

## NOMINATIONS

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**TUESDAY, JULY 15, 2025**

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

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:02 a.m., in room SD-419, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. James E. Risch presiding.

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

Also present: Senator Graham.

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

This morning we have a robust calendar, and we want to welcome all our guests here. I will remind everyone for those of you who have not been here before, we love having you.

This is an official meeting, though, of the U.S. Congress. We have a zero tolerance policy on interruptions or attempts to communicate with either members of the committee or with people testifying before the committee.

We have, unfortunately, had some people who do not follow that too well. I will have them arrested, removed, and they will be banned for a year from the committee. We have some people suffering under that right now.

In any event, we welcome you all and welcome your watching of the proceedings.

So with that, we have nominations today for Michael Waltz to be the United States Ambassador to the United Nations and also to represent the United States at the U.N. General Assembly and Security Council, Christine Toretti to be U.S. Ambassador to Sweden, and John Arrigo to be U.S. Ambassador to Portugal.

We have a few members of the committee as well as a guest here with us to introduce our nominees and so I am going to start with Senator Graham.

I know you always have a full dance schedule and have other things to do so I would recognize you and welcome to the committee, Senator.

Welcome back to the committee.

**STATEMENT OF HON. LINDSEY GRAHAM,  
U.S. SENATOR FROM SOUTH CAROLINA**

Senator GRAHAM. Thank you very much. You all have a lot going on here.

So anyway, thank you, Mr. Chairman.

So I am proud to introduce to you John Arrigo. I have known John for quite a while. He wants to be Ambassador to Portugal, and the people in Portugal would be lucky to have him because there is no closer friend to Donald Trump than John Arrigo, and if you are a country you want somebody as the Ambassador of the United States that has a line to President Trump or any other President, and he certainly does.

He was born in Chicago. He attended Palm Beach State College where he graduated in 1994. He was the grandson of an Italian immigrant who arrived in the United States at age 16 with \$6 in his pocket. I do not know adjusted with inflation what that would be today, but not much.

[Laughter.]

Senator GRAHAM. So from \$6 to being one of the leading automotive dealers in the country is quite a journey, and he is a generous man. He helps so many people. He has literally lived the American dream.

If you had to look up the American dream you would find him and his family's story one of the most successful Chrysler, Dodge, Jeep, and Ram dealership networks in the country. He has been living in Florida running his business for the last 46 years.

And again, he is a very generous man. Close to the President. His wife is here, Megan, Alyssa, Amanda and Angela—did I get that right? Are his beautiful daughters, with his son-in-law Nathaniel.

His wife's family is connected to Portugal. That is how he has chosen to serve there. He has a very deep love for the country. Spends a lot of time there, and he wants to deepen ties between us and Portugal, which is a NATO member and in a very strategic part of the world.

His brother and he are big supporters of Clemson Tigers, which goes a long way where I live, and I have come to enjoy my time with John. He is a very good golfer. If you go to Portugal, if he gets confirmed, I am sure he can set you up with a tee time.

But the main thing to me is—the reason I wanted to do this, I got to know him over the many years now, quite frankly, playing golf with the President and talking about business in the world, and he wants to serve.

A man that came to this country with 16 bucks in his pocket has done extraordinarily well. He wants to give back, and I think this is a great way for the Arrigo family to give back to America.

So I recommend his nomination, and thank you, Mr. Chairman, for having me.

Senator RISCH. Senator Graham [off mic] please. I noticed from—

Senator GRAHAM. And short most of—

Senator RISCH. From the beginning of your speech to the end of your speech Mr. Arrigo increased his pocket change from 6 to 16. I do not know if—

[Laughter.]

Senator RISCH. That is good.

All right. Thank you, Senator Graham. I know you got other things to do.

So we are going to turn to Senator Lee.  
I understand you have an introduction.

**STATEMENT OF HON. MIKE LEE,  
U.S. SENATOR FROM UTAH**

Senator LEE. Yes. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.  
It is an honor and a pleasure to introduce my friend, the next Ambassador from the United States to the United Nations, Mike Waltz.

Many of us here today are familiar with Mike Waltz's background, but his qualifications are such that I think they make him one of the most well qualified U.S. Ambassador nominees to the United Nations ever, and so this really bears repeating here.

Mr. Waltz is a retired Army colonel. He is a Green Beret, a combat veteran. He is the recipient of four Bronze Stars across his military career spanning three decades.

He was also a policy director for two Secretaries of Defense and a three term Congressman from Florida's Sixth Congressional District where he served on the Committees on Foreign Affairs, intelligence, and Armed Services chairing the Subcommittee on Readiness. And it was in that capacity where I started getting to know him better a few years ago as he and I were working together on an effort to bring back a U.S. Navy officer who had been imprisoned in a foreign country.

We eventually got that done in part—in large measure because of Mike Waltz's great work. Beyond those committee assignments Waltz served on the China Task Force that produced over 400 recommendations for managing that delicate relationship between the United States and China.

Waltz also helped to unleash the President's "America First" peace through strength foreign policy agenda that included a truce in the Middle East and delicate negotiations pertaining to the on-going conflict in Ukraine.

He is a seasoned policy mind, a skilled negotiator with a track record of diligently pursuing American interests unapologetically and with the appropriate amount of caution and attention to detail that those things deserve.

That is exactly the type of policy leadership that is badly needed at the United Nations at this moment in history.

The U.S. right now, frankly, has some legitimate concerns about the U.N., and to be perfectly frank, the U.N. is in many respects a disaster and a detriment to U.S. interests where the U.S. is shouldering the financial burden of an international body only to be on the losing side of so many votes and so many policy decisions that are made at the U.N., and this cannot continue.

The President is absolutely correct in his decision to pause our contributions, to review U.S. participation within the bloated system, and to trust Mike Waltz with righting the ship from the inside.

With Waltz at the helm the U.N. will have what I regard as what could and should be its last chance to demonstrate its actual value to the United States.

Instead of progressive political virtue signaling the Security Council has the chance to prove its value in settling disputes and brokering deals.

We can overhaul bloated and unaccountable peacekeeping missions where we can work to counter Chinese influence in standard setting bodies, and we can end U.N. sponsorship of terrorism and anti-Semitism, standing by our allies including Israel.

Above all the U.S. must ensure that every foreign aid dollar and every contribution to an international organization, particularly the United Nations, draws a straight and direct line to a compelling U.S. national interest, one that puts America first, not last.

I have every confidence that Mike Waltz is exactly the right person who will faithfully apply this standard to the U.N. Byzantine labyrinth and carefully scrutinize our position in the financing of U.N. bodies, particularly those that have proven averse to our interests.

Waltz is tested, he is capable, and he is ready, willing, and able to tackle this daunting challenge at the United Nations. We need him at the U.N. We need him there now, and I think he is the perfect man for this very position.

I look forward to his swift confirmation. He has my unqualified and wholehearted support.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator RISCH. Thank you, Senator Lee, for those wise comments.

Senator Scott, for the good of the order.

**STATEMENT OF HON. RICK SCOTT,  
U.S. SENATOR FROM FLORIDA**

Senator SCOTT OF FLORIDA. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

It is an honor to introduce my friend, President Trump's pick for U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, Mike Waltz.

I want to recognize his family. I thank you guys for being here. You must be very proud of what Mike has accomplished, and I am glad you are here to support him.

I have had the privilege of knowing and working with Mike for many years. We were both—he was elected to the House, and I was elected to the Senate the same year, and it was great to work alongside him with a lot of issues that Florida families dealt with.

He was always a tireless advocate for freedom and democracy, and he understands the dangers that come from appeasing dictators. We work to ensure the likes of Nicolas Maduro and Putin could not benefit from hardworking Americans' taxpayer dollars.

I know that as Ambassador to the United Nations he will bring that same commitment and love of liberty to represent the United States and advocating for the very "America First" principles the American people elected Donald Trump to champion.

He is a patriot. From his time in uniform on the battlefield as a Green Beret to his time defending American ideals in Congress he has proven his love, his dedication, and his willingness to sacrifice for our country.

He has shown a willingness to make hard decisions, support his colleagues, and do what is right. He is a man of integrity, grit, and principle. He will exceed expectations in this role.

As Senator Lee has said, we have got a lot of issues with the United Nations, and I know Mike Waltz would do the right thing.

So he has my support. Together with President Trump and Secretary Rubio, I am confident that he is going to do an outstanding job representing America's interests at the United Nations. I urge my colleagues to advance his nomination quickly.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Good luck.

Senator RISCH. Thank you very much, Senator. I appreciate those remarks.

Now Senator McCormick is going to introduce Christine Toretti. However, he is traveling with the President in his home State, and has asked me to read the introduction. I am honored to do that.

And so on behalf of Senator McCormick, quote, "Committee colleagues, I am sorry I cannot be with you in person for today as I welcome President Trump to Pittsburgh, but I am grateful to the Chairman for allowing a statement of appreciation and support for my friend Christine Toretti, the nominee to be Ambassador of the United States to the Kingdom of Sweden.

"A pioneer in many walks of life, I first met Christine when my father was the chancellor of the Pennsylvania State System of Higher Education and she was a trustee, and she has been a dear friend ever since.

"As a business woman she is the former chairman and CEO of the SW Jack Drilling Company, the largest privately held land based drilling company in the United States.

"She serves as vice chairman of S&T Bank Board and is a former director of the Pittsburgh Federal Reserve Bank. As a passionate philanthropist, Christine has served on many nonprofit boards including the International Medical Corps, the Andy Warhol Museum, the Gettysburg Foundation, and has dedicated energy to training programs designed to educate, empower, and advance women.

"Christine is also an extraordinary force in politics, supporting candidates and party organizations at the local, State, and national levels. She serves as the National Committeewoman of Pennsylvania to the Republican National Committee and was previously the co-chair of the RNC Finance Committee.

"She was one of the people I consulted first and relied on the most when I ran for the Senate.

"Finally, and most importantly, she is the mother to three sons—Joe, Max and Matthew—who are the prime motivators for her drive to serve and provide a better future for America.

"Her astute business acumen, selflessness, and political leadership make her an ideal nominee to lead in this important post, and I am certain she will honorably represent President Trump and the United States as our next Ambassador in Stockholm.

"I encourage my colleagues to vote to confirm the extraordinary Pennsylvanian and American."

Very good remarks.

Christine, welcome. Glad to have you here.

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

Well, we are going to proceed now, and so that everyone knows where we are going here I am going to give an opening statement. I am going to then yield to Senator Shaheen who will do likewise, and after that we will hear 5 minute presentations.

Hopefully, you will keep it to 5 minutes or thereabouts. Of our nominees, if you want to go beyond 5 we have got a lot of room in the record to publish your remarks so feel free in that regard.

After that we will open it to a round of 5 minute questions, and with that I am going to proceed.

So thank you again to our witnesses and your families for being here with us today and for your willingness and your families' willingness to help you serve this country at such a pivotal time.

Mr. Waltz, you come to us with a breadth of experience in Congress, our nation's military, and the executive branch, which has been detailed already here this morning.

This experience will serve you well as you take the lead at one of our most critical diplomatic positions as Ambassador to the United Nations. The U.N. is always a challenge and desperately needs reform, which we have been unable to accomplish so far.

Your pragmatism and patriotism is sorely needed in New York because, as you know, there is a lot of anti-American sentiment at the U.N.

Anti-Semitism and anti-American sentiments are on the rise as is the influence of China and Russia. You will be integral to U.S. efforts to stand up to the authoritarian and communist axes that seek to undermine the United States and our allies and to ensure that our partners at the U.N. take burden sharing seriously.

The United States has been the largest and most generous donor to the United Nations since it was created 80 years ago. Today, the United States still pays 22 percent of the U.N.'s regular budget and 25 percent of the peacekeeping budget, even though we are one of 200 countries on the planet.

America has been extremely generous but taken for granted, obviously. The U.S. cannot continue to accept the current inequitable financial arrangements where America pays a disproportionate amount while others benefit from contributing to their fair share to peacekeeping operations, humanitarian aid, and good governance, and many times denigrate us.

We must also eliminate the waste, fraud, and abuse that are endemic to the U.N. system. From inflated procurement contracts and duplicative programs to the misappropriation of humanitarian funds and employment of personnel sanctioned regimes.

It is important that we get back to doing what the U.N. was chartered to do, and it has what everybody knows as mission creep, and it happens every year.

The time has come to demand radical transparency and genuine reform that ensures every American dollar serves its intended purpose of making America stronger, safer, and more prosperous, and to return the U.N. to its core and founding mandate of maintaining international peace and security.

Mr. Waltz, I trust that you will work with President Trump to right the many wrongs that exist today at the United Nations.

Ms. Toretti, the U.S.-Swedish relationship has been built on years of strong diplomatic engagement and security cooperation.

Sweden's entry into NATO, something I worked hard on getting done, brought its highly capable armed forces and defense industrial base into the alliance and has made us stronger and safer.

Sweden has always recognized its responsibility for its own defense, and now it is deepening its commitment to our shared security by committing to NATO's new pledge to spend 5 percent of its GDP on defense.

It is important that we help further deepen that integration into our alliance alongside with our partners in Europe. This is a critical time as China and Russia are making designs on the Arctic and contesting areas of shared U.S.-Swedish interest.

And as you know, Sweden is on the front line of dangerous developments in the Baltic Sea, from the sabotage of critical infrastructure to the reckless behavior of Russia's shadow oil fleet and increasingly provocative Russian military activity, and they sail merrily along.

I look forward to hearing how you will help Sweden defend against these threats and advance all aspects of our relationship.

Mr. Arrigo, Portugal is an important ally of the United States, and there are many opportunities for us to deepen cooperation.

Portugal has made commitments to increase spending in support of NATO's defense, and the U.S. must remain committed to ensuring it reaches their goal. The U.S. must also work with Portugal to address the critical risks it faces from heavy Chinese investment.

China is working with our adversaries to undermine America and our allies, most recently by its open commitment to support Russia's war against Ukraine.

European allies like Portugal must recognize the threats posed by China and address them accordingly. I hope you will carry that message with you when you go to Portugal.

With that, Senator Shaheen.

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

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Welcome to each of our nominees this morning, to your families and friends who are supporting you in this effort. Thank you for your willingness to serve, and in your case, Congressman Waltz, to continue to serve the country.

Yesterday the Senate Foreign Relations Committee minority released this report on China's growing influence at the expense of the United States. This report makes clear that this competition is one of our central geostrategic challenges.

This is a competition that is deeply connected to our economy and to our lives here at home.

Whether combating unfair trade practices and IP theft or stopping the flow of fentanyl into our communities or protecting Americans from spying and cyber attacks or helping U.S. companies stay ahead in developing batteries, electric vehicles, and AI, the stakes are very high.

The threat to our prosperity and security is real, but unfortunately, instead of strength and focus we have seen this Administration pull back on a global scale. As the Administration fires thousands of highly specialized, nonpartisan experts and cuts America's diplomatic budget by 84 percent China leads the world in diplomatic missions and is increasing its budget, and the situation at the United Nations is especially alarming.

President Trump has said that the U.N. must return to its core mission of peace and security, but the Administration is also proposing to slash U.S. contributions to the U.N. and eliminate the entire U.N. peacekeeping budget, increasing the likelihood that American soldiers will be sent into combat zones and making China the largest U.N. peacekeeping and financial contributor.

The Chinese Communist Party must be very pleased at our efforts. They continue making long term investments at the United Nations and international organizations not only through contributions but by placing more Chinese nationals in key roles.

Mr. Waltz, I urge you to take this threat seriously. I know you do because you have served on the China Commission, but if we walk away from international bodies like the U.N. the result will not be reforms that advance American interests.

The result will be that international bodies become increasingly dependent on China. Whether it involves technology and AI standards or global health or trade deals or documenting human rights abuses in Ukraine, China will be writing the rules.

I do not think most Americans want to live in a world where the Chinese Communist Party is driving the agenda. There remains broad bipartisan agreement that American leadership on the global stage is essential, particularly as China's expanding footprint threatens our safety and prosperity.

That is why Americans need a voice not only at the U.N. Security Council but at the International Civil Aviation Organization, which ensures air spaces remain safe; at the World Food Programme, which prevents famines and responds to crises; the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons, which works to eliminate these dangerous weapons; and the International Atomic Energy Agency, which helps reduce the threat of nuclear war.

Put simply, we cannot shape these organizations or even push for the reforms that we want unless we are at the table.

Mr. Waltz, if confirmed I hope you will work with this committee to preserve America's ability to lead, to compete, and to shape the future on America's own terms.

Mr. Arrigo and Ms. Toretti, because the U.N. Ambassador post has traditionally held Cabinet level status, my remarks have focused on that role. But I also look forward to hearing from each of you how you would advance America's interests in Europe through the posts in Portugal and Sweden.

Thank you all.

Senator RISCH. Thank you, Senator Shaheen.

We will now hear from the nominees, and we will start with Mr. Arrigo.

**STATEMENT OF JOHN ARRIGO, OF FLORIDA, NOMINATED TO  
BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY  
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE PORTUGUESE  
REPUBLIC**

Mr. ARRIGO. Chairman Risch, Ranking Member Shaheen, and members of the committee, thank you for the opportunity to appear before you today as President Trump's nominee to be the United States Ambassador to the Portuguese Republic.

I am enormously grateful and honored by the confidence President Trump and Secretary Rubio have placed in me.

I am blessed to have a wonderful and supportive family—my wife, Megan, my daughters Alyssa, Angela, Amanda, my brother Jim, my sister Virginia, my nephew Freddie, and my good friend Pat who just flew in this morning.

Thank you, Senator Graham, for your gracious introduction.

If confirmed, I pledge to serve my country honorably, to advance our core national interests, and to always put America first.

I have been a successful entrepreneur and business leader for over 30 years. During this time my experiences have given me deep expertise in managing teams, negotiating complex issues, and most of all, building relationships.

I am confident that my professional experience and business acumen delivered over three decades will enable me to represent and advance U.S. interests effectively and carry out the mission President Trump has entrusted to me.

I am privileged to have this opportunity today in large part due to my family and particularly my beloved parents, Joseph and Frances Arrigo.

My father was a visionary leader behind our family business, the Arrigo Automotive Group, which he established with my brother Jim, and that eventually became one of the top auto groups in the country.

As a family business, we build our brand focused on our employees, our customer relationships, and not just the transaction, which are traits I will carry forward into this next chapter.

My desire to serve as ambassador and advance our core national interests are born under the recognition of how my family and I have been blessed by the privilege of being citizens of this great nation, and now I have the opportunity to give back to my country.

If confirmed, I will use all the expertise I have developed to cultivate our relationship with Portugal and to make our nation stronger, safer, and more prosperous.

Portugal is a founding member of NATO and the second country to recognize American independence. Nearly 1.5 million Portuguese Americans live in the United States, helping to generate a strong and vocal pro-American sentiment in Portugal and fostering close bonds of friendship.

I have had the honor of visiting the Azores Islands for a wedding just a few years ago. I was particularly struck by the breathtaking natural beauty, the rich and diverse culinary traditions, and the warm hospitality of the Portuguese people. I was fascinated by the religious, cultural, and family values that resonate deep within my own Italian heritage.

The U.S. has turned to Portugal for political and material support and many peacekeeping and peacemaking efforts throughout the years, and they have always been an enthusiastic supporter of U.S. and NATO operations around the world.

Portugal's hosting of the U.S. Air Force 65th Air Base Group in Lajes Field in the Azores provide a key logistics hub in the mid-Atlantic while providing critical support for aircraft, air crews, as well as communication services to U.S. and NATO allies.

If confirmed, I promise to enhance this close historic relationship in several key areas. My first objective as ambassador will always be the safety and security of American citizens abroad.

Tens of thousands of Americans call Portugal home, and 2.6 million of Americans visited Portugal just last year, making the United States the third largest source of tourism in Portugal.

Second, I will strengthen Portugal's contributions to NATO to ensure we can achieve peace in the region through strength. Although a trusted ally, Portugal still lags behind most NATO countries by only 2 percent reaching this year.

As ambassador I will work with Portugal to help increase defense spending with the Hague defense commitment of 5 percent and ensure Portugal does its fair share and contributes to more of Europe's security.

Finally, I will advocate for expanding our commercial ties with Portugal and addressing the national security challenges posed by rivals like China.

As the United States is Portugal's largest trading partner outside the EU there is a significant potential to grow this economic relationship.

I will also work closely with Portugal to address concerns about China, its investment, and influence in critical sectors, and to ensure our protection of our mutual economic and national security interests.

If confirmed, I will also work to balance our trade relations with eliminating the trade deficit of over \$3.5 billion with Portugal by seeking more export opportunities for American businesses, emphasizing the fact that America is open for business.

Mr. Chairman, distinguished members of the committee, thank you for the opportunity to testify here today. I look forward to answering your questions, and if confirmed, working closely with all of you to strengthen our relationship with Portugal and advance our core national interests.

Thank you.

## 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: John J. Apriola  
Date: 7/15/25

[The prepared statement of Mr. Arrigo follows:]

**Prepared Statement of John Arrigo**

Chairman Risch, Ranking Member Shaheen, and Members of the Committee, thank you for the opportunity to appear before you today as President Trump's nominee to be the U.S. Ambassador to the Portuguese Republic. I am enormously grateful and honored by the confidence President Trump and Secretary Rubio have placed in me. I am blessed to have a wonderful and supportive family, my wife Megan, my daughters Alyssa, Angela and Amanda, my brother Jim, my sister Virginia, and my nephew Freddy, are all here with me today.

Thank you, Senator Graham, for the gracious introduction.

If confirmed, I pledge to serve my country honorably, to advance our core national interests, and to always place America First.

