

U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Business Meeting

Wednesday, July 28, 2021

BUSINESS MEETING

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U.S. SENATE
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
WASHINGTON, D.C.

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 9:00 a.m. in Room SD-G50, Hon. Bob Menendez, chairman of the committee, presiding.

Present: Senators Menendez [presiding], Cardin, Shaheen, Coons, Murphy, Kaine, Markey, Merkley, Booker, Schatz, Van Hollen, Risch, Rubio, Johnson, Romney, Paul, Barrasso, and Cruz.

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

The Chairman: This business meeting of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee will come to order.

I acknowledge that we have our nominees for the subsequent hearing before us, so we just ask you to sit and hold tight.

Today we will be marking up three legislative items, and voting on five Foreign Service Officer Promotion lists. As you all know, today's business meeting will be followed immediately by a nominations hearing.

U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Business Meeting

Wednesday, July 28, 2021

Now I have to make some remarks about today's meeting. We were also set to vote on a number of nominations today but, unfortunately, we have another request to hold over the entire slate of nominees.

This has now happened several times this Congress, with all of the requests coming from the same member of the minority. These holdovers are not a game. They can have serious and negative consequences for the State Department, U.S. personnel, and for our constituents.

Just look at two of the nominees from today's list that were held over. Absent the holdover we would have voted on Gentry Smith's nomination. Mr. Smith is a nominee to head the State Department's Bureau of Diplomatic Security. His nomination has been pending for over 90 days, and it will be further delayed due to this holdover. So I ask, why stop the person whose job it is to keep our people safe?

We would have also voted on Rena Bitter, the nominee to be Assistant Secretary of Consular Affairs. Every one of us has constituents who are desperate to get passports, and are frustrated by the enormous backlog at the State Department.

Ms. Bitter is a proven leader and committed to focusing like a laser on eliminating the backlog. She has been pending in the committee for over 90 days, but she will have to wait longer due to the holdover, and as a result, our constituents will likely have to wait longer as well.

U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Business Meeting

Wednesday, July 28, 2021

For decades members of this committee have used holdovers sparingly and, overall, responsibly, generally, when they have a question that needs to be answered, or they need a little more time to engage on the nominee. These constant and blanket holdovers are unprecedented, and in my view, unjustified in this committee.

No member of this committee has weaponized a holdover as has happened today, and over the last several months. As chairman, I have returned the committee to operating under comity. That means that the ranking member has cleared every item on every markup agenda, including all nominees. Given the extensive minority input, input that often, you know, understandably slows the process on the frontend, it is clear that these holdovers serve no purpose, other than delay. They are bad for the country, they are bad for our constituents, and they are testing the bounds of comity.

We now have almost 30 nominees pending in the committee with completed files, and we will likely have more than 50 nominees pending by the end of the August recess. It takes some hard work, but I am looking forward to working with the ranking member who has been, I must say, very cooperative and helpful in this regard, in trying to get more nominees up before the committee and hopefully to the floor before the recess.

Now let me turn to the legislative items on our agenda, we have before us today, S. 2297, the International Pandemic Preparedness and COVID-19 Response Act; S. 812, a bill championing

U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Business Meeting

Wednesday, July 28, 2021

Taiwan's observer status in the World Health Organization; and S. Res. 310, a resolution expressing solidarity with Cuban citizens and condemning the Cuban regime's latest acts of repression.

I am pleased that we will be marking up S. 2297, the International Pandemic Preparedness and COVID-19 Response Act. Senator Risch and I agreed to collaborate on this bill a few months ago, and today we have before us a bipartisan global health bill that includes a number of important measures to both enhance current COVID-19 response efforts and to ensure that we are better prepared for the next pandemic, whenever it may occur.

COVID-19 is continuing to rage in many countries around the world, most recently as the Delta variant is showing us, the novel coronavirus continues to pose a threat to American lives and livelihoods as long as it persists anywhere in the world. And as we have learned from the pandemic, this dark chapter in which we have lost so many lives, only with better planning and better preparation here in the United States and around the world can we protect ourselves, our communities, and future generations from emerging pathogens.

So I want to thank Senator Risch and his staff for their work on this bill, and the dedication to this critical issue. It is one of the issues the ranking member has made a central one with me, and I am glad that his name goes first on the bill.

We will also be considering S. 812, which I introduced with Senator Inhofe in support of Taiwan's observer status in the World Health Organization. Efforts by the People's Republic of China

U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Business Meeting

Wednesday, July 28, 2021

to block Taiwan from gaining observer status at the World Health Assembly are narrow-minded and endanger the international community, particularly as we work to recover from the COVID-19 pandemic.

This bill makes clear that the United States must do more to champion Taiwan's engagement in the international community and, particularly, at the World Health Organization at this time.

Finally, we will be marking up S. Res. 310, which I introduced along with Senators Rubio, Risch, Kaine, Cardin, and several other members, to demonstrate our bipartisan support for the Cuban people at a time when the Diaz Canel regime is desperately unleashing a campaign of violence, human rights abuses, and forced disappearances against the Cuban people.

We must make sure that U.S. actions are aimed solely at helping the Cuban people and holding the regime to account for its brutality. This is a bicameral, bipartisan resolution that shows the United States Congress is united in its unflinching support for Cubans' fundamental human and social rights. We are speaking in honor and admiration of the work being carried on by brave freedom fighters in Cuba, and we are making a solemn promise not to ignore the suffering and subjugation of the Cuban people as they inch closer to realizing a future of freedom and prosperity.

I look forward to the strong support on this and the other two legislative items before that.

And with that, let me recognize the distinguished ranking member, Senator Risch.

U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Business Meeting

Wednesday, July 28, 2021

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

Senator Risch: Well, Mr. Chairman, thank you very much. This bill, as you pointed out, has been a long time in coming. I started the first draft of this very, very early on in the pandemic when it became obvious that the world really was not equipped to deal with this.

We had the World Health Organization that all of us thought would be the appropriate way to respond to this, but this pandemic was different. The WHO had done a very good work in helping with PEPFAR, and the AIDS epidemic. It did very good work on polio, it did very good work on smallpox, but it was pretty evident right from the beginning that they were not prepared to respond to something that was moving as quickly as this was.

So as I started to draft this, I went back and forth on a lot of different provisions and as most of us would recall, it was pretty political right at the beginning.

And the then President weighed in on the WHO, which raised that issue to a political level that made it somewhat difficult to deal with.

I want to thank Senator Murphy. I had the first conversation with him, in which he did not discourage me, but it was a spirited conversation, as to which direction we should go with this. And I kept an open mind throughout as to how we should do this. Then of course we have struggled to put a bill together that would be a strong bipartisan bill. This has to be bipartisan, something of this

U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Business Meeting

Wednesday, July 28, 2021

magnitude. Indeed, it is of the magnitude that at some point in world history, it may be the most important thing that everyone on this committee had done, because this is going to happen again.

