
Tuesday, January 24, 2017

BUSINESS MEETING

U.S. SENATE
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
115TH CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

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

1 The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 12:02 p.m., in Room S-116 Dirksen
2 Senate Office Building, Hon. Bob Corker, chairman of the committee, presiding.

3 Present: Senators Corker [presiding], Rubio, Johnson, Flake, Gardner, Young,
4 Barrasso, Isakson, Portman, Cardin, Menendez, Shaheen, Coons, Udall, Murphy, Kaine,
5 Merkley, and Booker.

OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. BOB CORKER, U.S. SENATOR FROM TENNESSEE

6 **THE CHAIRMAN:** The business meeting of the Senate Foreign Relations
7 Committee will come to order. Today we will consider the nomination of Nikki Haley
8 to be the U.S. representative to the United Nations and to be representative to the
9 General Assembly of the UN.

10 Governor Haley is a fierce advocate, as we all saw, for American interests. All of
11 us who have met her certainly have seen that. I believe she knows that the United
12 Nations needs reform and change. We have a right to demand value for our money. I
13 think our nominee has said she will demand that.

14 Experience shows that when we have strong U.S. leadership at the UN, we can
15 get results, and South Carolina's governor, Nikki Haley, certainly is a proven leader. I

1 believe she has the instincts -- many of us actually commented on her instincts -- that
2 will help her achieve reform. Having run a state government, she has dealt with tough
3 management and budgetary issues. I believe the experience will serve her well, and I
4 strongly support her nomination.

5 And I know she has spent a great deal of time trying to more fully grasp some of
6 the international issues that she will be dealing with, and my guess is in that capacity
7 quickly will move up to speed on those issues as well.

8 So, with that, I would like to recognize our distinguished ranking member for his
9 comments. Senator Cardin.

**STATEMENT OF HON. BEN CARDIN,
U.S. SENATOR FROM MARYLAND**

10 **SENATOR CARDIN:** Thank you, Mr. Chairman. First, I join you in your
11 assessment of Governor Haley. And we all were concerned about her lack of foreign
12 policy experience, but I agree with you. Her acknowledgment of and willingness to
13 comprehend the areas that she may not have the in-depth knowledge of was very
14 refreshing and very encouraging.

15 And her experience as governor of South Carolina is very impressive. The work
16 that she did in dealing with sensitive issues from the Confederate Flag to the tragedy
17 that took place in her State, is all very, very impressive. And I also found her energy
18 and commitment to the values of this country very, very encouraging.

1 At her confirmation, I liked what she had to say about the United Nations, that
2 she values the work that it does and the importance of our engagement. And in regards
3 to the funding issues, her statement many times about being opposed to just a cut
4 policy of slash and burn, I thought was encouraging for all of us.

5 Her clarity on our values -- American values, global values -- I found to be very,
6 very encouraging. She was very clear about Mr. Putin's activities in Syria elevating to
7 war crimes. She was very clear about President Duterte's activities and extrajudicial
8 killings in the Philippines being gross human rights violations. She was very clear
9 about her opposition to the registry of any sub-group of Americans. All of that I found
10 very encouraging.

11 But what I found most encouraging is that she gives me confidence that she will
12 stand up to Mr. Putin and stand up for American values in the United Nations and will
13 not be intimidated. And she will stand up in the Cabinet Room with the Trump
14 Administration as to these issues. And for all of those reasons, I strongly support her
15 confirmation.

16 **THE CHAIRMAN:** Senator Rubio.

17 **SENATOR RUBIO:** Thank you, Mr. Chairman. In 2009 or 2010, I was at an event in
18 South Carolina. I was an underdog candidate for the U.S. Senate, and I was there on a
19 fundraiser that my colleague, Jim DeMint, did for me. And I met this young woman
20 about my age, state legislator, and people told she was running for governor, but she

1 was in fifth or sixth of six people, and a nice person, but she is not going nowhere. Well,
2 sure enough three months, she -- about the same time as I was elected, she was elected
3 governor of South Carolina, an amazing story to begin with.

4 I have gotten to know her. I got to know her real well last year when she was
5 helpful to me. And I do admire a couple of things about her that I think will serve her
6 well in this role.

