

Senator Ben Cardin, Ranking Member

1. Anti-Corruption- There is a growing body of evidence that poor governance—marked by high corruption and lack of government transparency—is a key driver of fragility and political instability in many parts of the world today. Citizens frustrated by government corruption, repression, and a loss of dignity and hope are more likely to tolerate or support violent extremist groups such as Al Qaeda, ISIS and Boko Haram. Obviously this jeopardizes both the United States and its allies.

- a. Can you tell this Committee what concrete steps you will take, if confirmed, to promote good governance, anti-corruption, and transparency efforts around the world to help keep America safe?

As I mentioned during the Committee's hearing, I believe in transparency and accountability, not just for those countries who receive taxpayer dollars but also from all our development assistance agencies, programs, and implementing partners, to lead by example. Making programs more effective requires more than just efficiency. It is about doing the right things and encouraging other countries to do the right thing. That is why I believe in the MCC model, where it applies. I plan to conduct a complete and comprehensive review of our development assistance programs.

- b. Will you commit to work with me and the committee to ensure that anti-corruption initiatives at the State Department receive the level of funding and personnel required by this essential priority?

Yes. I look forward to working with you and the committee not only to be sure that anti-corruption programs are adequately funded, but also to instill in our personnel working on those programs and on any international development effort that anti-corruption considerations are an integral part of their portfolio and how they do business every day.

- c. As Secretary of State, how would you deal with the leaders of dictatorships where Exxon has operated for decades, but where people suffer due to a lack of the rule of law, limited transparency, endemic corruption and lack of international accountability (for example, Equatorial Guinea, Angola and Chad)?

My tenure at ExxonMobil has ended. If confirmed, my only interests will be those of the United States, which I will pursue vigorously without favoritism.

- d. During your time at ExxonMobil, the company reaped tremendous profits from its willingness to operate in challenging political environments, including by collaborating with some well-known autocratic and abusive leaders. How, if at all, do you envisage you might approach this challenge, if confirmed to be Secretary of State? How would respect for human rights, the rule of law, and a long-standing U.S. commitment to support anti-corruption and transparency measures factor into your foreign policy priorities? Would you aggressively and explicitly support all of the elements of the U.S. anti-kleptocracy initiative, first started under President George W. Bush, including denying visas to heads of state in oil-rich countries where Exxon may have business dealings, if they are credibly implicated in corruption?

During my tenure as Chairman and CEO, ExxonMobil was committed to complying with U.S. laws, promoting the rule of law, and respecting human rights. If confirmed, human rights, the rule of law, and anti-corruption and transparency measures would be high priorities.

- e. You and I have also discussed the anti-corruption legislation I introduced last year and will introduce in this new Congress, that identifies and ranks countries according to their levels of corruption. You know I believe that American values are more than the share-holder bottom line you successfully pursued at Exxon, and that moral leadership is an asset. Despite your record of skepticism about sanctions, can you reassure me and the Committee that as Secretary of State you will advocate for strong rules to ensure that our government and private sector is operating in a transparent manner that makes it more difficult for corrupt leaders to siphon off wealth that should be benefiting all citizens of their country? Can I count on you to partner with me in your new role?

Yes.

2. Extractives Industry Transparency- Transparency and accountability are critical to good governance, the fight against corruption, and rule of law. I have worked to enhance transparency in the extractive industries through Section 1504 of Dodd-Frank--which requires extractive industry companies to disclose their payments to foreign governments at the project level. This Rule, often referred to as the Cardin-Lugar Rule, has been endorsed by Shell, BP, Total, the world's largest mining company- BHP Billiton, and U.S. companies Kosmos Energy and Newmont, among others.

- a. What impact, if any, do you think resource payment transparency should have on U.S. government foreign assistance efforts?

Where transparency is not the norm, using our development assistance to help establish a new norm should be a primary objective. During the hearing, I responded to questions from Senator Kaine about the so-called "Resource Curse" and to Senator Isakson's comments on the so-called "Dutch Disease." I believe these countries have to be put on a pathway to taking responsibility for meeting the needs of their people. It is a different journey for each country, but those with resource wealth should have the expectation that any American or multi-national business engaged there is doing so above-board and with transparency. Part of my job, if confirmed as Secretary of State, will be to make sure that because American companies, NGOs, and development relief efforts are expected to play by the rules and abide by Dodd-Frank, Cardin-Lugar, FCPA, and other laws, that foreign companies or investors do not get an unfair advantage by cheating or keeping to a lower standard.

- b. Please discuss any efforts you have undertaken at Exxon Mobil to advance transparency.

During my tenure as Chairman and CEO, ExxonMobil strongly supported efforts to increase the transparency of government revenues from the extractive industries. Information on specific activities that ExxonMobil undertook is available here:

<http://corporate.exxonmobil.com/en/current-issues/accountability/transparency/overview>

- c. Exxon sits on the global board of the EITI and has released its tax payments in other countries, but not the United States. Meanwhile, its competitors like Shell and BP have released their tax payments in the United States. Why has Exxon Mobil, under your leadership, refused to report their tax payments in the U.S., as required by the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI), which Exxon has stated it supports?

The EITI called for the disclosure of government payments relating to U.S. oil and gas production. However, ExxonMobil's U.S. income tax represents the net result of its worldwide

upstream, downstream, and chemical businesses. The EITI did not require the disclosure of these tax payments.

- d. As Secretary of State, how would you deal with the leaders of dictatorships where Exxon has operated for decades, but where people suffer due to a lack of the rule of law, limited transparency, endemic corruption and lack of international accountability (for example, Equatorial Guinea, Angola and Chad)?

My tenure at ExxonMobil has ended. If confirmed, my only interests will be those of the United States, which I will pursue vigorously without favoritism.

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- e. If confirmed as Secretary of State, how would you handle poor resource revenue transparency by governments with which we partner, support, or ally? What do you believe to be the U.S. role in encouraging greater transparency and accountability among governments?

As I stated at the hearing and during questions and above, if confirmed, I would take a clear-eyed, comprehensive view and understand all the tools available to achieve U.S. foreign policy and national security objectives most effectively. Where transparency is not the norm, using our development assistance to help establish a new norm should be a primary objective, so that other assistance program resources do not go to waste.

3. Helsinki/OSCE- How would you evaluate the potential of the OSCE to advance U.S. security interests and promote cooperation in Europe, and will the Trump Administration make full use of that potential by maintaining a strong emphasis on the OSCE's Human Dimension, including by vigorously raising human rights violations in Russia and elsewhere at OSCE fora, as well as supporting and, if possible, increasing a robust OSCE field presence, particularly in Ukraine? Do you agree with the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly's characterization of the Russian Federation's actions in Ukraine since 2014 as clear, gross and uncorrected violations of Helsinki Principles and that we should at least say so regardless of what specific measures we may decide it is in our interest to take at a particular time?

As has been the case historically, the OSCE remains an important forum for promoting security cooperation, democratic values, and human rights across Europe and the states of the former Soviet Union.

It is in U.S. interests to ensure that the OSCE's potential is fully utilized -- including its Human Dimension and field missions in conflict zones like Ukraine.

The OSCE offers an important arena where human rights concerns can be raised, and members, like Russia, can be held accountable on their commitments to the OSCE's core principles.

It is clear that Russia's aggression against Ukraine stands in stark violation of Helsinki's defense of the inviolability of national frontiers and respect for territorial integrity.

The United States should not shy away from speaking up for the principles and values that it holds dear, especially when they are flagrantly violated.

4. Law of the Sea- On June 8, 2012, you sent a letter to this Committee expressing Exxon's support for U.S. ratification of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS). Could you please provide details on why you believed the treaty was beneficial to U.S. commercial interests, whether you continue to believe that it is beneficial to U.S. commercial interests today, and whether you will express to the President-elect the view that ratification of UNCLOS should be a priority?

As indicated in my June 8, 2012, letter, as Chairman and CEO of ExxonMobil, I supported U.S. ratification of UNCLOS because it would provide a legal basis for the settlement of conflicting claims in areas recognized for sovereignty purposes under UNCLOS. Resolution of these claims would help support natural resource development as well as other commercial interests.

I understand UNCLOS has been debated on several occasions by the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. The United States should only join treaties that advance U.S. national interests, and I will, if confirmed, examine UNCLOS to determine whether it is in the continued best interests of the United States to be a party.

5. SEC Inquiries into ExxonMobil Subsidiary- In January 6, 2006, the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission sent a letter to ExxonMobil noting that the company and its subsidiary, "may have existing or anticipated operations associated with Iran, Syria and Sudan, which are identified as state sponsors of terrorism by the U.S. State Department and subject to export controls imposed, in part, as a result of actions in support of terrorism and/or pursuit of weapons of mass destruction and missile programs". The letter noted that ExxonMobil's "Form 10-K does not contain any disclosure about operations in these countries." In response, on February 7, 2006, ExxonMobil released a letter acknowledging that its "Chemical segment" had sold, between 2003 and 2005, approximately \$67.7 million chemicals to Syrian customers, and, furthermore, that Infineum, a European joint venture by ExxonMobil and the Shell Oil Company, had, during the same time period, made smaller transactions with Syria and Sudan and sold \$53.2 million worth of chemicals and fuel additives to the Iranian National Oil Company, listed by the Treasury Department as an affiliate of the Iranian Revolution Guard Corps, which the United States has labeled a direct sponsor of terrorist groups. ExxonMobil stated that "no United States person is involved in those business transactions", which were instead carried out by Infineum's European affiliates. During your hearing on Wednesday, in response to questions concerning this issue, you stated "I do not recall the details of the circumstances around what you just described" and that you "would have to look back and refresh myself."

- a. Given the sensitive nature of how these countries are identified under U.S. law, would ExxonMobil's senior leadership team be made aware of these transactions before they were approved? Please provide to the committee the Minutes of the Exxon Board meeting discussing the 2006 SEC letter.

The 2006 correspondence from the SEC concerned transactions that predated my tenure as Chairman and CEO of ExxonMobil and arrived shortly after I became CEO. I am not aware that the transactions were discussed at an ExxonMobil Board meeting, nor do I have copies of Board meeting minutes in my personal files. Given the size of ExxonMobil and the content of the response I also do not recall whether the issue was elevated to me for advance review and comment.

- b. Why would ExxonMobil not disclose the transactions in the Form 10-K, no matter their size?

I understand that ExxonMobil provided a full explanation for its treatment of these transactions in its publicly filed response to the SEC's January 6, 2006, letter. That letter is available at the following link:

<https://www.sec.gov/Archives/edgar/data/34088/000003408806000034/filename1.htm>.

- c. You also stated Wednesday that "sanctions are a powerful tool, and they are an important tool, in terms of deterring additional action." Do you think it is appropriate for U.S. businesses to seek to sidestep U.S. sanctions laws?

No, and during my tenure as Chairman and CEO of ExxonMobil, the company's policy was to comply fully with U.S. sanctions laws.

- d. Would you say that these sales were made in a manner consistent with the intent of the United States government in "deterring additional action" from the target countries?

To the best of my knowledge, these transactions complied fully with U.S. sanctions laws.

- e. Would you characterize Exxon and Infineum's transactions with Iran, Syria and Sudan, as well as subsequent disclosure of these transactions, as the model for how companies should transact business with countries identified as state sponsors of terrorism?

Based on my knowledge of corporate operating principles at ExxonMobil during my tenure as Chairman and CEO, I would characterize these transactions as fully compliant with the U.S. sanctions laws in place at the time.

6. Refugees - The refugees fleeing violence in Syria are only a fraction of the over 65 million people displaced around the world today. Taken together, they would make up the 21st largest and the third fastest growing country in the world. This historic humanitarian crisis has had a destabilizing effect on some of our allies in the Middle East, such as Jordan and Turkey, and even our closest allies in Europe, including Germany and France.

- a. As Secretary of State, how will you confront this humanitarian crisis and how, in your view, can the U.S. better work with partners to provide life-saving assistance to refugees? In response to the global refugee crisis, the US convened a Global Summit on Refugees in September 2016. What steps will you take to carry forward this convening role and to ensure the US and other countries follow-through with their pledges from the Summit?

It is my belief that it is important for refugees to be safe from harm, wherever they may be. Should I be confirmed as Secretary, I will work to implement the President-elect's stated goal of establishing safe zones to help ensure the protection of displaced Syrians. I will also work

with our partners around the world to help continue humanitarian aid contributions, pursuant to direction by the President.

- b. How should the US follow up and implement the commitments made at the World Humanitarian Summit and UN Summit for Refugees and Migrants?

While I am not aware of all of the commitments made by the current Administration at the World Humanitarian Summit and the UN Summit for Refugees, should I be confirmed as Secretary, I will continue to work with our global partners to carry out the President-elect's priorities with regard to the global refugee crisis.

- c. As Secretary of State, what lessons from the successful integration of previous waves of refugees would you seek to apply to welcoming refugees in our current era?

Because I have not yet been fully briefed on the historical trends of U.S. refugee resettlement, I cannot comment on what lessons I would or would not seek to apply to future refugee resettlement.

- d. What role will you take to support US leadership by securing the necessary investments to respond to humanitarian crises around the world?

Should I be confirmed as Secretary, I will work with our partners around the world to help continue humanitarian aid contributions, pursuant to direction by the President.

- e. The global displacement crisis is driven by internal and transnational conflict – including in Afghanistan, Iraq, Nigeria, South Sudan, Sudan, Syria, and Yemen -- and a critical challenge of our time, with tremendous regional stability and other geopolitical consequences across the globe. What role does the US have to address both the causes and consequences of the displacement?

The United States should seek to lead efforts to help promote peace and to ensure the ability of displaced persons to repatriate.

7. U.S. Refugee Admissions

- a. How do you think refugee resettlement benefits U.S. interests abroad?

I do not have a comprehensive understanding of the historical impact of refugee resettlement on U.S. interests abroad. Should I be confirmed, I will work to further my understanding.

- b. Do you support a robust refugee program?

I believe that refugees and other displaced persons should be safe from harm, no matter their location.

- c. How would a decrease in refugee admissions to the US, or a change in the nationalities that are admitted as refugees, hinder the ability of the US government to encourage other countries to resettle refugees and keep their borders open to refugees?

I do not have a comprehensive understanding of every permutation of the U.S. Refugee Admissions Program, or how hypothetical changes to the program would change the ability of the U.S. government to encourage other countries to resettle refugees. Should I be confirmed, I will work to further my understanding.

- d. Do you believe the US should deny certain refugees admission to the US based on their religion or nationality? If not, how will you protect against it?

I do not believe anyone should be discriminated against based on their religion or nationality.

- e. How would a ban on resettlement from certain countries, such as Syria and Somalia, impact the US government's diplomatic efforts to foster regional stability?

I do not have a comprehensive understanding of every aspect of the Refugee Admissions Program, or how hypothetical changes to the program could impact efforts to foster regional stability. Should I be confirmed, I will work to further my understanding.

- f. The US resettlement program focuses on resettling the refugees who need this solution the most, such as those with urgent medical needs, victims of torture, single female households, and families with very specific circumstances whose protection or assistance needs cannot be met through existing humanitarian assistance programs in their host countries. Do you support this approach?

The determination of which individuals would or would not be considered refugees for purposes of resettlement in the United States is governed by applicable provisions of the Immigration and Nationality Act. Should I be confirmed as Secretary, I will faithfully execute our laws consistent with the Constitution.

- g. Over the course of the last two years there has been increased public concern, as well as significant misinformation, surrounding the US Refugee Admissions Program. Refugees are subject to the most rigorous and detailed security screenings of any category of persons -- immigrant or visitor -- to enter the US, in a process that on average takes 18-24 months and involves over a dozen national security, law enforcement and intelligence agencies. It is a security process that has been reviewed, continuously improved (including as new technological advances are introduced) and reaffirmed under both the Obama and Bush administration. Understanding that you are limited in what you can say in this setting, can you explain what specifically you would do to improve the existing program, without decreasing the number of refugees who are resettled, especially in light of the urgent humanitarian need?

I have not yet been briefed on all aspects of the U.S. Refugee Admissions Program, but should I be confirmed as Secretary, I will faithfully administer the Refugee Admissions Program consistent with law and the policy preferences of the President-elect.

- h. Many refugees in the US are waiting anxiously for the resettlement of their family members. Family unity is a fundamental human need, and family reunification is also a key component of obligations under the Refugee Convention and a critical element of successful integration into the US. Do you support family reunification policies?

I have not yet been briefed on all aspects of the U.S. Refugee Admissions Program, thus I cannot make a determination regarding family reunification under the Program.

