

## Senator Jeff Merkley

1. The State Department's latest Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review concluded that "we are already seeing the negative consequences of climate change, which is a national and global security threat." Recent National Intelligence Council (NIC) reports say that climate change "will have direct and indirect social, economic, political, and security effects." Another NIC report says climate change is likely to pose "wide-ranging national security challenges for the United States and other countries over the next 20 years." As Secretary of State, will you and the State Department continue to treat climate change as a diplomatic priority critical to our national security? What do you believe are the national and global security threats of climate change?

***If I am confirmed I intend, in consultation with the President, to conduct full policy reviews of the global accords and agreements related to climate change. I believe that it is important for the United States to remain engaged with global climate change discussions to ensure such international measures do not harm the American people or American competitiveness. I do not see climate change as an imminent national security threat.***

2. The Heritage Foundation has dedicated their research to undermining any meaningful action on climate change. As an example, in a 2015 report titled "Time for a Sensible Sense of Congress Resolution on Climate Change," Marlo Lewis Jr of the Heritage Foundation says "Any sort of carbon tax, cap and trade, or other combination of carbon regulations such as the regulations on new power plants and existing ones (the Clean Power Plan) will only kill jobs and cut income, all without having any meaningful impact on global temperatures, now or in the future." Can you please provide your personal views on this statement, the report, and your perspective on the climate change work done by The Heritage Foundation broadly?

***While an executive at ExxonMobil, I studied various responses to climate change including the cap-and-trade system as it was attempted in Europe, as well as the carbon tax option. As Secretary, if confirmed, my role in these matters will be focused on international agreements and conferences dealing with energy, climate change, and the environment.***

3. Since 1998, ExxonMobil contributed over \$33 million to a network of think tanks and other groups that spread misleading claims about climate science. The Los Angeles Times, InsideClimate News, and others have unveiled that ExxonMobil, despite conducting some of the leading climate science and understanding the dangers of climate change, played a prominent role in funding the network of organizations with the purpose to obstruct action on climate change:

- 1998-2005: \$2.1 million to Competitive Enterprise Institute
- 1995-2007: \$1.3 million to Frontiers of Freedom - Used \$100k to set up Center for Science and Public Policy which concentrates on questioning climate change science
- 1997-2006: \$686,000 to Heartland Institute
- 1998-2012: \$870,000 to Heritage Foundation (including \$250k after 2007, when Exxon said they stopped)
- 2001-2015: \$1.25 million to research by Willie Soon a prominent climate denier at Harvard-Smithsonian Center for Astrophysics

4. In 2007, statements from ExxonMobil executives implied ExxonMobil stopped funding climate denial while you were at the helm, and you're on the record saying climate change is real and a revenue-

neutral carbon fee is the way to address the problem. According to a 2015 Worldwide Global Giving report documenting Exxon's contributions, over \$1.6 million (20%) of ExxonMobil's Public Information and Policy Research contributions went to the organizations above and others that led efforts to misinform the public about climate science. This means that while you were the Chief Executive Officer of Exxon saying climate change exists and warrants action, Exxon continued to fund groups challenging the existence of climate change and obstructing climate action. While you were at ExxonMobil, did you commit to discontinue to fund groups advancing science that's contrary to your position on climate change? Were you aware that ExxonMobil continued to fund such groups? Before you were CEO, when you knew climate change was serious but your company continued to misinform the public, did you ever recommend that Exxon disclose what it knew and that it stop funding these organizations and misinformation campaigns? If confirmed as Secretary of State, will you commit to relying on peer-reviewed climate science and the scientific findings of NOAA, NASA, and other scientific government agencies as you make climate-related decisions?

***My statements as Chairman and CEO recognizing the risk posed by climate change were consistent with ExxonMobil's conduct. ExxonMobil has vigorously contested allegations that it has engaged in a decades-long strategy to ignore and conceal scientific research related to the risk of climate change.***

***If confirmed, I commit to reviewing relevant studies, agency reports, and other information that will allow me to make informed decisions regarding climate change.***

5. Clearly in order to be involved in international climate discussions, even just to "have a seat at the table," the State Department relies on the scientific assessments of other Federal agencies, including NOAA, NASA, and others. Do you agree it's important to the State Department that the Federal government continues to invest in this critical climate science?

***I am not in a position to opine regarding the funding levels of other government agencies.***

6. According to an April 2016 report from the NGO Influence Map, ExxonMobil spent at least \$27 million on advertising and public relations, direct lobbying here in Congress and at State houses, and political contributions and electioneering to obstruct climate action in 2015 alone. Do you personally believe that funding misinformation campaigns on climate science, in the way Exxon has, is a good idea? How will you address public misinformation campaigns on climate science as Secretary of State?

