

NOMINATIONS

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 9, 2025

U.S. SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS,
Washington, DC.

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 9:44 a.m., in room SD-419, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. James E. Risch presiding.

Present: Senators Risch [presiding], Ricketts, Daines, Hagerty, Barrasso, Lee, Paul, Scott, Curtis, Cornyn, Shaheen, Kaine, Van Hollen, and Rosen.

OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. JAMES E. RISCH, CHAIRMAN, U.S. SENATOR FROM IDAHO

Senator RISCH. And we will move now to a hearing for three of the President's nominees, and the committee will come to order.

We have before us Thomas DiNanno, and I am told you can pronounce it either way. Is that correct?

Mr. DiNANNO. Yes, sir. My mother pronounces it DiNanno. My father says DiNanno. So——

Senator RISCH. I had the same problem in my family but it was quite a bit different than that—what my mother called me, what my father called me.

[Laughter.]

Senator RISCH. In any event, Sarah Rogers of New York to be Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Allison Hooker of Georgia to be Under Secretary of State.

So with that, usually what we do here is we have an opening statement. I make an all too long opening statement. Senator Shaheen is usually more reserved than that.

We then move to each of you making your opening statements. Then we go to a five minute round of questions. As you may have perceived, we are moving a little quickly today.

We are headed into a 2 week recess, and there are numerous committees that have overlapping responsibilities. So the opening statement I usually make I am going to put in the record, and Senator Shaheen, you are going to do the same?

Prepared Statement of Senator James E. Risch, Chairman

Today, we'll consider nominees for three very important State Department Under Secretaries.

Mr. DiNanno, the timing of your nomination to be Under Secretary for Arms Control and International Security coincides with unprecedented nuclear threats to the United States. For the first time in our history, we are facing two peer nuclear powers in Russia and China.

Russia's nuclear program is nearing full modernization, it has upended its New START obligations, and it continues to test and develop novel nuclear weapons. Meanwhile, China is in the midst of a dramatic nuclear buildup and shows no interest in arms control talks.

And the nuclear environment only grows more precarious with the addition of rogue actors like Iran and North Korea, whose pursuit of nuclear weapons fuels global instability.

In the face of these threats, our arms control architecture is stuck in the cold war era and constrains our nuclear arsenal. Sadly, many policymakers in Washington don't want to acknowledge this changed landscape and the changes it requires. We need to modernize our arms control architecture to our advantage.

With New START set to expire next year, I hope that you will use this opportunity to move us beyond blind faith in outdated arms control measures that only benefit Russia and China. Additionally, the previous administration allowed Russia and China to exploit nuclear treaties and use them to their strategic advantage with little to no consequences. I have every confidence that this pattern will change in the Trump Administration under your leadership, Mr. DiNanno.

We also face serious problems with regard to conventional weapons. Our allies and partners depend on us for weapons, but our foreign military sales process suffers from chronic Defense Department delays and onerous State Department regulations that leave our partners waiting for years to receive their equipment.

Mr. DiNanno, I hope that you will work with our allies and partners to fix these problems and deepen defense cooperation.

Ms. Rogers, as Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy, you will work closely with Secretary Rubio to strengthen relationships between Americans and people around the world. President Trump and America have a very strong message to share of freedom and democracy, economic opportunity, and innovation. This message has resonated with people around the world, and I look forward to hearing how you will work to spread it to the reaches of the globe that need it most.

And finally, Ms. Hooker, as the Under Secretary for Political Affairs you'll have the demanding job of managing all of the State Department regional bureaus. You might consider picking up a hobby in your spare time.

The Trump Administration inherited a world in chaos from the previous administration, but already President Trump and Secretary Rubio are making great strides to bring peace to Israel and Ukraine, to push back on China's malign influence, and to balance our trade relationships. Confronting China will require working with our allies to be successful. I look forward to hearing how you will advance President Trump's America First foreign policy in this role.

I'd like to thank you all again for being here and for your dedication to service as you take on these challenging roles in challenging times. Thank you, and I'll turn it over to our ranking member, Jeanne Shaheen.

Senator SHAHEEN. I am happy to put my opening statement in the record as well, Mr. Chairman.

Prepared Statement of Senator Jeanne Shaheen, Ranking Member

Thank you, Chairman Risch, and welcome to the nominees and your families who are here today.

As a practical matter, the Administration's recent tariffs amount to a declaration of a trade war.

It would be one thing if they were focused on our adversaries like China and Russia.

But the recent tariffs are undermining our closest alliances.

Ms. Hooker—you have been nominated to the post of Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs, which is charged with helping carry out U.S. foreign policy around the world.

You have worked for both Democratic and Republican administrations, starting out as a career employee at the State Department.

- You have called American alliances a source of strength in deterring aggression from China.

- You have expressed support for Radio Free Asia, saying it “plays a leading role in pushing back on authoritarian propaganda.”

- And you have supported sanctions against Russia over Putin's invasion of Ukraine.

I agree with you on these points.

But you have been nominated on behalf of an administration that does not.

So if confirmed, I hope you will not just blindly carry out the Trump Administration's policies but ask what is truly in our national interest . . .

And draw upon your experience when advising Secretary Rubio and other senior officials in the Administration.

Mr. DiNanno, you also bring years of experience with you.

The danger posed by the potential use of nuclear weapons is one of the most serious national security challenges facing the United States.

That's why I supported the New Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty.

A treaty that successfully reduced the number of nuclear warheads aimed at the United States.

As President Trump said earlier this year—

- “There’s no reason for us to be building brand new nuclear weapons, we already have so many.”

- “You could destroy the world 50 times over, 100 times over. And here we are building new nuclear weapons, and they’re building nuclear weapons.”

I agree.

If this treaty expires next year, it will give Russia that much more freedom to expand its nuclear arsenal.

Mr. DiNanno—given President Trump’s interest in restarting nuclear arms control talks with Russia . . .

How can we be sure that Putin would uphold Russia’s obligations, either under New START or another nuclear arms control agreement?

While nuclear arms control is critical, we must also consider the broader challenge of foreign influence.

From Chinese control of TikTok to Kremlin talking points on RT . . .

Foreign disinformation has real-world consequences.

China traps developing countries with debt from infrastructure projects as it sells itself as the champion of the Global South.

Russian forces commit war crimes and abduct Ukrainian children as it claims Russia is liberating Ukraine.

And it’s not just other countries.

AI is making information warfare easier for non-state actors like terrorist groups and drug cartels as well.

That means American public diplomacy and programs to counter disinformation are more relevant than ever.

Ms. Rogers, you are nominated to serve as the senior-most official at the State Department for public diplomacy at a challenging time.

While China and Russia are spending billions of dollars on disinformation . . .

The United States is closing the Global Engagement Center at the State Department . . .

And shutting down Voice of America.

So Ms. Rogers, I hope you will lay out your plans for how the U.S. will counter foreign propaganda.

And how we can avoid falling behind in the war on disinformation.

I look forward to hearing from you all today.

Thank you.

Senator RISCH. And we will do that and move directly to you. I want to hear what you have to say, and everyone on the committee is appreciative of your willingness to step forward and serve your country. We appreciate that.

So we are going to give you 5 minutes each. If you are longer than that, if you would like to submit it for the record we will put anything you want into the record.

So with that, Mr. DiNanno, we will start with you, and please try to keep it to 5 minutes, and we appreciate your cooperation.

STATEMENT OF THOMAS DINANNO, OF FLORIDA, TO BE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR ARMS CONTROL AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

Mr. DINANNO. Chairman Risch, Ranking Member Shaheen, and distinguished members of this committee, thank you for this opportunity.

I want to thank President Trump for nominating me to serve as Under Secretary of State for Arms Control and International Security. I also want to thank Secretary Rubio for his support. It is a tremendous honor to be nominated and appear before this committee.

If confirmed, I will be an unwavering voice for the American people and the Administration's national security policies. I commit to you that I will work closely with this committee and with Congress to drive forward our shared vision and values.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank my family, friends, and colleagues. Without their support and encouragement I would not be here today.

I especially want to thank my mother and father for the love and support they have given me throughout my life, and I want to thank my wife Darlene and daughter Lexi who are with me here today.

I have spent nearly 25 years in the national—doing national and homeland security including serving in the State Department Arms Control, Verification, and Compliance Bureau during President Trump's first administration.

Many of the members of this committee have expressed concern that we are in, perhaps, the most dangerous time the world has faced since World War II. Those concerns are not unfounded.

We can point to the war in Ukraine, China's rapid and opaque expansion of its nuclear programs, a Middle East perpetually on edge, Iran's nuclear ambition, North Korean WMD and missile programs, and the persistent threat of terrorists who seek to use WMD against the United States.

Yet, despite this challenging security environment I am cautiously optimistic President Trump is the right person at the right time to stem, and in fact, reverse this tide.

President Trump has said it would be a great achievement to reduce the number of nuclear weapons in the world. I wholeheartedly agree.

This was part of his agenda during his first administration when the President recognized that an unconstrained Chinese nuclear program will be a threat not in the abstract someday but in the very near term.

In 2020 China was estimated to have, roughly, 200 nuclear warheads with that number expected to double in a decade. Here we are not even 5 years later and the new estimates put the Chinese stockpile at over 600, growing to a thousand by 2030.

China's long standing excuses for refusing to engage in arms control can no longer be allowed to go unanswered. If confirmed, I will pursue meaningful and effective policies to strengthen America's nuclear deterrence umbrella, enhance chemical and biological weapons deterrence, and seek verifiable and enforceable arms control agreements that enhance American national security.

Arms control agreements without strong and effective verification regimes and the will to address noncompliance serve only one purpose: to give an illusion of security. They do nothing to actually enhance global security.

One need only look at the INF treaty. Russia illegally developed INF range systems now used for nuclear coercion and intimidation.

If confirmed, I will only advance agreements that prioritize U.S. national security, strengthen those that do not, and reassess our participation in any agreement that constrains the United States or our interests.

As Secretary Rubio has underscored, the State Department policies need to make us stronger and more prosperous.

If confirmed I will view my policy decisions through that guidance, particularly when it comes to foreign military sales. Those sales are a critical part of U.S. security partnerships.

I view this committee as a critical partner in the oversight of arms exports. It will be one of my top priorities to ensure that all U.S. security assistance programs are thoroughly and expeditiously reviewed, transparent to Congress and the American people, and efficient for U.S. industry and America's partners.

Another important way to establish long term partnerships is the promotion of civil nuclear energy. President Trump seeks to unleash American energy, and the United States has the most advanced nuclear technologies on offer today.

If confirmed, I will work to use nuclear energy to establish long term relationships with partners around the world, strengthen supply chains, and offer alternatives to Russia and China.

We must also strengthen efforts to combat proliferation threats including the proliferation of chemical and biological weapons and missile delivery systems, as well as dual use technologies that can threaten the United States.

If confirmed, I will focus on ensuring our competitive advantage in critical and emerging technologies such as AI, biotech, and quantum. We must deny our adversaries any advantage, preserve America's technological edge while also helping American business not just grow but thrive.

If confirmed, I will insist that our partners and allies step up to do more to prevent western technologies from ending up in the hands of our adversaries.

Here, again, China is our biggest threat. We must stop Chinese exploitation of our technological base.

I believe there is consensus around the need to address international security threats that we face today. We may differ on approach, but the national imperative is clear.

This is reflected in bipartisan efforts to modernize our nuclear deterrent and in the important recommendations of the bipartisan Strategic Posture Commission.

If confirmed, I look forward to engaging this committee, consulting with you and your staff on these, and working together to advance these priorities.

Thank you.

**Senate Foreign Relations Committee
Additional Nominee Questions**

1. Do you agree to appear before this Committee and make officials from your office available to the Committee when invited?

Answer: Yes

2. Do you commit to keeping this Committee fully informed about the activities under your purview in a timely manner?

Answer: Yes

3. Do you commit to engaging in meaningful consultation while policies are being developed, not just providing notification after the fact?

Answer: Yes

4. Do you commit to responding to requests for briefings and information requested by the Committee and its designated staff as soon as practicable?

Answer: Yes

5. Do you agree to ensuring that Chiefs of Mission fully support CODELs and STAFFDELS, with exceptions only for simultaneous or overlapping visits by the President or First Lady of the United States, the Vice President, or the Secretaries of State or Defense?

