

BUSINESS MEETING

Thursday, March 10, 2016

<http://www.foreign.senate.gov/hearings/business-meeting-031016>

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

1 The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:05 a.m. in, Room SD-419, Dirksen
2 Senate Office Building, Hon. Bob Corker, chairman of the committee, presiding.

3 Present: Senators Corker [presiding], Rubio, Johnson, Flake, Gardner, Perdue,
4 Isakson, Barrasso, Cardin, Boxer, Menendez, Shaheen, Coons, Udall, Murphy, Kaine,
5 and Markey.

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

6 **THE CHAIRMAN.** The Foreign Relations Committee will come to order.

7 I know we do not have enough members here to vote, but I think it would be
8 good to get the frontend out-of-the-way.

9 I want to thank everyone for being here today. On the agenda for today, we
10 have seven pieces of legislation, six nominations, and a number of Foreign Service
11 Officer lists.

12 First, we will consider the eight Foreign Service Officer lists of nearly 100
13 personnel referred to the committee. I support all of these appointments and
14 promotions, and would like to thank all of these officers for their service.

1 We will also consider six nominations, including several important new
2 ambassadors. I want to thank my colleagues for helping the committee work through
3 the nominees in an appropriate fashion and to allow us to take these steps forward
4 today.

5 Next, we will consider six resolutions on the agenda. The first resolution, S. Res.
6 375, marks the annual effort to draw attention to tens of millions of people around the
7 world trapped in modern slavery today. The effort known End It Day took place on
8 February 25 of this year.

9 I want to thank everybody here for their efforts toward a modern slavery bill
10 itself. I want to thank Senator Cardin for his support and all of you for your support for
11 this effort.

12 The second resolution, S. Res. 368, supports efforts by the Government of
13 Colombia to pursue peace and the end of the country's enduring internal armed
14 conflict, and recognizing United States' support for Colombia at the 15th anniversary of
15 Plan Colombia.

16 Colombia is our friend and ally. We need to remain engaged to make sure
17 Colombia can hopefully consolidate peace under the rule of law.

18 We commend Senator Cardin for his leadership in introducing this resolution. I
19 want to thank him and Brandon Yoder of his staff for working with us to incorporate

1 our perspectives as well. This resolution should be the beginning of the work we need
2 to do regarding Colombia in this committee going forward.

3 As we consider S. Res. 388, a resolution supporting the goals of International
4 Women's Day, I want to commend Senator Shaheen and her cosponsors from both
5 parties for bringing this resolution to the committee. I also want to thank her and
6 Senator Cardin and their staff for working with us to develop the text of the
7 amendments we are considering today.

8 This resolution underscores the indispensable role that women play in economic,
9 political, and cultural progress of humanity. It is important that we take stock of what
10 has been accomplished and what remains to be done to ensure that girls and women
11 can achieve their full potential under equal conditions.

12 We will also consider S. Res. 392, a resolution that expresses profound concern
13 over the political prosecution of the former President of Maldives and urges the
14 Maldives Government to take all necessary steps to redress this injustice and to ensure
15 due process and freedom from political persecution of people of the Maldives.

16 I want to thank Senator Leahy and all the cosponsors of this resolution, including
17 several members of this committee, for bringing this before the committee and for
18 working with us on this resolution.

19 The rights to due process and freedom from political persecution are
20 fundamental to any democracy and to peace and stability around the world.

1 We will also consider S. Res. 378, a resolution expressing the sense of Senate
2 regarding the courageous work and life of Russian opposition leader Boris Nemtsov
3 and reviewing the call for full and transparent investigation into his tragic murder in
4 Moscow on February 27, 2015.

5 I want to thank Senator Johnson for maintaining attention on Russian efforts that
6 may exist to silence the voices of dissent. The killing of Boris Nemtsov serves as
7 another example of the risks that Russian reformers face in the efforts to promote
8 growth and democratic ideals within the Russian state.

9 S. Res. 383, a resolution recognizing the importance of the United States-Israel
10 economic relationship, and encouraging new ideas of cooperation, is also on the agenda
11 today. I would like to thank Senator Perdue for sponsoring this resolution, as well as
12 Senators Isakson, Rubio, and Coons for cosponsoring.

13 I would also like to take the time to express my deepest condolences for the loss
14 of Taylor Force, a Vanderbilt student who tragically lost his life this week in a senseless
15 stabbing attack in Israel. Taylor was in Israel to learn about entrepreneurship
16 opportunities, something this resolution promotes.

17 Israel is an important political and economic partner of the U.S. and has a large
18 and diverse economy. The U.S.'s economic partnership with Israel has contributed to
19 innovations that benefit the people of both nations. Given the serious challenges that

1 face Israel, the United States, and the world, it is important to show our friends like
2 Israel that we recognize the importance of our economic relationship.

3 One resolution on the agenda, S. Res. 370, will be held over for this business
4 meeting to respect Senators' wishes. I am glad to do that. We expect to work through
5 any issues and include it in a markup in the near future.

6 Finally on the agenda, we will consider S. 1252, the Global Food Security Act of
7 2015, with an amendment. The Global Food Security Act represents the collaboration of
8 Senators Isakson, Casey, Cardin, Coons, and myself, and would authorize food security
9 development programs currently underway at USAID.

10 The bill also reauthorizes USAID's international disaster assistance account and
11 for the first time authorizes an emergency food security program that has been
12 providing emergency food assistance to places around the world where Food for Peace
13 traditionally cannot reach due to U.S. commodity and cargo preferences.