There is absolutely no question. This is going to happen again. And how we respond to it is going to be very important. After the chair changed, Senator Menendez was kind enough to lend his ear to this, and his good graces. And we set about, again, resetting the bill, and getting it on a bipartisan track to accomplish what we wanted to accomplish.

And what we wanted to accomplish, the object was not rocket science. It was very simple. And that is to have an organization that acted as a fire department, that when the house caught fire, somebody was there to answer the phone and respond. That was the model I set up for this at the very beginning. And I am pleased to say that I think we have reached that.

And I want to thank every member of this committee, whether you vote for the bill or against the bill, everybody has had thoughts about it, they have had input into it, and people have been very generous in a give and take.

Obviously, like every bill, particularly one of this magnitude to pass this Congress, there is not one of us here that would vote for every provision stand alone, but together, I think it does do what is an important thing for this Congress to do. We are leading the world on this. The world looks for this.

U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Business Meeting

Wednesday, July 28, 2021

As I talk to people, as all of you do on this committee, from all over the world, they all agree that there needs to be a different way of responding than the way we responded to this. And so this is important in that regard. This bill elevates global health as a national security imperative, we know that that has been around for some time as when we look at the world threats from the intelligence committee every year, pandemic has always been one of those threats. It has been given kind of short shrift, because we have not had it, but it has been on there.

This bill enables more effective diplomatic engagement and program coordination, builds upon the success of other models and effective foreign aid, PEPFAR and the Millennium Challenge Corporation to ensure -- that those are examples to ensure transparency, accountability, self-reliance, and results. We stole every good idea we could from those other models that have been used before.

It promotes burden sharing and partnerships through an innovative financing mechanism, which incentivizes eligible countries to more effectively identify threats, and invest in their own health security, and authorizes funds to carry out a strategic plan with clearly-defined roles and responsibilities to help countries close the gaps in health security, that keep us all vulnerable to pandemic threats.

We all know what happens there affects us here, that that has become so obvious and apparent over the last 20 months. I want to thank the chairman and our other co-sponsors, Senator Murphy

U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Business Meeting

Wednesday, July 28, 2021

and Senator Portman, for their important contributions. And again, I want to reiterate every member of this committee who participated in this in one way or another.

On the Cuba resolutions and the Taiwan bill I want to associate myself with the chairman's remarks.

And, with that, I will yield back. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The Chairman: Thank you, Senator Risch.

Without objection, we will now consider en bloc, five Foreign Service Officer Promotion lists, and two legislative items. They are, PN 359, PN 477, PN 478, PN 724, PN 727, S. 812, and S. Resolution 310, as amended by the Managers Resolving Clause Amendments.

Would any members like to comment on any of these items before the vote?

If not, is there a motion to approve these items en bloc with a resolution as amended by the Notice Amendment I just referenced?

Senator Risch: So moved.

The Chairman: So moved. Is there a second?

Senator Kaine: Second.

The Chairman: So moved and seconded.

The question is on the motion to approve the items as amended.

All in favor, we will say aye.

U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Business Meeting

Wednesday, July 28, 2021

[Chorus of ayes]

All those opposed will say no.

The ayes have it. With the majority of members having voted in the affirmative, the ayes have it, and the items as amended are agreed to.

Without objection, we will now consider S. 2297, the International Pandemic Preparedness and COVID 19 Response Act.

Is there a motion to approve the substitute amendment?

Senator Risch: I will move, Mr. Chairman.

The Chairman: They are so moved. Is there a second? Is there a second to approve the substitute amendment?

Senator Cardin: *motions*

Senator Rich: Thank you for the enthusiasm.

The Chairman: Senator Cardin is very gracious.

So moved and seconded. The question is on the motion to approve the substitute amendment?

All those in favor will say aye.

[Chorus of ayes]

All those opposed will say no.

U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Business Meeting

Wednesday, July 28, 2021

The majority of members present, having voted in the affirmative, the ayes have it, and the amendment is agreed to.

At this point, I just want to very briefly say, we are proud of the work that this bill has, I am pleased that the manager's amendment that we just voted to include, includes numerous contributions from our colleagues.

And that is including Senators Cardin, Coons, Murphy, Markey, Merkley, Schatz, Van Hollen, Rubio, Paul, Portman, and Senator Hagerty. And I urge my colleagues to support this bill.

Are there any amendments to this legislation?

Senator Paul? Yes.

Senator Paul: My amendment would reduce foreign aid by 10 percent. Foreign aid welfare has been increasing at a rapid rate over nearly 70 percent increase over the past decade. Meanwhile, our overall debt approaches \$30 trillion. I think it is time we reconsider paving roads overseas and consider paving roads here at home.

The author, Dr. M.G. Quibria, in the *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs* writes, "The history of foreign aid has been inextricably linked with corruption." He quotes Dambisa Moyo, who has a book called *Dead Aid*, which argues that the root cause of much of the development affliction of Africa can be traced to the large inflow of foreign aid that generates a cycle of corruption that results in slower growth and poverty.

U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Business Meeting

Wednesday, July 28, 2021

All of us have seen the stories where aid has come in and destroyed local markets, and destroyed local farmers, but this is not the exception, but the rule.

Former UN Secretary, Ban Ki-moon, says that corruption devours about 30 percent of all development assistant money or aid. If you give more aid, you will get more corruption, if you give less aid, maybe you will get less corruption.

The Mubarak family is a great example of the corruption of foreign aid. Over a couple of decade period they got somewhere around \$30 to \$40 billion. They managed to steal about half of it. The Elder Mubarak was estimated to be worth between 15 and 20 billion, even his kids were estimated to be worth about 5 billion each. This is the history of foreign aid. It is a history of corruption. It is a history of money going from poor people in rich countries, to rich people in poor countries. And I think we should consider reducing foreign aid by 10 percent.

And now I would ask for a recorded vote.

The Chairman: Is there any other Senator wishing to be recognized on this amendment?

Senator Risch: Mr. Chairman?

The Chairman: Senator Risch?

Senator Risch: Mr. Chairman, I am going to vote no on this amendment. I think, first of all, Senator Paul has to be commended. He has been a tireless advocate to review not just foreign aid assistance, but the entire U.S. budget. There is absolutely no doubt that there are things in here that

U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Business Meeting

Wednesday, July 28, 2021

need to be reviewed, that need to be cut out, that need to have sideboards on them, that need to be followed more closely.