***As noted above, ExxonMobil has vigorously contested allegations that it has engaged in the type of campaign described.***

***I came to my personal position on climate science as an engineer and a scientist over 20 years based on thoughtful study and informed discourse. I look forward to continuing to engage in a discourse on this subject that is well-informed, open and free.***

7. You have a history of saying one thing, while ExxonMobil, the organization you ran, did another. If confirmed as Secretary of State, can you commit to ensuring that the positions and actions of the State Department will be consistent with your position that climate change is real and warrants action?

***If confirmed, I expect to advise the President on a full range of issues and will provide him with my views on any matter in which he chooses to consult me or the State Department.***

8. You have said in an interview in 2006 that "climate change is a serious issue." In 2012, the President-elect tweeted "The concept of global warming was created by and for the Chinese in order to make U.S.

manufacturing non-competitive.” Do you disagree with the President-elect on this issue? As Secretary of State, how would you advise a President who does not think climate change is a serious issue?

***If confirmed, I expect to advise the President on a full range of issues and will provide him with my views on any matter in which he chooses to consult me or the State Department.***

9. Donald Trump’s election raised fears among many governments that the U.S. would withdraw from the Paris Agreement. Yet since the election, no country has said that they would abandon the agreement if the U.S. were to withdraw. Quite the contrary, many countries and groups—including China, the EU, Japan, Saudi Arabia, the Least Developed Countries, the High Ambition Coalition and others—have all reconfirmed their commitment to continue to take aggressive climate action under the Agreement. Others such as Australia, Pakistan, and Italy, have even joined the Agreement in the days since the U.S. election results came in. In so doing, they have sent a resounding message that the countries of the world will forge on, with or without the United States. Do you believe it is in U.S. interest to cede global leadership and credibility on an issue of such surpassing global importance? Why or why not?

***The United States should decide to join an international agreement based on its own national interests and not the interests or opinions of other nations. Mere membership in an international agreement does not by itself convey global leadership or credibility. If confirmed, I will support U.S. membership in only those international agreements that advance our national interests and do not cause harm to the American people or our economic competitiveness.***

10. If we do cede leadership, it is evident that others are ready to take our place. Most prominently, China is poised to assume a more leading role—and to reap the rewards in terms of international standing, goodwill and global influence that will accrue. At the last climate summit in Marrakech, for example, China earned much goodwill from the Climate Vulnerable Forum of countries by supporting their post-Paris agenda, including their intent to transition their economies to 100 percent renewable energy. Do you agree that by positioning itself as a committed partner and leader on climate change, China could expand its global influence, and strengthen its relationship with developing countries that want to see an ambitious global response to climate change? Do you agree that the U.S. leaving a leadership vacuum lets China not only expand its global influence but gives its industries an opening to seize key job-creating opportunities in the growing clean energy market? Do you believe that this positioning would help China achieve its other global interests? What would be the implications for our diplomacy if developing countries were to begin to see China as a more reliable partner and more committed leader than the United States in the global fight against climate change? Would it help or hurt the U.S. and U.S. companies if developing countries looked instead to China and Chinese companies for the financial assistance, new technologies, and cutting edge expertise that they need to respond to the challenges of climate change?

***The United States should act to protect and advance U.S. national interests in all matters, including climate change, regardless of the actions of other nations, including China. While having good diplomatic relations with nations, including those in the Climate Vulnerable Forum, may be in the U.S. national interest, it is only one factor that should be weighed.***

***America, as a leader in global energy, is a critical force in advancing energy efficiency and clean energy efforts around the world. American businesses are at the forefront of innovation in the clean energy and energy efficiency technologies and American workers are the best trained in the world. We have great competitive advantages in these areas, and, as you have stated, are able to support the***

*livelihoods of millions of American workers as a result. As the demand for energy increases, further support for clean energy developments will be paramount.*

*A key piece to guaranteeing a prosperous future for these American workers and companies is to make the country the most attractive place to do business in the world, and to continue to build upon strong trade relationships with global neighbors. The State Department's Bureau of Energy Resources manages critical programs which allow us to capitalize on U.S. leadership in clean energy innovation and open markets for U.S. companies abroad by promoting market-based policies and facilitating the introduction of advanced and efficient clean energy technologies into markets worldwide. By working with the President to implement our national policy goals of supporting and protecting American interests, we will be able to both cultivate a positive environment for capital investment at home and create market opportunities abroad. In doing so, this becomes advantageous, not only to energy efficiency and clean energy technology development, but to the American economy as a whole.*