14 I have cosponsored this bill and urge all of you to join me in its passage.

15 I am sorry for such a long opening. We have a lot of business today. We will try
16 to do it very promptly.

17 But with that, I want to recognize our very distinguished ranking member and
18 my friend, Senator Cardin.

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

1 **SENATOR CARDIN.** Thank you very much, Chairman Corker, and thank you very
2 much for scheduling this markup business session.

3 We have an important hearing that will take place immediately thereafter with
4 nominations, two very important positions. So we appreciate the patience of our
5 distinguished guests.

6 Chairman Corker has been incredible in moving legislation through our
7 committee and moving resolutions through and moving nominations. I very much
8 appreciate that.

9 The last issue you mentioned, S. 1252, the Global Food Security Act of 2015, is a
10 very important piece of legislation. I want to congratulate our colleagues, Senators
11 Casey, Isakson, and Coons, for their strong leadership on bringing us to this moment.

12 Mr. Chairman, your help made this possible. In recognizing that this is an area
13 where we have traditional disputes between the Agriculture Committee and our
14 committee, between NGOs and USAID, you showed your diplomacy at the highest
15 level to be able to get us to this moment, where we can finally get this bill done.

16 Just to underscore the importance, today in Ethiopia, because of the drought, the
17 hunger issues are dramatic. There is no one single answer. Feed the Future is
18 important. Local capacity is important. Emergency assistance is important. And this
19 legislation deals with the full gamut of tools that we have available to deal with hunger.

1 So I thank you very much for your leadership and allowing us to reach this
2 moment where we can pass out the Global Food Security Act.

3 I also appreciate your extraordinary leadership on modern-day slavery and the
4 resolution that you authored. I am proud to join you on that. Anytime we can put a
5 spotlight on the millions of victims of modern-day slavery, we need to do that, because
6 we need to make continued progress.

7 I am proud of U.S. leadership on this issue. We have legislation that we hope
8 will be enacted shortly, under our chairman's leadership, that will provide incentives
9 for international resources being used to free those who have been victimized by
10 slavery.

11 Just to give you one example, I was in Namibia with Senator Coons and Senator
12 Flake just recently. The country is doing fairly well. They have survived Senator
13 Flake's young missionary work in that country. [Laughter.]

14 **SENATOR CARDIN.** But Namibia is really doing well. But they do have a problem, as
15 do all countries, on trafficking. We raised that issue, and we got national attention in
16 that country raising that issue, and I expect there will be some progress made.

17 So we need to continue to put the spotlight on it, and thank you for the
18 resolution that you have authored that we will support today.

19 In regard to Plan Colombia, I was proud to offer that resolution. I thank you for
20 your cosponsorship.

1 And, Senator Kaine, thank you for your help on Plan Colombia.

2 Look, 15 years ago, we thought that was going to be a failed state. Today, it is a
3 thriving economy. It still has issues, but it is one of the leading countries in our
4 hemisphere as far as turnaround and progress that is being made.

5 It was wonderful to have President Santos here, and this resolution continues our
6 interests to make sure that they can continue the progress we have seen over the last 15
7 years.

8 Senator Shaheen, thank you for your resolution on International Women's Day.
9 It is very clear to me how a country treats its women will be a barometer as to how well
10 that country will do. We see it over and over again.

11 I hope people will take the time to really delve into the resolution that Senator
12 Shaheen has authored, because it points out, yes, we can take pride in progress that we
13 have made. The Millennium Development goals put gender equity as one of the major
14 objectives of the international community, and the development assistance programs,
15 and NGOs working together.

16 But there are still hundreds of millions of young girls who are married before the
17 age of 15. There are still hundreds of millions of women who live in countries who
18 have not criminalized domestic violence.

19 So we still have a lot of work to do, and I thank Senator Shaheen for giving us an
20 opportunity to express ourselves collectively on this very important subject.

1 Mr. Chairman, we have several resolutions that deal directly with human rights.
2 Thanks to Senator Leahy for S. 392 that deals with the conviction of former President
3 Mohamed Nasheed in regards to the Maldives. This legislation speaks to the injustices
4 that have been done in that country, and I am glad we are going on record.

5 We are also going on the record once again on a pattern of conduct in Russia,
6 where they have violated the rights of its citizens, in this case, the tragic death of Boris
7 Nemtsov. It has been 1 year, the anniversary. And I thank Senator Johnson for
8 bringing this resolution before us to point out that this country, this Senate, we are
9 going to continue to put spotlights on what is happening in Russia because it is
10 unconscionable; it is a continuing pattern; and it is affecting global security.

11 And, Senator Johnson, thank you for taking the leadership on that resolution.

12 I want to thank Senator Perdue, Senator Coons, and others, in regard to the
13 resolution in regard to the U.S.-Israel economic relationship and encouraging new areas
14 of cooperation.

15 I join Senator Corker in expressing our deep condolences to the family of the
16 American who was killed in Israel.

17 But to the violence that takes place in that part of the world and Israel, it is
18 another reason why we need to stay committed to our partnership with Israel, so that
19 we can bring peace to that region.

1 I respect the right of holding over the ASEAN resolution. It is an important
2 moment when we had the Sunnylands Summit, where the U.S. showed our direct
3 interest in East Asia. I know we will get a chance to act on that in the next business
4 session.

5 All the nominees who are here for action I strongly support and the FSO lists,
6 and I thank the chairman for bringing forward these nominations.

7 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Thank you.

8 Again, I want to thank all the members for being here.

9 I want to apologize to the many people here that we had this business meeting
10 first, although I think much of the presence here today is relative to you, so we thank
11 you.

12 The first order of business for today's agenda will be the eight Foreign Service
13 lists.

14 Senator Cardin, do you have any comments, any additional comments?

15 **SENATOR CARDIN.** No. Thank you for bringing them forward.