I think, though, that an across-the-board 10 percent cut is not the way to do this. I think it needs to be taken on, on a piece-by-piece basis. But I share his concern. I share his view on the waste and corruption, but I am going to vote no on this amendment.

The Chairman: Any other member seeking recognition?

Very briefly, this amendment caps the Fiscal Year 2022 appropriations for foreign assistance at a specific amount, 10 percent below FY 2021 appropriations across all foreign assistance programs.

With the pandemic surging here at home, thanks, in part, to the Delta variant, this amendment would reduce U.S. support for global efforts to combat COVID-19. And if we retreat in this regard, China will fill the void that we create.

I commend the Senator for his constant commitment to making sure U.S. taxpayer dollars are used in the most effective way, but I cannot support this amendment.

The Senator has asked for a recorded vote. The clerk will call the roll.

The Clerk: Mr. Cardin?

Senator Cardin: No.

The Clerk: Mrs. Shaheen?

Senator Shaheen: No.

U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Business Meeting

Wednesday, July 28, 2021

The Clerk: Mr. Coons?

Senator Coons: No.

The Clerk: Mr. Murphy?

Senator Murphy: No.

The Clerk: Mr. Kaine?

Senator Kaine: No.

The Clerk: Markey?

Senator Markey: No.

The Clerk: Mr. Merkley?

Senator Merkley: No.

The Clerk: Mr. Booker?

Senator Booker: No.

The Clerk: Mr. Schatz?

Senator Schatz: No.

The Clerk: Mr. Van Hollen?

Senator Van Hollen: No.

The Clerk: Mr. Risch?

Senator Risch: No.

U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Business Meeting

Wednesday, July 28, 2021

The Clerk: Mr. Rubio?

Senator Rubio: No.

The Clerk: Mr. Johnson?

Senator Johnson: Aye.

The Clerk: Mr. Romney?

Senator Romney: No.

The Clerk: Mr. Portman?

Senator Portman: No, by proxy.

The Clerk: Mr. Paul?

Senator Paul: Aye.

The Clerk: Young?

Senator Young: No, by proxy.

The Clerk: Mr. Barrasso?

Senator Barrasso: Aye.

The Clerk: Mr. Cruz?

Senator Cruz: Aye.

The Clerk: Mr. Rounds?

Senator Rounds: No, by proxy.

U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Business Meeting

Wednesday, July 28, 2021

The Clerk: Mr. Hagerty?

Senator Hagerty: No, by proxy.

The Clerk: Mr. Chairman?

The Chairman: No. The clerk will report.

The Clerk: Mr. Chairman, the yeas are four, the nays are eighteen.

The Chairman: And the amendment is not agreed to.

Senator Cardin, I understand you want to be recognized?

Senator Cardin: Yes. Mr. Chairman, I had an amendment that dealt with Section 107. I am not going to offer that amendment, but I do want to raise the issue.

And first, let me thank the chairman and ranking member, particularly Senator Risch for all your efforts in trying to reach out and work with all of us on this particular bill. I thank you for the input of allowing some of our issues that we raised to be included in the manager's package.

I still have a concern on Section 107, and let me express it, because I hope we can work this out as the bill works its way through the United States Senate. Section 107 says, "Governments using the COVID 19 pandemic as a pretense for repression have undermined democratic institutions, debilitated institutions for transparency and public integrity, quashed legitimate dissent, and attacks journalists, civil society, organization, activists, independent voices, and vulnerable and marginalized

U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Business Meeting

Wednesday, July 28, 2021

populations, including refugees and migrants, with far reaching consequences that will extend beyond the current crisis.”

That is absolutely accurate. And we have to deal with that. And I applaud you for including that section in the bill. It is very important that we do it.

You then go on to say that, program priorities, including programs that support democratic institutions, human rights defenders, civil societies, and freedom of the press, should be targeted to the extent feasible towards civil societies, organizations, in countries in which emergency government measures taken in response to COVID 19 pandemic, have violated internationally-recognized human rights.

My problem with that section is, I certainly want to fund this, but I do not want to take money away from programs that are currently underfunded, that are targeting the development of democratic institutions, and dealing with problems that we have.

I have raised, several times, that we are not appropriating enough of the foreign assistance programs for good governance, the anti-corruption, to deal with the decline of democratic states. And I am concerned that this language could be interpreted to take money away from that program.

Now, I know we have the distinguished chairman of the subcommittee, the Senator from Delaware, on our committee, and I am sure he will protect that during the appropriation process, but I just really want to raise the issue that we do not take money away from programs that are already

U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Business Meeting

Wednesday, July 28, 2021

underfunded to meet this very desperate need. I would have been more comfortable if we would authorize additional funds for this purpose, which I think we should have.

And I look forward to working with the chairman and ranking members as this bill goes forward. And I will not press my amendment.

Senator Risch: Thank you, Senator Cardin.

I will respond briefly. First of all, I think that is a legitimate concern that you have. We have gone back and forth on funding on this bill, to a large degree, and settled on what I think is an appropriate number, but that, that number is written on paper for this year. It is not written in stone.

There is no doubt in my mind that if we wind up with another one of these pandemics, that the money we are talking about here is peanuts compared to what we will wind up spending, just like this pandemic is. My idea is, that I really think these institutions will do better if we do not throw a whole bunch of money at it at the beginning that they are trying to spend when they are not really prepared to spend it.

It is my idea that this thing get up, get running, we take the training wheels off next year, and then we keep going forward. But I fully intend, and I assume other members of this committee are in the same position, and that is, we are going to be looking over the shoulder of this. We are going to be watching what this organization does as a new organization, because its newness, as everyone knows, can cause real difficulty sometimes.

U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Business Meeting

Wednesday, July 28, 2021

So I agree with you. I hope to join you in future years as we go forward.

Senator Cardin: Mr. Chairman, if I could just respond very briefly. The concern is, we are dealing with the general fund foreign aid appropriations that go for democracy institutions. In the American Rescue Plan there are some funds available, and you have dealt with that in a different section, which I think you have handled the right way. I am concerned about the future appropriations being compromised, because there is just not enough funds available for this purpose.

Where I want to see this purpose funded, I think we should be looking at how much additional funds are needed, or how we reallocate funds in order to meet all these priorities. That is the only reason I raise this. It should not be put ahead of other priorities that are currently being funded that are, in my view, underfunded.

The Chairman: Thank you. I, first of all, appreciate the Senator withholding his amendment. Secondly, if the effect of the language would create the result that the Senator is concerned about, then I would share his concern, and we look forward to working with you as we move to the floor to refine it.

Any other senators wishing to offer an amendment, or recognition? Senator, Murphy.