7 The first is a lot of people do not know this, but Governor Haley in her time in
8 South Carolina has basically battled her own party's legislature, at least for many years,
9 not simply on ideology, but on an entrenched kind of group of people that have been
10 there for a long time, and her ideas of changing the status quo. And she has, you know,
11 taken on a lot of political opposition from within her own party, and through it has
12 persevered. We all watched the way she handled the unfortunate series of events that
13 occurred in South Carolina that, of course, culminated in the whole debate about the
14 Confederate Flag.

15 And so, I just think she has this incredible fortitude that is going to serve her well
16 in this role. I also, quite frankly, thinks she is a great ambassador for America. In both
17 her personal story, in her growth as a leader, she embodies so many of the things that I
18 want people to think America is about when you think about America. And I do
19 believe that her background, both being a child of immigrants and growing up knowing
20 and understanding the greatness of America as not just a Nation, but as an idea,

1 positions her so uniquely to be our voice in that international forum that faces so many
2 extraordinary challenges.

3 There is a difference between believing in something and having it in your core,
4 and she has these values in her core. I am very, very excited about this nomination. I
5 think she -- we are going to look back on her service at the UN, I predict, as a model of
6 the kind of person we want serving our country in that venue. And so, I am excited to
7 support her. I am more excited for her, and I really look forward to this committee
8 working with her and what I think is going to be a phenomenal term there as our
9 representative for the United Nations.

10 **THE CHAIRMAN:** We have a large number of people here willing to vote. Are
11 there additional comments that anyone would like to make?

12 **SENATOR UDALL:** Senator Corker, I would like to just make a couple of brief
13 comments. The answers to the QFRs are much different than, I think, her testimony, so
14 I am going to vote no. I just want to highlight a couple of things.

15 First, on Cuba, she is against travel, against increasing access to the internet in
16 support of entrepreneurs. On climate change, she appears ready to oppose the key
17 aspect of the Paris Agreement, the nationally determined contribution, which I think is
18 the way the -- if you are going to undermine Paris, that is probably the way you pick to
19 do it. You stay at the table, but you undermine it that way. And labor, when she was in
20 South Carolina, asked about the minimum wage, more government mandates on

1 smaller businesses. She is not for pushing for the minimum wage on an international
2 level. Israel, and on her answers, I already explored that. Everybody saw that.

3 So, I am going to vote no.

4 **THE CHAIRMAN:** Yes, sir. Senator Murphy.

5 **SENATOR MURPHY:** Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I am going to vote yes because I
6 think she did, you know, I think a very credible job of presenting herself to the
7 committee and acknowledging that she has a lot to learn.

8 But I would agree with Senator Udall. Some of these questions -- answers to our
9 written questions directly contradict the commitments that she made to our committee.
10 I had a long exchange with her in which she made a commitment that the Trump
11 Administration would not threaten withdrawal of funds to the UN because of
12 disagreements we had over outcomes in the General Assembly. She seems to withdraw
13 from that commitment in her written testimony.

14 I imagine it is going to be the job of this committee to try to figure where the heck
15 this Administration is on foreign policy. The world has no idea today. And the fact that
16 there are contradictions in the written responses coming just days after oral testimony
17 to the contrary are not going to help solve it.

18 So, I am going to support her today, but I hope that we try to get to the bottom of
19 where the heck this Administration stands on some of these really important questions
20 sooner rather than later.

1 **THE CHAIRMAN:** I would like to speak to that after we vote. I appreciate you
2 bringing it up. And thank you -- I do not agree, but I appreciate very much the way
3 you go about business here. Yes, sir.

4 **SENATOR YOUNG:** Just briefly. I want to apologize to the senator from Virginia
5 and all my other colleagues. I did not have sufficient time to remove my tie before this
6 meeting, so.

7 [Laughter.]

8 **SENATOR YOUNG:** That is --

9 **THE CHAIRMAN:** That is it.

10 **SENATOR YOUNG:** Yeah, that is it.

11 [Laughter.]

12 **THE CHAIRMAN:** If there are no other comments, and I am glad to -- yes, sir.

13 **SENATOR MENENDEZ:** I would like my full statement to be included in the
14 record.

15 [The prepared statement of Senator Menendez follows:]

16 [COMMITTEE INSERT]

17 **SENATOR MENENDEZ:** I am going to support Governor Haley. She does not have
18 substantive foreign policy experience, but I think she has moral clarity as is evidenced
19 by her testimony before the committee.

