

Chairman Hochberg: Okay, we still got more to go this morning so we're gonna get right started with our next conversation. I've had a chance in this job to meet Samantha Power on a number of occasions and early on I think the first person I've invited to come and speak at a conference this year was Ambassador Power. And she's coming off a recent trip so she was able to join us here in Washington. So, first question. A lot of people don't know really what the ambassador of the U. N. does.

Samantha Power: Don't they watch House of Cards?

Chairman Hochberg: Well, we've seen House of Cards. Now I know President Obama has Michelle. So you're not married to the president but maybe you could help peek behind the curtain. So we've seen Robin Wright but maybe you could tell us a little bit more of what it's really like not just what it's like on House of Cards.

Samantha Power: Okay. [laughter 00:01:07] Well to start, I'll state the obvious which is that there are very few problems on planet Earth that can be solved by one country acting alone these days. So whether it's fighting ISIL or fighting climate change or fighting Ebola we do a lot of fighting. It's really important that you harness the resources of lots of countries at once cause these threats cross borders, because no one country can bear the burden alone, et cetera.

And so, a ton of what the U.S. Ambassador does, because U.S. leadership is critical to mobilizing those coalitions, is come forth with our commitment and then seek to leverage those commitments to get other countries to pile on. The other thing we do is we're forever looking to build our norms and extend our norms in institutional frameworks and legal frameworks so they're tailored toward 2016 and not toward 1945. And so some examples on that. Who knew that terrorism in the 21st century would entail so much use of antiquities as a means of moving money around? The extent to which the foreign terrorists fighter problem has cropped up with people flowing from developed countries, from the United States, from lots of countries in Europe, into Syria and Iraq then returning to their countries. What of that entailed then for border security frameworks? And how should the international legal regime embrace that?

So it's thinking through what does actually enforcing and promoting international peace and security, promoting human rights, promoting economical development entail in the here and now. And then trying to modernize the institution and the way the States that comprise the U.N. act in response. The other thing, I'm very privileged as a member of President Obama's administration is to also be a member of the cabinet and so one very valuable aspect of living in New York and being every day surrounded 192 other countries is to be able to bring other countries perspectives and the reaction to the things that we're pushing into the so called inter-agency debate here in Washington. So we're able to factor that in and I advocate as a member of the principles committee for different policies for the U.S. to pursue.

Chairman Hochberg: You mentioned fighting and this morning you had a tweet about a Bangladesh force. Maybe you could just tell those who had not been on their twitter cause they're so riveted by the proceedings [laughter] here that they're not even looking at their iPhone, the haven't turned on. So maybe you could just tell everybody about that.

Samantha Power: U.N. peacekeeping is an example of a kind of collective solution for the problem of mass atrocity, the problem of instability conflict and of course half of every society is women but the U.N.

peacekeepers, the military's, the U.N. police who deploy tend to be very male dominated as they are within the member states that comprise the U.N. and this is something that is a recurring theme that the U.N tends to be a symptom and reflect the dynamics that exist within member states. So we were very encouraged. Bangladesh has taken the lead, not only in creating all female police units, but also appointing a female commander for the first time. So what I tweeted was a picture of this all male unit with this female commander that is about to deploy to the U.N. peacekeeping mission.

It got a lot of re-tweets. I wasn't expecting my Bangladesh tweet [laughter] to go viral.

Chairman Hochberg: So lord Bangladesh contingent.

Samantha Power: So yeah, clearly I've got a lot of Bangladeshi followers.

Chairman Hochberg: You're the fourth woman who's been our representative to the United Nations. Do any other countries have as strong a record and also how is that perhaps help more women in more senior leadership roles in foreign policy?

Samantha Power: Well when you put it that way, I've never really thought of myself as one of four but they're an amazing four, Jeane Kirkpatrick, Madeleine Albright, Susan Rice. Or an amazing three at least and I do my best.

Chairman Hochberg: [laughter] Amazing four. Would we agree on amazing four? [applause]

Samantha Power: I remember growing up and I was an immigrant to this country and Jeane Kirkpatrick made quite the impression even on the young Irish immigrant, I mean, as this force of nature standing up for American values, American interests. And Madeline Albright of course famously during the Yugoslav crisis, the war in Bosnia Kosovo, her strength. And of course ambassador Rice securing some of the toughest sanctions we've ever seen against Iran which, in turn, help give rise to this nuclear deal. So it's an amazing lineage. I don't know how other countries have done by comparison.