Senator Murphy: Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. Very quickly, let me thank you for your leadership, along with Senator Risch. No small thing to make this substantial bill bipartisan, I

U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Business Meeting

Wednesday, July 28, 2021

appreciate your willingness to work with all of us. In particular, I want to draw our attention to Section 3 of this bill, which sets up some new, creative financing mechanisms.

This comes from legislation Senator Risch and I had developed last year, modeled after the Millennium Challenge Corporation, public-private partnerships, working with individual nations to use U.S. dollars in order to leverage domestic policy changes, which can strengthen local public health systems. I think that is a smart usage of U.S. taxpayer funds.

I did a couple of amendments I had offered here in the manager's package, and thank you for that. I did have an amendment relative to funding for the Coalition for Epidemic Preparedness that I will not call up. But it is really important that the United States make a substantial contribution to CEPI, I know only half of us voted for the American Rescue Plan, but in that bill I think it was commonly understood that there was an amount of money set aside for this organization.

We were very fortunate this time around that it was American companies that were able to develop vaccines that right now are saving lives all across the country, and the world. CEPI, though, is an international organization that works both in a public and private sector manner to develop vaccines. And it may be the next pandemic comes with a vaccine that is developed through that international group. And the United States should be a substantial player there, just to make sure that if we do not develop the vaccine, if the international group does, that we have a seat at the table.

U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Business Meeting

Wednesday, July 28, 2021

And so I look forward to working with the chair and the ranking member in continuing to make sure that we have an adequate contribution that we are at the table on CEPI's work. And at this time I will not call for an amendment requiring that contribution to be made, but I look forward to working with folks on that project.

The Chairman: I thank the Senator for withholding his amendment. And we look forward to working with you. I share your views on CEPI.

Senator Risch.

Senator Risch: Very briefly. Thank you, Senator Murphy for withdrawing that. I think CEPI is going to be a player in this no matter what, and how it works with this new organization will be important. I think we are going to continue to review that as we go down the pike.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The Chairman: Thank you, Senator Cruz seeks recognition.

Senator Cruz: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I call up Cruz first degree two. This is an amendment that would prohibit U.S. participation in the creation of a vaccine passport. And let me say, I think there are a lot of Texans, I think there are a lot of Americans across the country that are very frustrated at the government responses to COVID-19. And I think the decision yesterday by the CDC to reverse its guidance, and to mandate masks for vaccinated people is the kind of decision that is infuriating people across this country.

U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Business Meeting

Wednesday, July 28, 2021

I believe the CDC's decision yesterday was politics. It was not science. It was a decision that somehow pretends vaccines do not work. The CDC months ago, rightly concluded that vaccinated people do not need to wear masks because the whole purpose of a vaccine is not to get the disease.

That decision was right. The science has not changed, the only thing that has changed is the politics. A-year-and-a-half ago the CDC was one of, if not, the most respected, scientific and medical organization in the country. Today, the credibility of the CDC is in tatters, because leadership of the CDC has been willing to allow science to become politicized.

We have seen Dr. Fauci take virtually every position, on virtually every subject under the sun. We have seen Dr. Fauci in his emails explain his view that masks do not work, and are not effective in preventing COVID-19. We then see Dr. Fauci changes positions over and over again. We have seen Dr. Fauci say that when he told people masks did not work, he actually believed masks did work, but he wanted people not to wear masks because he wanted first responders to have them first.

I believe that when government scientists and health experts allow politics to trump the science, it does enormous damage to the willingness of the American people to believe anything they have to say. I think one of the aspects of yesterday's decision that illustrates the arbitrariness of this is the brand new decree that everyone in schools must wear a mask. It does not matter if you are vaccinated or not. If you enter a school, you must wear a mask.

U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Business Meeting

Wednesday, July 28, 2021

Now there is no great new scientific discovery that mandates this new edict. Indeed, we have seen throughout this crisis, that while COVID-19 can be very, very serious for vulnerable populations, for the very elderly, for those with significant comorbidities, that we have seen the incidence of serious disease with COVID 19 among children is very, very low. And there is no credible demonstration that children are a significant vector for spreading the disease.

But the CDC, nonetheless, said anyone who steps in a school must be masked. It is not complicated why. They did so because the Teacher Union bosses demanded. That is a political decision. Political players can make political decisions. It would not surprise me to see elected officials deciding, I am going to give the union bosses what they demand. But that is not what the Center for Disease Control should be doing.

My view on COVID is, it is serious. We should take serious steps to combat it. We have taken extraordinary steps to combat COVID-19, including an unprecedented effort to develop vaccines, hundreds of millions of which have been administered as we have come together and fought against this disease. But we have also seen stupid policies. We have seen lockdowns across this country that have shut down small businesses, destroyed restaurants, destroyed bars, destroyed generational businesses.

We have seen schools shut down. Tens of millions of children sent home for over a year, children who are falling behind academically, who are falling behind in reading, who are falling

U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Business Meeting

Wednesday, July 28, 2021

behind in math, and the children being hurt are disproportionately low income, they are disproportionately Hispanic and African-American, and nonetheless, the edicts to shut down schools have continued. They were utterly unjustifiable.

My view is simple. We should not have mandates. What does that mean? That means no mask mandates, that means no vaccine mandates, and I will say, you know, it was interesting, as I was reading through this COVID bill, Section 107, talking about what foreign governments are doing, an awful lot of the description of foreign governments can apply to our own government. So section 107 of this bill says, "Certain foreign governments have taken measures in response to COVID 19 that violate the human rights of their citizens without clear public health justification."

Well, I think you could delete the word "foreign" in that because we have seen governments here, domestically, arbitrarily exercising power as well. This Section 107 also says, "Government is using the COVID-19 pandemic as a pretext for repression, and undermine democratic institutions," check, "Debilitated institutions for transparency and public integrity," check, "Quashed, legitimate dissent."

I might remind you that Anthony Fauci in those emails asked Facebook to silence anyone who said anything different than the government directive on speech, including if you suggested the origin of the Wuhan virus was actually in Wuhan China in a Chinese government lab. And Facebook

U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Business Meeting

Wednesday, July 28, 2021

willingly complied, censored that view, you are not allowed to have that view that this escaped from the government lab.

Then miraculously, a couple of months ago, the administration was forced to recognize, well, yeah, there is actually very significant evidence that the Wuhan virus escaped from a Chinese government lab in Wuhan, and beyond that, that it may well have been developed with government research, with American taxpayer funding on gain-of-function research. Those views that were banned for a year are now acknowledged as having very significant scientific basis behind them.

My view, there should be no mandates. No mask mandates, no vaccine mandates, and no vaccine passports. And what my amendment focuses on, is just the last piece of it, vaccine passports. And I will say, finally, this should be a proposition that is bipartisan. The Biden administration at least claims to oppose vaccine passports.