1 And on a series of issues, from Russia's activities, and the defining them
2 appropriately, to human rights and democracy in the world, I think she expresses the
3 values that many of us want to see our UN ambassador advocate. Secondly, I take her
4 at her word that she is going to steadfastly advocate those values at the United Nations
5 and pursue the course that she largely, both in public and in private, said.

6 So, I will share some of the concerns about some answers to some questions, at
7 the end of the day, I am going to hold her to what she said under oath before the
8 committee. And so, I intend to support her today.

9 **THE CHAIRMAN:** Any other comments?

10 [No response.]

11 **THE CHAIRMAN:** I would entertain a --

12 **SENATOR CARDIN:** Mr. Chairman.

13 **THE CHAIRMAN:** Yes, sir.

14 **SENATOR CARDIN:** Before we vote, I understand that one of my members is on
15 the way over. I would just ask if we could vote, leave the record open for two minutes
16 so that person can get here.

17 **THE CHAIRMAN:** I am getting quite accustomed to that.

18 [Laughter.]

19 **SENATOR CARDIN:** There are a lot of hearings going on --

20 **THE CHAIRMAN:** We will be shooting the breeze during those times.

1 **SENATOR CARDIN:** Thank you.

2 **THE CHAIRMAN:** I will entertain a motion, if one would come forth, to voice
3 approval by voice vote.

4 **SENATOR RUBIO:** Second.

5 **SENATOR CARDIN:** I think they want a record vote. I was told that --

6 **THE CHAIRMAN:** I could put negatives in the record. Okay.

7 **SENATOR UDALL:** I am fine with a voice as long as you record --

8 **THE CHAIRMAN:** That is fine. Is there a second?

9 **VOICES:** Second.

10 **THE CHAIRMAN:** All in favor, say aye.

11 [A chorus of ayes.]

12 **THE CHAIRMAN:** All opposed?

13 [A chorus of noes.]

14 **THE CHAIRMAN:** On the record.

15 **SENATOR CARDIN:** The two, I have got their names in the record.

16 **THE CHAIRMAN:** Yeah, the ayes, we will put those in the record, both Senators
17 Coons and Udall. And with that, the ayes have it. We will send her to the floor with a
18 recommendation that she be approved.

19 This is just where we are I know. But I know there has been a lot of concerns
20 about the Trump foreign policy. And by the way, I think we can probably more fully

1 rely on her oral testimony than written statements that, let us face it, a whole host of
2 people helped put together.

3 But I do want to say that we have all worked together in the past to confirm
4 nominees quickly. We do not go through the motions. I am talking about for Secretary
5 of State -- we do not have motions to approve them. We just approve them on the floor
6 once they have come out of committee.

7 We are going to move Tillerson at the latest date. We have not -- actually Jim
8 Baker moved on January the 25th, which is tomorrow. We moved Hillary Clinton
9 January 21st, Colin Powell, January 20th, Warren Christopher, January 20th, even
10 Alexander Haig, January 22nd, Dean Rusk, January 21st. I could go through a whole
11 host.

12 And I just hope that -- I know that people are getting things out of their system,
13 and unfortunately it is playing out in our committee in multiple ways, which is
14 disappointing. But I just want to point out that we are going through a process where
15 we know the outcome. We know what the outcome is going to be on the floor, and we
16 have people that are concerned about where Trump is on foreign policy, and we have
17 somebody who could possibly help some with that. And we are delaying that for no
18 good reason that I can tell.

19 So, just an editorial comment. I will make one other. I have noticed in each of the
20 committees there has been a movement on the tax return issue. We had it today in

1 Banking. Lamar, my good friend, and yours is telling me the same thing is happening
2 in the HELP Committee. I just want to reiterate, and I know that apparently that may --
3 I hope it is not going to occur -- here with rules.

4 You know, we have had a tradition here, and we have utilized that tradition to
5 really move people out of here quickly. Senator Kerry, which, you know, married a
6 billionaire, Secretary Clinton. And I just hope that somehow or another before we get
7 to the rules piece, look, I know people are upset that President Trump did not turn his
8 tax returns in. I thought he should have, too. I agree. But I hope that we are not going
9 to try to change the way we conduct our committee because of the outcome of a
10 presidential race.