Answer: Yes



Printed Name: Thomas D. Dinan

Date: 4-9-25

[The prepared statement of Mr. DiNanno follows:]

Prepared Statement of Thomas DiNanno

Chairman Risch, Ranking Member Shaheen, and distinguished Members of this Committee: thank you for this opportunity. I want to thank President Trump for nominating me to serve as the Under Secretary of State for Arms Control and International Security. I also want to thank Secretary Rubio for his support—it is a tremendous honor to be nominated and appear before this committee. If confirmed, I will be an unwavering voice for the American people and for this Administration's national security priorities. I commit to you that I will work closely with this Committee and with Congress to drive forward our shared vision and values.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank my family, friends, and colleagues—without their support and encouragement, I would not be here today. I especially want to thank my mother and father for the love and support they have given throughout my life. And of course, I want to thank my lovely wife Darlene and our wonderful daughter Lexi, who are with me here today.

I have spent nearly 25 years in public service in various capacities in homeland and national security, including serving in the State Department's Arms Control, Verification and Compliance Bureau during President Trump's first administration.

Many of the Members of this Committee have expressed concern that we are in perhaps the most dangerous time the world has faced since World War II. Those concerns are not unfounded. We can point to the war in Ukraine, China's rapid and opaque expansion of its nuclear weapons stockpile, a Middle East perpetually on edge, Iran's nuclear ambitions and chemical weapons program, ever-threatening and growing North Korean WMD and missile programs, and the persistent threat of terrorists who seek to use WMD against the United States. Yet despite this challenging security environment, I am cautiously optimistic for the future. President Trump is the right person at the right time to stem—and in fact, reverse—the tide.

President Trump has said “it would be a great achievement to reduce the number of nuclear weapons in the world.” I agree wholeheartedly. That was part of his agenda during his first administration when the President recognized, as we all know now, that an unconstrained Chinese nuclear program will be a threat, not in the abstract “someday,” but in the very near term. In 2020, China was estimated to have roughly 200 nuclear warheads, with that number expected to double in a decade. Here we are, not even 5 years later, and the new estimates put the Chinese stockpile at over 600, growing to over 1000 by 2030. China's longstanding excuses for refusing to engage in arms control can no longer be allowed to go neglected.

If confirmed, I will pursue meaningful and effective policies to strengthen America's nuclear deterrence umbrella, enhance chemical and biological weapon deterrence, and seek verifiable and enforceable arms control agreements that enhance American national security. Arms control agreements without strong and effective verification regimes—and the will to address non-compliance—serve only one purpose: to give an illusion of security. They do nothing to actually enhance global security. One need only look at the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) treaty. Russia illegally developed INF-range systems now used for nuclear coercion and intimidation. If confirmed, I will only advance agreements that prioritize U.S. national security, strengthen those that don't, and reassess our participation in any agreement that constrains the United States or our interests.

As Secretary Rubio has underscored, State Department policies must make us safer, stronger, and more prosperous. If confirmed, I will view my policy decisions through that guidance. Particularly when it comes to foreign military sales. These sales are a critical part of U.S. security partnerships. I view this Committee as a critical partner in the oversight of arms exports. It will be one of my top priorities to ensure that all U.S. security assistance programs from the T family are thoroughly and expeditiously reviewed, transparent to Congress and the American people, and efficient for U.S. industry and America's partners.

In this vein, another important way to establish long-term partnerships is the promotion of civil nuclear energy. President Trump seeks to “unleash American energy,” and the United States has the most advanced nuclear technologies on offer today, and when the U.S. provides them, we not only to win multibillion-dollar deals but ensure the highest standards of nuclear safety, security and nonproliferation. If confirmed, I will work to use nuclear energy to establish long-term relationships with partners around the world, strengthen supply chains, and offer alternatives to Russia and China. I see this as a key area of focus and close cooperation with this Committee.

We must also strengthen efforts to combat proliferation threats—including the proliferation of chemical and biological weapons and missile delivery systems—as

well as dual-use technologies that can be used to harm the United States. If confirmed, I will focus on ensuring our competitive advantage in critical and emerging technologies, such as AI, biotech, and quantum. We must effectively deploy export controls, investment screening, deny our adversaries any advantage, and preserve America's technological leading edge, while also helping American businesses not just grow, but thrive. If confirmed, I will insist that our partners and allies step up and do more to prevent western technologies from ending up in the hands of our adversaries. Here again, China is our biggest threat; we must stop China's exploitation of our technology.

I believe there is consensus around the need to face and address the international security threats we face today. We may differ on the approach, but the national imperative is clear. This is reflected in bipartisan efforts to modernize our nuclear deterrent and in the important recommendations of the bipartisan Strategic Posture Commission report from 2023.

If confirmed, I look forward to engaging this Committee and consulting with you and your staff on these issues so that we can work together to advance these priorities.

Senator RISCH. Thank you, Mr. DiNanno. That is—what you are undertaking is certainly an important undertaking for all of America. I am sure we will have a number of questions for you when we get to the round of questions.

Sarah Rogers of New York to be Under Secretary for State for Public Diplomacy, the floor is yours.

STATEMENT OF SARAH ROGERS, OF NEW YORK, TO BE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

Ms. ROGERS. Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member Shaheen, and distinguished members of this committee, it is an honor to appear before you today as President Trump's nominee for Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy.

I want to thank President Trump and Secretary Rubio for their trust and confidence. Thank you, members and staff of this committee, for meeting with me these past few weeks.

If confirmed, I look forward to working closely with this committee to communicate America's interests and values across the globe.

I also want to thank my parents, Sally and Jeff, who journeyed here from South Carolina, and my husband Jeff for their love and patience and support. I could not have done any of this without each of you.

Public diplomacy is the soul of soft power. It comprises the voice and the vision that America presents to the world. For billions of people our State Department is the closest encounter they ever have with the U.S. Government as an institution.

The things our diplomats say and the things our government funds tell the people of the world what America's values and priorities are.

In the past, we prioritized suppressing so called disinformation. That term can target foreign propaganda worth fighting, but these efforts lost their purpose. If I am confirmed, I will bring clarity of purpose and transparency in our efforts.

We have heard the CEO of NPR, which is funded in part by the United States, describe the First Amendment as the number one challenge besetting American journalism.

But actually free speech, which is America's most famous freedom, is America's number one strength. That the right to free

speech protects inconvenient speech is not a weakness. It is the whole point.

And free speech also furnishes our best response to rivals like Iran and the Chinese Communist Party who want to replace the free exchange of ideas with distortions scripted by the state.

China in particular spends roughly \$11 billion annually on propaganda, more than 10 times what we spend on public diplomacy. But having dedicated my entire career to advocacy inside and outside the courtroom, including for the First Amendment, I am confident we can make each American dollar count more.

That is because we are privileged to tell the American story, and American excellence and innovation sell themselves.

If confirmed, I am committed to appropriately stewarding the public diplomacy resources, equipping our practitioners with the skills and resources they need to conduct pragmatic foreign policy that advances our national interests.

President Trump has presented a clear foreign policy agenda for the American people, and its lode star is America first. We must prioritize America's security, strength, and prosperity in each dollar we allocate and each decision we effect.

If confirmed, I will ensure that U.S. public diplomacy is well positioned to deliver these results for the American people.

By leveraging advanced messaging capabilities to speak authoritatively and directly to those who seek to enter the United States illegally, the department can address the crisis at our border.

Using sophisticated technology and target audience analysis we can ensure the message lands with clarity, candor, and force.

The State Department's public diplomacy function is uniquely capable in this respect. If confirmed, it will also be my honor to steward the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs which includes the Fulbright, Gilman, and other exchange programs along with sports and music diplomacy and the shared safeguarding of antiquities and cultural heritage sites, and I will ensure that we take advantage of numerous opportunities afforded by public diplomacy to advance economic opportunity for the American people and American businesses.

Just next week the State Department's public diplomacy team will lead our engagement at Expo Osaka, the largest public and economic diplomacy event in the Indo-Pacific region in 15 years.

With projected attendance of 28 million the expo could generate an audience exceeding the Olympics and the World Cup. This is an incredible chance to build commercial partnerships while showcasing American excellence.

Mindful of our imperative to efficiently deploy and never to waste taxpayer dollars the department must also harness the power of AI to increase the efficiency and effectiveness of public diplomacy.

AI has the ability to process enormous amounts of data and deliver actionable insights in a fraction of the time that it would take a human to do the same.

It can help us understand evolving narratives, identify trends among key audiences, and automate routine administrative tasks. All of this frees up time for State Department professionals to focus on higher value work including person to person diplomacy.

Thank you for inviting me here today, and I welcome the committee's questions.

**Senate Foreign Relations Committee
Additional Nominee Questions**

1. Do you agree to appear before this Committee and make officials from your office available to the Committee when invited?

Answer: Yes

2. Do you commit to keeping this Committee fully informed about the activities under your purview in a timely manner?

Answer: Yes

3. Do you commit to engaging in meaningful consultation while policies are being developed, not just providing notification after the fact?

Answer: Yes

4. Do you commit to responding to requests for briefings and information requested by the Committee and its designated staff as soon as practicable?

Answer: Yes

5. Do you agree to ensuring that Chiefs of Mission fully support CODELs and STAFFDELS, with exceptions only for simultaneous or overlapping visits by the President or First Lady of the United States, the Vice President, or the Secretaries of State or Defense?

Answer: Yes

Printed Name: SARAH ROGERS

Date: 4/9/2015

[The prepared statement of Ms. Rogers follows:]

Prepared Statement of Sarah Rogers

Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member Shaheen, and distinguished Members of this Committee:

It is an honor to appear before you today as President Trump's nominee for Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy. I want to thank President Trump and Secretary Rubio for their trust and confidence. Thank you, Members and staff of this Committee, for meeting with me these past few weeks. If confirmed, I look forward to working closely with this committee to communicate America's interests and values across the globe.

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If confirmed, I am committed to appropriately stewarding public diplomacy resources, equipping our practitioners with the skills and resources they need to conduct pragmatic foreign policy that advances our national interests. President Trump has presented a clear foreign policy agenda for the American people, and its lodestar is America First. We must prioritize America's security, strength, and prosperity in each dollar we allocate, and each decision we effect. If confirmed, I will ensure that U.S. public diplomacy is well positioned to deliver these results for the American people.

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Thank you for inviting me here today. I welcome the committee's questions.

Senator RISCH. Thank you very much.

We will now hear from Allison Hooker of Georgia to be Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs.

Welcome. The floor is yours.

**STATEMENT OF ALLISON HOOKER, OF GEORGIA, TO BE AN
UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS**

Ms. HOOKER. Thank you.

Chairman Risch, Ranking Member Shaheen, distinguished Senators, thank you for the opportunity to appear before you today.

I am deeply honored to be nominated by the President to serve as Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs and grateful for the Secretary's support for that.

If confirmed, I pledge to uphold the Constitution, serve the American people with integrity and purpose, and advance our nation's interest across the globe.

I would not be here today without the love and support of my family who has inspired public service. In particular, I would like to honor my father who served in the U.S. Navy and then as a civil servant at Robbins Air Force Base next door to my hometown of Macon, Georgia.

My father, who passed more than 30 years ago, served our country and the American people his entire life. He was my first inspiration to enter public service.

My mother, who instilled in me her powerful faith in Jesus Christ, has been my biggest cheerleader and reminding me that with God all things are possible.

My big sister Charlene was the first in our family to attend college, and she set a high bar for me with her own achievements. I am grateful for their love and support as I am for my friends who have joined me here today to support me in person.

Since the first day I walked into the Department of State as a civil service new hire more than 20 years ago I have devoted my career to advancing our country's national security, and I have immense respect for the strong, dynamic teams I have worked with over the years, both at the State Department and at the White House.

If confirmed, I commit to work with this committee. I also would be honored to serve in that position that the President has placed his faith in me for.

And what a critical time it is. From great power competition around the world and conflicts in Europe and the Middle East, to flows of illegal migrants and drugs across our borders, to China seeking to reshape the global order, we live in a time of historic change, and we need a proactive foreign policy that serves America and its citizens by making our country safer, stronger, and more prosperous.

I believe President Trump's foreign policies will achieve these objectives, and I am eager, if confirmed, to work to support them.

Over the past two decades I have served in a variety of roles across the U.S. Government. Most recently I was honored to serve as director for Korea and later as senior director for Asia on the National Security Council during President Trump's first term

where I helped to shape and implement U.S. policy toward the Indo-Pacific.

In those positions I saw the indispensable tool that diplomacy can be when it is firm, clear eyed, and rooted in American strength. My experience in Northeast Asia, particularly on the Korean Peninsula, has taught me that the hardest problems in foreign policy are rarely solved overnight.

Progress requires strategy, discipline, strength, and consistency over time. It also demands diplomacy grounded in the realities of the world as it is, not simply as we wish it to be.