16 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Would anyone else like to make comments relative to these lists?

17 If there is no further discussion on these lists, I would entertain a motion to
18 approve these lists en bloc.

19 **SENATOR CARDIN.** So moved.

20 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Second?

1 **SENATOR JOHNSON.** Second.

2 **THE CHAIRMAN.** So moved and seconded.

3 The question is on the motion to approve the eight Foreign Service lists en bloc.

4 All those in favor, say aye. [A chorus of ayes.]

5 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Opposed? [No response.]

6 **THE CHAIRMAN.** With that, the ayes have it. The appointments and promotions are
7 agreed to.

8 Next, in the interest of time, I would ask the committee to proceed en bloc to vote
9 in consideration of the following nominees before the committee: Catherine Novelli,
10 Karen Stewart, Amos Hochstein, Robert Riley, Matthew Matthews, and Marcela
11 Escobari.

12 I want to thank all these nominees for their willingness to settle into these
13 position.

14 Senator Cardin, do you have any additional comments?

15 **SENATOR CARDIN.** Again, I appreciate the way that these nominations have been
16 moved in a timely manner.

17 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Is there any member who would like to — yes, sir?

18 **SENATOR BARRASSO.** Mr. Chairman, I would like to pull out agenda item number
19 11, Mr. Amos Hochstein.

20 **SENATOR CARDIN.** Is that a separate vote?

1 **SENATOR BARRASSO.** Yes, I would like to make a discussion of that. But I am happy
2 to move ahead with all the others, if you would like to move first with the approval of
3 all the other nominees, Mr. Chairman.

4 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Okay, is there a motion that we vote on all of them en bloc?

5 **SENATOR CARDIN.** I would make that motion, with the exception of the Hochstein
6 nomination.

7 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Is there a second?

8 **SENATOR JOHNSON.** Second.

9 **THE CHAIRMAN.** All in favor say aye? [A chorus of ayes.]

10 **THE CHAIRMAN.** All opposed? [No response.]

11 **THE CHAIRMAN.** With that, the ayes have it.

12 Would you like to now speak to this nomination?

13 **SENATOR BARRASSO.** Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

14 I have long had concerns with the position of the Assistant Secretary of State for
15 the Bureau of Energy Resources. As the chairman of the subcommittee that oversees
16 international energy policy, I understand the important role that energy plays in our
17 national security. My opposition to the nomination centers around concerns with the
18 Bureau of Energy Resources at the U.S. Department of State, not the specific individual
19 who has been nominated.

1 The new bureau is adding to the duplication, the redundancies, and the
2 conflicting lines of authorities on international energy policy. By confirming an
3 Assistant Secretary position, the Senate would be signaling its approval of the glaring
4 problems that exist there.

5 At a time when our Nation is facing significant financial pressures, the U.S.
6 Department of State should not be increasing its budget and size, especially through the
7 creation of new bureaus.

8 The Bureau of Energy Resources was unilaterally created — unilaterally created
9 — by Secretary Clinton without input or authorization of Congress in 2011. When
10 originally created, the Department of State explained that it would only consolidate
11 staff positions and use existing resources for the bureau.

12 But within a year of making those assurances, the bureau requested a 40 percent
13 increase in staffing. The bureau went from 53 positions to its current total of 91 on
14 personnel staff. Despite its initial claim to use existing resources, it is clear the bureau is
15 going to continue to expand and grow, and with it, the size of the Department of State.

16 So what exactly did we get from the unilateral creation of a bureau that grew and
17 expanded the size of the State Department? Did we get a bureau that is consistent,
18 streamlined, and efficient? No. This is a bureau filled with inefficiencies, redundancies,
19 confusion.

1 The Office of Inspector General released a report just last month, and I am going
2 to ask, Mr. Chairman, that this report be made part of the record.

3 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Without objection.

**[The document referred to is too large to be included in this transcript. The report can be
accessed at: <https://oig.state.gov/system/files/isp-i-16-06.pdf>]**

4 **SENATOR BARRASSO.** This inspector general report raised the organizational and
5 structural problems of the Bureau of Energy Resources. The report explains, number
6 one, and I have it up here on a poster board: Organizational stove-piping and lacking
7 of communications and coordination create inefficiencies through duplication;
8 overlapping, conflicting, or unclear responsibilities; and interoffice rivalries.

9 So a quarter of bureau employees interviewed told the inspector general that
10 their portfolios were unclear or overlap with other staff members.

11 Next, did we get a bureau that is entirely responsible for international energy
12 policy within the State Department? No. Other bureaus and offices within the
13 Department of State still make decisions about international energy policy. According
14 to the State Department, the Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs was responsible
15 for the U.S. advocating for restrictions on financing to build coal power plants overseas
16 at the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development.

17 I think it is important to point out that the State Department has a coordinator for
18 international energy affairs to work on energy issues in foreign policy, which was
19 created by Congress, separate from this agency.

1 So did we get a bureau that is ultimately responsible, accountable, and in charge
2 of our Nation's international energy policy for the U.S. Government? No. Numerous
3 U.S. Government agencies are responsible for working on energy issues: the
4 Department of Energy, the Department of Commerce, the Department of the Interior,
5 the Department of the Treasury, the Energy Information Administration, and the
6 National Security Council.

7 The authorities are not clearly defined, which allows agencies the ability to shift
8 responsibility for decision-making and then deflect accountability that they should have
9 to Congress.

10 An example of this shifting responsibility and decision-making by agencies is
11 demonstrated at the World Bank. The Treasury Department, not the State Department
12 or the Department of Energy, is in charge of energy policy at the World Bank.