11 And I look at some of these questions that have been written, asking about
12 whether he sold hay on his ranch to foreigners. And it is just a low-level way of
13 approaching what we do. On our committee -- our nominees go through a grueling
14 process, and, you know, it is the same kind of process we go through as senators. And I
15 just hope that because a presidential candidate did not do certain things that were the
16 norm, it is not going to affect the way we do our committee business.

17 I know that Senator Schumer, my good friend and yours, is orchestrating this
18 throughout the system. I know that to be a fact. And I just hope that we will not allow
19 politics to infect our committee and cause us to stoop to levels that we just have not
20 before.

1 I think we moved many nominees out every month. Both Senator Menendez
2 and Senator Cardin were thanking us for the speed with which we dealt with folks, the
3 types of questions that were asked. And I just hope we will continue on that vein.
4 Hopefully the shock will move out of the system soon and we will begin to operate as
5 we always have.

6 **SENATOR CARDIN:** Mr. Chairman, can I respond?

7 **THE CHAIRMAN:** Yes.

8 **SENATOR CARDIN:** First of all, so the record reflects that Senator Booker is here.
9 We had a voice vote, and so I just wanted the record to reflect --

10 **THE CHAIRMAN:** Unless you want to be recorded no, I will leave things like it is.

11 **SENATOR BOOKER:** I will leave things like it is.

12 **THE CHAIRMAN:** Okay. Thank you.

13 **SENATOR CARDIN:** Let me respond. Look, I value the tradition of this committee.
14 The tradition of this committee is that we work in the national interest. I would not
15 even call it bipartisan. I think it is nonpartisan. And we have comity for each member
16 of this committee and for the joint leadership between the Democrats and Republicans.
17 I respect that, and I want to do everything I can to make sure that is maintained, and I
18 know the chairman feels the same way.

19 But at times we do have different views, so let me just express this as I see it
20 because I do agree with what you are trying to achieve, and I want to be part of

1 achieving that; that is, the reputation of this committee to be serious and to make sure
2 that we do things that are right.

3 This committee, under your leadership showed great respect for President
4 Obama's nominees, great respect. And you moved them with not only speed, but I
5 think with the right amount of dignity in our committee, and I respect you greatly for
6 the manner in which you did that. And I am going to try to do everything I can for
7 President Trump to reciprocate that, and I mean that.

8 Once it left our committee, we did not get that respect on the floor of the United
9 States Senate.

10 **THE CHAIRMAN:** All we can control is ourselves.

11 **SENATOR CARDIN:** Amen. That is what I am saying. I cannot control what is
12 going to happen on the floor of the United States Senate. That is going to be up to
13 Senator Schumer and Senator McConnell. And it was the same thing we saw, and you
14 performed some miracles to get some of the holds removed, and I thank you for that.
15 But we never had the ability to file a cloture motion on the floor. I think there was one
16 cloture motion that was filed, if I remember correctly, on an Obama nominee under
17 Republican control of the Senate. I might be wrong, maybe there was two, but I know
18 there was a limited number.

19 And many of his appointments never got through. Even though they passed our
20 committee, they never got through because of the unwillingness of the majority leader

1 to file cloture motions. And I am convinced had he filed a cloture motion, those
2 nominees would have been approved because we had by far the overwhelming
3 majority. There were a few objections by senators. So, I just raise that because I do not
4 control the floor. All I can control is what we do in this committee.

5 Let me say one other thing on a general note. Questions that are asked by
6 members, I do not believe it is appropriate for me as ranking member or the chairman
7 to question the questions that members want to ask of a nominee. Each senator has the
8 exact same rights.

9 I remember when I came to the Senate in 2007, I remember Leader Reid telling
10 me that I had the exact same right that he has, the exact same right as any other member
11 of the United States Senate. So, I do not question what any one of our colleagues here
12 asks on questions. And I think we should not try to characterize those questions. These
13 are --

14 **THE CHAIRMAN:** No, they are for the record. We can all read them.

15 **SENATOR CARDIN:** We can read them, and you can make your own judgments
16 on them.

17 **THE CHAIRMAN:** Yeah.

18 **SENATOR CARDIN:** But I would not question the motives of individual members.
19 The volume of questions that have been asked by Republican senators and Democratic
20 senators, we will go back and check, but my guess is they are kind of comparable. And

1 some of the questions that the chairman or I would think are not relevant to a
2 confirmation hearing, my guess is we are going to find many examples on both sides of
3 the aisle when these questions were asked. But that is not for me to raise. I think each
4 senator has to use his or her own judgment as to the questions they want to ask
5 nominees, and the nominee has a right to answer or not answer as he or she sees fit, and
6 we will be able to make those determinations.

