploy nuclear technologies like Small Modular Reactors (SMR).

Question. How will you work to ensure that the ADB implements these updated energy policies to support member countries in deploying nuclear energy, including new technologies like SMR?

Answer. I believe ADB needs to build its technical capacity and expertise to support nuclear, which it can do by coordinating with other MDBs and partners and building staff capacity to support nuclear. If confirmed, I will reach out to my counterparts in the U.S. Government and industry, encouraging them to share their expertise on nuclear technology with the ADB so that it can support member countries in deploying nuclear energy while protecting nuclear security.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO ROBERT SWEENEY BY SENATOR TAMMY DUCKWORTH

Question. Have you reviewed the Asian Development Bank's Strategy 2030?

Answer. Yes.

Question. If so, what portion of Strategy 2030 are you most likely to implement during your tenure, if confirmed?

Answer. As noted in my opening statement to the nomination hearing, if confirmed I intend to focus my efforts on the core mission of the bank in providing financing for economic development and poverty reduction. Of the seven operational priorities, I believe that addressing poverty, rural development and food security, and building institutional capacity most directly address the original mission of the ADB. I support expanding private sector operations, mobilizing financial resources for development (PPPs), strengthening knowledge services, and modernizing business processes and efficiency.

Question. What portions of Strategy 2030 do you disagree with?

Answer. As noted above, I believe the ADB will do the most good when its resources are applied directly to economic development and poverty reduction, meaning increased productivity, return on investment and increased material welfare. Any non-economic or secondary objectives, while potentially meaningful, are not properly the mission of the ADB.

Question. What is the rationale for your disagreement?

Answer. Please see the reasoning in question 3 above.

[EDITOR'S NOTE.—Senator Jeanne Shaheen submitted all of the following material.]

February 12, 2026

The Honorable James E. Risch
Chair
Senate Committee on Foreign Relations
483 Russell Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510

The Honorable Jeanne Shaheen
Ranking Member
Senate Committee on Foreign Relations
506 Hart Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Chair Risch and Ranking Member Shaheen:

We write to strongly oppose the nomination of Jeremy Carl to serve as Assistant Secretary of State for International Organizations at the U.S. Department of State. Mr. Carl's record reflects views that are fundamentally incompatible with the responsibilities of this role and with the values the United States must uphold on the global stage.

This position requires a clear commitment to civil rights, non-discrimination obligations under international law, the protection of refugees, and the inherent dignity of all human beings without regard to race or national origin. Mr. Carl's public statements and writings demonstrate hostility to these principles. He has disparaged the Civil Rights Act of 1964 as an "anti-white weapon," invoked the so-called "Great Replacement" theory, engaged in anti-Black racism, denied America's identity as a nation of immigrants, and used violent rhetoric against political opponents while excusing the January 6, 2021, attack on the U.S. Capitol.

The Assistant Secretary for International Organizations represents the United States in multilateral bodies addressing human rights, refugees, international migration, race and equity, anti-discrimination, and global development. Mr. Carl's portrayal of immigrants and communities of color as threats to the nation's future is incompatible with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and with the principles of a multiracial democracy itself.

Appointing someone who has publicly questioned the legitimacy of civil rights protections and international bodies would further undermine U.S. credibility and weaken our capacity to lead with moral authority on the world stage.

For these reasons, we urge the Committee to reject Mr. Carl's nomination.

Thank you for your consideration of this matter. We look forward to your leadership in ensuring that U.S. foreign policy reflects our highest ideals of equality, justice, and human dignity.

Sincerely,

National Urban League

National Action Network
National Coalition on Black Civic Participation
NAACP
Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights
National Council of Negro Women

AFL-CIO

LEGISLATIVE ALERT

February 6, 2026

The Honorable James E. Risch
Chairman
Senate Committee on Foreign Relations
483 Russell Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510

The Honorable Jeanne Shaheen
Ranking Member
Senate Committee on Foreign Relations
506 Hart Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Chairman Risch and Ranking Member Shaheen:

On behalf of the AFL-CIO, a federation of 64 affiliate unions representing 15 million working people across our economy, I am writing to strongly oppose the nomination of Jeremy Carl to serve as Assistant Secretary of State for International Organizations. Mr. Carl's track record of making inflammatory, racist, and divisive public statements raise profound concerns about his ability to represent the United States effectively in this important role.

The portfolio of the Assistant Secretary for International Organizations includes U.S. engagement in the United Nations and other multilateral bodies addressing human rights, labor rights, refugees, international migration, race and equity, and global development. Any nominee for this post should have a commitment to these issues along with the ability to engage with international partners across diverse cultural, racial, and national backgrounds.

Mr. Carl's repeated inflammatory public statements about immigration, race, and non-white populations in the United States are alarming and suggest he will not be an effective advocate in this diplomatic position. According to a CNN report, he has promoted the discredited and racist "replacement theory" of immigration into the United States which portrays non-white populations and immigrants as threats to our nation's future. On other occasions, he has praised the rioters who stormed the U.S. capitol on January 6, 2021, and has used inciteful language against a U.S. labor leader. Needless to say, this type of unhinged, inflammatory rhetoric should disqualify him from consideration for such an important diplomatic position.

For these reasons, the AFL-CIO respectfully urges the Committee to reject Mr. Carl's nomination.

Thank you for your consideration and we appreciate your leadership in ensuring that U.S. foreign policy reflects our highest ideals of equality, justice, and human dignity.

Sincerely,



Jody Calemine
Director, Government Affairs

The Honorable James E. Risch
Chairman
U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations
Washington, D.C.

The Honorable Jeanne Shaheen
Ranking Member
U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations
Washington, D.C.

February 10, 2026

Dear Chairman Risch, Ranking Member Shaheen, and Members of the Committee:

On behalf of the undersigned national Jewish organizations encompassing Jewish communities across the United States, we write to express our deep concern about the nomination of Jeremy Carl to serve as Assistant Secretary of State for International Organizations pending before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Most of our organizations do not typically weigh in on nominees for this position. However, Mr. Carl's record presents such a disturbing pattern that we feel compelled by our history and our values to raise our voices. The Jewish community continues to live with the trauma of an earlier period in our nation's history when antisemitic and nativist views shaped decisions within the State Department during World War II—an enduring source of pain and a stain on our country's record.

Mr. Carl has repeatedly and unapologetically promoted the antisemitic "Great Replacement" conspiracy theory, writing, among other statements, "We must utterly defeat the Great Replacement as a political strategy, and permanently remove from power all who advance it," and "Imagine thinking the Great Replacement is a conspiracy theory." For Jews and other communities, the deadly consequences of this ideology are not abstract; they have been felt in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; Buffalo, New York; and Christchurch, New Zealand.

In advancing his claim that "American whites are victims of a cultural genocide," Mr. Carl has issued aggressive, incendiary statements that border on normalizing or legitimizing political violence as a means of addressing disagreement. He has called for the death penalty to be imposed on the President of the American Federation of Teachers for her alleged "crimes against children." His inability to navigate differences of opinion or political opposition is clear in statements like: "There is no 'peaceful coexistence'... We either win or die." This kind of rhetoric raises profound concerns about the judgement and temperament Mr. Carl would bring to the diplomatic leadership role. The Assistant Secretary for International Organizations must engage regularly with multilateral bodies, refugee agencies, and human rights institutions whose work depends on respect for pluralism, minority rights, and democratic norms.

The efforts of senators of both parties or and within the administration sincerely engaging the Jewish community to address rising antisemitism are ill-served by the promotion of some of the most dangerous anti-Jewish conspiracy theories, including those that have fueled real-world violence against Jews and other minorities.

At a time when antisemitism is at an all-time high and hate-fueled violence is increasing, the Senate should have serious concerns about whether the embrace of antisemitic and racist conspiracy theories is compatible with the profile the U.S. seeks in the international community or as it helps shape migration and refugee policy.

We urge the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to rigorously examine Mr. Carl's record, statements, and writings. Although he may have deleted many of these statements from his social media accounts, the serious questions they raise about his ability to faithfully represent the values of this country remain. At a minimum, they warrant sustained and searching scrutiny during the confirmation process.

The Jewish community, and all Americans whose families once found safe haven in this country deserve leaders who will safeguard and promote this country's founding ideals. They should stand against the hate and extremism from which many have found refuge here, not promote it.

Sincerely,

American Jewish World Service
Bend the Arc: Jewish Action
Central Conference of American Rabbis
Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society
J Street
Jewish Council for Public Affairs
Jewish Labor Committee
Jewish Women International

National Council of Jewish Women
New Jewish Narrative
The Nexus Project
Partners for Progressive Israel
T'ruah: The Rabbinic Call for Human Rights
The Workers Circle
Union of Reform Judaism
Zioness



NAACP

November 13, 2025

VIA EMAIL

The Honorable James E. Risch
Chairman
Senate Committee on Foreign Relations
483 Russell Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510

The Honorable Jeanne Shaheen
Ranking Member
Senate Committee on Foreign Relations
506 Hart Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Chairman Risch and Ranking Member Shaheen:

I am writing to strongly oppose the nomination of Jeremy Carl to serve as Assistant Secretary of State for International Organizations at the U.S. Department of State. The evidence of Mr. Carl's public statements and ideological commitments raises profound concerns about his fitness to lead U.S. diplomacy.

Any nominee for this post must clearly affirm a commitment to civil rights, non-discrimination obligations under international law, to the protection of refugees, and the inherent dignity of all human beings without regard to race or national origin. Mr. Carl's views, writing, and body of work demonstrate hostility to these principles.

Mr. Carl has publicly criticized and dismissed foundational civil rights protections, suggesting that the Civil Rights Act of 1964 functions as an "anti-white weapon" rather than a correction of structural injustice. His views embrace rhetoric that depicts white Americans as victims of "replacement," and he has urged that the so-called "Great Replacement" theory be defeated. This conspiracy theory has been widely discredited and is not only tied to white supremacist ideology, but extremist violence.

The portfolio of the Assistant Secretary for International Organizations includes U.S. engagement in the United Nations and other multilateral bodies addressing human rights, refugees, international migration, race and equity, antidiscrimination, and global development. Mr. Carl's statements about immigration and diversity portray non-white populations and immigrants as threats to the nation's future. This view is incompatible with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and with multiracial democracy.


A nominee in this role must be committed to upholding the universal dignity of all persons regardless of race, nationality, or religion; must promote inclusive and just global governance; and must be able to credibly engage with international partners across diverse cultural, racial, and national backgrounds. Mr. Carl's public statements reflect a worldview fundamentally at odds with these core responsibilities and the role of U.S. diplomacy.

Appointing someone who has publicly questioned the legitimacy of civil rights and international bodies would undermine U.S. credibility on the world stage. It would erode our capacity to lead on multiple issues and would alarm our allies.

For these reasons, the NAACP respectfully urges the Committee to reject Mr. Carl's nomination.

Thank you for your consideration of this matter. We look forward to your leadership in ensuring that U.S. foreign policy reflects our highest ideals of equality, justice, and human dignity.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'D. Johnson', with a stylized flourish at the end.

Derrick Johnson
President and CEO

2/12/26, 2:26 PM

NEWS: Congressional Black Caucus Statement Opposing Nomination of Jeremy Carl

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February 12, 2026

CONTACT: Press.BlackCaucus@mail.house.gov

Congressional Black Caucus Statement Opposing Nomination of Jeremy Carl

WASHINGTON, D.C. – Today, Congressional Black Caucus Chair **Yvette D. Clarke (NY-09)** and members of the **Congressional Black Caucus** issued the following statement:

"Today, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee will begin confirmation hearings for Jeremy Carl to serve as Assistant Secretary of State for International Organizations at the U.S. Department of State. The Congressional Black Caucus vehemently opposes the nomination of Jeremy Carl, not only due to his troubling anti-Black ideology, but also because of his disconcerting and limited record on issues related to international diplomacy.

"In addition to Mr. Carl's noted opposition to the Civil Rights Act of 1964, having called the landmark legislation an 'anti-white weapon', Mr. Carl has made numerous disturbing remarks over the last several years regarding race relations in this country

2/12/26, 2:26 PM

NEWS: Congressional Black Caucus Statement Opposing Nomination of Jeremy Carl

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denigrating Black history deeply concerns our Caucus. Mr. Carl has not only been steadfast in his campaign to oppose the teaching of Black history in primary and secondary education, but his public record also reflects a penchant for conflating Black history with anti-white propaganda.

"The CBC unequivocally opposes the erasure of our community in any capacity, full stop. We recognize that ignoring the injustices committed against our communities in the past increases the likelihood that they will be repeated.

"We are deeply disturbed by the notion that a senior-level official in the State Department — responsible for representing our nation on the world stage and engaging with a diverse set of international partners — would hold such ideologies and beliefs. We believe Mr. Carl is not equipped to represent this nation and would harm U.S. credibility globally. For these reasons, the CBC calls on the Committee to reject Mr. Carl's nomination."

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OPINION

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The Senate must reject Trump's extremist nominee for the U.N.

Other countries will rightly see Jeremy Carl's racist and antisemitic views as abhorrent. As a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Sen. Dave McCormick must reject this nomination.



Jeremy Carl is not just unqualified for the role of architect of U.S. policy at the United Nations; he represents a dangerous rejection of the ideals of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, write Desirée Co ... [Read more](#)

by Desirée Cormier Smith and Jessica Stern, For The Inquirer
Published Feb. 11, 2026, 5:00 a.m. ET



When President Donald Trump and Secretary of State Marco Rubio gutted the U.S. Department of State last year, they said they were doing it to make America “safer, stronger, and more prosperous.” Yet, Trump’s nominee to be assistant secretary of state for international organization affairs, Jeremy Carl, is a white supremacist conspiracy theorist who would undermine the United States’ standing at the United Nations and destroy our relationships with countries around the world.

As former American diplomats, we’ve worked to promote human rights globally. We know the inner workings of this world and can say unequivocally that Carl would be a grave threat in this post, and his nomination must be resoundingly rejected.

The assistant secretary of state for international organization affairs is the architect of U.S. policy at the United Nations and across a wide range of multilateral arenas. Few outside diplomatic circles have heard of this position, but it’s one of the central posts through which the U.S. interacts with the world.

For example, when we stop defending fair labor standards in places like Bangladesh or Vietnam, American workers pay the price as competitors in those countries cut corners and flood markets with cheaper goods. When we look away from corruption and repression in energy-rich regions, instability follows — driving up oil prices and hitting Americans at the pump. When we

ignore humanitarian crises until they explode, we spend far more on aid and crisis response than it would have cost to prevent them.

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These aren't far-off problems. In an interconnected world, they're immediate issues that impact American jobs, consumer prices, and national security. That's why this role is so crucial.

Carl is moving quietly ahead in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, on which Pennsylvania Sen. Dave McCormick serves, and his nomination hearing is slated for Thursday. The Senate should stand up for American values and the interests of the American people by rejecting this dangerous nominee.

He has promoted political violence, including calling for the execution of the president of the American Federation of Teachers.

Carl is not just unqualified for the role — he has no experience working with the U.N. — he represents a dangerous rejection of the ideals of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: that all humans are born with equal dignity and rights.

Carl has promoted the racist and antisemitic “great replacement” conspiracy theory — claiming that there is a covert effort led by elites to replace white people in Western countries through mass migration and high birth rates of people of color, Muslims, Jews, and immigrants.

He has promoted political violence, including calling for the execution of the president of the American Federation of Teachers, a Jewish lesbian. He claimed that identifying as transgender is “somewhere between demonic and laughable.”

Though he has deleted thousands of his inflammatory tweets, these views are memorialized in his book, *The Unprotected Class: How Anti-White Racism is Tearing America Apart*. He gave a speech last year titled, “On the Persecution of Whites in America.”

These are not stray remarks. They reflect who Carl is, and the message the U.S. would send by giving him a senior diplomatic post. They are so alarming that the Global Project Against Hate and Extremism wrote an entire article about his work to champion “anti-white racism.”

If Carl becomes the face the U.S. presents to the world, we’ll be telling the world that we care about only one group of people. We also will undermine our interests, because in our racially, religiously diverse world, other countries will rightly see Carl’s views as abhorrent.

A world where human rights are optional and the United States fails to hold abusers accountable is a world where corruption grows, conflicts fester, and authoritarian regimes operate unchecked. The result: increased human suffering at home and abroad, higher prices for Americans, fewer protections for American workers, and greater instability that threatens our own security.

Last month, the Trump administration issued an executive order withdrawing the U.S. from 66 organizations, including 31 U.N. mechanisms. The U.S. was not a significant political or financial supporter of all of them, so the substantive consequences of withdrawal are debatable.