13 So when we asked the nominee if the bureau was responsible for the disastrous
14 energy policy to block financing of coal-fired power energy projects at the World Bank,
15 he said no, the Bureau of Energy Resources was not even involved in the policy
16 decisions regarding the public financing of coal-fired power plants, energy projects
17 through the World Bank, and other development institutions.

18 The Treasury Department has the jurisdiction for the formulation and
19 implementation of energy policies at multilateral financial and developmental
20 institutions. Treasury should not be tasked with formulating energy policy

1 internationally. Treasury does not have the technical expertise and the knowledge to
2 make a decision on the use of energy resources.

3 So did we get a bureau that ensures that U.S. Government agencies working on
4 the exact same issues in international energy would avoid duplicating efforts on other
5 parts of government? No. Perfect example of other agencies with overlapping
6 responsibilities and conflicting roles is the Department of Energy.

7 It is unclear how the State Department Bureau of Energy Resources differs from
8 the Department of Energy's Office of Policy and International Affairs. The Office of
9 Policy and International Affairs at the Department of Energy works with countries
10 across the world in the development and implementation of national and international
11 energy policies, strategies, and objectives. It was headed by an Assistant Secretary of
12 Energy and had 103 staff in 2013.

13 So the inspector general's report from last month identified and reported the
14 problems between the various agencies. This is the inspector general. It said, half of
15 ENR staff with substantive portfolios reported problems in the bureau's relationship
16 with the Department of Energy, including competing or overlapping missions,
17 inadequate communication and coordination, tense interpersonal relationships.

18 But that is what we are asked to be doing in terms of the confirmation today.

19 The Office of Inspector General's report also discussed the actual reported
20 impacts of the failed coordination, the overlapping responsibilities, and the conflicting

1 efforts. The report said personnel in some U.S. embassies told OIG inspectors that
2 inconsistent coordination between ENR and the Department of Energy has on occasion
3 generated problems overseas for missions trying to promulgate a single U.S. energy
4 message to foreign governments.

5 The inspector general goes on to say this is a serious problem. The United States
6 is unable to effectively communicate a unified energy message to countries across the
7 globe because of the problems I have outlined today.

8 So I think the Senate should not confirm the first Assistant Secretary for this
9 bureau, which was not approved, without first dealing with the duplication, the
10 redundancies, the confusing lines of authorities on international energy policy. That is
11 what the inspector general's report, to me, is all about.

12 There is no clear delineation of responsibilities and authorities, only a maze of
13 Washington, D.C., bureaucracy that creates international confusion for congressional
14 committees who are responsible for reviewing and conducting oversight of the
15 executive branch of government.

16 To me, Mr. Chairman, until these problems are addressed, I am going to continue
17 to oppose any person being nominated to be the first Assistant Secretary of State for the
18 Bureau of Energy Resources.

19 I urge my colleagues to also oppose the current nominee. And therefore, I will
20 call for a roll call vote.

1 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

2 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Well, first of all, I want to thank you for the way you have dealt
3 with all of us on this. I think you have made it known from the very beginning your
4 concerns.

5 My route in dealing with this will be for us to pass a State Department
6 authorization that fixed all of those things. I think you agree that would be a
7 productive route to take. And I hope that over the process of the next period of time,
8 we will figure out a way to more fully define how this department should work.

9 Personally, I think it is important for the State Department to have an energy
10 strategy. I think it is one of the most important tools of diplomacy, but also ensuring
11 that we can create environments, especially in Eastern Europe and other places, that are
12 conducive to them being able to be independent.

13 So I have met with Amos. I am very impressed with him. I feel like the plans
14 that he is working on relative to Europe are very important to us and our relationship
15 there.

16 Therefore, I am going to vote to support him. I know there will be members of
17 the committee that will not do that. But I do want to say that I am in 100 percent
18 agreement with the great Senator from Wyoming that, certainly, this committee should
19 use its role in authorizing to make sure that this department functions in a much more

1 satisfactory way. I appreciate him bringing up the fallacies and the problems that are
2 taking place there now.

3 **SENATOR CARDIN.** Mr. Chairman, first, I concur on your comments, and I do think a
4 State Department authorization bill could be extremely helpful here.

5 I was listening to my colleague, Senator Barrasso, and a lot of what he said, I
6 agree with. Then I thought he would then support having a confirmed Assistant
7 Secretary in the State Department, so that we could have more accountability for
8 international policies dealing with these issues. Because when you are dealing with the
9 Department of Energy, you are dealing with Treasury, you need the voice in the State
10 Department to coordinate these policies.

11 Then you said, and I want to agree with it also, that the nominee is well-
12 qualified, or are you had no complaints with the nominee. I just want people to know
13 this is one of the key players in getting the international community to honor the
14 Iranian sanctions regime. He is well-respected among the fossil fuel industry. He is
15 well-qualified to take on the challenges that Senator Barrasso talked about. So we have
16 the right person.

17 Lastly, let me point out, it was this committee, Senator Lugar, in 2007 that in the
18 energy bill recommended the special envoy. So this was authorized by Congress, and
19 now it is important to have a person who is going to be accountable to deal with the
20 issues that Senator Barrasso has talked about.

1 I would urge my colleagues to vote for confirmation.

2 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Senator Shaheen?

3 **SENATOR SHAHEEN.** Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I do not want to speak to the
4 Bureau of Energy Resources, but I do want to speak to the efforts of Mr. Hochstein,
5 because I think he has done a lot of things, but particularly in Europe, where I am the
6 ranking member, I think his efforts have been very important to counter Russia's
7 influence through energy.

8 He has worked very hard to cut off the Nord Stream 2 pipeline, which is Russia's
9 effort to cut off Ukraine as a transit point for Russian gas.