7 In Mr. Tillerson's case, and I will be glad to go over every one of the answers,
8 there are numerous examples of non-responsive answers. That is his right. He can
9 answer any way he wants to answer, but there are a lot of non-responsive answers.
10 And so, I just would not prejudge that.

11 We did not use that to slow down the process. We are moving forward. We
12 voted in committee. I think we picked the very first available times for hearings and
13 for votes in the committee, so we did not slow things down. And we used record speed
14 considering this is a non-conventional nominee. This person never served in public life
15 before. He has never been vetted before. He has never shown his experience as a
16 public official before.

17 And the last thing on the taxes issues. This is not something I am being directed
18 by our leader to do. This is something that I believe is the right thing to do, so blame
19 me. Thirty percent of our committees in the United States Senate require the
20 production of tax returns. Thirty percent.

1 The Senate Foreign Relations Committee to me, if it is not the most important
2 committee in the United States Senate, it is on the top list. And someone who is going
3 to be Secretary of State, I think should produce their tax returns. That is my personal
4 belief.

5 **THE CHAIRMAN:** Why did you not believe that four years ago, Ben?

6 **SENATOR CARDIN:** It was not raised four years ago.

7 **THE CHAIRMAN:** And the --

8 **SENATOR CARDIN:** Hold on. The nominee four years ago had already released --

9 **THE CHAIRMAN:** Eight years before --

10 **SENATOR CARDIN:** They had already released it.

11 **THE CHAIRMAN:** Eight years before.

12 **SENATOR CARDIN:** But we knew everything about him. He had already filed his
13 disclosure statements and his -- and his stock -- all of the things that he had to comply
14 with. We already had a public record on Secretary Kerry --

15 **THE CHAIRMAN:** That is absolutely not --

16 **SENATOR CARDIN:** -- and we already had a public record on Secretary Clinton.
17 There was a public record out, and we had already vetted all those issues. And, quite
18 frankly, I was not ranking member of the committee at the time or chairman of the
19 committee at the time. So, it is a different responsibility when you become ranking
20 member or chairman to speak out on these issues.

1 **THE CHAIRMAN:** Yeah.

2 **SENATOR CARDIN:** So, look, I respect your passion on this issue. I think
3 ultimately this is a decision that we will make collectively as a group. What my
4 colleagues have said, we asked whether the nominee is willing to make their tax returns
5 available, and the nominees have always said yes.

6 **THE CHAIRMAN:** That is right – said they would make tax information available.

7 **SENATOR CARDIN:** Their tax -- but I think --

8 **THE CHAIRMAN:** But we have not asked for it. We have not asked for it.

9 **SENATOR CARDIN:** We have not asked for it, but we have asked in the
10 questionnaire whether they are willing to produce their tax returns --

11 **THE CHAIRMAN:** Yeah.

12 **SENATOR CARDIN:** -- and he said yes. If we ask the question, "are you willing to
13 produce the tax returns," one might just suppose that one day we are going to ask for
14 those tax returns.

15 **THE CHAIRMAN:** : If the committee decides. Let me just say this. Here is what I
16 am passionate about. You know, tax returns, candidly, if you ask me, I do not care.
17 They do not actually produce near the information that is produced in the Ethics
18 Disclosure Report, not even close. It is not that.

19 It is that you guys have constantly talked about the bipartisan way in which we
20 conduct this committee. Lamar has been the same way. In fairness, Johnny has been

1 the same way. I do not know Todd. All of a sudden, the shoe gets on the other foot,
2 and we have a different standard for nominees. That is what I am passionate about.

3 You know, I feel somewhat naïve having conducted myself in the way I have
4 over the four years that all of a sudden now we have an election outcome that is
5 different, and I expect my colleagues to conduct themselves in the same way that we
6 conducted ourselves, and I am finding a difference.

7 So, look, that is what I am passionate about. I do not give a rip about tax returns
8 or whatever. I just want the standards and the way people are treated to be the same,
9 and this committee has been that way for a decade. A decade. And now all of a sudden
10 because of a presidential race, everything is different. So, that is what I am passionate
11 about, okay?