I have been a successful entrepreneur and business leader for over 30 years. During this time, my experiences have given me deep expertise in managing teams, negotiating complex issues, and building relationships. I am confident that my professional experience and business acumen developed over three decades will enable me to represent and advance U.S. interests effectively and to carry out the mission President Trump has entrusted to me.

I am privileged to have this opportunity today in large part due to my family, and in particular my beloved parents, Joseph and Frances Arrigo. My father was a visionary leader behind our family's business, the Arrigo Automotive Group, which he established with my brother Jim and that eventually became one of the top auto groups in the country. As a family business, we built our brand focused on our employees and our customer relationships and not just the transaction. Which are traits I will carry forward in this next chapter.

My desire to serve as Ambassador and advance our core national interests is borne out of the recognition of how my family and I have been blessed by the privilege of being citizens of this great nation and now I have an opportunity to give back and serve our country. If confirmed, I will use all the experience I have developed to cultivate our relationship with Portugal to make our nation stronger, safer and more prosperous.

Portugal is a founding member of NATO, and the second country to recognize American independence. Nearly 1.5 million Portuguese Americans live in the United States, helping to generate strong and vocal pro-American sentiment in Portugal and fostering close bonds of friendship.

I had the honor of visiting the Azore Islands for a wedding a few years ago. I was particularly struck by the breathtaking natural beauty, the rich and diverse culinary traditions, and the warm hospitality of the Portuguese people. I was fascinated by the religious, cultural, and family values that resonated deeply with my own Italian heritage.

The U.S. has turned to Portugal for political and material support in many peacekeeping and peacemaking efforts throughout the years, and they have always been an enthusiastic supporter of U.S. and NATO operations around the world. Portugal's hosting of the U.S. Air Force's 65th Air Base Group at Lajes Field in the Azores provides a key logistics hub in the mid-Atlantic, while providing mission critical support for aircraft and aircrews as well as communication services to U.S. and NATO Allies. If confirmed, I promise to enhance this close and historic relationship in several key areas:

My first objective as Ambassador will always be the safety and security of American citizens abroad. Tens of thousands of Americans call Portugal home, and 2.6 million Americans visited Portugal last year, making the United States the third-largest source of tourism to Portugal.

Second, I will strengthen Portugal's contributions to NATO to ensure we can achieve peace in the region through strength. Although a trusted Ally, Portugal still lags behind most NATO countries, only reaching 2 percent this year. As Ambassador, I will work with Portugal to help increase defense spending in line with the Hague Defense Commitment of 5 percent and ensure Portugal does its fair share and contributes more to Europe's security.

Finally, I will advocate for expanding our commercial ties with Portugal and addressing national security challenges posed by rivals like China. As the United States is Portugal's largest trading partner outside the EU, there is significant potential to grow this economic relationship. I will also work closely with Portugal to address concerns about China's investment and influence in critical sectors to ensure the protection of our mutual economic and national security interests.

If confirmed, I will also work to balance our trade relationship by eliminating our trade deficit of over \$3.5B with Portugal by seeking more export opportunities for American businesses emphasizing the fact that America is open for business.

Mr. Chairman and distinguished Members of the committee, thank you for the opportunity to testify today. I look forward to answering your questions and, if confirmed, working closely with all of you to strengthen our relationship with Portugal and advance our core national interests.

Senator RISCH. Thank you.  
 [Off mic.]

**STATEMENT OF HON. MICHAEL G. WALTZ, OF FLORIDA, NOMINATED TO BE THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE UNITED NATIONS, WITH THE RANK AND STATUS OF AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY, AND THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IN THE SESSIONS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS DURING HIS TENURE OF SERVICE AS REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE UNITED NATIONS**

Representative WALTZ. Thank you, Chairman Risch, Ranking Member Shaheen.

It is my honor to be here as President Trump's nominee for the United Nations.

First, I also want to thank my family, especially my wife Julia, herself a fellow combat veteran and accomplished diplomat, and if confirmed you will definitely get double the bang for the taxpayer's buck.

[Laughter.]

Representative WALTZ. I have my mother Brenda here who has always been my rock and who bootstrapped her way through life; my daughter Anderson, a rising senior at UC Boulder; and I have spared the Capitol Police our 3 year old son Armie and his energy. I think they may have a hard time keeping up with him.

But I also want to especially thank my fellow Green Berets, SEALs, veterans, and particularly the Gold Star families that are here today. We have had each other's backs through wars shaped by decisions made in this building.

I promise to keep them and to keep all of you in mind as we support President Trump's focus on peace through strength.

So our experiences obviously shape how we approach these positions, and for this one my experience as a Green Beret serving alongside NGOs, development agencies, the U.N., out in the field in Africa and the Middle East has certainly shaped my view.

I have seen many organizations that, frankly, mean well but execute poorly—lack of coordination, bloated bureaucracies, poor contracting.

I have literally seen over and over again hospitals that lack beds, schools that lack supplies, schools with supplies they lack teachers, and by the time the aid filters through layers of subcontractors only pennies reach those in need.

As a former Congressman I bring the perspective of representing hardworking Americans—welders, nurses, teachers, small business owners—and if we were at a town hall looking at them could we

answer their questions of whether their money was being well spent?

Many of them, frankly, in my former district would ask should we be in the U.N. at all.

Here is how I would answer the question. I would answer, number one, with the U.N.'s need for reform but also its potential. We should have one place in the world where everyone can talk—where China, Russia, Europe, the developing world, can come together and resolve conflicts.

But after 80 years it has drifted from its core mission of peace-making. We must return to the U.N.'s Charter and first principles. Peacekeeping certainly has an important role but also needs reform.

The U.S. funds 25 percent of these efforts, yet we have missions in Africa—I have talked to a number of you about this during our visits—they cost billions, tens of thousands of soldiers. We have had two that have been around since the 1940s with no mandate renewal and no end in sight.

We must press the Security Council on length, cost, clear end states, and focusing on peacekeeping, not nation building.

Countering China, absolutely, Senator Shaheen, is critical. It is absurd that the world's second largest economy is treated as a developing nation in most U.N. agencies that gives China favorable status.

China pursues its personnel and—or pushes its personnel into roles at all levels including bodies that set international standards—aviation, telecommunications, IP.

U.S. leadership is essential there. America must have a strong voice, and if confirmed I will work with Secretary Rubio to challenge this influence.

We must also challenge pervasive anti-Semitism. From 2015 to 2023 the General Assembly passed 154 resolutions against Israel versus 71 against all other nations combined.

UNRWA in Gaza with its staff involved in the October 7 massacre, its schools teaching anti-Semitic hate, must be dismantled. The reappointment of Special Rapporteur Francesca Albanese with her calls to boycott American companies doing business with Israel highlights this bias.

President Trump's executive order, Chairman Risch, your Stand With Israel Act, require withholding funds from such bodies, and I fully support Representative Elise Stefanik's proposal for an Abraham Accords caucus within the U.N.

Regarding budget, the U.N.'s overall revenue has quadrupled in the last 20 years. Yet, I would argue we have not seen a quadrupling of world peace.

It has not been commensurate. The U.S. pays more than 183 countries combined. Meanwhile, 28 countries contribute just \$37,000 and \$5,000 to peacekeeping.

The U.N. has ballooned to over 80 agencies with overlapping missions that waste resources, and if confirmed I will push for transparency, like what we are seeing in the Secretary General's U.N. 80 reform plan calling for a 20 percent staff cut.

It is worth remembering that despite the cuts the U.S. is by far the most generous nation in the world.

And finally, the U.N.'s radical politicization, such reports as, quote, "stolen Native American land," reports and investigations, quote, "called the George Floyd mechanism," labeling American police in America systemically racist with input from countries like Cuba and Venezuela, it is unacceptable.

Mr. Chairman, Ronald Reagan once said the U.N. can, quote, "solve problems or spread discord." He said, "The choice is ours."

In just 6 months President Trump has brought dozens of hostages home, justice for our Abbey Gate Gold Star families, secured the border, denied Iran a nuclear weapon, brought ceasefires to conflicts in Africa, the Middle East, and Asia.

Yet, there is still tremendous work to be done. I am confident under this President's leadership we can continue to spread peace and prosperity, and I am confident we can make the U.N. great again.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

## 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: MICHAEL LIPSETZ  
Date: Michael Lipsetz

[The prepared statement of Representative Waltz follows:]

**Prepared Statement of Michael G. Waltz**

Thank you, Chairman Risch and Ranking Member Shaheen. It's an honor to be here as President Trump's nominee. First, I want to thank my family. My wife, Julia, a fellow combat veteran and herself an accomplished diplomat, comes from a Jordanian Catholic immigrant family that arrived through Ellis Island and embodies the American dream. My mother, Brenda, my rock, who bootstrapped her way through life, my daughter Anderson, a rising senior at UC Boulder, and our 3-year-old son Armie—who joins us today in spirit, might challenge the Capitol Police with his energy.

I also want to thank my fellow Green Berets, SEALs, veterans, and Gold Star families here today. We've had each other's backs through wars shaped by decisions made in this building. Their families bear the heaviest burden, and I promise to keep you in mind as we support President Trump's focus on peace through strength.

My experience as a Green Beret, serving alongside NGOs and development agencies in Africa and the Middle East, shapes my view of this position. I've seen many organizations mean well and execute poorly due to lack of coordination, bloated bureaucracy, and poor contracting. I've seen over and over again—hospitals lack beds, schools lack supplies or teachers—and by the time aid filters through layers of sub-contractors, only pennies reach those in need.

As a former Congressman, I bring the perspective of representing hardworking Americans—welders, nurses, teachers, small business owners. If we were in a town hall, could we answer their questions on whether their dollars are well spent? And should we be in the U.N. at all?

I'd answer their questions with the need for the UN's reform but also with its potential. We should have one place in the world where everyone can talk—China, Russia, Europe, the developing world can resolve conflicts. But after 80 years, it's drifted from its core mission of peacemaking. We must return to the U.N. Charter's first principles of preventing and resolving disputes.

Second, U.N. bodies set international standards—aviation, telecommunications, intellectual property—where U.S. leadership is essential and America should have a strong voice.

Third, peacekeeping has an important role but needs reform. The U.S. funds 25 percent of these efforts, yet we have missions in Africa at a cost of billions with tens of thousands of soldiers and others that have been in place since the 1940s with no end in sight. We must press the Security Council on length, cost, and clear end states, focusing on peacekeeping, not nation-building.

Countering China is critical. It's absurd that the world's second-largest economy is treated as a developing nation throughout U.N. agencies that gives China favorable status. China pushes its personnel into roles at all levels often advancing CCP interests over the UN's professed values. If confirmed, I'll work with Secretary Rubio to challenge this influence.

We must also challenge pervasive antisemitism. From 2015–2023, the General Assembly passed 154 resolutions against Israel versus 71 against all other nations combined. UNRWA in Gaza, with staff involved in the October 7th attack and schools teaching antisemitic hate, must be dismantled. The reappointment of Special Rapporteur Francesca Albanese with her calls to boycott American companies doing business with Israel, highlights this bias. President Trump's executive order and Chairman Risch's "Stand with Israel Act" require withholding funds from such bodies. I fully support Rep. Elise Stefanik's proposal for an Abraham Accords Caucus to further unite the Arab world and Israel within the U.N.

Regarding budget, the UN's revenue quadrupled from \$14.9 to \$67.6 billion in the last 20 years, yet the world is not commensurately more peaceful. The U.S. pays more than 183 countries combined. Meanwhile, 28 countries contribute just \$37,000. The U.N. has ballooned to over 80 agencies, with overlapping missions that waste resources. If confirmed, I'll push for transparency like what we see in the Secretary General's UN80 reform plan calling for a 20 percent staff cut. It's worth remembering that, even with cuts, the U.S. is by far the most generous nation in the world.

Finally, the UN's radical politicization—such as reports on "stolen Native American land" its "George Floyd Mechanism" labeling policing in America as "systemically racist" with input from despotic countries like Cuba and Venezuela—is unacceptable.

Ronald Reagan once said, "the U.N. can solve problems or spread discord; the choice is ours."

In just 6 months, President Trump has brought dozens of hostages home, justice for our Abbey Gate Gold Star families, secured the border, denied Iran a nuclear weapon, and brought ceasefire to conflicts in Africa, the Middle East and Asia. Yet there is still tremendous work to be done. I'm confident that under this President's leadership we will continue to spread peace and prosperity and I'm confident we can Make the U.N. Great Again.

I look forward to your questions.

Senator RISCH. Thank you, Mr. Waltz.  
Ms. Toretti.

**STATEMENT OF CHRISTINE TORETTI, OF PENNSYLVANIA,  
NOMINATED TO BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND  
PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO  
THE KINGDOM OF SWEDEN**

Ms. TORETTI. [Off mic.]

Should I start again?

Senator RISCH. We heard you. Go ahead.

Ms. TORETTI. I am pretty loud.

It is an honor to be here today as the nominee for Ambassador to the Kingdom of Sweden. I am deeply grateful to President Trump for the trust and honor he has placed to me with this nomination.

I am committed to serving the United States with dedication and integrity, and I look forward to working closely with the esteemed committee to advance our nation's interest in Sweden.

It is a humbling experience indeed to be nominated for a position such as this. Yet, I sit before you today prepared to share with you how my experiences in business, philanthropy, and public service have prepared me for this moment.

Before going further, however, perhaps my greatest accomplishments are what I consider to be my greatest gifts—my sons, Joe, Max, and Matthew. I am proud of the men they have grown up to be. The three of them are my pride and joy, and my concern for their future was the primary motivation which compelled me to political activism many years ago, and I am so glad to have my son Matthew here with me today.

My journey to sitting before you today began, arguably, in 1990 when I assumed leadership of our family business, the SW Jack Drilling Company, following the sudden passing of my father.

Despite what many thought of me as a young woman finding my way in a field dominated by men, I succeeded and continued to forge a career deep in leadership experience, business acumen, and volunteer service.

Today, I am the chairwoman of S&T Bank Board, a board I have been proud to serve since 1987. Less than 10 percent of publicly held companies are chaired by women, and my tenure as chair is going into its eighth year.

Throughout my adult life I have sought to bring my experience in business to support a wide range of nonprofit organizations, from supporting the creative arts as chairman of the Andy Warhol Museum to director of the NCAA Leadership Advisory Board to the vice chairman of the Pennsylvania State System of Higher Education.

For those of you who know me, you know I care deeply about creating opportunities for women in the workplace and in the community.

I am proud to have founded numerous programs that train and nurture women in the political arena. I have lived my adult life seeking to provide women opportunities to succeed, a passion which has been a defining characteristic of my adult life.

As a native of rural Pennsylvania serving my community has always remained at the forefront. I have spearheaded many economic development projects including the construction of an Urban Outfitters distribution center in my county and was the inspiration for the creation of an osteopathic school in the university located in my community.

If confirmed, my primary goals will be to make America safer, stronger, and more prosperous. Above all, I will prioritize the safety of American citizens traveling or living in Sweden, providing them with the support and protection they deserve.

I will strengthen our economic ties with Sweden and ensure that American business have the fair opportunities to thrive in the Swedish market.

I will cooperate with Sweden to tackle global challenges, drawing on our respective strengths to address multifaceted threats posed by China, Iran, and others.

Sweden's recent accession to the NATO alliance marked a significant milestone in European collective defense efforts.

Sweden brings a wealth of defense capabilities to the table including a robust defense industrial base that is renowned for its innovation and technological advancements.

The expertise in advancing military technologies and its experience operating in harsh environments will enhance our ability to respond to emerging threats.

If confirmed, I will work closely with our Swedish counterparts to ensure that our defense cooperation grows even stronger.

Economic priorities will also be at the forefront of my agenda, and if confirmed I will seek to close the trade deficit between our two nations and deliver President Trump's "America First" foreign policy.

By promoting American exports and encouraging Swedish investment in the United States I will encourage collaboration between America and Swedish businesses, researchers, and entrepreneurs, ensuring that both of our nations benefit from the advancements in cutting edge fields.

I also want to recognize the role Sweden played in America's growth. Today, over 3.3 million Americans trace their family roots to Sweden. Swedish Americans have made significant contributions to our cultural, economic and social fabric.

They have enriched our society and fostered a deep understanding and appreciation of Swedish culture. These bonds, along with ties forged through trade, travel, and defense, contribute to a unique, vibrant, and growing relationship.

In conclusion, I am honored to have the opportunity to serve as the United States Ambassador to Sweden. If confirmed, I am committed to advancing our nation's interests, strengthening our bilateral relationship, and serving the American people.

Thank you for your time and consideration, and I welcome 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?  
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Answer: Yes
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Answer: Yes

  
Printed Name: Christine J. Torello  
Date: 7/15/05

[The prepared statement of Ms. Toretti follows:]

**Prepared Statement of Christine Toretti**

Chairman Risch, Ranking Member Shaheen, and distinguished Members of this committee,

It is an honor to appear before you today as the nominee for the position of U.S. Ambassador to the Kingdom of Sweden. I am deeply grateful to President Trump for the trust and honor he has placed in me with this nomination. I am committed to serving the United States with dedication and integrity, and I look forward to working closely with this esteemed committee to advance our nation's interests in Sweden.

It is a humbling experience to be nominated for a position such as this. I am confident my experiences in business, philanthropy, and public service have prepared me for this moment.

Before going further however, perhaps my greatest accomplishments are what I consider to be my greatest gifts: my sons Joe, Max, and Matthew. I am proud of the men they have grown up to be. The three of them are my pride and joy, and my concern for their future motivated my political activism many years ago. I am so glad to have Matt here with me today.

My journey to sitting before you today began in 1990, when I assumed leadership of our family business—the S.W. Jack Drilling Company—following the passing of my father. Despite the many barriers I faced as a young woman finding my way in a male-dominated field, I succeeded and continued to forge a career deep in leadership experience, business acumen and volunteer service. Today I am the Chairwoman of the S&T Bank Board—a board I have been proud to serve on since 1987. Less than 10 percent of publicly held companies are chaired by women, while my tenure as chair is going into its seventh year.

Throughout my adult life I have sought to bring my experience in business to support a wide range of nonprofit organizations, from underpinning the creative arts to director of the NCAA to the Vice Chairman of the Pennsylvania State System of Higher Education.

For those of you who know me, you know I care deeply about creating opportunities for women in the workplace and the community. I am proud to have founded numerous programs that train and nurture women in the political arena. I have lived my adult life seeking to provide women opportunities to succeed—a passion which has been a defining characteristic of my adult life.

As a native of rural Pennsylvania, serving my community has always remained at the forefront. I have spearheaded many economic development projects, including the construction of an Urban Outfitters distribution center in my county, and was the inspiration for the creation of an osteopathic school in the university located there. If confirmed, I am eager to bring those experiences to bear as the U.S. Ambassador to Sweden.

If confirmed, my primary goals will be to make America safer, stronger, and more prosperous. Above all, I will prioritize the safety of American citizens living or traveling in Sweden, providing them with the support and protection they deserve. I will strengthen our economic ties with Sweden and ensure that American businesses have fair opportunities to thrive in the Swedish market. I will cooperate with Sweden to tackle global challenges, drawing on our respective strengths to address the multifaceted threats posed by China, Iran, and others.

Sweden's recent accession to the NATO Alliance marked a significant milestone in European collective defense efforts. Sweden brings a wealth of defense capabilities to the table, including a robust defense industrial base that is renowned for its innovation and technological advancements. The Swedish Armed Forces are highly capable and well-equipped, and its expertise in advanced military technologies and experience operating in harsh environments will enhance our ability to respond to emerging threats. If confirmed, I will work closely with our Swedish counterparts to ensure that our defense cooperation grows stronger.

Economic priorities will also be at the forefront of my agenda as Ambassador to Sweden, if confirmed. I will seek to close the trade deficit between our two nations and deliver on President Trump's America First foreign policy. By promoting American exports and encouraging Swedish investment in the United States, Sweden can create jobs and stimulate economic growth in the United States. I will encourage collaboration between American and Swedish businesses, researchers, and entrepreneurs, ensuring that both our nations benefit from the advancements in cutting-edge fields.

I also want to recognize the role Sweden played in America's growth. Today, over 3.3 million Americans trace their family roots to Sweden. Swedish Americans have

made significant contributions to our cultural, economic, and social fabric. They have enriched our society and fostered a deeper understanding and appreciation of Swedish culture. These bonds, along with ties forged through trade, travel, and defense, contribute to a unique, vibrant, and growing relationship.

In conclusion, I am honored to have the opportunity to serve as the United States Ambassador to Sweden. If confirmed, I am committed to advancing our nation's interests, strengthening our bilateral relationship, and serving the American people. Thank you for your time and consideration, and I welcome your questions.

Senator RISCH. Thank you very much. I appreciate that.

We will now do a round of 5 minute questions. I am going to start with myself.

Mr. Waltz, thank you for those remarks. Really impressive.

Clearly, you have a good handle on what you are facing up at the United Nations, undoubtedly as a result of your service in the House and head of NSC.

But I think you laid this thing out absolutely black and white. It is amazing to me that the American people get this a lot better than Members of Congress do, it seems like to me.

We have had some towns in Idaho that for many years had a sign outside that said Kiwanis meets at such and such a time, and this group meets at such and such a time—U.N. free zone, and they got it.

There is not a lot going on right now that is helpful to us. I met with—Secretary Guterres comes in all the time to check the box, I guess, and I go over with him, and he gets pretty disgusted with me when I say, what are you doing?

And he ticks off, oh, we are passing out food here. Yes, that is our money. What else are you doing? Well, we are keeping peace. Well, yes, that is our money.