Jen Psaki at the White House said, "Let me be clear on this. I know there is a lot of questions, Psaki said, "The government is not now, nor will we be supporting a system that requires Americans to carry a credential." If that is right, if that is credible, then I would urge the committee to adopt my amendment, prohibiting U.S. taxpayer funds from going to, or the American government participating in, an international body, creating a vaccine passport that would be required for Americans traveling abroad.

U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Business Meeting

Wednesday, July 28, 2021

The Chairman: I have a number of questions and concerns about the substance of this amendment. However, the text of this amendment is clearly outside the scope of the Foreign Relation Committee's jurisdiction. Indeed, the text is drawn directly from S. 1932, a bill sponsored by the Senator from Texas that has been referred to the HELP Committee.

"This amendment prohibits the use of federal funds for the creation of a vaccine passport system or vaccine tracking database, including at the state level. And it requires that COVID-19 vaccination records be destroyed by all federal departments and agencies."

Neither of these issues fall within our committee's jurisdiction. Accordingly, I rule this amendment out of order.

Senator Cruz: Mr. Chair. Mr. Chairman?

The Chairman: The Senator from Texas.

Senator Cruz: Mr. Chairman, I think that jurisdictional argument is not justifiable based on the underlying bill. The underlying bill is about policies engaging in a bilateral basis in response to COVID. This amendment is prohibiting participating in an international organization creating a vaccine passport.

This bill talks about vaccine monitoring, and this amendment ensures that we are not establishing a federal government vaccine database that is monitoring U.S. citizens in violation of their privacy rights. This bill talks about enhancing transparency of health data, and I think the

U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Business Meeting

Wednesday, July 28, 2021

amendment would protect the privacy of health data from a vaccine passport. And this bill also talks about establishing partnerships with the private sector to improve pandemic preparedness and response.

This amendment addresses the same topic. To prevent the U.S. Government from working with a third party in the private sector to develop a vaccine passport and force it on the American people. And so accordingly I appeal the ruling of the chair that the amendment is out order.

The Chairman: The Senator appeals the ruling of the Chair that the amendment is not in order because it is outside of this committee's jurisdiction.

The question for the committee is, shall the decision of the chair be overturned? A yes vote means you wish to allow the amendment. A no vote means you agree with the chair, that the amendment should not be allowed. As such, I will vote no.

Senator Risch: Mr. Chairman?

The Chairman: Senator Risch is recognized, then Senator Shaheen.

Senator Risch: Mr. Chairman, likewise, I am going to support the ruling of the chair.

First of all, Senator Cruz makes a passionate and legitimate case about some very clear domestic issues that we are wrestling with. I think every state is wrestling with it. My state is having the same arguments about vaccinations, about passports, about masks, and everything else.

U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Business Meeting

Wednesday, July 28, 2021

But this is a bill dealing with the creation of an international institution for dealing with these things. It in no way requires the United States, or any state, or any locality, to follow any regulations that are adopted in an international forum.

Really, if we are going to get this thing passed, it needs to have bipartisan support of the general proposition that we have here. If we get down into dealing with these, that really are, as the chairman points out --

[Technical issue.]

Senator Risch: But if this Rule 15 of the Senate says that we are getting the Standing Committee, the language, that they submit that they are not within the jurisdiction of the committee, and as the chairman pointed out, these matters clearly have been in the jurisdiction more broadly. So I respect the chair's --

The Chairman: Senator Shaheen?

Senator Shaheen: Well, Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and I also intend to support the ruling. But I want to respond to -- I guess everybody gets the word, some of the misstatements that you made, I think too many of us, for too long, have been unwilling to correct misinformation that is out there. I think it is very clear, and the CDC said that, that they are responding to new, scientific information about what is happening with the coronavirus.

U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Business Meeting

Wednesday, July 28, 2021

It is the spread of the Delta variant, and the increasing amount of contagion and virus that comes with that Delta variant, that has produced this response from the CDC. And I would argue that we are where we are now, because the previous administration did not follow science, what they did is politicize the virus in a way that has gotten us to where we are today.

You know, when I enrolled my kids in school they all had to produce vaccination records that showed they had been vaccinated for serious illnesses, in order to go to school. I was happy to do that, because I wanted my kids to be safe. I want my grandchildren to be safe. That is why I have encouraged all of them to get vaccinated, and they are at this point.

And I think it is incumbent on us as political leaders to be clear with our constituents. You have a lot of people who look up to you, Senator Cruz, in Texas, and your unwillingness to acknowledge the coronavirus and the need for vaccinations, I think is one of the reasons that we see Texas is one of the third highest states in the country with the spread rate, because of the Delta variant.

We need to encourage people to get vaccinated. Now it is their own choice, I agree with that, but when they understand the threat that faces them if they are not vaccinated, and we take the politics out of it, I think we have a much better chance of protecting people in this country, and that should be our goal.

U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Business Meeting

Wednesday, July 28, 2021

So I recognize your ability to offer this amendment, I intend to vote against it. And I think it is, again, it is not helpful to the debate to not have accurate information when we are talking to people.

The Chairman: Senator Paul? Senator Paul seeks recognition.

Senator Paul: You know, I think the Senator is right. The facts are very important, but I think also, it is very important as we discuss the facts of the virus that we realize that someone's opinions, we should not be discussing -- believing your opinion is the truth, and no one else can be heard on it. But this is the real problem, I think it is not the real thing. So I will give you a couple of examples, if you want to malign Texas for taking them a lighter touch than some of the other states.

The highest death rate in the world is New Jersey and New York. States with the heaviest touch in the entire world, New Jersey and New York have the highest death rates by far. No one is going to exceed them.

As far as the facts of the Delta virus, the Delta variant, Public Health England looked at 92,000 people who got the Delta variant. Many, many articles have shown it to be more transmissible. I do not think anybody disputes that, but when you look at the death rate of the Delta variant, both vaccinated folks and unvaccinated folks who died from it, the death rate was a great deal lower than the wild variant.

U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Business Meeting

Wednesday, July 28, 2021

For those who were vaccinated and over 50, the death rate was about 1.4 percent, for those over 50 who were unvaccinated was about 3.4 percent. This is much lower than the wild variant, the wild variant above 50 was about a 5 to 6 percent death rate for all-comers last year.

So there is a great deal of evidence, but when one side presumes that you know the truth, and that, oh, everything says that the Delta variant is more deadly. No, there are facts that on both sides, you can argue what science you see and what we see. But the real danger in our country is people presuming to know the truth and calling other senators misinformation, and I presume this would be the argument.

Well, why do we not shut down Ted Cruz? Why don't we not let him speak at all, that is what is going on in our country, that --

Senator Shaheen: I did not suggest --

Senator Paul: It is not your time. When it is your time, you can have your time back. It is not your time to interrupt.