While my professional roots are in Asia I fully recognize that, if confirmed, my charge will be global, and I am eager for this challenge. If confirmed, my priorities would include, first, strengthening our diplomatic work force.

The Department of State's greatest asset is its people. We need a modern diplomatic corps that is ready to meet the challenges of a complex world.

Our diplomatic statecraft must reflect American interests and ingenuity and take advantage of both diplomatic and economic opportunities around the world.

To achieve these objectives we must work to recruit top talent, using technology to make our work more efficient, impactful, and ensuring our diplomats around the world are safe.

Second, reinforcing our relationships with partners bilaterally and in multilateral fora. Even as we correct trade and security imbalances between the United States and the rest of the world we must, together with allies and partners, work to address shared challenges.

We also will work to ensure that any multilateral fora that we engage in have objectives that are consistent with U.S. interests and values.

Third, confronting our adversaries with strength and resolve. Diplomacy is not the absence of disagreements. It is how we manage them.

That means defending American interests and applying pressure where needed while always leaving the door open to engagement when it can advance and achieve American goals.

Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member, and members of this committee, I approach this role with gratitude, humility, realism, and resolve.

If confirmed, I will dedicate myself to leading with integrity, listening to our allies and adversaries alike, and doing everything in my power to ensure that the American people are served well and that diplomacy remains the cornerstone of our national security.

Thank you for your time and for the opportunity to appear before you today. I look forward to your questions.

**Senate Foreign Relations Committee
Additional Nominee Questions**

1. Do you agree to appear before this Committee and make officials from your office available to the Committee when invited?

Answer: Yes

2. Do you commit to keeping this Committee fully informed about the activities under your purview in a timely manner?

Answer: Yes

3. Do you commit to engaging in meaningful consultation while policies are being developed, not just providing notification after the fact?

Answer: Yes

4. Do you commit to responding to requests for briefings and information requested by the Committee and its designated staff as soon as practicable?

Answer: Yes

5. Do you agree to ensuring that Chiefs of Mission fully support CODELs and STAFFDELS, with exceptions only for simultaneous or overlapping visits by the President or First Lady of the United States, the Vice President, or the Secretaries of State or Defense?

Answer: Yes



Printed Name: Allison Hooker

Date: 4/9/2025

[The prepared statement of Ms. Hooker follows:]

Prepared Statement of Allison Hooker

Chairman Risch, Ranking Member Shaheen, distinguished Senators: thank you for the opportunity to appear before you today. I am deeply honored to be nominated by the President to serve as Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs. If confirmed, I pledge to uphold the Constitution, serve the American people with integrity and purpose, and advance our nation's interests across the globe.

I would not be here today without my family, whose love and support have inspired and shaped my career in public service. In particular I would like to honor my father, Charles Oglethorpe Hooker, who served in the US Navy and then as a civil servant at Warner Robins Air Force Base next door to my hometown of Macon, Georgia. My father, who passed more than 30 years ago, served our country and the American people his entire life, setting an extraordinary example. He was my first inspiration to enter public service. My mother, Coralee Hooker, who instilled in me her powerful faith in Jesus Christ, has been my biggest cheerleader, reminding me always that with God all things are possible. My big sister, Charlene, who was the first in our family to attend college, set a high bar for me with her own achievements. She and my mother are unable to join me today due to illness. I am joined by my niece, Rebekah, and nephew, Allen. I also want to thank my pastors and friends who have also come today to show their support. I truly would not be here without their encouragement and love.

I was drawn to international affairs at an early age—as a high school student in the 1980s, I was struck by the Reagan Administration's policies of peace through strength and riveted by the world events that unfolded as the decade was drawing to a close. In particular, the Tiananmen Square Massacre in June 1989 and the fall of the Berlin wall later that year had a major impact and fueled that interest. I had no idea how I might pursue a career in foreign policy, but I certainly wanted to try. It was also that year that I went to Japan on a sister city exchange program. It was a trip that set the course for my life I am very grateful to have had that life-changing opportunity, and for the all the others that followed.

Since the first day I walked into the Department of State in January 2001 as a civil service new hire, I have devoted my career to advancing our country's national security, and I have immense respect for the strong, dynamic teams I have worked with over the years, both at the State Department and the White House. It is humbling to appear today before this committee, whose bipartisan work has long guided U.S. foreign policy through turbulent and transformative times. If confirmed, I would be honored to serve as Under Secretary of State at such a critical time for our foreign policy.

And what a critical time it is—from Great Power competition and conflicts in Europe and the Middle East, to flows of illegal migrants and drugs across our borders, to China seeking to reshape the global order—we live in a time of historic challenge. And we need a proactive foreign policy that serves America and its citizens by making our country safer, stronger, and more prosperous. I believe President Trump's foreign policies will achieve these objectives.

Over the past two decades, I have served in a variety of roles across the U.S. Government, most recently I had the privilege of serving as Director for Korea and later as Senior Director for Asia on the National Security Council during President Trump's first term, where I helped shape and implement U.S. policy toward the Indo-Pacific at a time of unprecedented regional challenges and strategic change. In those positions, I saw the indispensable tool that diplomacy can be when it is firm, clear-eyed, and rooted in American strength—in other words, engagement when useful, pressure when necessary, and always in service of America's interests.

My expertise in Northeast Asia—particularly on the Korean Peninsula—has taught me that the hardest problems in foreign policy are rarely solved overnight. Progress requires strategy, discipline, strength and consistency over time. It also demands diplomacy grounded in the realities of the world as it is, not simply as we wish it to be.

While my professional roots are in Asia, I fully recognize that if confirmed as Under Secretary, my charge will be global, and I am eager for this challenge. If confirmed, my priorities as Under Secretary would include:

- First, strengthening our diplomatic workforce. The Department of State's greatest asset is its people. We need a modern diplomatic corps that is ready to meet the challenges of a complex world. Our diplomatic statecraft must reflect American interests and ingenuity and take advantage of both diplomatic and economic opportunities around the world. To achieve these objectives, we must work to recruit top

talent, using technology to make our work more efficient and impactful, and ensuring our diplomats around the world are safe.

- Second, reinforcing our relationships with partners bilaterally and in multilateral fora. Even as we correct trade and security imbalances between the United States and the rest of the world, we must work together with allies and partners to address shared challenges. We also will work to ensure that any multilateral fora that we engage in have objectives that are consistent with U.S. interests and values.

- Third, confronting our adversaries with strength and resolve. Diplomacy is not the absence of disagreements; it is how we manage them. That means defending American interests and applying pressure where needed—through sanctions, isolation, or deterrence—while always leaving the door open to engagement when it can advance and achieve American goals.

Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member, and members of the Committee: I approach this role with gratitude, humility, realism, and resolve. If confirmed, I will dedicate myself to leading with integrity, listening to our allies and adversaries alike, and doing everything in my power to ensure that the American people are served well, and that diplomacy remains the cornerstone of our national security.

Thank you for your time and for the opportunity to appear before you. I look forward to your questions.

Senator HAGERTY [presiding]. Thank you.

I would like to put Chairman Risch's opening statement into the record, without objection.

And then with that I would like to recognize the Ranking Member for her comments.

Senator Shaheen.

Senator SHAHEEN. Go ahead.

Senator HAGERTY. Thank you.

Well, welcome and congratulations to all of you. It is quite an honor to be here today.

Rather than go through another opening statement—Senator Risch's is going to be entered here—I would just like to go directly to questioning if I might.

And I would actually like to start with you, Mr. DiNanno, to talk about foreign military sales. You and I have discussed this before.

When I served as U.S. Ambassador to Japan, I realized that the foreign military sales process was extremely rigid. The backlogs were unacceptable.

I went to the President about this. He empowered me to create tiger teams with the Department of Defense, with the State Department, and with the Commerce Department. We made significant progress in whittling down the extensive timelines, but there is still much work to be done.

I would like to get your perspective in terms of the risks that a long timeline for foreign military sales poses when you think about competitors like Russia and China and what you might consider doing about that.

Mr. DiNANNO. Thank you for the question, Senator. I enjoyed our visit, and since that time I have given this a lot of thought.

Members on both sides of the aisle have expressed concerns that this is a priority. It will be priority for me if I get confirmed.

I would like to maybe give a couple broad brush strokes. So that broad brush strokes—in a nutshell, we need more capability and less bureaucracy when it comes to FMS. I know there has been a tremendous amount of interest in this body, in the Senate, as well as in the House, and I have heard—again, I am a private citizen, I am not engaged day to day—that the Administration is actively involved as well in working with the Congress.

If confirmed, it will be my highest priority.

To your direct question about how this impacts alliances, foreign military sales are the absolute cornerstone of our extended deterrence and allied assurance and a critical part of moving that process forward.

So, again, more capability, less bureaucracy.

Senator HAGERTY. Great. I hope you will commit to working with me and with this committee as you advance progress in the foreign military sales process.

Mr. DiNANNO. Yes, Senator, I do.

Senator HAGERTY. Thank you. I appreciate that.

Ms. Hooker, I would like to turn to you, please. Let us talk about the U.S.-South Korea-Japan trilateral relationship.

You have extensive experience in this area, and I think we have been very fortunate in recent years to see an emerging strength in terms of the bilateral relationship between Japan and South Korea as well as the trilateral relationship that we enjoy with both nations.

I think you and I discussed this before, but I have been pleased to lead the delegations from here to our second annual trilateral executive dialogue in Seoul. Members of this committee went with me. I hope they will go again with me when we do the third annual in Tokyo this fall.

But that dialogue has been very productive in terms of deepening economic ties and security ties with chief executives, with leaders of various governments involved, and also with members of this body.

I would very much like to get your perspective on where you would like to see, what your priorities would be for the trilateral relationship.

Ms. HOOKER. Thank you, Senator, and I would like to thank you both for your time this week and meeting with me and so we could have these discussions, and also, Senator, thank you for your service as Ambassador to Japan previously and the work you did on the trilateral relationship there as well.

Senator, as you said, this relationship—the trilateral relationship between the United States, Japan, and Korea, is critically important not only to the safety and security of the northeast Asian region but also to the United States and to our allies and the rest of the Indo-Pacific.

I think we have made incredible gains, thanks to President Trump and his first administration. We worked, largely, behind the scenes and under the radar to maintain the engagement between the two allies of Japan and South Korea to increase our trilateral engagement, the frequency of it, and the breadth of it as well so that it not only was about safety and security against the threat of North Korea both to the region and to us but beyond that to other issues—global work together on health and on economic security as well.

If confirmed, I look forward to continuing to advance this relationship. As you know, in the Republic of Korea we have had a time where there has not been—there has been an interim government.

We are coming up on a period where an election will take place in a couple of months. We will have a sitting president, and we will be able to advance the relationship with South Korea and Japan I think more effectively once that takes place.

Senator HAGERTY. I look forward to working with you in that regard.

I would like to turn to one other area very quickly, and that is China's presence in Latin America, the facilities they are building in countries like Chile, Argentina. How do you see that as a potential threat to our safety and security here?

Ms. HOOKER. Yes, sir. Thank you, Senator, for that question.

As I noted in my opening statement, great power competition is one of the biggest challenges that we have in the moment—in this moment, and China is working to change the global order around the world including in Latin America where it seeks to have great influence.

As you know, sir, the President and the Secretary has placed this as a priority. Secretary Rubio has made numerous trips to the region already to speak to governments in Latin America about this and other issues, and we look forward to—if confirmed, I look forward to working with the Secretary to ensure that not only we work bilaterally with those governments but across the region to ensure that we counter China's influence in Latin America.

Senator HAGERTY. Thank you for making that a priority.

Senator Shaheen.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you.

Welcome to all of our nominees this morning and to your family and friends who are here with you.

Ms. Hooker, I want to follow up on that a little bit because I appreciated your comment about the importance of allies and partners in your opening statement.

However, you talked about—you inferred that tariffs—we can get past the tariff issue and address the concerns of our allies and partners.

And yet, as we think about the trilateral relationship what we have seen since the announcement of the tariffs just this past week is that Japan and South Korea are meeting with China because they are so concerned about our tariffs.

So how do we address that kind of concern? Because what is happening is it is pushing our allies toward China instead of away from them.

Ms. HOOKER. Thank you, Senator, and I also want to thank your staff for meeting with me this week and spending some time sharing with me about your concerns.

I appreciate that, and I look forward to working with the committee and working with your team on these issues, going forward.

Senator, as the President and the Secretary have said, tariffs are just one tool in our economics—in our trade tool box, but they are aimed at making our trade more reciprocal not only with—

Senator SHAHEEN. No, I understand what the talking points are, Ms. Hooker, and I do not want to interrupt you. But when we see our allies moving toward China very directly, what is our best response to address that?