And you go along and say, look, let us go back to the founding document that talks about keeping countries from trying to overrun other countries. What are you doing there?

You cannot even pass a resolution condemning what Russia has done. What good are you? We are spending all this money. What are we getting for it, you know, and then, of course, when you get things as atrocious as the fact that taxpayer money—there were people who went with Hamas—members of Hamas that invaded Israel and murdered people and took hostages that were on the payroll of UNRWA, which is on the payroll of the U.N. which is on the payroll of the United States taxpayers.

I mean, it is just outrageous. You have got a heavy lift there, and of course we all know what China is doing with their penetration.

Your thoughts?

Representative WALTZ. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I appreciate that. I share your concerns.

The President and Secretary Rubio share your concerns, and these are the concerns of our constituents—how are we going to be great stewards, the best stewards we possibly can be, of their money—their hard earned money. There are a number of reviews underway and that have been underway to take a good look at that and how do we get the U.N. back to basics.

There is good and meaningful work to be done, and I would be honored, if confirmed, to go represent the United States there.

We have the snapback sanctions with Iran that Germany just invoked as part of the JCPOA because of Iran's violations of its obligations under the nuclear proliferation treaty.

Of course, we have the bold opening that the President announced in his trip to the Middle East and led an opportunity in Syria that we have to watch very closely.

But we have a number of sanctions that we need to lift there in order to realize those opportunities that many in the region are looking forward to engaging on.

And I have to tell you, person after person, official after official, said can we get some leadership up there to roll those sanctions back that the President has now done under his executive order so that we can prevent Syria from devolving back into chaos.

Of course we have a number of peacekeeping missions that all too often these mandate renewals, which typically happen every year—I mentioned two that are just open ended that have never happened—those are opportunities to get better results, frankly, and to question those things that I laid out—how long, how much, what are we going to accomplish.

And then of course we have the General Assembly, the world leaders assembling this September. So, if confirmed, there is a lot of work to be done. I do think there is some goodness to be done, but it must come on the back of major reform.

And I have sat in many House hearings where we have talked about reform. We do not see it implemented. I think under this President's leadership and under the Secretary's leadership it is time to get to work.

Senator RISCH. Good thoughts.

I have—well, Mr. Arrigo, I will take a quick run at you.

You know, people in America seem to have a pretty good view of Portugal. We have had a good relationship with them. They appear to be a good friend.

They have got a couple of soft spots, obviously. Number one, China has got the deepest penetration of Portugal than any country in Europe, and the second thing is they cannot even get to the 2 percent let alone the 5 percent that we are demanding now.

You are going to have to get them there, and hopefully, bring them to their senses in dealing with China.

Your thoughts?

Mr. ARRIGO. Thank you very much for that very important question.

And you are exactly right, they have been—over decades they have been down at the bottom, 25 out of 30 to that—or lower in defense spending.

It would be my job to see if we could sit down and come to the table with a—the military modernization that they need so desperately. Their F-16 fleet is quite aging, and I think the F-35 program would be one of my top priorities.

I believe if we could sit down and come to an agreement there that would push them right to the top, and then over on their way to the 5 percent.

When it comes to China's involvement you are right. I have noticed as a private citizen—I have done some reading—where is it

right to have some of the largest companies in China be owning some of the energy companies in Portugal.

Is it right to have construction companies owning some of the largest—CCP companies owning some of the largest construction companies in Portugal?

That probably would need to be discussed. So, if confirmed, I would like to sit and discuss all the threats that we have between the energy sector, the construction, and the defense spending with Portugal to get them to do their fair share.

Senator RISCH. Thank you.

Senator Shaheen.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Waltz, these last few months have illustrated how China is all too eager to take advantage of our disengagement at the U.N. and around the world, and while we may not all like what some U.N. institutions do, if we are not at the table we cannot influence the agenda.

So do you agree that, if confirmed, a central responsibility of your role at the U.N. will be to ensure that the United States is present, able, and willing to counter the PRC's growing influence at the U.N.?

Representative WALTZ. Thank you, Senator Shaheen. I appreciate the question. I agree it is absolutely critical and if confirmed, yes, I agree.

I will take just a second to point out under the first Trump administration, under the 2018 National Security Strategy he really led the pivot which, I think, pivoted the entire national security apparatus in Washington, DC, away from the Middle East, away from counterterrorism, not as a zero sum but to focus on the near peer threat that China absolutely is.

And then just in this Administration Secretary Rubio's first trip was down to Panama to address what we have all heard hearing after hearing, the encroachment on the Panama Canal, a strategic waterway.

Panama is now the first Latin American country in decades to back away from the Belt and Road Initiative, the malicious behavior but also the potential of the Chinese Communist Party—the malicious behavior, the potential of the relationship, I should say, will be top of mind for me. I know it is for the Secretary and the President.

Senator SHAHEEN. You know, I agree with you, Congressman. That is why I find it so puzzling that there has been no coherent strategy for how to address China within this Administration. There is no consistent messaging.

If you look at where China is moving in where the United States has moved out, within days of our shutting down of USAID and foreign assistance programs China was already labeling the United States as an unreliable partner.

Within months China has moved in to so many of those foreign assistance programs that have been shut down that had been operating for years to provide a role for the United States and so much of the world, and we have packed up our bags and gone home, and China is there.

They are on the ground, and if you read the report you will see instance after instance that questions why what we are doing makes us stronger against China and allows us to compete.

So let me ask another question about the U.N. because this Administration has outlined a host of cuts to U.N. and its subagencies.

It makes no secret of its disdain for multilateral institutions. But I have not seen a plan from the Administration on how it intends to push back against the PRC's influence.

So can you describe how you think we should be doing that?

Representative WALTZ. Thank you, Senator Shaheen.

Just a few points to address there. Number one, I look forward to reading the report and to working with you, the committee, and the team on that.

I have to tell you, though, in my experience, even in the last 6 months but even more broadly, I have seen partners in the Middle East that were heading into the PRC's orbit make it very clear that they want to work with the United States, particularly since the election of President Trump.

I think the peace agreement between the DRC and Rwanda that we just saw in the Oval Office, China has had all kinds of activities across Africa, but they have also heavily polluted, bring in their own labor, often engage in certain types of corruption.

We have a race for national resources to power the economies of the future. I think that was an incredible moment, and from the President's perspective I feel confident in saying that he sees the power of our markets. He sees the power of our economy. He sees AI and energy and other things that we need to unleash in the future.

First and foremost, of course we have to have a strong and capable military, but truly where he is seeking to win this competition, and we will win it, is through those economic endeavors.

And I will also say, to answer your question more directly with the United Nations, we have actually seen leadership of major agencies by the PRC go down.

This was an initiative started in the first Trump administration. There is an office now in the State Department, International Organizations. It is very focused on these races. They have gone from four to one.

But I take your point they are also pushing their folks at the mid and lower levels, and we need to compete in that space.

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

Can I just in—I am a little over time, but I would like to hear your thoughts on what the U.N.'s role in Syria should be as we are looking at—I think the Trump administration has taken important steps to removing barriers around the sanctions that have been a problem for Syria moving forward.

So what should the U.N.'s role be there?

Representative WALTZ. Thank you, Senator.

It is something that Secretary Rubio in particular but the entire Administration has looked very closely at. I mean, since we had the fall of the Assad regime during the transition I actually think it was a bit of a good news bipartisan story on how everyone worked together to make what has been a bold step, and the President lift-

ing sanctions—so to answer your question directly, first and foremost, if confirmed is to work with our allies and partners.

We have literally years and layers of sanctions that were intended for the Assad regime, counter Iranian influence, and as the Saudis, the Emiratis, our Gulf Arab allies, the Turks in particular under the—now the leadership of Ambassador Tom Barrack, I think there is tremendous opportunity there.

But we have a moment. It almost reminds me of kind of the post-Libya phase where we have a moment that we can seize.

Or if Syria devolves into chaos I think it could pull the region with it. But right now it is a moment of opportunity, and I hope to complement both Special Envoy Witkoff, Secretary Rubio, Ambassador Barrack, and others with our efforts up in the U.N.

Senator SHAHEEN. Well, hopefully, we will do better in Syria than we did in Libya.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator RISCH. Amen to that.

Senator Shaheen, thank you for that.

And Senator Waltz, thank you for your focus on—both Syria and Lebanon are really—I think most people if not everybody on this committee really views that this is a critical moment and an opportunity.

Obviously, there are problems. There is a history there that bears watching. But whenever we engage in these things the people there got to want it more than we do, and we see that in dealing with both the Lebanese and the Syrians.

We hope it can come to fruition. It bears watching, but we will appreciate your strong hand on the tiller there.

So with that, Senator Ricketts is yielding to Senator Hagerty for now.

Senator HAGERTY. Thank you. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Thank you, Senator Ricketts, for the time accommodation.

And to each of you I want to congratulate you for your nomination to represent the greatest country in the world. You are going to have a wonderful and exceptional experience should you be confirmed.

No surprise, we live in a very challenging and dangerous world right now, and it is only going to be through the talents and the sacrifices of you and your families that we are going to be able to ensure America's prosperity and America's security in the world. So thank you for your willingness to serve.

I am going to turn my attention—no surprise—to you, Mr. Waltz.

You are getting ready to take on a very critical role at a place that was founded on some very fundamental principles.

You think about the principles of the U.N. in its founding—freedom, peace, human rights. Those are the founding documents. That was in the Charter of the United Nations.

Today what we see happening at the U.N. is far divorced from those founding principles. Instead, what we find is an overly politicized organization, one that tends to criticize and work against the interests of the United States and its allies, and frankly, one that actually supports authoritarian regimes in many cases, advancing their interest over those of the United States.

As our Chairman mentioned, we are the largest donor. The United States is the largest donor to the United Nations, yet at the same time we are not getting the type of results we see.

And I am going to cite the example that you brought up, Chairman Risch. What happened on October the 7th? That was an absolute disgrace when we found out that people on the United Nations payroll were actually involved in the Hamas attack.

Yet what happens from senior leaders at the U.N.? They use every opportunity they possibly can to criticize Israel, yet at the same time they diminish the role of their own personnel in those attacks.

It is absolutely shocking to me, and what I would like to hear from you, Mr. Waltz, is what are—a two-part question, actually: What are the most important challenges you see at the U.N. that we face as a nation, that the United States faces at the United Nations, and then, two, what is your intention to address those challenges?

Representative WALTZ. Thank you, Senator, and I certainly share those views.

I think first and foremost is we need to drive reform, and as I have shared with a number of you during our office visits I understand there is concern about the President's budget request.

But I see it also as a moment of opportunity. If you look at when reform has actually happened—not talked about, not the rhetoric—is when the United States has said, you know what? We need to actually see things before the U.S. taxpayer continues to write checks.

We saw it in the late 1990s with—led by Senator Jesse Helms that turned into the Helms-Biden legislation. We saw it in the early 1990s, and that resulted in at least something approximating an inspector general, although I think we still need a heck of a lot more reform in that regard.

So we need those reforms to continue forward. I do not think Secretary General Guterres would have his U.N. 80 plan already on the table if he did not take President Trump very seriously and Secretary Rubio very seriously.

And if we are looking at cutting 20 percent of their staff, Senator, there is over 20,000 staff just in the secretariat, and these are in pretty expensive places like Geneva, Vienna, Rome, New York.

They need to be closer to the field, and I think they need to be a lot more efficient. And I mentioned the things that are pending in terms of Syria, Lebanon, Iran, and what have you, and certainly our counter China efforts. Those will all be top of mind.

Senator HAGERTY. Well, I appreciate your focus on what is, obviously, a bloated organization, one that is missing the mark at every turn, and frankly, has been misguided in so many directions.

I would like to pick up on a particular point that the ranking member raised and that has to do with China and its malign influence there at the United Nations.

What I have seen China do is essentially weaponize the U.N. in certain instances to be able to advance their own ambitions, to be able to do this, frankly, at the expense of United States interests. And again, I would like to hear what your thoughts are in terms of what you might do to specifically address China's malign influ-

ence and make certain that the United States interests are held in priority.

Representative WALTZ. Thank you, Senator.

Absolutely. I think first and foremost, as I mentioned in my opening remarks, the favoritism that the second largest economy and our competitor receives by being treated as a developing country, one that aligns with the G-77, which is a collection of countries, many of whom actually are top recipients of U.S. aid except their voting coincidence rate with us is at the bottom.

Two, for example, the World Bank classifies China as an upper middle income country for the past 15 years. They continue to make concessionary loans to China funded by the U.S. taxpayer. That is one of a number of examples. They are pursuing an AI agenda.

I do not know—I mean, we always have to keep our sovereignty in mind. I think that is a place where we can engage, and we certainly need to block and tackle in these forums.

Senator HAGERTY. We look forward to working with you, and I want to thank Senator Ricketts for allowing me to move forward in time.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator RISCH. Thank you, Senator Hagerty.

Senator Merkley.

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

And it is a pleasure to have you all here, and certainly, the United Nations is a chance to be surrounded by diplomats from other nations to enhance the conversation about challenging world circumstances, so it is a critical part of our foreign policy efforts.

I wanted to mention a couple different issues. One is that Secretary Rubio as a Senator worked together with me on the Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act.

It has been effective, unlike no other measure in the world, because of a rebuttable presumption that goods made from certain parts of China are, in fact, made of slave labor.

So we have rejected many, many products. The challenge of this is that they are simply reexported to other nations, particularly to Canada. They are coming in on the West Coast of the United States.

Would you see the possibility of working with other nations to pursue a similar structure so that this effort to end the acceptability of products made with slave labor in China is thwarted on a much broader basis?

Representative WALTZ. Thank you for the for the question, Senator, and I think it is an incredibly difficult, in many ways, heart-breaking issue.

There a few years ago was a report coming out of a think tank in Australia that highlighted 80 international brands, many of whom are common brands that we use and purchase today that were using slave labor from western China.

In fact, in one of our efforts I highlighted the world's largest solar panel factory in western China that was actually being subsidized by the U.S. taxpayer—was being subsidized in the Inflation Reduction Act—but if you followed the power lines to the factory it was actually being powered by Russian coal in 12 coal fired

power plants producing solar panels funded or staffed with slave labor. So it is something I absolutely would look to work with you on.

Senator MERKLEY. Thank you. That is what I was looking for.

I have several questions. So I wanted—you were working toward a yes with great background. Thank you.

Second of all, Taiwan is an area I have had a lot of concern and have been engaged in as the Democratic lead on the China Commission. We have held a lot of hearings on it.

China has blocked their participation in many international organizations including various agencies within the U.N. Do you see some opportunity to press for Taiwan to have greater representation and voice on some of those U.N. bodies?

Representative WALTZ. Senator, I support—the United States supports Taiwan's meaningful participation in international organizations. As you know, we have a longstanding One China policies.

It is governed by the Taiwan Relations Act, the Three Communiques, and the Six Assurances, and unless directed otherwise that is the policy I will execute if confirmed as Ambassador to the U.N.

Senator MERKLEY. Thank you. And I do think, even apart from the United Nations, there is other international bodies that we could advocate for Taiwan to have a voice in, and it would be a well received indirect message of our support for Taiwan on the broader issues of security.

Turning to Iran, a week ago the President said, "I will tell you that, in my view, I hope it is over. I think Iran wants to meet. I think they want to make peace, and I am all for it."

It seems like there is a win-win opportunity here. Iran has said it does not want to pursue a nuclear weapon, and our intelligence has confirmed that.

In the past, they have accepted very steep limits on enrichment just at 3.67 percent, well below the 90 percent, and there is a deep weariness over the very stagnant economy in Iran that really has not served the aspirations of the Iranian people.

So there is a framework and a possibility for an enduring peace in which Iran is nuclear weapon free. We guarantee that there is no plutonium path, uranium path, or surreptitious path, covert path, that they stop supporting militias through the arc that extends clear to Syria and Lebanon, and that there is a more prosperous economy so the Iranian people return to being kind of full members of the international community.

You mentioned that Germany but also the United Kingdom and France have also—they are going to snap back on JCPOA. Can you use or will you work to utilize your role at the United Nations to find this win-win solution to the situation with Iran?

Representative WALTZ. Thank you, Senator.

And when I—just to clarify, when I mentioned Germany, my understanding is Germany actually is part of—the E3 has actually triggered the mechanism.

As you know, there is a multi-week cure period and then another 30 day period before the snapback provisions expire on October 18.

So, if confirmed, yes, I would fully engage in that process and have been working with our allies as has Special Envoy Witkoff and Secretary Rubio.

To Iran, I mean, first and foremost, I think we need to recognize and thank our amazing B-2 pilots, everything and everyone that worked with them from maintainers, refuelers, to the intelligence community, to make sure Iran can never have a nuclear weapon, which the President has been clear on his goal for quite some time.

In terms of negotiations, the President has made it very clear that he hopes for a better future for the Iranian people.

I think we all do, and we engaged in diplomacy working with our partners in Oman, but we also made it very clear that they could not have a domestic enrichment capability.

If they want to have a 123 agreement like our allies in the UAE, if they want to buy material, if they want to have a civil program, I think that is—you know, again, until directed otherwise that is absolutely on the table.

So this is a moment with Syria, with Lebanon, with the Abraham Accords, that I think we could see prosperity, but the regime has to make a decision to move away from its desire to have a nuclear weapon.

Senator MERKLEY. Thank you.

My time is out. Thank you.

Representative WALTZ. Thank you, Senator.

Senator RISCH. Thank you much, Mr. Waltz, and you are correct. The problem is not with the Iranian people. The problem is with the Iranian regime, and we wish they could move away from that.

In any event, Senator Ricketts, you are up.

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

Thank you to all of our nominees and congratulations on your nomination, and thank you for your willingness to serve our great nation.

Mr. Waltz, I am just going to pick up with where Senator Merkley left off.

You mentioned that Germany has triggered the snapback sanctions. We were actually—my team was just doing some quick research to try and find that. We could not find any mention of that right off hand.

But it is hugely important that the E3 get those snap back sanctions. You know, the air campaign by Israel and the successful attack by, as you mentioned, our bombers to be able to hit those key nuclear facilities was really, really important in hampering Iran's ability to have a nuclear enrichment program.

But it is not the end of the story. We have got a lot more work to do. Iran is still out of compliance with their obligations under the JCPOA and they are not allowing the IAEA inspectors to be able to get into those facilities.

So they are in violation. It is absolutely critical that the E3 do those snapback functions.

Will you commit to working with them to push them to get that snap back in place? And as you mentioned, that deadline of October 18 because of the cure period you were also mentioning it is really more like September when they really have to get this done.

But as the U.N. Ambassador if you are confirmed will you push them to get this done?

Representative WALTZ. Thank you, Senator.

And if—my mention of Germany was from open source reporting, so if that was an error then, you know, that was—

Senator RICKETTS. Well, it is good news if it is true.  
Representative WALTZ. If it is actually.

But we have also—

Senator RICKETTS. Make sure it happens.

Representative WALTZ [continuing]. Spoken to the United Kingdom and France as well, and I have full confidence that they will work with us. We have had these conversations literally through the transition and over the last 6 months.

One of the—the second executive order the President signed was to reinstitute maximum pressure on Iran. But you raise a fantastic point in that we need to get those inspectors back in there with the IAEA, and it is obviously notable that the June report from the IAEA was the first censure of Iran for its noncompliance in quite a long time.

Senator RICKETTS. And one of the things Iran always says is they want this program for peaceful means, yet there is no reason they need to have an enrichment program to have a civilian nuclear program. Twenty-three other nations are doing it without having enrichment facilities.

We need to continue to push that they—the only way we can guarantee they cannot get a nuclear weapon is if they do not have any enrichment facilities. Would you agree?

Representative WALTZ. I would, as both the President and the Secretary have said, Senator, and I think, you know, the most amazing aspect of this episode was that the President truly sought diplomacy first.

He took bold and decisive action, along with our ally Israel, and then immediately returned the situation right back to a ceasefire to, again engage, in diplomacy.

So when President Trump says he puts diplomacy first, I have seen it firsthand, and I would be honored, if confirmed, to continue to participate in it.

Senator RICKETTS. Well, let us talk about one of our best friends in the Middle East, certainly, is Israel, and you mentioned in your opening remarks the anti-Semitism that is just rampant in the United Nations.

You know, I think you gave the stat that there were more resolutions targeting Israel than all other nations combined by double, and it is just stunning what the United Nations has done.

So as the U.N. Ambassador, if you are confirmed, what specific actions can you take to shut down this anti-Semitism at the U.N. and the anti-Israeli basis?

Representative WALTZ. Thank you, Senator.

And it is pervasive. I could probably spend the rest of this hearing, sadly, highlighting the anti-Semitic activities, one aspect of which is known as Article 7 in the Human Rights Council that Israel is the only nation with a standing mandate to highlight its, quote, “human rights abuses” every single meeting, and it has been going on for decades.

I mentioned the number of resolutions. Just this year we are on track for that same type of disparity in 2025. I support the Sec-

retary's call for sanctions on the Special Rapporteur Francesca Albanese.

I think she is the poster child for anti-Semitism in the United Nations, and I think we have to take a step back and address and work with both Israel and work with our allies on why this continues to happen.

I understand the humanitarian crisis in Gaza, but I will say over and over again if Hamas would lay down their arms, if they would surrender, if they would stop sacrificing their own people, the fighting would stop today, and I am confident in working with Israel in that regard.

Senator RICKETTS. Well, I think your last point is spot on, and I have seen nothing out of the U.N. calling on Hamas to surrender because that is exactly how this conflict would end, and the people in Gaza would be able to start looking for a better way of life once that terrorist organization surrenders.