Yet, the symbolism is clear: The U.S. is disproportionately targeting mechanisms that serve the most vulnerable and marginalized, like U.N. Women and the Permanent Forum for People of African Descent, or those tackling the climate crisis, like the U.N. Framework Convention on Climate Change. In other words, being unqualified, opposed to universal human rights, and seeking to undermine global governance is the point of Carl's nomination.

We know what effective diplomacy looks like. It is steady, principled, and grounded in the belief that America's power is greatest when guided by its conscience. It also treats the rights and dignity of the most vulnerable as a priority, not an afterthought.

When we lead with our values, we build coalitions that prevent wars and foster prosperity. When we abandon them, chaos fills the vacuum — and history shows that chaos never stays overseas.

2/12/26, 2:28 PM

The Senate must reject Trump's extremist nominee for the U.N. | Opinion

Desirée Cormier Smith was the inaugural special representative for racial equity and justice. Jessica Stern was the special envoy for the advancement of the human rights of LGBTQI+ persons at the U.S. Department of State. They are now both cofounders and copresidents of the Alliance for Diplomacy and Justice, promoting human rights as a central pillar of U.S. foreign policy.

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GUEST OPINION OPINION

Opinion: A dangerous choice — why the US Senate must reject Jeremy Carl's nomination

It would be unconscionable to put someone whose beliefs so defy morality and American ideals in a position to guide the U.S. on the international stage

Published: Feb 11, 2026, 11:44 a.m. MST

By Patrice Arent, Elizabeth Richman

Patrice Arent served in the Utah Senate and House for 20 years and is a former co-president of the National Association of Jewish Legislators. Rabbi Elizabeth Richman is the associate director for Jewish engagement and advocacy at American Jewish World Service, the leading Jewish organization tackling poverty and advancing human rights in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean.



This Dec. 2, 2018, file photo shows a menorah at a memorial outside the Tree of Life Synagogue, where Robert Bowers killed worshippers in an Oct. 27 shooting, as people prepare for a celebration service at sundown on the first night of Hanukkah in the Squirrel Hill neighborhood of Pittsburgh. | Gene J. Puskar

This week, the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, on which Utah Sen. John Curtis sits, will hold a nomination hearing to confirm Jeremy Carl for a senior-level job in the State Department that most Americans have never heard of: assistant secretary of state for international organizations. We strongly oppose this nomination because Mr. Carl is unfit and unqualified for this position.

The Office of International Organizations is charged with setting and implementing U.S. policy at the United Nations and dozens of international organizations on matters as varied as human rights, global health, food security, refugees and climate. The person in this role also provides direction to major U.S. diplomatic missions around the world. Mr. Carl, President Trump's pick for the job, is a man whose written and spoken words embrace antisemitic and racist views, and who has precious little experience with the issues this position covers.

As a former member of the Utah Legislature and as a rabbi, respectively, we cannot stay silent. It is our obligation as political and religious leaders to ensure that all people are treated with respect, dignity and compassion. Mr. Carl's bigoted views directly contradict these values. No matter our individual faith, we must all stand against empowering anyone who publicly cultivates such disturbing beliefs. Because we know that Sen. Curtis rejects such bigotry, we call on the senator and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to vote against Carl's nomination.

Mr. Carl champions the "Great Replacement" theory, a baseless claim that Jews and other so-called "elites" are plotting to replace white Americans with immigrants and non-white citizens. He has also publicly expressed his belief that a "cultural genocide" against white people is taking place in the U.S. These are not harmless ideas. They are dangerous conspiracy theories and hate speech that have been linked repeatedly to violence, including the 2018 Tree of Life synagogue massacre.

Though Carl deleted thousands of his tweets right before he was nominated, many of his abhorrent ideas are still on display. In a 2024 podcast, Carl declared that Jews have channeled their "misguided" religious theology into "political radicalism of all sorts" and "some of the worst political movements" of the 20th and 21st centuries. He also opined that Jews focus too much on the Holocaust and love to play the victim, adding that he finds it "distasteful" that Jews continue to dwell on their trauma. He has described Jewish people as clannish, excessively powerful, genetically different and suspiciously unlike the communities "regular" Americans live in. These are the same toxic tropes that have been used for centuries to dehumanize Jews and justify violence.

Mr. Carl is a dangerous choice. Someone with such a questionable character should not be considered to oversee U.S. policy at multilateral organizations, including the United

2/12/26, 9:25 AM

US Senate must reject Jeremy Carl's bigoted views | Opinion – Deseret News

Nations. The UN is where the world adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 — affirming the dignity and equality of every person.

It would be unconscionable to put someone whose beliefs so defy morality and American ideals in a position to guide the U.S. on the international stage. Such clear, documented hatred demands a firm repudiation by Sen. Curtis and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Hate has no place in U.S. diplomacy and the highest echelons of the U.S. government.



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JEWISHINSIDER

SCOOP

State Dept. nominee espoused antisemitic views, downplayed the Holocaust

Carl mused about the need to address the 'Jewish Question' and characterized Jews as religiously incorrect and in need of conversion

By **Marc Rod** December 20, 2025

Jeremy Carl, a Trump administration nominee for a senior position at the State Department, has expressed a range of derogatory views of the Jewish community, characterizing in writings and public interviews the community as holding a victim mentality, downplaying the significance of the Holocaust to the Jewish story and experience, musing about the need to address the what he called the “Jewish Question” and characterizing Jews as religiously incorrect and in need of conversion.

Carl also rejected the argument that Israel is the United States’ strongest ally and was deeply critical of Christian Zionism. He has additionally espoused a view of the United States as a white, Christian nation, claiming that white people are undergoing a “cultural genocide” and deliberate replacement.

Carl was nominated to be the assistant secretary of state for international organizations in June, but did not move forward to a hearing in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee before the end of this year’s Senate session. Should the Trump administration still want Carl in the role, it will have to re-file his nomination in the new year. Carl said in a response on X that neither he nor the administration have decided whether to resubmit the nomination. Carl served as deputy assistant secretary of the Interior in the first Trump administration.

“Jews have often loved to play the victim rather than accept that they are participants in history. That means that at times of course they’ve been victims but they also can be perpetrators,” Carl, who was raised in a secular Jewish household but converted to Christianity, said in a

2024 interview with “The Christian Ghetto” podcast, saying that some Christians have been “understandably” resentful of Jews throughout history.

“I think it’s inevitable of course that people will always take their own side in [a] historical quarrel. The Jewish community has kind of done [that] to an unusual extent,” Carl continued.

While he offered disclaimers that he was not speaking about all Jews, he generally painted with a broad brush, characterizing the majority of the Jewish community in largely pejorative ways.

He said that the Holocaust “kind of dominates so much of modern Jewish thinking,” adding that he believed it to be “very unhealthy.”

“Now, when you’re getting to this next generation — everybody has traumas in their past. How much are we going to relitigate them?” Carl asked rhetorically. “There’s a level of [self]-involvement there that I kind of find a little distasteful.”

He also said that he feels that “mainline Christian[s]” do not expect as much from Jews as they could and are “very reluctant to criticize Jews or Jewish communal behavior even when, in my view, that might be very warranted.”

Carl said that Jews, meanwhile, “tend to see evangelical Christians in a very negative light ... and I frankly think reflects poorly on the Jewish community.”

He claimed that the Jewish community is afraid of Christian communal unity as a legacy of past conversion efforts.

Carl also declared that Jews have never been oppressed in the U.S. and added that “the notion that Jews are the downtrodden here just doesn’t really match with actual reality. I understand why this type of attitude can cause resentment among some Christians who observe it. ... Even when I was Jewish, I found it distasteful.”

In a [lengthy response on X](#), Carl dismissed *Jewish Insider*'s reporting as a misleading and agenda-driven smear.

"I have never 'downplayed' the Holocaust, one of the great horrors of modern history, except in the overactive imagination and perhaps bad faith portrayal of the author," Carl said.

At the same time, in "The Christian Ghetto" interview he claimed to reject conspiracy theories about the Jewish community as a whole and the neo-Nazi Groyper movement, saying that adherents go too far in their hatred of Jews in unproductive ways.

"Nobody can just take a small sip of the drink in front of them, which is the 'Jewish Question,' and imbibe carefully and have a mature discussion on it," Carl said. "[They] need to overdose massively on it, to the point that they just begin saying completely ridiculous and absurd things."

Carl said that such activity makes him shy away from "critique" of the Jewish community "because you don't want to be lumped in with these clowns." He declared that Jewish activists "love the Groypers because they're just so discrediting of anyone who would ask questions about any of this," referring to Jewish political activism.

He also claimed that Jews are "more susceptible to political radicalisms of all types and political ultra-enthusiasms" due to a "misplaced religious impulse" of Judaism "searching for the Messiah that had actually been found."

"I have, of course, been very critical of the political activities of much of the establishment Jewish community since most of the community is liberal and I am a conservative. This should surprise nobody, nor is it a scandal. I have also been critical of the extreme neoconservatives such as those who seem to be pushing this hit piece," Carl said in his response.

Carl also said on "The Christian Ghetto" podcast the U.S. should have less of a relationship with Israel, and was highly critical of Christian Zionist ideology that attaches a theological dimension to support for Israel.

He said that while from a secular perspective, he feels “vaguely positively disposed to Israel,” he rejects Christian Zionism and the “theological trappings that some Christians put around Israel.”

“At a basis, I have a very pro-Israel view of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in abstract, I just don’t want us involved in it that much,” Carl said. “The amount of time and energy that America spends on this question — often to the detriment of our own national interest. Nor do I accept that Israel is our greatest ally.”

He characterized himself as a “Buchananite” and a “Paul-ite” in his ideology.

Carl said in his response that he is fully supportive of the Trump administration’s foreign policy and support for Israel, including the administration’s sanctions on the International Criminal Court and the UN’s “Israel monomania.”

He said in an [interview with “The Will Spencer Podcast”](#) that conversion from Judaism is a “very fraught thing” and that, in many Jewish families, “it would be easier to convert to Satanism honestly, in some ways.”

He said on “The Christian Ghetto” podcast that Jews have been a “particularly thorny problem” in their resistance to conversion to Christianity. He said he does not believe, from a theological perspective, in religious pluralism, and characterized Judaism as an incorrect and invalid religious practice, arguing that Christians should be trying to convert Jews “where we can.”

In his response, Carl said, “As a Christian I want everyone to embrace the Christian faith, especially my family and friends, because I believe Christianity to be true, and other religions false. Again, this is not a scandal except perhaps in the minds of the author and his editors who evidently believe that standard beliefs held by the vast majority of Christians throughout history are scandalous.”

Carl has also [espoused a vision](#) of America as a white, Christian nation, and asserted that white people in America are subject to “persecution” and a “cultural genocide.”

“American whites are victims of a cultural genocide,” Carl said at the [2024 National Conservatism conference](#). “I’m suggesting this partially again to troll any leftist media who might be in the room and furiously scribbling my unforgivable hate speech in their notebooks. But I’m not saying it entirely for that purpose.”

He’s the author of *The Unprotected Class: How Anti-White Racism is Tearing America Apart*, which dismisses the idea of rising white supremacy and focuses on the thesis that anti-white policies are endemic in modern America.

The original title of the book, Carl [revealed in a 2024 essay](#), was *It’s Okay to Be White*, which has become a slogan used by white supremacists.

He states in that essay that demographic shifts in the country are the result of “a great replacement of whites,” referencing the conspiracy theory that a shadowy force is attempting to replace the country’s white population with immigrants. He declared that the great replacement is “a fact” and “a basic statement of the Democratic Party’s platform.”

“I can understand why [Indian President Narendra] Modi wants India to be a Hindu nation, because I want America to be a Christian nation, defined not in total but in part by its European historic identity,” he continued.

He added in “The Christian Ghetto” podcast interview that he does not “really believe in Judeo-Christian — I think America is a Christian nation.”

He said in “[The Will Spencer Podcast](#)” interview that his book was designed to help white people “figure out a way as a white person to navigate around the issue and also understand that you’re not crazy. The sorts of things you’re experiencing in terms of discrimination or racism, etc. are very real and that you don’t need to put up with that.”

At the same time, Carl did acknowledge in that interview that America would never be an “ethnically uniform” or “racially uniform” way and “that’s okay, that’s manageable,” but that the

country should have a “sense of a majority tradition ... majority religious practice” and a “tolerance for other minority groups to all be within that culture.”

The State Department did not respond to a request for comment.

CNN previously reported that Carl scrubbed thousands of inflammatory posts after his nomination.

Trump administration

Trump's pick for top diplomatic role faces scrutiny over 'white supremacist' views

Jeremy Carl, assistant secretary of state nominee, has espoused 'racist, antisemitic' views, says non-profit leader

[US politics live - latest updates](#)



Jeremy Carl speaks at the National Conservatism Conference in Washington DC on 3 September 2025. Photograph: Dominic Gwinn/Middle East Images/AFP via Getty Images

David Smith in Washington

Thu 12 Feb 2026 10:18 EST

[Prefer the Guardian on Google](#)

Donald Trump's pick for a top diplomatic post has championed "white supremacist, racist, antisemitic and homophobic views", a former US state department official has warned.

Jeremy Carl is set to go before the Senate foreign relations committee on Thursday as the president's nominee for assistant secretary of state for international organisations, a role that involves managing relationships with and policies toward the United Nations and its agencies.

Carl, from Montana, served as deputy assistant secretary of the interior during Trump's first term. He is now a senior fellow at the Claremont Institute, a conservative thinktank based in Upland, California, and specialises in issues such as immigration, multiculturalism and nationalism.

He faces a rough ride from Senate Democrats over a long history of inflammatory remarks, some since deleted from social media, many on the topic of race.

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2/12/26, 2:23 PM

Trump's pick for top diplomatic role faces scrutiny over 'white supremacist' views | Trump administration | The Guardian

In the same year, he lamented what he inaccurately described as the "total absence" of white Protestants in Joe Biden's administration, calling it "a huge story" that was being ignored. He dismissed the creation of Juneteenth as a federal holiday as "race hustling and white-shaming" and described "self-hating white people" as "mentally ill".

Following the conviction of members of the far-right Proud Boys for seditious conspiracy, Carl wrote that he would "rather be a Black man on trial for the assault of a white man in 1930s rural Mississippi than I would be a right-winger in DC today on trial for political crimes". And in the wake of Derek Chauvin's conviction for the murder of George Floyd, Carl repeatedly described Floyd as a "violent felon" and "thug", writing that he was "looking up from hell".

The Senate has previously rubber-stamped Trump nominees such as Pete Hegseth as defence secretary, Robert Kennedy Jr as health secretary and Kristi Noem as homeland security secretary despite misgivings over their extremism or lack of experience. But Carl may prove a bridge too far.

Desirée Cormier Smith, the co-founder and co-president of the Alliance for Diplomacy and Justice, said: "My concern with Mr Carl is that he not only has no multilateral qualifications for the job but, perhaps more important, he has espoused white supremacist, racist, antisemitic and homophobic views. He is a proponent of the great replacement conspiracy theory, which essentially says that Jewish people and people of colour are in cahoots to 'replace' white people around the world."

She added: "He has written books about a white genocide and how anti-white racism is going to ruin American democracy. He has called the Civil Rights Act of 1964 an 'anti-white weapon'. This is someone who has extremely dangerous and offensive worldviews and I don't believe he could credibly represent the United States to the rest of the world."

Trump has rattled global alliances with tariffs, threats to Greenland and the gutting of the United States Agency for International Development. A survey by Pew Research last year found that positive ratings of the US had dropped significantly in 15 countries since the previous year. One of the biggest declines was in neighbouring Mexico.

Smith, formerly the state department's special representative for racial equity and justice, warned that the confirmation of Carl would only further damage America's standing. "White people only represent about 7% of the global population," she noted. "Imagine how he would be able to credibly engage in a respectful manner as partners with diplomats from Africa, from Latin America, from the Caribbean, from Asia, from Europe who are not white?"

"How could they engage with someone who essentially believes in white supremacy? I don't think it would be in the best interest of the United States to send someone to engage with the world who has these kinds of racist, offensive views."

Last September, CNN reported that Carl had deleted at least 5,000 social media posts, including expressions of sympathy of Trump supporters who attacked the US Capitol on 6 January 2021, whom he described as "political prisoners". He even sought to have material removed from the Internet Archive's Wayback Machine - though not all of it disappeared.

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Trump's pick for top diplomatic role faces scrutiny over 'white supremacist' views | Trump administration | The Guardian

antisemitic comments." Senator Tim Kaine was quoted by Axios as saying: "I'm amazed that Republicans have not pulled his nomination. He has such a flagrant series of just horrible missteps, discriminatory, antisemitic comments."