8. Role of the Secretary of State - Since 9/11 but especially in the last decade, the State Department's ability to carry out its functions as the lead agency responsible for the supervision and general direction of U.S. foreign assistance has been eroded, in large part by increasing authorities and funding for the Department of Defense to manage programs intended to build the capacity of foreign security forces. In many cases such programs have a dubious track record with respect to cost-effectiveness, sustainability, and overall value to U.S. foreign policy. While the Department of Defense and many other federal departments and agencies have important roles to play overseas, the Secretary of State should effectively coordinate the various programs to ensure such assistance supports broader U.S. foreign policy objectives. Do you agree that the State Department should play a leading, and at a minimum a concurrent, role in the general direction, and to the extent practicable, the formulation of overseas programs implemented by other department and agencies when the Secretary determines that such programs impact U.S. foreign policy?

The Secretary of State is the principal foreign policy advisor to the President. Overseas, our Ambassadors have authority over all U.S. government agencies in their country of assignment, with the one exception being uniformed military under the authority of a combatant command. Clearly our engagements overseas in the past decade have had a heavy military component, related to our wartime deployments to Afghanistan and Iraq. In those contexts, and in many others, the State Department and other civilian foreign affairs agencies have worked very closely with their military counterparts—something that I would expect to continue in the Trump Administration. Diplomacy and military force are complementary instruments of our national power. In war zones the military can be expected to have the lead; elsewhere, the Department of State should have the primary role in directing overseas activities. If we are both confirmed, I would expect Defense Secretary Mattis and myself to work these matters out in ways that best advance American interests—either directly or through the NSC process.

9. Flynn: While General Michael Flynn was sitting in on the classified national security briefings given to Donald Trump, starting in August 2016, his lobbying firm, the Flynn Intel Group, was providing foreign clients with “all-source intelligence support.” The Flynn Intel Group’s list of clients has included the firm Innova BV, which is owned by Turkish businessman Kamil Ekim Alptekin, who has close ties to President Erdogan of Turkey, and has paid the firm “tens of thousands of dollars” for analysis on world affairs. This relationship was not publicly disclosed when General Flynn published an op-ed calling for the extradition of Fethullah Gulen, a Turkish preacher in Pennsylvania who has been blamed by President Erdogan for the July 2016 failed military coup. Do you see any problems with this? Bradley Moss, an attorney who routinely represents defense contractors in security clearance disputes, stated that “Security adjudicators would have concerns that someone with Flynn's level of experience wouldn't think twice about sitting in on a classified briefing while working for foreign clients,” and that “The moment he sat in on classified briefings, his association with his own company had to be severed. By not doing that he exposed himself unnecessarily to foreign influence and raised questions about his good judgment.” Do you agree with Mr. Moss’s characterization of this incident?

I do not have knowledge of General Flynn’s business activities and associations and am not able to comment.

10. Crowley- Monica Crowley, the appointee for senior director of strategic communications at the NSA, has claimed frequently that Clinton aide Huma Abedin has “ties to Islamic supremacists”, has defended birtherist conspiracy theories as “legitimate questions”, and has tweeted that President Obama has gotten away “w/ bloody murder (literally.” Of greatest concern to me was her frankly frightening claim that “we are in a holy war” against Islamic terrorists that pits “the Constitution versus the Quran on every level. The Constitution is not built to fight this war.” Do you agree that we are in a “holy war”,

and that our Constitution was not built to fight this war? Would you characterize such sentiments as reckless?

I cannot speak to the comments of others.

11. Chief of Mission Authority: Do you believe in chief of mission authority (COM)? Will you agree, if confirmed as Secretary of State, to do everything possible to ensure adequate support and guidance to US ambassadors deployed overseas to ensure the COM authority is adhered to? Will you, if confirmed, work to ensure that all non-State Department officials overseas are aware of COM authority, understand why it is necessary, and commit not to undermine it?

Yes. I fully support Chief of Mission authority for the State Department and for all our ambassadors, and will ensure, if confirmed, all U.S. government personnel, with the exception of those under a combatant commander, also are fully aware and understand.

12. Budget: In President Obama's first term, Secretaries Hillary Clinton and Robert Gates joined forces to argue against cuts to the State Department's budget. They argued that a balanced national security strategy requires a balanced national security budget. Do you believe the State Department requires a larger budget?

If confirmed, I look forward to conducting a thorough review of all aspects of the Department, including the resource needs necessary to implement the President's foreign policy objectives, and to equip, train, and protect, our men and women who serve daily on the front line of diplomacy, and to be a careful steward of the taxpayer dollars entrusted to me.

13. Diversity: The Department of State Authorities Act of Fiscal Year 2017, Public Law No: 114-323, requires the Secretary to report on the progress the Department of State is making to recruit and retain highly qualified diverse candidates to the Foreign Service and Civil Service. If confirmed, what would your strategy be to diversify our State Department workforce and implement the letter of the law in creating effective mechanisms to recruit and retain diverse candidates?

Throughout my more than four decades in business, I have worked hard to build an inclusive and diverse workforce. I will work to ensure the Department reflects the great diversity of America.

14. American leadership in the world rests on "the three D's" - development, diplomacy, and defense. Together, these policy tools enable our government to address global concerns and to ensure our national security. The integrity of this approach relies on recognition of the value of coordinated, but distinct and independent, development and diplomacy agendas. Development must stand alongside diplomatic and defense activities, and cannot be subsumed by either.

- a. Looking at a proposed Cabinet in which a number of national security roles would be played by military generals, how will you elevate diplomacy and development to ensure they're on equal footing?

Should I be confirmed, I do not believe I will have to "elevate" the role of diplomacy. I believe that role will be both respected and supported by the President-elect and his cabinet. It is my understanding that the retired senior military officers that the President-elect selected for his cabinet understand well the importance of statecraft, diplomacy, and the role of the State Department in making and implementing foreign policy. It is my understanding both General Mattis and General Kelly so stated in their written and oral testimony. By reputation, I believe

those are sincerely their beliefs. Further, I believe the President-elect knows well that soft and hard power work best when they are used for the right task and in the proper balance.

- b. Will you support a fully empowered USAID Administrator?

Should I be confirmed, yes.

- c. Can you commit to this Committee that USAID will not be subsumed under the State Department?

I would need to be fully briefed on this issue in order to provide a complete response. I understand there are different views on this issue. Should I be confirmed, I look forward to consulting with and working with Congress on this issue.

- d. What is your view about how to balance the need for a strong, independent USAID with the necessity of coordinating with the State Department and other foreign policy agencies?

I would need to be fully briefed on this issue in order to provide a complete response. I understand there are different views on this issue. Should I be confirmed, my number one goal for our foreign assistance programs would be to ensure that foreign assistance is sufficient and effective consistent with U.S. interests. Should I be confirmed, I look forward to consulting and working with Congress on this issue.

15. Conflicts of Interest- If confirmed, you will be handling the most sensitive and significant negotiations between our country and the rest of the world. As you know, I am very concerned about possible conflicts of interest with our foreign policy that may arise from our President's overseas business arrangements. How can you confirm for us that your negotiations and interactions with other countries will steer clear of such conflicts?

I share your concern about avoiding possible conflicts of interest—and I am grateful to the ethics officials at the Office of Government Ethics and State Department for working in consultation with me to prepare the Ethics Agreement that I submitted to the Committee on January 3, 2017, which sets forth the steps I agreed to take to avoid any such conflicts if confirmed as Secretary. That Ethics Agreement has been praised by Walter Shaub, the Director of the Office of Government Ethics, as a “sterling model” for other nominees.

In addition, as I testified at my hearing in response to a question from Senator Udall, I would expect to seek—and follow—the advice of State Department ethics counsel with respect to potential conflicts of interest.

16. Working with Congress- On behalf of the American people, this Congress – and this Committee – has an important role to play in U.S. diplomacy and development. When there is transparency, partnership, and trust between Congress and the State Department, it is possible to confront the many challenges the United States faces as a united front. In fact, eight distinct foreign aid bills were enacted into law in the last Congress alone, underscoring the importance of the relationship between the Executive and Congress. How would you engage Congress, and will you pledge to start a new chapter of transparency and partnership with this Committee?

As I stated in my testimony, both in my opening statement and in response to Senators' questions, I believe that accountability, transparency, and integrity start at the top, and if confirmed as Secretary, I intend to model those values. The American people deserve access to their institutions, like the State

Department, and I will approach the people's representatives in Congress as partners, with that same transparency. I will engage in the comprehensive, bottom-up reviews discussed earlier upon taking office, if confirmed, and will work with Congress to implement solutions. Beginning with the ongoing budget and appropriations processes for the current fiscal year, if confirmed, I will ensure the State Department takes Congressional guidance seriously when responding to committee requests and reports required in the recent re-authorization act and other legislation, with actionable recommendations when appropriate, not just status reports.

17. Taxes- Have you had any household employees (including but not limited to housekeepers, nannies, gardeners, handymen, drivers, caretakers) that you have become aware may not have had legal documentation or for whom taxes were not properly withheld? If yes, please provide details and an explanation of the issue.

As I mentioned during my confirmation hearing on January 11, I intend to respect the longstanding tradition of privacy of individuals' tax returns. Because answering this question would require me in part to comment on third parties' confidential information, I do not believe it is appropriate to answer it. As I have previously indicated in response to the original committee questionnaire, I believe I have timely met all of my tax obligations.

18. Prioritization- It has been reported that, during your tenure at ExxonMobil, the company favored political stability in developing countries where it did business, even if such stability meant the continuation of authoritarian regimes. But as the world's leading democracy, our values and interests are far broader and more complex than corporate prerogatives and shareholders, including support for democracy, free expression, and strong protections of human rights. How will you as Secretary of State be the voice of these deeply held American values and support open, transparent, and accountable governance overseas, and protect those who fight for justice and democracy in their own societies? Will advancing human rights and democracy be a top priority for you alongside other interests like national security, energy, and economic issues? In light of your career focused on energy issues, what is your vision for advancing human rights and democracy? Have you ever raised concerns in this area with leaders in countries in your prior professional capacities?

During my tenure as Chairman and CEO of ExxonMobil, I did speak with foreign leaders about human rights and democracy concerns. As I expressed during my confirmation hearing on January 11, human rights violations, if left unaddressed, cause great upheaval in civil society. I believe that respect for human rights and the rule of law are essential foundations for a stable and functioning society.

I believe that American core values include standing up against violations of international law, war crimes, human rights violations, and corruption. The United States should speak up for the principles of democracy and free speech, and these principles must be at the forefront of the U.S. foreign policy agenda. Our approach to human rights begins by acknowledging that leadership requires moral clarity. The United States does not face a choice on defending human rights. Our values are our interests when it comes to human rights and humanitarian assistance. Supporting human rights is essential to showing the watching world what America stands for.

That said, it is not reasonable to expect that every policy or position undertaken by the United States will be driven solely by human rights considerations, especially when the security of the American people is at stake. But the advancement of human rights is integral to U.S. foreign policy in many situations. For example, I believe it was a mistake not to formally integrate human rights concessions

from Cuba as part of our recent engagements with that nation. The Castro regime has not been held accountable for its conduct. That serves neither the interests of Cubans or Americans.

19. DRG Budget- According to Freedom House, freedom in the world has been in decline over the last decade. Meanwhile, as seen in the President's budget justification, the actual spending for Democracy, Rights, and Governance (DRG) has fallen from \$3.27 billion in 2010 to \$1.93 billion in 2015. An opportunity exists for the incoming administration and Congress to reinforce US leadership in the promotion of DRG and to assist those seeking freedom and opportunity in the face of repressive regimes and governments. Secretary Condoleezza Rice, as she sat before this panel, stated, "America and the free world are once again engaged in a long-term struggle against an ideology of hatred and tyranny and terror and hopelessness." This is still true today. As Secretary of State, how will you uphold democracy and protect its fundamentals - including support for elections, democratic governance, civil society, rule of law, free speech, and human rights protection, especially as people around the world – who share our values – struggle against the dangers presented by repressive and authoritarian regimes and governments?

If confirmed, I will support the activities and programs on human rights and democracy conducted by the Under Secretary for Civilian Security, Democracy, and Human Rights, most notably in the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, and the Office to Combat and Monitor Trafficking in Persons.

DRL conducts human rights investigations, reports on country conditions, speeches and votes in the UN, and creates asylum profiles. DRL develops, edits, and submits to Congress an annual 5,000-page report on human rights conditions in over 190 countries. DRL also provides relevant information on country conditions to the Department of Homeland Security and to immigration judges in asylum cases.

20. Balancing DRG and Security Assistance- Are there specific steps that should be taken to ensure that we are complementing our security assistance with democracy and governance funding in countries with poor human rights and democracy records, particularly in Africa and the Middle East? Should we be conditioning our security sector assistance—such as the provision of lethal equipment—on countries meeting some sort of governance and or rule of law standards?

The primary responsibility of the federal government is protecting the security of the American people. In some instances that responsibility obliges the United States to provide security assistance to nations that do not share our respect for human rights and democracy. The conditioning of security assistance on the improvement on human rights is something that must be considered on a country-by-country basis.

21. Business Conduct and Labor Rights- Will you ensure American business is subject to high standards of performance on human rights, and held accountable when involved in human rights abuses abroad? Through which steps?

- a. The Department of State plays an important role in promoting labor rights and enhancing economic security and working conditions for workers abroad. Will you continue to support and strengthen international labor standards and fundamental principles and rights at work? Through which steps?
- b. Will you support and expand upon the National Action Plan on Responsible Business Conduct? Through which steps?

If confirmed I will support the efforts of the State Department's Office of International Labor Affairs to strengthen respect for labor rights in the global economy and advance U.S. foreign policy goals related to human rights, democracy promotion, trade, and sustainable development.

If confirmed, I will review the National Action Plan on Responsible Business Conduct to ensure it strikes the proper balance between the promotion of U.S. businesses abroad and the protection of the human rights of the people in the nations in which U.S. businesses operate.

22. Women's Empowerment- As you know, the State Department places a high priority on global women's empowerment, gender equity, and combating violence against women. Gender inequality and gender-based violence are impediments to development, economic advancements, democracy and security. One of the State Department's core missions is to promote gender equality and equal rights for men and women around the world, including the right of all women and girls to decide if, when and whom they marry. This understanding has transcended party lines. As former Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice noted, "In today's modern world, no country can achieve lasting success and stability and security if half of its population is sitting on the sidelines." More recently, Secretary of State Kerry noted: "Our path forward is clear. We must prevent and respond to gender-based violence... We must open the doors for women to fully participate in society – as farmers, entrepreneurs, engineers, executives, and leaders of their countries. And we must invest in the next generation of women by making sure girls can go to school in a safe environment."

- a. If you are confirmed as Secretary of State, how will you ensure that empowering women remains a core pillar of U.S. foreign policy?
- b. How do you intend to build on the progress that has been made to ensure that our foreign policy reflects our national values that men and women should enjoy equal rights? Among other things, as Secretary of State, how will you build on the work of your predecessors to elevate and fully integrate gender analysis into U.S. foreign policy? How will you support continued development and implementation of the U.S. Strategy to Prevent and Respond to Gender-Based Violence Globally and the U.S. National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security?
- c. How will you ensure gender-focused metrics such as constraints on women's mobility, levels of violence against women, rates of child marriage and girls' access to quality education, are integrated into programs and assessments?

As I stated in my hearing testimony, the issue of empowering women is personally important to me. I have seen firsthand the impact of empowering women, particularly regarding their participation in economic activities in the less-developed parts of the world. Investing in women produces a multiplier effect – women reinvest a large portion of their income in their families and communities, which also furthers economic growth and stability. As I indicated, I believe women's empowerment is an important part of our foreign aid efforts and I will support such programs, including efforts to mitigate the impact of violence against women.

23. Intercountry Adoption- In 1994 The Department of State created The Office of Children's Issues to actively engage in intercountry adoption and international parental child abduction. From 2010-2013 the State Department reported more than 5,000 American children were kidnapped overseas by a parent, including children of Marylanders. Few of these kidnapped American citizen children have made it home, and it is often left to victimized parents to fight battles in foreign countries and foreign courts where the deck is stacked against them. State Department officials have testified to the value of quiet diplomacy in resolving these cases, yet it has not yielded the needed results for American families. What

efforts and public actions would your State Department take to bring internationally kidnapped American children home?