So push the countries of the U.N. to come down very clearly that they can best serve the people in Gaza by getting Hamas to surrender.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator RISCH. Well said, Senator Ricketts.

Senator Murphy.

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

Thank you all for being here.

Mr. Waltz, the U.N. does not have a conventional army. It has got peacekeepers, but there are no aircraft carriers. There is no air force.

This is a place where smart power matters, right? This is a place where we invest in things like diplomacy and humanitarian aid and economic development to try to stabilize the world.

I think what worries me about your fit for this position is that while you were at the National Security Council you oversaw the dismantling of many of our most important smart power tools in the U.S. foreign policy toolkit.

A lot of conversation has happened on this committee about what has happened to USAID—our ability to influence the world through economic development and humanitarian assistance—but not as much conversation has happened about the attempted destruction—I think led by an NSC process—of our information and media operations around the world.

This Administration while you were at the NSC essentially shut down USAGM, which is the umbrella agency for our global media operations, fired 92 percent of the staff, announced plans to shut down Radio Free Europe and Voice of America. They are only open today because of court orders.

The Administration does not support the Global Engagement Center, which is also now shut down, which is the State Department's ability to try to work with partners around the world to counter Chinese propaganda and Russian propaganda.

I mean, listen, we were already having circles run around us by Russia and by China predominantly even before the Administration went forward with this, essential, destruction of our existing information and counter propaganda capacity.

So maybe just share with me, you know, while you were National Security Advisor why did you believe that it advanced U.S. national security interests to shut down our most important agencies that try to win the information war, which is a war that whether we like it or not exists in this world, and we are not fighting it today while our adversaries are?

Representative WALTZ. Thank you for the question, and I think we are in violent agreement that we have to win the information war. We may have a disagreement on the best way to do that.

What we did not see were the metrics or the actual results. As you mentioned, we have circled—we are getting, you know, in many ways outpaced in the information space. Yet for decades we have had these entities that have become expensive and have become quite bloated.

I think the best way to block and tackle our adversaries abroad is through our amazing private sector, through innovation, through what we are seeing in our leadership role in AI and in other spaces.

And so as the President, as the Secretary, looked across the interagency and those entities they made those decisions.

Senator MURPHY. But the private sector is not going to fight Russian and Chinese propaganda around the world, right? I mean, that has to be an essential function of U.S. national security policy, correct?

Representative WALTZ. Well, what they are going to do is show the power of free markets or the power of entrepreneurship, and show really the power of the U.S. in terms of a free society and values—and frankly, I do not—

Senator MURPHY. We are going to rely on Disney?

Representative WALTZ. I think we are actually—I think we are actually more aligned than what you think. What we were looking at is the actual effectiveness. It is the tool that we questioned, and then the President and the Secretary made the decision to reallocate resources.

Senator MURPHY. Listen, I hope the Administration does rethink this. If they have got a better idea on how to try to project power in the information space, then I think we are all willing to hear it. But right now we are taking ourselves off the playing field.

You were very involved in the offensive operations in Yemen. As you saw in this last week, the Houthis have restarted attacks on the shipping lanes, two very devastating attacks.

Throughout the last 2 months they have been continuing to take offensive operations against Israel. It does not look like we did much to really fundamentally change the battle space there. They still have pretty robust offensive capabilities to target shipping lanes and to target our friends.

We spent—it looks like around a billion dollars, depleted a lot of our ammunition stocks. How do you look at that operation in retrospect, knowing that as we sit here today the Houthis have once again begun attacks in the Red Sea?

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

I think we also have to look at it in the context of—from the figures that I have seen, a 20 to 30 percent increase in shipping

through the Red Sea, an increase in revenues through the Suez Canal.

What we do not have are our warships being used as target practice by the Houthis, was what, frankly, we had in the last Administration.

Now, do we need to work to make sure that is enduring? Perhaps the Houthi leadership has not fully gotten the message. But I would defer to Secretary Rubio, Secretary Hegseth, and the President on the way forward there.

Senator MURPHY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator RISCH. Thank you, Senator Murphy.

Senator Barrasso.

Senator BARRASSO. Thanks so much, Mr. Chairman.

Congratulations to all three of you.

Mr. Waltz, thanks so much for coming to my office yesterday, and I enjoyed the discussion. I know you are going to do a terrific job representing our nation's interests at the United Nations.

We are the largest financial contributor to the U.N. We have contributed, what, \$13 billion to the United Nations the last fiscal year.

As the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, you are going to need to closely examine how American taxpayer funding is being used by so many of these international programs.

Can you talk about your commitment to reviewing every dollar going to the U.N. to ensure that our taxpayer dollars are being used wisely?

And if I recall you had a list yesterday of just some amazing places that I think taxpayers would be really offended to see that their taxpayer dollars were going to through the United Nations.

Could you share some of that information with us?

Representative WALTZ. Thank you, Senator, and I always appreciate our time together.

You know, one of the kind of the main thrusts of the United Nations, particularly over the last, I would say, couple of decades, has been on climate and focus on climate change and a number of initiatives.

And setting aside the debate on climate, if you just look at the organizations amongst the 80 various specialized agencies, core programs, and funds you have the U.N. Environment Program, the U.N. Convention to Combat Desertification, the International Union for Conservation of Nature, the Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environmental Program, the Global Environment Facility, the Commission for Environmental Cooperation, the Montreal Protocol.

And then you have other agencies like the Global Fund for HIV, Tuberculosis, and Malaria. OK. But it has as its core mission—one of its core missions, not necessarily those things, but climate change is the largest global health challenge in the 21st century.

And just to further—you know, I have a page here, Mr. Chairman, or I have a list of pages, 455, of international organizations that we contribute some type of funding toward and just—

Senator RISCH. Let us put those in the record.

[EDITOR'S NOTE.—The information referred to is available via the following Web link/URL: [www.state.gov/u-s-contributions-to-international-organizations-2023](http://www.state.gov/u-s-contributions-to-international-organizations-2023)]

Representative WALTZ [continuing]. A few of them, the Pacific Salmon Commission, the Pacific Islands Forum Fishery Agency, the Pan-African Postal Union, the Pan-American Health Organization, the Pan-American Institute on Geography and History, the International Lithosphere Program.

I mean, so these are the—again, this is a—it is quite a list, and this is tens of thousands to hundreds of thousands to seven to eight figures—millions—that are going to these organizations, and I think it is incumbent on this Administration to say, what is it doing, is it making us safer, stronger, and more prosperous, and are we getting a bang for our buck?

Senator BARRASSO. A couple other questions, because the thing I hear about at home in Wyoming is American sovereignty and what the United Nations is trying to do in undermining us.

How are you going to work to preserve and to protect American sovereignty within the U.N.?

Representative WALTZ. Thank you, Senator.

And I have to say America's sovereignty is—will always be first and foremost as we engage all of these international organizations.

I think we need to weigh the pros and cons of which organizations we engage as—and I think that will be a robust discussion with this committee and with the Administration.

But to the extent that we do our sovereignty, our people, our bosses, will be first and foremost and top of mind.

Senator BARRASSO. I think this came up in both the introduction—a good introduction by Senator Lee as well as Senator Scott and in your opening remarks—the fact that the Palestinian Authority has repeatedly sought to use the United Nations as a platform to declare statehood and to downgrade the status of Israel.

Will you commit to using the American veto to block these one sided anti-Israel resolutions at the U.N. Security Council?

Representative WALTZ. Thank you, Senator.

Of course, I will work closely with the President and Secretary on those votes but yes, I will make that commitment.

Senator BARRASSO. Do you have any specific measures that you believe should be taken to address the bias against Israel within the U.N., and how do we advocate for those changes?

Representative WALTZ. Well, first and foremost has to be UNRWA. It simply not only needs to be defunded, which the President has put in place with his executive order, but it should be dismantled.

And we can have a conversation on who and what can take up those humanitarian roles, but it certainly should not be UNRWA.

Senator BARRASSO. And then in terms of selecting a new Secretary General after this term expires, is that something I would imagine you would be very much involved in and perhaps could use some of those same plans in terms of what we need to do there.

Representative WALTZ. So the Secretary General's term will expire at the end of next year. My understanding is kind of the race, so to speak, and the campaigning for that will start this fall, and

I will certainly commit to work with you and others to make sure that we have someone in line with our interests.

Senator BARRASSO. So, Mr. Chairman, I would suggest that make sure we have somebody representing the United States at the U.N. with this nominee by that time that all those activities begin.

Thank you.

Thank you, Mr. Chair.

Senator RISCH. Good suggestions. Thank you.

Senator Coons.

Senator COONS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Thank you to all the nominees, your families, your willingness to serve our nation.

And if I might, Mr. Waltz, or forgive me, Colonel—Congressman Waltz, my thanks to you and to your wife Julia who has also served our nation, as you mentioned in the introduction in combat, and to your family.

I want to get to the larger questions of the U.N. and the U.N. mission, but in your role in the Army, in the House, as National Security Advisor, you have long handled classified and highly sensitive information.

We both know Signal is not an appropriate secure means of communicating highly sensitive information and yet on March 24 *The Atlantic* magazine published a series of Signal messages including sensitive information about a U.S. military operation against the Houthis in Yemen involving you and several other Trump officials.

Were you investigated for this disclosure of sensitive operational information on Signal?

Representative WALTZ. Thank you, Senator.

That engagement was driven by and recommended by the Cybersecurity Infrastructure Security Agency by the Biden administration.

Senator COONS. CISA—

Representative WALTZ. The guidance.

Senator COONS. I am sorry—

Representative WALTZ. And I have here—well, just the use of Signal—

Senator COONS. Is there information on Signal that—

Representative WALTZ. The use of—no, excuse me.

The use of Signal is not only as an encrypted app, is not only authorized, it was recommended in Biden's—the Biden era CISA guidance, and in fact, if you—it says here—I will read it to you—use only end to end encrypted communications.

Adopt a free messaging application to secure communications that guarantees end to end encryption, particularly if you are a highly targeted individual, such as Signal or similar apps.

CISA recommends end to end encryption messaging on both government and personal devices.

Senator COONS. For sensitive military and personal information—

Representative WALTZ. Oh, of course. Of course, Senator, there was no classified information exchanged in that.

Senator COONS. For sensitive military operations—you were sharing details about an upcoming air strike and the time of launch and the potential targets.

I mean, this was demonstrably sensitive information, and the question I asked was were you investigated for this expansion of the Signal group to include a journalist.

Representative WALTZ. The White House conducted an investigation, and my understanding is the Department of Defense is still conducting an investigation.

Senator COONS. Was any disciplinary action taken?

Representative WALTZ. From the White House investigation, Senator?

Senator COONS. Yes.

Representative WALTZ. No. The use of Signal was not only—not only authorized, it is still authorized and highly recommended.

Senator COONS. Would you recommend the use of Signal for classified information to be shared between folks who have access to—

Representative WALTZ. Again, we followed the recommendation, almost the demand to use end to end encryption, but there was no classified information shared.

Senator COONS. Did you speak to Secretary Hegseth about his decision to share detailed information on the specifics of an imminent military strike?

Representative WALTZ. What we spoke about, Senator, was a highly successful mission that did something that—something that the Biden administration did not do was actually target the Houthi leadership.

We subsequently saw a ceasefire, an increase in shipping, and a drop in attacks on our ships.

Senator COONS. Well, look, here is what I hear on this exchange, and I want to get to the U.N. point.

At the time you took responsibility for having added a journalist inadvertently to a Signal chat, but it does not seem to me that the Administration has taken any action to make sure this does not happen again. There has been no consequences, and yet the President continues to denounce those who leak information.

We both know Signal is not a secure way to convey classified information, and I was hoping to hear from you that you had some sense of regret over sharing what was very sensitive, timely information about a military strike on a commercially available app that is not, as we both know, the appropriate way to share such critical information.

Representative WALTZ. Again, Senator, I think where we have a fundamental disagreement is there was no classified information on that chat.

Senator COONS. I am going to move on for a moment, but we have got plenty more to discuss on that point.

China in the U.N. system—there was plenty of agreement on this side of the dais and I think with you that we need to combat anti-Semitism and anti-Israel bias in the U.N.

We need to ensure taxpayer dollars are well spent. We need to engage in our world, and from your service on the China Task Force you know very well what a central challenge for us China is.

Yet across organizations—the ITU, the FEO, UNESCO, WIPO—I think the only way we successfully push back on China's influence is by being at the table driving reform. When President

Trump withdrew from the World Health Organization the Chinese sent their largest delegation ever to the next meeting. They have contributed \$500 million. They are now the biggest contributor.

I can understand some of the frustrations or concerns that led to the withdrawal from UNESCO, but in the last Congress, with Israeli support, I led our rejoining UNESCO. We have talked about—you have mentioned earlier today—standard setting bodies as being essential.

How do you balance a budget request that dramatically reduces our contributions to the U.N. with needing to be at the table to fight for the standards, whether it is telecommunications, civil aviation, intellectual property?

You just waved, here is this great big list of organizations. Many of them do critical things. How are you going to strike that balance appropriately, sir?

Representative WALTZ. Thank you, Senator, and it was good to discuss this with you.

I will point out in the President's budget request there is funding for IAEA, for the International Civil Aviation Organization, for the organization Prohibition of Chemical Weapons, for the ITU, for the IMO and maritime.

And so I look forward to working with you and working with this committee on how we make those decisions of where we engage and then how we engage.

But I think we are in violent agreement that we have to block and tackle Chinese influence.

Senator COONS. Would you pledge to not support just unilateral withdrawal from these organizations?

Representative WALTZ. I will certainly support and follow the Secretary and the President's guidance as we weigh those—weigh that engagement through these reviews.

Senator COONS. Thank you.

Thank you, sir.

Senator RISCH. Senator Lee.

Senator LEE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Waltz, I would like to start with you, and if it is all right I would like to start by going a little deeper into something related to what Senator Barrasso asked you a moment ago.

Membership of the U.N.'s three member board of auditors is currently shared by three countries—China, France, and Brazil.

Now, this is a body that is appointed by the U.N. General Assembly, of course, and is tasked with generating accurate accounts of U.N. funds and U.N. programs, where the money is going and so forth.

But an audit is, of course—by definition it is only as reliable as its auditor, and the U.N.'s current board of auditors not only gives China a seat at the table, but it actually names China as the lead auditor for organizations including UNRWA, which had terrorists on its payroll at least through 2023—some would say longer than that—the environmental program, despite the fact that the environmental program has been exploiting the developing country status to access environmental related financial assistance for a number of countries, including some that arguably do not deserve that

designation, and the U.N. headquarters which as we all know is based in New York.

So my first question to you is how can we comfortably fund these U.N. entities knowing that at some point in the process our dollars will become comingled into these international accounts, accounts that many of our strategic competitors and right now our pacing threat may be in charge of auditing?

How do we deal with that?

Representative WALTZ. Thank you, Senator Lee, and again, thank you for the kind introduction earlier.

I share the concern. You know, again, as I take as a first principle sitting down with my, you know, firefighters, welders, and small business owners and saying—look them in the eye and saying, I know exactly where your dollar is going, and it is being well spent, I do not think we could say that at this point.

And if it is—you know, it is one thing for it to come out of their hands into the Federal Government. Then it goes from the Federal Government over to a multinational entity. Then it goes down to an agency, 15 of whom have their own separate boards and separate agendas, and then I know something that is important to the Chairman and a number of you—then it gets, in some cases, comingled with other international—like the African Union.

Of course, we do not know exactly where it is going. I pointed out earlier in the early 1990s—actually, in the Clinton administration—some folks in this body said enough is enough, and we got the closest thing we have, the Office of Internal Oversight and Investigation. It is the closest thing that there is to an IG, but it still reports to itself.

It is not truly independent, and it is not necessarily just on the money side. If you have whistleblowers that say there is fraud, waste, and abuse it basically comes back to itself, or even things like sexual abuse out in the U.N.'s peacekeeping forces.

We need an actual independent entity that we all have confidence in to understand where this money and other nefarious activities are happening.

Senator LEE. And then it becomes sort of like a self-licking ice cream cone. The self-auditing rogue actor within the U.N. is not necessarily one to be trusted.

Representative WALTZ. The U.N.'s budget has gone from \$15 billion to \$65 billion in the last 20 years, and I do not think we are getting the commensurate return on our dollar.

Senator LEE. You know, oftentimes the U.S. has—or at times when the U.S. has considered U.N. reforms the conversation is centered on problematic entities and U.S. contributions, which are necessary factors but do not necessarily capture the full universe of options available to us that translate into leverage and influence at the U.N.

Decades ago at the direction of Congress the State Department started producing an annual report on U.N. voting practices. This has occurred since 1983, so about 42 years this has been going on.

The report demonstrates that, candidly, the U.S. is outvoted in the vast majority of cases at the U.N. That is just how it turns out.

Now, despite having this report at our disposal, successive Administrations—Administration after Administration since we have

had this report—they have yet to draw much of a correlation between voting coincidences at the U.N. and the provision of U.S. foreign aid with the U.S. consistently providing aid to countries who actively and routinely almost as a matter of course oppose U.S. positions at the U.N.

So as the current Administration carries out this much needed, very much welcome, long overdue review of U.S. foreign aid so as to recalibrate our aid to our interests, should voting patterns at the U.N. be used as something of a metric to take into account and to determine and qualify U.S. foreign aid recipients?

Representative WALTZ. Senator, I think it is a fantastic point. It absolutely should be. I will commit to work with this committee, with the Secretary, to put mechanisms in place that it is.

But to your point, if you look at the aid, by the figures I have seen over \$100 billion have gone through U.N. entities into Africa, and we are looking at between a 29 and 32 percent voting coincidence rate.

So we actually have the highest—the continent with the highest recipient of American workers' money siding with us by far the least.

It is completely inverted, and I commit to you to work very hard to use the leverage that only this President could use to reverse that trend.

Senator LEE. Thank you so much.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator RICKETTS [presiding]. Senator Kaine.

Senator Kaine. Thank you, Senator Ricketts, and congratulations to the nominees and I especially want to shout out a VMI grad, Congressman Waltz.

Let me—I want to follow up on Senator Coons' questions on the use of Signal just to make sure we are all on the same wavelength here.

Signal is useful because it is encrypted, and a whole lot of people use Signal, and there is nothing wrong for it.

But as far as I know Signal has not been approved for use by U.S. Government officials for the sharing of classified information.

Is that correct?

Representative WALTZ. That is correct, Senator.

Senator Kaine. And you indicate—

Representative WALTZ. Thank you for the shout out on VMI—

Senator Kaine. Great institution.

You indicated in your testimony that no classified information was shared, and I see nothing in the reporting about your situation to suggest that you shared classified information.

I do see the question of why did your office add the *Atlantic* reporter. That was an amateurish move, and I am sure you have learned something from that.

But on the question of whether classified information was shared, there are at least two DOD investigations, one, the DOD IG, and the second, Air Force—an investigation ongoing into whether Secretary Hegseth shared classified information.

My understanding is those are ongoing. They have not yet reached a conclusion, but they certainly have not reached a conclusion that no classified information was shared.

Am I wrong about that?

Representative WALTZ. Senator, thank you for the question. I should not and cannot comment on ongoing investigations.

What I can do is echo Secretary Hegseth's testimony that no names, targets, locations, units, routes, sources, methods, no classified information—his perspective was shared.

Senator KAIN. Yes, I got it. I am sure Secretary Hegseth says he did not share any classified information, but the fact of the matter is there are two investigations going on at the Pentagon precisely to determine in an objective and independent way whether classified information was shared. At a minimum sharing attack plans with sensitive military information that should not have been shared.

There was an article that I just read that came out late yesterday that I would like to introduce in the record, Mr. Chair.

It is "The Trump Administration Is About To Incinerate 500 Tons of Emergency Food" published in the *Atlantic* yesterday. I would like to introduce it in the record.

Senator RICKETTS. Without objection.

[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 KAIN. This really is a little bit more of a setup for the hearing we are going to have tomorrow with Michael Rigas, but I just wanted to put it on the record so that he could be prepared to answer this question.

The article suggests that 500 tons of food purchased by the United States to the tune of about \$800,000 months ago that are nutritional biscuits designed to stop children from starving have been in a warehouse in Dubai for months and months and months.

Senator Rubio has testified about that both here and in the HASC that he would make sure that food purchased to keep kids from starving would not be allowed to spoil.

The article suggests that this food is on the verge of spoliation and that the U.S. has not distributed it but is instead planning to incinerate it.

Now, I know Mr. Arrigo and Ms. Toretti have had nothing to do with this, and I assume, Representative Waltz, that this is not an issue that you have been involved in up to this point.

Representative WALTZ. Senator, it has not.

Senator KAIN. OK.

Then let me ask a question that just is a values question to kind of level set, and I will start with Mr. Arrigo, and I would just like to go across.

I am going to make a statement, and I want to ask if you agree with me or not.

If the United States has purchased specialty foods designed to help kids from starving we should deliver that food to kids rather than allow it to spoil and incinerate it. That is my view.

Do you agree with me or not, Mr. Arrigo?

Mr. ARRIGO. Well, thank you very much for the question, Senator.

As a private citizen this is something I just heard of today, and I have not been briefed on this situation. I really do not know exactly the depth of what you are saying.

So I would actually have to probably refer back to Secretary Rubio, President Trump, and find out exactly where and what happened to this particular situation so I could answer you better. I would hate to say something out of—thank you.

Senator Kaine. Representative Waltz.

Representative WALTZ. Senator, we should always be good stewards of the taxpayer dollars, and if it has been purchased, then I do not disagree it should be delivered.