But I can tell you that when I was nominated by President Obama to try seek advice and consent from the U.S. Senate to be in the job, one of the first people I called was Madeline Albright. And what she said she had done when she got to New York, and at that time there were 183 countries in the U.N., is she had created a group of women ambassadors who had met regularly and tried to think were there things that they could cooperate on. Could they move the needle in different respects whether on women's empowerment or protection of woman in conflict or on things totally unrelated to women? And the group, sort of sad to say, was called the G7 because there were only seven woman ambassadors out of 183 in the entire U.N. and that was 1993 when she started. We're now the G36. I've created the same network. We're now 193 countries in the U.N. The percentage interestingly, the 36 out of 193, is almost identical to the decimal point to the percentage of women in congress, in the U.S. Congress.

So again I think speaking to the way in which the U.N. is a reflection of how things are in member states. And unfortunately there's never been a woman secretary general. There have been 70 presidents of the U.N.

General Assembly and only two of them have been women in the entire 70 year career and now even though we two years ago had six women ambassadors out of 15 on the U.N. Security Council which is kind of the premier body for promoting international peace and security just because of the rotation of ambassadors in and out of New York but also countries

off the counsel and new countries on we're now down to one. So in 2016, we have one woman ambassador out of 15.

Chairman Hochberg: That would be you.

Samantha Power: That happens to be me. When I think about young girls, those tours, that come through the U.N. and they look in 2016 and they see this horseshoe and raising our hands or not raising our hands depending on how the day is going. And just to see one woman there it's a complete anachronism. So, I think it cuts in lots of different directions. Of course, in order to make progress on the substance we need the men to be elevating woman's empowerment and fighting sexual violence with all the same zeal as woman ambassadors. So we need to do both. Get more representation because it's right and normal and we also need the issues not to be marginalized and they can't depend on woman ambassadors to be raising issues that are essential importance to everybody.

Chairman Hochberg: The U.S. and your role at the U.N. partly advocating for rule of law, partly also advocating a certain moral tone. Two thoughts I have, One is how do you thread that needle and I know recently you took a number of ambassadors to a Broadway show, Fun Home. Maybe you could talk about that a little bit.

Samantha Power: Well prior to taking the U.N. ambassadors to Fun Home, which is a musical that won the Tony telling the story of Ally Bechdel, a lesbian woman her life's journey of coming out. It's an extremely powerful, funny, poignant, amazing musical. Prior to bringing 17 ambassadors to that recognizing that LGBT rights are not universally hailed to say the least. There are more than 75 countries that criminalize being gay. So that was a very important experience for us as ambassadors to see it, and it kind of took us away from what's your country's position on LGBT rights to being moved by a human story. Rendering the question of what we do at the U.N. for individuals who are being discriminated against or are being persecuted or being, in some cases, arrested for their sexuality.

It took it away from that kind of fight with one country on one side of the room and others on another side of the room to something much more human where it was about how do you identify with this girl? And couldn't she be your daughter or your friend? It was really extremely powerful to see this cross regional group. We had countries from Africa, Asia, Latin America, Eastern Europe. It was very very powerful. It meant a lot to the cast cause they said, "We feel every night that we're changing America a little bit but we never thought we could change the world. By getting this story and this way of generating empathy out into the sinews of the world maybe we can make a dent over time."

But prior to Fun Home, I took the security consult to Hamilton and I'm very proud of a number...

Chairman Hochberg: This sounds like a good job.

Samantha Power: Yeah, exactly. Don't get the wrong idea. It's mainly terrors and aggression and conflict but part of the reason to do that is also there's a way in which countries that are developing whether economically or in terms of their nascent or not yet extent democracies. There's a way in which they see the United States as the sum of where we are in 2016 with all of our struggles very well advanced with strong institutions with checks and balances, of course with our economy. It's hard for them to identify with our creation and with our struggle and with the early years and how contested everything was and how un-inevitable the journey we've been on actually is. And so again like with

Fun Home to bring people back into the foundational story I think on the back-end of an experience like that, you're in a strong position to deliver a tough message about what may be going on within another countries borders if you do so from the position of we're not holier than thou about this, we've had our own struggles and this is where we've come from.

Chairman Hochberg:What, partly germane to this audience, what do you think is the role that global economics, trade, and investment can in furthering human rights, human development, and so we can link those a little bit better?