Ms. HOOKER. Thank you, Senator, for that question and the follow up.

What I would like to point out is that actually Japan will be entering into negotiations with the United States as a result of these tariffs. They are bringing Japan to us and this will be a tool that will even out trade and make the United States more prosperous as a result.

Senator SHAHEEN. Well, maybe I am not being clear. What I am really asking is when we see that kind of direction happening what do we do? What would you do?

Would you call our contacts, your contacts in Japan and South Korea, and try and reassure them about the ability to negotiate or mediate some sort of an agreement? It seems to me that when we see that kind of action it demands a response from our officials in the government.

But to go on to another topic, I also appreciated your talking about strengthening the diplomatic work force in your opening statement and the importance of attracting the best and brightest people to the Department of State. I agree with that.

What I am concerned about is that what we have already seen since the new Administration took over is a great deal of uncertainty about what is going to happen at the State Department.

We already know that all of the personnel—virtually all of the personnel, over 10,000 people at USAID, have been fired and that that bureau has been eliminated that provides important foreign assistance throughout the world.

So how do we attract the best and the brightest when there is that kind of uncertainty around what is happening at the State Department?

Ms. HOOKER. Thank you, Senator, for that question.

It is my view that the President and the Secretary of State are taking a very close look at how we manage work force, going forward, and how we streamline government, and how we streamline our budget, and I support that.

I am not privy to the conversations internally on how those decisions are being made, but if confirmed I look forward to returning and speaking to you about this if you have further questions.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you. I would hope that you would because I think it is going to be hard to attract the people that we are going to need when there is so much uncertainty about what is happening within the department.

Mr. DiNanno, you talked about the importance of addressing our nuclear stockpiles, and I know that President Trump has publicly said that he wants to see if we can denuclearize and expressed support for launching nuclear talks with China and Russia.

In 2022 you wrote an article that called the Biden administration's arms control policy deluded for pursuing nuclear arms control with Russia and China.

So given that, do you have reservations about the President's objective, or is it just because he is the president who is nominated you who shares your political philosophy that now you feel like that is an appropriate path to move down?

Mr. DiNANNO. Thank you for the question, Senator.

I differ from the prior Administration's U.N. arms control. This Administration would pursue arms control that is enforceable and verifiable.

I think in that article I was referring to the extension of the New START treaty with no strings attached, no further negotiations. I think that was the wrong thing to do, and we gave away our leverage, so that is what I was referring to.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you for the clarification.

Thank you.

Senator HAGERTY. Senator Cornyn.

Senator CORNYN. Good morning. Thank you for being here, and congratulations on your nomination.

Mr. DiNanno, I wanted to ask you about nuclear proliferation. Specifically, one of the things that President Trump has made very clear is that he expects our NATO allies in Europe to do more for their own self-defense, and I agree with that wholeheartedly.

But it is going to take a while for them to step up and create the industrial base to produce weapons, to build their military and the like.

In the meantime, we are seeing concerning announcements from everybody from President Zelensky to the new chancellor of Germany to the new—the president of Poland talking about, well, maybe they need to acquire nuclear weapons in order to defend themselves against the existential threat of Russia.

What do you think the right answer is to prevent proliferation because, of course, you know and I know it will not stop there.

Other countries around the world, if they have concerns about whether the United States will come to their aid, they figure they better do whatever they need to do to survive.

Mr. DiNANNO. Thank you for the question, Senator.

I think the best answer to those concerns that I have—I have seen the press reports—is a robust, extended deterrence and American allied assurance policy.

During my service in the previous Trump administration we did exactly that. There is no substitute for diplomacy. If I am confirmed that will be a top priority of mine to reassure allies and partners that the United States will stand shoulder to shoulder with them.

I watched Secretary Rubio and Ambassador Whitaker at NATO this past week giving those extremely strong support to the alliance while calling on them to do more.

I would also note in my preparation for this hearing I noticed last week that the Dutch—the Danish Navy, excuse me—announced procuring 25 new naval ships and platforms and underwater unmanned systems and those sort of things.

That is in 2 months since President Trump has been elected. So what he is doing is working, and I look forward to, if confirmed, to doing more.

Senator CORNYN. Yes. I am encouraged when I see our NATO allies stepping up and doing more, but I am also worried that when we hear them talk about maybe—the new chancellor of Germany said maybe we have to share our nuclear weapons with Ukraine.

Ms. Hooker, the role of soft power—I guess it was actually Ms. Rogers, I guess, excuse me—you were the one who was talking about the importance of soft power.

One of the things that I noticed when I travel with Senator Shaheen and Senator Kaine in Central and South America is, obviously, China is on the march in South America and Central America, and one of the ways that we have—it was interesting, the contrast between my most recent visit and previous visits is in many instances the heads of state of many of these countries had studied in the United States so they learned about us, they learned about our values, and they were a friend of the United States.

And it seems like over the last recent years we have had as many as 300,000 Chinese students in the United States, which is a cause for concern particularly when they are studying things like nuclear physics and the like.

But what could we do to encourage more foreign students from key allies and developing nations to come to the United States to learn more about us and for us to learn more about them?

Ms. ROGERS. Thank you, Senator, for that question.

As I noted in my opening testimony, these foreign exchange programs are really some of our strongest soft power assets, and they are great human capital investments, too.

I think by this Administration's attentiveness to the vetting process for student visas and other visas we ensure—we do the utmost to ensure the quality of every single person we let in, which bolsters the quality of the success of these programs, and I think telling the American story, highlighting American excellence, highlighting American innovation, creating a safe, strong, prosperous America will be—you know, we will be the city on a hill that others will want to visit and learn from and be part of, and I think we will see those fruits manifest in our exchange programs and elsewhere.

Senator CORNYN. Ms. Hooker, how would you deal with Mexico?

Ms. HOOKER. Thank you, Senator, for that question.

Well, the President and the Secretary have begun to take great—and do a lot of work on Mexico, obviously, with the upcoming USMCA review and the other work that is being done to secure our borders.

Mexico is an incredibly important partner for the United States. If confirmed, I look forward to working with the Secretary to ensure that the diplomacy that needs to be done to secure our southern border is done and that our trade relationship is balanced and even and made reciprocal.

I look forward, if confirmed, to communicating with you on that if you have other issues you would like for me to look into. But thank you for the question.

Senator HAGERTY. Senator Kaine.

Senator Kaine. Thank you.

Congratulations to each of you for your nominations.

I want to begin, Ms. Hooker, with you. You talked about tariffs and described them as an effort by the President to address trade imbalances, and I just want to give you a perspective from this side of the dais.

I view the President's announcement last week as a \$6 trillion tax increase on American families. The President's economic advisor Peter Navarro said that these tariffs will raise \$6 trillion over 10 years—\$600 billion a year—and Virginia families and businesses are going to pay for it, and that is why the markets are in turmoil.

That is why my Virginia farmers are worried because they use fertilizer with potash and it all comes—80 percent of it comes from Canada.

That is where my ship builders and sub builders—where 35 percent of the aluminum and steel come from Canada. They view this as a \$6 trillion tax increase.

Now, you asserted and the President has that it is designed to address trade imbalances. OK. If that is the case why did the President impose tariffs on nations like Brazil, Netherlands, Australia, and others where we have a trade surplus—where we do not have a trade deficit?

If it is designed to address trade imbalances why did he impose tariffs on Israel and Singapore who have no tariffs on U.S. products?

Maybe it is about adversaries over allies. But wait a minute, why put a 17 percent tariff on Israel and a 10 percent tariff on Iran? Why put a higher tariff on Taiwan than on Canada?

This I know is justified as an effort to address trade imbalances but if you just go down the list of countries and you look at the tariffs that are imposed, the calculation and the numbers for these countries suggest something else is going on, and I think that something else is a \$6 trillion tax increase.

And the Administration and the leaders here, many have made plain that the goal is use that tax increase to then fund a tax cut for the wealthiest.

So I hope you are right and that this is going to help us on the trade imbalance side. But again, if that was the goal why go after Australia? Why go after Brazil? Why go after the U.K.? Why go after the Netherlands? Why go after Singapore, when we have trade surpluses with those nations?

And so I do not really have a question about tariffs but I just want to challenge an assertion that it is about trade imbalances when so many of the nations that are getting socked by tariffs that is not really a challenge that we have with them.

To both Ms. Rogers and Ms. Hooker, let me now move over and to ask about the President dismantling the U.S. Agency for Global Media.

I appreciated Ms. Rogers saying we got to be for the First Amendment. I agree. I was glad that a court ruled yesterday that the Associated Press could not be kicked out of the White House press pool because they will use the phrase Gulf of Mexico rather than Gulf of America.

That was standing up for the First Amendment. I am pleased to see the progress of cases in courts where people are challenging being deported for making statements that are politically unpopular but for not committing any criminal activity.

But how are we benefited by dismantling the agency that funds Radio Marti. So Radio Marti—I was a missionary in Honduras—

Radio Marti transmits pro-democracy and good solid information into the repressive Cuban regime where people cannot get access to information.

Ms. Hooker, I think you were on the board of Radio Free Asia, one of the component programs within the U.S. Agency for Global Media.

How do we benefit public diplomacy or our broader political goals by dismantling the agency that is giving people who are oppressed information that they can rely on and be inspired by?

Either one of you is fine.

Ms. ROGERS. Thank you, Senator, for that question.

So if confirmed as the Undersecretary for Public Diplomacy I would not, under the current configuration, oversee any of the components of AGM.

If at some point any of those were placed under my purview I would commit to, you know, really analyzing, getting read in on each of these proposed cuts, each of these programs, because I absolutely agree messaging on the issues the Senator references, you know, that is a value, and we would really want to make sure that every dollar we spend is making America safer, stronger, and more prosperous, and I would be happy to report back to the committee on that, you know, once I am in there to the extent that any of those are under my purview.

Also, if confirmed, in the event that I were the Secretary's designee to the board of AGM I would commit to be a responsible fiduciary and fulfill all of my duties and steward the mission of that entity and each dollar that it spends and each channel that it runs.

Senator KAINE. About your work with—on the board of Radio Free Asia, I mean, my sense is that is a very valuable program in terms of promoting a good image of the United States and giving hope to people who may live under oppressive regimes. How does it serve our diplomatic interest to shutter that?

Ms. HOOKER. Thank you, Senator, for your question and for your comments previous to that as well. I appreciate you sharing your views.

Correct, I was on the board of Radio Free Asia. I was brought—I was invited to be on the board because of my background on North Korea and the work that I had done on the Korean Peninsula for more than two decades, and as my colleague said the review that is underway that is aimed at looking at how we present American messages, messaging about the American values and our interests, is the review is underway to make sure that the audiences we are trying to reach are being reached.

And if I am confirmed I look forward to working with my colleague, if confirmed, on these issues and happy to work with the committee on that as well.

Senator KAINE. Can I just follow up really quick and just say when you were on the board of Radio Free Asia were you trying to do messaging that would help inspire North Koreans who were living under a very oppressive government?

Ms. HOOKER. Yes. The messaging aimed at North Korea was to let them see the outside world.

Senator KAINE. Again, North Korea, Cuba—these are populations that need to hear from the United States, and so as that review

is done I hope we reach the conclusion that we are not just going to be silent and fail to communicate with people who really need a pro-democracy message.

Thank you. I yield back.

Senator HAGERTY. Thank you.

Senator Ricketts.

Senator RICKETTS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and thank you to each of our nominees for your willingness to serve our great nation, and I want to also thank your families as well because we know this is a sacrifice for them as well as you work on behalf of our country. So thank you for being here.

A recent U.N. report revealed that Iran now holds enough 60 percent enriched uranium to produce six nuclear weapons and Iran has no plans to slow production. This not only threatens the U.S. and Israel's security but global security at large.

For years Iran has been in continuous violation of U.N. Security Council Resolution 2231 that endorsed the JCPOA. I commend President Trump for swiftly reinstating maximum pressure on Iran, which directed the next U.N. Ambassador to work with the E3 on the snap back U.N. sanctions on Iran.

This would reimpose fully the panoply of U.N. sanctions previously levied on Iran. All U.N. member states would legally be required to implement these sanctions.

While the authority to snap back expires October 18 the real deadline is much sooner due to the length of time for the process to play out, the need to conduct the snap back under favorable U.N. Security Council leadership and the role of the snap back in the upcoming negotiations with Iran.