However, if you look at situations—and I think there is just more to dig into there, and I am unaware—it is the first time hearing of it. For example—

Senator Kaine. I do—

Representative WALTZ. Well, in Sudan they have real distribution problems. You know, in Gaza there are real distribution problems. So there could be—

Senator Kaine. A lot of starving kids in Sudan.

Representative WALTZ. Absolutely. Absolutely.

Senator Kaine. Ms. Toretti, how about you? What do you think?

Ms. TORETTI. Thank you for the question, Senator.

I agree with you. That does not mean that I am judging what has happened.

Senator Kaine. I am glad that you answered unequivocally. This is such a simple question. It is such a simple question. If the U.S. has purchased food, and it is to be used for the eradication of starvation among children, we should give it to children and not incinerate it.

I mean, it is such a simple question. I just asked you to test your values, and I will just go back to you, Representative Waltz, as I close.

In your testimony you asked is our money being well spent when you talked about the United Nations, the need to be great stewards.

Allowing this food to sit in a warehouse and then burn it rather than let kids eat it and survive—I know what my constituents would think about that, and I think I know what all of our constituents would think about that.

I yield back.

Senator RICKETTS. Senator Daines.

Senator DAINES. Mr. Waltz, thank you for being here today, and thank you for your very distinguished service to our great nation on Special Forces.

I very much enjoyed our conversation yesterday, and thank you for accepting going through this process to play a very important role here at the United Nations.

Mr. Waltz, as you know, the United Nations has become a hotbed of anti-Semitism, a hotbed of anti-Israeli sentiment. U.N. employees participated in the October 7 attacks, and Israeli hostages were held at U.N. facilities for months.

The U.N. recently reappointed Francesca Albanese despite her repeatedly stated support for Palestinian resistance and regurgitation of anti-Israel blood libel.

My question, Mr. Waltz, is you clearly have your work cut out for you at the U.N. Can you tell us more about how you plan to counter the anti-Semitic influence of U.N. officials like Ms. Albanese?

Representative WALTZ. Well, thank you, Senator, and I always enjoy our engagement as well and your advocacy for the “America First” agenda.

Just to add a couple points to your list and then to answer your question, it is notable that the military leader of Hamas, Mohammed Sinwar, had an UNRWA badge on him in the tunnels of Gaza.

There are indications that the World Health Organization and its hospitals they knew that tunnels were being built underneath and knew that these hospitals were being used, and I have—some of our veterans with you have literally been shot at by terrorists hiding behind women and hiding behind children and for Hamas to literally line the walls of its hideouts with hostages to protect its leadership is atrocious, and it should be called out at every turn.

Yet we just had to veto a resolution in the Security Council that went after Israel in what is absolutely a horrific war and did not even mention Hamas and certainly did not mention the fact that its leaders deliberately sacrificed as a matter of strategy and tactics—deliberately sacrificed their own people in order to turn world opinion against Israel.

So I think probably the easiest way to answer your question is sunlight is often the best disinfectant and to continue to spotlight it and use not only the platform that is this position but I think one of the best communicators in the world, which is President Trump, Secretary Rubio, and the leadership in this Administration to continue to call it out.

Senator DAINES. Mr. Waltz, thank you, and I am grateful that you have moral clarity on this important issue, and certainly, as somebody who like yourself served—you have served in Special Operations—these are not theoretical exercises for you. You have seen the conflict between good and between evil.

We talked a bit about Central Asia yesterday, Mr. Waltz. It is a vitally important region rich in natural resources. As you mentioned, you have spent some time over there in your prior career.

Much of those resources are untapped, and the region could be a valuable new partner for energy exports to Europe.

The United Nations, unfortunately, has pushed Central Asian countries to only adopt, really, a radical green agenda instead of a more balanced approach of all of the above energy, and these radical green development goals could hinder the growth and success of developing countries like we see in Central Asia.

Mr. Waltz, how can you as U.N. Ambassador ensure that Central Asia is encouraged to take advantage of its vast and considerable energy resources to foster a more sustainable and a prosperous future?

Representative WALTZ. Thank you, and I appreciated the conversation and always learn a lot from them.

One of the things that I admire about how President Trump approaches diplomacy—we saw it in his first Middle East trip—is what I call commercial diplomacy. You know, the thing that binds

people together often is business. It transcends dogma. It transcends ancient ideologies.

You are seeing that in the Abraham Accords. When people are talking about data centers and rail and roads, they are not talking about thousand year old hatreds.

In Central Asia in particular, I mean, going back to the old TAPI pipeline—Turkmenistan, Afghanistan, Pakistan, India—one could only imagine if that had been in place, and now everyone has a common economic interest rather than fighting each other.

I think we have real opportunities with Turkmenistan for the first time in a long time for their gas to head westward rather than eastward. We talked about the C-5 grouping.

We talked about Azerbaijan and their desire to not only come closer to the United States but to, perhaps, put a real agreement in place with the Armenians, a real agreement in place with the Israelis, and the commercial opportunities that abound for—not only for American business but that will change the geopolitical landscape.

I look forward to working with you and those groupings within the U.N. along those lines under the present secretary's leadership.

Senator DAINES. Mr. Waltz, thank you.

Representative WALTZ. Thank you.

Senator RICKETTS. Senator Van Hollen.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. Thank you, Senator, and congratulations to all of you in your nominations.

Congressman Waltz, I want to start with some questions related to your tenure at the National Security Council that will also relate to your responsibility to the United Nations, especially in the area of international humanitarian relief because you presided over a period where Elon Musk was given a blank check to take what he called a chainsaw to AID, and as part of that undermined many ongoing humanitarian operations including the one in Sudan, where the freezing of U.S. humanitarian assistance resulted in the closure of nearly 80 percent of emergency food kitchens.

Two million people were left without access to food. Many of them died, and that is not theoretical either.

I want to turn to another humanitarian disaster, and that is in Gaza, and of course the horrendous situation in Gaza was brought about as a result of the horrific Hamas attacks of October 7, 2023.

It is also true that the government of Israel has a responsibility to conduct that war in accordance with international law and humanitarian principles.

For 78 days the Netanyahu government imposed a total humanitarian blockade on Gaza including a blockade on food. I did not hear you or President Trump or Secretary Rubio ever call upon the Netanyahu government publicly to end that blockade.

The Netanyahu government then replaced the system of distribution of food through vetted international organizations including, for example, the World Food Programme that Cindy McCain heads.

They replaced it with a private entity which is supported by mercenaries known as the Gaza Humanitarian Foundation, a real misnomer.

The organization's original executive director resigned, saying that it was not possible to implement their plan while adhering to humanitarian principles.

Cindy McCain said they do not have nearly enough access points, and they do not have nearly enough food going in.

As you probably know, it has been called a death trap. Hundreds of Palestinian civilians crowding to get food had been killed either by the security contractors, mercenaries, or by the IDF.

So my question to you is why should American taxpayers be footing the bill, even part of the bill, in support of the so called Gaza Humanitarian Foundation?

Representative WALTZ. Thank you for the question, Senator.

And just to address your first question in terms of USAID and its current status, it is currently operating under the State Department. It has been merged, which you may disagree with, but I think is a perfectly valid approach.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. I am sorry.

Representative WALTZ. I will just point out that both the United Kingdom and Australians have done the same thing. I cannot tell you how many times I have talked to a Foreign Service officer or an ambassador out in the field highly frustrated that aid was on a different page than their objectives in the country.

And so I certainly support the Secretary's reorganization.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. Well, we have a strong disagreement. If you could answer my question about American taxpayer dollars going to fund this private entity with—

Representative WALTZ. I would certainly—I would certainly, you know, extend an appreciation of my heart out for a couple of veterans who were just attacked by Hamas with grenades as trying to distribute aid that I understand, according to reporting, works for this organization.

I do not think this should be a zero sum. I do agree that is a humanitarian crisis in Gaza. I hope you would agree that Hamas could stop it tomorrow by laying down their arms and releasing the hostages.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. I agree, so let us settle on that.

Representative WALTZ. And we support Special Envoy Witkoff and his efforts to, again, bring a ceasefire, which he was able to bring—

Senator VAN HOLLEN. Look, you all said you were going to end the war in Gaza on day one. It is a long way from—

Representative WALTZ. Well all hell to pay the first time that we actually got a ceasefire.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. Let me just ask you a question.

Congressman, I asked you a question on the West Bank. You saw that an American citizen was killed the other day by violent settlers. Did you see that report?

Representative WALTZ. Actually, Senator, to be honest with you, I did not see that report.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. All right.

Do you agree that it is the responsibility of the U.S. Government to ensure the accountability and in deaths of American citizens overseas?

Representative WALTZ. Senator, I would say it is a key function of any embassy or ambassador to ensure U.S. citizens are protected abroad.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. OK.

Well, I hope we will pursue that. You know, one of your first actions along with the President was to get rid of the Biden era executive order that would impose sanctions on both violent settlers and violent Palestinian militants in the West Bank, and we have now had five Americans actually killed since October 7 in the West Bank and no accountability.

So I think when you withdrew that executive order you sent a very bad signal. I hope we can work together to make sure that we protect all American citizens overseas.

Senator RISCH [presiding]. Senator Paul.

Senator PAUL. Mr. Waltz, do you believe President Trump has the constitutional power to determine troop assignments?

Representative WALTZ. Thank you, Senator.

In his Article 2 authority I do.

Senator PAUL. In the summer of 2020 there was much discussion and had been statements by President Trump that he intended to draw down troops in Afghanistan.

You were serving on the Armed Services Committee at that time, and Liz Cheney and Jason Crow put forward an amendment, and with that amendment they attempted to circumscribe his power to assign troops.

They specifically added conditions, and you supported that amendment. So I guess my question is which is it. Does President Trump have the power under the Constitution to determine troops, or do you think Congress should, as you attempted to do when you voted for Liz Cheney's amendment, do you think Congress has the right to limit his power to remove troops from a war situation?

Representative WALTZ. I certainly—thank you, Senator. I certainly supported President Trump's effort to draw down our forces, to keep Bagram Air Base, to keep a lid on counterterrorism, and certainly keep a powerful presence there.

Senator PAUL. But you voted to place—you voted for the Jason Crow amendment, the Liz Cheney amendment, to place restrictions on his ability to remove troops.

Specifically, the amendment said he could not draw them down under 8,500 troops.

Representative WALTZ. Senator, I will have to go back and look at the specific details of that amendment or whether that was a broader vote for an NDAA—

Senator PAUL. Pretty important amendment because it goes to the heart of the Constitution, and this is sort of the problem and one of the things I fear.

The Liz Cheney wing of the party—the neoconservatives—they believe in virtually unlimited Article 2 authority when going to war, to initiate war.

There seems to be no limits. The idea that Congress should be involved with declaring war is sort of passé. It is old fashioned. But when it comes to ending a war you voted with Liz Cheney and the others to say that the President could not end the war—that he had to perform different reports.

Here is what one of the reports said that he had to do before he was allowed to remove troops. This is the Cheney-Crow amendment.

It required a report from President Trump concerning the status of women's access to voting, education, justice, and economic opportunities. You know, support for women's rights is great, but it is really not typically given as a reason to go to war or stay at war.

And basically, the amendment you voted for based the decision on whether or not he would have to explain himself as to how good—how well it was going for women in Afghanistan before Congress would consent.

Specifically, the amendment says you would not fund or allow him to move troops with DOD funds. It was an incredible amendment. I have never seen anything like this where Congress actually voted to remove DOD funds, to let the President remove troops from a war theater.

Look, I am a big fan of the limitation of presidential power on initiating war, but once we are at war I have never really quibbled with the President's power to execute the war, to be the commander in chief.

When you were deployed I cannot see coming to Congress and saying, well, how are women rights over there for Colonel Waltz? Should he be able to go in there and leave? Because—well, let us have a congressional report on this.

I mean, I think that is insane, and I just do not understand how you could have voted for this. I mean, should Congress force President Trump to analyze such vague terms as justice before removing troops from a war zone?

I mean, I do not understand how you could have voted for this amendment.

Representative WALTZ. Senator, I look forward to continuing our discussion that we had. There is a lot of room in between where we have troops and necessarily if we are at war.

So, for example, we have had troops in Colombia for quite some time. They are not actively engaged in combat. They are engaged in a training mission to help that government by—to improve our presence on the ground.

And so I think what—one of the things at the time that the President was looking to do was—

Senator PAUL. Afghanistan was one of the rare times when Congress actually had authorized. We voted for an authorization of force, one of the few times I can think of in recent history I would have actually supported that resolution.

Congress voted to send the troops to Afghanistan to get the people who attacked us on 9/11, and yet you were willing to, in a war zone where soldiers were at war, place restrictions on the President's ability to move troops around based on women's access to voting.

There is also another clause in there that said based on how well the Afghans were dealing with disabilities.

Look, I have a great deal for people with disabilities. That is a big issue in our country. But it really is not an issue of war, and to hamstring and tie President Trump's hands and say, oh, well, you cannot remove troops until we discuss how well the Afghan

government is dealing with disabilities—are they going to be able to deal with disabilities when we go.

I guess it just worries me that you come more from the Liz Cheney wing of the party than the Donald Trump wing of the party.

Representative WALTZ. Senator, I am squarely with the President. I have been with him in every single election I participated in and him with me.

In terms of the limits on hard power, I can tell you for certain that people who hate war the most are the people that have to go fight them and die from them.

I have many of them with me, and I never want to attend another funeral, and I certainly support the President's diplomacy first, as I know you do, approach as we just saw in the Middle East, his commercial diplomacy that we are seeing around the world, and will do everything I can if confirmed as Ambassador of the United Nations to keep us out of wars and to end conflicts.

Senator RISCH. Senator Booker.

Senator BOOKER. Congressman Waltz, I have watched this hearing, and I have been really disappointed, and what has been troubling to me about your nomination from the beginning is your failure to just stand up and take accountability for mistakes that you made and that all Americans know that you have made.

Everyone in this room, every one of us, has made mistakes, but what America expects from leaders, especially leaders who are tasked with our national security or could be tasked with the position for what you are nominated for, is for people to stand up and just take responsibility—take accountability.

But I heard you just blame Biden. I have seen you not only fail to stand up but lie. You said about this person when you were involved in the sharing of sensitive information about imminent military operations—I have listened to you now for weeks and months.

You said this journalist intentionally infiltrated that Signal chain. You said that he was sucked in. You denied, deflected, and then you did something that, to me, really lacks integrity is that you sought out to demean and degrade that very journalist in crass, and frankly cruel ways that made him a target.

That is not leadership when you blame people that tell the truth. That is not leadership when you cannot say the words, "I made a mistake. I could have done better. I learned valuable lessons from this experience."

Instead, at a moment where our national security was clearly compromised, you denied, you deflected, and then you demeaned and degraded those people who objectively told the truth and criticized your actions.

Smearing people, attacking folks, singling them out, just furthers—it compounds what I think is disqualifying about you for this position.

It also, to me, just shows profound cowardice. You should step up right now. I heard Senator Coons. I heard you being asked by Senator Kaine again and again to simply say, "I was wrong. I made a mistake. I take responsibility for my actions."

Unfortunately, what you are doing to me is perfectly in line with the way this Administration as a whole has operated. I have never seen an Administration that has made no mistakes, cannot learn

constructively from things they did wrong, has no sense of self-interrogation or integrity, and should they be criticized legitimately, they go on the attack.

We have too much of that rhetoric, that divisive, demeaning, degrading, cruelty that is being elevated and celebrated by this Administration that you seem to fall in line with.

I just watched with great disappointment that even after weeks if not months of reflection you could not sit before this committee and take some responsibility and talk constructively about what is learned.

Instead, you do what seems to be yet another creative tool that people are doing which is, hey, let me just blame Biden.

I want to take another moment to discuss concerns I have with this Administration's approach to the United Nations and its dealings with African countries.

Every country in the U.N. gets one vote in the General Assembly no matter how large or small it is, so diplomacy and staffing at our State Department and their embassies really matter.

But this Administration has fired over 1,350 staff at the State Department including whole offices that spearheaded multilateral affairs. Sub-Saharan Africa alone—the member states have 49 votes.

I have watched how China has done everything they can to court support at the United Nations and how we wonder why are so many countries voting against us, and I truly believe—and I have said this to the Secretary of State—that we need to start prioritizing African nations, start focusing on what I believe is urgently within our national interests if not our national security interests.

It seems to me that we are ceding and surrendering sub-Saharan Africa to China, who is stepping up more and more and filling in the void of our leadership.

So I have no questions for you, sir. I have nothing but deep disappointment in what I consider a failure of leadership on your part.

God, America needs now more than ever—forget the partisanship—just people to step up and show heart and integrity and honor.

When you lie, defer, deflect, demean, and degrade journalists to me it is absolutely unacceptable. I have no questions. I cannot support your nomination.

I think you have shown a failure of leadership at a time that America especially needs people of honor to stand up and show what leadership actually.

Senator RISCH. Senator Scott.

Senator SCOTT OF FLORIDA. First off, congratulations to each one of you for your nominations and for your individual success.

So if each of you could just take a couple minutes, and say, assume you get through this wonderful process and you get confirmed on the floor, which is difficult right now, what are you going to—what would be success at the end of your time in these roles?

Mike, do you want to start?

Representative WALTZ. Sure. Thank you, Senator. I appreciate your support.

I appreciate the men and women that I have had to lead in combat, and I think the last thing they would call me is a coward.

So I appreciate deeply our relationship both for the good of Florida and for the good of the country. What does success look like in the U.N.? It looks like, again, under the President and Secretary's leadership, one, getting it back to actually solving problems.

The things that we are seeing, the successes that we have seen under this President—a peace agreement in Africa, resolving what could have been a nuclear exchange between Pakistan and India, securing our border, heck, even a water treaty that Mexico was not honoring that we established in 1944 for south Texan farmers, the ongoing efforts going from at least here to here in terms of Ukraine and Russia and trying to end that horrific conflict, a ceasefire with Israel and Iran—I could continue.

I mean, it has been an amazing 6 months, and it is just beginning.

Those should be dealt with in the U.N. That should be the place where we are coming together. We have talked about the anti-Semitism that has to go. We have talked about the reforms in terms of these 80+ agencies with often duplicative and wasteful mandates.

I could—I want to give some time to my colleagues here, but if I get just those things done in support of Secretary Rubio and the President I think we will have made a tremendous step forward.

Senator SCOTT OF FLORIDA. Ms. Toretti, what would you like to accomplish? What would be successful?

Ms. TORETTI. Thank you, Senator Scott, for that question.

First of all, our mission is to make the United States safer, stronger, and more prosperous. I am thrilled to have the opportunity, if approved, to represent the United States in Sweden.

I think Sweden is a magnificent country, a magnificent partner of ours. I am really anxious to look at our defense areas, whether it is stopping the shadow fleet in the Balkan, or working on the Arctic Circle. We forget that we are an Arctic nation, and we need to make sure that we are active up there.

China is partnering with Russia to use that as a waterway—the New Silk Road, as it is—and I want to make sure that we are focused up there and working through that with our Nordic neighbors.

On the economic areas, I want to make sure that we continue to partner with our industries in the United States as well as those in Sweden.

We have some great partnerships right now with Ericsson in the telecommunications area. Saab-Boeing partnership is exceptional, and I would like to build on that.

IKEA is continuing to invest in the United States, and just recently we signed a TSA where we will have commercial satellites being deployed from Sweden with a commercial company called Firefly.

So those are a few of the things that I am looking forward to. Thank you for the question.

Senator SCOTT OF FLORIDA. Thank you.

Mr. Arrigo.

Mr. ARRIGO. Thank you very much, Senator. Thank you very much for taking the time to speak with me the other day.

I have been sitting on the bench for 7 months. I have not done that in business, and I have not done it in sports my whole life, and I am ecstatic or maybe just overwhelmed with the fact that one day, if confirmed, I can get to Portugal and do the mission that President Trump and Secretary Rubio have entrusted in me.

And I will let the people know at—the amazing people at the embassy there in Lisbon that what they are going to get from—if confirmed, from this ambassador is going to be a lot of empathy, passion, and a lot of common sense, and I have just the utmost respect for each and every one of them.

I have done some reading, some research. I have talked to some of the people there, and I just know that they are going to see that in me, and we are going to have wins.

We have missions to accomplish. We are going to have a lot of wins. But I did not come out of retirement to be miserable. Not only are we going to have wins, but we are going to have fun doing it because I believe that is very, very important.

I think a lot of things will get done, and I am not going to sit here right now and say I am the best foreign relations scholar. I tell you, I feel like I am a scholar of some, but I am a student of most and I will—I will learn from those dedicated people at the embassy, and I will just be there to enhance and to continue the great work that they have been doing over the last several years, and I look forward, if confirmed, to being their leader.

Thank you.

Senator SCOTT OF FLORIDA. Congratulations on each of your nominations. Good luck.

Senator RISCH. Thank you, Senator.

Ms. Toretti, I hope you will communicate to the Swedish government how much we appreciate their joining NATO. They were disinclined to join NATO for a long time, and we had been urging them for a long time to join NATO.

They bring some real attributes to the organization, and frankly, as I was fighting that battle the two recalcitrants that we had I told them I would rather trade them for both Sweden and Finland than that—than have them and which they were not too happy to hear.

But, nonetheless, I hope you will carry that appreciation that we have when you get there, please.

So with that, Senator Rosen, you are up.

Senator ROSEN. [Off mic.]

Senator RISCH. Time is up.

[Laughter.]

Senator ROSEN. And again, thank you, Mr. Chairman. I appreciate it.

But before I begin my questions I just want to raise my deep concerns with the mass reductions in force that took place in the State Department on Friday.