Samantha Power:Well we have to link them a little bit better. I'm struck wherever I travel that the concept unites economic development, trade, foreign investment with freedom of speech, freedom of religion, democratization, the civil and political rights, the concept that unites them is dignity. There is extremely important for us as a government to be advocating on behalf of policies that are going to actually expand the availability of opportunity and jobs and are going to encourage economic development and growth in these countries. And at the same time, since policies and corruption and actions that would negate those gains or make it less likely that companies would be drawn to come or that the country would trade that unless you have the civil and political means of actually holding governments accountable for bad policies that are going to be bad for growth or bad for citizen welfare, social or economical welfare, you're in a doom loop.

So people have to be able to speak out, they have to be able to vote, they have to be able to hold the corrupt official accountable. Sometimes countries that want to, and leaders who want to retain power change their constitutions to not hear complaints from their citizens and think they can have the economic and social development path paved for them without the democratic accountability. Sometimes in the past, not just the United States, but western governments generally have really pushed very hard in terms of freedom of speech, and the civil and political rights without recognizing how central it is to peoples lives that they have livelihoods. I think President Obama has really always, when he's talked about economic development, talked about the centrality of human rights to that journey and so too talked about the hollowness for some of going and voting on an empty stomach and not being able to go and get medicine for your kids, or to have high infant mortality rates.

So this linkage between the social and economic and the civil and the political I think is thick in peoples real lives and it should be thick in the policies that we put forward and the private sector has a critical role because you come to governments and make whether a moral case or self interested case for human rights and pluralism and so forth, you know they go yeah, yeah, yeah. When a company comes and says look if you don't strengthen your institutions, if I don't know if my contract is going to be enforced, if in order to get a permit to set up a business or even to put utilities in my warehouse if I got to pay a bribe that's not a reliable climate for me and so, so much of the incentive for them to change come from the fact that they are drawn to try to pull an investment. So just being vocal and articulate even if it can sometimes feel awkward or too political. I think that's going to be a critical part of those investment climates changing and the welfare of the people over time being advance which is going to make for a more secure and stable world all around.

Chairman Hochberg:What, exactly to that point, the people here who do business around the world and we've often thought that we build things together, make things together we actually form more durable and stronger ties. Is there something you the security to do more of here and they also sometimes complain, and I'd like to get a response, that our stance on human rights they feel sometimes hurts them in countries because United States makes a stronger case about that than some of their foreign competitors. What more can they do and how do we also make that clearer?

Samantha Power:Well I think I'll give you a couple examples of the sort of lead by example so there's a kind of continuum from lead by example to more vocal engagement of the kind that I am describing and I know is hard but that would advocate for. If you take companies that setup and do business in say Saudi Arabia and have women in prominent executive roles just like our embassy in Saudi Arabia has women diplomats in prominent roles. That's just extremely important. Normatively it's like the city on hill. It shows what's possible. It chips away at biases or at least challenges them everyday. Finding the right way to both lead by example and to also make clear that laws that are so discriminatory make it very hard for businesses to attract top flight employees to come and fill these jobs in societies whose biases are so ingrained.

I think that's a place people can go. I think on LGBT rights as well, it's again particularly for many of those governments I mentioned, the 75 governments who've criminalized being gay, it's a pragmatic argument that a CEO can make to a leader of a country and just say look I'm really having trouble attracting my best people because it is well-known you have these high profile cases where you're arresting people in consensual relationships or you've just passed some high profile law that has the death penalty for being gay. I mean, this is just going to make it really hard for us and make it kind of consequentialist case.

My 2016 appeal, in addition to of course leading on human rights issues along the lines that I've described, my appeal for now relates to refugees because there are now more than 60 millions displaced in the world. 60 million displaced people, which included more than 20 million refugees who cross borders and more than 40 million internally displaced. We, the United States, and we the developed donor community have never been more generous. In the history of the world, in trying to address the needs of these people who has fled everything and are living in desperate conditions. Yet the gap between what is needed and what we have been able to provide has never also been greater. Because 60 million displaced is more than we've had since the second world war and that was a temporary displacement that when the war ended was something we could begin to address and shrink those numbers.