10 He has worked with Greece and Bulgaria on their gas interconnector, so that they
11 have access to non-Russian supplies of energy.

12 He has worked with Ukraine to try and reform their energy sector and to
13 develop policies that would give them an alternative to Russian oil and gas. And he has
14 also been instrumental in the creation of energy-specific sanctions on Russia after it
15 invaded Ukraine.

16 So those are just some of the things in Europe. As we think about the challenges
17 from Russia, I think it is, as you pointed out, Mr. Chairman, very important to have an
18 energy strategy in Europe and to have someone who can help coordinate that.

19 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Thank you. I do think it is central to our efforts in that part of the
20 world.

1 Senator Perdue?

2 **SENATOR PERDUE.** Mr. Chairman, briefly, I just want to speak to the question that I
3 raised the other day, and that is, this is another example of something that, obviously,
4 when you look at it in an ideal world, we would need that coordinated effort, as the
5 ranking member suggests.

6 Here is my observation. From 1992 to 2000, the State Department spent, on
7 average, about \$20 billion running everything that we had — USAID and everything,
8 including international operations. Under President Bush, it went up to about an
9 average of \$30 billion. It grew from \$20 billion to \$40 billion. Under the last 7 years,
10 with increased demand in Iraq and Afghanistan, granted, but the question is, we have
11 grown to \$54 billion in the State Department, including \$35 billion in foreign operations.

12 So my question is not about the individual. It is not about whether this ideally
13 should be done. The question is, can we afford it? My answer is no. We cannot afford
14 it, when every dollar we are spending at the State Department is technically borrowed
15 today. Thank you.

16 **THE CHAIRMAN.** I thank you. And again, to me, it warrants us doing an excellent
17 job on the State Department authorization to make sure that appropriate priorities are
18 dealt with.

19 I will say, again, with respect, I cannot imagine how having an energy strategy
20 relative to especially what Russia is doing at present, and some of the issues that will

1 occur in the Middle East, is not something that is centrally important to the State
2 Department.

3 Senator Murphy?

4 **SENATOR MURPHY.** Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I just wanted to speak briefly in
5 favor of Mr. Hochstein's nomination.

6 Senator Perdue raises a question that often gets talked about in this committee
7 and on the floor of the Senate as to whether we can afford it. Let us just remember that
8 though we have seen an expansion of that budget, we still rank in the lower quartile of
9 OECD nations in terms of the percentage of our GDP that we dedicate to an
10 international affairs budget.

11 And Russia is dramatically ramping up the subsidies and outright graft and
12 intimidation that they use in order to broaden their energy reach throughout Europe.

13 Senator Shaheen is right that Mr. Hochstein and that bureau have been
14 absolutely integral, not just to the work currently to try to push back on Nord Stream,
15 but on the successful effort to convince our allies in Europe to reject the South Stream
16 pipeline, which would have been an end-run around Ukraine to bring Russian gas and
17 Russian energy into Central and Western Europe.

18 I would just encourage anyone on this committee who has not received a brief
19 from Mr. Hochstein and from his department to do so. I think, in a very short amount
20 of time, you will realize the tremendous value that this office brings to some very

1 important energy independence projects, particularly in Eastern and Southern Europe.

2 He has done a fantastic job during the time that he has been in the position.

3 And I think as to Senator Barrasso's critique of the overlapping sets of
4 responsibilities, you are spot on. But I worry that we try to have it both ways. We have
5 not done a State Department authorization in a decade, and then we complain about the
6 anachronistic ways in which the department is organized.

7 Hopefully, we can solve that problem this year, get a great person in that
8 position, get a reformed set of responsibilities, and gain some consensus on this
9 committee at the end of that process.

10 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Senator Barrasso?

11 **SENATOR BARRASSO.** Well, let me concur with the fine job that he has done, which
12 was mentioned by my Democratic colleagues here. When Carlos Pascual was
13 nominated for this position and Senator Lugar, a former member of this committee, had
14 come to me about that, I had the same objection.

15 So this has been a longstanding issue. The issue of the current job being done,
16 Mr. Hochstein is serving in the role as the coordinator currently for international energy
17 affairs. In 2007, as you say, Congress passed bipartisan legislation congressionally
18 authorizing this position of coordinator at the Department of State to handle these
19 energy issues in foreign policy. The coordinator reports directly to the Secretary of
20 State, unlike the Assistant Secretary who reports to the Under Secretary of State. So Mr.

1 Hochstein is able to carry out the work on these issues dealing with energy policy at the
2 Department of State under the current coordinator position that he has and is doing a
3 fine job. And people point to that.

4 So there is really no delay or impact on his ability to do this excellent job. The
5 real obstacle is being able to advocate a single U.S. energy message to foreign
6 governments. That is the problem and the reason I raised this today with regard to the
7 Office of Inspector General report.

8 So thank you, Mr. Chair, and I call for a roll call.

9 **THE CHAIRMAN.** I thank you for the manner in which you have raised it, and the
10 consistency with which you have shown on this issue.

11 Senator Markey?

12 **SENATOR MARKEY.** Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

13 There is no question that energy is central to a huge portion of our international
14 policy. It is at the heart of a lot of it, from Libya, to Iraq, to Iran, energy, energy, energy.
15 You can just keep going right down the line. That is just the reality of the world in
16 which we live.

17 Senator Barrasso talks about this part of the agency that has been dissected for
18 inadequate coordination. One of the reasons is that there has never been a confirmed
19 Assistant Secretary for Energy. Never.