In 1988, the United States became a party to the Hague Convention on the Civil Aspects of International Child Abduction (“the Convention”), which establishes a mechanism to enforce the return of abducted children to the United States. In 1988 Congress also enacted the International Child Abduction Remedies Act (ICARA) to authorize state and federal courts to hear cases under the Convention and to allow the U.S. Central Authority under the Convention (the Office of Children’s Issues in the Department of State’s Bureau of Consular Affairs) to access information in U.S. records on the location of the abducted child and the abducting parent. More recently, in 2014, Congress enacted Public Law No. 113-150, the Sean and David Goldman International Child Abduction Prevention and Return Act of 2014 (the “Goldman Act”), to ensure compliance with the Convention by countries with which the United States has reciprocal obligations, and to establish mechanisms for the return of children who were abducted to other countries. The Goldman Act provides a variety of tools for engaging with foreign governments to encourage them to send home American children who have been abducted and brought overseas. Such tools include the delivery of a demarche as well as the suspension of foreign assistance. It is heartbreaking for parents to be separated from their children, and it is crucial for the State Department to safeguard the wellbeing of U.S. citizens abroad, especially children, who are the most vulnerable among them. As I consider the best strategy to improve State Department efforts to address international child abduction I will assess the full range of tools provided by the authorities discussed above and by any other applicable laws.

24. Civil Society- Civil society around the world continues to be under threat. We traditionally talk about the threat from governments and autocratic regimes, but we would be remiss not to talk about the threats to civil society from powerful business entities like Exxon. In recent years Exxon has publically challenged civil society groups, journalists and philanthropists investigating its record on climate science—going so far as to say their activities amount to a conspiracy. In my view, civil society is one the most important actors in advancing democracy, increasing transparency and countering corruption, and we must continue to vigorously defend these non-governmental entities.

- a. Do you support civil society organizations’ freedoms to associate, assemble, and communicate both publically and privately?

Yes.

- b. What role do you believe the State Department should play in supporting and defending civil society around the globe?

I believe defending civil society should be integral to U.S. foreign policy and statecraft. Should I be confirmed, I commit to reviewing current department programs and assessing them to see if they are adequate.

- c. If confirmed as Secretary of State, how would you engage with civil society?

Should I be confirmed, I would make engagement a priority.

- d. Will you commit to prioritize meeting with civil society groups during your travels as Secretary of State?

Yes.

25. International Disability Rights- The Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities entered into force 10 years ago. Since then, 170 nations have ratified this basic human rights treaty. Studies show that the Treaty has already begun to positively affect national constitutions by generating new language on safeguarding rights and including people with disabilities in civil society. The United States signed the Treaty in 2009, based in part on the similarities between existing law (The Americans with Disabilities Act) and the Treaty. Bipartisan efforts were made in 2011 and 2012 to ratify, but failed narrowly in the Senate. If confirmed, will you advise President-elect Trump to again submit the Treaty to the Senate for advice and consent?

In December 2012, the Senate considered a resolution of advice and consent to ratification for the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (“the Convention”). This resolution was voted on and was not agreed to. The United States is strongly committed to protecting the rights of disabled Americans through the legal protections afforded by the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) and other applicable laws, and to working cooperatively with like-minded partner countries interested in strengthening their own disabilities rights laws. If confirmed, my advice to the President-elect regarding the question of whether to transmit the Convention to the Senate again for its advice and consent will be based on such factors as whether the Convention benefits Americans who live in the United States and whether the Convention improves disability rights in other countries, thus benefiting Americans living abroad, the Convention’s effects on U.S. sovereignty, and the Convention’s impact on existing protections in the law and under the Constitution.

26. LGBTQI- As a board member of Boy Scouts of America, you lobbied for inclusion of homosexual youth, based on the understanding that “the mission [had] not changed,” and I thank you for that worthwhile effort. In Uganda and a number of other US aid recipient countries LGBT activity is illegal. In a number of these regions - from Africa and the Caribbean to the Former Soviet Union - we have seen lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer (LGBTQ) people targeted for simply being who they are. They have been criminalized, arrested, tortured and even killed simply because of their sexual orientation or gender identity. In the last few years, the U.S. has therefore begun to include the human rights of LGBTQ people among the wide array of human rights that we've fought for and protected - from religious and ethnic minorities to political dissidents and journalists. As Secretary of State, how do you intend to advance LGBTQI, and other human rights, as to stay true to the mission of America of “freedom and justice for all”? Will you commit to fully empowering the Special Envoy for the Rights of LGBT Persons?

Should I be confirmed as Secretary of State, I would be charged with promoting American values on the world stage, and that means standing for universal human rights and fighting for the dignity of every person. The United States has an obligation to stand strongly for those who fight against discrimination worldwide. As I mentioned in my opening statement, the United States must continue to display a commitment to personal liberty, human dignity, and principled action in foreign policy. The State Department under my leadership will work aggressively to advance human rights for everyone.

27. Trafficking in Persons- Trafficking for sexual exploitation is a horrific crime which we must end. Trafficking for labor is also horrible crime. Of the estimated 20.9 million victims of human trafficking worldwide, the International Labor Organization reports the 68 percent of those enslaved are trapped in labor trafficking. Yet, only 7 percent of the 6.609 convictions reported worldwide last year were labor cases. Labor traffickers operate with near impunity across the globe, in large part because of the increased resources it takes to recognize, investigate and prosecute these cases. What can the State

Department do to help build this expertise globally and ensure that more labor cases are identified and perpetrators of slavery prosecuted?

Should I be confirmed, I commit to ensuring that the State Department does all that it can to assist in the fight against human trafficking. I commit to working tirelessly with the President-elect, representatives of the National Security Council, and other federal agencies. Also as I stated previously, I believe the United States should continue to lead international efforts to combat trafficking in persons. In particular, in order to do so, I believe the Trafficking in Persons report should be viewed as credible. The report remains a valuable diplomatic tool. Should I be confirmed, I will direct the Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking and Persons (J/TIP) to integrate empirical and data-based metrics into the rankings and evaluations for the report in order to improve the report's objectivity.

28. Genocide/Atrocity Prevention- Most of the approximately 1 million people who were slaughtered in the Rwandan genocide died in the first few weeks. In countries such as Syria, South Sudan, Yemen, Burundi, and Myanmar, mass atrocities are occurring and could worsen. When crises reach such levels, options are limited, risky, expensive, and may not be sufficiently timely. Investing in early prevention of mass atrocities saves both lives and valuable resources.

- a. What will you do to strengthen existing atrocity prevention initiatives, to ensure that atrocity prevention is institutionalized in the national security structure, and to promote international cooperation on atrocity prevention?

Atrocity crimes have occurred with such frequency in the past 100 years that various academic and advocacy groups have identified patterns which indicate that a society is moving toward mass violence. What we know from this research is that atrocity crimes tend not to happen suddenly, that there are early warning signs which serve as indication of the need for diplomatic action. When the killings, rapes, and dispossession have started, it is already, in most cases, too late.

Part of the State Department's mission should be to gather the best advice and scholarship in this field to help us determine the early indicators of atrocity crimes; determine how this has informed programs Department-wide; and work to further integrate these insights Department-wide, especially at the bureau level, to ensure that our diplomatic corps is prepared to identify any early warning signs for atrocity crimes.

Human rights violations, as we have seen with the case of ISIS, often spill over into national security issues. Properly understanding and addressing these with a human rights context is important, not only because the United States should promote human rights, but also because of the national security implications of not doing so.

- b. Do you agree with the 2011, the Presidential Study Directive -10 which states that "Preventing mass atrocities and genocide is a core national security interest and a core moral responsibility of the United States"?

We need to understand and act on the nexus between our national security and human rights abuses, which often grow into larger security concerns. In this way, human rights issues are not only important in their own right, but are also important as early warning signs of imminent security problems that can be regionally or even globally destabilizing.

- c. If so, how will you seek to pursue that interest and responsibility?

As stated above, we need to know the early warning signs of atrocity crimes to ensure that we remain vigilant, so we know when political developments are in danger of becoming something much worse, and we are able to respond before it is too late. And we need to stay vigilant as to the connection between human rights and international security.

- d. What efforts would you support to prevent and to punish genocide?

Local, national, regional, and international efforts all play a part. It is necessary to examine each situation to determine what efforts are most appropriate.

To take the current example of ISIS, many have claimed—and I support this view, although it is necessary for courts to make a final determination—that ISIS is committing genocide and other atrocity crimes against Yazidis, Christians, and others in the areas where they operate. The victim communities have asked for international involvement in the prosecution of this genocide, and this could occur in a number of ways. Appropriate action will depend on the needs of the victims, the political will of the relevant parties, the nature of the conflict and a host of other variables. It is necessary to determine what the needs and the desires of the victim communities are, and then assess what is possible given the political dynamics, with an eye toward the swift delivery of justice.

- e. Do you think prosecution of suspected perpetrators of mass atrocities can help prevent future atrocities?

Yes, especially when such prosecutions focus on the leaders. These prosecutions counter the political mythology that surrounds violent movements and attracts followers and sympathizers. The prosecution of the leaders of such movements sends a message that resounds through history. Part of our collective memory of the genocide perpetrated by the Nazis is not only images and words that come to us from places like Auschwitz and Dachau, but also those we associate with the trial at Nuremberg.

Trials of ISIS leadership, for example, would badly tarnish their carefully crafted propaganda and help solidify the narrative worldwide that they are criminals, whose actions are inexcusable.

29. Torture- Do you believe that the United States should use interrogation techniques that are tantamount to torture, such as waterboarding, on persons apprehended by the U.S. or partners on suspicion of terrorism activities?

Current Federal law provides that no individual in U.S. custody may be subjected to any interrogation technique or approach that is not authorized by and listed in the Army Field Manual. If confirmed, I would support the Administration in complying with that law and all other applicable law.

30. Conflict Mitigation - Do you believe it is in the U.S. national interest to fund foreign assistance programs intended to mitigate conflict and prevent mass atrocities, or should the U.S. refrain from getting involved in foreign disputes unless U.S. personnel or property are directly threatened?

The Department of State and USAID already have programs that focus on conflict mitigation, including the Interagency Conflict Assessment Framework. This program provides guidance for

implementing stabilization protocols. USAID programs, such as Provincial Reconstruction Teams, serve as a measure to support revitalization in fragile states. By continuing these programs, we will better understand the underlying causes of individual weak and fragile states, and utilize those results to craft better diplomatic and development policy. As for which conflicts we work to mitigate, we should make those choices based on a variety of factors, including the threat to U.S. citizens, the threat to U.S. interests, the kind of impact we can expect to have, and the safety of the personnel we send into the field.

31. Diplomacy and Development- General Jir. Mattis had one of the most enduring quotes about the importance of development and diplomacy as to our national security. At a hearing in front of the Senate Armed Services Committee in 2013, he said, “If you don’t fund the State Department fully, then I need to buy more ammunition.” Starting in 2002 and every year since, U.S. National Security Strategies have elevated diplomacy and development alongside defense as the three instruments of national security power, and with the number of complex challenges we face, coordination between the State Department, our military, and our development agencies has never been more important. Development must stand alongside diplomatic and defense activities, and cannot be subsumed by either. Looking at a proposed Cabinet in which a number of national security roles would be played by military generals, how will you elevate diplomacy and development to ensure they’re on equal footing as key components of our national security strategy? Will you support a fully empowered USAID Administrator?

As I stated previously, should I be confirmed, I do not believe I will have to “elevate” the role of diplomacy. I believe that role will be both respected and supported by the President-elect and his cabinet. It is my understanding that the retired senior military officers that the President-elect has selected for his cabinet understand well the importance of statecraft, diplomacy, and the role of the State Department in making and implementing foreign policy. It is my understanding both General Mattis and General Kelly so stated in their written and oral testimony. By reputation, I believe those are sincerely their beliefs. Further, I believe the President-elect knows well that soft and hard power work best when are used for the right task and in the proper balance.

32. Nominee Leadership- In addition to serving on the Commission on Smart Global Health Policy convened by the Center for Strategic and International Studies, during your time as Chairman and CEO of the Exxon Mobile Corporation the Exxon Foundation has made investments to reduce poverty through improved energy access, global health, and women’s empowerment. How would this demonstrated leadership for reducing global poverty inform your approach to foreign assistance?

It is important to understand how the success of programs on global health, women’s empowerment, and energy access are measured and how we may replicate them in other geographic areas and other issue areas that we want to advance. The global health programs focused on fighting diseases, including PEPFAR, PMI, and USAID’s Global Tuberculosis (TB) Program, as well as energy initiatives such as Power Africa, have proven to be extremely valuable and successful. These public-private partnerships should be maintained during my leadership, in an effort to reduce global poverty in the long term.

33. Foreign Assistance Transparency- In recent years, the State Department has made real progress becoming more transparent and accountable to taxpayers. In 2015, Senator Rubio and I introduced the “Foreign Aid Transparency and Accountability Act” (PL. 114-191) which was enacted into law last year. The Act establishes common guidelines to evaluate our foreign assistance programs, allowing us to see what’s working and what’s not, ensuring that we incorporate learning into all future efforts so we have the best possible outcomes. Would transparency, accountability, and effectiveness be a priority for

you at the State Department? How would you invest in foreign assistance data use and access, evaluations, and learning to make sure we're getting the most from our foreign assistance dollars?

In order for State and USAID to carry forward their critical foreign-assistance work, it is important to measure the efficiency of their foreign-assistance and development programs and closely examine the administrative and management practices of both entities. By doing so, the State Department and USAID will be able to more effectively prioritize development investments and eliminate inefficiencies, including the duplication of effort. Making sure that our foreign-assistance mission is implemented in an accountable, transparent, and cost-saving manner is one of my key administrative and management priorities.

34. Aid Conditionality- I was concerned about your remarks both in our private meeting and during the hearing about conditioning all foreign assistance. In the last 30 years, we have learned a lot about the effectiveness of policy conditionality of foreign assistance. The World Bank in the 80's and 90's proved that when every dollar is conditioned on very specific policy changes identified by lenders or aid agencies, those policy reforms typically fail. While conditionality sounds logical, sometimes it incentivizes countries to simply pretend to reform just long enough to get the money. MCC was established partly to test exactly the question: when IS conditionality effective? Over 10 years of learning shows that when the US sets achievable reform outcomes in countries that have the capacity and incentive to deliver, conditionality can work. However, the US turns to foreign assistance as a tool for a variety of reasons, and in some instances, it serves the national interest to work with countries that do not have the capacity to reform, or who are prioritizing other agendas on our behalf (Jordan, Niger, etc). In those instances — when we are worried that refugee migrations could destabilize an ally, or when we are concerned that untreated health conditions could lead to an epidemic — I would argue that firm-across the board conditionality is neither effective nor in the U.S. national interest. In our meeting, you seemed to say the opposite. Are you arguing that the U.S. should maintain a posture of pure conditionality even when it undermines our national interest? Or do you see a more practical, business-like approach where we use the tool when it serves us well?

When evaluating a country's eligibility for aid, a number of factors come into play, including government compliance, U.S. interests in the region, and the level of need of the population. Many of our foreign assistance programs take the multitude of factors into account to inform its decisions. We should continue to consider all factors, and refine how we weight those factors.

35. Privatization of Aid- Over the past decade, we have seen a growing trend towards using private, for profit companies to deliver humanitarian assistance. What are your thoughts on using private companies for this purpose?

I would need to be fully briefed on this issue in order to provide a complete response. Should I be confirmed, I commit to learning more about this issue. It is my understanding that government, NGOs, faith-based institutions, the private sector, and contractual services all have roles to play in development and foreign assistance. I would want to the best mix of these to achieve our foreign policy objectives. As with all aspects of foreign assistance, should I be confirmed, my number one goal with regard to foreign assistance programs would be to ensure that foreign assistance is sufficient and effective consistent with U.S. interests. Should I be confirmed, I look forward to consulting and working with Congress on this issue.

- a. What kind of impact do you see the privatization of aid having on the provision of humanitarian assistance?

I would need to be fully briefed on this issue in order to provide a complete response. It is my understanding there are different views on this issue. Should I be confirmed, I commit to learning more about this issue and how it may impact the effectiveness of U.S. aid and our foreign policy programs.

- b. How will you ensure that humanitarian assistance delivered by private entities gets to the people who need it most?

I would need to be fully briefed on this issue in order to provide a complete response. It is my understanding there are different views on this issue. Should I be confirmed, I commit to learning more about this issue and how it may impact the effectiveness of U.S. aid and our foreign policy programs.

36. Education- US foreign assistance helps millions of people in need around the world. While at ExxonMobil, you stated that “educating women and girls yields a higher rate of return than any other community investment available in the developing world.” Since 2011, USAID education projects have benefitted more than 41.5 million children and youth. Furthermore, studies have shown that each additional year of education can bring with it a 10% increase in income and if all children in low-income countries left school with basic reading skills there would be a 12% reduction in world poverty. As Secretary of State, how would you continue to prioritize investment in education, especially for the world’s most excluded children?