I find it particularly troubling that many of those who were let go worked on issues related to women, to human rights, and counterterrorism, and I do look forward to discussing this more in depth on this committee, going forward.

So, Congressman, I want to start with you because this morning it was reported despite being removed from your role as National Security Advisor in May—removed from your role, right, not working—surprisingly you have been on the White House payroll for the last few months.

So throughout this hearing you have made assertions that if confirmed you would root out waste and unnecessary overhead at the U.N.

So can you confirm for us whether you have been receiving a salary from the White House since being let go at the NSA?

Representative WALTZ. Thank you, Senator.

I was not fired. The President never said that, nor did the Vice President. I was kept on as an advisor, transitioning a number of important—a number of important activities and now hope to be confirmed with the Senate's consent to be U.N.—

Senator ROSEN. So you are saying that you were not dismissed from your role as was publicly reported? Because it has also been publicly reported that you have been receiving almost \$200,000 of the taxpayer money since you were dismissed from being the national security advisor.

Representative WALTZ. Well, the reporting, Senator, is fake news, which should not surprise anyone. The President was clear. His announcement was, "I will nominate"—

Senator ROSEN. You know, fake news cannot be the answer to everything.

Representative WALTZ [continuing]. The President and the Vice President were quite clear that—

Senator ROSEN. So we are going to move on to UNESCO because we have got a lot to talk about there.

Undoubtedly, UNESCO has its flaws, including the history of anti-Israel bias. But the U.S. has also played a key role in defending Israel at the U.N. agency.

So the U.S. has called for votes against unbalanced resolutions and supported efforts that promote international Holocaust education, press freedom, literacy programs, scientific innovation, and protect and restore cultural heritage sites.

Since rejoining UNESCO in 2023 the U.S. has also successfully included references to Hamas's October 7 terrorist attack and the plight of the hostages in UNESCO documents.

However, during periods of U.S. withdrawal from UNESCO China has stepped up its own engagement, becoming UNESCO's largest financial contributor and using this platform to push its own priorities. We know they are contrary to ours.

So, Congressman, how might maintaining our presence at UNESCO support its work on U.S. priorities like Holocaust education, press freedom, all of the other things that I just mentioned, while ensuring that the PRC does not continue to expand its influence within the body?

And how can our membership in UNESCO continue to provide us that platform for countering any future anti-Israel actions, and I would say, terrorism overall?

Representative WALTZ. Thank you, Congresswoman. Excuse me—thank you, Senator, and I certainly support, as I mentioned

to the Ranking Member, any initiative to block and tackle Chinese Communist Party influence throughout any of these organizations.

However, I do think we have to review closely our membership in these organizations if we are getting return for the taxpayer dollars—if they are in line with our interests.

Senator ROSEN. Would you recommend—

Representative WALTZ. As you know, in the first term we withdrew from UNESCO. Under President Reagan we renewed from UNESCO, and often it has been incredibly unhelpful to both Israel and the United States on the world stage.

Senator ROSEN. Do you think you would recommend to Secretary Rubio we withdraw from UNESCO?

Representative WALTZ. If confirmed, I will engage with Secretary Rubio and participate in that review, but as you know, it is currently under review.

Senator ROSEN. Thank you.

Let us see, because Order—yes.

So I am sorry. Withdrawing from UNESCO, I want to go back to that because Order 14199 mandates a review of the United States participation in UNESCO and explicitly requires the U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. consult with the Secretary of State.

So we will look forward to that report from you on that.

I do have some questions about women in Ukraine, but I know that—oh, Senator Barrasso is here, so that is fine. You were kind enough to leave it open.

Senator RISCH. I appreciate that.

We have had a good hearing. Thank you to our witnesses for being here, and I am going to keep the record open until close of business tomorrow for questions for the record, which if you get I would appreciate it if you would answer them promptly.

Further, we have not—again, thank you to you and your families for your gracious willingness to serve your country, and we have letters we have received in support of the witnesses which I will order included in the record.

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

Senator RISCH. With that, the hearing is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 12:19 p.m., the hearing was adjourned.]

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### Additional Material Submitted for the Record

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

*Question.* Portugal, a founding member of NATO, has taken strides toward upholding its commitments to our collective defense. Its government has promised to fulfill its commitment to spend 2 percent defense by the end of this year, and to reach NATO's new pledge of 5 percent by 2035. How will you engage your Portuguese counterparts to keep them on track with defense spending goals?

*Answer.* President Trump has made clear that increased defense spending by Europe is a top Administration priority, and this certainly includes Portugal.

If confirmed, I will urge Portugal to continue to modernize its military and increase defense spending to meet all of its NATO commitments and encourage Portugal to consider U.S. weapons systems in its modernization efforts, which will help Portugal maintain interoperability with the United States.

*Question.* What kinds of opportunities can the U.S. offer to Portugal to help them reach these goals?

Answer. If confirmed, I will urge Portugal to continue to invest in its defense industrial base and work closely with American defense firms. As Portugal modernizes its air force, I will encourage Portugal to consider F-35 fighters that would significantly enhance Portugal's military capabilities and represent the single largest defense acquisition in Portugal's history.

*Question.* Portugal has one of the highest rates of Chinese investment per capita in the European Union, which puts its own as well as its neighbors' economic security at risk. How will you engage the Portuguese government to take appropriate action to counter risks posed by China's outsized role in its economy?

Answer. China's investments in key sectors in Portugal has been growing at a concerning pace, including in energy, banking, and media. China has also leveraged its relationship with Portugal as a steppingstone to gain influence in Africa and Latin America. Portugal has taken some measures to harden its defenses against investment risks and economic coercion, including by banning Huawei, but more must be done. If confirmed, I will work closely with Portugal to address the significant challenges China poses as a strategic competitor to the United States and Europe and work with Portugal to strengthen its investment screening regime.

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RESPONSE TO AN ADDITIONAL QUESTION FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED  
TO JOHN ARRIGO BY SENATOR JEANNE SHAHEEN

*Question.* As we ask Portugal and other European Allies to increase defense spending, I am concerned that tariffs do not help achieve that goal. Moreover, the U.S. exports liquified natural gas, aircraft parts and corn to Portugal, which are getting hit by reciprocal measures.

*Do you commit to meeting with the U.S. industries impacted by the trade war with Europe to understand their concerns?*

Answer. I commit to meeting with U.S. industries to understand their concerns. I support President Trump's efforts to make our trade relationships fair and reciprocal. If confirmed, I will also make it a priority to identify more export opportunities for U.S. businesses while welcoming more Portuguese investments to the United States.

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RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED  
TO JOHN ARRIGO BY SENATOR CORY A. BOOKER

*Question.* If confirmed, what "wins" would you hope to accomplish as U.S. Ambassador to Portugal?

Answer. Working with Portugal to meet its NATO commitment on defense spending will be one of my top priorities.

If confirmed, I will urge Portugal to continue to invest in its defense industrial base and work closely with American defense firms. As Portugal modernizes its air force, I will encourage Portugal to consider F-35 fighters that would significantly enhance its military capabilities and represent the single largest defense acquisition in Portugal's history. In addition, I will push for increased opportunities for U.S. companies to support development of Portugal's ample critical minerals resources, such as its large lithium deposits.

*Question.* In your view, how will U.S. tariffs on products from the EU affect the U.S.-Portugal economic relationship?

Answer. The United States is Portugal's largest trading partner outside of the European Union, but we have a \$3.54 billion goods trade deficit with Portugal. I support President Trump's efforts to make our trade relationships fair and reciprocal. If confirmed, I will make it a priority to identify more export opportunities for U.S. businesses while welcoming more Portuguese investments to the United States that will benefit both countries.

*Question.* If confirmed, how would you promote the U.S.-Portugal trade and investment relationship?

Answer. On trade, we have a robust economic relationship and have become Portugal's largest non-EU trading partner; 40 percent of Portugal's LNG is sourced

from the United States, and Portugal invested nearly \$1 billion in the United States in 2023. If confirmed, I will prioritize expanding business opportunities for the United States and welcome more investments from Portugal while building on our significant defense and security ties.

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RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED  
TO MICHAEL G. WALTZ BY SENATOR JAMES E. RISCH

*Question.* What will be your priorities for countering China's influence at the United Nations, particularly in entities like the U.N. Security Council, the U.N. Economic and Social Council, and technical bodies like the International Telecommunications Union or the Food and Agriculture Organization?

*Answer.* If confirmed, I will prioritize countering China's efforts to reshape the U.N. system in ways that legitimize authoritarian governance and weaken international norms. The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) has worked to align the U.N. with its foreign policy objectives, often pressuring developing nations to fall in line by leveraging trade, technology sales, and development assistance.

If confirmed, I will work across the U.N. to push back against these efforts and ensure that the U.N. remains a platform for advancing universal values like transparency, accountability, and human rights. I will also focus on China's effort to grow its influence in specialized and technical bodies such as the International Telecommunication Union (ITU) and the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), where China has promoted standards and rules that advance its national interests over impartial, science-based approaches. We will work toward the re-election of Doreen Bogdan-Martin, a U.S. citizen, as Secretary General of the ITU.

China also uses financial tactics to extract concessions, such as delaying payments to influence senior appointments. If confirmed, I will support reforms to enhance fair staffing practices and highlight China's delayed payments. I will also prioritize recruiting and supporting qualified Americans for positions across the U.N. system to counter China's strategic staffing efforts.

If confirmed, I will lead with American values, advocate for principled reform, and ensure that U.S. investments in the U.N. serve our national interests and reinforce the founding principles of the U.N. Charter.

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

*Answer.* Yes. If confirmed, I will counter China's use of the U.N. to repress dissent and silence criticism. I will defend transparency, accountability, and fundamental freedoms within the U.N. system.

If confirmed, I will also support Taiwan's meaningful participation in international organizations. I will push back on China's misuse and mischaracterization of U.N. General Assembly resolution 2758 and support the sovereign rights of Member States to make their own foreign policy decisions on engagement with Taiwan.

*Question.* Pro-abortion groups consistently seek to manipulate the U.N. system, including its various bodies, funds, programs, and specialized agencies, to create a presumed "right" to abortion. Is access to abortion a fundamental human right?

*Answer.* No. If confirmed, I will make clear that the United States does not regard access to abortion as a human right. U.S. policy remains consistent on this point, and I will ensure that our positions at the U.N. reflect that understanding.

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

*Answer.* No. Every person has the same human rights, and if confirmed, I will affirm that the United States does not recognize abortion as part of any international human rights framework.

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

*Answer.* Yes. If confirmed, I will take all legislative restrictions, including those related to abortion, very seriously and will work to ensure compliance.

*Question.* If confirmed, what steps would you take to support cooperation between the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the govern-

ments of El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras to enhance their refugee settlement capacity?

*Answer.* If confirmed, I would leverage the United States' considerable influence as the agency's largest donor to strengthen cooperation between UNHCR and other humanitarian partners in the region with the governments of El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras. If confirmed, I will work to promote durable solutions to displacement, such as strengthening efficient national asylum systems and local integration for displaced persons.

I would also work with UNHCR to facilitate economic opportunities for refugees, returnees, and other displaced persons to ensure integration in these countries for the long term and disincentivize illegal immigration to the United States.

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

*Answer.* Yes. If confirmed, I will use the voice and vote of the United States at the United Nations to support efforts to hold perpetrators of human rights abuses in Venezuela accountable.

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

*Answer.* If confirmed, I will approach the implementation of UNSCR 2719 with caution and ensure that we only consider applications when it directly advances U.S. goals of burden-sharing and when the AU and U.N. have demonstrated readiness. I recognize the importance of maintaining strong safeguards, including Security Council approval for any mandate, ensuring assessed contributions do not exceed 75 percent of a mission's budget, and preserving the ability of the United States to block decisions that are not in our national interest.

If confirmed, I will work closely with Congress, the interagency, and our international partners to ensure that U.S. contributions, including any application of UNSCR 2719, advance this Administration's priority of making America safer, stronger, and more prosperous. I will commit to consulting with you and your Committee during those deliberations and on any future proposals to apply UNSCR 2719.

*Question.* Will you commit to consulting with me and this Committee on any proposals to apply UNSCR 2719 to African peace missions?

*Answer.* Yes. If confirmed, I will fully commit to consulting with you and this Committee on any proposals to apply UNSCR 2719 to African Union peace support operations.

*Question.* The prior administration expressed reluctance to be "isolated on the Security Council" on Africa-related matters, including advancing U.S. priorities and using the veto when necessary (e.g., in the case of UNSCR 2719). What is your approach to collaborating with like-minded partners to ensure Security Council outcomes on Africa align with U.S. policies?

*Answer.* If confirmed, I will work closely with like-minded partners on the Security Council to ensure outcomes related to Africa support peace, security, and governance in ways that are aligned with U.S. interests and values. We must not shy away from standing firm, including through the use of the veto when necessary, to prevent outcomes that undercut accountability, effectiveness, or responsible stewardship of U.S. resources.

UN peacekeeping in Africa must adapt to ensure it is as effective and efficient a tool for advancing peace and security as possible.

If confirmed, I will look for opportunities to pursue reforms to improve accountability, effectiveness, efficiency, and adaptability of U.N. peacekeeping, especially given our renewed focus on efficiency in government operations. Where missions are no longer effective nor advance U.S. interests, I will support drawdowns or transitions. And where African Union-led peace support operations are considered under UNSCR 2719, I will insist on strict safeguards, including adherence to the 75 percent funding cap.

*Question.* Are you prepared to threaten or use the veto if U.S. objectives are unmet?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I will not hesitate to use the veto when U.S. objectives are not met or when Security Council outcomes conflict with our national interests, values, or long-standing policy positions. The veto is a critical tool for protecting U.S. sovereignty and ensuring the United Nations remains aligned with the principles of the U.N. Charter and the responsibilities of the Security Council's permanent members.

While I will always seek constructive engagement with our partners to achieve consensus, I will be prepared to act decisively when needed to uphold and defend U.S. priorities.

*Question.* Do you commit to ensuring that the US Mission at the U.N. is well coordinated with the State Department's Africa Bureau as it relates to the role of MONUSCO in US-led peace efforts in Eastern DRC?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I will fully commit to ensuring close coordination between the U.S. Mission to the United Nations and the State Department's Africa Bureau on all matters related to MONUSCO and broader U.S.-led peace efforts in Eastern DRC. Effective coordination is essential to aligning our diplomatic, security, and humanitarian efforts and to ensuring that our engagement at the U.N. supports a coherent and unified U.S. policy.

If confirmed, I will prioritize regular communication and collaboration to help deliver sustainable peace and stability in the region.

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

Answer. If confirmed, I will use every available tool at the United Nations to support forward-looking efforts to achieve a durable resolution to the conflict, in line with U.S. policy to pursue a comprehensive ceasefire and a negotiated peace. I will support the President's effort to bring both Russia and Ukraine to the negotiating table, particularly with the current 50-day pre-sanction window. Once we end this unnecessary conflict, we will review our options for accountability, justice for victims, and investigating atrocities.

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

Answer. If confirmed, I will make it a priority to ensure that all U.S. assistance provided through U.N. institutions, mechanisms, and partners is managed with the highest standards of oversight, transparency, and accountability. American taxpayer resources must be used effectively and for their intended purpose, especially in conflict-affected environments.

I will work closely with U.N. agencies and partner institutions to demand clear reporting, strong financial controls, and independent verification of how funds are spent. I will also support enhanced audit practices and regular reviews to evaluate performance and ensure results.

On Ukraine and other partners affected by the conflict, I will coordinate with colleagues in the Department to maintain strict oversight of our contributions. My focus will be on ensuring that U.S. assistance is both impactful and responsibly managed.

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

Answer. If confirmed, I will make it a top priority to counter China's growing influence across the U.N. system, particularly where China seeks to erode international norms, shield its own record, and reshape institutions to reflect authoritarian values rather than the principles of the U.N. Charter.

If confirmed, in the U.N. Security Council, I will work closely with our allies and partners to resist efforts by China to undermine core principles such as sovereignty and human rights.

Regarding the Human Rights Council, the United States' withdrawal was a deliberate decision based on serious concerns about the Council's credibility and membership. A Council that includes some of the world's worst human rights violators, such as Cuba or China, cannot credibly serve its intended function. While that with-

drawal attracted significant attention, it was based on a clear-eyed assessment of the Council's strategic value to U.S. interests and the principles it purports to uphold.

In specialized and technical bodies like the Food and Agriculture Organization, I will prioritize impartiality, transparency, and scientific integrity. These institutions must remain focused on their mandates, free from politicization. I will also support the placement of qualified American professionals in leadership and technical roles to ensure balanced representation and strong advocacy for U.S. priorities.

If confirmed, I will lead with American values, ensure our resources are used effectively, and promote reforms that strengthen the U.N. system against manipulation by authoritarian actors.

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

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I will firmly commit to countering China's transnational repression at the United Nations. The U.N. must remain a forum for transparency, accountability, and the protection of fundamental freedoms. I will oppose any attempts by the Chinese government to use U.N. platforms to intimidate dissidents, suppress debate, or pressure other countries into silence.

I also fully support Taiwan's meaningful participation in international organizations. If confirmed, I will work closely with like-minded partners to push back against efforts to isolate Taiwan, defend the sovereign rights of countries to engage with Taiwan free from coercion, and ensure that international organizations remain inclusive, effective, and aligned with their founding principles.

*Question.* For the Regular Budget, the U.S. has been assessed at a fixed rate of 22 percent since the Helms-Biden agreement was negotiated in 1999 (\$636.6 million in fiscal year 2020). The U.S. is now closely followed by China (20 percent), the first time China has gained near-peer competitive status in assessed funding. If confirmed, can you commit to this committee that you adhere to this cap and ensure in future scales of assessments under your tenure that the United States does not exceed 22 percent?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I will fully commit to working to ensure that in future scales of assessments, the U.S. contribution does not exceed 22 percent. This ceiling remains critical for ensuring fairness, managing financial burden-sharing, and protecting U.S. taxpayer interests.

The United States has consistently paid more than any other country into the U.N. system, and I will work to ensure that this contribution remains aligned with our national interest. The General Assembly's decision to preserve the U.S. ceiling at 22 percent through 2027 is an important achievement, especially as China's assessment rate approaches near-parity for the first time.

*Question.* How can you use the leverage available to you to ensure appropriate burden sharing and that one country does not pay a disproportionate amount?

Answer. If confirmed, I will use every tool available to ensure that the United States does not shoulder a disproportionate share of the financial burden at the United Nations. I will press for burden sharing by engaging directly with other major contributors and emerging economies to encourage them to take on greater responsibility.

Through active diplomacy, strategic alliances, and firm negotiating positions, I will work to protect the interests of U.S. taxpayers and ensure that the U.N. remains both effective and accountable.

*Question.* For the Peacekeeping budget, the U.S. was assessed at a fixed rate of 26.1 percent in the last scales of assessment. This exceeds the 25 percent cap enacted in 1994 and which has since been only enforced by Republican administrations. If confirmed, do you commit to adhering to the 25 percent cap which is U.S. law?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I will fully comply with the 25 percent cap on U.S. contributions to U.N. peacekeeping, as required by U.S. law. This cap reflects a long-standing bipartisan position that the United States should not bear a disproportionate share of the costs of peacekeeping operations.

If confirmed, I will work with the United Nations and with other member states to press for fairer burden sharing and to encourage all countries to contribute more toward global peace and security.

If confirmed, I will also support efforts to make peacekeeping missions more efficient and result-driven so that available resources are used wisely and in ways that deliver real impact.

*Question.* How can you use the leverage available to you to ensure appropriate burden sharing and that one country does not pay a disproportionate amount?

*Answer.* If confirmed, I will use U.S. leadership and diplomatic engagement to ensure that burden sharing at the United Nations is fair and that no single country, including the United States, is responsible for an outsized share of funding.

*Question.* If confirmed, do you commit to revitalizing the Junior Professional Officer (JPO) program, including increased recruitment for qualified Americans to serve in strategic roles across the U.N. Technical Agencies?

*Answer.* Yes. If confirmed, I will work to strengthen the JPO program to increase U.S. representation in strategic roles across U.N. technical agencies. The program is a valuable tool for developing American talent and advancing U.S. interests within the U.N. system. I appreciate Congress's continued support and, if confirmed, will coordinate closely with relevant stakeholders to expand U.S. participation in the program in ways that advance our strategic priorities.

*Question.* How can the United States institutionalize a strategy to identify key roles across strategic U.N. agencies of choice and subsequently advocate and place Americans in these roles? Please explain.

*Answer.* If confirmed, I will work with IO Bureau to support a coordinated and cohesive strategy to identify key positions across U.N. agencies critical to U.S. interests and ensure qualified Americans are prepared and supported to fill them. This includes regular interagency coordination to monitor vacancies, prioritize roles, and align advocacy across the State Department and all U.S. Missions to the U.N.

If confirmed, I will enhance outreach by leveraging the State Department's IO Bureau Careers website and promoting opportunities through public channels including LinkedIn and other social media platforms.

*Question.* In your role as Ambassador to the United Nations, how will you make sure the US and allies lead on emerging technology standard development across relevant U.N. agencies, and counter CCP influence per their Standards 2035 plan?

*Answer.* If confirmed, I will work to ensure that the United States and our allies take a leading role in shaping the development of technology standards across relevant U.N. agencies.

China's Standards 2035 plan is a clear effort to dominate global standard-setting in ways that advance authoritarian governance and favor state-controlled models. If confirmed, I will coordinate with allies and partners to resist these efforts and promote technical standards that support innovation, interoperability, and individual freedoms.