Earlier this week Chuck Schumer, the Democratic minority leader, took to the Senate floor to denounce the nominee. "To call Jeremy Carl a radical and a bigot and unqualified is all far too kind," he said, accusing him of a "long history of making violent, antisemitic and openly racist comments on podcasts and on social media".

Schumer added: "He said that 'Jews often love to play the victim.' And on a podcast a few years ago he added 'throughout history, Jews chose some professions that made them more oppressive and they can't be surprised that the average descendants of Cossack peasants would be resentful towards them'.

"Can you believe this? What stereotypical garbage. On the Holocaust, Jeremy Carl simply says: "Everyone has traumas in their past." In other words, get over it. That's vile."

The state department did not respond to a request for comment.

At this unsettling time

We hope you appreciated this article. Before you close this tab, we want to ask if you could support the Guardian at a time when the facts about what is happening in the US and around the world are being distorted by authoritarian governments and their ideological allies.

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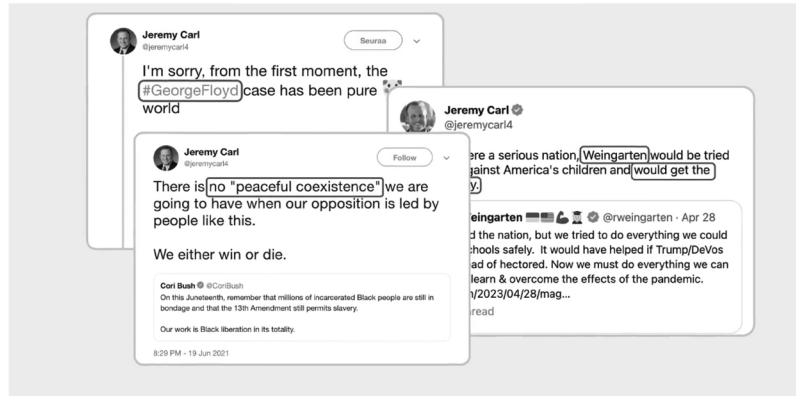
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‘We either win or die’: Trump State Dept. nominee tried to erase thousands of tweets, many inflammatory

SEP 25, 2025

By  Andrew Kaczynski,  Em Steck

2/6/26, 10:50 AM KFile: Trump nominee for key State Department position attempted to erase years of inflammatory social media posts | CNN Politics



(CNN)



Jeremy Carl, a top Trump State Department nominee, deleted thousands of social media posts, many demonstrating a history of inflammatory commentary—including incendiary posts about race, claims that “peaceful coexistence” with Democrats is impossible, and even a call for a political opponent to face the death penalty.

But a CNN KFile investigation suggests that Carl wasn’t thorough enough in scrubbing his account, as thousands of deleted posts remain visible on the internet archive website the Wayback Machine.

Carl, President Donald Trump’s nominee to be assistant secretary of state for international organizations, is currently under consideration by the Senate to fill a high-ranking job at the State Department overseeing US policy for the United Nations and other multinational bodies and managing more than 100 diplomats around the world.

on X, formerly known as Twitter, including posts expressing sympathy for rioters who stormed the US Capitol on January 6, 2021 — whom he repeatedly described as “political prisoners.”

In a post from May 2023, Carl claimed the Capitol riot defendants had it worse than Black Americans in the Jim Crow South. A week later, Carl further escalated his rhetoric, writing that “if the U.S. were a serious nation,” American Federation of Teachers President Randi Weingarten would be “tried for crimes against America’s children and would get the death penalty.”

 **Jeremy Carl**
@jeremycarl4 Follow

[nytimes.com/2021/01/08/us/](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/08/us/) ...

Donald Trump addressed a political rally and said "I know that everyone here will soon be marching over to the Capitol building to peacefully and patriotically make your voices heard."

Pelosi attempted a military coup and must be prosecuted.


11:35 - 10 Jan 2021

 **Jeremy "BlueAnon is Real" Carl**
@jeremycarl4 Follow

More overt Democrat racism snuck into the "COVID Relief" bill.

Anyone who supported this monstrosity is evil.

6:18 am - 9 Mar 2021

 **Jeremy Carl**
@jeremycarl4 Follow

It's time to #impeachandimprison @JoeBiden.

1:40 PM - 9 Sep 2021

 **Jeremy Carl**
@jeremycarl4 Follow

There is no "peaceful coexistence" we are going to have when our opposition is led by people like this.

We either win or die.

Cori Bush @CoriBush
On this Juneteenth, remember that millions of incarcerated Black people are still in bondage and that the 13th Amendment still permits slavery.
Our work is Black liberation in its totality.

8:29 PM - 19 Jun 2021

 **Jeremy Carl** 
@jeremycarl4

If the U.S. were a serious nation, Weingarten would be tried for crimes against America's children and would get the death penalty.

2/6/26, 10:50 AM

KFile: Trump nominee for key State Department position attempted to erase years of inflammatory social media posts | CNN Politics



Sources: Internet Archive's Wayback Machine, X (formerly Twitter)
 Graphic: Em Steck, Gillian Roberts and Jhasua Razo, CNN

Anyone can delete their social media activity, but Carl made the unique step of asking to remove his posts from the Internet Archive's Wayback Machine, a tool used to save snapshots of webpages.

While Carl's current X username – “realjeremycarl” – was wiped from the Wayback Machine, his previous username handle – “jeremycarl4” – is still accessible. That handle was active until January 2024. Both “realjeremycarl” and “jeremycarl4” share the same unique ID – proving they are the same account.

The account was also made private in the **fall of 2020** through **January 2021** – making it impossible to see archived posts from that time period.

The unearthing of Carl's posts comes amid a new national debate over incendiary rhetoric following the assassination of conservative activist Charlie Kirk — and as the administration signals a tougher stance on prosecuting so-called left-wing “hate speech.”

In a statement from the White House, spokesperson Anna Kelly told CNN, “Jeremy Carl did great work during President Trump's first administration, and he is highly qualified to serve as Assistant Secretary of State for International Organizations. The administration stands by our nominees.”

CNN reached out to Carl directly for comment and received a statement from State Department deputy spokesman Tommy Pigott defending Carl. “He's never called for

America's first foreign policy agenda where he will ensure we are bringing international organizations back to their core mandates," Pigott said.

A history of strident rhetoric

If confirmed, Carl would oversee the Bureau of International Organization Affairs, which shapes US policy at the United Nations and other multilateral bodies, managing more than 100 diplomats across missions in Geneva, Montreal, Nairobi, New York, Paris, Rome and Vienna.



Jeremy Carl speaks at the National Conservatism Conference in Washington D.C., Sept. 3, 2025. (Dominic Gwinn/AFP/Getty Images)

A former deputy assistant secretary at the Interior Department during Trump's first-term, Carl is now a senior fellow at the conservative Claremont Institute and

University in 1999, where he was the president of the Yale Political Union, and received his master's in public administration from Harvard University.

His writings have appeared in Newsweek and conservative outlets such as the American Conservative and Revolver News, a January 6 conspiracy website.

Carl has in the past urged the Trump administration to ignore court rulings. In 2019, **Carl wrote** that the administration should “stop whining and complaining about judicial supremacy and start ignoring illegal judicial rulings.” The post was in response to a federal judge restoring a nationwide injunction blocking a Trump policy that restricted asylum claims for migrants who passed through another country first.

Among the rioters at the US Capitol he referred to as “political prisoners” **was** Stewart Rhodes, the founder of the extremist group the Oath Keepers. Rhodes was convicted of seditious conspiracy, obstructing an official proceeding and evidence tampering over his participation in the attack on the Capitol. His sentence was later commuted by President Trump in January.

Just two days after the riot, Carl **declared**, “The real coup was against Trump not by Trump,” **and accused** then–House Speaker Nancy Pelosi of attempting a “military coup” and declaring that she “must be prosecuted.”

Carl repeatedly called the Democratic Party the “**treason party**” and its **members** and **policies** “evil.” He **once wrote**, “Dems R [sic] the real fascists.”

He framed the fight against his political opponents as an existential battle between conservatives and liberals. “There is no ‘peaceful coexistence’ we are going to have when our opposition is led by people like this. We either win or die,” he **wrote** in June 2021, responding to a tweet from then-Rep. Cori Bush, which lamented that, “incarcerated Black people are still in bondage.”

JOE BUCH, SEN. CHRISTOPHER GOMMERS, FORMER ATTORNEY GENERAL MELTIPLEX GARRARD, and “**Soros prosecutor[s]**” – prosecutors elected with support from PACs or nonprofits supported by George Soros, the philanthropist and frequent target of the far-right over his support for left-wing causes.

Comments on race and religion

Carl’s deleted posts also frequently trafficked in incendiary rhetoric around race and religion.

In March 2021, he railed against what he described as the “**total absence**” of White Protestants in President Biden’s administration, calling the group’s exclusion “a huge story” and expressed disbelief it was not being covered. Days later, **he accused** Democrats of bigotry for “entirely exclud[ing] America’s largest ethnoreligious grouping.”

Biden’s cabinet did have one White Protestant: Secretary of Transportation Pete Buttigieg. He was raised Catholic but identifies as Episcopalian.

He also derided the creation of Juneteenth as a federal holiday, dismissing it as “race hustling and white-shaming,” and referred to “self-hating white people” as “mentally ill.”

Jeremy Carl @jeremycarl4 Seuraa

I'm sure #GeorgeFloyd is looking up from hell right now and he is so proud of America.

14.26 - 20. huhtik. 2021

Jeremy Carl @jeremycarl4 Follow

The great replacement is real.

And they're going to try to make you pay for it.

Hundreds of Millions to Families Separated at Border

Government is considering payments of \$450,000 per person affected by Trump administration's zero-tolerance policy in 2018



8:36 PM - 28 Oct 2021 from Montana, USA

Jeremy Carl @jeremycarl4

I would rather be a black man on trial for the assault of a white man in 1930s rural Mississippi than I would be a right-winger in DC today on trial for political crimes.

NOVA Campaigns @NoVA_Campaigns - May 5

Here are summaries of the 16 jurors that convicted the Proud Boys, per @rparloff

The jury foreman, per @rparloff today, is juror #14, a lobbyist for @theAGU

Take a look at this DC jury of PB "peers"

It's a lineup of leftists who were already biased vs the defendants

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2/6/26, 10:50 AM

KFile: Trump nominee for key State Department position attempted to erase years of inflammatory social media posts | CNN Politics

1:21 PM · May 7, 2023 from Montana, USA · 24.8K Views

Sources: Internet Archive's Wayback Machine, X (formerly Twitter)
 Graphic: Em Steck, Gillian Roberts and Jhasua Razo, CNN

“If you’re a white person celebrating Juneteenth, you’ve already surrendered,” Carl **wrote** in July 2021.

Carl also **repeatedly** wrote about the “**Great Replacement**,” a conspiracy theory that posits there is a plot to intentionally bring non-White immigrants into Western countries to “replace” White populations.

“Imagine thinking the Great replacement is a conspiracy theory,” he **wrote in September 2021**.

In a post from May 2023 referring prosecutions of Capitol riot defendants, Carl wrote, “I would rather be a black man on trial for the assault of a white man in 1930s rural Mississippi than I would be a right-winger in DC today on trial for political crimes,” **Carl wrote** shortly after members of the far-right Proud Boys were convicted of seditious conspiracy for their role in the attack.

In a string of posts following Derek Chauvin’s conviction for the murder of George Floyd, Carl repeatedly attacked Floyd as a “violent felon” and “thug,” writing that Floyd was “**looking up from hell**.” **He also** retweeted that any “statues in his honor are a disgrace and an embarrassment to our country.”

“I’m sorry, from the first moment, the **#GeorgeFloyd** case has been pure [clown face emoji] world. He was a violent felon, drug addict, and thug, who resisted lawful arrest and, like many of that description, met an unfortunate end,” he wrote in one of his **April 2021** posts.

years in prison for the offense.

Carl also wrote dismissively about having to be “outraged” for Black men killed by law enforcement.



Jeremy Carl of the Claremont Institute discusses immigration during Harvard University's second annual Conservative and Republican Student Conference, February 8, 2025. *(Sophie Park/Reuters)*

“The next criminal killed by police who I am supposed to be outraged for (but am not) is named Winston Smith, and all I’m going to say is 2021 needs to hire better scriptwriters,” **he wrote in** early June 2021.

Smith, a 32-year-old Black man, was killed by police officers in Minneapolis who were trying to **arrest him** on a state arrest warrant for possession of a firearm by a felon. A

found they were justified in using deadly force.





Carl wrote similarly about Daunte Wright, a 20-year-old in Brooklyn Center, Minnesota, who was killed by a police officer.

“I didn’t think I could care less about a death than I did about that of violent drug addicted felon #GeorgeFloyd but gangster #DaunteWright may change my mind,” **he wrote.**

The police officer, Kim Potter, was later convicted of first-degree manslaughter and second-degree manslaughter at a jury trial and **served 16 months in prison.**



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ADVOCATE

By: Christopher Wiggins
February 12, 2026

Former State Dept officials warn that racist Trump nominee could dismantle human rights protections at the UN

Jeremy Carl has promoted the "great replacement" theory and claims transgender children don't exist; the former senior officials told *The Advocate*.

Ahead of a Thursday confirmation hearing, two former senior U.S. officials in the Biden administration are warning that President Donald Trump's nominee to oversee U.S. engagement with the United Nations could use the post to weaken global human rights protections, particularly for LGBTQ+ people and communities of color.

Desirée Cormier Smith, the former State Department special representative for racial equity and justice, and Jessica Stern, the former U.S. special envoy to advance the human rights of LGBTQI+ persons, told *The Advocate* that Jeremy Carl's public record and ideological commitments make his nomination to serve as assistant secretary of state for international organizations uniquely dangerous.

Smith described the job as obscure to most Americans but enormously influential inside the U.S. government.

"The Assistant Secretary for International Organizations is an obscure post to folks who are not familiar with the State Department, but it's actually quite a powerful one," she said, noting that the position is responsible for U.S. engagement with the United Nations and its agencies and for representing the United States inside those bodies.

"He would be, if confirmed, the senior-most diplomat under the Secretary of State really responsible for our engagement with the United Nations and all of its agencies," Smith said.

That reach, she argued, renders Carl's prior statements on race and demographics incompatible with the role. Smith cited his promotion of the "Great Replacement" conspiracy theory and rhetoric about "anti-white racism," asking how someone with those views could credibly represent the United States to most of the world. The "Great

Replacement" is a far-right, white nationalist conspiracy theory that falsely claims white populations in countries are being replaced by non-white immigrants.

Carl, a senior fellow at the conservative think tank the Claremont Institute, has come under scrutiny following a CNN KFile investigation that reported he attempted to delete thousands of social media posts ahead of his confirmation process. Among the statements flagged were calls for the execution of the head of the American Federation of Teachers, claims that January 6 defendants were treated worse than Black Americans during Jim Crow, and repeated references to the "Great Replacement" theory, according to the outlet.

CNN also reported that Carl referred to Juneteenth as a "race hustling and white-shaming" holiday and wrote in 2021, "If you're a white person celebrating Juneteenth, you've already surrendered."

In subsequent posts and commentary, he criticized Supreme Court Justice Ketanji Brown Jackson as "unqualified," arguing she was chosen "solely because of her race and gender," and wrote that institutions he accused of promoting "anti-white racism" must be "reformed completely ... or else destroyed."

Smith said senators should confront Carl directly with that record. She urged lawmakers to ask him about "the thousands of tweets that he deleted" and to press him on how those views square with representing the United States on human rights, immigration, and "basic human dignity."

She also said senators should review Carl's podcast appearances and writing. "I just wish that senators in his upcoming hearing would just use his own words and make him explain what he meant by that," Smith said.

Stern focused on what Carl's record could mean for LGBTQ+ people who depend on international institutions for protection.

"Jeremy Carl is not only racist and antisemitic," she said. "He is violently anti-trans, and he's gone so far as to say that there are no transgender kids and that 'transgenderism,' according to him, is a spiritual violation."

"At the global scale, what this means is he would be leading the U.S. government to strip the multilateral system of protections from transgender people and potentially actively target them," Stern said.

She pointed to a recent fight at the United Nations over a disability rights resolution that was expanded at the committee level to include sexual orientation and gender identity, language recognizing that LGBTQ+ people with disabilities face heightened risks. According to Stern, the U.S. government under Trump then intervened to force a new vote and worked with governments she described as "the most homophobic and transphobic states in the world" to remove that language.

"So that's what the U.S. is already saying is its new approach to multilateralism," Stern said. "It's only going to get worse if this guy is confirmed."

Both Smith and Stern stressed that the United Nations remains a critical backstop for LGBTQ+ people in countries where being gay or transgender is criminalized. Stern said that in more than 60 countries with sodomy laws and in others that criminalize gender expression, "there is no chance at justice at the domestic level," making access to international mechanisms essential.