11. Because oil has a near monopoly as a transportation fuel, oil is not just another commodity, but a strategic commodity. As a result, the U.S. has spent trillions of dollars and hundreds of lives ensuring the secure flow of oil throughout the world. Do you agree then, that ending oil's stranglehold on transportation fuels is critical to U.S. security? If alternatives to oil, such as electric vehicles, began to dominate the market it would mean that oil would no longer be a strategic commodity worth securing, and it would also guarantee low oil prices. In turn low oil prices would mean that regimes like Iran and Russia would have fewer resources to do harm to U.S. national interests. Lastly, if alternatives to oil were readily available, regimes like Russia would no longer be able to effectively use energy as a weapon. Do you agree that commercializing alternatives to oil, such as electric vehicles is critical to our national security and should be a national priority?

*I agree that oil is a strategic commodity. I also believe that the United States needs to have an all of the above energy strategy. A key component of that strategy is developing renewable fuels so that they may play a bigger role in our energy markets. We also have a national policy on increasing fuel efficiency in cars and light trucks – the CAFE program – which has helped reduce gasoline consumption nationally. These programs, along with a healthy domestic oil production level, will ensure that we have energy security.*

12. As Chair of the Arctic Council for the last two years, the U.S., led by the Secretary of State, has made a major commitment to promoting collaboration in environmental protection and sustainable development among the eight Arctic nations, including Russia. U.S. staff from numerous agencies have made important contributions to science and stewardship. Do you envision the Arctic as place for continued cooperation in science, research, and conservation, or do you see this could be a place of increased militarization and conflict, particularly given that Russian territory occupies approximately 40 percent of coastal area of the Arctic Ocean? What do you see as America's most important foreign policy objectives in the Arctic?

*The Arctic is of vital importance to U.S. missile defense and space systems as well as naval control of the North Atlantic, all of which are essential to protecting the American homeland and our European allies. If confirmed, I will support policies to restore U.S. strategic leadership in the Arctic, working closely with our NATO allies in the region. Environmental protection, sustainable development and scientific cooperation are important aspects of Arctic policy, and I will work closely with our NATO allies and Russia on these issues.*

13. What is your personal perspective on the agreement to curb international aviation emissions in the UN International Civil Aviation Organization, which was a major diplomatic achievement on global climate change in 2016? Do you support this agreement? Given the fact that U.S. airlines and aviation manufacturers strongly support this deal, do you personally think it is in the U.S. interest to support this agreement? Can you affirm that the U.S. government will uphold its commitments under this agreement?

***My understanding of the ICAO Carbon Offsetting and Reduction Scheme for International Aviation (CORSIA) is that participation is voluntary during both the pilot phase (2021-2023) and the first phase (2024-2026). If confirmed I will examine CORSIA and determine whether U.S. participation in the program advances our national interests.***

14. You have spoken at length about moral leadership and upholding American values. What specific values do you believe the United States stands for and represents on the global stage and how do you believe the United States should project those values?

***The United States remains, as President Reagan once said, “A shining city on a hill.” Our democracy and freedoms, and our vibrant free enterprise system have made us not only a great power, but also a benevolent power. One way we project these values is by supporting public/private partnerships abroad which project those American values and our compassion.***

15. As Secretary of State, would you recommend ending sanctions against Russia, sanctions which, if lifted, would allow ExxonMobil to continue its \$500B development deal in the Russian Arctic?

***If confirmed, the question of the current sanctions regime against Russia will be examined at the State Department as well as the White House and the Treasury Department, among other stakeholders.***

16. To the best of your knowledge and recollection, please detail all of the occasions in your time as CEO in which ExxonMobil asked for assistance from the U.S. government including:

- Communications requesting regulations be changed or opposed;
- Request for assistance in setting up contacts or meetings;
- Request for the U.S. government to make request of other governments and to encourage other governments to make specific decisions.

***As Chairman and CEO, I only periodically contacted U.S. government officials on ExxonMobil’s behalf. The primary example I recall, as recounted during my hearing, is communicating with federal officials in 2014 regarding safety and environmental concerns involving ExxonMobil’s Kara Sea well following the imposition of Russia sanctions. Those communications were related to OFAC’s licensing process. I cannot speak to the types of meetings other ExxonMobil employees may have had during my tenure as Chairman and CEO.***

17. At Exxon, your job was, understandably, to advance Exxon’s products and investments around the world, but what is your view on advancing sustainable sources of energy in developing countries?

