

# MEMBER DAY HEARING

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## HEARING BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ONE HUNDRED SIXTEENTH CONGRESS FIRST SESSION

DECEMBER 12, 2019

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## **MEMBER DAY HEARING**

**Thursday, December 12, 2019**

**House of Representatives,  
Committee on Foreign Affairs,**

*Washington, DC*

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:05 a.m., in room 2172, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Eliot L. Engel (chairman of the committee) presiding.

Chairman ENGEL. The committee will come to order.

Without objection, all members will have 5 days to submit statements, extraneous material, and questions for the record, subject to the length limitation in the rules.

We are here this morning to hear from our House colleagues about their legislative priorities in this committee's jurisdiction.

To all of you, welcome to the Foreign Affairs Committee. I am proud of the work that this committee has done so far this Congress, notably some of the most bipartisan successes in the House, done in partnership with my friend, Ranking Member McCaul.

We are pleased to have this opportunity today to hear from our colleagues about their legislative priorities, especially colleagues who do not sit on this committee. After brief opening remarks by myself and Ranking Member McCaul, each witness will have 5 minutes to testify and then answer questions from members of the committee. Witnesses testifying today will be recognized in the order in which they arrive.

As this hearing is intended to be primarily a listening session, I do not intend to engage in extended questioning of the witnesses. So I look forward to hearing your testimony.

And now I will recognize my friend, the ranking member, Mr. McCaul of Texas, for any opening remarks he might have.

Mr. MCCAUL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for convening this hearing this morning which gives members an opportunity to present their legislative ideas before this committee.

I want to take this opportunity to highlight how productive the House Foreign Affairs Committee has been over the last year. Sixty-eight measures have passed the House this year, most passed on a bipartisan basis and overwhelmingly.

And I would also like to thank all members of this committee, all three of us here, for their hard work and for remaining above partisan politics. As we always say, politics should stop at the water's edge. Our shared commitment to that ideology has helped us achieve many wins, and I look forward to many more.

I am especially proud we were able to come together to pass a comprehensive State authorization bill this year. Oversight of the Department is vital in helping our Foreign Services officers carry

out their mission. We also had two important measures related to our strong support of Hong Kong become public law this year.

You and I, Mr. Chairman, are actively working with our Senate counterparts to further increase that number. I look forward to working with you and hearing from our members today.

And with that, I yield back.

Chairman ENGEL. Mr. McCaul yields back. Thank you, Mr. McCaul.

I will now recognize our witnesses for 5 minutes each in the order in which they have arrived.

First is someone from my home State of New York. Our districts are actually quite close to each other. It is my pleasure to have her here, Representative Grace Meng, of New York.

**STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE GRACE MENG, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK**

Ms. MENG. Chairman Engel, Ranking Member McCaul, subcommittee Chairwoman Karen Bass, Ranking Member Chris Smith, and distinguished members of this committee, thank you for this opportunity to discuss several of my priorities that are under the jurisdiction of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. As a former member of this committee, it is great to be back in this room with so many friends.

First, I want to thank this committee for marking up two of my bills this year, the Refugee Sanitation Facility Safety Act, H.R. 615, which passed the House by unanimous consent in May, and the Divided Families Reunification Act, H.R. 1771, for which I am optimistic that it will soon be considered on the floor of the House.

One of my top priorities as a Member of Congress is protecting those who are vulnerable around the world, whether women and girls seeking an education or employment, those who lack access to basic services, or victims of natural disasters. As a member of the State and Foreign Operations House Appropriations Committee, I am proud to do what I can to help direct our Federal funding priorities to address these concerns.

Today, I want to bring to the attention of the committee two pieces of legislation: H.R. 4092, the Safe from the Start Act, which aims to prevent and respond to gender-based violence from the onset of emergencies. Too often international response efforts fail to recognize gender-based violence as a problem until a major disaster response effort is underway. This legislation is intended to help the humanitarian community take preventative measures and ensure that quality services are available for survivors from the onset of an emergency or crisis.

The Safe from the Start Act will increase dedicated GBV interventions, integrate GBV risk mitigation across all humanitarian sectors, and increase accountability.

I am thankful to the bipartisan co-leads of this legislation: Representative Chris Stewart, Lois Frankel, Mario Diaz-Balart, and Chrissy Houlahan, as well as the cosponsors who sit on this committee: Representatives Dean Phillips, Ted Lieu, Gregory Meeks, David Cicilline, Guy Reschenthaler, Dina Titus, Ted Deutch, and Adam Kinzinger.

In the new year, I will also be introducing the Youth, Peace, and Security Act. There are more than 1.8 billion youth in the world, the largest number to have ever existed. Youth populations have long been at the forefront of building peace in their communities by creating youth-led movements, organizations, and networks to mitigate negative effects of conflict and to prevent recurring cycles of violence.

Moreover, in countries in conflict, it will be the young people who will bear the burden of sustaining the peace over generations and leading their society from reconciliation to prosperity. This bill will authorize a youth coordinator, require a youth strategy, expand technical assistance to youth leaders, and create an emergency assistance fund. I look forward to introducing this legislation and hope to have the committee's support.

Thank you again for allowing me to testify, and I look forward to continuing working with this committee in the second session of the 116th Congress.

Thank you. I yield back.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Meng follows:]

*December 12, 2019*

**Congresswoman Grace Meng (NY-6)  
Testimony to the House Foreign Affairs Committee  
Member's Day Hearing**

Chairman Engel, Ranking Member McCaul, Subcommittee Chairwoman Karen Bass, Ranking Member Chris Smith, and distinguished members of this Committee, thank you for this opportunity to discuss several of my priorities that are under the jurisdiction of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. As a former Member of this Committee, it is great to be back in this room with so many friends.

First, I want to thank this Committee for marking up two of my bills this year: The Refugee Sanitation Facility Safety Act (H.R. 615), which passed the House by unanimous consent in May, and the Divided Families Reunification Act (H.R. 1771), for which I am optimistic that it will soon be considered on the floor of the House.

One of my top priorities as a Member of Congress is protecting those who are vulnerable around the world – whether women and girls seeking an education or employment, those who lack access to basic services, or victims of natural disasters. As a Member of the State and Foreign Operations House Appropriations Committee, I am proud to do what I can to help direct our federal funding priorities to address these concerns.

Today, I want to bring to the attention of the Committee two pieces of legislation:

**H.R. 4092, the Safe from the Start Act**, which aims to prevent and respond to Gender-Based Violence (GBV) from the onset of emergencies. Too often, international response efforts fail to recognize GBV as a problem until a major disaster response effort is underway. This legislation is intended to help the humanitarian community take preventative measures and ensure that quality services are available for survivors from the onset of an emergency or crisis. The Safe from the Start Act will increase dedicated GBV interventions, integrate GBV risk mitigation across all humanitarian sectors, and increase accountability. I am thankful to the bipartisan co-leads of this legislation: Representatives Chris Stewart, Lois Frankel, Mario Diaz-Balart, and Chrissy Houlahan, as well as the cosponsors who sit on this committee: Representatives Dean Phillips, Ted Lieu, Guy Reschenthaler, Gregory Meeks, David Cicilline, Dina Titus, Ted Deutch, and Adam Kinzinger.

In the new year, I will also be introducing the **Youth, Peace, and Security Act**. There are more than 1.8 billion youth in the world, the largest number to have ever existed. Youth populations have long been at the forefront of building peace in their communities by creating youth-led movements, organizations, and networks to mitigate negative effects of conflict and to prevent recurring cycles of violence. Moreover, in countries in conflict, it will be the young people who bear the burden of sustaining the peace over generations, and leading their society from reconciliation to prosperity. This bill will authorize a Youth Coordinator, require a Youth strategy, expand technical assistance to youth leaders, and create an emergency assistance fund. I look forward to introducing this legislation and hope to have this Committee's support.

Thank you again for allowing me to testify, and I look forward to continuing working with this Committee in the second session of the 116<sup>th</sup> Congress.



Chairman ENGEL. Thank you, Congresswoman, and welcome back home.

Ms. MENG. Thank you.

Chairman ENGEL. I remember when you were on this committee and contributed greatly to its well-being and the well-being of the issues that we take on all around the world. So thank you for coming back.

Our next witness is Representative Ed Case of Hawaii. I would like some of that weather in Hawaii. If you can box it up and send it here, I would be most appreciative.

**STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE ED CASE, A  
REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF HAWAII**

Mr. CASE. Thank you, Chair Engel, Ranking Member McCaul, Chair Sherman. Aloha. Thank you for the opportunity to testify today in support of this committee's and our Congress' legislative initiatives focused on the Pacific Islands, a critical region for my Hawaii and our country.

The Pacific Islands and their exclusive economic zones encompass a vast area of the Pacific Ocean, larger than the land area of Russia and China combined. Their challenges, opportunities, and our own engagements range across an equally wide spectrum, from defense to development, governance, the environment, and culture.

We have a shared history dating back hundreds of years, and too many of our own, of course, have shed blood and still lie buried or lost throughout these lands and waters.

The President's 2017 National Security Strategy and the 2018 National Defense Strategy rightly identify China as a central challenge and the Indo-Pacific as the region where the geopolitical competition between our countries, and quote, between free and repressive visions of world order, unquote, is taking place.

Earlier this year, DOD issued its Indo-Pacific Strategy Report that emphasized revitalized engagement in the Pacific Islands. In this, we are behind the curve as not only China, but our partner countries, including Australia, New Zealand, and Japan, have substantially ramped up their engagement over the past decade.

These Pacific Islands are critical to the United States, not only because of our shared interest, values, and history, but also because our country, of course, is part of them. Together, American Samoa, Guam, the Northern Marianas, and, of course, Hawaii provide vital links to this region, especially as Hawaii hosts the headquarters of the U.S. Indo-Pacific Command and its component commands and institutions that promote our interest in the Pacific Islands, such as the East-West Center and the Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies.

Given the importance of this region to our national security, I am very proud to have cofounded this year the first ever congressional Pacific Islands Caucus with my friends, the dean of this House, Mr. Young, and the chairman, Mr. Sherman, and ranking member, Mr. Yoho, of this committee's Subcommittee for Asia, the Pacific, and Nonproliferation.

I am here today to testify in support of a sound, cohesive, and long-term U.S. strategy of full engagement in this region across all areas.

This critical geopolitical competition in the Pacific Islands demands this whole-of-government strategy which enhances and balances our military edge with necessary additional increased development assistance and diplomatic and cultural engagement based on our shared values and history. Specifically, Congress should enact legislation building on the progress made by ARIA and the BUILD Act from last Congress to provide the right tools and authorize the necessary funding to compete against potential adversaries and maintain trust among our allies and partners in our leadership. This renewed effort is critical to our success.

A few months ago, I met with fellows of the East-West Center's Pacific Islands Leadership Program to discuss their perceptions of the United States and its role in the region. These young professionals and future leaders of their Pacific Island homes expressed to me their concern that the U.S. had neglected their part of the world. To them, the connective tissue that has long bound our nations and people's together was weakened by our perceived absence and strained by the rapidly changing regional dynamics.

To address this challenge, I hope to work with my caucus and this committee on new and renewed initiatives in three areas: diplomacy, development, and democracy. In diplomacy, this includes bolstering our presence in the Pacific Islands and participating more regularly and at more senior levels in existing regional organizations like the Pacific Islands Forum, the Pacific community, and more.

The development challenges in the Pacific Islands present additional opportunities for U.S. engagement, especially in healthcare, fisheries, and marine resource management, climate change, and U.S. trade and private sector investment.

Last, we must support democracy, good governance, and the rule of law in the Pacific Islands just as we do around the world. By doing so, we empower citizens in civil society to combat corruption and hold governments accountable in upholding their interest in sovereignty.

In conclusion, given the accelerating importance of the Pacific Islands to our national interest, I hope members of this committee and other members of our body will consider joining our Pacific Islands Caucus and work with us to send a strong signal of our commitment to our allies and partners in this region.

I look forward to working with the committee and its members and staff on achieving our goals in a region that will truly determine our place in a rapidly changing world for generations.

Thank you for your time and interest.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Case follows:]

**Member Day Testimony to the House Foreign Affairs Committee**

Congressman Ed Case (HI-01)

December 12, 2019

Chairman Engel, Ranking Member McCaul, distinguished members of the Committee:

Thank you for the opportunity to testify today in support of this Committee's and our Congress' full focus on the Pacific Islands, a critical region for my Hawai'i and our country.

The Pacific Islands and their exclusive economic zones encompass a vast area of the Pacific Ocean larger than the land areas of Russian and China combined. Their challenges, opportunities and our own engagements range across an equally wide spectrum, from defense to development, governance, the environment and culture. We have a shared history dating back hundreds of years, and too many of our own have shed blood and still lie buried or lost throughout these lands and waters.

The President's 2017 National Security Strategy and the 2018 National Defense Strategy rightly identify China as a central challenge and the Indo-Pacific as the region where the geopolitical competition between our countries and "between free and repressive visions of world order" is taking place.