"The UN is a place of refuge for people who are desperate, and Jeremy Carl wants to destroy that refuge," Stern said. "When he promotes this worldview, what he's really saying is that people who have been marginalized should have nowhere to turn."

The warning from the former diplomats comes amid escalating opposition on Capitol Hill. On Monday, Senate Democratic Leader Chuck Schumer took to the Senate floor to urge colleagues to reject Carl's nomination, citing what he described as a record of racist and antisemitic rhetoric. In his remarks, Schumer pointed to Carl's past comments about Juneteenth, Jews, and the Holocaust, arguing that they show a lack of judgment and basic fitness for a senior diplomatic post.

Schumer said no one who has suggested Jews should "get over" the Holocaust or who has trafficked in what he called pernicious stereotypes should represent the United States abroad.

Stern argued that beyond ideology, there is a more basic question senators should ask. "Why would you want this position?" she said. "You clearly don't believe in respect for other nations, and you have no interest in supporting institutions of global government. Why do you want this position?"

Smith said the nomination also fits a broader pattern in which loyalty and ideology are rewarded over expertise. She described the trend as a warning sign for democratic governance, citing other recent appointments in which officials appeared more focused on serving a political leader than on advancing U.S. interests abroad.

"If nominees like Jeremy Carl become the norm in U.S. foreign policy, the U.S. will be guaranteeing its own obsolescence," Stern said, adding that human rights advocates and foreign officials increasingly tell her, "We used to believe in the United States, and now we feel betrayed."

EXPLAINER

With a history of bigotry and racism, Trump nominee Jeremy Carl gets a Senate hearing

Carl has tried to gloss over his comments about anti-white racism and Great Replacement theory

By GARRETT OWEN
National Affairs Fellow

PUBLISHED FEBRUARY 12, 2026 6:00AM (EST)
UPDATED FEBRUARY 12, 2026 11:04AM (EST)



Jeremy Carl speaks at the National Conservatism Conference in Washington D.C., Sept. 3, 2025. (Photo by Dominic Gwinn / Middle East Images via AFP / Getty Images)



2/12/26, 2:23 PM

With a history of bigotry and racism, Trump nominee Jeremy Carl gets a Senate hearing - Salon.com

A

nominee selected by President Donald Trump will get a Senate hearing on Thursday for a top State Department position, in spite of a long, documented history of “violent” and “racist comments.”

Jeremy Carl, the president’s pick for assistant secretary of state for international organizations, is set to appear Thursday before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. He previously served in Trump’s first administration as Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Interior. If confirmed, Carl will oversee more than 100 diplomats worldwide and work closely with the United Nations agencies on human rights, immigration, refugees, and global development, including UNICEF and the UN’s Food and Agriculture Organization.

“It’s quite a powerful position,” Desirée Cormier Smith, former U.S. Special Representative for Racial Equity and Justice at the State Department, told Salon. “He would be in charge of determining how the U.S. works with those bodies.”

However, a long trail of inflammatory and divisive comments is following Carl to his hearing.

In September, a CNN KFile investigation found that he attempted to delete thousands of social media posts before his June nomination. Among his comments were calls for the execution of the head of the American Federation of Teachers, a refusal for “peaceful coexistence” with the “evil” Democratic Party, and claiming that the Jan. 6 insurrectionists were treated worse than Black people during the Jim Crow era.

Advertisement:

Carl also referred to Juneteenth as a “race hustling and white-shaming” holiday. “If you’re a white person celebrating Juneteenth, you’ve already surrendered,” Carl wrote in 2021.

Related

Trump posts and deletes racist Obama video, sparking outrage across the political spectrum

The Trump administration defended Carl in the wake of the investigation, vowing to stand by Trump’s pick. “Jeremy Carl did great work during President Trump’s first administration, and he is highly qualified to serve as Assistant Secretary of State for International Organizations,” White House deputy press secretary Anna Kelly told CNN in October. “The administration stands by our nominees.”

If Carl’s many comments were limited to political violence and a misunderstanding of racial history in the U.S., then he may find himself in the same highly scrutinized boat as other Trump nominees. Yet Carl has continued to make inflammatory statements on social media since the CNN investigation and has a long history of bigotry besides, detailed in articles, speeches and podcasts.

In December, Carl claimed on X that Supreme Court Justice Ketanji Brown Jackson was an “unqualified nominee,” picked by former President Joe Biden “solely because of her race and gender.” He also criticized the idea of “believing” in birthright citizenship in response to a Wall Street Journal report of Chinese billionaires building “mega families” in the U.S.

In the same month, he espoused his long-held belief in anti-white racism, targeting “horrible people” whom he alleged championed it at “elite institutions.”

“They, and the corrupt institutions that they have run for decades, must be either reformed completely with their incumbent leadership ousted—or else destroyed,” Carl wrote in an article on his Substack in December.

“To call Jeremy Carl a radical and a bigot and unqualified is all far too kind.”

Carl is a vocal proponent of the Great Replacement theory, which posits that white people in the U.S. are being “replaced” by non-whites, largely Asian and Black people, and that the

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“replacement” is being overseen by Jews and some Western elites.

“We must utterly defeat the Great Replacement as a political strategy, and permanently remove from power all who advance it,” Carl said in a post from 2022. Carl said that white Americans are “victims of a cultural genocide” in a speech at the National Conservatism Conference in 2024, calling the rising population of immigrants “an uncontrolled social experiment.”

“Dare I even say it, a great replacement of whites,” Carl said.

Carl has also faced intense ire for instances of open antisemitism, appearing to justify historical Jewish persecution by claiming they did “many things that Christians didn’t like.”

“Throughout history, Jews chose some professions that made them more oppressive, and they can’t be surprised that the average descendants of Cossack peasants would be resentful towards them,” Carl said in October 2024 on The Christian Ghetto podcast. Carl also claimed that Jews “loved to play the victim,” and downplayed the Holocaust as “a trauma in their past,” referring to communal remembrance of the genocide as “a little distasteful.”

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Smith says these statements alone “automatically disqualify” Carl from consideration. “Someone with racist and anti-Semitic views cannot credibly promote global equality. Nor can he credibly engage with the rest of the world as equals,” she told Salon.

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Sen. Chuck Schumer, D-N.Y., said Carl’s “antisemitic views plainly disqualifies” him from serving in a diplomatic role. “To call Jeremy Carl a radical and a bigot and unqualified is all far too kind,” Schumer said on Monday on the Senate floor.

“No person who thinks Jews should get over the Holocaust and spreads pernicious Jewish stereotypes can claim to have the character or judgment necessary to serve as a diplomat for this country,” Schumer said, demanding Carl “be forced to answer during testimony” for his prior statements.

Carl, himself from a secular Jewish family, converted to Christianity and has blamed other Jews for not converting. “I think this reflects very poorly on Jews,” he said on the podcast. “I guess you can explain it because the existing Jews that survived [the Holocaust] have a fair bit of stubbornness.”

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As such, Carl is a vocal proponent of Christian nationalism. "I want America to be a Christian nation, defined not in total but in part by its European historic identity," Carl wrote in an article entitled "Is It Okay To Be White?" for The Claremont Institute, a conservative think tank where he is a senior fellow.

Appearing on The Will Spencer Podcast in 2024, Carl acknowledged that the country would never be "ethnically" or "racially uniform," which he called "manageable."

"That's okay," Carl said, hoping that the country would have "a majority tradition" and a "majority religious practice."

Carl has also spoken out against transgender people, referring to "transgenderism" as "a fundamental spiritual violation," railing against what he described as a "social contagion" for kids.

"I do think that we would make a mistake to just restrict it to kids. I think you start with kids and then with adults, I think what you do legally that gets into a grey area," Carl said in 2022 on the High Noon podcast. "It doesn't mean that we shouldn't have it. It just means that's more tenuous ... but I do think that we should say it's wrong and that it's damaging."

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The American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations called on committee chair Sen. James Risch, R-Idaho, and Ranking Member Janeen Shaheen, D-N.H., to "reject Carl's nomination."

"Mr. Carl's repeated inflammatory public statements about immigration, race, and non-white populations in the United States are alarming and suggest he will not be an effective advocate in this diplomatic position," the organization said in a statement on February 6.

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"This type of unhinged, inflammatory rhetoric should disqualify him from consideration for such an important diplomatic position."

Smith says Carl's appointment would have lasting consequences for the U.S. global image, further isolating a nation already retreating inward. "I think it would send a dangerous message to the rest of the world that this administration believes in the supremacy of white, Christian straight men."

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Jeremy Carl Quotes

- **Anti-Semitism.**
 - On [The Christian Ghetto](#) podcast in October 30, 2024, Carl said:
 - “Jews have often loved to play the victim rather than accept that they are participants in history... of course there are times they are victims but there are times they are perpetrators.”
 - “The Holocaust dominates so much of modern Jewish history... it’s very unhealthy... for the people who survived it, of course they can and should tell their stories... but now when you’re getting to this next generation, everyone has traumas in their past, how much are we going to re-litigate them?”
 - “HOST: How long are you going to rest on the Holocaust based upon how you are treating the Palestinians? There’s only so long you can carry that game out.

CARL: Right, right. I think that’s true... there needs to be some self-awareness... Jews love to see themselves as oppressed... speaking generally, as I want to stress... speaking communally and in a society in America that has not oppressed Jews... Jews have not been oppressed here, as a whole, and they are very powerful in society... this is not conspiracies, look at the percentage of billionaires in America... Jews are very over represented. That Jews are the downtrodden here doesn’t match with reality.”
 - “HOST: One of the principals at Pornhub, Jewish. Then they ask the question, what’s with Jews and radical liberalism?

CARL: ...Jews are more susceptible to political radicalisms of all types.”
 - “Jewish actors love the Groypers [far right [followers](#) of Nick Fuentes] because they are so discrediting to anyone who would ask questions.”
 - “I don’t really believe in Judeo-Christian, you know like, I think America is a Christian nation. It is a nation that has always had Jews in it... but the Christian-Zionism... I think these have all been really negative... I have a pro-Israel view of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, I just don’t think we should be that involved in it... Nor do I accept that Israel is our greatest ally.”
 - “I mean, Hitler is always the convenient bad example...”

- On the [Conversations That Matter](#) podcast on December 29, 2025 Carl said:
 - HOST: “The problem and the reason that we have all this anti-white discrimination, some people even think that it’s particular to Jewish people, that Jewish people brought this to us…”

 - CARL: “There are also clearly other times where you do need to step back and you need say, well, are there other things going on, in Jewish communities or in subsets of Jewish community, that, um, have pushed some of this over time… You do have this disproportionate nature particularly of left-wing Jews who have been involved in some of these anti-white actions…”

 - “When you look at these anti-Semitism protests on campus that really a lot of this is down-stream of, Jews are considered white and these groups don’t like white people… the white guys are the bad guys.”

- **Anti-White Racism.**
 - “American whites are victims of a cultural genocide, and I’m suggesting this partially again to troll any leftist media who might be in the room and furiously scribbling my unforgivable hate speech in their notebooks. But I’m not saying it entirely for that purpose.” ([National Conservatism Conference, July 9, 2024](#))

 - “For [Raphael] Lemkin [who wrote the original definition of genocide], a cultural genocide consisted of the mass distribution of intoxicants, the re-education of children, forced relocation, and the destruction of important cultural symbols. I discuss in my book how each of these things could accurately describe what’s going on with whites in America right now…” ([National Conservatism Conference, July 9, 2024](#))

 - “We do have anti-white persecution in America. Of course, I’m not suggesting that somehow every white American’s life has become a dystopian hellscape out of *1984*. Clearly, that’s not the case.” ([National Conservatism Conference, July 9, 2024](#))

 - “But if I say *It’s Okay to Be White*, I might as well just put on my KKK hood right now. I think that’s indicative of how whiteness is viewed by society.” ([National Conservatism Conference, July 9, 2024](#))

 - “I can understand why Modi wants India to be a Hindu nation, because I want America to be a Christian nation, defined not in total but in part by its European historic identity.” ([National Conservatism Conference, July 9, 2024](#))

 - “[Professor James] Hankins concludes his piece [arguing for a more comprehensive immigration strategy, not just deportations] with an argument that

illegals could re-Christianize our country. While I share that goal, as with almost all of his other goals, there is a simple way to achieve it without granting a form of amnesty to millions of illegals: we should simply share the Gospel with actual Americans.” ([The American Mind, April 14, 2024](#))

- “Elite white voters who support the Democrats are supporting a party that rhetorically despises them and works against their fundamental material interests. Contrast the treatment of white men within the Democratic Party to the status of white American men outside of Democratic Party politics. This is not a stable equilibrium.” ([The American Conservative, May 19, 2022](#))
- “Instead, what America should attempt is what race and ethnicity scholar Eric Kaufman has referred to as a ‘whiteshift,’ wherein many Americans with multiethnic backgrounds will come to adopt the mores and traditions of, and to identify with, America’s founders and history. Already we see this in a significant number of the children of white and minority mixed marriages. But our current culture discourages this, providing both legal and cultural incentives for these children to claim a non-white identity.” ([The American Mind, February 17, 2022](#))
- “You can’t have Christianity and wokeness. It’s simply impossible to do those things, they cannot exist together in an honest way.” ([The American Reformer Podcast, October 7, 2024](#))
- “My follow up book... is all about liberal white people and how destructive of forces they’ve been [to white people in the workforce]... you are giving minorities a free pass and you know, you’re not looking at demographic change and the role that that all played in some of these things... it’s important to hold all the groups that were involved in discriminating – and continue to be involved in discriminating – against white men, young white men in particular, to account... that minority role is important.” ([Conversations That Matter Podcast, December 29, 2025](#))
- As a guest on the [No Country for White Men Podcast](#) on December 17, 2025, Carl said:
 - HOST: “Owning institutions is better than not owning institutions, so while it’s great of course to win a guerilla war at some level eventually you’re going to want a regular army, that’s kind of the goal...”
 - CARL: “...If the left has found me to be a little bit of a pain or difficulty, and I certainly hope they have, because I want to be their enemy... But because the regime told me, basically, because you’re white, you’re male, you’re conservative, we have no interest in you, you know, I had to go fight against the regime...”

- “It actually kind of does matter how much we – you – share a historical religion, or historical culture, a historical sort of social framework with the people who founded and built this country.”
- “I have friends... from kind of non-traditional minorities but who grew up in very traditional American places where they were surrounded by a bunch of white guys when they were growing up, a lot of those guys... I might look at that person and say, they’re not from a historical American population but those guys are pretty darn American and if they marry someone from a more historic American background and have kids, those kids are probably going to be very American.”
- “You could have the perfect ethnic background by the standards of people who would be ethno-nationalists, but if you’re a communist and all these other things, then I don’t consider you a good American either... it’s a balance, so I look at how much in various categories having to do with your background, your views, everything else, the more you have in common with these traditional American people and ideas, the more American I’m going to consider you.”
- “Anti-white discrimination is not the only form of racial discrimination or racism today. But, I do argue in my book, that it’s the most pervasive and politically salient form of racism today.” ([Hillsdale College lecture, February 19, 2025](#))
- “It’s 2025, nobody needs to be reminded that slavery was bad, nor does anybody object to have it presented in context.” ([Hillsdale College lecture, February 19, 2025](#))
- “The origins [of the Tuskegee experiments] were very likely not racist at all.” ([Hillsdale College lecture, February 19, 2025](#))
- “People are being scared of being called racists, and I’m trying to tell people to just get over it because they are not going to stop calling you racist, I promise. If you do something that is useful, they will call you racist. Like, if they stopped calling me a racist, I’d be really nervous. I’d be like, ‘what am I doing wrong?’” ([Hillsdale College lecture, February 19, 2025](#))
- **Great Replacement Theory.**
 - “White Americans already pay billions each year to subsidize our cross-border invasion and cultural erasure. If we don’t fight harder, we will soon be subsidizing our own expropriation.” ([The American Mind, May 13, 2025](#))
 - “The result: among America’s children, less than half are non-Hispanic White. Within approximately two decades, America as a whole is projected to become majority-minority. The Great Replacement isn’t a conspiracy theory; it is, as 2024

GOP presidential candidate Vivek Ramaswamy observed, ‘just the basic immigration policy of the Democrats.’” ([Fox News Opinion, April 29, 2024](#))

- “By bringing in millions of people whose traditions are often foreign to those of the West, the Great Replacement threatens a culture that my children’s ancestors have lived in and helped to build for generations—especially since the ideology of patriotic assimilation has largely been abandoned for multiculturalism.” ([The American Mind, February 17, 2022](#))
- “What does a post-white America look like, especially when a post-white America actively denigrates much of the cultural, political, and social legacy that built the country? Can America and its institutions survive that kind of transformation? How do we avoid the sort of civil strife and ethnic violence that has characterized a huge percentage of multiethnic societies in the past?” ([National Conservatism Conference, July 9, 2024](#))
- “In his first two years, Joe Biden appointed 22 black women as judges and 5 white men... There are zero white protestants in Joe Biden’s cabinet, like talk about a total replacement... no born protestants in Biden’s entire cabinet. White protestants ran, for better or for worse, the entire United States for the first 300+ years, counting not from independence, but from the original colonization... they sort of pretended that Joe Biden did some merit-based approach that just happened to have zero white protestants.” ([Hillsdale College lecture, February 19, 2025](#))
- “I basically argue that white flight was the only form of ethnic cleansing in which the victims were really blamed.” ([Hillsdale College lecture, February 19, 2025](#))
- “Obviously, none of Biden’s cabinet picks were inherently illegitimate for not being White or Protestant. But if the leadership of a country completely excludes a population that constitutes a huge percentage of American adults (26% to well over 40% if you count those religiously unaffiliated of Protestant origin) a group that excels in virtually every other area of society (compare the number of White Protestant CEOs and entrepreneurs, top physicians, Big Law partners etc. to the number in Biden’s Cabinet) and it is more than fair to ask whether some fairly pernicious discrimination was taking place.” ([The American Reformer, October 13, 2025](#))
- HOST: “[Identity is] religion, heritage, tradition, language, culture, all these things, it’s not just one of these things. You eventually need to absorb a critical mass of these things in order to become American... we need it to stop being a scientific category, we need it to be something that’s metaphysical, something that we acquire over time.”