1 So what we are talking about here is confirming someone who would have the
2 responsibility for doing that coordination. And that is all we are talking about. The
3 individual, separate sub-issues clearly are going to have to be debated as part of an
4 authorization, as part of any other activity that we might engage in. But I do not think
5 the problems that have been identified can be solved at all unless we have a confirmed
6 Assistant Secretary for Energy. We have never had one.

7 So I think that is kind of how we should divide it. Is there a management
8 structure? And then how well, then, are the individual issues being dealt with within
9 that subpart of the agency. I think that would probably be a better way of looking at it
10 and, as a result, Mr. Hochstein's nomination really just fits into the context of making
11 sure that there is a solid management structure there.

12 And I would urge his approval.

13 **THE CHAIRMAN.** With all the business we have, if it is okay, I would like to move to
14 his nomination.

15 I know there is going to be a divided vote here. I have a sense of how it is going
16 to be. But I am sort of uplifted by the fact that I think the energy area of the State
17 Department is going to be part of our authorization. My sense is there will be a lot of
18 like-mindedness around making sure that we have an authorization that addresses that.

19 So is there a motion to approve —

20 **SENATOR CARDIN.** So moved.

1 **THE CHAIRMAN.** And a second?

2 **SENATOR BOXER.** Second.

3 **THE CHAIRMAN.** I think this is going to be a roll call vote, so if we will, Clerk, let us
4 begin that.

5 **THE CLERK.** Mr. Risch?

6 **SENATOR RISCH.** No.

7 **THE CLERK.** Mr. Rubio?

8 **THE CHAIRMAN.** No by proxy.

9 **THE CLERK.** Mr. Johnson? [No response.]

10 **THE CLERK.** Mr. Flake?

11 **SENATOR FLAKE.** No.

12 **THE CLERK.** Mr. Gardner?

13 **SENATOR GARDNER.** Aye.

14 **THE CLERK.** Mr. Perdue?

15 **SENATOR PERDUE.** No.

16 **THE CLERK.** Mr. Isakson?

17 **SENATOR ISAKSON.** No.

18 **THE CLERK.** Mr. Paul?

19 **THE CHAIRMAN.** No by proxy.

20 **THE CLERK.** Mr. Barrasso?

1 **SENATOR BARRASSO.** No.

2 **THE CLERK.** Mr. Cardin?

3 **SENATOR CARDIN.** Aye.

4 **THE CLERK.** Mrs. Boxer?

5 **SENATOR BOXER.** Aye.

6 **THE CLERK.** Mr. Menendez?

7 **SENATOR MENENDEZ.** Aye.

8 **THE CLERK.** Ms. Shaheen?

9 **SENATOR SHAHEEN.** Aye.

10 **THE CLERK.** Mr. Coons?

11 **SENATOR COONS:** Aye.

12 **THE CLERK.** Mr. Udall?

13 **SENATOR UDALL.** Aye.

14 **THE CLERK.** Mr. Murphy?

15 **SENATOR MURPHY.** Aye.

16 **THE CLERK.** Mr. Kaine?

17 **SENATOR KAINE.** Aye.

18 **THE CLERK.** Mr. Markey?

19 **SENATOR MARKEY.** Aye.

20 **THE CHAIRMAN.** The clerk will report.

1 **THE CLERK.** Mr. Chairman?

2 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Aye.

3 **THE CLERK.** Mr. Chairman, the ayes are 11, and the nays are seven.

4 **THE CHAIRMAN.** So he will move to the floor.

5 I want to thank everybody for the healthy discussion we have had about this.

6 Again, I want to thank Senator Barrasso for the manner in which he has discussed this
7 issue with us. And I look forward to a good State Department authorization.

Statement Submitted by Senator Johnson of Wisconsin

March 10, 2016

8 Mr. Chairman,

9 I would have voted no, if I had been present for the roll call vote on
10 the nomination of Mr. Amos J. Hochstein, of the District of Columbia, to be
11 Assistant Secretary of State (Energy Resources) on March 10, 2016.

12 Sincerely,

13 Ron Johnson (R. Wisconsin)

14

15 Next, we will consider S. Res. 388, the International Women's Day Resolution,
16 with two amendments.

17 Senator Cardin, do you have any comments to make on that?

18 **SENATOR CARDIN.** I have already made my comments.

19 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Would anyone else like to speak to this resolution?

20 **SENATOR SHAHEEN.** Mr. Chairman?

1 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Yes, ma'am?

2 **SENATOR SHAHEEN.** Mr. Chairman, I want to thank your staff and all of the efforts
3 that have gone into trying to reach an accommodation around this resolution. It really
4 speaks to the challenges that half the world's population faces with respect to domestic
5 and sexual violence, with respect to child marriage, with respect to trying to make sure
6 that women have access to schools around the world. And it talks about women
7 reaching their full potential.

8 But I have to say, Mr. Chairman, that I am disappointed that, again, in these
9 discussions, we were not able to talk about the importance of women around the world
10 having access to reproductive health because an estimated 225 million women in
11 developing countries have unmet need for modern contraception. That is highest in
12 sub-Saharan Africa.

13 Providing greater access to family planning and reproductive health services
14 improves the health of mothers and children. It also is one of the best ways to reduce
15 poverty around the world. And it is critical that women are able to access family
16 planning services.

17 Each year, about 47,000 women die from complications due to unsafe abortions.
18 Access to and use of effective contraception reduces unintended pregnancies associated
19 with unsafe abortions.

1 So I just want to point out that if we are really talking about women being able to
2 reach their full potential, and the challenges that women in the developing world face,
3 making sure that they can have access to reproductive health services is one of the most
4 critical needs that women and families have.

5 So, again, I am pleased with what we were able to agree to in this resolution, but
6 that is one thing that we have not been able to agree to that I think continues to be an
7 urgent need for women around the world.