Earlier this year, DoD issued its Indo-Pacific Strategy Report that emphasized revitalized engagement in the Pacific Islands. In this we are behind the curve, as not only China but our partner countries including Australia, New Zealand and Japan have substantially ramped up their engagement over the past decade.

These Pacific Islands are critical to the U.S. not only because of our shared interests, values and history but also because our country is part of them. Together, American Samoa, Guam, the Northern Marianas and, of course, Hawai'i provide vital links to the region, especially since Hawai'i hosts the headquarters of U.S. Indo-Pacific Command, its component commands

and institutions that promote our interests in the Pacific Islands, such as the East-West Center and the Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies.

Given the importance of this region to our national security, I am proud to have co-founded this year the first-ever Congressional Pacific Islands Caucus with my friends, the Dean of this House Mr. Young and the chairman and ranking member of this Committee's Subcommittee for Asia, the Pacific and Nonproliferation, Mr. Sherman and Mr. Yoho. I am here today to testify in support of a sound, cohesive and long-term U.S. strategy of full engagement in the region across all areas.

This critical geopolitical competition in the Pacific Islands demands this whole-of-government strategy, which enhances and balances our military edge with increased development assistance and diplomatic and cultural engagement based on our shared values and history. Specifically, Congress should enact legislation building on the progress made by ARIA and the BUILD Act from last Congress to provide the right tools and authorize the necessary funding to compete against potential adversaries and maintain trust among our allies and partners in our leadership.

This renewed effort is critical to our success. A few months ago, I met with fellows of the East-West Center's Pacific Islands Leadership Program to discuss their perceptions of the U.S. and its role in the region. These young professionals and future leaders of their Pacific island homes expressed to me their concern that the U.S. had neglected their part of the world. To them, the connective tissue that had long bound our nations and peoples together was weakened by our perceived absence and strained by the rapidly changing regional dynamics.

To address this challenge, I hope to work with my Caucus and this Committee on new and renewed initiatives in three areas: diplomacy, development and democracy.

In diplomacy, this includes bolstering our presence in the Pacific Islands and participating more regularly and at more senior levels in existing regional organizations like the Pacific Islands Forum, the Pacific Community, and more.

The development challenges in the Pacific Islands present additional opportunities for U.S. engagement, especially in health care, fisheries and marine resource management, climate change and U.S. trade and private-sector investment. Of particular importance is facilitating the circumstances for our Peace Corps to reenter these Pacific Island countries.

Lastly, we must support democracy, good governance and the rule of law in the Pacific Islands just as we do around the world. By doing so, we empower citizens and civil society to combat corruption and hold governments accountable in upholding their interests and sovereignty. The East-West Center in particular has done exceptional work in capacity building for Pacific Islands journalists, civil society and other leaders.

In conclusion, given the accelerating importance of the Pacific Islands to our national interests, I hope members of this Committee will consider joining our Pacific Islands Caucus and work with us to send a strong signal of our commitment to our allies and partners. I look forward to working with the Committee and its members and staff on achieving our goals in a region that will truly determine our place in a rapidly changing world for generations.

Thank you for your time and interest.

Chairman ENGEL. I thank you, Mr. Case, for testifying. I appreciate your remarks and certainly will consider them as the Foreign Affairs Committee considers its legislative priorities for next year. So thank you for coming here today.

Mr. CASE. Thank you.

Chairman ENGEL. OK. Next, my pleasure to call on Representative Al Green of Texas.

**STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE AL GREEN, A  
REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF TEXAS**

Mr. GREEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I would like to thank Chairman Engel, Ranking Member McCaul, and Mr. Sherman, and all other members of this august body for presenting me this opportunity to testify before the committee. I am on a mission of mercy. I would also like to thank them for your efforts, in particular for your leadership in sending a bicameral letter to the White House requesting the dispatch of special envoy for hostage affairs for Mr. Austin Tice. I am on a mission of mercy.

Because of you, the letter had support from 52 Senators, 120 Representatives, and for that, I am especially thankful. I am on a mission of mercy.

Mr. Tice is a former Marine Corps captain and a freelance journalist from Houston, Texas. He is an Eagle Scout. He grew up wanting to become an international correspondent for NPR. Mr. Tice was an outstanding student. He attended the University of Houston for 1 year, and then transferred to Georgetown University School of Foreign Service. His work was published in The Washington Post, McClatchy newspaper, as well as other forms of news media. He was enrolled in Georgetown Law School and had completed 2 years before his sudden disappearance.

In May 2012, Mr. Tice went to Syria as a freelance journalist to tell the story of the ongoing conflict there. He was abducted after being detained at a checkpoint in Damascus, and approximately a month later, a 43-second video emerged with the title, "Austin Tice is alive." I am on a mission of mercy.

The video showed Austin being held by a group of unidentified men with assault rifles. There has been absolutely no contact with his captors since. We can only imagine the horrors Mr. Austin Tice has been through the past 7 years.

The Tice family, whom I know quite well, Debra and Marc, and the U.S. Government are both confident that Mr. Tice is alive and have worked tirelessly for his release. The FBI has offered a \$1 million reward for information leading to his return. I am on a mission of mercy.

One of our most important responsibilities as elected officials is to protect the American people on both domestic and foreign soil. We have an obligation to Mr. Tice and his parents who have waited for over 7 years to see their son. I am indebted to all my colleagues across both Chambers and both sides of the aisle for their advocacy on behalf of Mr. Tice and his family, but I believe that we can still do more. This is why I am testifying today in support of my resolution, H. Res. 17.

This resolution expresses concern over the detention of Mr. Tice and encourages the Department of State, the office of Special Presidential Envoy for Hostage Affairs, and other U.S. Government entities to engage with Syria to facilitate Mr. Tice's safe release.

I have never given up on my constituents or family members of constituents who have been deported or detained by foreign governments. Seven years is simply too long for Mr. Tice to be separated from his loved ones. And I ask this committee to take up my resolution and show that Congress not only agrees with this sentiment, but also calls for his safe return.

I thank you again. And I would just simply add, I have been with the family on multiple occasions. They have visited Washington, DC. Mr. Tice's mother has gone to Syria. She has been to Lebanon. She has left no stone unturned, as is the case with his father. We believe him to be alive, and we believe that it is time to bring him home. I know that it is a rare circumstance for resolutions to be brought to the floor, but this is a mission of mercy. And I beg that you would give extreme consideration to the resolution so that we may do one additional thing to bring Mr. Tice home.

I yield back the balance of my time.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Green follows:]

**The Committee on Foreign Affairs  
Member Day Hearing  
Testimony of Congressman Al Green on  
H.Res. 17 – Expressing concern over the  
disappearance of Austin Tice**

I would like to thank Chairman Engel and Ranking Member McCaul for presenting me with this opportunity to testify before the Committee. I would also like to thank them for their efforts, in particular for their leadership in sending a bi-cameral letter to the White House requesting the dispatch of the Special Envoy for Hostage Affairs for Mr. Austin Tice. Because of you, the letter had support from 52 senators and 120 representatives and, for that, I am especially thankful.

Mr. Tice is a former Marine Corps Captain and freelance journalist from Houston, Texas. He is an Eagle Scout and grew up wanting to become an international correspondent for NPR. Mr. Tice was an outstanding student. He attended the University of Houston for one year and then transferred to the Georgetown University, School of Foreign Service.



His work was published in The Washington Post, McClatchy newspaper, and Agence France-Presse. He was enrolled in Georgetown Law School and had completed two years before his sudden disappearance.

In May of 2012, Mr. Tice went to Syria as a freelance journalist to tell the story of the ongoing conflict there. He was abducted after being detained at a checkpoint in Damascus and approximately a month later, a 43-second video emerged with the title “Austin Tice is Alive.”

The video showed Austin being held by a group of unidentified men with assault rifles. There has been absolutely no contact with his captors since. We can only imagine the horrors Mr. Tice has been through the past seven years. The Tice Family and the U.S. government are both confident that Mr. Tice is alive and have worked tirelessly for his release. The F.B.I. has offered a \$1 million reward for information leading to his return.

One of our most important responsibilities as elected officials is to protect the American people, on both

domestic and foreign soil. We have an obligation to Mr. Tice and his parents, who have waited for over seven years to see their son.

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I thank you again and welcome any questions you may have about my resolution or Austin Tice.

Chairman ENGEL. Well, thank you, Congressman, and certainly appreciate your remarks, and we will certainly consider them as the Foreign Affairs Committee does its legislative priorities for next year.

I know Mr. McCaul wanted to make a statement or ask some questions.

Mr. MCCAUL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. And let me thank you—excuse me, I have a cold today—Congressman Green. I met the parents myself as well. I join you in your mission of mercy. I want to thank you for bringing this resolution to the committee's attention, and I hope the U.S. Government can exercise all its powers to bring Austin Tice back home to Texas, and we will give your resolution due consideration. And, in fact, I do not want to jump ahead of the chairman, but I, myself, speaking for myself, am very supportive. So thank you.

Mr. GREEN. I thank the gentleman very much.

Chairman ENGEL. Thank you. And we will be—we will certainly be in touch.

Mr. GREEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman ENGEL. Thank you.

Next is Congressman French Hill from Arkansas. Welcome.

**STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE FRENCH HILL, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF ARKANSAS**

Mr. HILL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member McCaul, members of the committee. Thank you for letting members come before you today and testify on their priorities.

Today, I would like to talk about my resolution, H. Res. 49, Supporting Coptic Christians in Egypt, which has a diverse and bipartisan coalition of members that cosponsor it. My Democratic lead on H. Res. 49 is my friend on Foreign Affairs Committee, Member Dave Cicilline. My resolution currently has 71 cosponsors, including 25 from this committee.

I introduced this resolution in the 115th Congress, following a 2017 trip to Egypt. While preparing for the trip, visiting the country, and returning home, I repeatedly heard about the plight of Coptic Christians in Egypt. Although the Copts have been the victims of numerous terrorist attacks by groups like ISIS, what is most disturbing to me are the attacks against Copts that are carried out by their fellow Egyptians.

Most recently in Minya province in upper Egypt in late November, a mother and her son were stabbed by a Muslim man while sitting in front of their home after being told that Christians are not allowed outside. Luckily, they were not killed. Sadly, this is a persistent narrative in Minya.

The 2018 and 2019 State Department reports on religious freedom in Egypt mention specifically Minya province as an area of concern more than any other province in the country.

Also in late November, Ramy Kamel, a Coptic Christian and founder of Coptic Christian Rights Organization, was arrested by the Egyptian police and accused of numerous terrorism-related charges. It is also reported that he has undergone intensive inter-

rogation and has been given no legal representation. Unfortunately, cases like this in Egypt are becoming more numerous.

Our country and our citizens over the generations have worked mightily to live up to the values and inalienable rights granted to us by God above and enshrined in our founding documents, especially the vocal support of free expression abroad, particularly in the form of advocacy for religious tolerance and freedom, the rule of law, human rights, and education for women and minorities. These are fundamental tenets of our foreign policy.

In my work on this resolution here in the House, I continue to give voice to this very American ideal.

Likewise, I have met with religious leaders from all across the Levant, from Lebanon, to Syria, Iraq, and in Jerusalem, with an eye toward better shaping American and allied support of Christians and other persecuted religious minorities in the region.

I have great respect for Egyptian President el-Sisi, and I applaud the changes and message that he has made in the areas of religious tolerance. He continues to say and do the right things at the top level of government, and Egypt is a good partner with the United States. President el-Sisi has a good relationship with the Coptic Pope, attends mass on multiple occasions, has reconstructed destroyed churches, constructing the largest Christian cathedral in the Middle East in the new administrative center in Egypt. He has held terrorists accountable for their atrocities.

However, I believe there is more that can be done. And as the second highest receiver of American military support, the U.S. Government must use its tools and hold our allies like Egypt to a higher standard in order to receive our aid.

It is in this regard that I believe the one vehicle readily available to this committee to highlight the United States Government's concern of the treatment of the Coptic Christians in Egypt is my resolution, H.Res. 49.

Let's recall President Reagan's admonition as to our responsibility. Respect for human rights is not social work. It is not merely an act of compassion. It is the first obligation of a government and the source of its legitimacy.

I appreciate, Chairman Engel, your leadership on this committee. Ranking Member McCaul, I appreciate the opportunity to testify before you on this important matter. And with your permission, I would like to add a supplemental item that complies with your page limitation to the—for the record.

Chairman ENGEL. Without objection.

Mr. HILL. I thank the chairman, and I appreciate the opportunity to be with you today.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Hill follows:]

**Congressman French Hill  
House Foreign Affairs Committee Member Day  
Written Testimony  
Thursday, December 12, 2019**

Chairman Engel, Ranking Member McCaul, and Members of the Committee:

I appreciate the opportunity to testify in front of you today about my resolution, H.Res. 49, Supporting Coptic Christians in Egypt, which has a diverse and bipartisan coalition of members that cosponsor it.