CARL: “Absolutely... when you replace certain boards, at one point does it stop becoming the same ship?” ([No Country for White Men, December 17, 2025](#))

- **Immigration.**

- “Obviously, it is good to keep out gangs and drug cartels, but Americans are also well within their rights to deny entry to people who might be law abiding in all other respects, simply because they would undercut American labor or add to our cultural disunity.” ([Claremont Review of Books, Fall 2023](#))
- “And the source of immigration does matter. It is impossible to imagine the recent glut of overturned statues, attacks on America’s founders, and insults to historical American leaders, absent the enormous importation of groups who do not, as a whole, feel invested in validating America’s history and wish to write a new narrative of it, starring themselves.” ([The American Mind, February 17, 2022](#))
- “Crucially, we can *only* reconstitute a unified American ethnic identity by dramatically slowing the pace of immigration and eliminating the financial and status incentives which currently come from claiming non-white status.” ([The American Mind, February 17, 2022](#))
- “It’s as nutty as saying that any people who enter my country, whether or not they are here legally, are considered to be Americans. Come to think of it, perhaps this is a trend in left-wing thinking.” ([Fox News Opinion, May 23, 2018](#))
- “If Vivek is being silent on [H1-B visas]... it’s right to say, where are your loyalties here? This is not me picking on [Vivek Ramaswamy] because of the color of his skin... this seems incongruous with what other people in my coalition tend to think about this, so if that happens to match up with your ethnic identity that you’re not being strong on this important issue, it’s fine to scrutinize that and say, how much are you on the team?” ([No Country for White Men, December 17, 2025](#))

- **Civil rights law.**

- “There are implications to this surrender. As Hillsdale’s Thomas West notes, a serious Christian nationalism must engage in a potentially unpopular challenge to existing civil rights laws, which “frequently limit religion as practiced outside of the narrow realm of ‘religion as such’.... Civil rights laws protect the right of unwed mothers, gays, and transgenders to nondiscrimination—which means religious schools or businesses may be required to admit them or hire them, contrary to their Christian moral convictions.” In such a situation, where Christianity cedes the public square to state atheism, it can become functionally impossible “to follow and teach in daily life the moral beliefs of Christianity as understood by most believers.” ([The American Mind, November 20, 2023](#))
- “My forthcoming book *The Unprotected Class*... is entirely devoted to the rise of anti-white discrimination and racism in America. This rise in racism has been enabled by our DEI and affirmative action regime, and is fundamentally anchored

in metastasizing civil rights law and, perhaps even more importantly, subsequent rulings from the unaccountable administrative state.” ([The American Conservative](#), January 27, 2024)

- “Yes, it is true that Claremont President Ryan Williams and my colleague Scott Yenor have written that the Civil Rights Act, and, most importantly, its administrative and jurisprudential interpretations ‘have warped American law and culture and traded one set of racial preferences for another.’ That is a wholly accurate statement, and in a sane society, would not be controversial.” ([The American Conservative](#), January 27, 2024)
- “I don’t think it’s possible to talk about any of this without talking about civil rights, and there are some questions on our side of the aisle as to whether we should use civil rights law or fundamentally reform it. I think the answer is both. We need to use it right now for aggressive lawfare—but we also need to fundamentally transform a set of laws that were designed for a world that no longer exists. We have a very different set of problems today, and I think that’s obviously going to be a big political lift, but I think it’s a necessary political lift.” ([National Conservatism Conference](#), July 9, 2024)

- **Women’s rights.**

- “The feminist movement [Phyllis] Schlafly fought is a failure. Whatever gains it helped give to a small but visible subset of elite women, a post-feminist America is one of falling fertility, rapidly rising out-of-wedlock births, exploding rates of both sexual ambiguity and confusion (just 66 percent of Gen Z identifies as exclusively straight), uncertain gender roles, religious collapse, and an explosion in latchkey kids, as their mothers feel compelled to go into the workplace regardless of their desires.” ([The Federalist](#), May 19, 2020)
- “In general, happily married women, then and now, have been happy to support politicians and political movements that reinforce traditional understandings of the sexes. According to Gallup polling during the 1970s, men were consistently more supportive of the ERA than women were.” ([The Federalist](#), May 19, 2020)
- “Given its legacy of failure, it is no surprise that a substantial academic literature has shown that women (but not men) have become continually unhappier directly coinciding with the boom in the feminist movement in the 1970s. Just as has happened in our economy dominated by finance capitalism, feminism brought outsized benefits to a few in exchange for the suffering of many.” ([The Federalist](#), May 19, 2020)

- **January 6th.**

- “If Trump does not concentrate first and foremost on destroying the people who tried (and failed) to destroy him, his presidency is unlikely to be a long-term success.” ([The American Mind, November 1, 2024](#))
- “As I have said and written almost since the day the administration ended, President Trump would have won a free and fair election rather than one rigged by the media, Big Tech, and the Democrats. Despite his flaws, Trump is superior to any candidate the GOP establishment will put forth, and I will fully support him if he is our nominee.” ([The American Mind, January 20, 2023](#))
- “No wonder the January 6 Committee (of which Cheney and Kinzinger are the sole Republican representatives, appointed by Nancy Pelosi herself) itself piped in to say ‘On January 6th 2021, OUR DEMOCRACY was inches from catastrophe.’ Because Americans were, of course, totally going to have their election results determined by the guy wearing Viking horns.” ([The American Mind, August 24, 2022](#))

BIDEN'S GREAT WHITE PROTESTANT PURGE

JEREMY CARL / OCTOBER 13, 2025

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They Talk about Christian Nationalism so You Won't Notice

A few news cycles ago, the legacy media needed smelling salts when Secretary of Defense Pete Hegseth approvingly quote tweeted an interview with Pastor Doug Wilson writing “All of Christ for all of Life,” a trademark saying of Wilson’s and his denomination, the Communion of Reformed Evangelical Churches (CREC).

The media’s angst was generated in response to Hegseth’s positive acknowledgement of Wilson, a self-described Christian nationalist. But Chr



nationalism, far from an act of cultural aggression by right-wing Christians, is better seen as a reaction to Christian dispossession in public life, in particular White Protestant dispossession that began decades ago, but accelerated to warp speed under President Biden all while the media stayed silent. (While Christian nationalism can in theory be embraced by Christians of any stripe, it has been at its heart a Protestant, and particularly Reformed evangelical Protestant venture to this point.) It is not a coincidence that the movement's founding text, Stephen Wolfe's *The Case for Christian Nationalism* arrived in September 2022, well after Biden's great White Protestant purge of the senior ranks of government had already taken place.

Contrary to the fears sown by its enemies inside and outside of the Christian community, Christian Nationalism is not about to "take over" America. Even its most optimistic proponents see it as a project taking place over many decades, while others even refer to centuries. On the other hand, the displacement of America's historic Protestant Christian Character in the modern Democrat party is happening today, not decades from now. The nature and level of that displacement is the subject of this piece.

Of course, there should be nothing shocking about a conservative evangelical Christian like Pete Hegseth quote tweeting the leading figure in his own denomination—but perhaps we had gotten used to the absence of such sentiments because of the complete disappearance of White Protestants from political leadership in the Biden administration, a remarkable fact that was even more remarkable because it went almost totally unnoticed by any "mainstream" journalists.

What does that disappearance look like? Of Joe Biden's twenty-five cabinet and cabinet-level officials, not a single one was of White Protestant origin. Indeed, only three were of Protestant at all. The one nominal White Protestant in Biden's cabinet, Pete Buttigieg, was of Maltese Catholic origin who grew up in a culturally Catholic milieu, son of a former seminarian, going to Catholic High School in

South Bend, Indiana, home of Notre Dame University and only leaving the Catholic church for Episcopalians as an adult because of the Catholic Church's stance on his homosexuality. This anti-Protestant administration is so historically shocking, and obviously intentional, given the centuries of dominance of such cabinet positions by White Protestants.

Why does the disappearance of White Protestants in the Biden Administration matter, and why should it have occasioned far more commentary than it did? First it is important, for what it says about the future of the Democrat party—that it could historically exclude the keystone group in American history, and not even notice the exclusion. And second, because the entire origin story of America is inextricably tied up with Protestantism, from the first colonists in New England, Protestant dissenters who famously landed with the Mayflower—but even more commercial early colonies such as Jamestown were often justified to their investors because settlers were also engaging in Protestant Christian evangelism of Native Americans. Speaking purely numerically, most of the history of America is inextricably intertwined with the history of the White Protestants who dominated its political community, set its ideology, and forged its views on governance including the relationship between the church and state. You can like that or hate it, but what you can't plausibly do, with any measure of intellectual honesty, is to deny it. Or, if you are a Democrat, you can try to erase it.

Now no one should be picked for a cabinet position because of their race or religion. Obviously, none of Biden's cabinet picks were inherently illegitimate for not being White or Protestant. But if the leadership of a country completely excludes a population that constitutes a huge percentage of American adults (26% to well over 40% if you count those religiously unaffiliated of Protestant origin) a group that excels in virtually every other area of society (compare the number of White Protestant CEOs and entrepreneurs, top physicians, Big Law partners etc. to the number in Biden's Cabinet) and it is more than fair to ask whether some fairly pernicious discrimination was taking place. And there was no historical precedence for this exclusion, even among Liberal Democrats. Barack Obama's

cabinet had many White Protestants, including, in the first term alone, Treasury Secretary Timothy Geithner, Defense Secretary Robert Gates, and Secretary of State Hillary Clinton. And yet Biden's great White Protestant erasure created scarcely any media notice. Were it any other demographic, media would have made a point of noticing.

To understand how dramatic a departure the Biden administration was from America's historic traditions, consider how Protestant America was at its founding. Of the Euro-American colonists in 1776, only approximately 40,000 of 2.5 million (1.6%) were Catholics and just 2,500 were Jews. All but one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence were White Protestants, the sole exception being Charles Carroll of Maryland (the one colony founded by Catholic aristocrats even as it was predominately Protestant). Furthermore, various strains of Protestantism played the dominant role in America's original founding ideologies, something that has been remarked upon by numerous historians of colonial America. Indeed, eight of the thirteen Colonies had an established Protestant church, which played a dominant role in the life of each of these colonies.

Catholics played only a small and relatively marginal part in American politics until the 20th century. Only two Catholics and no adherents of non-Christian religions served in any Presidential cabinet until the 20th century. Functionally speaking, for the first 300 years of the America, beginning with Jamestown, with a few exceptions, essentially the entire governing class of America, a governing class which took America from a marginal group of small settlements hugging the Eastern Seaboard to a continent-spanning superpower that had the world's biggest and most powerful economy, was almost entirely White Protestant.

The most dramatic symbol that America was changing in a direction of greater religious pluralism was when, John F. Kennedy became America's First Catholic President in 1960. Kennedy's religion was seen as tremendously controversial in many circles, and it caused him to lose support in places where Democrats had not

lost it in years. (Mississippi, Alabama, Tennessee, Kentucky and Florida were among the “Solid South” states that Kennedy failed to carry, and he came close to losing North Carolina, South Carolina, and Texas, which had voted Democrat almost without exception since the end of Reconstruction. And it wasn’t just the South. Kennedy’s failure to win Ohio is also blamed on Ohioans suspicion of his Catholicism. But even Kennedy had a heavily Protestant cabinet with only two Catholics—his brother and Health Education and Welfare Secretary Anthony Celebrezze.

By contrast, when Biden became the second Catholic President, his Catholicism was seen as incidental and was an almost complete non-issue during the race. One could perhaps see this as a sign of growing religious tolerance in America. Yet, Joe Biden, running in an alleged pluralist, seemed to be engaging in ethno-religious nepotism that voters in the 1960s baselessly feared would happen with Kennedy.

Biden appointed Eight Catholics to his Cabinet. Biden had five Jewish cabinet members including three of the four most powerful positions—State (Blinken), Treasury (Yellen) and Attorney General (Garland)—along with the White House Chief of Staff and the Director of National Intelligence. This would certainly be notable for a group comprising a bit more than 2% of the population, even one known for its disproportionate achievements relative to their population. What important perspectives and what historical memory of America’s traditions were lost under Biden because White Protestants did not even have a seat at the table? One was not even permitted to notice, much less ask.

Indeed, when it came to Cabinet level officials, The Biden administration almost had more Hindus or Atheists than white Protestant Christians. Indeed, Biden would have had multiple Hindu cabinet members, save that Neera Tanden, his nominee for OMB, was the one cabinet nominee that could not be confirmed. Nor does the Trend begun under Biden seem to be an anomaly—of the top five prospective Democrat candidates for President in 2028 as featured in *The Hill* recently, not one was a White Protestant Christian.

Yet what I will call the Democrat counter-reformation was met with media silence. The not-so-great replacement of White Protestants at the summit of our federal government scarcely even attracted any public notice. And this is important not because of ethnic grouping but because the social policies of someone schooled on *Rerum Novarum* are likely to operate from very different priors and assumptions than someone steeped in the political theology of the average conservative Calvinist or non-denominational evangelical.

By contrast, Trump's Cabinet represents a return from Biden's radicalism. It's composition much more closely reflects America's Protestant heritage, while still also acknowledging America's religious diversity—just what you'd expect from a cabinet selected by merit rather than ethnic or religious nepotism. While Catholics are heavily represented and these include both the vice president (a Protestant convert to Catholicism) and Secretary of State (a Catholic who reportedly also attends a Southern Baptist church), there are many White Protestants in Trump's cabinet, including Department of War Secretary Hegseth and Treasury Secretary Bessent. White House chief of Staff Susie Wiles is a Protestant as is OMB Director Russell Vought, who has strong ties to Christian evangelical circles. Homeland security secretary Kristi Noem is also prominent in Evangelical circles. Jamieson Greer (LDS) and Tulsi Gabbard (Hindu) represent smaller religious minorities while Secretary of Commerce Howard Lutnick and EPA head Lee Zeldin are Jewish.

The religious representation in the Trump cabinet represents a return to normal—without Trump ever having stated it as a goal, it represents the religious diversity in today's America, with a hearty nod to America's Protestant roots. Trump didn't plan to do this of course. It's just what happens naturally when you decide to build on America's historic foundations rather than toppling them.

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10/14/25, 1:00 PM

Biden's Great White Protestant Purge - American Reformer

Print article



JEREMY CARL is a senior fellow at the Claremont Institute and author of *The Unprotected Class: How Anti-White Racism Is Tearing America Apart*.



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Trump campaigns in Norfolk, Va., in October. (Sara D. Davis/Getty)

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By **JEREMY CARL**

January 11, 2016 9:00 AM

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From the January 25, 2016, issue of NR

The French writer Charles Péguy once said that “one must always say what one sees. Above all, which is more difficult, one must always see what one sees.”

T While it may seem odd to begin an analysis of Donald Trump's presidential candidacy with a reference to a French intellectual, it is, in this case, *à propos*. Because, with respect to Trump, the greatest challenge facing Republicans is not to say what they see, but to *see* what they see. And the failure of the GOP establishment (and even of many conservatives outside it) to see what they see — their blindness to the infuriated alienation of their middle- and working-class voters — explains a great deal about the Trump phenomenon.