12 Again, it is not this issue. Again, I look at some of the people that have been
13 disqualified, our senator from South Dakota that could have been head of HHS. My
14 god, our country would have been so much better off had he been HHS instead of what
15 happened. So, I do not even like those kind of gotcha things. I am willing to do what
16 the committee wishes to do.

17 And, Ben, look, this is me you are talking to. You know, you are not good at
18 contortions. I know that Chuck is driving this. I know he is driving this in every single
19 committee. I know it. You know it. Everybody here knows it.

1 **SENATOR CARDIN:** Just so you understand one thing, it is just not accurate. That
2 is not true. Just when we get to it, that is not true. I have never gotten instructions from
3 Senator Schumer on this issue, and I am telling you that on the record right this
4 moment. And I want to clear something else up --

5 **THE CHAIRMAN:** I do not want to embarrass anybody.

6 **SENATOR CARDIN:** I want to clear something else up.

7 **THE CHAIRMAN:** I do not want to embarrass anybody.

8 **SENATOR CARDIN:** I have said openly from the beginning that the tax returns
9 would not be produced unless the two of us agreed to it. So, we are not changing the
10 rules for Secretary-designee Tillerson. I have also said that the rule that I am going to
11 seek to have us vote on, would apply to the next Secretary of State, which may very
12 well be a Democratic president who makes that nomination in four years from now.
13 We do not know who the President is going to be in four years from now.

14 And it will not allow access to the specific information on a tax return, but it will
15 allow us to have the chairman and ranking member review the tax returns. And if there
16 is cause for concern, with the approval of the chairman and ranking member, it will go
17 beyond that. I think that is the responsible vetting that should be done of a nominee for
18 Secretary of State moving forward.

19 **SENATOR MENENDEZ:** Mr. Chairman.

20 **THE CHAIRMAN:** Yes, sir.

1 **SENATOR MENENDEZ:** Mr. Chairman, since you decided to put this on the record,
2 let me first say that you know I have the deepest respect for you.

3 **THE CHAIRMAN:** As I do you.

4 **SENATOR MENENDEZ:** And I appreciate that. And when I was the chairman, you
5 sometimes used your authority and the precedents that we had had, even though they
6 are not written into the rules, to hold back on certain things for periods of time until you
7 were satisfied. And they were not frequent, but they were used, and I respected that.

8 And when -- the question of this issue of tax returns, there is a reason that we ask
9 the question under the rules, are you willing to come forth with it, because if there is an
10 issue that arises that, therefore, one must ask because the circumstances that arise as to
11 any nominee -- Secretary of State or any other -- that because their financial interests
12 raises questions, as it did in this particular case.

13 It is not that other nominees have not had wealth. But the question is because of
14 the uniqueness of this nominee and the financial interests he had as it relates to a major
15 country for which we have a significant set of issues with, that future decision making
16 would be affected, and, therefore, having an understanding of that was how this arose.
17 So, I do not see it as a one-off.

18 As it relates to all the former Secretaries of State that you mentioned, they all had
19 very deep, deep foreign policy experience. These nominees so far have not. Now, that
20 does not mean they are disqualified because they do not, but the nature of having to do

1 true vetting, the true essence of the advise and consent has even gone deeper because
2 they do not have that experience. So, to do it, it is very important.

3 So, I regret that your characterization or the questioning of motives has -- that
4 you are upset. But as regards to the point of characterizing questioning the motives of
5 members, you know, I think many of my colleagues, now in positions of leadership,
6 forget that Mitch McConnell said we are going to make Barack Obama a one-term
7 President, and then used every procedural and other ability to accomplish that. Now,
8 there was relative silence on the other side about that, but I did not subscribe bad
9 motives to my colleagues because they were following their leader in trying to make
10 that happen.

11 So, I hope that you think about the context of these particular nominees. They
12 are unique. They are unique. I supported one today even though she does not have
13 deep foreign policy experience. I could not the other. I hope he can succeed if he
14 ultimately is confirmed by the Senate because it is important to the Nation, and I look
15 forward to working with anyone who is confirmed.

16 **THE CHAIRMAN:** Yeah.