My Democratic lead on H.Res. 49 is my friend and Foreign Affairs Committee member, David Cicilline of Rhode Island. My resolution currently has 71 cosponsors, including 25 on the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

I introduced this resolution in the 115<sup>th</sup> Congress following a 2017 visit to Egypt, and while preparing for the trip, visiting the country, and returning home, I repeatedly heard about the plight of the Coptic Christians in Egypt. Although the Copts have been victims of numerous terrorist attacks by groups like ISIS, what is most disturbing to me is the attacks against Copts carried out by their fellow Egyptians.

Most recently in Minya province in Upper Egypt, in late November, a mother and her son were stabbed by a Muslim man while sitting in front of their home after being told that Christians were not allowed outside. Luckily, they were not killed.<sup>1</sup> Sadly, this is a persistent narrative in Minya. The 2018 and 2019 State Department reports on religious freedom in Egypt mention Minya Province more than any other in the province in the country.

Also, in late November, Ramy Kamel, a Coptic Christian and founder of a Coptic Christian Rights organization, was arrested by Egyptian police and has been accused of numerous terrorism related charges. It is also reported that he has undergone “intensive interrogation” and has been given no legal representation.<sup>2</sup>

Unfortunately, cases like this in Egypt are becoming more numerous.

Our country and our citizens over the generations have worked mightily to live up to the values and unalienable rights granted us by God above and enshrined in our founding documents, especially the vocal support of free expression abroad particularly in the form of advocacy for religious tolerance and freedom; the rule of law; human rights; education for women and minorities. These are fundamental tenets of our foreign policy.

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<sup>1</sup> *Morning Star News*. “Coptic Christian Family Attacked in Upper Egypt; Adult Son in Intensive Care.” Wednesday, November 20, 2019. <https://www.christianheadlines.com/blog/coptic-christian-family-attacked-in-upper-egypt-adult-son-in-intensive-care.html>

<sup>2</sup> Mbakwe, Tola. *Premier Christianity*. “Christian activist facing terror related charges in Egypt.” [https://www.premierchristianity.com/News/World\\_Christian-activist-facing-terror-related-charges-in-Egypt](https://www.premierchristianity.com/News/World_Christian-activist-facing-terror-related-charges-in-Egypt)

In this regard, I'm grateful that President Trump has prioritized this critical tenet by hosting the Ministerial to Advance Religious Freedom in 2018 and 2019 at the State Department. In my work on this resolution here in the House I continue to give voice to this very American ideal of religious tolerance.

Likewise, I've met with religious leaders from all across the Levant from Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, and Jerusalem with an eye towards better shaping American and allied support of Christians and other persecuted religious minorities.

This past February, Pope Francis together with the Grand Imam from Egypt's important Al-Azhar Mosque, issued a message on Human Fraternity inviting "all persons who have faith in God and faith in human fraternity to unite and work together so that it may serve as a guide for future generations to advance a culture of mutual respect in the awareness of the great divine grace that makes all human beings brothers and sisters."

This public coming together of Catholicism and Islam is a powerful statement to all governments around the world, but particularly those in the Middle East, to support religious freedom and religious tolerance.

I found this document signing with the Grand Imam of Al-Azhar particularly important given the martyrdom of the 21 Copts brutally beheaded on a Libyan beach in 2015, and the suicide attack in 2016 that killed more than two dozen in the Coptic St. Peter and St. Paul's Church in Cairo, which I visited on my trip to Egypt in 2017.

I have great respect for Egyptian President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi, and I applaud the changes and message that he has made in the area of religious tolerance. He continues to say and do the right things at the top level of government. This includes having a good relationship with the Coptic Pope, attending mass on multiple occasions, reconstructing churches, constructing the largest Christian Cathedral in the Middle East in the "new" administrative center, and holding terrorists accountable for their atrocities.

However, I believe there is more to do, and as the second highest receiver of annual American military aid in the world, the United States Government must use the tools we have to hold our allies, like Egypt, to a higher standard if they are to continue to receive our aid.

It is in that regard, that I believe one vehicle readily available to this committee to highlight the U.S. government's concern of the treatment of Coptic Christians in Egypt is my resolution, H.Res. 49.

Let's recall President Reagan's admonition as to our responsibility: "Respect for human rights is not social work; it is not merely an act of compassion. It is the first obligation of government and the source of its legitimacy."

Thank you again for the opportunity to testify to you this morning, I look forward to working with you on this issue going forward.

Chairman ENGEL. Thank you. We appreciate you coming. And, you know, when I hear French Hill, I think of this area around Jerusalem.

Mr. HILL. It is a great place for coffee.

Chairman ENGEL. Thank you for coming.

Mr. HILL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman ENGEL. Now, Representative Chip Roy of Texas.

**STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE CHIP ROY, A  
REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF TEXAS**

Mr. ROY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I thank the ranking member, and appreciate you all giving us the courtesy of being able to come and speak about some matters that are important to us and legislation that we think might be important for this committee to consider.

My colleague, Representative Green from Tennessee, and I introduced legislation earlier this year, called the Drug Cartel Terrorist Designation Act, calling on the administration to designate certain cartels—and that is a very important distinction—certain cartels as foreign terrorist organizations.

Ten other members joined this bill—joined—I am sorry—a letter also to Secretary Pompeo that reiterated this request.

Specifically, H.R. 1700 requests the foreign terrorist organization designation for the following cartels: The Reynosa, Los Metros faction of the Gulf Cartel, the Jalisco New Generation Cartel, and the Cartel Del Noreste that is affiliated with Los Zetas.

I know that the chairman and the ranking member in this committee is well aware of the extent to which cartels have operational control of the border, particularly in my home State of Texas and that of the ranking member. We know the extraordinary impact those cartels are having, not only on the border communities, but our Nation as a whole, our national security, as well as our friends to the south in Mexico, in destabilizing the region, not just in terms of drug trafficking, not just in terms of the economic impact, not in terms of just the profit of the cartels, which is massive, but our overall national security and stability and the political stability of Mexico, and impacting even our local politics in south Texas, where the Rio Grande Valley politicians are often under the thumb of the cartels with their reach across the border.

What we have seen in recent months is troubling. And we know, we have seen, according to the congressional Research Service, since 2006, there have been roughly 150,000 organized crime-related killings in Mexico alone. We have seen numbers even as high as 200,000 or more.

Council on Foreign Relations paper updated in October of this year reports that murders are soaring in Mexico, and homicide reached a new high of 36,000. Now, that alone is not necessarily something that would say you want to move in the direction of a foreign terrorist organization designation, but the extent to which they have political influence, the extent to which that is a destabilizing force in Mexico and along our border is, I think, something that we should take note.

In October, 35 Mexican police and National Guard troops were surrounded and outgunned by cartel forces, ultimately forcing to



release drug lord Ovidio Guzman, otherwise known as El Chapo's son.

Mexico's Citizens' Council for Public Security lists that 42 of the 50 most violent cities in the world are in Latin America, and this is a direct result of cartels. We know about the drug trafficking, we know the danger. But even with the decrease in the amount of the human toll and the trafficking this fall, because of our engagement with Mexico, we saw mountains of fentanyl coming across our border. We can get the recent stats and we can pull them up, but the amount of fentanyl, heroine, cocaine pouring across our border is extraordinary. And we are seeing the direct impact in terms of the opioid abuse in our country. And I think that this is something that we ought to consider.

And I know that a number of my colleagues are concerned about what this might do to the Return to Mexico program or other policies in terms of how we engage in Mexico because of the perceived danger of returning people to a country where you have got cartel control. To those who are concerned about that in the State Department or in the White House or in this body, I would say, Mexico is as dangerous as Mexico is.

There are five States that are designated level 4 States by the State Department. Tamaulipas is one of those. That is a no-travel zone. This is not the Mexico of our parents and grandparents. I mean, this is—you know, you do not go down there and go grab some lunch and just hang out for the afternoon in Reynosa. It is dangerous. I have sat overnight twice this year down in McAllen, sitting next to the river, listening to gunfire across the river. I mean, it is a dangerous zone, and this is literally in our backyard and it is on fire.

And as we have got people around the world right now defending the United States, I think we ought to be focusing on Mexico in our backyard. These organizations kill people. They post videos killing people. They put bodies in barrels of sulfuric acid. They behead people. There were seven bodies found alongside the road. There were nine hanging from a bridge. Twenty-seven people were locked in a bar and burned to death. This is the action of the cartels right in our backyard.

I would bring up one final point in the last minute I have. I wrote an op-ed in September pointing out that we had crossed the milestone of 18 years since the authorization of force in September 2001. That means we have people that are enlisting in the Armed Forces today who were not alive when we passed the authorization of force under which they are now fighting.

I think in light of what we have seen now coming out from The Washington Post reports this week, some of the question marks about what we are accomplishing in Afghanistan, as many good things as our men and women in uniform have done—and they have done enormously great things that are important for our national security—we ought to be taking a long, hard look at what we are asking our men and women in uniform to do, in particular in Afghanistan.

And I think it is incumbent upon this body to have a clear mission for our men and women in uniform, to speak with one united voice on that front, even as we are seeing some of this information

come in overseas. And I think we should have a renewed focus, as I already said, on the Western Hemisphere, in our backyard and what's going on in Mexico.

I appreciate the time of the chairman. I appreciate you opening up this day for us to come visit. Thank you all.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Roy follows:]

**Rep. Chip Roy (TX-21) Testimony for House Foreign Affairs Committee  
Member Day | December 12, 2019**

**FTO Precedents for Narco-terrorist Organizations:**

There is ample precedent for designating narco-terrorist organizations as FTOs. The Sendero Luminoso or “Shining Path” FTO of Peru is one example. There is even some evidence that as a part of its narco-terrorist activities, Shining Path has engaged in substantial cooperation with Colombian traffickers, as well as Mexico's Sinaloa Cartel.

Regarding Colombian traffickers, the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia, or FARC, despite pretensions at Marxist ideology, is the country's largest drug trafficking organization. It is also an FTO. As with Shining Path, there are reports that FARC has links with, and has conducted military-style training for, Mexico's Jalisco Cartel.

**H.R. 1700:**

Earlier this year, Rep. Mark Green and I introduced the “Drug Cartel Terrorist Designation Act” calling on the administration to designate certain cartels as foreign terrorist organizations. 10 other members joined you and Green in a letter to Secretary Pompeo that reiterated this request.

Specifically, H.R. 1700 requests FTO designation for the following cartels:

1. The Reynosa/Los Metros faction of the Gulf Cartel.
2. The Jalisco New Generation Cartel.
3. The Cartel Del Noreste faction of Los Zetas.

**Additional TPs:**

- We worked with federal and state experts in order to focus on cartels that fit the definition outlined above in section 219 of the INA.
- Many DEA agents and members of law enforcement have long requested narcoterrorism cartels be labeled as FTOs.
- These groups use terror to intimidate and to advance their agenda. They threaten the stability of governments across the globe. And even the UN's

Security Council has recognized the clear link between drug trafficking and terrorism.

- Many drug cartels are based in Latin America, regions which have seen decades of ruthless violence.
  - According to a Congressional Research Service report, since 2006 there have been roughly 150,000 organized crime-related killings in Mexico alone.
  - A Council on Foreign Relations paper, updated on October 22, 2019, reports that murders are soaring in Mexico, often linked to drug cartels.
  - Homicides reached a new high of 36,000 in 2018 and in 2019 murders have averaged 90 a day.
- Police killings in Sonora have doubled this year according to a Mexico City consulting firm. (The border states of Sonora and Chihuahua are largely controlled by the cartels due to their access to the U.S.).
- In October, 35 Mexican police and national guard troops were surrounded and out-gunned by cartel forces, ultimately forced to release drug lord Ovidio Guzman, El Chapo's son.
- Mexico's Citizens' Council for Public Security lists that 42 of the 50 most violent cities in the world are in Latin America. Many of these cities are more dangerous than war zones.
- Drug cartels have committed heinous acts of terrorism, from carrying out bombings that have killed innocent people, conducting ISIS-style beheadings, assassinating government officials and members of law enforcement, and engaging in torture and indiscriminate murder.
- In 2016, Americans spent almost \$150 billion on cocaine, heroine, meth, marijuana, and synthetic opioids like fentanyl – the vast majority of which comes across our southern border. This is more than Americans spend on gambling, porn, or beer consumption.

- The staggering amount of money cartels make from selling drugs to Americans allows them to bribe government officials on both sides of the border.
- Cartels are also now in the business of human smuggling – charging a \$5,000 fee for illegal entry into the U.S. It is difficult to ascertain an exact amount made each year, but in fiscal year 2019, Border Patrol apprehended 851,508 people attempting to illegally cross our southern border. Officials believe at least a third are brought by cartels, though it's likely much higher. Not counting those who entered the country without detection, that's a profit of at least \$1.4 billion last year.
- The number of trafficking cases filed by DOJ increased by 79% between 2009 and 2016. About 80% of trafficked victims are women, half are children.
- Law enforcement should have every tool at their disposal to dismantle drug cartels. Labeling cartels that utilize terrorism as FTOs would make it unlawful for any person who knowingly provides “material support or resources” to the cartel to enter the U.S., prevent members of a designated cartel from legally entering the country, and allow the Secretary of the Treasury to block all assets possessed or controlled by the drug cartels.
- These dangerous groups terrorize through fear, intimidation, violence, and murder to control the government and bend society to their will. It is clear to the men and women of Border Patrol and those on the ground that cartels have operational control of our border, which endangers the U.S., Mexico, and the migrants who seek to come here.