Ms. Hooker, I recently introduced a resolution with 18 co-sponsors calling for the E3 to initiate snap back as soon as possible rather than wait until June to snap back, as the E3 has indicated it will do.

I believe snapping back sanctions now will allow the West to deal with Tehran from the strongest possible position.

Do you agree with that?

Ms. HOOKER. Thank you, Senator, for your question and for your interest on the matter.

If confirmed, I look forward to learning more about where the Administration is and implementing maximum pressure, which the President has stated will be necessary to implement toward Iran, and I look forward to using diplomacy to ensure that our allies and partners around the world will be implementing maximum pressure as well.

Senator RICKETTS. Great. Thanks.

Last year, Swedish Prime Minister Kristersson said something I thought was very apt. He said, "If we want the U.S. to be committed to Europe we need to realize that the U.S. has other concerns as well."

Ms. Hooker, what signal do you believe stronger pressure from other European allies against the Iranian regime would send to President Trump? Do you believe it would help strengthen transatlantic ties?

Ms. HOOKER. Thank you, Senator, for that question.

Maximum pressure is going to be necessary on Iran, going forward, and not being in the seat yet I do not have privy to where we are in those discussions.

But if I am confirmed I look forward to learning more about that and ensuring that we are doing what we can to get our European allies and partners to do their part.

Senator RICKETTS. Well, but given that, again, you are not in the seat yet, but what is your feel?

Do you think that if we see our European allies actually showing greater resolve toward places like Iran that are outside of Europe that would help the transatlantic alliance?

Ms. HOOKER. Thank you, Senator, for that question.

I think cooperation from our European allies would be helpful in signaling, and I look forward to once, if confirmed, I look forward to having those conversations.

Senator RICKETTS. And just a topic of maximum pressure, under the last Trump administration Iran's foreign reserves fell from about \$122.5 billion to less than \$14 billion because of those sanctions, and that is the kind of results we need to see this time around as well from the maximum pressure by making sure that Iran has not got the money to be able to support the terrorism they have done around the world.

In 2017 after the Quad revival under President Trump China's foreign minister dismissed it as a sea of foam in the ocean. And yet, 8 years later Secretary Rubio's first official day—on his first official day he met with our Quad counterparts, illustrating the group's continued importance.

Under the Biden administration the Quad grew from senior level security dialogue to leader level summits. However, summit agendas also grew with an ever expanding list of initiatives and working groups but not necessarily no clear priorities.

So as co-chair of the Senate Quad Caucus with Senator Duckworth I was pleased the January joint statement clearly and succinctly emphasized security cooperation while also indirectly calling out communist China's malign aggression. This bolder posture is critical for the Quad to remain relevant. It also proves the Quad is a force for good and stability in the region.

Ms. Hooker, do you believe that the Quad can and should place a greater emphasis on hard security cooperation?

Ms. HOOKER. Thank you, Senator, for that question.

As you noted, the Quad was revived under President Trump during his first term, and I see it as one of the greatest successes of his first term is reviving that relationship.

If confirmed, I look forward to supporting the President and the Secretary in advancing the work of the Quad across a broad area.

I am not privy to exactly what we are going to be—what is being discussed right now, but going forward, if confirmed I look forward to doing that and happy to be back in touch with the committee on that.

Senator RICKETTS. Great. Well, thank you very much, Ms. Hooker.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator CORNYN [presiding]. I want to ask—Mr. DiNanno, let me ask you some more—I am sorry.

Senator SHAHEEN. I would like another round.

Senator CORNYN. I will recognize Senator Shaheen. Excuse me.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Ms. Rogers, I want to go back to your conversation about soft power, and you quoted NPR CEO Katherine Maher. I am a big fan of NPR. I think it does wonderful work.

I think you neglected to provide the context for that quote. It was actually at the Atlantic Council's 360 Open Summit, which was a conference about tackling foreign disinformation, where Maher, who was not at that time the CEO of NPR—she was the CEO of Wikimedia—she discussed efforts to push back against disinformation and her direct quote in response to the question of how to address foreign disinformation was—and I am quoting—“the number one challenge that we see is, of course, the First Amendment in the United States.

“It is a robust protection of rights, and that is a protection of rights both for platforms, which I actually think is very important that platforms have those rights to be able to regulate what kind of content they want on their sites.”

She then said, “This makes it a little tricky to address some of the real challenges of where bad information comes from.”

So I just think it is important to correct the record on that issue.

But I also want to ask you about the role of the State Department and the role that you would assume if confirmed to address interagency coordination on disinformation, and I share your belief that it is a critical tool of our soft power.

And I also agree with you about American access and innovation. I think when people have a chance to see—to partner with the United States versus partnering with China they are going to choose America every time.

But if we do not have an apparatus which we can use to show what America's access and innovation is all about then it is going to be really hard to get that message across to foreign governments, and that is, sadly, where we are as Senator Kaine pointed out.

The dismantling of the U.S. Agency for Global Media, of the Global Engagement Center at the State Department, put us at a disadvantage when it comes to foreign governments.

We had a hearing in this committee the beginning of the year where the experts testified that China is spending over \$1 billion—billion with a B—a year on disinformation and misinformation campaigns across the world, and we no longer have an apparatus to address that.

Also, your role is—historically, the under secretary for public diplomacy and public affairs has represented the Secretary of State on the International Broadcasting Advisory Board, which I know you are familiar with.

That has been a body that has been committed to protecting the editorial independence of U.S. Agency for Global Media networks and entities.

So if we do not have that apparatus how do you address that soft power need that I think we have in the United States to let the rest of the world know why it is important to partner with us?

Ms. ROGERS. Thank you, Senator, for that question and for supplementing the record regarding the purported challenge posed by the First Amendment to countering disinformation.

I just want to make clear the First Amendment should not be a challenge to countering disinformation, and I draw here on the erudition of Justice Brandeis who told us that.

Senator SHAHEEN. I did not understand her to say that it was a challenge to countering disinformation.

Ms. ROGERS. I think the term was a challenge.

Senator SHAHEEN. I understood her to say that it is a robust protection of rights that makes it that as we are thinking about addressing disinformation we have to do it within the context of the First Amendment.

Ms. ROGERS. Absolutely, Senator, and if confirmed that will be my approach. I was quoting Brandeis here. He has had the best response, and this is a bit of a paraphrase because I do not have it in front of me, to fraudulent and fallacious information is more speech, not enforced silence.

So that will be the approach of public diplomacy if I am confirmed to this role, and I also thank the Senator for the opportunity to address what the Global Engagement Center did.

The Global Engagement Center did foster interagency coordination. That was good, and if I am confirmed I will do that, and the global—

Senator SHAHEEN. But that is my question, really, and I am sorry to interrupt, but how will you do it if it has been dismantled?

How will you do it if we no longer have Radio Free Asia, Radio Marti, the infrastructure to get out information to combat our adversaries?

Ms. ROGERS. So just to distinguish briefly, I think, if I were confirmed my function, public diplomacy, never had AGM under it, although the Senator is absolutely correct, I could serve on the board of AGM, which would be a separate agency.

But we still have—we have thousands of social media channels that the public diplomacy function manages.

We have assets in every regional bureau of the State Department, partnerships with influencers and creators. There are many, many outlets with which we can engage, and I think the media landscape has changed seismically as the 2024 election cycle showed us.

Two hours on a podcast might reach more people than a week of appearances on legacy marquee media cable shows. So I just think we need to be agile and creative, and I think to the extent that we are spending money on this media outreach we just need to make sure, and I think the department is developing great metrics and tools to do this, make sure that every dollar we spend has an impact on the target audience, and we have metrics we can use to measure these things, to stay accountable to the American taxpayer and accountable to the imperative that each dollar we spend makes America safer, stronger, and more prosperous.

And the fact that the Global Engagement Center engaged with other agencies that was great, and I will engage with other agencies. I do not need the GEC to do that.

The fact that the Global Engagement Center purported to address foreign propaganda and lies, that was meritorious and I do not need the Global Engagement Center to do that. What the Global Engagement—

Senator SHAHEEN. Well, you need an apparatus to do that, though, and in fact your role did have the Global Engagement Center and all of public diplomacy under it. So I appreciate your intent, and I agree with that.

I think it shows a tremendous amount of naivete to think that we can do that without having an apparatus to actually get the information out there.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator CORNYN. I would like to return to Mexico.

Mr. DiNanno, the current U.S.-Mexico security cooperation is guided by the bicentennial framework negotiated by the Biden administration in 2021.

But just to show that these frameworks do not necessarily mean much if you do not have cooperation with our friends and allies like Mexico, President Manuel Lopez Obrador was notorious for spurning increased security cooperation with the United States.

But the current president, Claudia Sheinbaum, has appeared to be, at least, more amenable to working with the United States.

I am looking forward to having Ambassador Johnson show up in Mexico City. I know he was confirmed last night, and hopefully he will help address many of these issues.

But do you think the Administration should negotiate a new security framework with Mexico?

Mr. DiNANNO. Thank you for the question, Senator. That is a question I am going to have to take back and come back to you on, and I know the United States and Mexico have a complex security arrangement.

In fact, in 2003 in a prior job I actually went to Mexico when we had some discussions about how to protect infrastructure and shared interests on the border.

But the specifics of that security cooperation I would have to look into it and come back to you on a recommendation.

Senator CORNYN. OK.

Ms. Hooker, we talked about this briefly but we ran out of time. How would you deal with Mexico? Mexico is, obviously, connected to the United States. We cannot get a divorce.

We have to make it work, although it has been notoriously difficult for the United States to get the cooperation of the Mexican government on everything from immigration to dealing with drug flows across the border and particularly the fentanyl challenge that we face now, which is now the leading cause of death of young people between the age of 18 and 45.

From your perspective and from—if confirmed, how would you approach improving that relationship with Mexico so that we can gain greater cooperation and improve safety for the American people?

Ms. HOOKER. Thank you, Senator, for that question and for returning to the issue so we could talk a little bit more about it.

As we have seen from the Secretary's engagement from the very start of his time as Secretary of State, engagement with Mexico

and Latin America is a high priority, and the reasons that you have just stated illuminate why.

Our border is being used to have drugs and cartels, and it has become a very dangerous situation in the United States because of the border, because of illegal immigration.

And so if confirmed I would work with the Secretary to engage with Mexico diplomatically to make sure that we are able—that the President is able to achieve his goals with regard to Mexico not just on the security issues that we have just talked about but on trade as well.

Senator CORNYN. Mr. Chairman, I am going to turn the gavel back over to you.

Senator RISCH [presiding]. Let me talk with Mr. DiNanno for a minute.

When I first got here some years back I was enlisted by one of the more senior members to help him engage as they were wrestling with the START and New START Treaty. It needed to be refreshed, I guess, or reauthorized, and I was shocked, frankly, by how badly that agreement had worked between us and Russia, and worked is a euphemism.

It did not work at all. I mean, the Russians lied. They cheated. They misrepresented. They would tell you black was white, and yet the Senate reauthorized the treaty, which, again, I was shocked at.

And of course, things did not get better. They just got worse until finally we got out of it. So things cannot be looking very good for you as far as getting some kind of an agreement with them, and of course, now—between then and now one of the big actors here is going to be China, and there is not much use of an agreement between us and Russia if it is not a three way agreement and China is in because they are going to surpass us by numbers before very long.

So give me your thoughts on how you are going to approach this because it seems to me—and I am not criticizing you. This a heavy, heavy lift, I think.

First of all, tell me about your thoughts on Russia. Any chance at all of getting them to change their ways? It does not seem like it to me.

And then, second, we have invited the Chinese, and they have spurned us a number of times. What are your thoughts on all that?

Mr. DiNANNO. Senator, thanks for the question.

In my opening testimony I referenced the INF Treaty, and that is the poster child for arms control violations and the danger of not having a treaty that is verifiable and enforceable.

The nuclear threats that we see daily that Russia threatens to use are precisely those INF systems that the United States did not produce. So the real life on the ground dangers of having a treaty that is not verifiable or enforceable, we can see them today.

With respect to New START, just a couple things briefly. Number one, as you reference, the existing limits are inadequate in a world of tripolarity. I do not think necessarily we need to address the Chinese and Russians one to one but the existing numbers are not adequate.

Number two, New START expires in 2026. The time is short.

Third point that I would make, and President Trump asked the team at the State Department that I was a part of in 2019 and 2020 to engage the Russians and to try to improve on New START.

As I referenced earlier, the treaty makes no provision for getting at what we can call nonstrategic or tactical nuclear weapons.