17 **SENATOR MENENDEZ:** But I just think that, you know, the characterizations and
18 the questioning of motives does not inure to the benefit of the traditions that we have
19 had in the committee. And I understand what you are trying to preserve, and I seek to
20 preserve them as well. But there are circumstances, not just simply the questioning of

1 an election. There are circumstances that we have some very unique nominees that
2 have, you know, real issues that have to be deduced. And if you believe that
3 questioning those issues ultimately is in violation of the committee's traditions, then,
4 you know, I have --

5 **THE CHAIRMAN:** I am so glad you brought up the Senator McConnell issue
6 because that is exactly is what happening from my perspective. Yes, Senator McConnell
7 said those things, but never, never did you see Senator Lugar nor myself ever conduct
8 ourselves in this committee to be infected by that kind of thinking. Never.

9 And so, I am so glad you brought that up because I see now the shoe is on the
10 other foot, and it is not just this. It is a whole host of things that have happened since
11 the election has taken place And, again, it is just different. It is, you know -- it is just
12 different. And I am sorry, I am going to continue to state what I state. Yes, Senator
13 McConnell said the things he did. Did we act upon it in this committee? No, never.

14 And I am just hoping that because the outcome has been what it has been -- it has
15 been a shock to the system, candidly, on both sides of the aisle. I just want us to
16 continue to be the island that we have been of bipartisanship, and I do not want
17 different standards set all of a sudden.

18 There may be an instance where we wish to pursue something. But, you know,
19 Tillerson may not have much foreign policy experience, and I wish he was more
20 passionate on these issues. Look, I will tell you right now I wish he was. I wish the

1 clarity issue was there. Yes, I do. I still think he is qualified. But the Office of
2 Government Ethics gave him a sterling report. I mean, it is clean. He worked at one
3 company.

4 So, again, I know that this is happening in every committee, which is different.
5 We will deal with it when it comes up. My goal here is just one thing. Let us just keep
6 being what we have been. We have been an example to people all across the country,
7 we really have. People look at this committee under your leadership, and Ben's
8 leadership, and my leadership. They look at us as a place that has been able to be all the
9 things that people want a Foreign Relations Committee to be. And just between things
10 that have happened since the election, we are wandering off in a little bit of a different
11 direction, and I just hope that --

12 **SENATOR MENENDEZ:** Mr. Chairman, with all due respect, and I have the same
13 goal you do. I think every member does. I do not think anything that I have seen
14 Senator Cardin do as the ranking member suggests anything different, and to the
15 contrary. Despite pressures I have seen on him to ultimately delay and do other things,
16 he has rejected those --

17 **THE CHAIRMAN:** Yeah.

18 **SENATOR MENENDEZ:** -- and has worked to try to ensure that the essence of this
19 bipartisanship is retained, and I regret that you have a different feeling about it. But I
20 can tell you from being on the inside of the other side, I have -- I have the deepest

1 respect for what Ben has done to try and preserve the traditions of the committee. And
2 sometimes it is not all that easy, but I think he has done it, and I hope we get past this
3 period and continue to move as we have.

4 **THE CHAIRMAN:** Yes, sir.

5 **SENATOR YOUNG:** I will try to keep it very brief. I have enjoyed this candid
6 exchange of perspectives and so forth.

7 On just point of inquiry here being new on the committee, is it the tradition of
8 this committee to have these sorts of difficult conversations consistently in the presence
9 of staff, or do we from time to time decide that we should -- we should have them
10 among ourselves?

11 **THE CHAIRMAN:** I think the staff is very aware of all that has been happening.

12 **SENATOR YOUNG:** Okay. All right. And then secondarily, Ben, I will look
13 forward to working with you. You know, if prospectively we want to change things
14 here, my perspective is if we are going to make these requests of potential Cabinet
15 members, we who make the laws -- senators -- ought to abide by a similar sort of
16 standard. So, I think the threshold ought to be very, very high, and I think we ought to
17 be willing to step up to the plate as well. So, maybe we can have that dialogue --

18 **THE CHAIRMAN:** Well, maybe we provide our own tax returns.

19 **SENATOR YOUNG:** Yeah. Yeah, that is --

20 **THE CHAIRMAN:** That might be a good thing to do.

1 **SENATOR YOUNG:** Absolutely.

2 **THE CHAIRMAN:** If there is further discussion, the meeting is adjourned. Thank

3 you.

[WHEREUPON, AT 12:35 P.M., THE HEARING WAS ADJOURNED.]