#### **Authorization for Use of Military Force**

Additionally, Mr. Chairman and Ranking Member, I want to draw attention to one other issue very important to me and my constituents, the more than 18 year-old AUMF our men and women in uniform continue to operate under on missions overseas in more than a dozen countries.

It is time our nation's leaders clarify our mission in the Middle East and define victory for a new generation of warriors.

The 107th Congress passed, and President Bush signed into law an AUMF in response to the terrorist attacks on 9/11. The American people demanded action and our leaders provided a strong response.

As we always have, Americans bled around the globe to protect liberty and the national security of the U.S. and our allies. The men and women who have deployed in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Syria have done a remarkable job combatting terror abroad. Osama bin Laden is dead. Saddam Hussein is dead. 9/11 mastermind Khalid Shaikh Mohammed is standing trial. Afghanistan is holding democratic elections later this month. We have pummeled Al Qaeda and kept attacks away from American soil. And in October, we killed the ruthless leader of ISIS; Abu Bakr Al-Baghdadi.

While we have accomplished a great deal, we have also lost roughly 7,000 brave patriots, seen almost 70,000 physically wounded—not to mention countless invisible wounds--and currently have an estimated 20,000 or so boots on the ground in the Middle East. Now that we are a full generation into a war, Congress must answer: what is our objective?

On Sept. 18, 2001, Congress authorized the president to go after “those nations, organizations, or persons he determines planned, authorized, committed, or aided the terrorist attacks that occurred on September 11, 2001, or harbored such organizations or persons.” Today, the same authorization of force is being used to justify U.S. military activities in more than a dozen countries, including Yemen and Somalia.

Wars must eventually end. It is in our national interest to conclude them once our strategic objectives have been reached. If our objectives are not realistic and obtainable, our men and women in uniform deserve to know when the war ends. We did not have clarity of mission in Iraq, nor did we have a long-term stability plan. What was the result? ISIS filled the void. We must do better in Afghanistan to avoid a similar fate.

As we stand today, it remains necessary to decide the long-term plan for consolidating victory in Afghanistan and for stabilizing Iraq, Syria, and protecting our interests and allies in the region. Terrorism and violent extremism will never go away. Look no further than Iran, whose continued aggression toward Israel and efforts to de-stabilize the region requires serious resolve regarding our force posture and commitments to our allies there.

We must continue to fight terrorism while re-aligning our larger strategy to modernize our forces to manage Russia or China – the growing near-peer threats of our time. We can do so while securing our own sovereignty and addressing the evils of trafficking, smuggling, and terrorism in our own hemisphere which continue to plague us.

I am honored to represent Military City, USA, including Fort Sam Houston, the Army Futures Command, and tens of thousands of veterans in my district. We are blessed with a strong and proud military, and they deserve a clear mission, the tools to accomplish it, and robust care when they get home.

We will be held accountable for the votes we cast on fiscal matters, including spending taxpayer treasure on war and we should act like it by spending responsibly. But as we go forward, we should ensure the collective will of the American people is invested behind the costliest expenditure of our nation – the lives, the families, and the livelihoods of our men and women in uniform.

Congress did its job boldly declaring war after 9/11 but has since abdicated its solemn responsibility under Article 1. Even yesterday, we all voted on the NDAA Conference Report, to equip our men and women in uniform and give them a pay increase. But we have to do more, and I hope this committee will seriously entertain proposals and mark-up new AUMF's for the war on terror. We cannot just give our men and women the tools to fight, but withhold mission clarity they deserve when they are fighting to the death to protect and defend our liberties.

Congress needs to come to a consensus regarding which threats and entities necessitate military action, or other appropriate responses. If not for the man or woman who is on his or her 4th, 5th, or 6th deployment, then for the young man or woman who recently turned 18 and will deploy in the coming months to fight a war he or she wasn't even alive to see begin.

Chairman ENGEL. Thank you, Congressman, for testifying.  
And I know Mr. McCaul wanted to make some brief remarks.

Mr. MCCAUL. Well, I guess he is leaving.

Hey, Congressman Roy.

Mr. ROY. Sorry.

Mr. MCCAUL. Just one quick—I share your concern, being from Texas. I think their tactics are like acts of terrorism. When I chaired Homeland Security Committee, I saw the videos time and time again. And so I actually—interestingly, I introduced this bill in 2006, and it sat in the Judiciary Committee, which I think is the committee of jurisdiction for this. And since that time, we passed the Kingpin Act, which does put sanctions on the cartels. It is a good step forward.

Mr. ROY. Agreed.

Mr. MCCAUL. But certainly take a look at the bill. But I do think it probably lies within the jurisdiction of Judiciary, and I would encourage you to talk to—

Mr. ROY. Yep.

Mr. MCCAUL [continuing]. The committee members over there as well.

Mr. ROY. I agree. And the point of coming here today was just the considerable expertise in this committee and how important this is from a national security and foreign relations standpoint. Whether it is that bill or others, we should be taking a very specific and targeted process of how we are targeting the cartels. So appreciate that.

Mr. MCCAUL. We thank you for that. And I see your daughter's waiting for you.

Mr. ROY. She is, patiently. She is looking forward to the White House Christmas party tonight. So—

Mr. MCCAUL. We will see you there.

Chairman ENGEL. Have a good time, and thank you for testifying.

Next, Representative John Garamendi of California, who would win a contest for the nicest Christmas card that we have received with all the grandchildren and everything else. So congratulations.

**STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE JOHN GARAMENDI, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA**

Mr. GARAMENDI. Thank you. Indeed, Patti and I are blessed with that family. Thank you.

Mr. Chairman, Mr. McCaul, and Mr. Sherman, thank you very much for the opportunity to spend some time with you today. I am here to speak on behalf of my legislation, H.R. 3456, the Peace Corps Reauthorization Act. And I respectfully request that you include this legislation in any upcoming hearing that you may have with the director of the Peace Corps on Peace Corps issues.

I want to thank my fellow Peace Corps Caucus co-chairs, Representative Joe Kennedy of Massachusetts and Garret Graves of Louisiana, for their support as original cosponsors.

Like successive generations of young Americans, my wife Patti and I answered President Kennedy's call and served in the Peace Corps in Ethiopia, 1966 to 1968.



Since the establishment of the Peace Corps in 1961, more than 230,000 Americans have volunteered and served in 141 countries around the world. Today, there are some 8,000 Peace Corps volunteers serving in 65 countries.

However, Congress last reauthorized the Peace Corps in 1999. And that was Public Law 106-30, which did expire at the end of the Fiscal Year of 2003.

Now, more than ever, Congress must support the Peace Corps' mission and realize President Kennedy's vision of generations of young Americans ready to serve their Nation and make the world a better place, both overseas and here in America.

Our Peace Corps Reauthorization Act of 2019 would do just that by providing additional Federal resources to better support current, returning, and former Peace Corps volunteers by doing the following things: Authorizing \$450 million per Fiscal Year for the Peace Corps, an increase over the flat \$410 million funding level provided by Congress in most recent years; also increasing the monthly allowance for Peace Corps volunteers and leaders to \$417 per month of service completed to reflect the increased cost of living; and provide a \$10,000 for a full 2-year term of service.

It also extends the Peace Corps volunteers' Federal hiring preference during any hiring freezes, government shutdowns, or while volunteer receives workers' compensation benefits for an injury occurred during their Peace Corps service. Also increases the workers' compensation rate for all Peace Corps volunteers injured or disabled during their service from the Federal GS-7 to a GS-11 level, the same rate provided for Peace Corps volunteers with dependent children under current law.

As co-chair of the congressional Peace Corps Caucus, I am proud to continue this work in support of the Peace Corps mission, its volunteers, and the indelible impact their service has had on the lives of needy people around the world. I hope to work with you, Mr. Chairman, and Ranking Member McCaul and the other members of the committee, to advance the Peace Corps Reauthorization Act in this Congress.

Our bipartisan bill is endorsed by the National Peace Corps Association. So, Mr. Chairman, I certainly would hope that you would commit to work with us on holding a hearing.

I thank you, and yield the remaining time that I have.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Garamendi follows:]

**CONGRESSMAN JOHN GARAMENDI (D-CA)**  
*Peace Corps Reauthorization Act*

**MR. GARAMENDI:** Mr. Chairman, thank you for allowing me to testify today. I am here to speak on behalf of my H.R. 3456, the "Peace Corps Reauthorization Act," and respectfully request that you include my bipartisan legislation in any upcoming hearing with the Director of the Peace Corps.

I also want to thank my fellow Peace Corps Caucus co-chairs, Representatives Joe Kennedy (D-MA) and Garrett Graves (R-LA), for their support as original cosponsors.

Like successive generations of young Americans, my wife Patti and I answered President John F. Kennedy's call and served in the Peace Corps in Ethiopia from 1966-1968.

Since the establishment of the Peace Corps' in 1961, more than 230,000 American volunteers have served in 141 countries around the world. Today, there are some 8,000 Peace Corps volunteers serving in 65 countries.

However, Congress last reauthorized the Peace Corps in 1999 (Public Law 106-30), which expired at the end of fiscal year 2003.

Now more than ever, Congress must support the Peace Corps' mission and realize President Kennedy's vision of generations of young Americans, ready to serve their nation and make the world a better place.

Our "Peace Corps Reauthorization Act of 2019" would do just that by providing additional federal resources to better support current, returning, and former Peace Corps volunteers by:

- Authorizing \$450 million per fiscal year for the Peace Corps, an increase over the flat \$410 million funding level provided by Congress in recent years.
- Increasing monthly allowances for Peace Corps volunteers and leaders to \$417 per month of service completed, to reflect increases in the cost of living and provide \$10,000 for a full 2-year term of service.

- Extending Peace Corps volunteers' federal hiring preference during any hiring freeze, government shutdown, or while a volunteer receives worker's compensation benefits for an injury during their Peace Corps service.
- Increasing the workers' compensation rate for all Peace Corps volunteers injured or disabled during their service from a federal GS-7 to a GS-11 level, the same rate provided for Peace Corps volunteers with dependent children under current law.

As co-chair of the Congressional Peace Corps Caucus, I am proud to continue this work in support of the Peace Corps' mission, its volunteers, and the indelible impact their service has on the lives of needy people the world over.

I hope to work with you, Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member McCaul, and other Members of the Committee to advance the "Peace Corps Reauthorization Act" this Congress.

Our bipartisan bill is endorsed by the National Peace Corps Association.

So Mr. Chairman, will you please commit to working with us and holding a hearing?

Thank you, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Chairman ENGEL. Thank you. Thanks very much for testifying. And we all appreciate your remarks and certainly will consider them as the Foreign Affairs Committee does its legislative priorities for the coming year. So thank you, and I know we will have further conversation about this.

Mr. GARAMENDI. Indeed, we will, and I will catch the three of you on the floor.

Chairman ENGEL. OK.

Mr. GARAMENDI. Thank you so very much.

Chairman ENGEL. It is a deal. Thank you.

OK. Thank you. And now we have Representative Bryan Steil of Wisconsin.

**STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE BRYAN STEIL, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF WISCONSIN**

Mr. STEIL. Thank you, Chairman Engel, and thank you, Ranking Member McCaul. It is also good to see my colleague from my home committee, Financial Services, Mr. Sherman, with us here today. I appreciate all of your commitment to addressing the scourge that is human trafficking. I am here today to shed light on an issue that affects every corner of this Nation and every country in this world: human trafficking.

Human trafficking is a horrendous crime that represents a real threat across the United States and, in particular, to the people of southeast Wisconsin. This is not just a far-away problem. Human trafficking has been reported in every county in the State of Wisconsin. Boys, girls, men, women, all ages, nationalities, and backgrounds are victims of human trafficking.

More than 500,000 people are trafficked across international borders every year. More than 14,000 women, children, and men are trafficked in the United States. This is a global epidemic. Criminals have become organized and sophisticated in their ways, making human trafficking a lucrative industry.

The International Labor Organization estimates more than \$150 billion in illegal profits is made from forced labor each year. If there is a profit to be made, these criminals will take advantage of it. That is where a nonpartisan solution comes into play to deter these crimes from occurring.

Currently, the United States uses the Trafficking in Persons Report to engage foreign governments to combat human trafficking. Governments will report their efforts to stop human trafficking within their own country. Foreign aid is then given to these countries based on their strides to prevent these crimes. However, while Trafficking in Person Reports evaluates several criteria, there is no requirement to showcase a country's efforts to disrupt the illicit financing of human trafficking.

In April, I introduced my first bill, the Exposing the Financing of Human Trafficking Act. This nonpartisan bill holds countries accountable for their involvement in human trafficking.