Earlier testimony I think a couple weeks ago in the Senate I think in front of the Armed Services Committee General Cotton used the 2,000 number as an open public number of the number of warheads that the Russians possess in their nonstrategic stockpile.

I think in a private setting the numbers that we would see are significantly worse than that, and I look forward to having that discussion with you and the committee.

To your point quickly, sir, about whether this is a fool's errand, it is never not in our interest to engage our adversaries.

The other point here that is, I think, very important and I said in my opening statement, President Trump himself has taken on this issue. He has talked at length about denuclearization, and when principals and presidents agree that they want something to move they do, and obviously that would take commitments from the other side.

We will not have negotiations just to talk. But with the President's commitment and everything he has said, if confirmed I am cautiously optimistic we can move something forward.

Senator RISCH. I do not share your optimism. I hope I am wrong and you are right. Surely, there is no sense moving forward on the strategic weapons if you do not talk about tactical weapons.

I mean, that is just nonsense, letting them keep as many tactical weapons as they want while agreeing to something on the other side.

Do you agree with me that those both have to be in any kind of agreement we make with the Russians?

Mr. DiNANNO. Yes, sir. In fact, it was supposed to be part of the New START treaty, and we never enforced it. I agree wholeheartedly.

Senator RISCH. And then what about bringing the Chinese into this? I mean, they have rebuffed us over and over again, and you know, Russia—let us say in a perfect world Russia and the U.S. decide to reduce numbers and continue on down, and China just sits there. That would not make sense either, would it?

Mr. DiNANNO. Yes, sir. Thank you for the question and the follow up.

I agree with you, bringing China is a challenge. It was a challenge for us in 2020. They did rebuff us. I sit before you today as the State Department nominee and if confirmed—we are in the diplomacy business. We are in the talking business.

There is a flip side to this coin is that is a robust modernization program. The Department of Defense needs to and is a critical partner. There were critical partners to us in 2019–20 and our modernization program, our standoff platforms, our exquisite B–21 that is coming online.

If the Chinese refuse to talk we do have some diplomatic levers that I referenced in my opening statement, I think we should use

if I am confirmed. But the flip side of this is a robust, modernized, extended deterrence and posture.

Senator RISCH. You were around when New START was reauthorized. Do you remember the promises that were made to us when that passed for modernization? Do you recall that?

Mr. DiNANNO. Yes, sir, I do, and—

Senator RISCH. And those have not come anywhere near what was promised. Fair statement?

Mr. DiNANNO. Senator, I share your frustration. Again, in my opening testimony I talked about enforceable and verifiable treaties, and it is critical that we stick to it and stick to what we said.

Again, we never enforced the provision on New START that required that we eventually will get to tactical weapons, and now we are in a situation where there are thousands on one side and a handful on the other side.

Senator RISCH. Let me say in closing I really, really admire your enthusiasm and your optimism. I do not share the optimism. I am sorry. I hope—again, I hope I am wrong and you are right.

This is a big deal, and it is it is really important for all the American people.

Senator Rosen.

Senator ROSEN. Thank you, Chair Risch, and of course, Ranking Member Shaheen. It is an important hearing we are having today.

I want to thank our witnesses for testifying and it was a pleasure to meet you, Mr. DiNanno, earlier this week.

I want to talk a little bit about—well, I guess we will lighten it up from the Chairman's questions a little bit first about exchange programs because international exchange programs not only create shared bonds, understanding and innovation, but they also support our national and economic security.

The University of Nevada's Reno's Northern Nevada International Center has hosted countless of international visitors, students, scholars, professionals from multiple exchange programs.

But the Trump administration has made sweeping cuts to international exchange and study abroad programs, leaving the future of this work in question.

So, Ms. Rogers, if confirmed, the bureaus and offices that you are going to oversee will play a central role in facilitating these critically important, what I would—important soft diplomacy programs, right, for our States, for our communities and for the world.

So with that in mind, do you believe shutting down international exchange and study abroad programs makes us stronger and more prosperous and helps us with soft diplomacy that is so important?

Ms. ROGERS. Thank you very much for that question, Senator.

As I noted in my opening testimony, I would be privileged to steward these programs if confirmed. I think some of them are really great programs. One of my best friends in college was a Fulbrighter, and I learned a lot from her.

And with respect to the strategic review that I understand the department has undertaken with respect to all educational and cultural affairs exchange programs, I have not been read into that because I sit here as a private citizen.

But my understanding is that the department is going through program by program, dollar by dollar, line by line, to make sure

that each dollar we spend does make America safer, stronger, and more prosperous, and to ensure that every dollar allocated to these fine programs by this Congress and by the department does these programs proud and is appropriately deployed, and I can commit, if confirmed, to working with this committee and reporting back to this committee on any of those specifics once I have access to them.

Senator ROSEN. Thank you. I appreciate that because I think they are critically important, and I am not sure that I share your belief that they are going through it line by line and critically looking at their validity.

But I am going to move over to a little bit more serious subject, which is counterterrorism programs. So, Ms. Hooker, this will be for you.

The State Department plays a leading role in countering terrorism and violent extremism abroad. This work not only protects populations around the world, but of course, it prevents threats from reaching the homeland.

Unfortunately, as you are aware the Administration, again, recently provided this committee with a list of terminated foreign assistance programs which include a significant number of counterterrorism efforts.

Ms. Hooker, if confirmed where would countering terrorism and violent extremism rank on your list of priorities, and do you believe the State Department should continue to support programs in this space as we see terrorism exploding around the world?

Ms. HOOKER. Thank you, Senator, for that question.

If confirmed, of course, countering terrorism around the world will be one of my priorities. I do not want to see terrorism anywhere in the world for sure.

Senator ROSEN. And to be sure, what happens someplace else does not always stay there. So we have to be mindful that it can come back to us.

Ms. HOOKER. Thank you, Senator, for that clarification. As a private citizen I am not privy to the conversations and to the details of how these programs are being reviewed right now.

If confirmed, I will be privy to those conversations. I am happy to look into that. But I do want to note that as the President and the Secretary has said, the review of these programs and foreign assistance programs around the world are consistent with making sure that every dollar spent that is coming from our taxpayers and those who voted for the President meets the American interests and the interests of national security.

So, if confirmed, I look forward to learning more about that and communicating with you and this committee.

Senator ROSEN. I am concerned that these programs meet the national security and national interest as well as we know terrorism anywhere can be exported here fairly quickly.

And speaking of the leading state sponsor of terrorism, which is Iran, Ms. Hooker, I am going to build on some of the previous questions.

Iran and its proxies continue to be the number one threat to stability in the Middle East. Yet, coming into office this Administration's approach to Iran could be best described as chaotic.

While it had initially announced a strategy of maximum pressure and even said there could be military action if there was not a deal to tackle Iran's nuclear program the President announced Monday that the Administration is entering into high level direct talks with the regime over the weekend.

So, Ms. Hooker, I know you have significant national security and diplomatic experience. What do you think is the best approach for the U.S. to take to reduce the threats that Iran poses to our allies and partners in the Middle East, again, knowing that some of those get exported here as well?

Ms. HOOKER. Thank you, Senator, for that question.

Senator, what I would say is the President as the commander in chief and the head of the executive is the best deal maker and the best negotiator, and it is his decision to move forward in this direction with Iran.

If confirmed, I look forward to supporting the President and also the Secretary in achieving their objectives with regard to Iran.

Senator ROSEN. Thank you.

Thank you, Mr. Chair.

Senator RISCH. Senator Scott.

Senator SCOTT OF FLORIDA. Thank you, Chairman.

Well, first off, congratulations, each of you. You have great opportunities to have a big, positive influence on what happens in the United States and around the world, and I am sure you will do a great job.

Ms. Rogers, as we know we clearly have governments in the world that have chosen to be our enemies—you know, Russia, China, Iran and others—North Korea.

So do you think that historically that our public diplomacy has reflected the attitude of governments that want to destroy our way of life?

Ms. ROGERS. Thank you for that question, Senator.

I had an earlier exchange with Ranking Member Shaheen on the Global Engagement Center, and I think one thing that was striking is some of the information that the Global Engagement Center suppressed, according to court records, was information that China would have wanted us to suppress.

So at the behest of the Global Engagement Center and other organs of the government we had American companies pressured to censor American speech broadcast to American audiences on American domestic issues like COVID lockdowns and the 2020 election, and speech was censored regarding whether the COVID virus originated in a lab in Wuhan.

So the idea that we need to censor American speech to counter disinformation from China just does not stand up to scrutiny because if we look at how these censorship efforts operated we were doing China a favor.

And so if I am confirmed everything my office does, it will happen in the light of day. If we see foreign propaganda from China or Iran we will call it out, and we will say it.

We will tag it for what it is, and honestly, if we look at the Russian disinformation—the purported Russian disinformation that was identified as a result of the Mueller investigation, this is not

formidable content. This was \$100,000 worth of Instagram ads that we very clearly could have mocked, derided, or dismissed.

And so I think a more transparent approach to countering disinformation would better serve the American interest, and it would pose a greater threat to our adversaries than simply censoring Americans who say things that are inconvenient.

Senator SCOTT OF FLORIDA. Thank you.

Mr. DiNanno, so tell me what pressure can we put on China to come to the table with regard to nuclear weapons?

Mr. DiNANNO. Thank you for the question, Senator.

As I referenced in the Chairman's earlier question, as diplomats we have fewer options than, say, our partners in the military. Certainly, when it comes to diplomacy China has an obligation under the NPT to negotiate arms control reduction in good faith per NPT Article 6.

I have a hard time sitting before you today—granted, I am not in the government. I am a nominee. And any way, shape, or form having personally witnessed the stiff arming by the Chinese and saying that there are any—how they could be not in violation of Article 6 of the NPT.

So that is a diplomatic lever. We need to use it. And again, I referenced it in my testimony—if confirmed I will look into the details of it. But that is at face value pretty obvious to me and—

Senator SCOTT OF FLORIDA. How would you do that? I mean, what pressure—where did where they get the pressure for that?

Mr. DiNANNO. Well, sir, the NPT requires it—

Senator SCOTT OF FLORIDA. And what is the enforcement?

Mr. DiNANNO. There is no enforcement mechanism per se. Again, I referenced in my opening statement some of the issues we have with arms control agreements.

There is no enforcement per se. There is no punishment for the Chinese. But if we are going to be part of the NPT, if we are going to use—be part of the multilateral framework we need to show up and use it, and that would be my intention.

I did in the prior Administration being a part of treaties that are not enforceable or verifiable or where other partners cheat. I have a record. We have withdrew from the INF treaty because the Russians were cheating, and I spoke earlier about the implications of that.

We withdrew from the Open Skies treaty because the Russians were cheating, and we were not, so we should not be part of these agreements that are one sided.

To speak specifically about what we can do, diplomacy and deterrence work hand in hand, and exquisite U.S. military hardware the military has moved aggressively.

I think the last 4 years since I left the government it has been surprising to me, and I am encouraged that some actually INF range capabilities are now coming online, the Army PRISM system, the hypersonic system, some conventional prompt strike platforms and critical partners and allies in the region are critical to deterring China.

Senator SCOTT OF FLORIDA. Ms. Hooker, you have got a lot of background—you have got a significant background in government.

How is this going to impact your ability to do your job? What do you bring the table? What do you feel you want to get accomplished?

Ms. HOOKER. Thank you, Senator, for that question.

Well, if confirmed it would be a great honor to return to public service. As you noted, I spent more than 20 years serving the American people in both the State Department and in the White House, and it would be a great honor to return to that.

If confirmed, I look forward to supporting the President, supporting the Secretary, as they best see fit. I serve at their pleasure.

As I said in my opening statement, my background has been in Asia, but this is a global position, and I am very eager for that challenge and look forward to, again, serving the President, serving the Secretary, and ensuring that the American people are well served as well.

Senator SCOTT OF FLORIDA. Thank you.

Thank you, Chairman.

Senator RISCH. Thank you, Senator Scott. Thank you for asking that question to Ms. Hooker. I have had the opportunity to work with her in previous Administrations, and I can tell you we are well served by her service to America.

Her knowledge and her ability and in negotiations that have taken place—serious negotiations over the years have been nothing short of outstanding.

So thank you so much. Thank you for your service.

Senator Van Hollen.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Congratulations to all of you on your nominations, and Ms. Hooker, it was great to meet with you yesterday in my office, and again, thank you for all your prior service including, as I mentioned yesterday at the Bureau of Intelligence and Research, at the State Department, which I think is an organization that punches above its weight in the U.S. intelligence community.

Do you agree that U.S. support for the World Food Programme is an important American priority?