From my previous experience I understand the importance of education in development and assistance programs. As to the role I will play as Secretary of State, should I be confirmed, I would need to be fully briefed on this issue in order to provide a complete response. Should I be confirmed, I commit to learning more about the State Department’s appropriate role. As with all aspects of foreign assistance, my number one goal with regard to foreign assistance programs would be to ensure that foreign assistance is sufficient and effective consistent with U.S. interests. Should I be confirmed, I look forward to consulting and working with Congress on this issue.

37. Food Security and Nutrition- There is solid evidence that early malnutrition, especially during the 1,000-day window from pregnancy to age 2, is an obstacle to cognitive and physical development. It affects long-term health, learning and earning potential. Malnutrition, in other words, is a constraint to economic growth. Malnutrition is also the underlying cause of half of all deaths of children before they reach their 5th birthday. The recently enacted Global Food Security Act recognizes the importance food security and nutrition to U.S. national security. How will you build on the longstanding U.S. legacy of fighting hunger, malnutrition and poverty and promoting child survival around the global?

Power Africa provides electricity, the Global Food Security Act fights hunger, and PEPFAR promotes child survival by decreasing mother-to-child transmissions of HIV/AIDS. We should continue to support these programs, as they aid a country in lifting itself out of poverty. Examining all of our development programs to make sure that taxpayer dollars are being used efficiently will increase our ability to implement world-class programs that focus on food security and global health.

38. Global Health-U.S. Leadership- Under your watch, the Exxon Mobil Foundation has invested millions of philanthropic dollars in community level health activities where the company had business interests, of particular note the work on malaria and HIV in oil-rich parts of Africa. Clearly you understand the value – both economic and humanitarian – of providing health services to those in need, which in turn builds a strong workforce that fuels emerging economies. What are your views on the role the U.S. should play in fighting pervasive global infectious diseases like HIV, TB and malaria? What are

your views on President Obama's Global Health Security Agenda? What is the role for the private sector?

The global health programs focused on fighting diseases, including PEPFAR, the President's Malaria Initiative (PMI), and USAID's Global Tuberculosis (TB) Program, as well as the Global Health Security Agenda, have proven to be extremely valuable and successful programs. It is important to understand how their success is measured and how can they be replicated in other geographic areas and other issue areas. USAID should continue to engage in public-private partnerships concerning these issues, in an effort to maintain global health programs in the long run.

39. Global Health – Women- Women's health and reproductive rights have served as a political football from Administration to Administration. How will you ensure that the leadership and success of the US government in reducing infant and maternal mortality continue?

PEPFAR is a global health program that aims to reduce infant and maternal mortality by decreasing mother-to-child transmissions of HIV/AIDS. PEPFAR is a successful and valuable program and it should serve as a model for future programs.

40. Global Health- Health System Strengthening- For decades the US government has been a leader in strengthening health systems around the world to prevent, detect, and minimize the impact of emerging infectious diseases. The United States is one of over 50 countries that have committed to the Global Health Security Agenda, which aims to help countries improve their capacity to prevent, detect, and respond to infectious disease outbreaks. As Secretary, how would you support and enhance global efforts to detect, prevent, and respond to diseases internationally to prevent them from becoming a threat to the U.S.? How will you ensure that we effectively address emerging crises and maintain our leadership role in global health?

The global health programs focused on fighting diseases, including PEPFAR, PMI, and USAID's Global Tuberculosis (TB) Program, as well as the Global Health Security Agenda, have proven to be extremely valuable and successful programs. In order to ensure that we effectively address emerging crises and outbreaks, such as Ebola and the Zika virus, it is important to understand how their success is measured so that we can properly prevent, detect, and respond to future outbreaks.

41. Global Health- The Global Fund- America's approach to global health has been extremely successful, including the effort to move toward ending the epidemics of AIDS, tuberculosis and malaria. The hallmark of America's work against the three diseases has been to support results-oriented, accountable and transparent programming through the Global Fund and bilateral programs including PEPFAR, PMI and the USAID tuberculosis program. The Global Fund and our bilateral programs closely coordinate their work and depend on each other to implement comprehensive programming. As Secretary, will you be committed to continuing America's leadership against AIDS, TB and malaria through our bilateral and Global Fund investments? Do you support PEPFAR remaining the cornerstone global health program at the Department of State?

PEPFAR is one of the remarkable successes of the past decade or more. In addition, there are measurable results that are well managed and targeted at combating HIV/AIDS, TB, and malaria through PEPFAR, the President's Malaria Initiative (PMI), and the USAID tuberculosis program. Through these global health programs, we project America's leadership and compassion and they serve as models for the future as we think about other areas that may be useful for us to put additional programs in place.

42. Humanitarian – Iraq- When the battle for Mosul began about two months ago, many feared that mass departures from the city would overwhelm already crowded camps in Iraq. Instead, most people heeded government advice to stay in their homes as security forces advanced. Now many of those residents lack even basic services, with water supplies cut by the fighting and humanitarian aid distributions unable to reach all of those in need. In areas still controlled by ISIL, a siege by security forces is slowly tightening, pushing up food prices and causing shortages while the militants prevent people from leaving.

- a. As the humanitarian situation in Mosul worsens, is your vision for how the U.S. should work with the Government of Iraq and Kurdish Regional Government to meet humanitarian need stemming from counter-ISIL operations?

Defeating ISIS on the battlefield is important, but it isn't enough. If, despite the coalition's military success, the people of Mosul are left with a humanitarian catastrophe and the destruction of their homes, it will be a matter of time before the next iteration of ISIS emerges. That's why addressing the humanitarian and reconstruction needs of the population in a timely manner has to be an integral part of the coalition's strategy.

- b. What preparations should the US and the Global Coalition to Counter ISIL take to ensure that a similar situation does not play out in the Syrian city of Raqqa? Do the State Department and USAID have sufficient humanitarian funding to respond to these growing needs in Iraq?

I would need to be fully briefed on this issue in order to provide a complete response. It is my understanding that the United States has an important role to play in providing humanitarian relief in the region, establishing stability, and preventing a resurgence of groups like ISIS. I believe the United States can perform these tasks without resorting to "nation building." Should I be confirmed, I commit to work with other relevant federal agencies and Congress to provide appropriate assistance to address this mission consistent with U.S. interests.

43. Humanitarian – Yemen- At least 10,000 civilians have died during the course of the current conflict in Yemen. Almost 19 million more civilians are currently in humanitarian need – over two thirds of the nation's population – 7 million of whom are severely food insecure. Given the horrifying humanitarian toll that this conflict has wrought, how would you address the suffering of the Yemeni people?

Providing assistance to relieve the immediate suffering is an important part of USAID, and the agency is already providing emergency food assistance to those suffering in Yemen, which should be continued.

44. Humanitarian – Syria- Syrian civil society organizations are the only humanitarian actors supporting many communities in Syria, particularly in besieged areas. They are providing essential services that can't be eliminated without causing a further deterioration in vulnerable and fragile communities. Yet, they still face challenges with the Syrian government and many cannot legally register. This puts their lives at risk. These organizations need recognition as legitimate humanitarian actors and the ability to continue operations. However, there are concerning reports that local civil society leaders have been forcibly removed from their communities and relocated to other parts of the country as part of the conditions of truce negotiations. These actions add to the false perception that these independent humanitarian aid actors are political agents, which further puts their lives at risk. The Russian and the Syrian government must end the practice of including humanitarian actors in the list of political and military actors to be removed from areas retaken by the Syrian government.

- a. In your role, how will you make the protection of all Syrian humanitarian workers and their ability to maintain operations one of your key points in any negotiations with Russia and the Government of Syria?

I would need to be fully briefed on this issue in order to provide a complete response. It is my understanding that the United States has an important role to play in providing humanitarian relief in the region, establishing stability, and preventing a resurgence of groups like ISIS. I believe the United States can perform these tasks without resorting to "nation building." Should I be confirmed, I commit to work with other relevant federal agencies and Congress to provide appropriate assistance to address this mission consistent with U.S. interests.

- b. As Secretary of State, would you commit to appointing a Special Adviser to serve as the US government's representative for the No Lost Generation strategy to ensure the needs of children and youth affected by the Syrian conflict are met?

I would need to be fully briefed on this issue in order to provide a complete response. Should I be confirmed, I commit to learning more about this issue and implementing the most effective policies to address humanitarian issues consistent with U.S. interests. I look forward to consulting with Congress on this issue.

45. Risks to Aid Workers- How do we as a nation assure that counter-terror measures and programs do not impose unintended hurdles to the effective delivery of life-saving humanitarian assistance and democracy programs in difficult operating environments with limited civil society space? For example, many international NGOs in Pakistan are being raided on a regular basis by the Inter-Service Intelligence, and they and their national implementing partners are often threatened and harassed under the suspicion that they are US intelligence agents. However, these same organizations are now being asked to collect and submit the personal identifying information of their Pakistani partners against US intelligence databases in order to receive US government funding.

- a. Under your Department of State, will you commit to working with NGOs in order to assure effective delivery of foreign assistance without putting NGO workers and critical life-saving and democracy programs at undue risk?

Should I be confirmed, yes.

- b. What is your view about whether the State Department and USAID should conduct counterterrorism vetting directly rather than requiring NGOs to act as an intermediary?

I would like to be fully briefed on this issue before responding, as I understand there are different views on how to best address this issue. Should I be confirmed, I commit to learning more about the issue. I look forward to consulting and working with Congress on this issue.

46. Center for Global Engagement - I am deeply concerned that President-elect Trump's anti-muslim rhetoric throughout the campaign is going to severely damage U.S. efforts to work with Muslim countries on counter-terrorism activities and countering violent extremism across the board, as well as assist terrorist recruitment and incitement.

- a. How would you address that?

Should I be confirmed, I commit to advocating for and implementing policies and programs that will protect and advance U.S. interests without regards to religion. Our fight is with radical Islamic terrorists. I will do my utmost to engage with foreign leaders and audiences in the Muslim world with the goal of explaining the shared danger we face from radical Islam.

- b. I am also concerned that the Center for Global Engagement (GEC) at State, which focuses on innovative ways to counter-message terrorists and violent extremists, must get strong support and endorsement from the next Secretary of State, especially since this year's NDAA mandated that the Center expand its mission to also countering foreign propaganda. How will you use the GEC, or successor entity, to focus on countering violent extremism, and will you prioritize that mission above others?

I would need to be fully briefed on this issue in order to provide a complete response. Should I be confirmed, I commit to learning more about the center, its programs, and their effectiveness.

47. International Humanitarian Law- The U.S. has made great strides in adopting measures to minimize harm to civilians in its military operations. These measures have spared many civilian lives in armed conflicts where the U.S. is a party.

- a. How will you direct existing US leadership in these regards to reinforce rules-based international order and international cooperation?

Should I be confirmed, above all I will insist that they follow U.S. laws and the government's obligations under those laws.

- b. How will you further the US and global interests in respect for minimizing civilian harm?

Should I be confirmed, I will work with the President-elect, my partners on the National Security Council, and other agencies to ensure our policy and programs are consistent with our obligations under the law.

- c. Do you believe that US policy and practice has norm-setting influence on other States?

Yes.

- d. What role does the US have to promote a rules-based international order and how will you pursue this as Secretary of State?

Should I be confirmed, first and foremost I will strive for the United States to lead by example—follow our laws and our obligations under those laws.

- e. What steps should the US take to help ensure that allies and other parties to conflict employ comparable measures to safeguard civilian life during armed conflict?

I would need to be fully briefed on this issue in order to provide a complete response. Should I be confirmed, I commit to learning more about the policies and safeguards that are in place, assessing their effectiveness, and ensuring that they are adequate, consistent with U.S. law and the president's foreign policy objectives.

- f. Should the US expect security partners to take pro-active steps to minimize harm to civilians as a condition for US security cooperation and, if so, what measures should the US take in this regard?

I would need to be fully briefed on this issue in order to provide a complete response. Should I be confirmed, I commit to learning more about the policies and safeguards that are in place, assessing their effectiveness, and ensuring that they are adequate, consistent with U.S. law and the President-elect's foreign policy objectives.

- g. Civilians, health workers and medical facilities are being deliberately attacked in conflict areas across the globe. How will you respond to these unconscionable assaults to ensure the safety of children, families, and communities who require medical care as well as the health workers who provide it?

I would need to be fully briefed on this issue in order to provide a complete response. Should I be confirmed, I commit to learning more about the policies and safeguards that are in place, assessing their effectiveness, and ensuring that they are adequate, consistent with U.S. law and the president's foreign policy objectives.

48. Climate Change-

- a. Do you accept the consensus among scientists that the combustion of fossil fuels is the leading cause for increased concentrations of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere which is the key factor in the rising global average temperatures?

I agree with the consensus view that combustion of fossil fuels is a leading cause for increased concentrations of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere. I understand these gases to be a factor in rising temperatures, but I do not believe the scientific consensus supports their characterization as the "key" factor.

- b. How do you square your statement from the 2012 Council of Foreign Relations Forum on science and technology where you said "Ours is an industry that is built on technology, it's built on science, it's built on engineering, and because we have a society that by and large is illiterate in these areas, science, math and engineering, what we do is a mystery to them and they find it scary." with the fact that Exxon's internal reports and memos detail a decades long strategy to ignore and conceal its own sound scientific research on climate change and its impacts?

My statement from 2012 is consistent with ExxonMobil's conduct. ExxonMobil has vigorously contested allegations that it engaged in a decades-long strategy to ignore and conceal scientific research related to the risk of climate change. Additional information can be found here: <http://corporate.exxonmobil.com/en/current-issues/climate-policy/climate-perspectives/understanding-the-exxonknew-controversy>

- c. Do you believe that renewable energy technologies, like wind and solar, and distributive generation and micro grid transmission platforms are viable means for action on climate change that also supports the need to provide the world's poor with plentiful and affordable energy?

Renewable energy technologies may be a viable form of aid, assuming they are sufficiently economic to deploy. If I am confirmed, I will remain mindful that foreign aid is funded with

taxpayer dollars, and will seek to ensure that those dollars are used as effectively and efficiently as possible.

- d. Given the high degree of certainty about the occurrence of climate change and its potential impacts (something that our defense and intelligence communities recognize), how will you direct the department to manage this risk, and its implications for other core national security priorities?

If confirmed, I plan to conduct a review of the current role that the State Department plays in international climate change efforts.

- e. Will you commit to taking appropriate actions to advance the HFC amendment to the Montreal Protocol?

The recent HFC amendment to the Montreal Protocol requires review and study. If confirmed, I will direct the State Department to review the HFC amendment, in consultation with other parts of the U.S. government, to determine whether it should be transmitted to the Senate for advice and consent.

49. Arms Sales- Philippines - There have been huge numbers of extrajudicial killings by Philippine police as part of President Duterte's drug war. Would you, as Secretary of State, approve the sale of weapons to Philippine police forces? President Duterte himself has claimed that President-elect Trump supports his actions in a recent phone conversation; is he correct?

The alliance with the Philippines is rooted in shared interests and values, which include concerns for human rights. If confirmed, I will continue to review each arms notification for the Philippine Police and Armed Forces on a case-by-case basis to ensure that we provide support to forces upholding these values rather than those undermining them.

50. Cyber-- We are clearly in something of a "Cyber Cold War" with Russia and China, if not others, that go beyond the traditional pattern of espionage for national security reasons. The President recently recognized this in part by designating national election systems as "critical infrastructure" to protect under his Cyber Sanctions Executive Order. Do you think these sanctions are sufficient, excessive, or too weak?

- a. Retaliating against a cyber-attack with another cyber-attack carries an inherent risk of escalation to ever-more-serious cyber-attacks. Should the U.S. also seek to retaliate in other, asymmetric ways against such attacks, such as cutting or revoking visas for students from the attacking country (which, in the case of China, would also diminish conventional espionage problems)?

The U.S. government should keep all options open, including both cyber and non-cyber, to deter cyberattacks.

- b. Will you seek to increase cooperation and concerted action with other partner countries to respond, defeat and deter cyber-attacks? What initiatives will you undertake?

Yes, we will seek to increase international cooperation to reduce cybersecurity threats. I will also review the State Department organization as it relates to cyber security and ensure that this issue is elevated as a higher priority.

- c. The use by the U.S. of cyber means to attack, or retaliate, against a foreign country that could cause damage to or disable civilian or military infrastructure, broadly defined, is and should be considered a “use of force” issue, tantamount to an act of warfare. As such, it should only be authorized through a Congressional use of force authorization, which are in the sole jurisdiction of the Foreign Relations and Foreign Affairs Committees. Under what circumstances would you consider a U.S. cyber action against a foreign country to involve Congress’ Constitutional war-making powers? Under what circumstances should a President seek an authorization of use of military force?