The Exposing Financing of Human Trafficking Act requires countries to report their efforts to investigate, prevent, and prosecute financial crimes associated with human trafficking. Right now, countries that receive U.S. aid have no responsibility to report their ef-

fort to prevent money laundering from human trafficking. We can change this. We must follow the money.

And while this bill may be a simple change, it will have a global impact on how countries combat human trafficking. Forty-seven of my colleagues have joined me in this effort, many whom are members of this committee. Not only does this bill strengthen our effort to combat human trafficking—traffickers' use of the domestic financial system, it importantly encourages other countries to cutoff traffickers from the global financial system.

This effort is just one piece of the puzzle. Fighting human trafficking requires a multifaceted approach. That is why awareness campaigns, school counselors, teachers, law enforcement officers all play a vital role.

I am thankful to the southeast Wisconsin law enforcement community. Many of our county sheriffs and police officers are working diligently on human trafficking. We have to work together, all of us, Democrats and Republicans, local, State, Federal, international partners, to take this crisis head on.

I am going to continue to work with my community in southeast Wisconsin to address this problem, and I will continue to fight this issue here in Congress. Bringing attention to human trafficking is a necessary first step, and passing this legislation and other anti-human trafficking bills is the next step. Our work is not done.

So, today, I ask the committee to mark up the Exposing the Financing of Human Trafficking Act. I am confident it would pass with broad bipartisan support on both sides of the aisle. And thank you again to Chairman Engel and Ranking Member McCaul for the opportunity to speak here today and for your work on this issue. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Steil follows:]

**Representative Bryan Steil (WI-01)  
HFAC Member Day Hearing  
December 12, 2019**

**I. Introduction**

- Thank you for hosting today's Member hearing.
- Thank you to Chairman Eliot Engel and Ranking Member Michael McCaul for your commitment to the issue of human trafficking.

**II. The Human Trafficking Problem**

- I am here today to shine a light on issue that affects every corner of this nation and every country in the world—human trafficking.
- Human trafficking is a horrendous crime that presents a real threat to people in Southeast Wisconsin and around the globe.
- This isn't just a faraway problem—human trafficking has been reported in every Wisconsin county.
- Girls, boys, men, and women of all ages, nationalities, and backgrounds are victims of human trafficking.
- More than 500,000 people are trafficked across international borders every year. More than 14,000 women, children, and men are trafficked into the United States.
- This is a global epidemic.
- Criminals have become organized and sophisticated in their ways, making human trafficking a lucrative industry.
- The International Labor Organization estimates more than \$150 billion in illegal profit is made from forced labor each year.
- If there is a profit to be made, these criminals will take advantage of it.
- That is where a nonpartisan solution comes into play to deter these crimes from occurring.

**III. The United States' Role in Human Trafficking**

- Currently, the United States uses the Trafficking in Persons Report to engage foreign governments to combat human trafficking.
- Governments will report their efforts to stop human trafficking within their own country.
- Foreign aid is then given to these countries based on their strides to prevent these crimes.
- However, while the Trafficking in Persons Report evaluates several criteria, there is no requirement to showcase a country's efforts to disrupt the illicit financing of human trafficking.

**IV. The Exposing the Illicit Financing of Human Trafficking Act**

- In April, I introduced my first bill, the Exposing the Illicit Financing of Human Trafficking Act.
- This nonpartisan bill holds countries accountable for their involvement in human trafficking.

- The Exposing the Illicit Financing of Human Trafficking Act requires countries to report their efforts to investigate, prevent, and prosecute financial crimes associated with human trafficking.
- Right now, countries that receive U.S. aid have no responsibility to report their efforts to prevent money laundering from human trafficking.
- We must follow the money.
- And while this bill may be a simple change, it will have a global impact on how countries combat human trafficking.
- 47 of my colleagues have joined me in this effort—many of whom are members of this Committee.
- Not only does this bill strengthen our efforts to combat human traffickers' use of our domestic financial system, it also encourages other countries to cut off traffickers from the global financial system.

**V. Looking Ahead and Conclusion**

- This effort is just one piece of the puzzle.
- Fighting human trafficking requires a multifaceted approach.
- That's why awareness campaigns, school counselors and teachers, and law enforcement are a vital part of this effort.
- I'm thankful to Southeast Wisconsin's law enforcement community.
- Many of our county sheriffs and police officers have brought human trafficking issues to my attention.
- We have to work together—all of us—Republicans and Democrats—local, state, federal, and international partners—to take this crisis head-on.
- I continue working with our community in Southeast Wisconsin to address this problem.
- And I will continue fighting for this issue here in Congress.
- Bringing attention to human trafficking is a necessary first step.
- And passing this legislation and other anti-human trafficking bills is the next step.
- Our work isn't done.
- So today, I ask the Committee to mark-up the Exposing the Illicit Financing of Human Trafficking Act.
- I am confident this would pass with broad support from both sides of the aisle.
- Thank you again to Chairman Engel and Ranking Member McCaul for the opportunity.
- I would be happy to answer any questions on my bill following today's hearing.
- Thank you.

Chairman ENGEL. Well, thank you very much, Congressman Steil. Those statistics are certainly very shocking. You start to digest them, it really is overwhelming. And so we certainly appreciate your remarks, and we will absolutely consider them as the Foreign Affairs Committee considers its legislative priorities for the new year. I thank you.

I do not know if Mr. McCaul—

Mr. MCCAUL. Yes. I just want to thank you for bringing this to our attention. I am very involved with this issue. It is modern-day slavery in our lifetime, and we need to stop it, and so I look forward to looking at your bill. I think Brian Fitzpatrick's End Banking for Human Trafficking, a very similar bill, did pass this committee. It is sitting in Financial Services. So maybe you and Mr. Sherman could possibly move that along as well.

And I had—I know January is Human Trafficking Awareness Month, and I brought a victim, Courtney Litvak, to the White House to meet Ivanka Trump, and she invited her to attend the summit at the White House in January. So I look forward to working with you on this important issue and doing everything we can to stop it.

Mr. STEIL. Thank you very much for your efforts.

Mr. MCCAUL. I yield.

Chairman ENGEL. OK. Thank you very much.

I think that concludes our witnesses. So let me again reiterate that we thank all of you and appreciate all the remarks, and we will certainly consider them as the Foreign Affairs Committee does its legislative priorities for next year.

If there is not any other business or any other witnesses, then I will adjourn the hearing.

Hearing nobody, let me say the hearing is officially adjourned, and thank you all for attending.

[Whereupon, at 10:46 a.m., the committee was adjourned.]



APPENDIX

**FULL COMMITTEE HEARING NOTICE**  
**COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS**  
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
WASHINGTON, DC 20515-6128

**Eliot L. Engel (D-NY), Chairman**

December 12, 2019

**TO: MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS**

You are respectfully requested to attend an OPEN hearing of the Committee on Foreign Affairs to be held in Room 2172 of the Rayburn House Office Building (and available live on the Committee website at <https://foreignaffairs.house.gov/>):

**DATE:** Thursday, December 12, 2019

**TIME:** 10:00 a.m.

**SUBJECT:** Member Day Hearing

**WITNESSES:** The Honorable Ed Case (D-HI)

The Honorable John Garamendi (D-CA)

The Honorable Al Green (D-TX)

The Honorable French Hill (R-AR)

The Honorable Grace Meng (D-NY)

The Honorable Chip Roy (R-TX)

The Honorable Bryan Steil (R-WI)

**By Direction of the Chairman**

The Committee on Foreign Affairs seeks to make its facilities accessible to persons with disabilities. If you are in need of special accommodations, please call 202/225-5021 at least four business days in advance of the event, whenever practicable. Questions with regard to special accommodations in general (including availability of Committee materials in alternative formats and assistive listening devices) may be directed to the Committee.

**COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS**  
MINUTES OF FULL COMMITTEE HEARING

Day Thursday Date 12/12/2019 Room 2172 RHOB

Starting Time 10:05 a.m. Ending Time 10:46 a.m.

Recesses 0 (\_\_\_\_ to \_\_\_\_) (\_\_\_\_ to \_\_\_\_) (\_\_\_\_ to \_\_\_\_) (\_\_\_\_ to \_\_\_\_) (\_\_\_\_ to \_\_\_\_) (\_\_\_\_ to \_\_\_\_)

Presiding Member(s)  
*Chairman Eliot Engel*

Check all of the following that apply:

Open Session ☒

Executive (closed) Session ☐

Televised ☒

Electronically Recorded (taped) ☒

Stenographic Record ☒

TITLE OF HEARING:

*Member Day Hearing*

COMMITTEE MEMBERS PRESENT:

*See attached.*

NON-COMMITTEE MEMBERS PRESENT:

*N/A*

HEARING WITNESSES: Same as meeting notice attached? Yes ☒ No ☐

*(If "no", please list below and include title, agency, department, or organization.)*

STATEMENTS FOR THE RECORD: *(List any statements submitted for the record.)*

*SFR - Hill, Boyle, Connolly, Griffith, Hartzler, Lowey, Pallone, Pingree*

TIME SCHEDULED TO RECONVENE \_\_\_\_\_

or

TIME ADJOURNED 10:46 a.m.

*Evan Burzel*  
Full Committee Hearing Coordinator

**HOUSE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS**  
*FULL COMMITTEE ATTENDANCE*

<i>PRESENT</i>	<i>MEMBER</i>
<b>X</b>	Eliot L. Engel, NY
<b>X</b>	Brad Sherman, CA
	Gregory W. Meeks, NY
	Albio Sires, NJ
	Gerald E. Connolly, VA
	Theodore E. Deutch, FL
	Karen Bass, CA
	William Keating, MA
	David Cicilline, RI
	Ami Bera, CA
	Joaquin Castro, TX
	Dina Titus, NV
	Adriano Espaillat, NY
	Ted Lieu, CA
	Susan Wild, PA
	Dean Phillips, MN
	Ilhan Omar, MN
	Colin Allred, TX
	Andy Levin, MI
	Abigail Spanberger, VA
	Chrissy Houlahan, PA
	Tom Malinowski, NJ
	David Trone, MD
	Jim Costa, CA
	Juan Vargas, CA
	Vicente Gonzalez, TX

<i>PRESENT</i>	<i>MEMBER</i>
<b>X</b>	Michael T. McCaul, TX
	Christopher H. Smith, NJ
	Steve Chabot, OH
	Joe Wilson, SC
	Scott Perry, PA
	Ted Yoho, FL
	Adam Kinzinger, IL
	Lee Zeldin, NY
	James Sensenbrenner, Jr., WI
	Ann Wagner, MO
	Brian J. Mast, FL
	Francis Rooney, FL
	Brian K. Fitzpatrick, PA
	John Curtis, UT
	Ken Buck, CO
	Ron Wright, TX
	Guy Reschenthaler, PA
	Tim Burchett, TN
<b>X</b>	Greg Pence, IN
	Steve Watkins, KS
	Michael Guest, MS

## STATEMENTS FOR THE RECORD

**Statement for the Record – Congressman Brendan F. Boyle**  
**HFAC Member Day Hearing**

Chairman Engel and Ranking Member McCaul,

Thank you for holding today's Member Day hearing to hear from members that do not serve on the House Foreign Affairs Committee. I value the time I served on this committee in the 114<sup>th</sup> and 115<sup>th</sup> Congress and remain committed to working on issues I pushed for as a member of this committee.

Today, I'd like to focus on Syria. Chairman Engel, you have been a relentless supporter of the Syrian people. To further support them, I believe the committee should condemn the attacks carried out by the Russian government and the Assad regime on hospitals and medical personnel. Since 2011, Physicians for Human Rights systematically documented the ongoing assault on health care facilities and personnel. They found 530 attacks on hospitals carried out by the Assad regime and Russian forces and 914 medical workers killed. These numbers should alarm all of us. These are not accidental attacks. They are deliberate targets in order to further harm and intimidate the local populace.

These attacks are still ongoing today. In August, the United Nations Secretary General opened an investigation into the hospital bombings. Syrian health workers said they believed that a United Nations-sponsored list intended for deconfliction, so hospitals would not be attacked, was later used by the Russian government and Assad as a target list. From the end of April to mid-September, 54 hospitals and clinics in Syrian opposition territory were attacked, according to the United Nations human rights office. At least seven had tried to protect themselves by adding their location to the deconfliction list. In October, the *New York Times* completed an investigation with specific and clear evidence proving the Russian Air Force purposely bombed these hospitals. Last month, it was reported that the Russian government is actively working to stymie any efforts by the United Nations to publicize the findings of their investigation. As if the situation can't get any worse, Physicians for Human Rights released a report earlier this month documenting how the Assad regime has successfully made medical assistance to his enemies a crime, through a "counterterrorism" law. These workers are subject to arrest, detention and torture.

As the United Nations investigation advances, U.S. leadership is sorely needed. These atrocities cannot become a norm in conflicts. Therefore, I urge this committee to markup my resolution, H.Res.395 – condemning the senseless attacks on hospitals and medical personnel in Syria. This bipartisan resolution was introduced with a member of this committee and fellow co-chair of the Friends of a Free, Stable and Democratic Syria Caucus, Congressman Adam Kinzinger.