But here is the point. The point is, is this is going on across America. There are people on your side of the aisle introducing legislation to tell Facebook that my opinion cannot and should not be heard. I quote from scientific literature every day, and you can disagree with it, but the thing is, your side is wanting to take down the argument and have your way imprinted on the American

U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Business Meeting

Wednesday, July 28, 2021

mind with no objection. That goes against everything with regard to free speech that we know of our country. Mr. Chair?

The Chairman: The chair will remind members, that when they have their time it is their time. And corrections can be made subsequently. I will take the opportunity to correct the Senator with reference to New Jersey, at the height of the pandemic, yes, we did have a high death rate, but now as a result of vaccinations, where nearly 60 percent of the population is vaccinated, we have the lowest of any place in the nation, we have the lowest transmission rate, even though we are now facing the challenge of the Delta variants. So everything has to be put in the appropriate context.

Senator Johnson: Mr. Chairman?

The Chairman: Senator Kaine has asked for recognition. I will get back to you.

Senator Kaine: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I am going to be brief. I also wanted to make a quick correction of Senator Cruz to go to the point Senator Shaheen mentioned. This is not about shutting off debate, or keeping people from expressing their opinions, but Senator Cruz, at the beginning of his comment, I do not have the court reporter's transcript ahead of me, but he said, that the CDC action yesterday to recommend mask wearing, the only thing that had changed was politics. That was what he said.

The only thing that justified the CDC's guidance was politics. And that is frankly ridiculous. It is ridiculous because in your comment, you never said anything about the Delta variant. You never

U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Business Meeting

Wednesday, July 28, 2021

said anything about the rising caseload in Texas, and Virginia, and everywhere. You did not acknowledge that the Texas Department of State Health Services before the CDC, is still recommending that people wear masks because of the Delta variant. You can have opinions about the potency of the Delta variant, we can debate those. But when you say that the CDC action yesterday was based purely on politics, and was unrelated to the surge in the Delta variant that is hospitalizing people at near-record numbers, and killing far too many Americans, I just worry about folks who are watching a hearing like this. When they think that their representatives of government are trashing the institutions of government, and asserting that they are only acting by politics, when we are in the middle of such a challenging spike in the pandemic, the effect of those comments is to weaken people's belief in the institutions of this country.

And these institutions are not perfect because humans are not perfect, but I have lived in a military dictatorship, I have seen how other people live, and I just do not feel that we should be needlessly trashing our health agencies, as they are trying to recommend, in a difficult circumstance, ways for people to be safe.

This is not about politics, what the CDC did yesterday, just as the Texas State Health Department's recommendation, which, like the CDC's, is not a mandate. It is a recommendation about how people should stay safe. We are just trying to do the very best we can to keep people safe, and I do not know why folks would want to undermine that.

U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Business Meeting

Wednesday, July 28, 2021

The Chairman: Senator Johnson?

Senator Johnson: Mr. Chairman, I just had to push back. When we hear accusations from the other side that Republicans have politicized COVID. I mean, go back to March, April, May, June of 2020, who was politicizing COVID? It is the current President and Vice President in their campaign that expressed skepticism over a Trump vaccine. So I cannot stand by and let the other side accuse Republicans of politicizing COVID. It has been your side that has done that.

And you did it, and you won the campaign, you won the presidency. Congratulations. Now my point with the agencies is they have not been forthright. I listened to Jen Psaki yesterday. Well, it is all based on data. Okay, show us the data. Be transparent. There is a law on the books that says if five members of the Homeland Security Committee, which I formally chaired, sign an oversight request, the agencies "shall", not, hey, would you kind of maybe do it, they shall turn over the information.

We have five members of the Homeland Security Committee asking the Health and Human Services Department to turn over the emails from Anthony Fauci, unredacted, unredacted. What we got yesterday was the 4,000 pages of redacted emails. The agencies are not being transparent. And I would argue that that is the reason you are seeing people hesitant. It is not vaccine hesitancy.

I held an event in Wisconsin on June 28th, with five women and a 13 year old girl who believed they were vaccine injured. The CDC, NIH, the vaccine manufacturers are ignoring these

U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Business Meeting

Wednesday, July 28, 2021

people. They are casting them aside. They just want to be seen, they want to be heard, they want to be believed so that somebody might just acknowledge that maybe it is the vaccine that was the problem, so they can get effective treatment.

Where is the ounce of sympathy for the truth? So again, we want transparency. We want data. It is not our side that has politicized this. It is the Democrats that have politicized this. I am getting tired of hearing the false accusations coming from the other side. I am getting sick of being attacked for just asking legitimate questions.

You know, as long as I have been alive, when it comes to health matters, it has always been stated, get a second opinion. I do not know when all of a sudden the CDC, NIH, and the FDA have become the gods of information, and we should never question their considered judgment. There is plenty of other people have different views. Those views should be respected, and they should be allowed to be aired.

And I totally agree with Senator Cruz. I am completely opposed to mandates and passports. We have given up enough freedom during this pandemic. It is time for Americans to reclaim their freedom. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The Chairman: Thank you.

U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Business Meeting

Wednesday, July 28, 2021

Senator Cruz seeks recognition. And then I am going to call a question. We have had a robust discussion on this. And after Senator Cruz, Senator Risch will have a chance.. Then we will have a vote.

Senator Cruz: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator Shaheen impugned my integrity. And she claimed, falsely, that I was somehow suggesting vaccines are not effective. That was an absolute falsehood, whether it was deliberate or not, I will not speculate. But it is precisely the opposite of what I was saying, and had been saying, vaccines are effective. I have been vaccinated, my wife has been vaccinated, my parents have been vaccinated, my wife's parents have been vaccinated.

I have been urging Americans to get vaccinated. But I also believe in individual liberty. I believe in freedom. It is your damn choice whether you get vaccinated. I think it made sense for me in consultation with my doctor, but you have the ability to make your choice. And the irony is, it is the Biden administration that is doing what Senator Shaheen accused me of doing.

When they put out, the CDC puts out this rule, even if you have been vaccinated, you got to put a mask on, it is the Biden administration that are telling people, vaccines do not work. I actually understand vaccines do work, which is why that is an arbitrary rule to require people who have been vaccinated to put a mask on.

U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Business Meeting

Wednesday, July 28, 2021

And by the way, we see the Kabuki Theater here, everyone here has been vaccinated. As soon as the CDC said that we saw Democrats putting on masks, not because the vaccine suddenly stopped working yesterday, but it was working two days ago, nope, because now it is a virtual signal of submissiveness to wear a mask.