***Sustainable energy technologies, like wind and solar, can play a role in providing energy around the world and are an important part of an all of the above energy and development strategy.***

18. You had a great deal of restricted stock in ExxonMobil, which would have paid you over \$5 million per year in dividends for the next 8 years. And by 2025, if ExxonMobil retains its value, you could have sold that stock for over \$150 million. Retaining that stock while Secretary of State would have likely been a violation of federal criminal law, however. That means that by law, total, you would have forgone as much as nearly \$200 million in compensation from ExxonMobil for becoming Secretary of State. However, ExxonMobil broke its own policies and precedent to come to your rescue and has set up a trust to simulate the payments you would have otherwise gotten from the restricted stock. Please explain why you think it is not necessary to recuse yourself from matters involving ExxonMobil for the duration of your term, given this extraordinary gift.

***The trust was structured to replicate as closely as possible the terms that would have applied to my unpaid restricted stock and restricted stock units while adhering to guidance from federal ethics authorities to comply with conflict-of-interest requirements. The arrangement was reviewed and approved by ethics officials from the Department of State and Office of Government Ethics, who prescribed the recusal terms set forth in my January 3, 2017 ethics agreement.***

19. In a number of regions - from Africa and the Caribbean to the Former Soviet Union - we have seen lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer (LGBTQ) people targeted for simply being who they are. They have been criminalized, arrested, tortured and even killed simply because of their sexual orientation or gender identity. The Obama Administration made international LGBT rights a new marker of the United States' foreign policy. The State Department appointed the first-ever Special Envoy to Advance the Human Rights of LGBT Persons, mobilized international support for three historic United Nations resolutions embracing LGBT rights, and launched the Global Equality Fund, which has now spent over \$33 million in 80 countries in support of civil society efforts to advance the human rights of LGBT persons. However, the Transition team sent a memo to the State Department requesting information on "gender-related staffing," which some at the State Department reportedly took to include lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender issues.

- a. Were you aware of this memo before it was sent to the State Department?

***No.***

- b. Do you know why the Transition team would be interested in such information and can you tell us?

***No, I do not.***

- c. President-Elect Trump has praised leaders in Egypt and Russia, countries whose record on protecting LGBT persons are some of the worst in the world. Will you take on these countries based on how they treat their own LGBT citizens? Will you use diplomatic pressure to push these countries to protect and institutionalize equal rights for their LGBT citizens?

***The United States has multifaceted bilateral relationships with the two countries you mentioned, Egypt and Russia involving political, military, economic, and other factors. In formulating a path forward for bilateral engagement with the nation-states, I will consider their respective government's treatment of their citizens and the rule of law, as well as the other factors mentioned above.***

- d. What steps will you take to ensure that the State Department and USAID maintain the structures and funding needed to address global women's issues, including child marriage and gender-based violence?

*As I stated in my hearing testimony, the issue of empowering women is personally important to me. I have seen firsthand the impact of empowering women, particularly regarding their participation in economic activities in the lesser developed part of the world. Investing in women and girls produces a multiplier effect – women reinvest a large portion of their income in their families and communities, which also furthers economic growth and stability. As I indicated, I believe women's empowerment and advancement is an important part of our foreign aid efforts and I will support such programs, including efforts to advance women's participation in peace, security and the political process. I will support efforts to end violence against women and girls as well as to mitigate the impact of such violence. I look forward, if confirmed, to closely examining all aspects of these issues to determine if our funding levels and other resources are appropriate.*

20. There have been calls to defund the UN by prominent Republicans and the President-Elect says there will be a new relationship with the UN. How do you foresee this new relationship and will you support cutting UN funding?

*I believe the President-elect has made clear that we will be looking at the United Nations through the prism of advancing American interests as well as using American tax dollars wisely. I would expect that to include what even the new Secretary General has acknowledged is the need for vigorous management and accountability reform of the United Nations.*

*Many needed UN reforms can be achieved by robust, long-term, and sustained engagement. But using America's financial leverage by conditioning our assessed contributions can be a useful catalyst when these traditional efforts fail. The possibility of the U.S. withholding a portion of our dues has led the UN to be more receptive to reforms. For example, concern over potential withholding in response to major scandals which received the strong attention and interest of the Congress, such as the Oil-for-Food scandal and sexual abuses by peacekeepers, has led the UN to be more willing to adopt reforms.*

*With billions of U.S. tax dollars going to the UN every year, I believe we should continually evaluate U.S. funding to the UN and other international organizations to determine if budgets are justified or should be reduced or increased to advance American interests.*

21. Both the Secretary of State and the Ambassador to the United Nations are cabinet level posts. How will your responsibilities intersect or potentially conflict with the responsibilities of the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations?