It is important that these blatant violations of international law cease and those committing them are held accountable. Moving this legislation forward would send a clear message to Assad and Putin that the international community is watching, and we will hold them accountable for the intentional targeting of vulnerable civilians and those helping the sick and wounded.

Thank you for your attention to this issue. I look forward to working with you all on this.

**Statement for the Record**  
*Submitted by Mr. Connolly of Virginia*

Alongside climate change and nuclear proliferation, global health security issues are one of the key existential threats facing humanity today. An outbreak in a remote village can spread to major cities on all six continents in less than 36 hours. By 2050, antimicrobial resistance could cost the global economy \$100 trillion and 10 million lives annually. And yet, nearly 70 percent of the world's nations remain underprepared to prevent, detect, and respond to infectious disease outbreaks, whether naturally occurring, accidental, or deliberately released. Diseases don't stop at national borders. That is why the promotion of global health security must be a core national security priority for the United States. I have introduced the bipartisan Global Health Security Act (H.R. 2166) with my Republican colleague Rep. Steve Chabot, in order to reaffirm the United States' commitment to promoting global health security.

The Global Health Security Act seeks to address two main issues – that U.S. global health security staffing and activities are largely reliant on an executive order and not specifically supported in law, and that the U.S. needs a permanent designated official responsible for coordinating the interagency response to a global health security emergency. The Global Health Security Act codifies U.S. investments in the ability to prepare for and respond to public health threats and reduce or prevent their spread across borders.

This bill bolsters U.S. commitments under the Global Health Security Agenda (GHSA), which is a multilateral initiative to build countries' capacity to manage infectious disease threats and elevate health security as a global priority. The United States has committed \$1 billion to support partner countries and strengthen implementation of the International Health Regulations core capacities across eleven technical areas. In October 2017, the United States and nearly 50 other nations agreed to extend GHSA for an additional five years to 2024, in order to continue strengthening our data sharing, preparedness planning, surveillance capacity, risk assessment, and response to biological threats.

During the 2014 Ebola epidemic, President Obama named Ron Klain as his Ebola czar to coordinate the United States' response to the growing health crisis. Klain was successful in developing a plan to track, monitor, treat and control Ebola exposure domestically. However, Tim Zeimer, who was the Senior Director for Global Health Security at the National Security Council for the Trump administration, and the presumptive designee in the case of such an emergency, left the NSC in May 2018 and he has not been replaced. To fill this void, the Global Health Security Act would establish the Special Advisor to the President for Global Health Security on the National Security Council. This individual would be charged with coordinating the federal government's response to a global health crisis.

Republican and Democratic presidents alike have recognized the critical importance of global health security – from President Obama's role in launching the Global Health Security Agenda (GHSA) to President Trump's National Security Strategy and National Biodefense Strategy. In February 2018, then Director of National Intelligence, Daniel R. Coats, released the Worldwide Threat Assessment of the U.S. Intelligence Community, which said "The increase in frequency and diversity of reported disease

outbreaks—such as dengue and Zika—probably will continue through 2018, including the potential for a severe global health emergency that could lead to major economic and societal disruptions, strain governmental and international resources, and increase calls on the United States for support.”

Heeding this warning, we must ask ourselves: **are we ready for the next crisis?**

Marking the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the 1918 influenza pandemic that claimed nearly 100 million lives worldwide, National Security Council Director of Medical and Biodefense Preparedness Luciana Borio said that “the threat of pandemic flu is the number one health security concern. Are we ready to respond? I fear the answer is no.” In evaluating the agencies’ respective responses to the 2014 Ebola outbreak, the Inspectors General of both the U.S. Agency for International Development and the Department of Health and Human Services cited the need for improved interagency coordination in order to save precious time, resources, and lives in the next emergency response. The CSIS Commission on Strengthening America’s Health Security recently released a report titled “Ending the Cycle of Crisis and Complacency in U.S. Global Health Security.” The number one recommendation of this report is to restore health security leadership at the White House National Security Council by naming “a senior-level leader in charge of coordinating U.S. efforts to anticipate, prevent, and respond to biological crises.” Our Global Health Security Act would do just that.

Former Ebola Response Coordinator Ron Klain said of this legislation, “I believe the Global Health Security Act offers some much needed improvements in the way our country prepares for – and potentially responds to – a dangerous epidemic. It builds on the lessons learned from prior incidents, and puts in place a sound structure going forward. Such bipartisan measures are important and should be enacted by the Congress as quickly as possible.”

The Global Health Security Act is endorsed by ChildFund International, Global Health Council, International Medical Corps, IntraHealth International, Johns Hopkins Center for Health Security, Nuclear Threat Initiative, PATH, the American Society of the Tropical Medicine and Hygiene, Management Sciences for Health (MSH), and The Borgen Project.

Saving lives from the next global pandemic starts with investing in preparedness before it strikes. As we’ve seen time and time again, diseases do not respect borders, and global health crises have immense security, economic, and humanitarian consequences. The Global Health Security Act recognizes the critical role of U.S. leadership in international health security, enshrines U.S. global health security policy in statute, and ensures that there is a permanent designated official responsible for coordinating these efforts in a strategic way.

Congressman H. Morgan Griffith  
9<sup>th</sup> District of Virginia  
Written Testimony  
Committee on Foreign Affairs  
Thursday, December 12, 2019

Thank you for holding this hearing today and providing me the opportunity to highlight matters of great importance to the execution of our nation's foreign policy and to our congressional duties under the Constitution.

In the coming year, our country will send 18-year old soldiers to Afghanistan. Notably, these young men and women were born after the war in Afghanistan began. This is unheard of in our history. None of this country's foreign conflicts have lasted this long. The Authorizations for the Use of Military Force (AUMFs), passed in 2001 and 2002. They have been in effect roughly 18 years. That is more than ten years beyond the length of the Revolutionary War and more than four times the length of U.S. involvement in World War II.

Specifically, I hope that this Committee will debate and consider revisions to previous AUMFs and propose new resolutions to be approved by Congress.

The 2001 and 2002 AUMF resolutions used to justify American military involvement are broad and have been applied in several situations where the connection to the circumstances of the original AUMF seems tenuous at best.

These AUMFs should be replaced to reflect new international political realities, to better define the scope of operations and to reflect the will of Congress.

It is also important for any new AUMFs to include a sunset date. This provision will force periodic debate and ensure that any military activity occurs not merely because of inertia, but because it has been judged by the duly elected representatives to be necessary for national security.

Currently, only 68 of the 435 Members of the 116<sup>th</sup> Congress have had an opportunity to vote on the 2001 AUMF. This is an abdication of our responsibility.

I was pleased to see Congress debate and pass a resolution regarding the use of U.S. troops in conjunction with Saudi forces in Yemen and providing a clearer definition of our operations in the region. Though Congress did not debate the initial commitment of troops, these votes are progress. I look forward to working with you to increase oversight of all military engagements and to make sure that we truly are a co-equal branch of government.

Congress should not shirk its responsibilities merely because it is easier to allow the President to take responsibility. I believe we were elected to take tough votes and to decide the important matters of state such as war and peace. Thank you.



*Congresswoman Vicky Hartzler  
Foreign Affairs Committee – Member Day  
December 12, 2019*

Chairman Engel, Ranking Member McCaul, and distinguished members of the committee, thank you for allowing me the opportunity to address you on Member Day. I come before the committee today to discuss China's systematic crackdown on religion. People of all faiths are being persecuted simply for their religious beliefs. The Chinese Communist Party believes any religion could threaten its control over society and is targeting individuals of faith through the "Sinicization of Religion" – a process intended to shape religious traditions and doctrine so they conform with the objectives of the Chinese Communist Party.

Today, I would like to focus on the persecution of Christians. There are over 100 million Christians in China and that number continues to grow. Last year, the Chinese Communist Party began enforcing a massive crackdown to stop the spread of Christianity. This has resulted in widespread forced church closures, destruction of property, and the arbitrary detention and arrests of Christians across China. In 2018, reports indicate more than 5,000 Christians and 1,000 church leaders were arrested, often being labeled as a member of a "cult."

Unregistered churches are not the only target to this persecution. State-sanctioned churches have also faced property destruction, cross removal, and closure. The Chinese Communist Party has installed video surveillance equipment on church properties, authorities have prohibited children and students from attending church services, and online sales of the Bible have been banned. China will reportedly "re-write" and issue a version of the Bible with the "correct understanding" of the text according to the government. This coincides with efforts to remove crosses and replace them with the Chinese flag and slogans praising the Communist Party and President Xi Jinping.

As a nation built on the fundamental principle of the freedom of religion, we have a responsibility to shed light on this persecution and speak for those in China that have no voice. That is why I have partnered with Congresswoman Jackie Speier to introduce H. Res. 493, which condemns the persecution of Christians in China. This bipartisan bill calls on the President to strengthen U.S. religious freedom diplomacy, ensure trade negotiations include religious freedom conditions as mandated by the Bipartisan Congressional Trade Priorities and Accountability Act

of 2015, impose sanctions on Chinese officials responsible for the egregious violations of human rights, and raise religious or political prisoner cases to the highest level with Chinese officials.

Chairman Engel and Ranking Member McCaul, by passing this legislation, the House of Representatives will be sending a clear message to China that we will not stand by as they brutally abuse their own citizens. No one should live in fear for practicing their faith and China must be held accountable for their criminal human rights violations. Please join me in supporting the people of China as they face an oppressive and authoritarian regime by acting on H. Res. 493.

Thank you, again, for your time and consideration.

Vicky Hartzler  
Member of Congress

**House Foreign Affairs Committee  
Members Day  
Nita M. Lowey Testimony  
December 11, 2019**

Chairman Engel, Ranking Member McCaul, and my fellow colleagues, thank you for permitting me to submit a written statement for the record on the Global Gag Rule and the critical importance of marking up H.R. 1055, the Global Health, Empowerment and Rights (HER) Act.

As one of the first acts of his presidency, President Trump quickly imposed the dangerous, ill-informed Global Gag Rule, which cuts off U.S. global health funding to any foreign nongovernmental organization that provides services for, information about, or referrals for abortion, or advocates for abortion access, even where it is legal, and even with its own private funds. A few months later, the Administration radically expanded the policy to apply to all global health funding, affecting approximately \$8.8 billion in U.S. assistance to programs tackling HIV/AIDS; family planning and reproductive health; tuberculosis; malaria; maternal and child health; water, sanitation, and hygiene (WASH); and more. And just this year, the Administration announced it was expanding the Executive Order once again, changing the definition of “providing financial support” contained within the standard provisions of the policy.

When the Global Gag Rule was only applied to family planning programs in past implementations, we have seen the disastrous impacts on men, women, and children. Fewer women were able to access family planning services, resulting in more unintended pregnancies and abortions. Some of our most trusted implementation partners overseas were forced to choose between receiving U.S. funding or providing comprehensive health care, often leaving thousands of women without access to the most experienced providers.

With the Administration’s unprecedented expansions, which were implemented with no analysis of the potential impacts, it has now risked multiplying these impacts. We have heard reports of numerous HIV/AIDS, maternal and child health, and water, sanitation, and hygiene programs that have been forced to close their doors because of this policy. Meanwhile, implementers have tied themselves in knots trying to comply with the policy or, even worse, just walked away from partnering with the U.S. altogether. And mass confusion about the policy has led to a chilling effect, causing organizations to unnecessarily change or eliminate vital health services.

Now is the time for us to advance progress on U.S. global health goals, not reverse the gains we’ve made. That is why I hope the House Foreign Affairs Committee will take the significant step of marking up H.R. 1055, the Global HER Act, which would permanently end this devastating policy once and for all. Consideration of the Global HER Act will send a significant signal to international global health partners, as well as other countries, that the House of Representatives is committed to maintaining the U.S. role as a global health leader and to helping men, women, and children access lifesaving health care services. Thank you.

CHAIRMAN  
COMMITTEE ON  
ENERGY AND COMMERCE

FRANK PALLONE, JR.  
6TH DISTRICT, NEW JERSEY

REPLY TO  
CJ 2107 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING  
WASHINGTON, DC 20515-3006  
(202) 225-4671

**Congress of the United States**  
**House of Representatives**  
**Washington, DC 20515-3006**

December 11, 2019

504 BROADWAY  
LOUIS BRANCH, NJ 07740  
(732) 571-1140

67/69 CHURCH STREET  
NEW BRUNSWICK, NJ 08901  
(732) 249-8892

pallone.house.gov

Honorable Eliot L. Engel  
Chairman  
House Committee on Foreign Affairs  
2170 Rayburn HOB

Honorable Michael T. McCaul  
Ranking Member  
House Committee on Foreign Affairs  
2066 Rayburn HOB

Dear Chairman Engel and Ranking Member McCaul:

Thank you for providing me the opportunity to testify before your Committee. As co-chair of the Congressional Armenian Caucus, I would like to highlight a bipartisan resolution I introduced, H.Res.452, that supports strengthening the United States-Republic of Armenia relationship and celebrates the country's recent move toward a more democratic future.