So, what am I asking for? I think the share of citizen contributions and private contributions to tending to the flight, to providing schools, shelter, food for those who have fled into neighboring countries. Countries that neighbor the country where the conflict is occurring like Jordan, Lebanon, Turkey, in the case of Syria. In Asia, with so many fleeing Burma and persecution against Muslims there. Those who flee to Malaysia, Indonesia. But just bearing in mind wherever your companies are that there is likely to be an inflow of people who are starting over and many in this country are themselves descendants of refugees or know people who are immigrants. That's part of the richness of fabric here. But to muster the moral imagination to imagine what it would be like to have been an engineer or an architect or a professor and then find

yourself stripped of literally everything where you had to pay your life savings to the smuggler to get yourself across the border. You're there with your family. What do you do? What does that actually entail concretely? I think, material contributions to some of the organization who are doing this essential work, again in our lifetime of unprecedented displacement. The Mercy Corps, the International Rescue Committee, The Church World Services, they're caring for people in the region but also some of these organizations care for those who actually gain admittance into the United States. President Obama has committed to getting 85 thousand refugees this year, which is not enough, it's the floor, but it's an important contribution. But also even along side any financial contribution that people can muster wearing their corporate social responsibility hats the innovation and the entrepreneurship.

Just the skills and the insights you have that we in government and many in the humanitarian aid community just don't have. Figuring out how to harness new technologies to ensure that the educational experience is something that will allow kids... 53 percent of people in these camps are kids and most of them are out of school. How could an educational experience be created that would approximate what they left behind. You know, is there a way to do shelter in a more cost efficient way.

Can you hire refugees? Chobani, famously in this country, 33 percent of it's factory workforce in New York and Idaho are refugees. There are lots of examples. Dowler in Germany has now created a vocational training program for Syrian and Iraqi refugees who come in as part of this new influx. Just to give these people again that dignity when they arrive that is the first thing stripped of them when they're reduced to flight. So if there's anything, I mean, there's a website [aidrefugees.gov](http://aidrefugees.gov) that lists a lot of the organizations doing very important work. But if any of you are interested, the U.S. government is very eager to help do a little match.com between you and those who are out there trying to help this population in great need.

Chairman Hochberg:I have one final question because you sort of covered the full of what I was going to ask you about refugees but we got there first. You and I sometimes have talked about places where you see good governance, countries really on the move. As a example you've talked about Sri Lanka as one. Are there other places that perhaps our audience should take another look at that they've might not have looked at otherwise that you've said here are some places from you're experiences they ought to take another look at in terms of doing business, exporting, trade, and so forth.

Samantha Power:Yeah. Well just to stay on Sri Lanka for a second. Sri Lanka provides a remarkable example where in such a sort period of time you had first the end of a conflict. Which had scared away investment. Remember you had the Tamil Tigers and the government counter insurgency effort against them. The Tamil Tigers invented the suicide bomb. That conflict ended and than a very authoritarian government which had defeated the Tamils began to crack down. The investment climate, I think, was disastrous. The intuitions were ravaged and weakened. And then about a year and half ago there was an election. Because there was still at least the ability to hold the government accountable at the polls a new government is in place. And they are transforming the checks and balances.

The rare time you open your phone or your blackberry and you see a news story about a president giving up power to the parliament rather than

trying to extend and manipulate the constitution in a self-serving way. To do it in the interest of institutions. So I think an example like that is extremely important and from policy standpoint of course very important to double down on. We're increasing our high level visits and trying to enhance our security relationship. There's amazing ports in Sri Lanka. It's in a very strategic part of the world. It had a long tradition of being a democracy even if it was one that went through a very rocky time. That's a very bright light I think on the horizon. Tunisia, of course, is the little country that came out of the Arab spring. Institutions that had been really gutted the dictatorship but where woman's rights had always been respected. There's a strong middle class base. Difficult now because ISIL has staged some attacks there but that's one reason we've deepened our security partnership with Tunisia. It's extremely important, of course, for the experiment that they are pursuing with great bravery and resilience for that to succeed. So that's another place I would look too.

And then of course, Burma. We've just had Aung San Suu Kyi, not quite elected president, but as she's put it she's now going to be counselor. We've already lifted many of the sanctions on Burma because of the democratization process which still has a military check on the extent to which the democracy can go guns blazing. But I think it's a country to watch and her stated commitment to strengthening rule of law, fighting corruption, checks and balances means that it could be a place that over time makes for a good investment cleanse. It's going to take time of course to undo a lot of the damage that's been done over many decades. Chairman Hochberg: Good. Okay well you've heard three. I know off the top of my head we are definitely open in Burma and we're also open in Sri Lanka. I haven't memorized all 192 countries on our website so we can check on the rest. But thank you.

Samantha Power: Thank you.

Chairman Hochberg: Join me in thanking Samantha Power for joining us.