Ms. HOOKER. Thank you, Senator, and thank you for your time yesterday and for sharing your family's legacy in serving the American people. Thank you for their service and for yours, sir.

As we talked about yesterday and as we have discussed a little bit today, the Administration—President Trump and Secretary Rubio—have undertaken a very comprehensive review—

Senator VAN HOLLEN. Ms. Hooker, I am sorry. So I only have 5 minutes. It was a very simple question.

Ms. HOOKER. Yes.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. Do you agree that U.S. support for the World Food Programme is an important priority? It is just a simple yes or no question.

Ms. HOOKER. Well, Senator, thank you for that question, and I agree that the American people's tax dollars should be used to support things that are in America's interest and international security. I am not—

Senator VAN HOLLEN. Do you think supporting the World Food Programme is in our interest—in our national security interest?

Ms. HOOKER. Thank you, Senator, for the follow up and for the clarification.

I am not privy to the details of the review that is underway. If confirmed, I expect to be, and if confirmed I look forward to working with this committee on those details.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. Well, we had a little good news since last night, right, because the Elon Musk person who has been embedded over the State Department said, whoopsie, made a big mistake, right?

Yesterday—Mr. Chairman, I do not know how close you are following this, but the United States essentially canceled its support for a whole slew of World Food Programme programs and the World Food Programme, you know, rightly said this will be a death sentence for millions of people, which it would be.

And so apparently there was at least a partial reversal. Here is—and I am quoting from Jeremy Lewin, who is the Musk sort of implant at the State Department—quote, “Sorry for all the back and forth on awards. There are a lot of stakeholders, and we need to do better about balancing these competing interests. That is my fault, and I take responsibility,” unquote.

This is just a symptom of a much larger problem, which is that Elon Musk said that AID was a criminal enterprise. By the way, do you agree that AID is a criminal enterprise?

Ms. HOOKER. Senator, thank you for that question. I look forward to being in the seat and being able to have detailed conversations across the board.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. OK. These are really simple questions. I mean, as I said before, if AID is a criminal enterprise the Chairman and every member of this committee is a co-conspirator because we have all supported AID.

Let me move on because in addition to dismantling AID, which I believe has been done in an illegal fashion, because it is a congressionally not just authorized in terms of funding but established in statute—it was first established as an EO but then it was created in statute.

So yesterday all the Democrats on the committee wrote to Secretary Rubio expressing our concerns about that and asking questions about reports of the upcoming restructuring.

Mr. Chairman, I would just ask unanimous consent to put this in the record.

Senator RISCH. So ordered.

[EDITOR’S NOTE.—The information referred to above can be found in the “Additional Material Submitted for the Record” section at the end of this document.]

Senator VAN HOLLEN. Thank you.

So we lay out our concerns with what is happening at AID, and by the way, and with respect, Mr. Chairman, I really do think we need a hearing on this, right? Ranking Member Shaheen has held two Trump hearings.

Senator RISCH. We are going to have the Secretary in here pretty quickly. We will have your—

Senator VAN HOLLEN. All right. Well, she has had two Trump hearings and one of the things people would know if they were attending those hearings that when Elon Musk was at the White

House and he said, “Whoops” he canceled the Ebola program temporarily.

Ms. Hooker, did you see that video at the White House of Elon Musk?

Ms. HOOKER. I am aware of it, sir, but I did not watch the video.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. OK. So he said, whoops, kind of like this guy, you know, Jeremy—“Whoops, I just canceled the World Food Programme.”

But it turned out to be false in the case of Elon Musk’s claim because Nick Enrich, who is now on administrative leave, testified that in fact the Ebola program has not been restored.

But here is my question to you. I am hearing from people at the State Department who believe they are being asked to make statements that they believe are factually incorrect.

In some cases people may be making legal determinations which they think are wrong but under threat of being fired. I have a very simple question. If somebody asks you to do something you believe is illegal would you resign?

Ms. HOOKER. Thank you, Senator, for that question.

Well, I have committed in my opening statement to following the Constitution, and I add to that all applicable law, and I intend to do so.

If I am confirmed I look forward to working with this committee on all of these issues and all the concerns that you raised today, and I commit to do that.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. Thank you.

And Mr. Chairman, as you know, in addition to what happened at AID there is this major restructuring going on, and I just hope that this committee will, you know, uphold its responsibilities and require the Administration to report and consult with us in the process, because if you look at what is being reported we are talking about what I believe would be grave damage to U.S. foreign policy.

Senator RISCH. Thank you for that engagement, Senator Van Hollen.

And first of all, we are being consulted in a general fashion at this point, number one.

Number two, I for one have been crying out for reform for USAID for years. I have said publicly and I will say it again here I hope USAID does not survive.

I hope that it is reformed and placed underneath the State Department where we have a direct head of that appointed by the President responsible to this committee. I look forward to working with the State Department.

They have committed to me, and I believe others on this committee, that they do intend to work together with the committee. We do have a responsibility to oversee that. We are the number one agency.

We created it. We regulate it. We fund it. We certainly have the duty to oversee it, and I look forward to doing that. I look forward to working with you.

We will not agree on everything, but I think we will come away with a stronger enterprise. USAID is important to forward U.S.

policy on many fronts. We are a soft power committee. That is our job, and we take it seriously.

So, look, we look forward to this, and certainly there is things are going to be corrected that have been done. There is no question about that. I appreciate it.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. I would just say, Mr. Chairman, at a minimum it should be done in a lawful manner. I hope we can all agree on that.

Senator RISCH. And I agree with that 100 percent. I am sure the courts will back us up on that.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. They are weighing in.

Senator RISCH. All right.

With that, there being no further questions I am going to close the hearing, and I will include letters of support, which we have for some of the nominees—I am going to include those in the record, and also for information of members the record will remain open until close of business tomorrow, April 10, at 5 p.m. and that will give members the opportunity to submit questions for the record.

For any of the nominees, if you get one of those I hope you respond to it quickly. It will help this committee move quickly on voting on your nomination.

And with that, the committee is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 11:11 a.m., the hearing was adjourned.]

Additional Material Submitted for the Record

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO THOMAS DiNANNO BY SENATOR JAMES E. RISCH

New START

In February of next year, New START will expire and cannot be extended. If confirmed, you will be the Department's lead for any for any future arms control negotiations and planning for what comes after the treaty expires, especially when it comes to addressing tactical nuclear weapons and China's rapid nuclear build-up.

Question. What do you propose the future of arms control policy should look like, and what should come after New START?

Answer. As President Trump has indicated, the United States is examining how best to address the threat posed by Russia and China's nuclear arsenals through efforts to strengthen deterrence and manage nuclear risks through arms control. If confirmed, I will seek verifiable and enforceable arms control agreements and arrangements that enhance American national security.

Question. Will you commit to ensuring that we do not enter any new nuclear treaty that constrains our nuclear arsenal and puts us at a disadvantage to Chinese nuclear forces?

Answer. Given China's nuclear weapons buildup, any new arms control treaty must address the new tri-polar nuclear world. If confirmed, I commit to ensuring that any new treaty does not constrain our nuclear arsenal without accounting for the threat posed by China's nuclear forces. I look forward to staying in touch as our arms control policy takes shape.

Question. Will you commit to ensuring that we do not enter any new nuclear treaty that excludes non-strategic nuclear weapons and Russia's novel nuclear weapons?

Answer. Addressing non-strategic nuclear weapons and Russia's novel nuclear weapons will be two critical goals for the United States as it seeks to engage with Russia and China. If confirmed, I look forward to staying in touch as our arms control policy takes shape.

Foreign Military Sales

Foreign Military Sales (FMS) are a critical tool of foreign policy, while also contributing to our domestic defense industrial base by expanding manufacturing capacity and extending production lines. There is still much work to be done to reform the process and expedite sales to our allies and partners, so that they are not waiting years on end for deliveries—or look elsewhere for these capabilities.

Question. If confirmed, how do you plan on implementing President Trump's recently issued Executive Order to reform and modernize the foreign military sales process?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to working closely with the interagency to swiftly implement the EO, which is an important priority for the Administration.

Question. How do you intend to work with our committee, which has jurisdiction over the arms sales process, to ensure responsible congressional oversight remains through the tiered review process?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work closely with your committee to ensure responsible oversight in the Tiered Review process.

Extended Deterrence

Our Indo-Pacific allies depend on the U.S. nuclear umbrella to counter threats from China and North Korea. They are not only concerned by China's rapid nuclear buildup, but also North Korea's plan to expand its already diverse nuclear arsenal.

Question. How can the U.S. enhance extended deterrence in the Indo-Pacific to reassure our allies in light of Chinese and North Korean aggression?

Answer. If confirmed, it will be a top priority of mine to reassure allies and partners that the United States stands shoulder to shoulder with them. Pairing this diplomatic assurance with a modernized, robust nuclear force is essential to enhancing extended deterrence.

Question. Should the U.S. return nuclear weapons to the Korean Peninsula to address the North Korean threat?

Answer. Robust, extended nuclear deterrence is key to addressing the North Korean threat. This Administration is committed to the complete denuclearization of North Korea. If confirmed, I will ensure that we continue to consult closely with the Republic of Korea, Japan, and other allies and partners on options to deter North Korean aggression and achieve our goals.

AUKUS

AUKUS Pillar II was created with the intent to streamline defense cooperation between the U.S. and our closest allies, the UK and Australia, but technology sharing restrictions continue to limit our ability to deepen cooperation on advanced military technologies necessary to deter the PRC.

Question. If confirmed, how would you work to remove advanced technologies—such as hypersonics and AI—from the Excluded Technologies List (ETL) to meet the congressional intent of AUKUS legislation?

Answer. I would ensure the Department of State continues its collaboration with the interagency on reviewing and revising the ETL to ensure it best serves U.S. interests and complies with the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2024's restrictions on certain technologies.

Nuclear Energy

Nuclear energy is a strategically important sector with profound national security implications. Dozens of nations are looking to build nuclear energy facilities, many for the first time. A strong U.S. presence in these markets can create a century of U.S. influence on multiple national security interests. The State Department plays a pivotal role in establishing and maintaining U.S. leadership in nuclear energy globally. China and Russia are aggressively building nuclear plants domestically and exporting their technology abroad, positioning themselves to lead in nuclear energy for decades to come.

Question. What is your strategy for countering China and Russia's influence and ensuring U.S. leadership in civil nuclear energy markets?

Answer. President Trump has made it clear that we will unleash American energy, and the United States has the most advanced nuclear technologies on offer today. Overseas sales of U.S. nuclear reactors and fuel can generate billions of dollars in revenue, contribute to high-paying American jobs, and help balance trade.

The Bureau of International Security and Nonproliferation (ISN), one of the bureaus that will report to me if I am confirmed, leads for the Department on civil nuclear energy and is positioned to help restore U.S. dominance in the global nuclear energy sector. It is my understanding that ISN has successfully led diplomatic engagement and innovative programming, in partnership with the U.S. nuclear industry, to prevent Chinese and Russian firms from building large reactors in Europe and elsewhere. Still, both countries continue to aggressively market across Africa, Asia, and Latin America by offering highly subsidized terms. If confirmed, I will lead ISN in using nuclear energy to establish long-term relationships with partners around the world, strengthen supply chains, and offer safe and secure U.S. alternatives to Russia and China. I commit to working with Congress to strengthen our tools to address this challenge and make U.S. civil nuclear offerings more competitive global.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO THOMAS DiNANNO BY SENATOR JEFF MERKLEY

New START

New START—the last remaining arms control agreement between the U.S. and Russia—expires in February 2026.

Question. Does the Trump Administration intend to pursue negotiations with Russia to freeze the number of deployed U.S. and Russian nuclear weapons until a follow-on agreement can be negotiated?

Answer. The Administration is still formulating its approach to arms control negotiations. If confirmed, I look forward to being in touch as decisions are made and we get closer to the expiration of New START in February 2026.

Question. If so, can you describe the core elements you would seek in such an agreement, and what specific commitments you would expect from Russia?

Answer. The Administration is still formulating its approach to arms control negotiations. If confirmed, I look forward to being in touch as decisions are made and we get closer to the expiration of New START in February 2026.

Explosive Testing

The United States has not conducted a nuclear explosive test since 1992, relying instead on a well-funded and proven Stockpile Stewardship Program. Both Democratic and Republican administrations have determined that nuclear explosive testing is unnecessary.

Question. Should the United States uphold the current testing moratorium?