*As you know, the two USUN ambassadors who served during the Obama administration have had cabinet status, so the relationship within the State Department bureaucracy has been established over the past several years. If confirmed, I expect to work closely with our USUN Ambassador -- who will receive interagency cleared voting and other instructions from the Department's Bureau of International Organization Affairs -- on UN and other international organization issues, and as a colleague at meetings of the Cabinet on broader issues.*

22. In the last few years, Chinese investment has been pouring into the U.S. American companies also have substantial investments in China, but they are restricted in many sectors from acquiring controlling interests in Chinese companies, a limitation China does not face in the United States.

- a. Would you favor requiring reciprocity on investments so that China will face restrictions in sectors where U.S. investors in China faces restrictions?
- b. Do you favor negotiation of a Bilateral Investment Treaty to cover such issues?

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

23. What is the most effective way for the United States to promote American values and respect for human rights in China? Will you try to persuade the Chinese leadership to unblock websites of American media companies?

- a. Will you advocate for the rights of Tibetans and the people of Hong Kong? If so, please provide details.

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

24. What are your views on the deteriorating U.S.-Philippines relationship and budding Philippines-China and Philippines-Russia relationships? Do you believe we need to bring the Philippines back into the American strategic fold and not allow China and Russia to gain a strategic foothold there, and if so, how would you pursue that goal?

***The U.S. relationship with the Philippines is a critical component of U.S. strategy in Asia. Although China and Russia have improved ties with the Philippine government in recent months, the Philippine people remain strongly supportive of the alliance with the United States. A recent poll found that 76% of Filipinos trust the United States, compared to only 38% of Filipinos who trust China and Russia. Filipinos trust Americans because we share both common interests and common values. These commonalities form the basis for our long-standing alliance. All relationships periodically face bumps in the road, but focusing on our common interests and values will ensure that our alliance endures and flourishes in the years ahead.***

25. What do you think we should do if Russia were to attack one of the Baltic States? Do you support continuing our military rotations there as part of our NATO commitment?

***The Baltic States are all members of NATO, an Alliance founded on the principle of collective defense. A Russian attack on one of the Baltic States would trigger Article 5 -- under which an armed attack against one member shall be considered an attack against all. Each member is committed to assisting the attacked member by taking the action it deems necessary, including the use of armed***



*force. Accordingly, if a Baltic state were attacked, the United States, in cooperation with other Alliance members, would act in their defense. In response to Russia's aggression against Ukraine, NATO decided at last summer's Warsaw Summit to deploy battalions to each of the Baltic States on a rotational basis. I support NATO's enhanced forward presence as an appropriate response to Russia's destabilizing actions in Ukraine, as well as other steps that Moscow has subsequently taken to intimidate the Baltic States.*

26. What do you think the best policy option is for the United States to pursue in regards to Syria? Would a no-fly zone be effective? Under what circumstances would you support American boots on the ground? What role does the United States have in ensuring Syria's stability, with or without Bashar al-Assad as its leader?

*If confirmed, I would engage Russia and other parties to the Syrian conflict to ensure that we are focused first and foremost on ISIS. There is broad consensus that ISIS presents a critical national security threat to the United States, Russia, and many other countries. I would also engage those parties to achieve a sustainable political solution to the Syrian civil war, one that respects human rights of ordinary citizens and prevents Syria from being used as a launching pad for terrorism. The future of Bashar Assad will be part of those discussions, as will American tools like sanctions. I would work with my counterpart at the Department of Defense to ensure we have a robust basket of policy options with which to achieve our goals.*

27. Does the United States have a moral obligation to provide humanitarian relief to the people of Syria and provide for assistance to the millions of internally displaced people?

*The United States always has a moral obligation to alleviate humanitarian suffering where it can, within the broader context of American foreign policy. If confirmed, I will work with key parties to the Syrian conflict to achieve a political solution to the war and limit its humanitarian effect on Syrians. Part of these efforts will be assistance to internally displaced persons, through ongoing USAID programs and others, in coordination with our bilateral partners in Jordan and Turkey.*

28. Do you think the U.S. should increase humanitarian aid countries that host large numbers of Syrian refugees, such as Jordan? If so, would you seek to change the way that aid is distributed?

*The United States should work closely with those countries that host large numbers of refugees, such as Jordan and Turkey, to alleviate the humanitarian concerns those refugees face. Its efforts should also work to limit the potentially destabilizing effect of large numbers of refugees on their host populations. Foreign aid, including humanitarian aid, and security assistance are all part of the package of tools that the United States should employ to achieve those goals. If confirmed, I would engage those governments to see how the United States can best assist them alleviate these issues.*

29. What do you see as the biggest failures in policy regarding Iraq dating back to the Bush Administration and how would you advise President-Elect Trump so that such failures are not repeated in the future? What processes would you put in place to ensure better decision making going forward?