In the last year, we have seen an incredible grassroots movement take hold in Armenia. The former Soviet Republic has been transformed through the organic, grassroots movement that led to the nonviolent "Velvet Revolution" and unprecedented democratic national elections in December 2018. These historic events are a testament to the Armenian people's commitment to democracy, showing why it is so important for the United States to elevate our engagement with the current government of Prime Minister Nikol Pashinyan.

During its first year of governance, Armenia's government has strongly indicated its intentions to bolster civil society and democratic institutions and has worked to implement dramatic changes. The United States Congress can aid this process by reaffirming the importance of the relationship between the United States and Armenia, recognizing the potential for expanded political, economic, military, democratic, and development partnerships.

Passing H.Res.452 would be an important step in strengthening America's ties with Armenia and ensuring the Armenian people know they have the support of the U.S. government behind their democratizing efforts. Taking this step will also continue to build on the U.S.-Armenia strategic relationship and help foster pro-democratic and civil society institutions in Armenia.

I respectfully request the House Committee on Foreign Affairs take up H.Res.452 to show full support for Armenia at this exciting time of continued progress.

Sincerely,

  
FRANK PALLONE, JR.  
Member of Congress

PRINTED ON RECYCLED PAPER  
(8-1357-1)

**Testimony submitted to the House Foreign Affairs Committee**  
**by**  
**Representative Chellie Pingree**  
**on**  
**H.R. 3212, the Accountability for Sexual and Gender-based**  
**Violence as a Tool in Conflict Act**

Thank you for allowing me the opportunity to testify on behalf of my bill, H.R. 3212, the Accountability for Sexual and Gender-based Violence as a Tool in Conflict Act. I commend it for the Committee's consideration.

Sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) is one of the most pervasive and yet least-recognized human rights abuses in the world. Far too often, rape and sexual assault are used as tactics of war in conflict zones. In 2008, UN Security Council Resolution 1820 recognized conflict-related sexual violence as a threat to peace and security. Given the lack of prosecution and punishment of perpetrators, UNSC Resolution 1888 established the Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict to encourage the expansion of national capacities to identify, combat and promote justice for these abuses.

Likewise, in 2012, Executive Order 13623 established a U.S. Strategy to Prevent and Respond to Gender-based Violence Globally. It created a comprehensive approach for prevention and response to include increased coordination among U.S. government agencies, enhanced integration of SGBV prevention and response efforts into existing U.S. government work, enhanced data collection and analysis, and expanded programming.

This commitment has continued in the Trump Administration. On November 25, 2019, to mark the International Day for the Elimination of Violence Against Women, Secretary of State Mike Pompeo said that gender-based violence “undermines global peace and security and weakens the social fabric that binds families and communities together, preventing countries from achieving social stability and economic development. Ending gender-based violence requires a coordinated effort and the steadfast dedication of governments, the private sector, and civil society to create an enduring impact.”

Congress has responded by increasing resources to address the SGBV crisis. In recent years, the State-Foreign Operations Appropriations bill has designated \$1.75 million for the office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict to augment its efforts to tackle conflict-related sexual violence in 19 conflict-afflicted and transitional countries. The House-passed bill for Fiscal Year 2020 also provides \$10 million for SGBV programming in the Northern Triangle Countries, and directs that gender programs incorporate coordinated efforts to combat a variety of forms of gender-based violence.

In addition to these financial investments, Congress can enhance the tools available to promote the U.S. strategy and assist our partners in this collective effort. H.R. 3212 does this in two ways: (1) by adding reporting on SGBV in conflict to the State Department's annual Country Reports on Human Rights Practices, and (2) by specifically listing SGBV as a human rights violation subject to existing sanctions regimes.

The annual human rights reports play a powerful role in elevating the importance of issues and setting norms for human rights work around the world. International organizations, governments, NGOs, activists and researchers all look to the State Department's reports as a gold standard for categorical reporting on human rights conditions in all nations. Adding SGBV to these reports will elevate the issue commensurate with the importance given it by the international community, and provide a useful benchmark for collaborative efforts on prevention and accountability.

Political officers in our embassies are already tasked with pursuing SGBV efforts as part of the national strategy. Requiring reporting on SGBV the annual human rights report is consistent with the work they are already doing, and should not create an additional burden other than the time it takes to write up the submissions.

Additionally, H.R. 3212 amends the Global Magnitsky Act to add sexual and gender-based violence as a human rights violation that would trigger sanctions under the Act, and amends the Section 7031(c) corruption/human rights authority to add SGBV as a trigger for travel restrictions. These additions will strengthen the potency of these two critical human rights enforcement tools by providing clear direction to relevant U.S. agencies, and a signal that those who violate these norms will be penalized by the U.S. government.

SGBV not only represents crimes against individuals, but is also a weapon of abuse deployed by governments, militias and non-state actors to achieve military and political ends. SGBV is alternately known as "rape as a weapon of war." It is thus consistent with the purpose and intent of both the Magnitsky Act and the 7031(c) authority to combat gross violation of human rights perpetrated by governmental actors to sow conflict and destabilization. Enhancing this tool is clearly in our national security interest.

I appreciate the Committee's review of the Accountability for Sexual and Gender-based Violence as a Tool in Conflict Act, and ask for its favorable consideration. I am happy to provide the Committee with any further information on this important topic that our bill seeks to address.

## SUPPLEMENTAL ITEM

**The Honorable French Hill  
Before the  
J. William Fulbright College of Arts and Sciences - University of Arkansas  
November 25, 2019**

It is a pleasure to visit the Fulbright College at the University of Arkansas. It is always a welcoming presence to be on campus during the fall with bright colors and the smell of falling leaves. And, of course, hearing about the recently texted promises of good grades to be more fully discussed while at home for Thanksgiving this weekend!

This morning I will discuss America and her place in a post-Berlin Wall world with global conflict in full bloom and the return of Great Power Competition ever present. The Fulbright College as venue for this talk serves well as its namesake established a fundamental tool of American foreign policy -- educational exchange. Senator Fulbright walked the sidewalks as an undergraduate, teacher, and university president. In honor of the 70th anniversary of the Fulbright Program, in the spring of 2016, I had the pleasure of sponsoring the planting of a fine young American Elm on the US Capitol grounds. The Architect of the Capitol wisely selected a site on the historic grounds in view of the former senior senator's window in the Russell Senate Office Building.

Seven decades after the ashes in Dresden and Hiroshima cooled, the loss of 55 million people fresh in policymakers' nightmares, the United States and her World War II allies stood up the post-war system that we continue to utilize today. The United States alone rested atop the post-war smoldering pile of broken lives, countries, economies, and villages. At the end of the war, America accounted for more than 50 percent of global industrial production.

In July 1944, just a month after the D-Day invasion and yet a long painful year before the surrender of Japan, 730 delegates from 44 allied nations convened at the Mount Washington Hotel in Bretton Woods, New Hampshire. Drawing on the lessons of World War I, the Great Depression, and the current conflict, financial leaders would hammer out a global economic reconstruction plan that included trade, the creation of the World Bank (the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD)), and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). It was an optimistic, even hopeful time.

Just over a year later, George Kennan, then the US chargé d'affaires's in Moscow, wrote his definitive "Long Telegram" to the State Department. This telegram known as the "Sources of Soviet Conduct" outlined the yet unknown irksome years ahead of the East-West conflict. The next month, in March 1946, Winston Churchill visited Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri as a guest of President Truman and delivered his now famous Iron Curtain speech. It was in this context that then Senator Fulbright proposed that proceeds from the sale of surplus war property fund educational exchanges to promote international goodwill. President Truman signed Fulbright's vision into law on August 1, 1946.

“Soviet whisperer” George Kennan argued that the West’s containment strategy would succeed and would so “not just because of the strength and steadfastness of the United States and its allies but even more because of the weaknesses and contradictions in the Soviet system itself.”<sup>1</sup>

Kennan’s strategy hinged on allied strong economic and defense investment, which led to an unprecedented coalition to defeat Soviet expansionism, lifted living standards, and dramatically reduced poverty by opening the globe to the benefits of trade and development. Perhaps, most importantly, the long Cold War informed the people of the world more about America as an idea, as the world’s best hope – and, as indeed a global “shining city on a hill.”

### **America as an Idea**

Our country and our citizens over the generations have worked mightily to live up to the values and unalienable rights granted us by God above enshrined in our founding documents, fully stated in our U.S. Constitution and its hard fought and powerfully adopted amendments. Along the way we stumbled, but often redeemed ourselves as in the successful passage of the Civil Rights and Voting Rights acts after 100 years of Jim Crow.

Our post-war example included: free expression at home and strong, vocal support of free expression abroad particularly in the form of advocacy for religious tolerance and freedom; the rule of law; human rights; education for women and minorities. These are fundamental tenets of our foreign policy. They are not missed. They are not lost in the contemporary sea sludge of social media malcontents, propagandists, and “brave” digital warriors on the web. Freedom invites “unwanted comparisons”. As Churchill said, “Russia fears our friendship more than our enmity.”<sup>2</sup>

In this regard, I’m grateful that President Trump has prioritized this critical tenet by hosting during each of his first two years in office the Ministerial to Advance Religious Freedom. Hosted by the State Department, government leaders, religious leaders and civil society groups from over 80 countries share best practices on identifying challenges to religious freedom; develop responses to persecution; and shape new commitments to protect religious freedom for all. In my work in Congress I continue to give voice to this very American ideal of religious tolerance. My House resolution, H. Res. 49 with more than 70 bipartisan cosponsors, aims to ensure that the government of Egypt protects the rights of its Coptic Christian population. Established by St. Mark as Bishop of Alexandria in 48 A.D., Copts are about 20 percent of the Egyptian population and are the largest Christian population in the Middle East.

Likewise, I’ve met with religious leaders from all across the Levant from Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, and Jerusalem with an eye towards better shaping American and allied support of Christians and other persecuted religious minorities. Together we can fight against both “martyrdom of blood” as well as what Pope Francis terms “white martyrdom” whereby, even in democracies, Christians are persecuted with limitations on their religious freedom.

<sup>1</sup> “The Sources of Chinese Conduct”, Odd Arne Westad in *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2019

<sup>2</sup> Churchill dinner with Pres. Truman aboard the SS Williamsburg, January 3, 1952 --- notes taken by Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Gen. Bradley.



This past February, Pope Francis together with the Grand Imam from Egypt's important Al-Azhar Mosque, issued a message on Human Fraternity inviting "all persons who have faith in God and faith in human fraternity to unite and work together so that it may serve as a guide for future generations to advance a culture of mutual respect in the awareness of the great divine grace that makes all human beings brothers and sisters."<sup>3</sup>

This public coming together of Catholicism and Islam is a powerful statement to all governments around the world, but particularly those in the Middle East, to support religious freedom and religious tolerance.

I found this document signing with the Grand Imam of Al-Azhar particularly important given the martyrdom of the 21 Copts brutally beheaded on a Libyan beach in 2015, and the suicide attack in 2016 that killed more than two dozen in the Coptic St. Peter and St. Paul's Church in Cairo.

#### **America as an Incubator**

Likewise, these decades of Pax Americana have been anchored by America as an incubator of innovation, technological advance, academic freedom and research. Over those decades thousands have come to our country to study, many each year with the help of the Fulbright Program, to advance their field of study, to make a scientific discovery, or to build an enterprise. We have just as happily sent thousands of our own citizens abroad to gain understanding, language skills, and new ideas in advancing their own futures.

In 2015, while visiting Kabul, Afghanistan, I was fortunate to take tea with a cohort of enthusiastic women leaders. Despite the misery of divided politics and the daily terror delivered by the Taliban, few countries have seen more heartening progress for women and children. Today nine million Afghan children are in school, including 3.5 million girls — 3.5 million more than allowed by the mullahs in 2001. Two of the women left such an impression on me: Onaba Payab, 2014 valedictorian of the American University of Afghanistan — the first female — and a Fulbright scholar, is now at The Asia Foundation sharing her passion for improving access to educational and economic opportunities; and, Naheed Esar, a native of Jalalabad and a Fulbright Scholar and Arkansas Razorback with a Master's degree in cultural anthropology. Today, Naheed is at home in Kabul and, this summer, was appointed as Afghanistan's Deputy Foreign Minister for Resources Management. And, just last week, I met with Pakistani Senator Mushahid Sayed, Chair of their Foreign Affairs Committee, himself a Fulbright scholar, thanking me for Senator Fulbright and for his vision.

This idea of America as an incubator of education and shared innovation is not new. The idea of "a Fulbright" traces its roots back to a much earlier time. Indeed, at the time of the Boxer Rebellion. In the late 1890's, Chinese militias known in English as the Boxers initiated a violent persecution against foreigners and Christian missionaries. In punishment for these atrocities, the Chinese Imperial Court, and 84 nations agreed to reparations. In 1907, President Theodore

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<sup>3</sup> His Holiness Pope Francis and, The Grand Imam of Al-Azhar Ahmad Al-Tayyeb. "A Document on Human Fraternity for World Peace and Living Together," Abu Dhabi February 4, 2019; available at: [https://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/travels/2019/outside/documents/papa-francesco\\_20190204\\_documento-fratellanza-umana.html](https://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/travels/2019/outside/documents/papa-francesco_20190204_documento-fratellanza-umana.html) [last visited November 21, 2019]

Roosevelt and the Congress diverted America's share of these reparations into the Boxer Indemnity Scholarship Program. Approximately \$17 million was used to educate Chinese students at U.S. universities. President Roosevelt thought that the use of the scholarship fund would in "most satisfactory and subtle of ways" help the United States gain respect and assume its leadership position in the world. This was the first such American engagement as global innovator and educator.