8 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

9 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Thank you for your comments.

10 Senator Boxer?

11 **SENATOR BOXER.** Thank you so much, Mr. Chairman.

12 I want to thank Senator Shaheen for her leadership.

13 And I just want to say, without rancor in any way, that when you have women
14 on a committee, a couple of women, you ought to think about, just think about, putting
15 yourself in our shoes and our perspective.

16 Now, if you believe that abortion should be outlawed — some do, even under
17 the circumstances of rape and incest — then you surely should embrace contraceptives.
18 Surely.

1 And if you went out into the street and just asked a man on the street, a woman
2 on the street, that is what they would say. More than 90 percent of the women in this
3 country have used birth control at some point in their life.

4 As Senator Shaheen says, to deny women the kind of health care we need — the
5 men do not need it in the same way — I think is selfish, because what we are doing is
6 we are forcing the women of the world — let us just say, we are not helping them in
7 what they need most, decent, safe health care.

8 So I will stand with my colleague on this point. I am proud of her for raising this
9 issue. It is not pleasant. But I think it needs to be said. It needs to be said.

10 Do not tell me you are against abortion at the same time you are against birth
11 control, you know? It just is — it is phony. It is phony.

12 That is my thought. I did not hold back. I was going to, but I am sorry.

13 [Laughter.]

14 **THE CHAIRMAN.** That is a general characteristic I have noticed through the years.

15 [Laughter.]

16 **SENATOR BOXER.** You will soon be free of these words, so bear with me.

17 But I just hope you will think a little bit more, open up your minds a little bit
18 more, and listen to what Jeanne has said.

19 **THE CHAIRMAN.** I appreciate both of your comments.

20 Any other discussion?

1 I think we live in a world where we get done what we can get done, and today
2 we are, certainly, moving ahead with this issue. I thank both of you for your comments
3 and contributions.

4 Is there any further discussion on this resolution?

5 Apparently not.

6 Is there a motion to approve both manager's amendments by voice vote, en bloc?

7 **SENATOR CARDIN.** So moved.

8 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Is there a second?

9 **SENATOR BOXER.** Second.

10 **THE CHAIRMAN.** So moved and seconded.

11 The question is on the motion to approve both amendments, en bloc.

12 All in favor, say aye. [A chorus of ayes.]

13 **THE CHAIRMAN.** All opposed? [No response.]

14 **THE CHAIRMAN.** With that, the ayes have it. The amendments are agreed to.

15 Are there any further amendments?

16 Seeing none, I would like to hear a motion on approving the resolution as it was
17 just amended.

18 **SENATOR CARDIN.** So moved.

19 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Is there a second?

20 **SENATOR BOXER.** Second.

1 **THE CHAIRMAN.** So moved and seconded. The question is on the motion to
2 approve S. Res. 388, as amended.

3 All in favor, say aye. [A chorus of ayes.]

4 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Opposed? {No response.]

5 **THE CHAIRMAN.** With that, the ayes have it. The resolution, as amended, is agreed
6 to.

7 Thank you. Thank you for your contributions.

8 Our next order of business that I also ask we consider en bloc by a voice vote are
9 the remaining resolutions before the committee, S. Res. 375, S. Res. 368, S. Res. 392, S.
10 Res. 378, S. Res. 383.

11 Senator Cardin, any comments?

12 **SENATOR CARDIN.** I have already commented, and I would encourage members to
13 support these resolutions.

14 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Are there any other members who would like to speak to these
15 resolutions?

16 Senator Menendez?

17 **SENATOR MENENDEZ.** Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

18 I am strongly supportive of these resolutions, particularly with reference to the
19 resolution that expresses concern over the prosecution and conviction of former

1 President Nasheed, as well as the call for due process and freedom from political
2 persecution for all the people of the Maldives, and the one on Boris Nemtsov.

3 I know the chairman has heard me say many times that I believe that an
4 emphasis on human rights and democracy and freedom are incredibly important when
5 they emanate from this committee, the Senate, and the United States of America
6 globally, and that sometimes I worry that we subject those guiding principles to other
7 interests.

8 I am glad to see Senator Leahy offering the resolution on President Nasheed. I
9 am glad to see the one on Boris Nemtsov. And I just want to take a moment to say there
10 are other places in the world in which the very same things that we cry out for — for
11 ensuring that, in fact, people in the Maldives are going to be free from political
12 persecution for all the people of the Maldives — I would like to see the people of Cuba
13 be free from all the political persecution that they have suffered for so long.

14 I would like to see an international investigation, as we called for Boris Nemtsov,
15 as well for Oswaldo Paya. Oswaldo Paya was a peaceful activist in Cuba who, under
16 the Cuba Constitution as it exists, was collecting signatures on a petition to petition the
17 Government of Cuba to create changes. He was assassinated inside of Cuba.

18 So I bring up this moment because, as someone who is universally passionate
19 about these issues, I would like to invoke the passion of my colleagues who may
20 disagree with our policy or maybe agree now with the present policy on Cuba to speak

1 out about human rights and democracy in Cuba, to speak out as strongly as they do in
2 other parts of the world about the people in Cuba who are languishing every day,
3 trying to create peaceful change in their country.

4 The greatest repression we have seen, that one can imagine in this, in the last
5 several months, over 1,400 Cubans have been arrested. The Women in White, who
6 every Sunday march to church dressed in white with a gladiola to talk about — in
7 essence, in a peaceful protest — their sons and daughters and husbands, are arrested by
8 the Castro regime, and we say nothing. And we say nothing.