I would note. None of the Democrats who spoke, said one word about my point of the arbitrary demand that everyone in a school wear masks, even though kids have not gotten, by and large, seriously ill, or been a provable vector for spreading this disease in significant amounts. This was done because the teachers unions, the union bosses demanded it, politically.

But Senator Shaheen also said that that our constituents deserve clarity. I agree with that. She described how happy and eager she was when schools required kids to get vaccinated. And you are right, there are vaccine requirements, there are different diseases, and each state can determine what is required concerning vaccine. So in the interest of clarity, I would just ask Senator Shaheen, do you believe there should be a vaccine mandate for COVID-19? And do you believe the government should issue or participate in a vaccine passport?

I answered those unequivocally, no. And I would ask Senator Shaheen to have the same transparency. Do you support a vaccine mandate for COVID 19? Do you support a vaccine passport?

The Chairman: Time has expired.

U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Business Meeting

Wednesday, July 28, 2021

Senator Risch?

Senator Risch: Well, Mr. Chairman, you know, I am right back to where I started on this thing. The very first time I sat down on the draft of this bill, President Trump had just announced that he had no confidence in the WHO, et cetera, et cetera. It became incredibly political, and heated, just as this has become.

This bill has nothing to do with mandatory vaccinations. It has nothing to do with the government collecting information on people, and with all due respect to my good friend from Texas, I would respectfully ask that we keep that out of this bill. This is to create an agency, an international agency that will respond differently and better than the WHO responded.

We have tried to keep the politics out of this. I think the issues that you have raised are absolute legitimate issues, issues that should be taken up on a bill that actually deals with that. This bill does not. And indeed, under the Rule 15 of the Senate, I have to agree with the chairman that it is not appropriate for this bill.

I would plead with people to focus on what this bill does, and what an important thing we are doing here for the world, if we get another one of these pandemics. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The Chairman: Thank you. Look, I think we all believe in liberty, we all believe in freedom, but my freedom to live when it clashes against those who ultimately choose not to get vaccinated,

U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Business Meeting

Wednesday, July 28, 2021

and to put my life and the life of my constituents, and the life of my family at risk, that is a clash there of our individual freedoms.

The reason for the CDC's announcement is not that vaccines do not work, it is that the Delta variant can be carried even by the vaccinated. And if you care about your fellow man, as the Bible teaches us, then ultimately you would choose to wear a mask so that you mitigate the possibility of infecting your fellow man. That is what the recommendation is all about.

But in any event, I will remind our colleagues, the question for the committee is, shall the decision of the chair be overturned? A yes vote means you wish to allow the amendment, a no vote means you agree with the chair that the amendment should not be allowed.

As such, I will vote, no.

All those in favor, who say aye will, in essence, say they, they wish the amendment to proceed.

So, with that --

Senator Cruz: Mr. Chairman I ask for a recorded vote.

The Chairman: A recorded vote is requested.

The clerk will call the roll.

The Clerk: Mr. Cardin?

Senator Cardin: No.

The Clerk: Mrs. Shaheen?

U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Business Meeting

Wednesday, July 28, 2021

Senator Shaheen: No.

The Clerk: Mr. Coons?

Senator Coons: No.

The Clerk: Mr. Murphy?

Senator Murphy: No.

The Clerk: Mr. Kaine?

Senator Kaine: No, by proxy.

The Clerk: Mr. Markey?

Senator Markey: No.

The Clerk: Mr. Merkley?

Senator Merkley: No.

The Clerk: Mr. Booker?

Senator Booker: No.

The Clerk: Mr. Schatz?

Senator Schatz: No.

The Clerk: Mr. Van Hollen?

Senator Van Hollen: No.

The Clerk: Mr. Risch?

U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Business Meeting

Wednesday, July 28, 2021

Senator Risch: No.

The Clerk: Mr. Rubio?

Senator Rubio: Aye.

The Clerk: Mr. Johnson?

Senator Johnson: Aye.

The Clerk: Mr. Romney?

Senator Romney: No, by proxy.

The Clerk: Mr. Portman?

Senator Portman: No, by proxy.

The Clerk: Mr. Paul?

Senator Paul: Aye.

The Clerk: Young?

Senator Young: Aye, by proxy.

The Clerk: Mr. Barrasso?

Senator Barrasso: Aye, by proxy.

The Clerk: Mr. Cruz?

Senator Cruz: Aye.

The Clerk: Mr. Rounds?

U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Business Meeting

Wednesday, July 28, 2021

Senator Rounds: No, by proxy.

The Clerk: Mr. Hagerty?

Senator Hagerty: Aye, by proxy.

The Clerk: Mr. Chairman?

The Chairman: No. The clerk will report.

The Clerk: Mr. Chairman, the yeas are 7, and the nays are 15.

The Chairman: The decision of the chair is not overturned. The amendment is not in order on the committee.

Is there anyone else seeking recognition?

Senator Merkley?

Senator Merkley: I thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. And I want to go to a completely different part of this, which is whether we are being ambitious enough in this bill.

I would like to enter in the record a letter from 60 health and advocacy organizations, that is addressed to President Biden. And we have been provided with copies here in Congress.

And they lay out the vision that I think is consistent with this bill, that we need to aggressively help the world take on this disease, that we have a huge stake from a humanitarian perspective, we have a huge stake from an economic perspective, and we certainly have a huge stake from our own healthcare perspective, because as long as the disease is raging around the world, it is going to be

U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Business Meeting

Wednesday, July 28, 2021

returning to the U.S. in all kinds of ways, and affecting us here, including our health and our economy.

These groups laid out a vision that I put into my first-degree amendment number three, which I will not ask for a vote on, but I want to make the point that they are saying. They are saying for us to be able to have a significant impact on this disease around the world, it will take about a \$25 billion investment, and furthermore, distribution expenses, and that will add up to another 9 billion. And so they suggest an investment of \$34 billion.

And I am glad we have increased the number from \$3 to \$5 billion in this bill. But I want to point out that I have not found any analysis that shows that \$1 billion per year over the next five years is at all adequate to the incredible challenge before us. I do appreciate that two of the points made by these groups have been adopted notionally into the bill.

One is that we have to support the establishment of regional manufacturing hubs around the globe. And second, that we need to facilitate technology sharing and licensing of intellectual property necessary to ensure adequate and timely supply of vaccines and vaccine components. So these two ideas are incorporated into the bill, but it is going to take a lot more resources.

Think about where we are right now. And that is that only 1.1 percent of individuals in low-income countries have received a single dose, meaning almost 98 percent have received no doses at all.

U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Business Meeting

Wednesday, July 28, 2021

The current strategy, we will not reach widespread vaccination until 2024. That means years of this disease raging around the world and returning to the United States of America. Even this process is one in which we have a big stake, and this bill, philosophically, is on the right track, but I need to emphasize that we are going to have to think much more boldly, much more aggressively, if we are going to tackle this challenge. And that the United States is really the country that has the influence, the ability to lead the world in this effort.