The conditions that constitute an act of war extend to acts conducted in cyberspace. We would apply the same criteria to cyberattacks as to any other attack on America’s national interests.

51. Financial Disclosure -- When you do a deal on the scale of the one you did with Russia on Sakhalin Island, you conduct a thorough due diligence process. You require your counterparty to share audited financial statements, details of their loans and investments, the backgrounds of their management team and their employment agreements and a host of other documentation as well, correct? And one of the main goals of this process is to uncover any exposure to risk that may not be immediately apparent, correct? Would you ever partner with a firm that refused to fully disclose its assets and liabilities?

Due diligence is an important part of any corporate deal. In most situations, ExxonMobil would conduct an independent evaluation of a potential partner’s assets and liabilities, rather than relying solely on that potential partner’s representations. In some instances, particularly where third-party joint financing was in play, financiers would require self-disclosures from potential borrowers. In those situations, I would rely both on self-disclosures and ExxonMobil’s independent analysis.

52. Multilateral Institutions – For decades, the US has led a network of international institutions, from the World Bank to the IMF to what is now the WTO. Throughout your career at Exxon, these institutions have evolved in their missions, their reach, and their membership. They are far from perfect, but they have helped to foster international coordination in crises from Asia in 1997 to the global economic collapse of 2008. They have worked to establish guidance and support for countries in financial crisis, to monitor economies and trends. And they have promoted predictability and rules for the conduct of international trade and finance, as well as forums for seeking important agreements. As CEO, you had economists who relied on their data, who reported their economic forecasts, and who followed their interventions in economic crises. These institutions have been a key part of the global financial architecture in which Exxon conducted its affairs. What is your view of them? Are they important, not just to our trade and finance, but to our global leadership? Can we do without them?

I agree that multilateral institutions can be effective instruments for advancing U.S. interests and exercising global leadership. I agree they are not perfect. Should I be confirmed, I commit to using them as effectively as possible and working to improve their efficiency and effectiveness.

53. Bilateral Investment Treaties – As CEO of Exxon, you strongly supported inclusion of the Investor State Dispute Settlement (ISDS) mechanism in our Bilateral Investment Treaties (BITs) and trade agreements. And during your time with the company, Exxon successfully used these provisions to sue foreign governments and obtain damages. In one case, Exxon argued that a Canadian requirement to invest in local research and development, such as education, job training, and innovation, was too onerous. The supranational NAFTA panel awarded Exxon millions of dollars in damages and Canada was forced to revisit that law. President-elect Trump has argued against ISDS, noting that “the TPP creates a new international commission that makes decisions the American people can’t veto.” Last year you joined a letter from the U.S. China Business Council and the Paulson Institute urging the

Administration to prioritize negotiating a BIT with China that would include an ISDS provision. Do you still believe ISDS provisions should be included in our BITs or do you agree with the President-Elect that they represent a threat to U.S. sovereignty? The BIT negotiations with China have been underway since 2008, with active participation by our State Department, with close monitoring by our multinational businesses. Should those negotiations continue?

Should I be confirmed, I will follow the direction of the President.

54. Nonproliferation- Asia- What are your views on nuclear proliferation in Asia? Given Trump's comments on Japan and South Korea gaining nuclear capabilities, how will the administration encourage or discourage nuclear proliferation?

As I said in my testimony, the proliferation of nuclear weapons—in Asia or anywhere else—is not in America's interests.

Since the end of World War II, U.S. strength and leadership, both within our alliances and through key international institutions like the Non-Proliferation Treaty, have been absolutely critical to limiting the spread of nuclear weapons.

I fully expect that record of U.S. leadership to continue, especially as we confront dangerous proliferation challenges with the neighbors of North Korea—not to mention the nightmare scenario of terrorists acquiring nuclear weapons.

55. Nonproliferation- North Korea- North Korea remains a critical security threat. North Korea's leader Kim Jong Un recently said they were close to test-launching an intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) which would allow North Korea for the first time to directly target the United States with nuclear weapons. Outside experts who closely monitor the progress of North Korea's nuclear program believe an ICBM test is a distinct possibility in 2017.

- a. If it appeared North Korea was posed to conduct a test launch of an ICBM would you support taking military action to prevent such a test?

It is important that North Korea's leadership have no doubt that the United States is prepared to use all elements of our national power to prevent it from posing a nuclear threat to our homeland.

- b. How would you adjust U.S. policy towards North Korea? Should the United States consider direct negotiations with North Korea about its nuclear program?

The entire world is on record opposing North Korea's pursuit of nuclear weapons, including its most powerful regional neighbors: China, Russia, Japan and South Korea.

In 2016, the UN Security Council came together to impose two rounds of extremely harsh sanctions in response to North Korea's nuclear tests.

The United States should focus on strengthening the impact of that global consensus, including by intensifying Pyongyang's isolation and pressing key countries, first and foremost China, to implement fully its obligations under UN sanctions.

56. Nonproliferation- Russia- The United States has a variety of arms control agreements with Russia which seek to ensure strategic stability with them. For example, the New START treaty which sets

limitations on the U.S. and Russian nuclear forces until 2021. Do you support the New START agreement or do you believe the United States should withdraw from the treaty?

In general, and with respect to New START specifically, the United States should abide by our international commitments—provided, of course, that our partners continue to fulfill their obligations as well.

57. Nonproliferation Agreements- Are there particular arms control agreements you think the United States should withdraw from? What impact do you think it would have if the United States begins withdrawing from various international agreements?

I have not been fully briefed on the universe of agreements that the United States is party to, but I am currently unaware of any from which I would recommend we withdraw.

So long as international agreements continue to advance the security and values of the American people, it is very much in our national interest to strictly observe our commitments.

58. Nonproliferation- U.S.- The United States has maintained a moratorium on nuclear testing since 1992. There has been discussion that a Trump administration might reverse this policy and begin nuclear testing. Do you support the resumption of nuclear testing? If the United States conducted a nuclear test do you believe that Russia and China would rapidly restart their nuclear testing programs?

I am not aware of any plan to resume nuclear testing. So long as the reliability of our nuclear deterrent can be guaranteed through other means, I think the moratorium has served us well. It would not serve U.S. interests to have Russia and China resume nuclear testing.

59. United Nations –U.S. Engagement - No single country can effectively address today's global challenges alone, whether terrorism, contagious disease, conflict, transnational crime, human trafficking, or any number of other problems. The United States benefits from the ability of the United Nations to coordinate international efforts against such threats, but the UN is only as effective as its member states want it to be. Some believe that our response to the UN's weaknesses should be to cut funding or withdraw from certain UN agencies that take actions we disagree with. Do you believe the U.S. is better off remaining actively engaged in all aspects of the UN to influence reform efforts and protect our interests, or do you believe that we are better off reducing or withdrawing our support?

The new Secretary General has acknowledged the need for vigorous management and accountability reform of the United Nations. I believe many UN reforms can be achieved by robust, long-term and sustained engagement. But using America's financial leverage by conditioning our assessed contributions can be a useful catalyst when these traditional efforts fail. The possibility of the United States withholding a portion of our dues has led the UN to be more receptive to reforms. For example, concern over potential withholding in response to major scandals that received the strong attention and interest of Congress, such as the Oil-for-Food scandal and sexual abuses by peacekeepers, has led the UN to be more willing to adopt reforms.

In other cases, such as where U.S. law prohibits funding to the UN Scientific, Educational and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), withholding serves U.S. interests by opposing Palestinian efforts to secure recognition absent a negotiated peace with Israel. With billions of U.S. tax dollars going to the UN every year, I believe we should continually evaluate U.S. funding to the UN and other international organizations to determine if budgets are justified or should be reduced or increased to advance American interests.

60. U.S. Policy Towards Africa- The President's 2012 Policy Directive for Africa lists four pillars of U.S. policy towards Africa. Chief among them is strengthening democratic institutions. Another is advancing peace and security. Do you agree that stronger democratic institutions and respect for rule of law should remain one of the primary objectives of our Africa policy? What steps will you take if confirmed to support democracy and rule of law in the region?

Helping countries in Africa strengthen democratic institutions and the rule of law should remain a primary U.S. objective. If confirmed, support for democracy and the rule of law will continue to be an important part of our diplomatic engagement with countries throughout the continent.

61. Africa- Security Challenges- Four Trans-Sahara Counterterrorism Partnership (TSCTP) countries – Mali, Niger, Mauritania, and Burkina Faso – have experienced military coups or attempted coups while participating in the program. Mali was a significant recipient of military aid under TSCTP prior to its 2012 military coup. Since then, Mali's military has displayed severe capacity shortfalls and elements of the security forces have been accused of serious human rights abuses. African Union Mission troops in Somalia have played an essential role in helping improve security in Somalia. Unfortunately, some of those same troops have been accused of attacks on civilians, including indiscriminate killings, and sexual exploitation and abuse. The Nigerian military is alleged to have killed 350 people in Zaria in December 2015, and buried the bodies in mass graves to conceal evidence. The Anti-Terrorism Police Unit in Kenya has been accused of extrajudicial killings of youth and alleged terror suspects. Ethiopian forces have been implicated in killings of largely peaceful protesters in 2015 and 2016.

- a. Given persistent failure to fully respect human rights and rule of law by some elements within the African militaries with which we engage, what will you do if confirmed to ensure that we are adequately incorporating support for effective accountability structures and institutions into our security assistance programs such that the police and military are able to credibly investigate and prosecute allegations of abuse and wrongdoing?

If confirmed, I will work to ensure that as we seek to advance America's vital interests in combating terrorism, we are also doing everything possible to prevent the abuse of U.S. assistance programs.

- b. What more will you commit to do to ensure that we are promoting and supporting accountability for police and military abuses, especially those committed by units we are training?

If confirmed, I look forward to reviewing what additional steps might be taken to support accountability and avoid abuses by militaries with whom we partner on critical counter-terrorism efforts.

- c. How does the Trump Administration view the efforts of the Obama Administration to build African capacity to address security challenges, such as in Somalia and Kenya, and in the Lake Chad Basin region?

While I cannot yet speak on behalf of the Trump Administration, support for efforts to build partner capacity in Africa, particularly on counter-terrorism challenges that threaten the American people, is very important.

- d. What will be the State Department's role in shaping U.S. military engagement in Africa? What priority and role will Counter Violent Extremism (CVE) programming and other medium to longer-term efforts play to diminish the terror threat be given under your leadership.

The challenge of radical Islamic terrorism in Africa is a serious and growing problem. Through its diplomatic engagement, assistance programs, and public diplomacy efforts, the State Department clearly has a leading role in helping shape long-term U.S. efforts to counter and defeat the ideology of radical Islamic terrorism—in Africa and around the world.

62. Africa-South Sudan- The security and humanitarian situations in South Sudan are dire. Since the outbreak of civil war in 2013, tens of thousands have been killed and over two million people displaced by violence that continues to this day. The United Nations Security Council failed last month to approve an arms embargo and targeted sanctions despite the fact that former Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon and others have all warned of potential genocide. If confirmed, what immediate steps do you plan to take as Secretary of State to help prevent genocide in South Sudan? If confirmed will you appoint a new Special Envoy for Sudan and South Sudan as one of your first acts?

The situation in South Sudan is one of the most pressing humanitarian situations in the world. It is critical to help build some political space for reconciliation between the government and rebel factions. The United States should continue to engage in international forums like the UN and bilaterally with key partners in the area to address this issue, and decide upon a combined policy to address this violence. This would include deploying robust diplomacy, possible sanctions, peacekeeping efforts, and other measures.

63. Africa- Nigeria- The 2015 Global Terrorism Index indicates that Nigeria witnessed the largest increase in terrorist deaths ever recorded by any country, increasing by over 300% to 7,512 fatalities, making the two Boko Haram factions collectively the deadliest terrorist group in the world. The humanitarian situation is worse than that in Syria, according to some aid groups. There is currently a Senior Coordinator for Countering Boko Haram at the State Department. At a hearing earlier this year on terrorism and instability in Africa the Chairman asked why terrorism in Africa does not get as much attention as it does in other parts of the world. Another of my colleagues suggested it was race related.

- a. What accounts for the disparity in attention between terrorism not only in Nigeria, but in Africa writ large, and other parts of the world, and what should be done to correct it? If confirmed, will you maintain a Coordinator for Countering Boko Haram?

The threat of radical Islamic terrorism in Africa is serious and growing, and certainly deserves increased U.S. attention. If confirmed, I will look closely at how the State Department can most effectively contribute to U.S. efforts to combat the threat posed by Boko Haram.

- b. What are the first actions you will take, if confirmed, to address the multitude of challenges—terrorism, violence in the Delta and Middle Belt, corruption, serious human rights abuses and violations, and the humanitarian catastrophe in the northeast—facing one of the most strategically important countries to the United States in the region?

I agree that Nigeria is strategically important to the stability and security of the entire region. If confirmed, I will work to strengthen and improve the effectiveness of the U.S.-Nigerian relationship and how we can best partner with Nigeria to fight terrorism, reduce violence, and support the country's security, stability, and development, including its human rights situation.

64. Africa- Ethiopia- Over the past 14 months, Ethiopian security forces have killed hundreds of protesters, and the government has jailed political opponents and harassed and imprisoned journalists. In response to protests, the government has imposed a state of emergency, authorizing detention without a warrant, blocking Internet access, prohibiting public gatherings, and imposing curfews. Promises of a national dialogue and consideration of constitutional changes have not been met. In the face of all that, Ethiopia remains one of our closest counterterrorism partners, and receives hundreds of millions of dollars in U.S. foreign assistance through Power Africa, Feed the Future and other signature aid initiatives. I've asked in hearings if the United States isn't sending mixed signals to our counterterrorism partners on issues related to respect for human rights and democracy, by not carefully reviewing our security assistance to countries that engage in actions similar to those Ethiopia has carried out to ensure we are not providing arms and training that is turned on civilians, including those advocating for democratic rights.

- a. Will you commit, if confirmed, to undertaking an interagency review our security assistance portfolio for Ethiopia and other counterterrorism partners on the continent to ensure the assistance and training we are providing is not being used against civilians advocating for human rights and democratic freedoms?

If confirmed, I will engage Ethiopia to express our concerns about violations of human rights and our support for responsible governance. Ethiopia has a critical role to play in encouraging stability in Africa and is an important partner for the United States. Continued diplomatic engagement will be necessary to ensure that it meets those commitments and continues to contribute positively to the United States' goals in the region.

- b. Will you commit, if confirmed, to deliver to Congress a strategy for supporting greater democracy in Ethiopia?

If confirmed, I look forward to working closely with Congress to advance U.S. interests in Ethiopia and throughout Africa, including by supporting greater democracy and human rights.

65. Exxon in Africa- Equatorial Guinea- ExxonMobil has a substantial presence in Africa, including in countries that are among the worst dictatorships and kleptocracies in the world. Equatorial Guinea, which has for years been considered one of the world's most corrupt countries is one example. A 2004 report found that ExxonMobil established an oil distribution business in Equatorial Guinea 85-percent owned by ExxonMobil and 15-percent by Abayak S.A., a company controlled by the longtime President of Equatorial Guinea, President Teodoro Obiang.

- a. Were you aware of President Obiang's involvement in Abayak? Was there any hesitation at entering into such a business arrangement with an individual who was not democratically elected, with a reputation of being a kleptocrat?

ExxonMobil began operating in Equatorial Guinea before I became CEO, and I was not involved in the decision to establish the referenced oil distribution business.

- b. How much money did ExxonMobil pay President Obiang through Abayak? Did Exxon Mobile make payments to Teodorin Obiang, eldest son of President Obiang, currently facing trial in France for corruption?

I do not know the amount of any payments to Abayak. Any information about those payments, if they took place, is in ExxonMobil files to which I no longer have access. To the best of my knowledge, ExxonMobil did not make payments to Teodorin Obiang or to his father, President Obiang.

Additionally, during my tenure as Chairman and CEO, ExxonMobil maintained an anti-corruption legal compliance guide for its employees, laying out company policy and legal requirements in this area. That guide is available at:

<http://cdn.exxonmobil.com/~media/global/files/other/2015/anti-corruption-legal-compliance-guide.pdf>

66. Exxon in Africa- Nigeria- Exxon is a major player in Nigeria's oil sector. I understand it made a major discovery offshore that could produce 500 million to 1 billion barrels of oil. ExxonMobil's 2009 deal to secure rights to Nigerian oil reserves is currently under investigation by the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission of Nigeria. We are told that ExxonMobile beat out China despite apparently underbidding its rival bid by \$2.25 billion. Is the aforementioned accurate to the best of your knowledge? What details can you share with us about Exxon's bid, and the current investigation underway?