*The actions of the past decades towards Iraq, while well-intentioned, did not in the end achieve stability or security. The key question for the United States must always be: what is in the best interest of our national security? The United States must always balance the interests of the American people with its values, because the decision to use force is a most serious decision, which should not be taken lightly. If confirmed, I would always seek to chart out alternate pathways to achieve our goals,*

*including steady progress towards humanitarian goals. I would always advise the President on these pathways. The use of force must be a last resort.*

30. Do you envision a future Kurdish State and greater autonomy for Sunni regions of Iraq? If so, please elaborate on how you see that playing out given internal Iraqi politics and the politics of the region.

*The Syrian and Iraqi Kurds are key American partners in the fight against ISIS. If confirmed, I would engage with Baghdad and key regional partners to help achieve a future for the Kurds in Iraq which safeguards their hard-won freedoms, their basic human rights, and American national security interests. The Iraqi government has so far been a responsible partner with its Kurdish minority; through robust diplomatic engagement, Kurdish desires can be addressed in a framework that preserves Iraq's internal stability and the stability of the surrounding region as well.*

31. You state that defeating ISIS is your number one priority. Do you think the Obama Administration's actions have been effective? If not, what would you do differently?

*U.S. leadership is critical in the global campaign to counter ISIS. ISIS is a danger that threatens the U.S. homeland and poses an alternate, hateful ideology that can attract adherents and draw them towards violence. The United States faces many priorities in the Middle East, but none more than ISIS. If confirmed, I intend to address the situation as it stands today, not re-litigate past decisions. I would engage Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Jordan, Iraq, and other parties to the Syrian conflict to stress the importance of defeating ISIS quickly. I would also engage Russia to build cooperation against this joint threat. Defeat of ISIS begins on the battlefield, but it continues into the realm of ideas. Simply put, the United States must win the battle of ideas in the Middle East and in the Muslim world. I would strengthen the United States' messaging capabilities to delegitimize ISIS's ideology, and enlist the assistance of moderate Muslim allies to counter an ethos they also view as a threat.*

32. Do you believe that waterboarding is torture? Do you believe that other techniques previously utilized by CIA personnel in the Rendition, Detention, and Interrogation (RDI) program constitute torture, or are otherwise illegal under U.S. law?

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

33. Do you think that international prohibitions on torture and war crimes should be changed?

*The United States is bound by treaties and domestic laws, including prohibitions on torture and war crimes. That is consistent with, and demonstrates, our values and principles. I do not support and cannot foresee that changing. Our role in the world has entailed a place of moral leadership in the scope of international affairs, and I am committed to continuing that historical role.*

34. Do you agree that the President should follow the authorities, limitations, and timelines set out in the War Powers resolution?

*If confirmed, I would support the Executive Branch acting consistent with the War Powers Resolution, and consistent with the President's Constitutional powers. I understand that legislation has been introduced to update the War Powers Resolution.*

35. In your view, does the 2001 Authorization for the Use of Military Force provide unlimited authority in geography and time for the U.S. to militarily engage ISIS?

***While AUMF is primarily within the Department of Defense's equities and the 2001 AUMF was appropriate at the time, a new AUMF could demonstrate U.S. strength and unity of purpose. Having the support of Congress to stand behind the decisions to commit American men and women as well as military resources strengthens our position in the world because it signals our intention to bring the requisite resources, both diplomatic and militarily, to bear in international conflicts.***

36. What are your views regarding the policy of engagement with Cuba pursued by the Obama Administration? Do you plan to continue this policy?

***The Obama Cuba policy has failed to generate reforms in the Castro regime to protect human rights and promote democracy in Cuba. The new Administration will conduct a comprehensive review of current policies and executive orders regarding Cuba, to determine how best to pressure Cuba to respect human rights and promote democratic changes.***

37. Do you believe that the United States should negotiate with North Korea regarding its nuclear and missile programs?

***The United States should keep all options on the table for dealing with the challenge posed by North Korea. If the United States engages in negotiations, it should do so from a position of strength, using the promise of positive inducements and the threat of sanctions or other pressure to change the North Korean regime's cost-benefit calculus and force real and lasting change.***

38. During your time as CEO or on the board of the company, were there any policies or practices specifically relating to doing business with designated state sponsors of terrorism or countries under U.S. sanctions, or providing elevated scrutiny by management or the board of decisions regarding business practices in those countries? Please summarize those policies and practices and provide any documents relating to any such policies or practices that you have access to.