Trump, despite all his vulgarity and boorishness, has, along with fellow anti-establishment candidates such as Ted Cruz and Ben Carson, given these voters a voice that has not recently been heard. The Beltway GOP believes its voters are having a temper tantrum. But it would be more accurate to say that they are responding with understandable anger to a party that has failed over several election cycles to address their legitimate fears and concerns.

This failure manifests itself not just in support for Trump, but in the fact that among those expressing a candidate preference in the most recent polling averages, 85 percent of likely GOP-presidential-primary voters support candidates who either have never held office or have come to power during or after the 2010 tea-party revolt. This despite the fact that out of 17 serious candidates who originally began the race for the Republican nomination, eleven did not fit that profile.

RELATED: [Can Trump Win with New Voters?](#)

The failure to “see what one sees” has never been more apparent than during passage of the budget omnibus bill in December, pushed by Speaker Paul Ryan. Its provision on H-2B visas, which allowed for the import of tens of thousands of low-skilled foreign workers to fill jobs for which there are “labor shortages,” was a frontal assault on American workers, made for the sake of big business. The tone-deafness of such a move in the midst of the Trump surge was simply breathtaking.

Ryan may be many things, but he is not primarily a creature of K Street. In this particular moment, he is just a man who cannot see what he sees. Perhaps he could take a cue from Rich Lowry, the editor of these pages, who recently said, “The next time I hear a Republican strategist or a Republican politician say that there are jobs that Americans won’t do, that person should be shot, he should be hanged, he should be wrapped in a carpet and thrown in the Potomac River.”

RELATED: [Trump's Populism is Not Mob Rule](#)

In many ways, the Trumpenproletariat (to use Jonah Goldberg's felicitous term) is the inheritor of the constituency of Ross Perot — and, more recently, of Sarah Palin, the last person to inspire similar loathing among GOP donors and consultants.

Trump is a master showman who, beneath all the bluster, is as calculating as any conventional politician.

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Donald Trump's Voters & Republicans' Victory Path | National Review

As for the man himself, Trump is far more “crazy like a fox” than simply crazy. He is a master showman who, beneath all the bluster, is as calculating as any conventional politician. His effusions, even the most offensive of them, seem designed to move the Overton window — the range of politically acceptable discourse on any given issue — in precisely the way that benefits him. Nonetheless, despite Trump’s continued demonstrations of staying power, most journalists and GOP strategists are convinced, not without reason, that he will inevitably fade. While this may be true, it is also irrelevant to the GOP’s victory strategy. For the Trump supporters are exactly whom the GOP needs to bring into its coalition if it wants to win in 2016. It is reasonable to argue that Trump supporters are a constituency in demographic decline and that the way that Trump is pursuing them will hurt the party’s brand, but the GOP cannot win in 2016 without them. That’s not politics: That’s math.

Consider the typical Trump voter. According to a recent analysis in the *New York Times*, Trump’s “very best voters are self-identified Republicans who nonetheless are registered as Democrats.” In the least educated constituencies, Trump takes 37 percent of the GOP vote — compared with just 25 percent of those with the highest levels of education. He also — unsurprisingly, given his focus on immigration — does very well with white middle- and working-class voters whose economic insecurity derives in no small part from competition with immigrant labor. As NBC election analyst Chuck Todd recently noted, “Republicans don’t win general elections without Donald Trump’s voters. . . . We used to call them Reagan Democrats.”

#share#To illustrate the necessity of these voters to the Republican coalition, we can look at the results of election-simulation models from *RealClearPolitics* (RCP) and the political-data site *fivethirtyeight.com*. These models allow users to plug in certain turnout and voting assumptions for various demographic groups and predict their effect on the race at the national and state levels.

In the RCP simulator, if a GOP candidate can win white voters at Reagan’s 1984 vote-share percentage of 66 percent (i.e., bringing in the Reagan Democrats) and at George W. Bush’s 2004 turnout levels (67 percent), and if African-American turnout returns to its pre-Obama level and partisan breakdown, the GOP could retake the presidency without winning a single Hispanic, Asian, American Indian, or Arab vote. It’s a staggering result. And if, as will certainly happen, the Republican nominee wins at least some significant number of minority votes, the party will not have to achieve Reagan percentages among whites to win. The converse is equally staggering: Assuming that white and black turnout and voting patterns stay the same as in 2012, even if the GOP won an unthinkable 53 percent of the non-black minority vote (“Hispanics” and “Asians and other”), the Democrats would win the presidency.

RELATED: A Trump Nomination Would Fundamentally Change the GOP

In *fivethirtyeight.com*’s simulation, moving the turnout of non-college-educated whites halfway between their 2012 turnout and the (higher) 2012 turnout of college-educated-whites while bumping their party preference a few points toward the GOP — and assuming that black turnout and Democratic voting percentages return to their historic averages — gives the GOP an electoral landslide. Trump intuitively understands this; most of his rivals do not.

While the Republican party almost certainly cannot retake the presidency in 2016 with Trump as its nominee, it also cannot win without Trump's supporters.

In short, while the Republican party almost certainly cannot retake the presidency in 2016 with Trump as its nominee, given his high negatives and poor head-to-head poll numbers against Hillary Clinton, it also cannot win without Trump's supporters. Any tactic that alienates them is a sure loser, no matter how many "emerging constituency" voters the party rallies under its banner. This is not to deny that the GOP should aggressively try to win all demographic groups, but simply to point out that any strategy, such as amnesty, that does so by alienating or discouraging working- and middle-class white voters will lead to certain defeat.

Among all the other candidates, only Ted Cruz — who has gone out of his way to avoid alienating Trump's supporters, while declining to embrace Trump's toxic rhetoric — seems to understand this. (It is no coincidence that Cruz has by far the best data operation of any candidate in the race.) Meanwhile, many a Republican Candidate Ahab seems to be haplessly chasing the great Hispanic whale, which, even if miraculously caught, wouldn't do much to improve the party's 2016 electoral prospects.

RELATED: Trump's Cult of Personality Is Corrupting Conservatism

Apart from Trump's vulgarity, his dissents from GOP policy orthodoxy upset not only K Street lobbyists but also sincere and thoughtful conservative policy analysts and writers. On issues such as eminent domain, trade, and judicial appointments, to name just a few, Trump would certainly be a disaster for conservatives. But his other dissents merit a more serious look: Trump's reluctance to intervene in foreign civil wars (a reluctance that Cruz shares) has much to recommend it when compared with the overreach of some of the GOP's nation-building superhawks. And his refusal to frontally assault Medicare and Social Security shows more political sense than does the major-surgery crowd — it is a stance designed to win the "Sam's Club Republicans" and Reagan Democrats the GOP needs in its camp.

Strong establishments take insurgencies' best issues and co-opt them. Weak and stupid establishments don't. Right now, the GOP establishment is weak and stupid.

Rather than attempting to present a forward-looking agenda that would appeal to a large number of Trump supporters and draw them into the Republican coalition, the establishment is seemingly working overtime to alienate them.

#related#Rather than pursuing an immigration policy that would protect vulnerable American workers and bring in skilled immigrants while disavowing Trump's divisive tone and his impractical and overbroad prescriptions, it is promoting a quasi-open-borders policy that will perhaps keep maid service cheap for GOP donors — while electing a generation of Obamas.

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Rather than thinking through what a strong 21st-century Reaganite American patriotism would look like, too many candidates have embraced a hyper-militaristic nation-building strategy of which GOP voters have wearied, and that a national electorate decisively rejected in 2008 and 2012.

For all his failings, his vulgarities, and his hypocrisy, Donald Trump is a man who sees what he sees — and says so. For the sake of the future of the Grand Old Party, let us hope that, with a more optimistic tone and a better set of policy prescriptions, more of us do likewise.

— *Jeremy Carl is a research fellow at the Hoover Institution, Stanford University. This article originally appeared in the January 25, 2016, issue of National Review.*

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'Mrs. America' Can't Hide All The Things Schlafly Got Right About Women

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TELEVISION

'Mrs. America' Can't Hide All The Things Phyllis Schlafly Got Right About Women

BY: JEREMY CARL
MAY 19, 2020
🕒 6 MIN READ

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'Mrs. America' Can't Hide All The Things Schlafly Got Right About Women


 HULU / YOUTUBE

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Starring Academy Award Winner Cate Blanchett as conservative firebrand Phyllis Schlafly, Hulu series “Mrs. America” has been getting awards buzz. While the writers are too skilled to give a one-dimensional portrayal of Schlafly, nonetheless the broader agenda of the show is clear: to anathematize Schlafly, build up the feminists who opposed her, and ultimately, to push for a new Equal Rights Amendment (ERA).

“Mrs. America” is effective propaganda against Schlafly and conservative ideas because it is not obvious. Show creator Dahvi Waller has implicitly admitted as much in interviews, saying, “I think if we don’t understand her [Schlafly’s] appeal and how she tapped into anxiety among a fairly large group of women, we won’t really understand how to get through to those women today.” The “we” listed in this is unstated but obvious—liberal feminists.

<https://thefederalist.com/2020/05/19/mrs-america-cant-hide-all-the-things-phyllis-schlafly-got-right-about-women/>

2/15

Schlafly always knew the feminist movement and corporate media would misrepresent her views and the views of other opponents of feminism. “Many women are under the mistaken impression that ‘women’s lib’ means more job employment opportunities for women, equal pay for equal work, appointments of women to high positions, admitting more women to medical schools, and other desirable objectives which all women favor,” she wrote in [her prescient essay](#) “What’s wrong with Equal Rights for Women?” which kicked off her campaign against ERA in 1972.

Schlafly grasped both the politics and the policy of ERA far better than her feminist opponents, noting that having children gives women financial and emotional security for their whole lives (which numerous studies have shown—and the larger the family, the less likely the parents will end up in a nursing home).

She understood the importance of free enterprise and male inventors in freeing women from drudgery: “The great heroes of women’s liberation are not the straggly-haired women on television talk shows and picket lines, but Thomas Edison who brought the miracle of electricity to our homes to give light and to run all those labor- saving devices—the equivalent, perhaps, of a half-dozen household servants for every middle-class American woman.”

None of this implies women did not face real problems of sexism in the 1970s or today, but the ERA was always far too blunt and misguided an instrument to accomplish what women needed. During a debate with Betty Friedan, Schlafly correctly compared

ERA to killing a fly with a sledgehammer: “You probably won’t kill the fly, but you will break up some of the furniture.”

But feminist critics and the media never let facts get in the way of their narrative or their agenda. Doreen St. Felix in *The New Yorker* opened her review of “Mrs. America” by noting that 53 percent of white women voted for Trump, reflecting the left’s intersectional obsession with sex and race.

In general, happily married women, then and now, have been happy to support politicians and political movements that reinforce traditional understandings of the sexes. According to Gallup polling during the 1970s, men were consistently more supportive of the ERA than women were.

Feminist academics, of course, are intolerant of anything that shows Schlafly as something less than a monster. University of North Carolina history and women’s studies Professor Katharine Turk took to Twitter to declare that “Phyllis Schlafly was a sexist, racist homophobe who gave cover to corporations that made millions discriminating against women, and still do.”

Fortunately, in attacking Schlafly, the left has overplayed its hand: As Inez Feltscher Stepman wrote in *The Federalist*, “Mrs. America’s” writers “made an enormous error in thinking that the activists’ words, even filtered through a hostile writing team, would sound as ridiculous to the average American as they do in Hollywood.”

Yes, some women may find it appealing to be a writer, physician, or partner at Goldman Sachs, but working as a drugstore clerk, as a

line cook at McDonalds, or on a high-pressure sales commission to make the mortgage rather focusing on raising one's children is less appealing even to most contemporary women.

Schlafly is not a figure beyond criticism, of course. There were unquestionably reactionary and even at times conspiratorial elements to her conservatism. But in the two most consequential fights of her time — her support for Barry Goldwater in 1964 and in spearheading the defeat of ERA in the 1970s, both against overwhelming establishment opposition in *both* parties — she was right and her opponents were wrong.

The feminist movement Schlafly fought is a failure. Whatever gains it helped give to a small but visible subset of elite women, a post-feminist America is one of falling fertility, rapidly rising out-of-wedlock births, exploding rates of both sexual ambiguity and confusion (just 66 percent of Gen Z identifies as exclusively straight), uncertain gender roles, religious collapse, and an explosion in latchkey kids, as their mothers feel compelled to go into the workplace regardless of their desires.

Given its legacy of failure, it is no surprise that a substantial academic literature has shown that women (but not men) have become continually unhappier directly coinciding with the boom in the feminist movement in the 1970s. Just as has happened in our economy dominated by finance capitalism, feminism brought outsized benefits to a few in exchange for the suffering of many.

Despite the defeats those with more traditional understandings of sex have suffered in the decades since Schlafly's ascendance, all is

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'Mrs. America' Can't Hide All The Things Schlafly Got Right About Women

far from lost. In an obituary of Schlafly, who died during the 2016 presidential campaign, her feminist biographer Carol Felsenthal wrote: “Oh, to be able to hear or read her response on November 8 [when Hillary Clinton defeats Donald Trump](#). Schlafly, a true believer if ever there was one, would have been certain, until the polls closed, that the Donald was soon to become President Trump.”

As the election of 2016 showed, it is Felsenthal and the creators of “Mrs. America” who are the true believers who often do not understand our society, even as they damage it with their destructive ideology. “Mrs. America” seeks to mock Schlafly and the millions of women who supported her. But is ultimately Schlafly who will get the last laugh.

Jeremy Carl is a senior fellow at the Claremont Institute. Follow him on X at [@realjeremycarl](#) and on his Substack, [The Course of Empire](#).



JEREMY CARL

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1970S

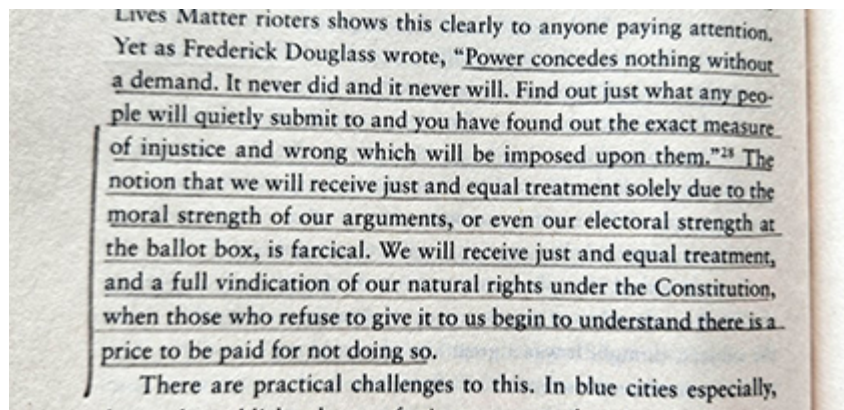
CATE BLANCHETT

EAGLE FORUM

EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT

The South Shore of Michelle Obama's youth had a remarkably rapid transformation, going from 96 percent white in 1950 to 94 percent black in 1980. In 1960, just four years before Michelle Obama was born, South Shore was still almost 90 percent white, and by 1970 it was 70 percent black.⁴

Today, South Shore is listed as one of the ten most dangerous neighborhoods in Chicago (itself one of America's most dangerous cities) where, according to one source, "robbery and assault are common [and] murder and gun violence are much higher than the national average."⁵ What caused this rapid transformation, and what were its long-term effects?



The system itself is rigged. As one article noted, “The big banks are expected by law to meet the credit needs of underserved communities, and regulators consider their record of doing so when evaluating applications for mergers, acquisitions and branch openings.”¹³ In other words, if you are a bank and want to grow your business, you’d better be making enough otherwise uneconomic loans to politically preferred minority groups. Federal civil rights law permits banks to create Special Purpose Credit Programs, which allow increased lending to so-called “disadvantaged groups” (read “racial minorities”) if their standard lending practices result in racial disparities.¹⁴

Perhaps the ultimate recent example of this was a 2023 Biden administration decision that added special charges for home loans of creditworthy borrowers to subsidize the loans of borrowers with poor credit. While positioned as an initiative to help those with poor credit, it was functionally a racial wealth transfer, with white borrowers (and, to a lesser degree, Asians) subsidizing blacks and Hispanics.¹⁵ The Biden administration understood perfectly well the racial element of what they were doing—but by adding an economic fig leaf, the predominant racial element was obscured.

any notion that whites would acknowledge real threats to their status or rights. To bemoan discrimination against one's group is simply, as that arch-symbol of wealthy conservative white privilege William F. Buckley Jr. would have said, *infra dignitatem*.