This includes working to support qualified American candidates competing for key positions across technical bodies, such as the ITU, increasing U.S. and industry engagement in standard-setting forums, and ensuring close coordination between the U.S. Mission to the U.N. and relevant agencies in Washington.

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RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED  
TO MICHAEL G. WALTZ BY SENATOR JEANNE SHAHEEN

*Europe*

*Question.* Earlier this year, the United States voted against a resolution "advancing a comprehensive, just and lasting peace" in Ukraine on the 3rd anniversary of Russia's full-scale invasion. That vote aligned the United States with Russia, Belarus and North Korea—and was the first time that the U.S. voted with Russia on a Ukraine-related resolution since 2014. Do you think it is in our interest to side with Russia—not Ukraine?

*Answer.* Since the start of the war 11 years ago, the United Nations has repeatedly condemned Russia's blatant violations of the U.N. Charter. Multiple resolutions of the General Assembly demanded that Russia withdraw its forces from Ukraine; however, those resolutions failed to stop the war. On the third anniversary of the full-scale conflict, the United States introduced a simple, historic statement in the General Assembly that looked forward, not backwards, and focused on one, simple idea: ending the war. The United States opposed other resolutions because they did not commit us to ending the war and working toward a lasting peace.

If confirmed, I will use the platform of the U.N. Security Council and General Assembly to support President Trump's goals of quickly securing a comprehensive ceasefire and negotiating a durable resolution to the war to end the senseless bloodshed.

*Question.* If confirmed, do you commit to making clear at the U.N. that the U.S. condemns Russia's illegal and unprovoked war against Ukraine?

Answer. Under President Trump's leadership, the United States has been clear and consistent in calling on Russia to negotiate in good faith toward a ceasefire and a lasting, durable peace. I will work to ensure that the U.N. remains a platform where the international community stands united in defense of the U.N. Charter. I will also support forward-looking efforts to achieve a durable resolution to the Russia-Ukraine war, in line with U.S. policy to pursue a comprehensive ceasefire and a negotiated peace.

*Question.* The situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina continues to be precarious due to Milorad Dodik's continued flirtations with secession. Maintaining a peacekeeping force in Bosnia is a small but important investment to prevent renewed conflict. If confirmed, do you commit to working with our Allies to secure a seamless renewal of the EUFOR Althea mandate at the Security Council to maintain peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to working with our allies to ensure peace and security in all regions, and to secure our allies' commitment to the same. EUFOR Althea is an example of a European force attempting to maintain European peace. President Trump supports peace in the Western Balkans; EUFOR Althea can help achieve that peace.

#### *Middle East*

*Question.* What is your view on the U.N. sanctions regimes on Syria?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work to implement the President's June 30 executive order on Syria, including working with the Secretary of State to advance U.S. policy objectives at the U.N. to support a Syria that is stable and at peace and to support Syrian efforts to counter terrorism, and comply with its responsibilities and obligations concerning weapons of mass destruction, including chemical and biological weapons. I will also work with Secretary Rubio to pursue avenues to provide sanctions relief at the United Nations in support of these objectives.

*Question.* Last week, The U.S. and Israel were the only two countries to oppose a U.N. General Assembly resolution condemning the Taliban's repression of women and girls and urging the international community to address Afghanistan's worsening humanitarian crisis. If confirmed, how would you support Afghan women and girls at the UN?

Answer. If confirmed, I will continue to advocate for all women and girls, including those in Afghanistan. The Trump Administration has been clear on the importance of women and girls' protection and empowerment. Women's economic empowerment promotes prosperity and strengthens a country's markets and productivity.

#### *Africa*

*Question.* If confirmed, would you support expanding the current arms embargo on the Darfur region to include all of Sudan?

Answer. If confirmed, I will prioritize humanitarian access and protection of civilians—and leverage the U.N. sanctions tool to hold malign actors to account.

*Question.* If confirmed, how would you work within the United Nations Security Council system to hold external actors like the UAE, Russia, and China accountable for supplying weapons into Sudan?

Answer. If confirmed, I will prioritize humanitarian access and protection of civilians—and leverage the U.N. sanctions tool to hold malign actors to account.

#### *Human Rights*

*Question.* There are bipartisan concerns about reprisals against human rights actors cooperating with the U.N. The number of reported victims increased over the past year as has the number of Member States enacting laws to punish or hinder cooperation with the U.N. and its human rights mechanisms. Will you commit to engaging with Member States responsible for reprisals and intimidation against human rights actors for engaging with the UN?

**Answer.** The United States remains actively engaged on human rights issues and has a variety of tools to ensure U.S. values and interests are represented globally. These include oversight bodies like the U.N. General Assembly, where the Administration is already promoting sound resolutions on particular human rights violating countries and pushing for reforms and accountability. If confirmed, I will pursue a human rights agenda in line with our national interest, support victims of human rights abuses and work to prevent abuses and violations in other venues. I will also consult closely with our allies to take actions to address the most egregious country situations.

*Question.* If confirmed, will you press to eliminate obstacles that delay the accreditation of civil society organizations working on human rights to access the UN?

**Answer.** If confirmed, I will work to eliminate obstacles and ensure that civil society organizations are able to participate in the U.N. in a meaningful way.

Relatedly, the United States takes seriously its obligations as host country under the U.N. Headquarters Agreement.

If confirmed, I will commit to assisting with questions about travel to New York for U.N. meetings, especially in advance of the United Nations General Assembly High Level Week in New York this September.

#### *Fentanyl Trafficking*

*Question.* The trafficking of fentanyl and fentanyl precursor chemicals has exacerbated a public health epidemic in the United States that continues to devastate communities across New Hampshire. Global cooperation on synthetic opioids, including within the United Nations system, is essential to addressing this threat. U.S. leadership, for example, has been pivotal to getting the U.N. Commission on Narcotic Drugs to schedule multiple fentanyl precursors over the last several years. But it is clear more needs to be done. What is your assessment of the UN's role in countering fentanyl trafficking, and in what concrete ways would you seek to utilize the U.N. system to strengthen global cooperation on fentanyl and other synthetic opioids?

**Answer.** If confirmed, I commit to working with the U.N. and this committee to address this serious issue and work to stop trafficking of fentanyl and other synthetic opioids.

In June 2025, the United States announced its candidacy for the U.N. Commission on Narcotic Drugs for the term 2028–2031, signaling continued commitment to leading this U.N. body's important work.

#### *UN System*

*Question.* Do you support expanding permanent membership at the U.N. Security Council?

**Answer.** It is time for us to bring the United Nations, and specifically the Security Council, back to its original purpose: the maintenance of international peace and security, including the peaceful settlement of disputes.

The United States is fortunate to have many supporters in the Security Council on a range of issues where our interests overlap. While discussions about new permanent seats continue, the focus should remain on ensuring the Council effectively addresses global security challenges.

If confirmed, I will put U.S. priorities first, working with the permanent and elected members of the Security Council to advance our shared security, political, and economic interests.

*Question.* If confirmed, do you commit to increase the number of American citizens in the U.N. system and if yes, how do you intend to do so?

**Answer.** If confirmed, I will work with IO Bureau to support a coordinated and cohesive strategy to identify key positions across U.N. agencies critical to U.S. interests and support qualified U.S. citizens to fill these positions. This includes regular interagency coordination to monitor vacancies, prioritize roles, and align advocacy across the State Department and all U.S. Missions to the U.N.

If confirmed, I will enhance outreach by leveraging the State Department's IO Bureau Careers website and promoting opportunities through public channels including LinkedIn and other social media platforms.

#### *Women, Peace and Security*

*Question.* If confirmed, how will you work to advance the Women, Peace and Security agenda at the United Nations?

**Answer.** If confirmed, I will use multilateral diplomacy to advance American interests and influence, including to promote the rights and empowerment of women

and girls globally. I will work closely with the Department of State to prioritize at the U.N. the safety of women and girls in conflict and crisis, and support their meaningful participation in all decisionmaking and security processes.

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RESPONSE TO AN ADDITIONAL QUESTION FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED  
TO MICHAEL G. WALTZ BY SENATOR TIM KAINE

*Question.* We can all agree that the US would like to have a larger influence over the U.N. and its agencies. We are concerned that we consistently see China, in particular, boosting its role in the U.N. and its operations, which undermines U.S. national security interests worldwide. An obvious way to address this is to do everything we can to make sure that more Americans serve in key roles, not only at U.N. organizations like the World Food Program and UNICEF but also ensuring that U.S. citizens are in leadership roles within the U.N. itself and running more U.N. agencies. Will you commit to using your voice, vote, and influence to help Americans secure key positions at the U.N. and different leading U.N. agencies?

*Answer.* If confirmed, I will continue the Administration's efforts to actively secure U.S. candidates both in appointed positions and in elections, to counter our strategic competitors' malign influence.

I will also advocate for the streamlining of inefficiencies in U.N. hiring processes. And I look forward to investing in the development of U.S. citizen talent pipelines and increasing outreach to U.S. citizens serving in the U.N. system at all levels.

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RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED  
TO MICHAEL G. WALTZ BY SENATOR CORY A. BOOKER

*UN Security Council Sudan Arms Embargo: There is currently a U.N. arms embargo on Darfur, but it is not effectively enforced. The flow of weapons creates a serious security concern and perpetuates and increases the lethality of the conflict throughout Sudan.*

*Question.* If confirmed, would you work to better enforce the current Darfur arms embargo?

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

*Question.* If so, how would you go about this?

*Answer.* If confirmed, I would explore every option at my disposal to foster collective diplomacy, in addition to leveraging U.N. sanctions tools to hold malign actors to account.

*Question.* If confirmed, would you work in the U.N. Security Council to expand the arms embargo to include all of Sudan?

*Answer.* If confirmed, I will consider supporting an expansion of the arms embargo.

*Question.* If confirmed, would you work with the other U.N. Security Council members to hold those that violate the embargo accountable for violations?

*Answer.* If confirmed, I will hold malign actors to account, particularly those who violate the arms embargo.

*Sudan Conflict: The conflict in Sudan has led to the largest and fastest growing humanitarian crisis in the world, and it is still expanding. In Sudan, a child dies from malnutrition every 2 hours. There is genocide taking place in Darfur being perpetrated by the RSF.*

*Question.* If confirmed, how will you elevate the plight of the Sudanese people and work to end the conflict?

*Answer.* The suffering in Sudan demonstrates the importance of achieving a swift and durable negotiated end to the conflict and the importance of humanitarian access and protection of civilians. If confirmed, I will continue to emphasize the importance of accountability for those responsible for ongoing atrocities, including brutal acts of sexual violence against women and girls.

*Question.* If confirmed, will you support civilian protection efforts?

**Answer.** I recognize the U.N. cannot operate effectively in Sudan following the military takeover and forced closure of the U.N. special political mission in 2023, but it can continue to support Sudanese refugees and displaced persons. If confirmed, I will call on Sudan's warring parties to cease hostilities, advocate for civilian protections, use U.N. sanctions to hold perpetrators accountable, and emphasize the need for justice for ongoing atrocities, including sexual violence against women and girls.

**Question.** If confirmed, will you support surging humanitarian assistance in Sudan and to Sudanese refugee camps?

**Answer.** Parties to the conflict continue to impede humanitarian access, causing famine, immense loss of life, and wasted resources. Aid is severely obstructed due to key routes being blocked or too dangerous to use, attacks on humanitarian, delayed or denied approvals for convoys, looting, widespread bureaucratic impediments, and other challenges.

If confirmed, I will advocate for civilian protection, while using U.N. sanctions to hold harmful actors accountable. I will consider the readiness of parties to facilitate humanitarian access and enable humanitarian delivery when making decisions about funding, programming, and partnerships on broader initiatives.

*Permanent Seat at U.N. Security Council for African Countries: In September 2024, the U.S. Government announced that it would support 2 permanent seats for African countries within the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), notably without veto power.*

**Question.** What is your opinion on two African countries receiving permanent seats on the United Nations Security Council?

**Answer.** It is time for us to bring the United Nations, and specifically the Security Council, back to its original purpose: the maintenance of international peace and security, including the peaceful settlement of disputes. While discussions about new permanent seats continue, the focus should remain on ensuring the Council effectively addresses global security challenges.

**Question.** If confirmed, would you support this reform of the United Nations Security Council?

**Answer.** If confirmed, I will work to advance the policy of the Trump Administration on Security Council reform. The United States is fortunate to have many supporters in the Security Council on issues where our interests overlap. I will put U.S. priorities first, working with both permanent and elected members to advance our shared security, political, and economic interests.

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RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED  
TO MICHAEL G. WALTZ BY SENATOR BRIAN SCHATZ

*While the U.N. could undoubtedly be more efficient, it and its associated bodies are a venue where the U.S. engages strategically to further our interests and values. The President's Budget Request, if enacted, would drastically reduce U.S. funding to the U.N.*

**Question.** If confirmed, what reforms or alternative approaches on increasing efficiency would you seek to discuss with U.N. leadership?

**Answer.** The U.N. must return to its founding mission of promoting peace and security around the world. If confirmed, I will work to move the institution back toward this mission and advance President Trump's foreign policy priorities.

This includes eliminating redundant mandates and duplicative activities in ensuring that the U.N. is effective and efficient in delivering on its many mandates. If confirmed, I will work to hold the U.N. accountable and demand the highest standards of transparency, efficiency, professionalism, and integrity of the institution.

**Question.** What is the methodology for the administration review for which specific U.N. bodies should not receive U.S. participation, funding, or should otherwise be downsized or eliminated?

**Answer.** The President, through an Executive Order, has ordered a review of U.S. participation in all international intergovernmental organizations of which the United States is a member and provides funding or other support. This review also includes all treaties and conventions to which we are a party.

The purpose of the review is to determine which organizations, conventions, and treaties are contrary to the interests of the United States and whether they can be

reformed and to provide recommendations on whether the United States should withdraw from them.

This review is underway and will conclude in early August. If confirmed, I will work to ensure our commitments to international organizations are in the best interest of the United States.

*Question.* Are there any areas of U.N. work that you would look to enhance or expand? If so, which ones, and on what basis do you believe U.S. participation is in the U.S. national interest.

Answer. As I noted in my opening statement, we must return to the UN's Charter and basic principles. Our first duty is to the American people to ensure taxpayer dollars are invested wisely and effectively. If confirmed, I will work to hold the U.N. accountable and advance our priorities.

UN peacekeeping must adapt to be a more effective and efficient tool for advancing peace and security. We will carefully consider whether missions are in alignment with U.S. interests, performing effectively, and improving peace and security.

If confirmed, I will champion reforms to improve the transparency and effectiveness of the U.N. system and continue to counter China's influence through strong American leadership.

If confirmed, I will challenge pervasive antisemitism in the U.N. system.

I am committed to maintaining our influence in the U.N. system and advancing U.S. interests to ensure our nation is safer, more secure, and more prosperous.

*Question.* Do you believe that U.N. aid to children and those in dire need around the world is something the United States should continue to support? If not, why not?

Answer. As Secretary Rubio has stated, the United States is the most generous country in the world. However, the United States has carried a disproportionate share of humanitarian assistance; a role that is not sustainable.

We recognize the critical nature of life-saving assistance, and if confirmed, I will uphold the U.S. commitment to providing lifesaving assistance while advancing U.S. strategic priorities.

*Question.* What impact will a substantial reduction in our contributions to the U.N. and its associated organizations have on U.S. influence at the UN?

Answer. The United States has consistently paid more than any other country into the U.N. system, and I will work to ensure that this contribution remains aligned with our national interest.

I will press for equitable burden sharing by engaging directly with other major contributors and emerging economies to encourage them to take on greater responsibility consistent with their economic capacity.

Through active diplomacy, strategic alliances, and firm negotiating positions, I will work to protect the interests of U.S. taxpayers and ensure that the U.N. remains both effective and accountable.

*During your confirmation hearing, you noted that U.N. peacekeeping missions, while valuable in some circumstances, can also be expensive and unaccountable.*

*Question.* If confirmed, which specific reforms would you seek to enact regarding peacekeeping operations?

Answer. If confirmed, I will look for opportunities to pursue reforms to improve accountability, effectiveness, efficiency, and adaptability of U.N. peacekeeping. This includes ensuring the U.N. enforces its zero-tolerance policy for sexual exploitation and abuse, which has been an issue in peacekeeping missions. Where missions are no longer effective nor advance U.S. interests, I will support drawdowns or transitions.

If confirmed, I look forward to remaining in consultation with Congress on this issue.

*Question.* Do you believe that U.N. peacekeeping operations are something the U.S. should continue to fund? If not, what are the alternatives that do not cause increased expenditures or U.S. military deployments?

Answer. As noted in my opening statement, U.N. peacekeeping has an important role, but it needs reform. We must press the Security Council to reduce costs, demand accountability, and focus on peacekeeping, not nation-building.

If confirmed, I will work with the United Nations and with other member states to press for fairer burden sharing and to encourage all countries to contribute more toward global peace and security.

I will also support efforts to make peacekeeping missions more efficient and result-driven so that available resources are used wisely and in ways that deliver real impact.

If confirmed, I will ensure the 25 percent cap on U.S. contributions to U.N. peacekeeping is adhered to, as required by U.S. law.

*Question.* How would you support the U.N. Command in the Republic of Korea in its crucial role of maintaining the armistice there, as North Korea becomes more militarily capable and the Trump administration considers removing U.S. forces?

*Answer.* While the United Nations Command plays a critical role to maintain the Armistice Agreement, it does not fall under the purview of the United Nations, nor the position of the U.S. Representative to the United Nations.

*The influence of the government and private sector of the People's Republic of China (PRC) at the International Telecommunications Union (ITU) is pervasive and especially worrisome given the importance of ITU standard-setting for the digital economy and cybersecurity.*

*Question.* What specifically should the U.S. do to support our own experts as well as others that share our values in the non-profit and private sectors in pushing back at the ITU on PRC and allied proposals that don't respect privacy and advance a state-led internet paradigm?

*Answer.* If confirmed, I will work across the U.N. to push back against these efforts and ensure that the U.N. remains a platform for advancing values like transparency, accountability, and human rights. I will focus on China's concerning effort to grow its influence in specialized and technical bodies such as the International Telecommunication Union (ITU) where China has promoted standards and rules that advance its national interests over impartial, science-based approaches.

China also uses financial tactics to extract concessions, such as delaying payments to influence senior appointments. If confirmed, I will support reforms to enhance fair staffing practices and highlight China's delayed payments.

Increasing U.S. citizen representation at the U.N. is one of the most effective and strategic ways to instill U.S. values in the multilateral system and counter our strategic competitors' malign influence. If confirmed, I will prioritize recruiting and supporting qualified Americans for positions across the U.N. system to counter China's strategic staffing efforts—including working toward the re-election of Doreen Bogdan-Martin, a U.S. citizen, as Secretary-General of the ITU.

If confirmed, I will lead with American values, advocate for principled reform, and ensure that U.S. investments in the U.N. serve our national interests and reinforce the founding principles of the U.N. Charter.

*Due to their small size, most Pacific Island countries do not have embassies in Washington, DC, only U.N. missions, making that a crucial venue to engage these countries.*

*Question.* As a part of our security strategy in Asia, do you commit to using your platform to fully engage the Pacific Island countries if confirmed?

*Answer.* Yes. Doing so is both the right thing to do and advances American interests at the United Nations, as Pacific Island countries are often partners in key U.N. votes and initiatives.

*Question.* Climate change is an existential risk for some Pacific Island countries—if confirmed, do you commit to partnering with these countries to help protect them from destructive weather events and sea level rise, including through resilient port, airfield, and other infrastructure, where it is in U.S. national security interest to do so?

*Answer.* I am committed to maintaining our influence in the U.N. system and advancing U.S. interests to ensure our nation is safer, stronger, and more prosperous. I will work with countries and partners where it is in the U.S. national security interest to do so, such as with our Compact of Free Association partners in the Pacific.

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RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED  
TO MICHAEL G. WALTZ BY SENATOR CHRIS VAN HOLLEN

*Armenia-Azerbaijan*

*In March, you posted on X “Conflict in the South Caucasus must end. I spoke this week with Mr. Hikmet Hajiyev, the national security advisor for*

*President Aliyev in Azerbaijan. We are pleased Azerbaijan and Armenia have taken a big step forward and agreed to a peace treaty. I told him we should finalize this peace deal now, release the prisoners, and work together to make the region more secure and prosperous.” Since then, Armenia has consistently expressed readiness to sign the agreement, while Azerbaijan has stalled, including by introducing new demands—such as changes to Armenia’s constitution to remove what it claims are implicit territorial references to Nagorno Karabakh, a claim Armenia denies. On July 14, President Trump stated that the Armenia-Azerbaijan conflict “looks like that’s going to come to a successful conclusion.” On July 16, media reports indicated the United States has offered to manage a transport corridor through Armenia’s Syunik region, a development that could impact final negotiations.*

*Question.* Do you believe Azerbaijan is now prepared to finalize the agreement? What actions is the United States taking to encourage Baku to move forward?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to using the United Nations as a platform to support the peace process between Armenia and Azerbaijan, including advocating for greater regional integration and increased trade through the South Caucasus. If confirmed, I look forward to working for a lasting peace, as part of the Trump Administration’s growing number of peace deals across multiple countries.

*Question.* What are the details of the U.S. proposal to manage a transport corridor through Armenia’s southern Syunik province?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to using the United Nations as a diplomatic platform and source of resources to facilitate and operationalize bilateral agreements between Armenia and Azerbaijan facilitated by the United States.

*Question.* You’ve emphasized the importance of securing the release of Armenian captives held in Baku. What efforts have been made so far to facilitate their release?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to using the United Nations as a platform to bring attention to issues of concern with Armenia and Azerbaijan. We will continue to advocate in the United Nations for humane treatment and fair trials throughout the world.