***During my time at ExxonMobil, it was company policy to comply with all laws and regulations applicable to its operations outside the United States and to conduct those operations to the highest ethical standards. The company screens all proposed business associates to determine if the individual or entity is named on any list of sanctioned or otherwise restricted parties.***

***Current versions of relevant ExxonMobil policies, some of which have been updated since my retirement in December 2016, are available here:***

***<http://corporate.exxonmobil.com/en/company/about-us/guiding-principles/standards-of-business-conduct>***

39. Given multiple press reports that ExxonMobil was lobbying against Russia sanctions over Ukraine and the company's own lobbying disclosures, please explain your testimony that the company did not lobby against sanctions and provide evidence to support that testimony.

***I apologize for any confusion I may have caused with my statement at the hearing that “to my knowledge, Exxon never directly lobbied against sanctions.” That answer was based on my understanding that it was ExxonMobil policy during my tenure as Chairman and CEO not to lobby against sanctions, but rather to engage in discussions with lawmakers concerning the design and implementation of any sanctions the United States might impose as part of larger, multilateral response. It is this latter engagement that I understand was reported on our lobbying reports.***

***During my tenure as Chairman and CEO, ExxonMobil engaged with lawmakers to discuss the impact of sanctions on American businesses, and how those sanctions could be designed and implemented in a manner that did not disadvantage American oil and gas companies relative to their foreign competitors. To my knowledge, the company did not take a position on the underlying question of whether sanctions should or should not be imposed—a question for U.S. policymakers—but rather expressed its view that any multilateral response should provide a level playing field.***

40. Please list all contributions over \$5,000 to charitable groups or organizations over the last three years. Please note that any disclosure will be treated as confidential by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and will not be made part of the official hearing record.

***As I mentioned during my confirmation hearing on January 11, I intend to respect the longstanding tradition of privacy of individuals’ tax returns. From time to time, my wife and I have made contributions to domestic charitable organizations. Further information—including the amounts and recipients of our charitable giving—is personal to my wife and me, and I will maintain its confidentiality.***

41. Last year, Democrats and Republicans came together to provide \$750 million for a comprehensive assistance package to Central America to address the high levels of violence, weak rule of law, and widespread poverty driving irregular migration. This assistance was, in part, an acknowledgement by both parties in both chambers of Congress of the underlying factors that drive immigration and of the fact that when it comes to immigration, enforcement alone is not enough. Will you commit to building on this bipartisan progress and continue efforts and funding to address the root causes of Central America migration to the U.S.? Will you maintain the United States partnership with the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, particularly with regard to ensuring protections for Central American refugees fleeing violence?

***Should I be confirmed as Secretary, I will work with Congress and the President-elect to ensure that our foreign policy priorities align with our domestic needs and fulfil our legal obligations. I have not yet been briefed on all aspects of the U.S. Refugee Admissions Program, but should I be confirmed as Secretary, I will faithfully administer the Refugee Admissions Program consistent with law and the policy preferences of the President-elect.***

43. At your hearing, you expressed support for continuing to implement the Global Magnitsky Act, which sets forth visa restrictions and asset freezes for individuals complicit in gross violations of human rights. LGBT communities in many countries of the world are subject to injurious treatment and discrimination, including government-sanctioned or -abetted hate crimes and killings. If confirmed, would you support including, within the scope of the Global Magnitsky Act, government officials who are believed to be complicit in LGBT-targeted hate crimes and killings? What criteria for inclusion would you use?

*The Global Magnitsky Human Rights Accountability Act, enacted as Subtitle F of Title XII of the Fiscal Year 2017 National Defense Authorization Act, Public Law No. 114-328, provides, among other things, that the President may impose sanctions on persons determined to be responsible for “gross violations of internationally recognized human rights” against individuals in foreign countries who seek “to obtain, exercise, defend, or promote internationally recognized human rights and freedoms, such as the freedoms of religion, expression, association, and assembly, and the rights to a fair trial and democratic elections.” I will be sure to seek proper legal advice in considering the scope of this subtitle to ensure that the Department of State, in assisting the President to implement this law, complies with the will of Congress in the enactment of this law.*

44. Some health care providers and even some governmental partner that receive U.S. PEPFAR funding have refused to provide HIV/AIDS services to men who have sex with men, sex workers, or other key populations – thereby reducing the effectiveness of taxpayer-supported programs aimed at HIV/AIDS prevention and care. Would you commit to ensuring that health services such as these are not denied to populations in need? If so, how would you do so? What steps will you take to ensure that sexual orientation and gender identity are not used as a disqualifier from the public health or any other services provided under U.S.-funded programs, and that prompt steps are taken to ensure rescission of contracts in cases where contractors do not comply with nondiscrimination in service delivery?