Another challenge is that while Democratic politicians have increasingly waged an all-out assault on the rights of white Americans, Republicans have been tepid defenders of them at best. While some GOP lawmakers have stiffened their spines in recent years, and an increasing number of GOP political and media figures have called out anti-white racism in direct terms (Tucker Carlson, Charlie Kirk, and Matt Walsh have been particular stalwarts), the default Republican response to repeated racial insult has been to say, "I don't see race/color," even in the face of obvious anti-white animus.

Yet while this book is written to explain the current situation of white people in America, I have not written it only for a white audience. Racial reconciliation must be done in a spirit of truth, and that truth must be received and accepted by all Americans—not simply whites. I hope that non-white audiences will engage with this book and see their own complex interrelationship with whites in a new light.

I am largely in agreement with those who warn that a "politics of whiteness" is both tactically and morally inferior to a focus on the unalienable rights in the Declaration of Independence that all Americans should enjoy. Yet as a practical matter, issues of anti-white discrimination and racism must be discussed as issues involving whites as a whole, not just as issues of individual discrimination.

The political reality is one in which non-whites have organized and made powerful group demands, while whites have focused on broad, gauzy appeals to those unalienable universal rights, appeals that have been almost completely ineffective in stopping the Left's long racist march through the institutions.

just 4,000 in 1840 and in 1940 was just 106,000, also less than 0.1 percent of the U.S. population.³⁹

Meanwhile, the first Indian to gain U.S. citizenship did so only in 1909, and he was a "white" Parsi (that is, an Indian of Persian descent).⁴⁰ Fewer than 50,000 Indians total immigrated to the United States before 1965. Today, there are well over six million South Asians living in America.⁴¹ There were just 130,000 African immigrants in the United States as late as 1980.⁴²

Now, of course, to say such immigration is new is not the same as to say it is bad. There are perfectly reasonable arguments to be made in favor of this new immigration. And there are strong arguments that not strictly maintaining the previous ethnic status quo was advantageous for America. But those arguments must be made, not just assumed.

What is clear is that the post-1965 immigration boom, rather than serving as a continuation of longstanding American policy, was a spectacular repudiation of that policy. Over the last six decades, America's government has created a new American people. Democrats, who have not won the white vote since 1964, simply elected another people and attacked any white person who complained as a racist.⁴³

Given the enormous changes it would engender, it was inevitable that Democrat leaders would lie about the Hart-Celler immigration bill before putting it forward in 1965. "This bill that we will sig

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Minneapolis would go on to pay Floyd's family \$27 million.⁶

In conjunction with the protests, which occurred at the height of public health lockdowns over COVID, nearly thirteen hundred public health officials declared racism and white supremacy "a public health crisis" that justified mass rallies. They were supported by men such as Tom Frieden, the former head of the Centers for Disease Control under President Obama.

Ignoring any presumption of innocence prior to the trial, Joe Biden weighed in and commented that Floyd's death "sends a very clear message to the black community and black lives that are under threat every single day," a comment he made at an online "event" held with Pennsylvania Gov. Tom Wolf. Or, as he later said at a campaign speech in Wilmington, Delaware, "They speak to a nation where too often just the color of your skin puts your life at risk."⁷

Biden, needless to say, did not provide any data or evidence for this assertion, largely because it was factually absurd.

Nor was it ever explained why African American officer Alex Kueng (who had frequently expressed concerns about racial issues in policing) or Asian-American officer Tou Thao had chosen to idly stand by while Officer Chauvin committed a racist murder. No evidence emerged during his trial that Chauvin had ever engaged in racist conduct or bore racial animus.

But Chauvin was white, Floyd was black, and the video was viral. And that was enough.



Grace Church School in Manhattan (tuition and fees approximately \$63,000 per year) is one of the many ferociously competitive schools that serve the children of New York City's elite. Like its brethren, after George Floyd's death, Grace Church embraced an "anti-racist"

Finally, a few words as to why this book is necessary: America is in the midst of a rapid demographic and even civilizational transformation. Large numbers of whites, living either in disproportionately white areas or white enclaves in more diverse areas, are in denial about the degree to which they have been replaced as the dominant ethnic group across much of America. While election integrity is a serious and real issue, much of the cry we've heard lately about ballot fraud is really at its heart a complaint about "America fraud"—the fact that many whites cannot acknowledge that a combination of the civil rights revolution and a flood of immigrants over the last sixty years, many from places with thin-to-nonexistent ties to America's core ethnic communities and cultural and social traditions, now wield ◀emendous political power, which they are using to advantage their group▶ over whites.

What happens when those largely historically responsible for building American society and its institutions go from a dominant position to just one group among many, and a legally and culturally disfavored group at that?

Simply put, what does a post-white America look like, especially when that post-white America actively denigrates much of the cultural, political, and social legacy that built the country?

And can America and its institutions survive such a transformation?

If we do not correct the course we are on, I fear we are headed for the civil strife and racial violence that has characterized so many other multiracial countries over the centuries, including, in the past, our own.

The H-1B Scam

The H-1B employment visa, which allows companies to employ high-skilled foreign workers in specialty occupations, is also used in the tech industry to discriminate against whites. A significant percentage of fired workers replaced by H-1Bs are white, whereas virtually all H-1Bs are non-white—mostly from India. If whites were a “protected class,” it would be easy to prove a governmental discrimination case against them.

Thus does the H-1B serve the interests of Big Tech companies in replacing senior developers (often white) with compliant, immobile foreign workers (since visas are tied to specific employers) for a fraction of the cost.

As Dr. Ron Hira, a professor at Howard University and a critic of H-1Bs, has observed, the H-1B system transfers wealth from employees to employers. “Guest-worker programs are supposed to fill domestic labor shortages. The H-1B program does not fill shortages,” he said.⁶⁸ H-1Bs hold approximately 13 percent of tech engineering jobs and one-third of those are specifically given to outsourcing companies from India like Wipro and Infosys.⁶⁹ Many studies have found that H-1Bs lower earnings and can displace workers.⁷⁰ *Politico* went so far as to call Silicon Valley a “den of spies” because of the potential for espionage from bringing so many foreign employees into such a sensitive economic sector.⁷¹

For those who say the racial element of this is just coincidental, it is notable that U.S. Tech Workers, an advocacy group that protects

the rights of American technology workers and opposes H-1Bs, has been attacked by the odious Southern Poverty Law Center for its ties to the supposed “hate group” the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) as well as the Center for Immigration Studies, both entirely mainstream, Washington, D.C.-based policy organizations.⁷²

Of course, this enormous influx of foreign workers into Silicon Valley did not just affect the tech companies. It affected the Valley as a whole, which became half foreign-born and overwhelmingly from Asia, after being overwhelmingly white American in previous years. (Silicon Valley was 94 percent white and 82 percent white non-Hispanic in 1970.⁷³) This unsurprisingly has led to white flight from Silicon Valley, as real estate prices have soared with massive population growth from immigration and inadequate homebuilding.

The H-1B influx has thus destroyed not only corporate wages, not only white tech workers, but a Silicon Valley community that had been nurtured over decades.

Jeremy Carl reposted

 **Christopher F. Rufo**   @realchrisrufo · Aug 18

I've asked Doreen St. Felix's defenders these simple questions and they have, thus far, refused to answer them. They are not moral paragons, but moral cowards who find it impossible to say, "Virulent, borderline exterminationist rhetoric against whites is wrong."

 **Christopher F. Rufo**   @realchrisrufo · Aug 17

Replying to @SamAdlerBell and @NewYorker

Do you endorse anti-white race hatred? Are white people genetically inferior animals who breed lice, syphilis, and planet-destruction? Is Louis Farrakhan a model citizen worth emulating? I am against all of this, but for your friend Doreen, all of these are open questions.

20 180 1.3K 66K

 **Jeremy Carl**  @realJeremyCarl · Feb 15, 2024  

3/

As I documented (and @TuckerCarlson cited), of the first 97 Federal Judges confirmed by Biden, we had 22 black women and only five white men.

If you don't like DA Fanni Willis, wait until you see the Fanni Willis federal judiciary.

 **Acyn**  @Acyn · Feb 6, 2023

Tucker: Out of 97 federal judges confirmed under Joe Biden, total number of white men.. five. Twenty two are Black women.



0:14  **THE BIDEN ADMIN IS PRACTICING RACE-BASED HIRING** 

 9  127  1K  170K  

↻ Jeremy Carl reposted

 **Western Montana News**  @WesternMTNews · Oct 27  

Montana joins 23 other states challenging birthright citizenship at Supreme Court, arguing 14th Amendment's Citizenship Clause doesn't automatically grant US citizenship to all born on American soil.



Montana, Others Ask SCOTUS to Rule on Birthright Citizenship | Western Mont...

From westernmt.news

 8  54  217  8.8K  

Jeremy Carl reposted

Sean Davis @seanmdav · Aug 6

The Constitution requires a full census every 10 years. It never prohibits more frequent censuses. And because the most recent census was obviously rigged, a new and accurate census should absolutely be ordered.

Katie Pavlich @KatiePavlich · Aug 6

It is outrageous illegal aliens are counted in the U.S. Census, which determines the number congressional seats. Redo the count, which was totally "botched" in 2020, and only count American citizens.



800 7.2K 25K 441K

Jeremy Carl reposted

Charlie Kirk @charliekirk11 · Aug 5

If Democrats in New York or California redo their maps, we should immediately counter by redoing the botched 2020 Census and only count US Citizens.

1.7K 5.8K 32K 522K

 **Jeremy Carl**  @realDonaldTrump · Aug 18  

We've tried chain migration.

We now need to try chain deportation.

 **Wall Street Apes**  @WallStreetApes · Aug 18





Muslim Government Assistance Scam in America EXPOSED

“I was speaking in Detroit area — They were telling me about a lady who had a ministry to pregnant mothers:
...
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 3  7  107  2.9K  

Jeremy Carl reposted

 **Joe Lonsdale**  @JTLonsdale · Sep 24  

Our civilization only thrives if those with the knowledge, resources and influence are willing to FIGHT for it.


It's a great source of frustration and consternation to me how most people, once successful, chicken out for various reasons. The rare exceptions make America great.

 **Dylan Jardon**   @DylanJardon · Sep 24







I asked Alex Karp:

Why don't billionaires fight what we all know is broken?

He said they:...

 Presented by **Rho**

0:45

 50  55  704  72K  

Jeremy Carl reposted



Nate Hochman @njhochman · 17h

The modern criticisms of Columbus revolve around colonialism, violence against natives, etc.

But most people have no idea just how violent the pre-Columbian Americas were. In many regions, the share of violent deaths was hundreds of times higher than World War II-era Europe.

Table 6.1 Annual Warfare Death Rates

Society	Region	Annual % Rate	Source
Kato (Cahon) 1840s	California	1.45	Kroeber 1965: 397-403
Dani-S. Grand V.	New Guinea	1.00	Heider 1970: 129
Pagan	N. Plains	1.00	Livingstone 1968: 9
Dinka 1928	N.E. Africa	.97	Kelby 1985: 55
Fiji 1860s	Melanesia	.87*	Carriero 1990: 199
Chippewa 1825-1832	Minnesota	.75	Hickerson 1962: 28
Tididilatan 1839-1950	New Guinea	.74	Moore 1984: 188
Buin	Solomon Is.	.71	Wright 1942: 569
Kalinga (headhunting)	Philippines	.69*	Dexter 1967: 71
Morwa 1805-1814	S. Africa	.59*	Owenby 1967: 356-57
Dugum Dani 1961	New Guinea	.48*	Heider 1970: 128
Manga 1949-1956	New Guinea	.46	Pillitteri-Cook and Cook 1983: 188; Vardi 1976: 109
Modoc	California	.45*	Ray 1963: 134-35, 143
Aiyraua 1924-1949	New Guinea	.42	Robbins 1982: 211
Murngin 20 years	Australia	.33	Wright 1942: 569
Tauade 1900-1946	New Guinea	.32*	Hallpike 1977: 120, 202
Mac Enga 1900-1950	New Guinea	.32*	Meggitt 1977: 12-13, 109
Yanomama 1938-1958	Brazil	.29	Early and Peiren 1990: 18
C. Mexico 1419-1519	Mesoamerica	.25	Thieme 1968: 17
Yurok	California	.24	Wright 1942: 570
Mohave 1840s	Calif.-Ariz.	.23	Stewart 1965: 377, 379
Creboai 1940-1982	New Guinea	.20*	Kanuff 1985: 119, 376-77
Tupi 1852-1903	Australia	.16	Pilling 1968: 138
Germany 1900-1990	Europe	.16	various*
Russia 1900-1990	Europe-Asia	.15	various*
John Day 1837-1982	New Guinea	.14	Pilling 1983: 164
France 1800-1859	Europe	.07	Wright 1942: 570
Japan 1900-1990	Asia	.03	various*
Andamanees 30 years	Indian Ocean	.02	Wright 1942: 569
Sweden 1900-1990	Europe	.00	various*
Seneti	S.E. Asia	.00	Dentan 1979

Table 6.2 Percentage of Deaths Due to Warfare

Society	Male Deaths	Female Deaths	All Deaths	Source
Spain—frontier and northern Peru	39.0	22.0	32.7*	Ross 1984: 96
Yanomama-Shimane	35.4	4.4	20.9	Chagnon 1974: 160
Mac Enga	34.8	2.3*	18.6	Meggitt 1977: 110-12
Dugum Dani	28.5	3.4	12.5	Heider 1970: 128
Manga	28.0	—	—	Harris 1975: 262
Yanomama-Namwani	23.7	6.9	15.3	Chagnon 1974: 160
Hali	19.6	6.1	13.2	Oliver 1968: 96
Anger	—	—	11.9	Harris 1975: 639
Gebusi	8.3	8.3	8.3	Kanuff 1985: 113-29
Asian Mexico	—	—	—	Thorne 1968: 17
French 19th century	—	—	3.0	Wright 1942: 865
Poland Europe 17th C.	—	—	2.0	Wright 1942: 812
U.S. and Europe 20th C.	<1.0	—	—	Harris 1975: 282

Polynesian Examples

Nahua: Saw 1517-1600 a.d.	42.7	45.0	40.7	Wendorf 1968: 993
N. British Columbia 1500 a.d.-ca. 500	—	—	32.4	Cobble 1981: 25
British Columbia ca. 500-1750	—	—	27.6	Cobble 1981: 25
Nahua: Quetzalcoatl 16,000 a.d.	—	—	21.4	Wendorf 1968: 869-74, 993
Stone Is. 1500	20.0	20.0	20.0	Mitter et al. 1991
Ukupaia: Vanuatu (Mwatelele)	—	—	15.9	Vand 1991: 220
Northeast Papua 1500-1600	—	—	15.0	Wright 1960: 206
Dugum Dani: Vanuatu 1500 a.d.	—	—	13.6	Pill 1981: 351
S. California: Yoni 1517 a.d. 158-1300	—	—	10.0	Walker and Lamberton 1989: 210
Britania 6000 a.d.	—	—	8.0	Vand 1991: 220
Central California 1500 a.d.-ca. 500	—	—	5.0	Wells 1974: 236
Sweden: Stonehenge ca. 4000 a.d.	—	—	3.8	Moore 1984: 183
Algeria: Colosseum ca. 6000 a.d.	—	—	1.7	Vand 1991: 220

*There are no females.
 *These estimates are based on averaging male and female figures, thus assuming the ratio is equal.
 *Percentages with male and female % of total deaths. "All deaths" includes 17% of children's deaths.
 *Estimated from the ratio of 6 female deaths to 119 males.
 *Percentage of all deaths with evidence of warfare.

Senator Eric Schmitt @SenEricSchmitt · 20h



There are a few rare moments where all of world history turns on a single heartbeat.

October 12, 1492 was one of them.

6 26 228 15K

 **Jeremy Carl**  @realDonaldTrump · Oct 22  

Keep in mind that English proficiency is supposed to be a requirement for citizenship.

 **Nathan Halberstadt**    @NatHalberstadt · Oct 21

Replying to @NatHalberstadt





Nearly a quarter of New Yorkers can't speak English.

[LANGUAGE ACCESS FOR IMMIGRANT NEW YORKERS](#)

New York City's remarkable linguistic diversity is a testament to its identity as a city of immigrants: 60% of New Yorkers are immigrants or the children of immigrants, with approximately half of New Yorkers speaking a language other than English at home. For the 22% of New Yorkers who are considered to have Limited English proficiency (LEP), expansion of language access is critical to full participation in civic life.