To the best of my knowledge, ExxonMobil complied with all requirements of Nigerian law when bidding on the referenced oil mining licenses. Information concerning any ongoing investigation would need to be provided by ExxonMobil.

67. Burma- Rohingya- As of January 9th, according to the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs an estimated 65,000 people have fled Burma, mostly Rohingya fleeing persecution. Amnesty International reported and documented a campaign of violence perpetuated by the Burmese security forces which have indiscriminately fired on and killed civilians, raped women and girls, and arbitrarily arrested Rohingya men without any information about their whereabouts -- charges which "may amount to crimes against humanity." There has also been a recent upsurge in violence in Shan and Kachin States, as well. What should our diplomatic strategy be towards promoting a peaceful, prosperous, and democratic Burma that respects the human rights of all its people regardless of ethnicity and religion, including the Rohingya?

The United States must continue to engage with Burma to support its democratic transition. But we cannot turn a blind eye to reported military abuses in the country's north and west. Not only is the mistreatment of the Rohingya a tragedy, but it also threatens to radicalize a generation of young Rohingya. The United States must support regional and international efforts to investigate abuses and pressure the Burmese government and military. U.S. assistance packages must include aid for the Rohingya and other ethnic minorities. Further progress in our military-to-military relationship should depend on improvements in the professionalization and civilian control of the Burmese military. In applying this pressure, however, the United States should avoid isolating Burma to such a degree that it strangles its democratic transition and forces Burma back into overdependence on China.

68. Burma- Extractives Sector- The jade and gemstone sector has been identified as one of the principle drivers of conflict in Burma, including ethnic conflict, the narcotics trade, and corruption in that country. As someone who has experience in the of field of extractive industries, what should the United States do to support a transparent, equitable and sustainable jade and gemstone sector in Burma that benefits all segments of the Burmese society?

The United States can assist the Burmese government to build greater capacity to monitor and certify its production of jade and precious stones—areas in which it has made progress since beginning the transition to civilian control. But much of the country’s jade and gemstone industry is based in conflict areas in the north, where proceeds from smuggling help fund armed ethnic groups that maintain close ties to China. It is therefore critical that the United States work with China, along with other neighboring countries and international organizations, to crack down on the illicit trade in jade and gemstones from Burma.

69. China: The joint communiques of 1972, 1979, and 1982, under Presidents Nixon, Carter, and Reagan are the foundation of the US-PRC relationship, along with the Taiwan Relations Act that guides US policy toward Taiwan. Could you lay out your understanding of the core principles of these communiques and the TRA? Do you think that these principles remain important foundations of the relationship? Do you believe that the One China policy remains valid, or needs revision?

The Three Communiques, Taiwan Relations Act, and Six Assurances provide the foundation for U.S. policy toward China and Taiwan. The United States should continue to uphold the One China policy and support a peaceful and mutually agreeable cross-Straits outcome. Under this policy, the United States recognizes the People’s Republic of China as the sole legal government of China and acknowledges the Chinese position that Taiwan is part of China. As required by the Taiwan Relations Act, the United States continues to provide Taiwan with arms of a defensive character and maintains the capacity of the United States to resist any resort to force or other forms of coercion that would jeopardize the security, or the social or economic system, of the people of Taiwan. The United States also upholds the Six Assurances on U.S. policy toward Taiwan. If confirmed, I would continue these policies and work to ensure that the cross-Straits military balance remains favorable to peace and stability.

70. Should the US continue to conduct the Strategic and Economic Dialogue with China in its current form, or should adjustments be made in that mechanism?

The Strategic and Economic Dialogue provides a valuable forum for U.S. and Chinese leaders to discuss issues of mutual interest. These discussions must, however, result in real results if the forum is to be a productive element of the bilateral relationship. If confirmed, I will work to ensure that this mechanism is effective in addressing areas of both cooperation and competition.

71. Taiwan: Are you concerned that in suggesting the One China policy is negotiable the President-elect may have created the impression that Taiwan is nothing more than a bargaining chip, and that that might undermine our ability to support Taiwan and protect US interests in peace and stability in the region?

If confirmed, I intend to support the One China policy. The people of Taiwan are friends of the United States and should not be treated as a bargaining chip. The U.S. commitment to Taiwan is both a legal commitment and a moral imperative. If confirmed, I would work to ensure economic and military stability across the Straits.

72. China trade: In the last few years, Chinese investment has been pouring into the U.S. While US companies have substantial investments in China, they are restricted in many sectors from acquiring controlling interests, while China does not face comparable restrictions in the US. Would you favor requiring reciprocity on investments so that China will face restrictions in sectors where US investors in China faces restrictions? Do you favor negotiation of a Bilateral Investment Treaty to cover such issues? If Chinese companies benefit from stolen intellectual property from American companies, should those Chinese companies be banned from trade and investment with the US?

The United States should adopt a whole-of-government approach to ensure that American workers and consumers are receiving the benefits of fair trade with China. Restrictions on U.S. firms and stealing of intellectual property pose serious threats to the U.S. economy. A bilateral investment treaty could help address this imbalance, as would additional steps to penalize companies that benefit from stolen intellectual property. If confirmed, I will work with the rest of the U.S. government to ensure fairness in U.S.-China trade.

73. China Human Rights: What is the most effective way for the United States to promote American values and respect for human rights in China? Will you try to persuade the Chinese leadership to unblock web sites of American media companies? Will you advocate for the rights of Tibetans and the people of Hong Kong? How?

American values are a critical component of American interests. Standing up for human rights and democracy is not just a moral imperative but is in the best traditions of our country. If confirmed, I will support efforts to advocate for democracy and human rights as an integral element of our diplomatic engagement with China and other countries around the world.

74. Southeast Asia: Does the U.S. still value promoting democracy, particularly in countries such as Myanmar, Thailand, and the Philippines? What are your views on the persecution of minorities, ethnic or religious, in the region and elsewhere?

Promoting U.S. values, such as the pursuit of liberal and democratic governance, contributes to the long-term U.S. strategy of strengthening the international order. Whether in allied countries such as the Philippines and Thailand, or new partners such as Burma and Vietnam, the United States must continue to ensure that U.S. values are upheld as a core element of U.S. foreign policy.

75. South China Sea: In your testimony yesterday you stated that "China's island building in the SCS is an illegal taking of disputed areas without regard for international norms." If China is committing "an illegal taking of disputed areas" do you believe the United States should clarify its approach with regards to the different and competing claims of sovereignty in the South China Sea? Should it be an objective of US policy to remove the Chinese presence from these disputed features, what is your strategy for doing so? How should US respond if China "illegally" builds more of these features? Should a rules-based order be central to the US approach to the South China Sea? What should be US strategy to preventing further Chinese militarization of the land features in the South China Sea, challenges to freedom of navigation, and Chinese coercion against its neighbors?

To expand on the discussion of U.S. policy options in the South China Sea, the United States seeks peaceful resolution of disputes and does not take a position on overlapping sovereignty claims, but the United States also does not recognize China's excessive claims to the waters and airspace of the South China Sea. China cannot be allowed to use its artificial islands to coerce its neighbors or limit freedom of navigation or overflight in the South China Sea. The United States will uphold freedom of navigation and overflight by continuing to fly, sail, and operate wherever international law allows. If a contingency occurs, the United States and its allies and partners must be capable of limiting China's access to and use of its artificial islands to pose a threat to the United States or its allies and partners. The United States must be willing to accept risk if it is to deter further destabilizing actions and reassure allies and partners that the United States will stand with them in upholding international rules and norms. If confirmed, I would look forward to working with interagency partners to develop a whole-of-government approach to deter further Chinese coercion and land reclamation as well as challenges to freedom of navigation or overflight in the South China Sea.

76. North Korea: What is your diplomatic strategy in regard to North Korea? What role do the current sanctions play? Do you believe that additional sanctions, including secondary sanctions, are needed? Will you offer bilateral talks or do you support reinvigorating the Six-Party Talks framework? Specifically, do you favor a path of increased pressure and sanctions or do you also see a role, in the right sequence, for diplomatic engagement?

- a. Do you think we can work cooperatively with China, and Russia, on North Korea? Do you believe that we should be sanctioning Chinese and Russian companies that do business with North Korea?
- b. Recent policy has been to not allow daylight between the United States and South Korea on North Korea policy. Will that continue in the Trump Administration? If the next South Korean government seeks a new approach to North Korea, what would your approach be?
- c. Is there a “red line” for the North Korean nuclear weapons program or missile program that would trigger a U.S. action? How do you propose to effectively and credibly convey a red line to North Korea?
- d. What are your views on the nuclear and missile threats posed by North Korea? Do you see Pyongyang's developments as posing a direct threat to the United States? How do you believe these threats will change over the course of the administration? Would you support policies that aim to isolate North Korea and halt these programs?
- e. What role should U.S. allies play in the administration's approach to North Korea? To what extent does your approach require coordination with South Korea and Japan?
- f. What strategy does the Administration intend to deploy to deal with human rights abuses in the DPRK?

North Korea is one of the leading threats to regional and global security. If confirmed, I will work closely with my interagency colleagues to develop a new approach to proactively address the multitude of threats that North Korea poses to its neighbors and the international community. Foremost among these challenges are North Korea's continuing pursuit of nuclear weapons and the ballistic missiles to launch them (which pose a direct threat to the United States), the human rights tragedy resulting from the regime's repressive system, the continuation of illicit activity that spreads instability, and the risk of a humanitarian crisis that could engulf the Korean Peninsula. These challenges will continue to worsen if a new strategy is not adopted. In preparing a new strategy to address these concerns, the United States should keep all options on the table, from the threat of military force to the willingness to remain open to diplomacy. In particular, the threat or use of sanctions, including secondary sanctions, may be necessary to force North Korean leaders, and those that support them, to reassess the costs or benefits of continuing current policies. Key to this strategy is working closely with U.S. allies and partners, particularly South Korea and Japan, to ensure close coordination and execution of this strategy. In addition, the United States should look to work with China and Russia to the greatest extent possible in order to increase pressure on North Korea. Only by forcing North Korea to reconsider its dangerous path can the United States and its allies and partners ensure that the regime does not further undermine regional and global security.

77. East Asia Allies: If a “fair” burden-sharing agreement cannot be reached with Japan or the Republic of Korea would you be willing to withdraw U.S. forces?

Japan and South Korea already contribute large amounts to support U.S. forces in their respective countries and I am optimistic that future discussions will continue to be productive and result in equitable burden-sharing arrangements. Our shared alliances form the foundation for security in Northeast Asia and beyond, so we must strengthen and modernize these alliances to manage growing regional and global challenges.

78. Thailand: What are your plans for how will you manage US relations with Thailand?

If confirmed, I will continue to pursue ways to strengthen our long-standing alliance with Thailand while clearly communicating that the United States will hold the military government to their commitment to return to civilian rule later this year. In the long term, the U.S. relationship with Thailand will be strengthened, not weakened, by demonstrating that we recognize and support the Thai people's demand for democracy and human rights.

79. Multilateral Institutions in Asia: What role do you foresee for US multilateral organizations such as the East Asia Summit or other forums in Asia? What can the United States do to support the emergence of a functional problem-solving ASEAN central to the future of the Asia-Pacific region? What is the administration's view on the importance of participating in regional forums such as ARF, EAS, and APEC? Do you have any concerns that lack of high level participation will allow the Chinese to fill an American vacuum and undermine our interests in the region?

Multilateral institutions provide vital forums for Asian-Pacific nations, including the United States, to cooperate in pursuit of shared interests and negotiate peaceful solutions when interests conflict. Active U.S. engagement in multilateral institutions, including the ASEAN Regional Forum, East Asia Summit, and Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation, is critical to support regional states and prevent a power vacuum that could call into question regional security and prosperity. Therefore, if I am confirmed, I will ensure that attendance at multilateral meetings continues to be seen as a priority in the State Department.

80. Russia/Asia: What challenges are presented by Russia's apparent determination to play a larger role in Asia, particularly a more active military role?

Russia has become more active in Asia in recent years, including increasing the number and extent of its operations and exercises around U.S. allies, U.S. forces, and even U.S. territory. One concern is that Russian military pressure is adding to the already substantial burden of U.S. allies, such as Japan, that already face mounting challenges from China. The United States should work with its allies and partners to show solidarity against Russian military incursions and to encourage Russia to play a positive and productive role in Asia, including through the Six Party Talks.

81. Exxon in Asia- Indonesia- A federal court has found sufficient evidence that Exxon Mobil is responsible for human rights abuses by security forces on its Indonesia operations and, on that basis, has allowed the case to proceed to trial despite strenuous efforts by Exxon to prevent this. The human rights abuses detailed in the case include killings and torture-- shootings, beatings, kidnapping, sexual assault, electric shocks to genitals, destruction of homes and property. Evidence from a federal lawsuit indicates that high-level Exxon Mobil executives knew about serious human rights abuses by Exxon's security forces in Indonesia and received frequent detailed reports on "deployment goals" and "operational strategy" of military security personnel and "set standards, plans, and tasks" for security in Aceh. Many of the documents in the case remain sealed at Exxon's request.

- a. Prior to your confirmation, in order to provide clarity regarding the role of Exxon in these abuses and your own role, including in response to reports of abuses, will you ask Exxon to publicly release the documents from the case?

I do not believe it would be appropriate for me to make such a special request of ExxonMobil given my status as nominee for Secretary of State. Nor do I have any reason to believe the company would alter its long-term litigation strategy at my request, as I am no longer an officer or director of ExxonMobil.

While conducting its business in Indonesia, ExxonMobil has worked for generations to improve the quality of life in Aceh through employment of local workers, provision of health services, and extensive community investment. During my tenure as Chairman and CEO, ExxonMobil strongly condemned human rights violations in any form.

- b. Will you release documents that indicate your knowledge or participation in deliberations about human rights violations and security forces in Exxon's Aceh operations?

To the best of my knowledge, there are no such documents.

- c. While a highly-placed Exxon executive, did you meet with Indonesian officials on behalf of Exxon and discuss such abuses?

No, to the best of my knowledge.

- d. What did you do to stop the abuses?

The allegations in the referenced lawsuit predate my tenure as Chairman and CEO of ExxonMobil, and I was not employed in a capacity that would have given me any responsibility over the Indonesian production facilities during the relevant time period.

During my tenure as Chairman and CEO, ExxonMobil vigorously contested the abuse allegations—and my understanding is that it continues to do so. Additionally, under my leadership, ExxonMobil enhanced nearly all of its private security personnel contracts to include provisions addressing human rights concerns. Further information about ExxonMobil's human rights commitments and programs is available here:
[http://corporate.exxonmobil.com/en/community/human-rights/respecting-rights/approach.](http://corporate.exxonmobil.com/en/community/human-rights/respecting-rights/approach)

- e. Why didn't the abuses stop?

The allegations in the referenced lawsuit predate my tenure as Chairman and CEO of ExxonMobil, and I was not employed in a capacity that would have given me any responsibility over the Indonesian production facilities during the relevant time period.

During my tenure as Chairman and CEO, ExxonMobil vigorously contested the abuse allegations—and my understanding is that it continues to do so. Additionally, under my leadership, ExxonMobil enhanced nearly all of its private security personnel contracts to include provisions addressing human rights concerns. Further information about ExxonMobil's human rights commitments and programs is available here:
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- f. Is Exxon still providing financial support for the Indonesian military or other Indonesian armed forces?

As I am no longer with the company, I cannot comment on its current business practices in Indonesia.

- g. Do you believe that this case deserves a full hearing in U.S. courts?

As expressed during my testimony, I am a strong believer in the rule of law. It is ultimately the responsibility of the federal courts to determine whether a trial is warranted.

- h. A full and fair hearing will require that the Indonesian plaintiffs appear in person to testify in U.S. court. If confirmed, will you commit to supporting the Indonesian plaintiff's efforts to obtain visas to be able travel to the U.S. to testify?

If confirmed, I will consult with responsible ethics advisors to determine whether any such support would be permissible, or if this would be a matter warranting my recusal.

82. Afghanistan- The U.S. maintains about 10,000 troops in Afghanistan and provide billions in security and development assistance. How do you see U.S. interests in Afghanistan? Do you think that the U.S. should pursue a peace deal with militant groups in the country?