*American values do not accommodate discrimination against anyone, and we need to continue to project those values. We will have to work with the other agencies that contribute to PEPFAR to identify best practices for dealing with the types of cases you have just pointed out, while maintaining other aspects of U.S. policy.*

45. Will you be willing to take on countries that copy laws like those put in place in Russia, which target LGBT individuals and marginalize that community by depriving them of freedom of assembly and association, of expression and speech and the press? How specifically would you seek to reverse this course, and thereby help ensure the sense of social and economic inclusion that is important to long-term stability? Should a clear pattern of partner countries violating these freedoms entail some measure of consequences in the broader bilateral relationship, in your view?

*In formulating plans for bilateral engagement with countries, I will consider as a factor such as legislation as that which is similar to Russia’s regarding freedom of speech, association, and related protections. Further, I will consider the political, social, and economic dimensions of such legislation and their relationship to the stability of these countries as I make plans for engagement. Moreover, I will consider any patterns or trends in the legislative developments in these countries when considering the nature of the respective bilateral relationship and how the relationship may be fostered over time.*

46. With both the United States and China taking strong actions to limit or stop illegal ivory trade, will you make conservation and combating the ivory trade a key part of your policy? If so, please explain how you see this issue and how you will tackle it.

*Combating ivory trade and smuggling is an important mission and one that I will pursue, if confirmed. Illicit trade threatens to undermine conservation efforts and fund transnational criminal networks. I am encouraged by China’s recent actions to take more of a leading role in combating ivory trade.*

47. The five most recent presidents negotiated agreements with Russia to verifiably reduce nuclear stockpiles. The 2010 New Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (New START) is currently due to expire in 2021. Please share your views on whether this Administration should continue implementing New START through its expiration date, seek to extend New START for another five years, negotiate a new agreement with Russia, or do nothing, which in 2021 would free Russia of any limits on its strategic nuclear arsenal and the inspections to monitor compliance with the treaty's limits. Do you agree with President-elect Donald Trump's Dec. 22 tweet that "the United States must greatly strengthen and expand its nuclear arsenal" and his comments, reported the next day, welcoming an "arms race?"

***If confirmed, I would support the implementation of New START and working closely with Russia to ensure its obligations under the treaty are met.***

***While the next phase of U.S. arms control policy will be determined by President-elect Trump and the new administration, I would support efforts to maintain a stable nuclear balance at the lowest possible numbers -- keeping in mind the growing arsenals of China and other nuclear weapons states, as well as the nuclear ambitions of dangerous actors like North Korea and Iran.***

***It is my understanding that President-elect Trump -- like President Obama before him -- supports efforts to modernize our nuclear forces in order to ensure the reliability and credibility of our deterrent.***

48. How, if at all, would you recommend the Defense Department alter its plans for modernizing our nuclear forces? How do you address concerns that a massive investment in "modernizing" nuclear weapons could undermine nuclear nonproliferation efforts?

***If confirmed, I would need further briefings before making any recommendations regarding the most effective means of modernizing our nuclear forces.***

***While any proliferation concerns should be carefully weighed, maintaining a reliable and credible nuclear deterrent has been a vital component of America's security for decades, and essential to our efforts to maintain peace and security in key regions of the world.***

49. Please explain your views on the role of family planning and promotion of women's economic opportunity in the economic development of developing countries. Would you advocate increasing, maintaining, or decreasing support for those activities?

***Women should have the opportunity to live, thrive and pursue their dreams. Health care, education, economic freedom, and equal protection under a just law are all critical to the well-being of all people. No nation can neglect or suppress the talent and potential of half its population and expect to thrive and compete on the world stage. If confirmed, I will rigorously review our programs to promote the health, well-being, freedom, justice and economic development of women and assess their effectiveness. Where programs are demonstrably working, I will be their biggest champion. Where they are not, we will reform them or advocate a redirection of funds to programs that do. The cause is too important to approach it any other way.***

50. Do you pledge not to target any State Department staff for discipline, removal, or salary adjustments based on the issues they have worked on?

***It may be necessary to reorganize or restructure the State Department to better carry out the Trump Administration's foreign policy goals. But no career employees would be penalized for having***

***worked on matters that were political priorities of the previous Administration. Career employees pledge their loyalty to the U.S. Government, regardless of which political party is in power.***

51. If the President were to give you an instruction that would benefit his overseas business interests in a given country, but that State Department career expert's advice would be inconsistent with American interests there, how would you resolve that situation?

***It is my understanding that President-elect Trump has separated himself from his family's business in such a way that this matter would not come up at all. As he has articulated many times, we will be carrying out an "America First" foreign policy.***