And thus, we should ponder it in that context that no other country is going to step forward and lay out the vision to aggressively do this. This bill lays out a vision. We need to put a lot more horsepower behind it if we are going to fulfill that vision.

The Chairman: Without objection, the Senator's request for letters will be included in the record.

[The information referred to is located at the end of this transcript:]

The Chairman: We appreciate the Senator's views. And we look forward to working with you in the appropriation and other process to have as robust a presence as possible.

I am going to observe the five-minute rule, for any other comments and amendments. In order to – we have a panel that is been waiting before us, we have colleagues who are waiting to introduce them.

U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Business Meeting

Wednesday, July 28, 2021

Is there anyone else seeking recognition, or to offer an amendment?

If not, is there a motion to approve S. 2297 as amended?

Senator Risch: So moved.

The Chairman: So moved by Senator Risch. Is there a second? Seconded by Senator Cardin.

The request is on the motion to approve S. 2297 as amended.

All those in favor, will say, aye.

[Chorus of ayes]

All those opposed will say no.

The ayes have it, and the legislation is agreed to.

With that, the resolution is agreed to.

That completes the committee's business. I ask unanimous consent that staff be authorized to make tactical conforming changes without objection, so ordered.

With that, the committee will stand adjourned. We will reconvene, for today's nominations hearing.

[Whereupon, at 10:11 a.m., the committee was adjourned.]

Additional Material Included in the Meeting Record

U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Business Meeting

Wednesday, July 28, 2021

**Letter from 60+ Groups Urging Biden to Launch
Global Vaccine Manufacturing Program**

[Sent to President Biden by PUBLICCITIZEN and included in the record at the request of Senator Merkley and by unanimous consent.]

April 13, 2021

President Joseph R. Biden
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear President Biden,

Thank you for your leadership strengthening the U.S. response to the coronavirus pandemic. We appreciate your administration's commitment to COVAX and the recently announced Quad partnership, to support vaccine access abroad. Yet without much more ambitious leadership, the scale of global vaccine need will not be met.

Even as our country expands access to Covid-19 vaccines through the broadest vaccination campaign in U.S. history, for most of the world, there is no relief in sight. Few of the billions of people living in low- and middle-income countries will be vaccinated against Covid-19 this year. Many may not be vaccinated until 2024, if ever. Virus variants threaten to deepen and prolong the crisis.

The only way to get the pandemic under control is to accelerate global vaccine manufacturing. The United States has capabilities to help the world make billions more doses of Covid-19 vaccine for about \$3 a dose, a fraction of the cost of inaction, and shorten the pandemic.

We urge your administration to announce in your fiscal year 2022 budget an ambitious global vaccine manufacturing program to end the pandemic and build vaccine infrastructure for the future.

Proposal

U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Business Meeting

Wednesday, July 28, 2021

The United States should help the world produce billions more vaccine doses within approximately one year.

For example, modest capital investments (about \$2 billion) can retrofit vaccine manufacturing facilities and install additional mRNA production lines. Doses can then be manufactured for less than \$3 each. U.S. leadership is likely to inspire co-funding by other governments and international organizations. A total investment of less than \$25 billion, including whole-of-government efforts to source raw materials and provide technical assistance, can support the rapid production of 8 billion doses of mRNA vaccine, enough for more than half the world's population.

The U.S. should support a massive expansion of manufacturing and establish hubs for vaccine production with the World Health Organization, including hubs located in Africa, Asia and Latin America. These hubs will democratize production and improve global health security, particularly if they are accountable to the public and equipped with adaptable technologies, such as mRNA platforms, believed critical to defeating the next pandemic.

The United States should ensure that technology is shared openly, including via the WHO Covid-19 Technology Access Pool, so that scientists and manufacturers worldwide can support vaccine delivery and development. Where necessary, the U.S. government should use its power under existing law to license technology, ensuring its availability and affordability now and for the future. Notably, taxpayers made substantial investments in Covid-19 vaccine research and development, and the U.S. government owns a key patent relied on by the major vaccine makers.

Without a vaccine manufacturing plan of global ambition, millions more people may die, with tens of millions pushed into extreme poverty. Black and Brown communities will bear the brunt of this preventable suffering. The progress achieved through decades of U.S. overseas development assistance will be reversed. People living in the United States may feel the ripple effects with ongoing threats of virus mutations. The economic costs to the United States are estimated at \$800 billion to \$1.4 trillion.

U.S. history demonstrates that by mobilizing extraordinary resources and the country's full capabilities, while working closely with global partners, the country can solve complex technical challenges and support humanity in times of great need. This is one such moment, and there is no time to lose. We urge you to launch an ambitious vaccine manufacturing program in your FY22 budget to help end the global pandemic.

U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Business Meeting

Wednesday, July 28, 2021

Signed,

Public Citizen

Access Challenge

Action Against Hunger

American Jewish World Service

American Medical Student Association

American Medical Women's Association

American Society of Tropical Medicine & Hygiene

Amnesty USA

AVAC

Be a Hero Fund

BRAC USA

Buddhist Global Relief (USA)

Center for Popular Democracy

Center for Policy Analysis on Trade and Health (CPATH)

ChildFund USA

Chinese-American Planning Council

Christian Connections for International Health (USA)

CORE Group

Doctors for America

Drugs for Neglected Diseases initiative, North America

Episcopal Relief & Development

Families USA

FHI 360

U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Business Meeting

Wednesday, July 28, 2021

Foundation for Integrative AIDS Research (FIAR)
Friends Committee on National Legislation
FXB Center for Health and Human Rights, Harvard University
GOAL USA
Health GAP
Helen Keller International
Help Age USA
Human Rights Watch
Incentives for Global Health
International Medical Corps
International Rescue Committee
International Treatment Preparedness Coalition
Islamic Relief USA
Jesuit Refugee Service
JustActions
Last Mile Health
Management Sciences for Health
Médecins Sans Frontières, USA / Doctors Without Borders
MSI United States
National Council of Churches USA
Network Lobby for Catholic Social Justice
Oxfam America
Partners In Health
Pathfinder International
People's Action

U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Business Meeting

Wednesday, July 28, 2021

Physicians for Human Rights

Planned Parenthood Federation of America

PrEP4All

Prescription Justice

RESULTS

Right to Health Action

Salud y Farmacos

Social Security Works

Sojourners

SumOfUs USA

The Borgen Project

Treatment Action Group (TAG)

Union for Reform Judaism

Universities Allied for Essential Medicines (UAEM)

Yale Global Health Justice Partnership