Afghanistan is the longest war in American history. Today, the United States should engage the government of Afghanistan President Ashraf Ghani and CEO Abdullah Abdullah to increase stability, reduce corruption, ensure a better standard of living for Afghans, particularly women and girls, and ensure that Afghanistan is never again used as a base for international terrorism. The United States should also engage with Islamabad to strengthen the civilian government and eliminate the safe havens that terrorist groups like the Haqqani network enjoy. The United States should work with both Afghanistan and Pakistan to encourage cooperation, build trust, and seek to ensure regional stability, including peace in Afghanistan, in a context of mutual respect and appreciation of each country's interests.

83. Pakistan- The U.S. has provided billions in security assistance to Pakistan since 9/11 but the country's intelligence services continue to support terrorist groups. What are our interests with respect to Pakistan? How would you change the U.S. approach to Pakistan in order to ensure enhanced pressure on militant groups?

The United States has an interest in a democratic Pakistan that respects human rights and contributes to regional stability, including the security of its nuclear arsenal. The United States should engage with Islamabad to strengthen the civilian government and eliminate the safe havens that terrorist groups like the Haqqani network enjoy. If confirmed, I will also work with the Department of Defense to encourage the military to take steps against those actors involved with providing assistance to such organizations, which remains a serious threat to Americans, Afghans, and Pakistanis alike.

84. India- We have a very robust and growing relationship with India, which I support, but there are many irritants remain regarding values including India's dismal record on bonded labor and religious freedom. How would address these issues as Secretary of State?

India is an important partner for the United States. It is the world's most populous democracy, and one which is playing an increasingly important role in the region and throughout the world.

However, certain areas of India's behavior remain concerning. If confirmed, I will engage India to express our concern on issues like infringements of religious freedom to encourage the government to take positive action.

85. Central Asia- The countries of Central Asia continue to have challenging human rights records. I have advocated for the release of political prisoners across the region directly to these governments and through the State Department. DO I have your commitment to raise cases of political prisoners with leadership in the five Central Asian republics?

If confirmed as Secretary, I will engage the states of Central Asia to advocate for the release of political prisoners and ensure improvements in human rights and responsible governance. The U.S. maintains bilateral relationships with each of the nations in Central Asia that encompass multiple facets including security, human rights, energy, and other issues. The status of political prisoners should be part of the regular discussions the United States holds with these nations, so they are aware of our concern over the issue and are encouraged to take positive action in response.

86. Rosneft- Rosneft, currently under sanctions, now holds the mortgage on CITGO's US holdings. You have extensive experience with the Russian state-owned oil industry. Do you believe that Rosneft should be permitted to own critical US energy infrastructure such as CITGO's refineries and pipelines?

I would need to be fully briefed on the details of this case, but in general I am very supportive of the process by which the U.S. government seeks to prevent our adversaries—or even potential adversaries—from controlling critical U.S. infrastructure that would leave the American people more vulnerable.

87. Yukos- In 2011, while you were CEO, ExxonMobil signed a \$3.2 billion investment deal with Rosneft, the Russian state-owned oil company that had, a few years earlier, taken over the assets of the Yukos oil company, which was effectively expropriated by the Russian government and whose CEO, Mikhail Khodorkovsky, spent more than ten years in prison on what was widely recognized as politically motivated charges. It is estimated that more than 20,000 individual U.S. investors, public pension funds, as well as more than seventy private investment funds lost their investments in Yukos. As Secretary of State, would you commit to helping them receive a fair compensation from the Russian government?

My understanding is these have been/are being litigated in the appropriate courts. I do not know the status of specific claims, but the United States should and will always support the rule of law.

88. Cyprus- Cyprus is a reliable strategic partner of the United States in the volatile region of the Eastern Mediterranean. How will the new U.S. Administration further develop the bilateral ties between the United States and the Republic of Cyprus, and how will it support the ongoing reunification negotiations and that a reunified federal Cyprus will be able to pursue its own independent and sovereign foreign policy, as a Member State of the European Union?

Strong bilateral ties with the Republic of Cyprus will help ensure future stability and prosperity in the region. A long-term solution for Cyprus is important for U.S. interests in the region. The United States should continue to support the efforts of the Greek and Turkish Cypriot leaders to achieve a just resolution that is consistent with UN resolutions and heals the island's divisions. If confirmed, I look forward to working closely with the UN and other key actors to support a solution.

89. Romania- Security Relationship- Romania joined NATO in 2004. The Romanian military served in both Afghanistan and Iraq and were among the last allied forces to withdraw from Iraq. Mihai Kogălniceanu (MK) airbase in southern Romania is one of the primary transit points for American

troops and equipment entering and exiting Afghanistan. At any given moment, there are hundreds of U.S. troops in transit through Romania. Do you continue to recognize this unique contribution of Romanians in both Afghanistan and Iraq, and will it be the position of the United States to ask Romania to continue to perform this critical role, including the mission at MK airbase?

I recognize the many valuable contributions that Romania has made and continues to make to our common security, including the important role of the M.K. Air Base. I look forward to working closely with the government of Romania to meet future challenges to our common security if confirmed.

90. Romania- NATO & Missiles Defense in Deveselu- In 2010 Romania's president agreed to host the Aegis Ashore missile defense system for NATO. The primary purpose of the system is to protect Romania and NATO's southern flank from ballistic missiles launched from Iran. In the period since the system was proposed, the Russian government, with varying degrees of intensity, has opposed the plan—claiming that it would somehow erode the Russian nuclear deterrent. Romanian President Klaus Johannis stated in May that, when the missiles become operational and the Russians protested that the Russians were overreacting and that the system was not directed at Russia and added, "NATO needs to be prepared to respond to incidents coming from other areas outside the trans-Atlantic space... The system is not against any state, having a strictly defensive role." Will it continue to be the position of the United States to support this system?

Iran poses a serious threat to the security of the United States and our European allies. It is critical to have the right defensive capabilities in place, and I value the role that Romania is playing as host of the Aegis Ashore missile defense system. If confirmed, I will support our continued commitment to having the right defense systems in place to defend Romania and our other NATO allies.

91. Romania & the Rule of Law- Over the past 25 years, U.S. engagement with Romania at the highest levels has consistently emphasized the importance of rule of law, transparency and anticorruption in providing stability for the country's political system and predictability for its markets. As Republican and Democratic presidents, vice presidents, secretaries of state and other cabinet ministers have emphasized, this is important for insuring the continuity of Romanian democracy, undergirding the country as a strategic ally and making Romania a more attractive destination for U.S. investment. Do you agree that anticorruption and rule of law should continue to be a pillar of our relationship and a high priority for the Romanian government?

Romania is an important ally, and I fully agree that anti-corruption and rule of law should continue to underpin our relationship. I look forward to working with the Romanian government on these issues if confirmed.

92. Israel- Two State Solution- Since 1967, successive U.S. administrations have promoted a negotiated two-state solution between Israelis and Palestinians with both sides living side-by-side in peace and security. Do you believe that supporting the two-state solution should still be U.S. policy?

Yes.

93. Israel- MOU- In September, the United States concluded a new 10-year Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with Israel for military aid. Do you support the funding levels agreed to by the United States and Israel? In the new U.S.-Israel MOU, the two governments agreed to phase out Off-Shore Procurement (OSP), a benefit by which Israel was permitted to spend 26.3% of U.S. foreign military financing (FMF) on Israel's defense industry, rather than the United States. If confirmed as Secretary of State, to you intend to continue the agreed-upon plan to phase out of OSP for Israel?

I am deeply committed to Israel's security and to our bilateral relationship. Israel is America's closest ally in the Middle East, and a key bastion of democracy. If confirmed, I intend to engage Israel to deepen this relationship and ensure Israel has the means to defend itself. I will discuss with my Israeli partners the key components of Israeli security, and ensure that both American and Israeli key interests are met.

94. Israel- UNSCR 2334- In December, the UN Security Council passed Resolution 2334, which I believe is a biased resolution that unfairly targets Israel and makes restarting direct negotiations for a two-state solution more difficult. In your view, how can other governments and the Palestinians use Resolution 2334 to further isolate Israel or promote unilateral Palestinian action through international organizations? If confirmed as Secretary of State, what steps do you plan to take to mitigate the negative implications of 2334?

If I am confirmed, I will ensure that Israel will be able to count on the United States for political and diplomatic support, particularly in international forums. The United States should not allow Israel to be singled out by international bodies for special censure. Doing so only increases Israel's insecurity, and damages its standing in the world. The UN resolution that was passed is particularly troubling because in many ways it could be interpreted as undermining the legitimacy of Israel as well as the peace process.

95. Israel- UN Database-The U.N. Human Rights Council is preparing a database of companies in the West Bank and East Jerusalem. This is possibly the first step in preparing sanctions against these companies. What can the U.S. do to limit the input of this dangerous exercise?

The passage of UNSCR 2334 was damaging for many reasons, but in particular because it subjects Israel to potential litigation, delegitimization efforts, and penalties in other international arenas. The United States should robustly engage in these forums to ensure that Israel is protected. It should also engage member governments on a bilateral basis to make them aware of our concern over these efforts and seek their support for our policy in defense of Israel.

96. Egypt- Assistance- Egypt is the second largest recipient of U.S. assistance, both military and economic. I am committed to a healthy U.S.-Egypt partnership, but have concerns about anti-American rhetoric in state-sponsored media, backsliding on Egypt's political reform agenda, and the Egyptian government's blocking of U.S. assistance programs. Do you support current conditions on U.S. aid to Egypt, including the maintenance of the Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty? What about conditions based on political and human rights reforms? Do you believe that the Egyptian government is capable of stopping anti-American rhetoric in state-sponsored media?

Egypt is one of the United States' most important partners in the region. The United States should engage Egypt to express its concern over human rights issues in the country, as well as anti-American messages in the media. Our aid should always aim to reflect our values. Egypt has an important role to play regionally, as a leader in the Arab world, in the peace process, and in the region. Foreign assistance to Egypt, including security assistance, is an important part of our relationship, and critical to Egypt's ability to both contribute to U.S. national security goals and to improve the lives of Egyptians.

97. Egypt- CFF- The Obama Administration announced in April 2015 that it would end Cash Flow Financing (CFF), a financial mechanism that enables foreign governments to pay for U.S. defense equipment using U.S. funding in partial installments. The Egyptian Government has indicated that it will

formally ask the Trump Administration to restart CFF for Egypt. In your view, is CFF in the U.S. national security interest?

The United States should work to help Egypt achieve the necessary means to defend itself and contribute to stability in the region. I will engage Cairo to determine the capabilities it needs, and how the United States can best meet those needs when they are in concert with our own national interests. Economic prosperity is certainly one of those interests; I will closely examine how Egypt spends its foreign assistance to ensure both of our key goals are being met.

98. Lebanon- New Government- After nearly three years of political paralysis and the deterioration of public services, I was pleased by the election of a President, appointment of a Prime Minister, and the fairly rapid formation of the new government. However, the Lebanese Ministerial Statement affirmed the right of “armed resistance” and of “liberation” outside the authority of the state, allowing non-state actors to remain armed and to make war and peace decisions on behalf of the state and the nation. In your view, what should the U.S. policy approach be to the new Lebanese government? Does Lebanon’s stability and security matter for U.S. national security? What U.S. actions or policies would be destabilizing for Lebanon?

The United States should engage Lebanon to ensure its stability, contribute to regional stability, and take action against terrorist groups. Careful diplomatic attention must be paid as the government of Lebanon attempts to balance all of its domestic factions in the context of a regionalized civil war. If confirmed as Secretary, I would work through regional and international mechanisms to contribute to political stability in Lebanon, the sustainment of Lebanese human rights, and the disarmament of Hezbollah, consistent with UN Security Council resolutions.

99. Hezbollah- Hezbollah continues to amass thousands of rockets on Israel's border and regularly calls for Israel's destruction. It has also become highly engaged in the Syrian civil war playing a central role in supporting Bashar al Assad. None of this would be possible without the support and weapons Hezbollah receives from Iran and which go through Syria. Yet President-Elect Trump has argued that in Syria we should negotiate an agreement with Russia and possibly coordinate with Assad to fight ISIL. In your view, why does Iran continue to transfer sophisticated weapons to Hezbollah? Does Iran need a compliance government in Damascus in order to continue transferring weapons to Hezbollah? Is it possible to negotiate an agreement with Russia to end the civil war in Syria, that also halts Iran’s use of Syria as a strategic corridor to Hezbollah in Lebanon?

The threat of the Islamic Republic of Iran is one of the gravest national security challenges faced by the United States. Hezbollah is a key ally in Iran’s effort to expand its control over the region. The Syrian government is another key ally of Iran; it provides critical support for Iran’s transfer of military hardware, personnel, and supplies to Hezbollah. If confirmed, one of my top priorities will be to craft a political settlement for Syria that does not permit the territory of Syria to be grounds for international terrorism that might reach the American homeland or that of America’s allies. The United States should also engage Iran’s regional rivals to emphasize the need to halt advanced Iranian weapons and other strategic support from reaching Hezbollah.

100. Saudi Arabia-Yemen- It is my view that the threats facing Saudi Arabia from Houthi rebels and associated forces constitute legitimate security threats. Since April 2015, the Houthis and their allies have conducted cross-border raids and launched missiles into Saudi Arabia, and currently occupy Saudi national territory. Many of these missiles have fallen in civilian areas, and the Houthi-aligned forces now boast that their long-range missiles could reach Mecca. At least 500 civilians are estimated to have been killed inside Saudi territory due to these attacks; hundreds of homes, schools, and other civilian

structures have been closed. In your view, is there more that the United States could do to support Saudi border defense?

The conflict in Yemen is deeply concerning to the United States for humanitarian and strategic reasons. Iran is supporting the Shia Houthi forces as part of a drive to extend its influence over broad swaths of the Middle East. Taking advantage of the ensuing civil war and collapse of the internationally-recognized government's authority, al-Qaeda and ISIS affiliates have taken control of territory elsewhere in Yemen. The United States should engage with Saudi Arabia and its other allies in the region to reduce the humanitarian toll of this conflict, mediate a solution that ensures stability, and prevent terrorists from targeting the American homeland. As part of that engagement, the United States should assist Saudi Arabia in securing its border against terrorism and attacks from Houthi forces.

101. Saudi Arabia- Arms Race- According to the Congressional Research Service, Saudi Arabia concluded over \$93 Billion in arms sales agreements from 2008 to 2015. Most of these weapons purchases were from the United States for sophisticated lethal military systems such as advanced aircraft, precision-guided munitions, tanks, attack helicopters, and advanced command, communication and control systems. Yet despite this extensive arms sale relationship and years of U.S. military training, exercises, and education, Saudi military forces have not been able to significantly shift the battlefield dynamic in Yemen where they have formed a coalition to back the internationally recognized government of Yemeni President Hadi and push back against aggression by Houthi rebels and forces aligned with former President Saleh. Meanwhile, the Saudi-led Coalition's air strikes and ground operations have contributed to unprecedented suffering in Yemen, and many airstrikes – whether deliberate or accidental – have resulted in the deaths of Yemeni civilians and destruction of civilian infrastructure.

- a. Should the United States continue to sell sophisticated weapons systems to Saudi Arabia?
- b. Do you believe that the United States is culpable or complicit in civilian deaths or destruction of civilian infrastructure in Yemen because of its arms sales to Saudi Arabia?
- c. Are there specific kinds of weapons that you do not support selling to Saudi Arabia? Do you support the sale of precision-guided munitions? If yes, should these sales be conditioned on Saudi military conduct?
- d. What are the risks to U.S. national security if the United States stops selling arms to Saudi Arabia?
- e. While I believe that Israel continues to have a “Qualitative Military Edge” over its Arab neighbors, I also believe that advantage is shrinking, especially as we continue to sell ever-more-advanced weapon systems to the Gulf States. Israel is also concerned about its neighbors acquiring a significant “quantitative military edge”, in which raw numbers of somewhat less-advanced militaries could still too considerable harm to Israel's security. How will you respond to these two concerns by our closest partner in the Middle East?

The relationship between Saudi Arabia and the United States is one of the key elements of stability in the Middle East. Saudi Arabia currently feels itself besieged by a hostile and revolutionary Iran: on its borders in Yemen; in Syria; in Bahrain; and internationally through the JCPOA. Iranian domination of the Middle East will not benefit either Washington or Riyadh. The United States should reassure Saudi Arabia that it will remain engaged to secure the stability of the Middle East.

This includes a strong relationship with Israel, one of our closest allies in the region, and a commitment that the United States will never allow Israeli security to be imperiled. If confirmed, I will engage Israel closely, in conjunction with the Department of Defense, to ensure Israel's Qualitative Military Edge is never threatened by its neighbors. While ensuring the security of Israel and our other allies in the region, the United States should also, always, work to avoid civilian casualties in its own operations and those of its partners.