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RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED  
TO MICHAEL G. WALTZ BY SENATOR JACKY ROSEN

*Anti-Israel Bias at the United Nations: Over the past year and a half, Israel’s adversaries have proven able to use several United Nations forums and mechanisms to advance delegitimization and isolation campaigns that have also fueled rising antisemitism worldwide. United Nations officials have at times amplified distorted or even false narratives about Israel’s conduct in Gaza that further this effort at vilifying and erasing Hamas. Some independent experts and mechanisms have played a very prominent role in propagating hyperbolic legal analysis denying Israel’s right to self-defense against Hamas and distorting international legal concepts so that they can be applied to Israel. Absent U.S. leadership and sustained engagement, there is no prospect for these harmful initiatives to be curtailed.*

*Question.* The U.S. is often in a very small minority of states voting against anti-Israel resolutions at the U.N. General Assembly. How will you encourage our allies and partners to join us in pushing back against these resolutions and one-sided narratives that vilify Israel?

Answer. The United States will not tolerate the pervasive anti-Israel bias and antisemitism at the U.N. If confirmed, I will vigorously oppose resolutions or other actions that seek to delegitimize Israel, curtail its inherent right to self-defense, or undermine its standing as a U.N. member. I will more strategically engage in private likeminded allies to more vocally join the United States in pushing back on resolutions and other actions wrongly targeting Israel, including by strengthening our diplomatic relationships and building upon our shared interests. I will also pursue openings with new strategic partners who have shifted closer to our policy positions, such as Argentina, to finally begin to build a coalition of stronger like-minded nations and end this rampant anti-Israel bias.

*Question.* How will you leverage U.S. influence to encourage the countries that propose and enthusiastically back anti-Israel initiatives—many of which have important bilateral relationships with the U.S.—to change course?

**Answer.** In coordination with other colleagues in the Department, I will use a combination of diplomatic, economic, and public diplomacy tools to help shape counterparts' incentives to better align with the United States on Israel in multilateral fora like the U.N.

I will encourage member states to recognize Israel's role as a stabilizing force in the Middle East, including its contributions to counterterrorism and security, while also showcasing Israel's technological and economic innovations. Partnership with Israel and support for peace and reconciliation is a pathway toward enhanced bilateral ties with the United States.

**Question.** How will you ensure that the U.S. withdrawal from engagement with the U.N. Human Rights Council does not give Israel's adversaries an even greater opportunity to use that forum to create new mechanisms aimed at demonizing it?

**Answer.** The UNHRC's flaws are longstanding and well known. It has eroded its own credibility by electing serious human rights violators like China and Cuba. The body also exhibits ideological and antisemitic bias, often engaging in relentless, disproportionate targeting of Israel, as exemplified by its Agenda Item 7 singling out Israel and its reappointment of Special Rapporteur Francesca Albanese. The United States has called out Special Rapporteur Albanese for spewing unabashed antisemitism and has implemented sanctions against her.

The United States remains actively engaged on human rights issues and has successfully used a variety of diplomatic and bilateral tools to both support Israel at the Human Rights Council and ensure U.S. values and interests regarding the protection of human rights are represented globally.

**Question.** What steps will you take to catalyze greater international recognition and condemnation of Hamas's total disregard for international law, exemplified by its use of hostage-taking and hostage diplomacy, in U.N. forums and bodies?

**Answer.** It is critical for the United States to lead with strength and moral clarity. If confirmed, I will tirelessly uphold American values and strength as I advocate for our national interest within the U.N. and with member states.

If confirmed, I will advocate tirelessly for the 50 hostages who remain captive by Hamas, exert diplomatic pressure for their release, and hold Hamas accountable for doing so in the U.N.

*Combating Global Antisemitism at the United Nations: The UN's leadership has signaled some willingness to confront global antisemitism more seriously. In January of this year, the UN's Focal Point on Antisemitism, Under-Secretary-General Miguel Moratinos announced the release of the "United Nations Action Plan to Enhance Monitoring and Response to Antisemitism." It includes some important and positive components, such as developing training modules on antisemitism for U.N. personnel and ensuring that U.N. leaders speak out on antisemitism. It positively highlights the importance and widespread use of the IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism. It calls for establishing a monitoring mechanism including Jewish organizations and other stakeholders to which U.N. entities will report on progress.*

**Question.** What steps will you take to shine a light on the pernicious nature of global antisemitism at the U.N. and catalyze greater efforts by countries with Jewish communities facing unprecedented hostility, discrimination, and violence to more effectively combat it?

**Answer.** The United States will not tolerate the pervasive anti-Israel bias and antisemitism at the U.N. If confirmed, I will oppose resolutions that seek to curtail Israel's inherent right to self-defense, delegitimize it, or undermine its standing as a U.N. member. I will prioritize confronting the global wave of antisemitism by interfacing with global Jewish communities and addressing the issues they face, demanding that the U.N. system seriously address this crisis, and engaging directly with my diplomatic counterparts.

I will advocate for U.N. bodies and member states to embrace the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) working definition of antisemitism and to endorse and implement the U.S.-led Global Guidelines for Countering Antisemitism, which provide a clear framework for action within these fora.

**Question.** Do you intend to encourage the U.N. Secretary-General to implement the U.N. Plan of Action to Counter Antisemitism, and what are the most important actions you expect U.N. leaders to take?

**Answer.** If confirmed, I will lead the U.S. Mission to the U.N. to engage the U.N. Secretariat regarding its Plan of Action to Counter Antisemitism. The U.N. must

use the plan as an opportunity to effectuate positive change and press for its provisions to be implemented in a meaningful manner.

*Question.* Will you seek the President's authority to commit to upholding U.S. financial obligations to the U.N. if its leaders take key steps to address the organization's role as a driver of antisemitism while reducing waste and inefficiency at the UN?

Answer. The U.N. must return to its founding mission of promoting peace and security around the world. I will work to move the institution back toward this mission and advance President Trump's America-first, peace-through-strength foreign policy. I will work to hold the U.N. accountable and demand the highest standards of transparency, efficiency, professionalism, and integrity of the institution.

*Addressing Sexual Violence Committed by Hamas at the United Nations: In 2024, the Secretary-General's Special Adviser on Conflict-Related Sexual Violence undertook mission to Israel and wrote a report affirming that sexual violence was committed against Israeli victims on and after the October 7 terror attacks, which played an important role in combating denial that sexual violence occurred.*

*Question.* What steps will you take to ensure that U.N. actors and entities, as well as other governments, affirm Hamas's responsibility for committing systematic sexual violence as a weapon of war and ensure its remaining leaders are held accountable?

Answer. If confirmed, I will press member states and the U.N. to hold Hamas responsible for these horrific crimes. I will also work with the Secretariat and press the U.N. to hold Hamas militants who have participated in conflict-related sexual violence and mass atrocities accountable.

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RESPONSE TO AN ADDITIONAL QUESTION FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED  
TO CHRISTINE TORETTI BY SENATOR JAMES E. RISCH

*Question.* Sweden is a critical ally in areas that China and Russia are increasingly contesting, namely the Baltic Sea and the Arctic. Given its strong military and defense sector, and recent accession to NATO, there are many opportunities for Sweden to work with the U.S. to address some of our most vital national security interests in Europe. As Ambassador, how will you work with Sweden to deepen our defense partnership to counter critical threats from China and Russia in Europe?

Answer. Sweden possesses a capable military, strong defense-industrial base, resilient population, and cutting-edge technological expertise. It already deploys forces to counter Russian activity in the Baltic and has offered to purchase and donate U.S. military equipment to Ukraine.

If confirmed, I will work with Sweden to further bolster frontline NATO Allies' defense posture, jointly train U.S. and other NATO forces to operate in the Arctic, secure shipping and critical infrastructure in the Baltic Sea, push back on China's claims to an Arctic role, and secure advanced defense technology and critical infrastructure from espionage.

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RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED  
TO CHRISTINE TORETTI BY SENATOR JEANNE SHAHEEN

*Question.* NATO launched "Baltic Sentry" to bolster protection of critical infrastructure, which includes the use of frigates, patrol aircraft, naval drones and new technologies. If confirmed, will you support Nordic and Baltic nations' cooperation in this area?

Answer. Sweden is a crucial partner in promoting efforts to protect critical infrastructure, particularly critical Baltic Sea undersea infrastructure, and is an important contributor to NATO's Baltic Sentry. Baltic Sentry is an example of our NATO Allies providing for their own security. If confirmed, I will continue the United States' partnership with Sweden to safeguard critical infrastructure, enhance Nordic and Baltic nations' collaboration to deter and counter destabilizing acts, and further joint development of systems and technology to protect critical infrastructure.

*Question.* Do you commit to advocating for Sweden's ability to provide assistance to Ukraine, including for U.S.-origin equipment?

**Answer.** Sweden has been a critical partner in supporting Ukraine, sending more than \$9 billion in military and humanitarian support since February 2022. Sweden has volunteered to purchase U.S.-origin military systems to donate to Ukraine. If confirmed, I will work closely with Sweden to support President Trump's efforts to end the war and ensure continued adherence to the well-established review process for requests to export U.S. origin security assistance.

**Question.** What role do you see the U.S. Ambassador to Sweden playing in advocating for an increased NATO presence in the Arctic?

**Answer.** President Trump recognizes Arctic security is critical to U.S. safety and national security. Sweden shares concerns about increasing Russia-China cooperation, recognizes Russia's growing military presence, and values deeper NATO engagement in the Arctic. Sweden possesses well-trained and equipped Arctic forces and functions as an ideal platform for Arctic warfare training. If confirmed, I will urge Sweden to expand its Arctic capabilities, deepen U.S. cooperation with Sweden on Arctic security, and work alongside Sweden to enhance NATO's capacity to operate in the High North.

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RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED  
TO CHRISTINE TORETTI BY SENATOR CORY A. BOOKER

*Foreign and Security Policy. Sweden is a member of the 8-country Arctic Council (with the other four Nordic countries, as well as Russia, Canada, and the United States). Like the United States, Sweden views the Council as crucial to maintaining peaceful cooperation in the Arctic. However, Russia's war against Ukraine has affected the functioning of the Council since 2022 and raises questions about the Arctic Council's future.*

**Question.** If confirmed as Ambassador, how would you work to address shared U.S. and Swedish concerns with respect to managing Russian membership within the Arctic Council?

**Answer.** The United States and Sweden seek a peaceful, stable, and prosperous Arctic. Sweden concurs with the U.S. position that the Arctic Council is the premier Arctic governance forum to address shared challenges, increase prosperity, and protect our interests. Sweden shares our concerns about Russia, an Arctic state and member of the Arctic Council, and its activities in the Arctic. If confirmed, I will work with the U.S. Senior Arctic Official to cooperate with Sweden through the Arctic Council to advance a collaborative, peaceful vision for the Arctic.

**Question.** Do you see alignment between the Swedish government's and the Trump Administration's perceptions of security threats posed by Russia within the Arctic Council?

**Answer.** President Trump recognizes the role a safe and secure Arctic plays in our safety and national security. Sweden fully aligns with the United States concerning Russia's military activity in Ukraine, behavior incompatible with the values of sovereignty and territorial integrity that undergird the Arctic Council. If confirmed, I will coordinate closely with the U.S. Senior Arctic Official to ensure we address challenges to the Arctic Council with Sweden and manage military threats in the Arctic in other appropriate fora.

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*Submitted by Senator Tim Kaine*

The Trump Administration Is About to Incinerate 500 Tons of Emergency Food By  
Hana Kirov, The Atlantic July 14, 2025

Federal workers warned for months that the high-energy biscuits would go to waste.

Five months into its unprecedented dismantling of foreign-aid programs, the Trump administration has given the order to incinerate food instead of sending it to people abroad who need it. Nearly 500 metric tons of emergency food—enough to feed about 1.5 million children for a week—are set to expire tomorrow, according to current and former government employees with direct knowledge of the rations. Within weeks, two of those sources told me, the food, meant for children in Afghanistan and Pakistan, will be ash. (The sources I spoke with for this story requested anonymity for fear of professional repercussions.) Sometime near the end of the Biden administration, USAID spent about \$800,000 on the high-energy biscuits, one current and one former employee at the agency told me. The biscuits, which cram in the nutritional needs of a child under 5, are a stopgap measure, often used in scenarios where people have lost their homes in a natural disaster or fled a war faster than aid groups could set up a kitchen to receive them. They were stored in a Dubai warehouse and intended to go to the children this year.

Since January, when the Trump administration issued an executive order that halted virtually all American foreign assistance, federal workers have sent the new political leaders of USAID repeated requests to ship the biscuits while they were useful, according to the two USAID employees. USAID bought the biscuits intending to have the World Food Programme distribute them, and under previous circumstances, career staff could have handed off the biscuits to the United Nations agency on their own. But since Elon Musk's Department of Government Efficiency disbanded USAID and the State Department subsumed the agency, no money or aid items can move without the approval of the new heads of American foreign assistance, several current and former USAID employees told me. From January to mid-April, the responsibility rested with Pete Marocco, who worked across multiple agencies during the first Trump administration; then it passed to Jeremy Lewin, a law-school graduate in his 20s who was originally installed by DOGE and now has appointments at both USAID and State. Two of the USAID employees told me that staffers who sent the memos requesting approval

to move the food never got a response and did not know whether Marocco or Lewin ever received them. (The State Department did not answer my questions about why the food was never distributed.)

In May, Secretary of State Marco Rubio told representatives on the House Appropriations Committee that he would ensure that food aid would reach its intended recipients before spoiling. But by then, the order to incinerate the biscuits (which I later reviewed) had already been sent. Rubio has insisted that the administration embraces America's responsibility to continue saving foreign lives, including through food aid. But in April, according to NPR, the U.S. government eliminated all humanitarian aid to Afghanistan and Yemen, where, the State Department said at the time, providing food risks benefiting terrorists. (The State Department has offered no similar justification for pulling aid to Pakistan.) Even if the administration was unwilling to send the biscuits to the originally intended countries, other places—Sudan, say, where war is fueling the world's worst famine in decades—could have benefited. Instead, the biscuits in the Dubai warehouse continue to approach their expiration date, after which their vitamin and fat content will begin to deteriorate rapidly. At this point, United Arab Emirates policy prevents the biscuits from even being repurposed as animal feed.

Over the coming weeks, the food will be destroyed at a cost of \$130,000 to American taxpayers (on top of the \$800,000 used to purchase the biscuits), according to current and former federal aid workers I spoke with. One current USAID staffer told me he'd never seen anywhere near this many biscuits trashed over his decades working in American foreign aid. Sometimes food isn't stored properly in warehouses, or a flood or a terrorist group complicates deliveries; that might result in, at most, a few dozen tons of fortified foods being lost in a given year. But several of the aid workers I spoke with reiterated that they have never before seen the U.S. government simply give up on food that could have been put to good use.

The emergency biscuits slated for destruction represent only a small fraction of America's typical annual investment in food aid. In fiscal year 2023, USAID purchased more than 1 million metric tons of food from U.S. producers. But the collapse of American foreign aid raises the stakes of every loss. Typically, the biscuits are the first thing that World Food Programme workers hand to Afghan families who are being forced out of Pakistan and back to their home country,

which has been plagued by severe child malnutrition for years. Now the WFP can support only one of every 10 Afghans who are in urgent need of food assistance. The WFP projects that, globally, 58 million people are at risk for extreme hunger or starvation because this year, it lacks the money to feed them. Based on calculations from one of the current USAID employees I spoke with, the food marked for destruction could have met the nutritional needs of every child facing acute food insecurity in Gaza for a week.

Despite the administration's repeated promises to continue food aid, and Rubio's testimony that he would not allow existing food to go to waste, even more food could soon expire. Hundreds of thousands of boxes of emergency food pastes, also already purchased, are currently collecting dust in American warehouses. According to USAID inventory lists from January, more than 60,000 metric tons of food—much of it grown in America, and all already purchased by the U.S. government—were then sitting in warehouses across the world. That included 36,000 pounds of peas, oil, and cereal, which were stored in Djibouti and intended for distribution in Sudan and other countries in the Horn of Africa. A former senior official at USAID's Bureau for Humanitarian Assistance told me that, by the time she'd left her job earlier this month, very little of the food seemed to have moved; one of the current USAID employees I spoke with confirmed her impression, though he noted that, in recent weeks, small shipments have begun leaving the Djibouti warehouse.

Such operations are more difficult for USAID to manage today than they were last year because many of the humanitarian workers and supply-chain experts who once coordinated the movement of American-grown food to hungry people around the world no longer have their jobs. Last month, the CEOs of the two American companies that make another kind of emergency food for malnourished children both told The New York Times that the government seemed unsure of how to ship the food it had already purchased. Nor, they told me, have they received any new orders. (A State Department spokesperson told me that the department had recently approved additional purchases, but both CEOs told me they have yet to receive the orders. The State Department has not responded to further questions about these purchases.) But even if the Trump administration decides tomorrow to buy more food aid—or simply distribute what the government already owns while the food is still useful—it may no longer have the capacity to make sure anyone receives it.

*Submitted by Senator James E. Risch*

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**Steven Witkoff**  
Special Envoy to the Middle East  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW  
Washington, D.C. 20500

July 11, 2025

The Honorable Members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee  
United States Senate  
Dirksen Senate Office Building  
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Honorable Members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee,

I am honored to write this letter in strong support of Colonel Michael Waltz's nomination to serve as the United States Ambassador to the United Nations. As Special Envoy to the Middle East, I have had the privilege of working closely with Mike in the White House, witnessing firsthand his exceptional leadership, diplomatic acumen, and unwavering commitment to advancing America's interests on the global stage. His distinguished career as an Army Green Beret, U.S. Congressman, and National Security Advisor uniquely qualifies him to represent the United States with strength and integrity at the United Nations.

Mike's career is a testament to his dedication to public service and national security. As a Green Beret, he served with distinction in multiple combat tours across Afghanistan, the Middle East, and Africa, earning four Bronze Stars for valor and leadership under fire. His service as the first Army Special Forces soldier elected to Congress further demonstrated his commitment to translating battlefield experience into principled governance. Representing Florida's 6th Congressional District from 2019 to 2025, Mike served on the House Armed Services, Foreign Affairs, and Intelligence Committees, where he championed policies to counter global threats and strengthen U.S. alliances. His legislative record reflects a keen understanding of the interconnected nature of national security and diplomacy, qualities that will enable him to effectively advocate for U.S. priorities at the UN.

As National Security Advisor from January to May 2025, Mike played a pivotal role in shaping the Trump administration's foreign policy agenda. Mike's ability to bridge military, policy, and diplomatic perspectives was evident in his leadership of the National Security Council, where he worked tirelessly to ensure that America's interests were advanced with clarity and resolve.

Beyond his professional accomplishments, Mike's character and integrity make him an ideal candidate for this role. He is a proven leader who combines humility with determination, earning the respect of colleagues across the political spectrum. His authorship of *Warrior Diplomat: A Green Beret's Battles from Washington to Afghanistan* reflects his ability to articulate the nexus

of military service and diplomacy, offering insights that will resonate in the halls of the United Nations.

The role of U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations demands a leader with the experience, judgment, and vision to represent America's interests in a complex and often contentious global arena. Mike Waltz embodies these qualities, as demonstrated by his exemplary career and our shared work in the White House. I have no doubt that he will serve with distinction, advancing U.S. leadership and promoting a world that is safer and more prosperous for all Americans.

I respectfully urge the Committee to support Colonel Michael Waltz's confirmation as U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations. Please do not hesitate to contact me if I can provide further information or assistance during the confirmation process.

Sincerely,  
Steven Witkoff  
Special Envoy to the Middle East

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*Submitted by Senator David McCormick*

**Introduction for Christine Toretti  
Nominee to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of  
America to the Kingdom of Sweden  
Senate Foreign Relations Committee – Full Committee Nomination Hearing  
July 15, 2025**

Chairman Risch, Ranking Member Shaheen, and committee colleagues, I'm sorry I cannot be with you in person for today as I welcome President Trump to Pittsburgh. But I'm thankful to the Chairman for allowing a statement of appreciation and support for my friend, Christine Toretti, the nominee to be ambassador of the United States to the Kingdom of Sweden.

A pioneer in many walks of life, I first met Christine when my father was the Chancellor of the Pennsylvania State System of Higher Education and she was a trustee, and she has been a dear friend ever since. As a businesswoman, she is the former Chairman and CEO of the S. W. Jack Drilling Co., the largest privately-held land-based drilling company in the U.S. She serves as Vice Chairman of S&T Bancorp and is a former director of the Pittsburgh Federal Reserve Bank.

As a passionate philanthropist, Christine has served on many non-profit boards including the International Medical Corps, The Andy Warhol Museum, the Gettysburg Foundation, and has dedicated energy to training programs designed to educate, empower, and advance women.

Christine is also an extraordinary force in politics, supporting candidates and party organizations at the local, state, and national levels. She serves as the National Committeewoman of Pennsylvania to the Republican National Committee and was previously the Co-Chair of the RNC Finance Committee. She was one of the people I consulted first and relied on the most when I ran for the Senate.

Finally, and most importantly, she is mother to three sons: Joe, Max, and Matthew who are the prime motivators for her drive to serve and provide a better future for America.

Her astute business acumen, selflessness, and political leadership make her an ideal nominee to lead in this important post, and I'm certain she will honorably represent President Trump and the United States, as our next ambassador in Stockholm. I encourage my colleagues to vote to confirm this extraordinary Pennsylvanian and American.