9 So I want to take this moment to hopefully prick the conscience of my colleagues,
10 who I would hope would be as vigorous in their advocacy for human rights and
11 democracy in Cuba as I admire them in other parts of the world.

12 And I strongly support the resolution.

13 **THE CHAIRMAN.** I appreciate your strong and consistent voice on human rights
14 around the world. And I think we have an opportunity with some of the changes that
15 have been put forth by the administration to see if the Castro administration will begin
16 to respect human rights in a different way. We will see what occurs in that regard.

17 **SENATOR MENENDEZ.** Mr. Chairman, I hope 1,400 arrests in 2 months is not the
18 beginning of what is change.

19 **THE CHAIRMAN.** I understand.

20 Any others?

1 Senator Coons?

2 **SENATOR COONS:** I will be very brief, Mr. Chairman.

3 If I might, first, I would like to be added as a cosponsor of all these resolutions. I
4 just want to thank Senator Perdue for his leadership on S. Res. 383. I think it is
5 important that we continue to emphasize the enduring economic ties and
6 entrepreneurial ties between the United States and Israel. The BIRD Foundation is a
7 great example of that, and I would like to thank you and Ranking Member Cardin for
8 your leadership in bringing forward in S. 1252, the Global Food Security Act, for
9 authorizing Feed the Future, and, as Senator Cardin referenced, at a time of great
10 drought and challenges in Ethiopia, to continue to invest in finding both efficient and
11 effective ways to deliver food aid through a variety of pathways.

12 It has been great to work with you on this, and I am pleased we are moving
13 forward today. Thank you.

14 **SENATOR PERDUE.** Mr. Chairman?

15 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Senator Perdue?

16 **SENATOR PERDUE.** I had the privilege, on a recent trip, of meeting Vladimir Kara-
17 Murza that was also involved. He is a Russian opposition leader as well. I was very
18 moved by that.

19 So I would like to very definitely be added as a cosponsor on S. Res. 378.

1 I also would like to speak to S. Res. 383, and thank Senator Coons for his
2 leadership as a cosponsor of this bill to encourage the U.S. to facilitate and grow our
3 economic relationship with Israel. Some 250,000 high-paying jobs are supported by that
4 relationship. Israel today provides more direct foreign investment than Russia, China,
5 and even India.

6 So I encourage the committee to vote aye on this bill. Thank you.

7 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Any other comments?

8 Before we vote, I want to personally thank Trey Hicks in our office who has been
9 a saint, if you will, in trying to work through these issues of global food security. We
10 still have a lot of work to do, but I just have to tell you, the patience that he has shown
11 in working through the issues that we have had to deal with here are remarkable. Yet
12 he has been persistent, and I just want to thank him.

13 **SENATOR COONS:** Mr. Chairman, can I add an "amen" to that?

14 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Thank you.

15 Senator Isakson?

16 **SENATOR ISAKSON.** May I make remarks on global food security?

17 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Sure.

18 **SENATOR ISAKSON.** I just want to thank you for adding yourself as a cosponsor
19 today. I want to thank Senator Coons, Senator Casey, Senator Rubio, and others who
20 have helped us.

1 Food security is critical. One in eight people around the world go to sleep in
2 hunger. Stunting is a major problem around the world.

3 It is in the interest of the United States national security for people to not be
4 hungry and be self-sufficient.

5 This bill coordinates all the programs of U.S. assistance to ensure we meet the
6 goals of the United States. But we work people from dependence to self-sufficiency
7 around the world, so food security is no longer an issue.

8 I would appreciate everybody's support.

9 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Thank you. Thank you so much. I appreciate your tremendous
10 contributions in that area, and all the work you have done in Africa in general.

11 So I think we got a little ahead of ourselves, thanks to me.

12 Do we have a motion to approve these resolutions?

13 **SENATOR CARDIN.** En bloc, so moved.

14 **THE CHAIRMAN.** En bloc. Is there a second?

15 **SENATOR BOXER.** Second.

16 **THE CHAIRMAN.** All in favor, say aye. [A chorus of ayes.]

17 **THE CHAIRMAN.** All opposed? [No response.]

18 **THE CHAIRMAN.** The ayes have it. The resolutions are agreed to.

19 Next we will consider S. 1252, the Global Food Security Act of 2015.

20 Senator Cardin, any additional comments?

1 **SENATOR CARDIN.** Again, I strongly support this and thank all those who were
2 involved.

3 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Anyone else?

4 Thank you.

5 With no further discussion, I will entertain a motion to consider the substitute
6 amendment by voice vote?

7 **SENATOR CARDIN.** So moved.

8 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Is there a second?

9 **SENATOR BOXER.** Second.

10 **THE CHAIRMAN.** So moved and seconded.

11 The question is on the motion to approve the substitute amendment.

12 All in favor, say aye. [A chorus of ayes.]

13 **THE CHAIRMAN.** All opposed? [No response.]

14 **THE CHAIRMAN.** With that, the ayes have it. The substitute amendment is agreed
15 to.

16 Are there any further amendments?

17 Hearing none, is there a motion to approve the legislation, as amended?

18 **SENATOR CARDIN.** So moved.

19 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Is there a second?

20 **SENATOR BOXER.** Second.

1 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Thank you. So moved and seconded.

2 The question is on the motion to approve S. 1252, as amended.

3 All in favor, say aye. [A chorus of ayes.]

4 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Opposed? [No response.]

5 **THE CHAIRMAN.** With that, the ayes have it. The legislation is amended and agreed
6 to.

7 That completes the committee's business. I ask unanimous consent that staff be
8 authorized to make technical and conforming changes.

9 Without objection, so ordered.

10 With that, without objection, the committee will stand adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 10:54 a.m., the meeting was adjourned.]