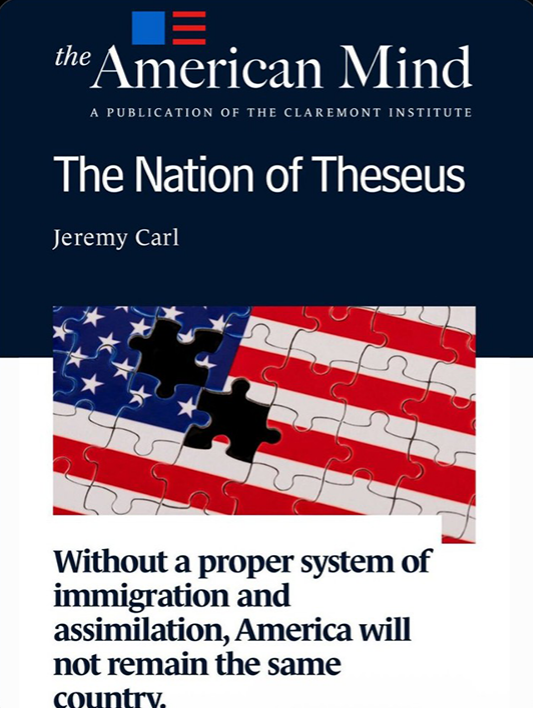
 171  1.6K  11K  247K  

Jeremy Carl reposted

 **The American Mind**  @theammind · Aug 20  

"Historically, we were both a nation that subscribed to certain creeds and was overwhelmingly of European origin."

@ClaremontInst Senior Fellow @realJeremyCarl argues that without a system that assimilates people to our historic creeds, America will not remain the same country.









the **American Mind**
A PUBLICATION OF THE CLAREMONT INSTITUTE

The Nation of Theseus

Jeremy Carl

Without a proper system of immigration and assimilation, America will not remain the same country.

 4  7  31  3.3K  



Jeremy Carl
@jeremycarl4

Folgen



[nytimes.com/2021/01/08/us/](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/08/us/) ...

Donald Trump addressed a political rally and said "I know that everyone here will soon be marching over to the Capitol building to peacefully and patriotically make your voices heard."

Pelosi attempted a military coup and must be prosecuted.

11:36 - 10. Jan. 2021

3 „Gefällt mir“-Angaben



3

 **Jeremy Carl** @jeremycarl4 Follow ▼

The real coup was against Trump not by Trump.

6:04 PM - 8 Jan 2021 from [Arlington, VA](#)

 **Jeremy Carl**  @reaJeremyCarl · Aug 4 ↻ ⋮

No U.S. elected official should ever be "proud" of any foreign nationality more than they are proud of being American.

 **TheBlaze**  @theblaze · Aug 4

Democrat Rep. Delia Ramirez at a summit in Mexico City this weekend tells the audience while speaking in Spanish: "I'm a proud Guatemalan before I'm an American."



 61  375  2K  28K  

Jeremy Carl reposted

Brother Lunk @Antweegonus · Aug 4

If your father built a house to give to you, would you consider burning it down after his death to be a morally neutral act

i/o @avidseries · Aug 4

My great-ancestors are dead. They care nothing about whether I procreate. My producing children does nothing for them. Because they are dead.

This widespread view on the right that people have some kind of mora...
[Show more](#)

62 156 4.6K 232K

Jeremy Carl reposted

Will Chamberlain @willchamberlain · Aug 20

It's all fraud. H1-B's. Asylum. Withholding of removal. Every guardrail constraining the abuse of our immigration system is defeated by fraudulent attestations by migrants and corporations alike.

End it all. We can keep O-1 visas and get rid of the rest.

Jobs.Now: Exposing hidden jobs for Am... @JobsNo... · Aug 16

Samsara is the latest multi-billion dollar public tech company asking applicants to email resumes to their immigration team!
 when will this end?
 270k for a sr. bizops manager here, fully remote

JOBS.NOW Jobs Companies Blog | Login

Senior Business Operations Manager [REF SBOMAS725]
Samsara • Remote (San Francisco, CA, USA) • \$126k - \$270k / year • 4h ago

Samsara Inc. has multiple openings in San Francisco, CA allowing for telecom within the U.S.
 Senior Business Operations Manager [SBOMAS725] to drive key planning & business operations forums.
 To apply, email resume & include job title & job code to immi@samsara.com

JOBS.NOW Note: To tap into these hidden job opportunities, it's crucial to adhere strictly to the application process outlined in each job ad. At JOBS.NOW, we ensure that every listing includes detailed employer instructions. Follow them precisely to be considered for these unique positions!


Samsara

[Log Application](#)

Share this job

[f](#) [in](#) [x](#)

103 1K 4.7K 113K

 **Jeremy Carl**  @realDonaldTrump · Aug 13

Brilliant unmasking of the H-1B scam showing which companies are intentionally hiding job listings from Americans so that they can hire cheaper foreigners.

 **Jobs.Now: Exposing hidden jobs for Am...**  @JobsNo... · Aug 12

Thank you to so many of you coming to follow us this week! We are so happy to have the chance to help thousands more of you with your job searches

Repeating now - why did we create Jobs Now?...

[Show more](#)



 37  752  3.4K  57K  

 Jeremy Carl reposted




 **Jimmy Doyle**  @jdoyleDoyle1 · Aug 5

I have never encountered a more cowardly & conformist culture than the one that currently prevails in US higher education





 61  118  1.5K  204K  

 **Jeremy Carl**  @realDonaldTrump · Aug 17

Yes.

 **Palmer Luckey**   @PalmerLuckey · Aug 17

The fastest way to lower average housing prices in American cities is enforcing the law/reducing criminal activity. Huge chunks of high-density housing are trapped in Bad Neighborhoods, no-go zones depressed well below nearby prices. Nobody with options even considers them.

 16  75  590  64K  



Jeremy Carl
@jeremycarl4

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U.S. will no longer deport illegal aliens for being here illegally.

The treason party strikes again.

POLITICS

U.S. will no longer deport people solely because they are undocumented, Homeland Security secretary says

PUBLISHED THU, SEP 30 2021 5:39 PM EDT
UPDATED THU, SEP 30 2021 8:22 PM EDT

Annika Kim Constantino
@ANNIKAKIMC

SHARE    

4:11 PM - 1 Oct 2021 from Montana, USA



Jeremy Carl reposted

 **Kevin Roberts**   @KevinRobertsTX · Oct 27  

Unfettered immigration, both legal and illegal, has consequences.

The “melting pot” idea is in actuality a pressure cooker that forces incompatible values together that have no common inheritance.

 **Blake Masters**  @bgmasters · Oct 27

Zohran Mamdani will win because foreign-born New Yorkers overwhelmingly support him. It’s that simple. American-born New Yorkers do not support him. But that does not matter because the electorate has been so thoroughly reshaped by immigration.

 126  620  3K  157K  

 **Jeremy Carl** 
@reaJeremyCarl

I've said it before, but it bears repeating. If one party can import millions of people **ILLEGALLY** and the other party, when elected, cannot expeditiously deport those same illegal immigrants, then you are living in a left-wing oligarchy, not a democracy.



Federal judge temporarily bars Abrego Garcia from deportation to Uganda

From foxnews.com

5:46 PM · Aug 25, 2025 · **50.1K** Views

 40  446  1.9K  80 



Jeremy Carl
@jeremycarl4

Follow



Dear Trump Admin:

Stop whining and complaining about judicial supremacy and start ignoring illegal judicial rulings.

America is not a Kritarchy, no matter how much the left wishes it were. cc:
[@RMConservative](#)

1:36 AM - 10 Sep 2019





Thomas Sheedy @sheedythom · 11h

The fact that these books are promoted at the entrance of an airport book store shows that we really do have a long fight ahead of us.

"Surrender White People" Seriously? That's mainstream now?



57 118 495



Jeremy Carl @jeremycarl4

Follow

Replying to @sheedythom

Yep.

P.S. If you're a white person celebrating Juneteenth, you've already surrendered.

5:55 PM - 20 Jul 2021




🗨️ ↻️ ❤️

Jeremy Carl reposted

 **Christina Pushaw**   @ChristinaPushaw · Aug 16


Illegal immigration should NEVER be tolerated. I think most right-wingers agree on that.
But the more I read about H1B & related work visa scams, the more I am convinced that LEGAL immigration can, in some forms, be even MORE damaging to our country than illegal immigration...





202 681 4.1K 119K





 **Jeremy Carl**  @realJeremyCarl · Dec 6, 2023  

This ten-year-old Coke commercial (released only in Argentina), remains the single best minute-long argument for pro-natalism that I have ever seen.

[@MoreBirths](#) [@BirthGauge](#)








 432  3.7K  13K  2.4M  

 **Jeremy Carl**  @realJeremyCarl · Dec 6, 2023  

I have five kids, and this ad is true to life.

Young children will totally "disrupt" the material aspects of your old life.

But those aren't the important aspects of life anyway.

 28  74  1.5K  59K  

Jeremy Carl reposted

 **Matt Walsh**  @MattWalshBlog · Oct 14

The Left is attacking me because I correctly pointed out that the native citizens of the United States were not Indian tribesmen but white Europeans. So of course James Lindsay, the "anti-communist," jumps on the dogpile as well. I've never seen an "anti-communist" who sides with the communists so consistently. Pretty weird.

 **James Lindsay, anti-Communist**  @ConceptualJames · Oct 14

Replying to @MattWalshBlog

Here's one linguistic trick to debase yourself while "owning" your enemies on terms they set for you.

502 629 9.3K 466K

Jeremy Carl reposted

 **Matt Walsh**  @MattWalshBlog · 2h

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 **James Lindsay, anti-Communist**  @ConceptualJames · 3h

Replying to @MattWalshBlog

Here's one linguistic trick to debase yourself while "owning" your enemies on terms they set for you.

277 292 4.2K 214K



Jeremy Carl
@jeremycarl4

Follow



There is no "peaceful coexistence" we are going to have when our opposition is led by people like this.

We either win or die.

Cori Bush @CoriBush

On this Juneteenth, remember that millions of incarcerated Black people are still in bondage and that the 13th Amendment still permits slavery.

Our work is Black liberation in its totality.

8:29 PM - 19 Jun 2021



Jeremy Carl reposted

Christopher F. Rufo @realchrisrufo · Aug 15

I have a dream. I have a dream that when my four little children are grown, spewing weapons-grade race hatred against whites and Jews will not be seen as a credential for employment in elite media and academic institutions. I have a dream today...

@NewYorker

95 620 5.3K 105K

Jeremy Carl @realDonaldTrump · Sep 22

"Evangelicals charging the gates of hell with slingshots and BB guns are more effective than Reformed Christians who leave their jet fighters in the hangar and their battleships in the dock."

Words of wisdom from @Vicar1973 on the importance of being the "man in the arena."

Pastor Rich Lusk @Vicar1973 · Sep 22

A few random observations after the Charlie Kirk memorial service:

I wish I was about 30 years younger so I could live for several more decades in the America we are on the cusp of creating. Obviously, things could get derailed. Nothing is guaranteed. But the trajectory we...

[Show more](#)

4 33 2.7K

Jeremy Carl @realDonaldTrump

I would rather be a black man on trial for the assault of a white man in 1930s rural Mississippi than I would be a right-winger in DC today on trial for political crimes.

NOVA Campaigns @NOVA_Campaigns · May 5

Here are summaries of the 16 jurors that convicted the Proud Boys, per @rparloff

The jury foreman, per @rparloff today, is juror #14, a lobbyist for @theAGU

Take a look at this DC jury of PB "peers"

It's a lineup of leftists who were already biased vs the defendants

[Show this thread](#)

the attorneys know their names. information about what they do, or did do, for a living was not always elicited during the voir dire questioning.

Juror One: White woman. She is a social media marketer and the daughter of congressional staffers. **On the Proud Boys:** "an organized group as opposed to people who showed up at [redacted] and then moved to the Capitol. ... My [redacted]"

Roger Parloff @rparloff

U.S. Having attended the reading of the partial verdict, I can now answer the question emptywheel raised: Who is the Proud Boys jury prep person? It's the lobbyist for the American Geophysical Union. More on him below. Full article at bit.ly/3jFIS6D

Juror Fourteen: White man. Lobbyist for the American Geophysical Union.

On the Proud Boys: They "are labeled as an extreme, like, far-right organization. ... There's allegations that they, like, basically planned this insurrection on the Hill." **On BLM:** "An organization that is trying to highlight the discrimination against people of color especially with relations to police interactions." **No objections.**

10 · 5/4/23 from Earth · 223K Views

1:21 PM · May 7, 2023 from Montana, USA · 24.8K Views

107 Retweets 3 Quotes 311 Likes 7 Bookmarks

 **Jeremy Carl**  @realJeremyCarl · Oct 17  

This is the best piece I've seen yet on the likely Supreme Court decision on Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act.

Bottom Line: it will be good for the GOP (and the Constitution!), but it's not going to lock in any sort of permanent GOP House majority.



Is the Supreme Court going to doom the Dems? We did the math.

From theargumentmag.com

 1  1  10  1.4K  

 **Jeremy Carl**  @realJeremyCarl · Dec 23, 2023  

4/ There is a pathological war on white people in America. It's time decent people wake up and fight against it. Read this book to figure out how.”

Charlie Kirk, Founder and President, Turning Point USA



 1  8  72  7.4K  



Jeremy Carl @jeremycarl4 Follow

The great replacement is real.

And they're going to try to make you pay for it.

Hundreds of Millions to Families Separated at Border

Government is considering payments of \$450,000 per person affected by Trump administration's zero-tolerance policy in 2018



8:36 PM · 28 Oct 2021 from Montana, USA

Jeremy Carl @jeremycarl4

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NOVA Campaigns @NoVA_Campaigns · May 5

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It's a **100%** lineup of leftists who were already biased vs the defendants

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1:21 PM · May 7, 2023 from Montana, USA · **24.8K** Views

Jeremy Carl @jeremycarl4 Seuraa

I'm sure #GeorgeFloyd is looking up from hell right now and he is so proud of America.

❤️❤️❤️❤️❤️❤️❤️

14.26 - 20. huhtik. 2021

Jeremy Carl @jeremycarl4 Seuraa

I'm sorry, from the first moment, the #GeorgeFloyd case has been pure 🤡 world

He was a violent felon, drug addict, and thug, who resisted lawful arrest and, like many of that description, met an unfortunate end.

7.17 - 20. huhtik. 2021

Jeremy Carl @jeremycarl4 · 21 s
Only in a 🤡 world would America care about this case, would the Minneapolis mayor weep at Floyd's vulgar gold casket and would this be a national news story.

Jeremy Carl @jeremycarl4 · 21 s
Only in a 🤡 world would America be on "pins and needles", accepting that rioting would be not only likely, but even a possible reaction to this case.

Jeremy Carl @jeremycarl4 · 21 s
Only in a 🤡 world would politicians of the ruling party valorize Floyd or pretend that his death was the result of "systemic racism" or some similar absurdity when all empirical evidence shows that interracial violence goes overwhelmingly in the other direction.

Jeremy Carl @jeremycarl4 · 21 s
Only in a 🤡 world would be talking about George Floyd at all.

A nation that treats the claims of George Floyd's partisans as serious arguments is a nation that is dying

A nation that accepts violence following this verdict is a nation whose funeral bell has already been rung.

 **Jeremy Carl**
@jeremycarl4 Folgen

[nytimes.com/2021/01/08/us/ ...](https://nytimes.com/2021/01/08/us/)

Donald Trump addressed a political rally and said "I know that everyone here will soon be marching over to the Capitol building to peacefully and patriotically make your voices heard."

Pelosi attempted a military coup and must be prosecuted.

11:36 - 10. Jan. 2021

 **Jeremy Carl**
@jeremycarl4 Follow

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We either win or die.

Cori Bush @CoriBush
On this Juneteenth, remember that millions of incarcerated Black people are still in bondage and that the 13th Amendment still permits slavery.
Our work is Black liberation in its totality.

8:29 PM - 19 Jun 2021

 **Jeremy "BlueAnon is Real" Carl**
@jeremycarl4 Follow

More overt Democrat racism snuck into the "COVID Relief" bill.

Anyone who supported this monstrosity is evil.

6:18 am - 9 Mar 2021

 **Jeremy Carl**
@jeremycarl4

If the U.S. were a serious nation, Weingarten would be tried for crimes against America's children and would get the death penalty.

Randi Weingarten @rweingarten · Apr 28
Covid scared the nation, but we tried to do everything we could to reopen schools safely. It would have helped if Trump/DeVos helped instead of hectoring. Now we must do everything we can to help kids learn & overcome the effects of the pandemic.
nytimes.com/2023/04/28/mag...
[Show this thread](#)

6:41 PM - Apr 28, 2023 - 3,258 Views

 **Jeremy Carl**
@jeremycarl4 Follow

It's time to [#impeachandimprison @JoeBiden](#).

1:40 PM - 9 Sep 2021