### America as a Good Partner

Over the seven decades, with America as an idea and incubator, the nations of the globe raised living standards, expanded education, reduced poverty, and encouraged religious tolerance. These ideals were complemented by an extremely well-focused and realistic diplomatic and military strategy to counter the serious Soviet threat well considered by Churchill, Kennan, and Truman. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was formed in 1949. Lasting peace in Europe was preserved all these years *not through scholarships*, but through a strong, well-trained tactical and strategic partnership developed in conjunction with our military alliances in Europe via NATO and in Asia with our postwar key ally and partner, Japan.

In 1983, former President Nixon wrote in *Real Peace*: "The U.S. has played the starring role in the Western alliance for so long that our allies sometime act as if it is a one-man show. Too often when crises have erupted -- in Iran, in Afghanistan, in Central America -- our allies have sat back and waited for the U.S. to step forward and respond."<sup>4</sup> Now, sadly, we can add to Nixon's litany, among others, the threats of North Korea's nuclear ambitions and 9/11's horrors leading to a war on terrorism.

But, one simply must argue that the Asian and European alliances have been the remarkable successful military partners to the Bretton Woods economic institutions. And thus, given thirty years since the fall of the Berlin Wall, the collapse of the Soviet Union and the restoration of peace and prosperity to the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe, the Allies should take a "victory lap". A piece of the Berlin Wall sits in my Washington office. It's not a memento or gift for my work in Central and Eastern Europe for President Bush. Instead, it's a touching gift from a delightful Danish student who stayed with our family as a part of a Rotary International program. My piece of the Wall came chipped from her own wall keepsake brought home by her father, a Danish military officer assigned to NATO.

President Nixon agreed that lasting peace is brought about by realistic, clear keen military readiness that "takes the profit out" of any miscalculation. Nixon argued "all nations know we want peace. But we have to convince them is that they cannot win a war."<sup>5</sup> Indeed, we did just that and lasting peace has reigned in Asia and Europe. But, today, states like Iran, Putin's Russia, a rising China, and North Korea pursuing aggressive, expansionist strategies all need reminding.

To serve as helpful reminder, President Trump authorized lethal aid to Ukraine, reassured Baltic nations by rotating Operation Atlantic Resolve forces to Poland, bombed with Allied assistance the chemical weapons capabilities in Syrian dictator and Iranian/Russian co-conspirator Assad,

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<sup>4</sup> *Real Peace*, page 57

<sup>5</sup> *Real Peace*, page 26

and, in Asia, led an international coalition to sanction North Korea for its nuclear tests, celebrated the USS Carl Vinson paying a port call in Hanoi to demonstrate American commitment to open seas and signed into law the critical Asia Initiative Assurance Act of 2018. Upon arrival in Congress in January 2015, I was dismayed at the lack of preparedness in our military strategy and the readiness of our forces. I witnessed firsthand at Camp Robinson and Little Rock Air Force Base the lack of training funds from years of budget cuts and ill-timed Continuing Resolutions. I saw the fatigue of our men and women serving down range for so many years. That's why President Trump's leadership in working with Congress to rebuild and refocus our strategy and enhance our military readiness was so heartening over the last three years. Two weeks ago, I was piped aboard our newest Virginia Class Attack Submarine, the USS Delaware. She will launch next spring. Her officers and sailors offer a reminder of the critical defensive posture for our homeland and maintenance of our commitment to global trade.

President Trump clearly shares the "one man show" concern. Particularly refocusing NATO is critical. This is why President Trump's focus on the strength and long-term diverse financial support of NATO is right on point. NATO countries agreed at their 2014 meeting to spend not less than 2 percent of GDP on defense, of which at least 20 percent should be invested in major equipment. At that time only three countries met this objective. That's not right.

The President said: "[w]e cannot continue to pay for the military protection of Europe while the NATO states are not paying their fair share and living off the 'fat of the land.' We have been very generous to Europe and it is now time for us to look out for ourselves."<sup>6</sup> This quote is not by President Trump. It actually came from President Kennedy's complaint in a National Security Council (NSC) meeting on January 22, 1963.<sup>7</sup> Kennedy's complaint in the NSC meeting was at the height of the Cold War. We are now 30 years following the unification of Germany and the collapse of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). Yet, the need for greater financial support in Europe remains a key sticking point. Surely, our friends can up their resolve.

President Trump additionally is right to call for European nations, particularly Germany, to also strengthen their energy independence from Russia and work for greater connections to the world's new energy leader, the United States. Indeed, energy security is national security.

Access to reliable energy was part of the Bretton Woods-NATO economic and security strategic goals. For Europe and Japan to prosper and purchase American goods and for American industrial might to expand over those seven decades required reliable energy. Now, the world has access to nuclear power and is working hard to develop carbon free power and storage. But, for several decades to come -- before the sun is fully and cleanly harnessed -- natural gas and oil will provide economic power.

Old adversaries like the Soviets might have considered acting as a python and squeezing off control of the Persian Gulf thus choking off Europe or Asia's critical access. But since World War II, the U.S. Navy and our allies carefully coordinated open sea lanes and access to Middle

<sup>6</sup> Cited in *The Economist*, March 14, 2019.

<sup>7</sup> Remarks of President Kennedy to the National Security Council Meeting, Washington, January 22, 1963. *Office of the Historian*. Department of State. "Foreign Relations of the United States, 1961-1963, Volume XIII, Western Europe and Canada. <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1961-63v13/d168>

Eastern energy sources. Volatile Russian oil, Iranian oil, Venezuelan oil, and oil from Iraq and the Saudi Arabian Peninsula all have a new stable, reliable player on the scene: the United States. Texas entrepreneur and oil engineer George Mitchell and his masterful example of fracking and directional drilling revolutions led to America becoming the world's largest producer of oil and natural gas. This extraordinary resource development of the last 15 years has culminated with the United States in 2015 lifting the crude oil export ban, a relic of the 1970s. This new energy source combined with the extensive resources in Mexico and Canada and our allies in the United Kingdom and Norway in North Sea, significantly reduce the chance of Russia or China or Iran successfully executing a flanking strategy in achieving energy dominance in the Middle East in order to severely damage Atlantic or Asian allies.

Today, in Asia and Europe, the world faces a return to a pre-Bretton Woods, even pre-World War I, Great Power Competition. At inflection points such as these, America once again is pulled between the two magnetic poles of its two centuries of exceptionalism: the pull of "riding to the rescue" to right a wrong versus the admonition beginning with Washington to lead by example and not as then Secretary of State John Quincy Adams admonished in 1821, "go [not] abroad, in search of monsters to destroy."<sup>8</sup> Putin's Russian Authoritarian State is fighting for relevance and General Secretary Xi's is moving the Middle Kingdom from the "ultimate Asian Tiger" economic success to a great, independent military and diplomatic power. Our partners in our Pacific and Atlantic economic and security alliances must recognize that it is in each nation's *own* interest to fully participate in our *allied* interests. This is absolutely essential for President Trump and for other nations as well. Tweets acknowledging frustration with allied funding in Europe or Korea, sanction strength against North Korea, Venezuela, or Iran or the humanitarian disaster in Syria notwithstanding, America needs our economic and national security allies and our allies need America, her ideas, her leadership, her Navy, her reliable energy, and her passion for innovation and entrepreneurship.

So, yes, indeed, let's take that victory lap about our successful alliances and their economic, cultural and national security institutions, but let's recognize the need for change and refocus. For the Atlantic Alliance, Europe must step up financially and soon. Together the alliance must stand shoulder-to-shoulder for the free countries of Europe; NATO must extend its security sphere to beyond the Fulda Gap, the Elbe, to include cyber and space. Like Reagan's visionary investment in the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), we should share technology that increases national security and defense, such as the F-35 Joint Strike Fighter. Mr. Putin and others who want to be aggressive invaders or autocrats should recognize that there is "no profit" in war and our allies are cutting edge in our defense and readiness on land, air, sea -- and now in space and cyber.

For our friends in Asia we share heritage that America is a great neighbor and partner in the Pacific. We argued for the open-door policy in China; President Theodore Roosevelt earned the Nobel Peace Prize for settling the Russo Japanese War; we have had over 700,000 American GI's killed or wounded in World War II, Korea, and Vietnam.<sup>9</sup> Today, we offer trade and

<sup>8</sup> July 4, 1821. Oration delivered in Washington, D.C. by then Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams

	Killed	Wounded	Total Casualties
World War II	111,606	253,142	364,748

technology partnerships and we believe in mutual benefit for a strong commitment to opening the Indo-Pacific all the way to the Aleutian Islands. We stand ready to work with Japan, South Korea, China, and Russia mutually to reduce the tensions on the Korean Peninsula and utilize that maximum pressure on North Korea to let go its nuclear weapon ambitions. Naturally, we are mindful of admonition in arms-control negotiations, which recognizes that, "Neither can be secure unless both feel secure"<sup>10</sup> America's long-time strategic alliances with Japan, Australia, and New Zealand, along with elsewhere in Southeast Asia are essential to peace in the entire Pacific basin.

Economically, since Bretton Woods, the United States has served as the nexus for all countries to lift themselves toward a higher standard of living has been a success. From our 50 percent share of world industrial output at the end of World War II to today's 18 percent<sup>11</sup> demonstrates magnificently the breadth of living standards whereby billions have been lifted out of poverty; economic advances are being shared with the world over. Yet we recognize that there is more work to be done. Despite this nearly great century, we still have theft, corruption and economic basket cases across the globe principally due to greedy, autocratic leaders that have turned their backs on their people. From Venezuela to Syria to Iran one sees the failures of socialism, communism and plain old autocratic theft. We rededicate ourselves to leadership. We no longer have to foot the entire bill, but world leaders still look to the "one man show" to set the example, rally the cause and help encourage others to support with talent and treasure. Senator Fulbright would stand amazed by today's global living standards. He would be proud of the long success of postwar institutions, particularly of his own contribution in education exchange. But he would remain concerned about the "human race and its possible suicide".<sup>12</sup> Surely, Fulbright and Nixon would find agreement in the former president's view that "[p]eace is not an end to conflict but rather a means of living with conflict and once established it requires constant attention or it will not survive."<sup>13</sup>

### Looking Forward

As you reflect on America and her place in the 21st-century world, I urge each of you to consider:

--Support our strong moral convictions born out of our Judeo-Christian Heritage and that serve an essential national purpose and as President Reagan said when addressing the United Nations General Assembly, "Respect for human rights is not social work; it is not merely an act of compassion. It is the first obligation of government and the source of its legitimacy."<sup>14</sup>

Vietnam	58,318	153,303	211,621
Korea	36,914	103,284	140,198
Totals	206,838	509,729	716,567

<sup>10</sup> *Real Peace*, page 36

<sup>11</sup> *Brookings* 2018

<sup>12</sup> "Senator Fulbright." *The New Yorker*, May 10, 1958. Pg 31

<sup>13</sup> *Real Peace*, page 4

<sup>14</sup> President Ronald Reagan, Addressing the United Nations General Assembly. September 1986.

--Support our innovation and military preparedness, including our naval superiority and strategic leadership in the new critical areas of cyber and space.

--Mold our existing institutions and design new responses that strengthen our post-Berlin Wall world and encourage - no, *achieve* - stronger financial and manpower resources from our allies across the Pacific and the Atlantic.

--Devote yourselves to the best of American traditions of civic engagement, cultural and educational exchange, honor Sen. Fulbright's legacy of expanding "the boundaries of human wisdom, empathy and perception"<sup>15</sup> through education.

--Realistically demand the countries that wish to be accepted in the family of nations then, in fact, play by the rules and understand the consequences of failing to live by those rules.

A young President Kennedy in 1961 told a new generation of Americans, "We sometimes chafe at the burden of our obligations, the complexity of our decisions, the agony of our choices. But, there is no comfort or security for us in evasion, no solution in abdication, no relief in responsibility."<sup>16</sup>

As you assume your generational role in leadership in this country and across the globe know that you stand on a firm foundation and that there is no burden too great or decision too complex that you are not fully capable of navigating to a success.

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Congressman French Hill represents the Second District of Arkansas in the U.S. House of Representatives. He serves as the senior Republican on the House Financial Services Committee Subcommittee on National Security, International Development and Monetary Policy. Mr. Hill and his family reside in Little Rock, Arkansas.

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<sup>15</sup> Senator Fulbright during the 1976 30th Anniversary event

<sup>16</sup> President John. F. Kennedy. State of the Union Address. January 11, 1962.