102. Syria- War Crimes- In your opening statement, you said that Syrian forces have brutally violated the laws of war. Is this the same as war crimes? Which entities, both government and non-government, operating in Syria over the past year are guilty of war crimes? Your opening remarks also point out that Russia has supported Syrian forces in these violations of the laws of war. Do you also believe that Russia is guilty of war crimes in Syria? If confirmed as Secretary of State, do you commit to including war crimes accountability as a key element of any political agreement to end the civil war in Syria?

It is highly likely that war crimes have been committed, perhaps by multiple combatants, during the course of the Syrian civil war. Russian, Iranian, and Syrian forces have conducted operations that have killed many civilians. If confirmed, I will seek all necessary information, including critical classified information, to ensure that the United States not only alleviates humanitarian suffering in Syria but works to hold those parties culpable of war crimes accountable, within the context of a stable political solution to the conflict.

103. Syria- Russia- President-elect Trump has suggested that the United States can work with Russia on counterterrorism in Syria, and Bashar al-Assad said that President-elect Trump can be a “natural ally” in the counterterrorism fight. First, however, there must be agreement on what groups are terrorists. If confirmed, what definition of terrorism will you use in your discussions on Syria, and what will you do if there is disagreement with your Russian counterparts on this definition? Do you believe that Russia and Assad are targeting terrorists that meet the U.S. definition of terrorism, in Syria? Is it your assessment that the majority of Russian and Assad regime air strikes have targeted terrorists?

ISIS presents a critical national security threat to the United States, Russia, and many other countries. Russia needs to do more to target ISIS and we should reject conflating ISIS with opposition groups with legitimate political grievances with the Assad. If confirmed, this will be a critical point of discussion in any engagement of the Russian government.

104. Syrian- Iran- Iran is helping Assad just as much as Russia. Some of the most effective forces coming to aid Assad's strained forces are the Iranian Revolutionary Guards and Lebanese Hezbollah. How can the United States seek an agreement on Syria with Russia that doesn't also support Iran's position?

The United States will engage Russia robustly to negotiate a political settlement to the Syrian civil war. There are areas of the Syrian conflict in which we share an interest with Russia, such as ensuring regional stability and preventing Syria from being used as a launching pad for international terrorism. At the same time, the United States needs to emphasize to Russia the negative role Iran often plays in meeting these goals and the destabilizing influence it can have on Syria and throughout the Middle East. If confirmed, I would work closely with our allies in the region to ensure that any political settlement in Syria does not place their security in jeopardy, nor leave Iran in a dominating position.

105. ISIL- Counter-ISIL Campaign- Please provide a summary of your understanding of the main lines of effort of the U.S.-led Global Coalition to Counter ISIL. Have these lines of effort been effective in shrinking the territory held by ISIL in Iraq and Syria? In your view, is U.S. leadership necessary to global efforts to counter ISIL? Why? If confirmed, will you recommend that the U.S. Government retain these lines of effort as its strategic approach to countering ISIL? What are the specific recommendations you intend to offer for strengthening the U.S.-led Global Coalition to Counter ISIL?

Coordinated military action by the United States and its allies has indeed helped to erode the physical size of the territory held by ISIS in Iraq and Syria. To date, however, the bulk of the existing strategy remains unimplemented. With the notable exception of U.S. government efforts to disrupt the organization's finances, very little has been done to fully address the complexity of the threat posed by ISIS.

In my view, much of the approach begun by the Obama administration has continuing relevance. However, U.S. government efforts have so far suffered from a lack of leadership and resources necessary to lead to lasting success. One of my top priorities as Secretary will be to engage with the Global Coalition and determine which strategies hold the greatest promise for future success, particularly in the realm of countering the ISIS's corrosive ideology.

106. ISIL-War of Ideas and CVE- In your opening statement you state that defeating ISIL will not occur on the battlefield alone, but that "we must win the war of ideas." You go on to state, "If confirmed, I will ensure the State Department does its part in supporting Muslims around the world who reject radical Islam in all its forms."

- a. How do you define radical Islam?

Radical Islam is a political manifestation of the Islamic faith, one that does not value human life and is deeply antagonistic to democratic values and institutions and which seeks to replace them with strict Islamic governance on a local, regional, and ultimately a global level.

- b. Do you anticipate that the people, organizations, and governments that you seek to work with share this definition?

While it is impossible to expect all our partners to share our view of the threat posed by radical Islam, the Global Coalition to counter ISIS is proof that it is possible, at the very least, to build a broad, united front against the most extreme manifestations of this phenomenon.

- c. Under your leadership, where would State's efforts to counter terrorism and violent extremism sit within the broader policy framework?

Quite simply, America cannot "go it alone" in the fight against radical Islam. Because of the scope of this struggle, it is imperative that the United States secure international support and assistance for its efforts. The Department has a critical role to play in engaging global partners, and in helping to shape the ideological counter-narrative to radical Islamic thought.

- d. How would you prioritize them compared to other critical issues such as injustice, autocratic governance, refugees, political violence, humanitarian crisis and violent conflict?

While certainly not the only challenge facing the United States, it is my view that the struggle against radical Islam represents one of the top national security and foreign policy priorities of our government.

- e. How would you define our objectives regarding countering terrorism and violent extremism?

In the near term, the United States must eliminate the ability of radical groups such as ISIS to threaten the U.S. homeland, and reduce the threat they pose to American interests and American allies abroad. In the longer term, we should work to discredit and marginalize the most extreme interpretations of the Islamic faith, while simultaneously empowering moderate versions of the same.

- f. Can they be achieved with current means and methods, and what role does the State Department specifically play in achieving them?

The terrorism challenge confronting the United States is one that is far broader than ISIS alone. It encompasses the rise of other militant groups, the growing global popularity of extreme Islamist thought, and the mass mobilization of Islamic radicals in the Middle East and beyond. In order to adequately address these and other threats, the U.S. government must be prepared to engage in long-term conflict. It must also formulate a counterterrorism strategy that is as complex, as adaptive, and as wide-ranging as the forces that it seeks to confront and defeat. So far, it has not.

The role of the State Department in this effort is a critical one, involving both outreach to coalition partners and engagement with the Muslim world, with the goal of discrediting the radical Islamist message.

- g. Please provide three examples of new initiatives that you will promote at the State Department to support Muslims in countering violent extremism?

Today, the private sector is the site of significant innovation in countering violent extremism, with organizations such as Jigsaw creating new technologies and methods by which to steer vulnerable individuals away from radicalism. As Secretary, I would encourage greater governmental investments in these private sector enterprises as a way of amplifying their effectiveness and reach.

Likewise, I would expand the scope and authorities of the Global Engagement Center, or whatever entity replaces it, in order to more effectively counter not only the ideology of ISIS, but that of other extreme groups as well (including radical Shi'ite movements and actors).

Finally, I would oversee a significant reorganization and fusion of the existing public diplomacy functions currently located in various parts of the bureaucracy, as a way of helping the State Department to more effectively lead the "war of ideas" against radical Islam.

- h. Please provide three examples of ongoing State Department initiatives that positively contribute to countering violent extremism and that you would seek to retain if confirmed?

Over the past year, the State Department has experienced significant success, with social media companies such as Facebook and Twitter, in limiting the ability of extremists to occupy and exploit the social media space. Likewise, the U.S. government effort to disrupt ISIS's

finances (in which the State Department plays a significant role) has had a notable effect on the group's overall financial fortunes. Finally, the State Department has helped to engage with foreign allies in an effort to develop strategies to prevent radicalized individuals from joining the ranks of ISIS in Iraq and Syria.

- i. What are U.S. policies – both domestic and international – that might alienate the very Muslims you seek to work with in countering violent extremism?

In recent years, the perception that the United States is disengaged from – and disinterested in – the Muslim world has become increasingly prevalent abroad. This perception is deeply injurious to our efforts to forge a broad counterterrorism coalition with the resources and resolve to defeat ISIS and other manifestations of radical Islam. Our allies and partners in this effort must know that the United States is committed to a long-term struggle against Islamic extremism in all of its forms.

107. Iran- Sanctions- Speaking in the context of sanctions against Russia over its invasion of Crimea, you expressed skepticism of the efficacy of sanctions in general, unless they are applied in a 'comprehensible' fashion. At Exxon's 2014 annual meeting, you are quoted as saying, "We do not support sanctions, generally, because we don't find them to be effective unless they are very well implemented comprehensibly, and that's a very hard thing to do. So we always encourage the people who are making those decisions to consider the very broad collateral damage of who are they really harming." Sanctions – implemented effectively - have been the linchpin of our strategy to prevent an Iranian nuclear weapons capability, and to obstructing its malign regional influence. Is there anything in this statement that you would like to clarify? Did Exxon, either itself or through proxies and associations, oppose sanctions against Iran?

My statement at ExxonMobil's 2014 annual meeting provided ExxonMobil's perspective on sanctions as a general matter. ExxonMobil did not lobby against Iran sanctions during my tenure as Chairman and CEO, but rather sought to share information with lawmakers that would assist them in mitigating disproportionate harm to U.S. companies as compared to their foreign competitors. To the best of my knowledge, ExxonMobil has disclosed all such activity as required by the lobbying disclosure laws.

108. Iran- JCPOA- While the JCPOA suspended nuclear sanctions against Iran, the U.S. retains the right to enforce and impose new sanctions on Iran for its support for terrorism, human rights abuses, development and testing of ballistic missiles, cybercrimes, and corruption. If confirmed, do you plan on advocating for sanctioning Iranian entities involved in these malign activities? How will the State Department respond under your leadership if Iranian officials threaten to abrogate the JCPOA? What do you see as the proper path forward with regard to the JCPOA?

- a. Please provide specific examples of new sanctions that can be applied in each category listed above, and whether the executive branch has authority to implement such sanctions or needs new legislative authority.

The United States should closely examine, and at the very least rigorously enforce, the provisions of the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA). It should engage the IAEA, the Joint Commission, and other international and multilateral organizations – as well as individual states – to ensure Iran does not cheat on its commitments. At the same time, the United States should work with its regional partners and allies to dismantle Iran's sponsorship of terrorist groups and block Iranian aggression throughout the Middle East. Non-nuclear sanctions are an important part of that effort. If I am confirmed, the United States will closely

monitor and enforce those sanctions, including on entities linked to the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps. However, I would like to receive all available material, including that in the classified realm, before identifying specific targets.

109. Mexico- A December 2016 report by the Center for Disease Control found that heroin is the leading cause of overdose deaths in the U.S. Most of the heroin ravaging U.S. communities comes from Mexico, where transnational criminal organizations control poppy cultivation, heroin production, and trafficking routes to the United States. The damage done to U.S.-Mexico relations during the campaign threatens to undermine the deepened security cooperation begun under President George W. Bush with the Merida Initiative. If confirmed, how will you work with the Government of Mexico to diminish the threat posed to American families by heroin? Will you continue the Merida Initiative and support the Mexican government's efforts to reform its justice sector, expand training for civilian police, combat corruption, and protect human rights?

Mexico is a country of great importance to the United States, as a neighbor and trading partner. Although we will probably have differences with the government of Mexico regarding enforcement of our immigration laws, we will still need to continue to cooperate with Mexico on important issues of common interest, such as narcotics trafficking. If confirmed, I would review the track record of the Merida Initiative, and certainly endeavor to continue projects that improve Mexican performance in the areas you have noted.

110. Canada – Reviewing Keystone Pipeline Permit: On November 6, 2015, following extensive technical consultations with eight federal agencies, Secretary of State John Kerry determined that it was in the U.S. national interest to deny the permit for the Keystone XL pipeline. The technical review found marginal benefits for the American economy and our energy security, and a range of concerns for local communities and water supplies in the U.S. If confirmed, would you seek consider the Keystone pipeline matter settled, or would you seek to reopen the past technical review process or launch a new review?

During the campaign, the President-elect made a commitment to reopen this matter and proceed with the Keystone Pipeline—in the interests of energy security and job creation. If confirmed, I will quickly review the legal and foreign policy aspects of Secretary Kerry's decision and work with the President-elect to carry out his policy objectives.

111. Colombia - U.S. support for Colombia across three U.S. and three Colombian Administrations, through Plan Colombia and now Peace Colombia, is rightly seen as perhaps the most successful bipartisan foreign policy success in the 21st Century. The United States has invested billions while our Colombian partners have far outpaced that investment in terms of blood and treasure. Fifteen years ago, Colombia teetered on the edge of being a failed state. Today, it has an historic peace agreement and stands on the verge of joining the OECD. If confirmed, do you pledge to continue U.S. support for Colombia through Peace Colombia to help Colombia consolidate its historic peace agreement?

I agree that Plan Colombia has made a dramatic difference and can be considered a foreign policy success for both the United States and for Colombia. Colombia is, I believe, one of our closest allies in the hemisphere, and an important trading partner. If confirmed, I would make every effort to continue our close cooperation with the Colombian government, holding them to their commitments to rein in drug production and trafficking. I would also seek to review the details of Colombia's recent peace agreement, and determine the extent to which the United States should continue to support it.

112. Venezuela – In 2016, Venezuela delivered the world’s worst economic performance in terms of GDP contraction and inflation. As the country has moved towards economic collapse, widespread shortages of essential medicines and basic food products have created an increasingly urgent humanitarian situation. This situation is complicated by an authoritarian government whose members are engaged in widespread corruption and, in the case of some officials, direct involvement in the drug trade. If confirmed, what policy tools do you recommend the United States use to resolve or mitigate the growing humanitarian crisis and collapsing economy Venezuela? How will you work with other governments in the region to address the challenges in Venezuela?

I think we are in full agreement as to the calamity that has befallen Venezuela, largely a product of its incompetent and dysfunctional government—first under Hugo Chavez, and now under his designated successor, Nicolas Maduro. If confirmed, I would urge close cooperation with our friends in the hemisphere, particularly Venezuela’s neighbors Brazil and Colombia, as well as multilateral bodies such as the OAS, to seek a negotiated transition to democratic rule in Venezuela. In the end, it will be rebuilt political institutions, led by brave Venezuelan democracy and human-rights advocates, that will pave the way for the kinds of reforms needed to put Venezuela on the path to economic recovery.

113. Brazil – Since March 2014, an ongoing legal probe in Brazil has uncovered billions of dollars of corruption and led to the arrest of more than 160 people. In December 2016, pursuant to information uncovered in the aforementioned probe and in accordance with the Foreign Corrupt Practices Act, Brazilian company Odebrecht, S.A. and subsidiary Braskem, S.A. admitted that they had paid more than \$788 million in bribes to foreign government officials and agreed to a settlement of \$3.5 billion in penalties. Given your affirmative response to question G.1. in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee questionnaire and expressed commitment to supporting U.S. efforts globally to address corruption, if confirmed as Secretary of State, will you use your voice to express support for ongoing independent legal investigations of corruption in Brazil? If confirmed as Secretary of State, will you seek to ensure the independence of the criminal probe opened by a Brazilian federal prosecutor to examine potentially-corrupt investments in the hotel located at Rua Professor Coutinho Frois 10, Barra da Tijuca, Rio de Janeiro, State of Rio de Janeiro 22620-360, Brazil (formerly known as Trump Hotel Rio de Janeiro), as well as any possible links between corrupt investments and the companies that own, developed, or managed the hotel?

If confirmed, I would see it as my duty to seek enforcement of American laws, including such statutes as the Foreign Corrupt Practices Act. I do not believe it would be in the purview of the Secretary of State to interfere in another sovereign country’s internal legal deliberations—other than to ensure that if Americans are parties to a dispute that they are treated fairly, granted access to bona-fide legal counsel, and not discriminated against because of their American nationality.

114. Chabad Dispute: There is a legal dispute with Russia over the Schneerson Library, a collection of 12,000 books and 50,000 religious documents assembled by the Chabad-Lubavitch Hasidic movement over two centuries prior to World War II, and kept since in Russia. For decades the Chabad organization, which is based in Crown Heights, Brooklyn, has been trying to regain possession of the library, saying that it was illegally held by the Soviet authorities after the war. In 1991 a court in Moscow ordered the library turned over to the Chabad organization; the Soviet Union then collapsed, and the judgment was set aside by the Russian authorities. In 2010, Chabad took the dispute to federal court here in the United States. A federal judge ruled in favor of the Chabad organization, ordering Russia to turn over all Schneerson documents held at the Russian State Library, the Russian State Military Archive and elsewhere. Russian officials have refused to obey the court order.

Mr. Tillerson, if confirmed as Secretary of State, will you work with the Congress in convincing the Russian government to turn over the Schneerson Library?

This is a very important matter. I intend to engage with Congress to determine the best approach regarding the return of the Schneerson Library.