Answer. Since 1992 the United States has assessed that the deployed nuclear stockpile remains safe, secure, and effective without nuclear explosive testing. Each year, the national security lab directors and the Commander of U.S. Strategic Command assess the stockpile and determine if there is anything that would require a need to return to underground nuclear explosive testing. Any change in U.S. practice would require intensive interagency coordination and be informed by the technical facts and significant diplomatic implications.

Question. Do you believe resumption of U.S. testing would prompt China and Russia to do the same?

Answer. According to the 2024 open source assessment, the US is concerned that neither Russia nor China adhere to their respective moratoria and that both continue to test at yield. Moreover, Russia withdrew its ratification of the CTBT in 2023 further eroding any limits on its testing programs. All of these activities occurred while the United States strictly maintained its moratorium on testing.

Question. If so, what would be the national security implications?

Answer. The United States has conducted more nuclear explosive tests than any other country. Consequently, the United States has a deeper pool of experience and understanding regarding its nuclear weapons program than any other country. A return to explosive testing by other nuclear possessing states would allow them to improve the capabilities of their respective nuclear arsenals and erode the advantage that the United States currently possesses.

International Atomic Energy Agency

The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) plays a critical role in preventing nuclear accidents, weapons proliferation, and nuclear terrorism.

Given the expected expansion of global nuclear energy and the IAEA's growing responsibilities—from safeguarding Ukraine's plants to monitoring Iran and potentially North Korea—the organization's resources are under strain.

Question. What is your plan to ensure the IAEA has the funding, staffing, and political support it needs to fulfill its mission?

Answer. The IAEA is critical to U.S.-led international nuclear nonproliferation, safety, and security efforts. However, it is my understanding that the IAEA's regular budget has not kept pace with the steadily growing demands placed upon the Agency by Member states, leading to a growing gap between its activities and its limited resources. If confirmed, I will advocate for more reliable and sustainable resources for core Agency activities and staff, including in the areas of nuclear safety, security, and safeguards—areas in which key U.S. national security interests are advanced.

Nuclear Proliferation among Allies

For more than 60 years, the United States has worked to prevent nuclear proliferation, including by extending security guarantees to allies to reduce their incentive to develop weapons of mass destruction. Today, several U.S. partners—including South Korea, Poland, Germany, and Saudi Arabia—are openly considering developing their own nuclear weapons, undermining the global nonproliferation regime and the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

Question. If confirmed, are you committed to upholding these global nonproliferation norms?

Answer. Yes.

Question. What specific steps will you take to strengthen the global nonproliferation regime?

Answer. The Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT) aims to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons and facilitates civil nuclear cooperation. For more than 50 years, the NPT has been a powerful tool to prevent the acquisition of nuclear weapons by other states. If confirmed, I commit to working on strengthening the integrity of and confidence in the NPT as a powerful nonproliferation tool. I also look forward to the 2026 NPT Review Conference, which provides the United States with an opportunity to outline actionable steps on nuclear risk reduction and arms control, promote peaceful uses, call for the full implementation of safeguards and related nonproliferation requirements, and defend U.S. extended deterrence arrangements while holding those parties who may violate the treaty accountable.

Question. Do you believe the world is safer if more countries acquire nuclear weapons?

Answer. No.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED TO THOMAS DiNANNO BY SENATOR MIKE LEE

Question. President Trump has rightfully made greater allied burden sharing a component of the America First foreign policy agenda. How do you see U.S. foreign military sales and security assistance programs interacting with this goal?

Answer. Foreign Military Sales (FMS) are a strategic tool of foreign policy. FMS allows partners and allies to meet their defense requirements, while also ensuring seamless interoperability and security alignment with the United States. FMS also bolsters the U.S. defense industrial base.

Security assistance is also a strategic enabler of U.S. foreign policy. Security assistance expands partner access to the FMS system and the U.S. defense industrial base—enabling partners to buy American defense articles, services, and training. This improves partner military capabilities and helps achieve burden sharing goals.

Question. Similarly, to what extent do you anticipate allied empowerment and burden shifting to be a focus of any forthcoming Conventional Arms Transfer (CAT) Policy?

Answer. Allied empowerment and burden shifting remain fundamental to the goals outlined in the current United States Conventional Arms Transfer Policy, National Security Presidential Memorandum 10 of April 19, 2018. This policy ensures U.S. global market competitiveness in defense exports, while reducing allies and partners' dependency on our adversaries. Under President Trump's CAT Policy,

arms transfers continue to play a critical role in achieving national, economic security, and foreign policy objectives. Arms transfers via Foreign Military Sales (FMS) and/or Direct Commercial Sales (DCS) allow our allies and partners to obtain capabilities and training necessary to enable them to take on increased responsibility for their own security and that of their respective region(s), and support U.S. national security objectives.

The State Department's Bureau of Political-Military Affairs is tasked with carrying out the Department's end-use monitoring program, Blue Lantern, for defense articles exported via direct commercial sales. However, on average only 1 percent of defense articles exported under the Department's purview are subjected to Blue Lantern checks. Beyond that, end-use monitoring programs, in fact, do not track end use at all, but are largely visual inventory inspections conducted by Embassy personnel. It's also unclear to what extent there is a consistent process for remediating Blue Lantern checks considered "unfavorable."

In this context:

Question. Do you believe that a 1 percent check-rate is sufficient to ensure compliance with end-use terms and minimize diversion of U.S. defense articles and, relatedly, what barriers preclude the Department from conducting Blue Lantern checks with greater frequency?

Answer. The Department's average rate has ranged from 1 to 2 percent for the past 10 years. This rate is predicated on targeting end-use monitoring efforts on specific technologies and parties identified on the Department's Watch List. This approach permits the Department to focus on commodities and persons posing the greatest risk. With respect to barriers, such as difficult environments to operate in, the Department continues to adjust processes to overcome those challenges without compromising standards to prevent diversion or to safeguard U.S.-origin defense technology.

Question. Does the State Department have a consistent process in place for remediating "unfavorable" checks? If no, what are your recommendations?

Answer. A Blue Lantern check may be deemed "unfavorable" due to a variety of reasons, such as documentation discrepancies, unauthorized re-exports, or non-cooperation. As such, these checks are evaluated case-by-case on their own merits, resulting in tailored responses ranging from returning without action or denying license applications, removing parties from licenses, updating our Watch List, or referring cases to PM's Office of Defense Trade Controls Compliance or U.S. law enforcement agencies for appropriate civil or criminal enforcement investigation and action.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO THOMAS DiNANNO BY SENATOR BRIAN SCHATZ

Russia suspended its participation in the New START Treaty, which limits the number of deployed nuclear warheads, in retaliation for U.S. support to Ukraine, and Russia may now be in violation of the treaty.

Question. What are the prospects for renegotiating New START?

Answer. Despite the challenging security environment, I am cautiously optimistic that it is possible to negotiate a verifiable and enforceable arms control arrangement that enhances U.S. national security.

Question. If the administration were to seek to include the People's Republic of China (PRC) or any other nuclear-armed country in a successor arms control agreement, how would you seek to compel or induce participation if those countries refuse to participate?

Answer. The President's strong and explicit intent is to protect America from the potential threat of China's nuclear weapons proliferation. China's longstanding excuses for refusing to engage in arms control are not credible. China has an obligation under the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) Treaty, Article VI, to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures related to disarmament. If confirmed, I will work to pursue rigorous compliance with this provision of the NPT. Furthermore, as I testified, it is critical to enhance our deterrence posture and the military capabilities of our allies and partners in the Indo-Pacific.

North Korea likely possesses 50 nuclear weapons and ballistic missiles that can hit the continental United States, despite the U.S.-ROK decades-long official policy goal of complete DPRK denuclearization. North Korea is increasing its arsenal's quantity, quality, technological capability, and diversification, and Russian assistance could help accelerate those trends.

Question. Do you assess that the current U.S. approach to North Korea's nuclear weapons program is working? Are we adequately protecting U.S. national security interests?

Answer. This Administration is committed to the complete denuclearization of North Korea to address the threat that North Korea's nuclear weapons program poses to America, our allies, our partners, and security in the region. If confirmed, I will take the steps necessary to protect U.S. national security interests while pursuing these goals.

Question. How would you ensure that any future approach to North Korea's nuclear weapons program, including a risk reduction approach that seeks to lower the likelihood of nuclear use or accidents, ensures close coordination with our South Korean ally?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to supporting consultations with the Republic of Korea (ROK) and Japan on deterring the North Korean threat and make it a priority to reassure allies and partners in the present security environment. I will do so through bilateral engagements, including through our extended deterrence dialogues with the ROK and Japan.

Question. Do you commit to investigating what types of actions or engagements, including the sharing of information similar to U.S.-USSR cold war arrangements, could lower the likelihood of North Korean nuclear use or accidents?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to reviewing measures that address the multitude of dangers stemming from the North Korea nuclear weapons threat that jeopardize American security and that of our allies. I will investigate measures that are enforceable and verifiable.

President Trump's announcement that U.S.-Iran talks would start this weekend raises many questions about U.S. goals for engagement:

Question. Do you assess that Iran is currently seeking to develop a nuclear weapon, and if so, on what timeframe?

Answer. Iran is the only non-nuclear-weapon state enriching uranium well beyond what is needed for legitimate research and industrial purposes. There is only one reason for enriching uranium to the levels Iran does, and that is for nuclear weapons. Public reports suggest that Iran's fissile material breakout timeline has been drastically reduced from several months in early 2021 to a matter of weeks today. This rapid acceleration of Iran's nuclear program poses a significant threat to regional stability and international security.

Question. What would the framework for a new agreement look like? What would be the role of the IAEA? If you do envision a role for the IAEA, do you commit to advocate for assessed and voluntary contributions?

Answer. President Trump has committed to ensuring Iran has no possible path to a nuclear weapon. Though I am not involved in any current Administration negotiations, if confirmed I will do all I can to fulfill the President's commitment, including supporting the IAEA in its mission.

If confirmed, you would manage millions of dollars in grants and programs that support allies and partners in stopping chemical, biological, radiological, and nuclear (CBRN) proliferation.

Question. Do you believe that recently announced cuts to U.S. foreign assistance, in conjunction with reports that the Department of Defense is considering deep cuts to its staff that work to prevent the proliferation of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, hamper U.S. ability to prevent CBRN proliferation worldwide?

Answer. Secretary Rubio has committed to ensuring that every dollar we spend, every program we fund, and every policy we pursue makes America safer, stronger, or more prosperous. If confirmed, I will support these objectives by striving to strengthen the U.S. ability to prevent CBRN proliferation.

Question. If you encounter obstacles to achieving your mission created or exacerbated by the administration's program terminations, reductions in staff, and/or other foreign assistance cuts, do you commit to raising your concerns with Secretary Rubio and the White House?

Answer. Yes.

In recent years, the PRC has invested billions to modernize and upgrade its nuclear arsenal.

Question. How can we effectively engage the PRC on a nuclear treaty similar to those we have signed with the USSR/Russia?

Answer. As stated previously, China has an obligation under the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) Treaty to negotiate in good faith. An unconstrained Chinese nuclear weapons program is a threat to our national security. As President Trump has indicated, the United States is examining how best to address this through strengthening deterrence and managing nuclear risks through arms control. While it may be premature to discuss specifics of future nuclear arrangements with China, it remains in the strategic interest of the United States and its allies to ensure China's compliance with the NPT and to maintain ongoing dialogue on nuclear arms control matters.

Question. Should the United States explore a broader nuclear treaty that involves all declared nuclear weapons states? If so, how do you expect to broker such negotiations, given the differences in arsenal sizes, types, and purposes among the various nuclear weapons states?

Answer. President Trump has said "it would be a great achievement to reduce the number of nuclear weapons in the world." I agree wholeheartedly. The Administration is still formulating its approach to arms control negotiations. If confirmed, I look forward to staying in touch as our arms control policy takes shape.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO THOMAS DiNANNO BY SENATOR CHRIS VAN HOLLEN

Emergency Sales & Civilian Harm

On March 1, 2025, Secretary Rubio signed a declaration to use emergency authorities, bypassing congressional review, to expedite the sale of approximately \$4 billion in offensive arms to Israel. This included approximately 45,000 bombs, including 2,000 lbs bombs, as well as JDAM kits. In your testimony, you said that "you view this Committee as a critical partner in the oversight of arms exports." During your nominations hearing, you also said that it will be your top priority to expedite the Foreign Military Sale (FMS) process and that you want "more capability, less bureaucracy."

Question. If you in fact view "this Committee as a critical partner in the oversight of arms exports," will you commit to abiding by the informal and formal review process that have guided the State Department's engagement on arms sales with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee for decades?

Answer. Yes, I commit to being a partner with the Committee in the oversight of arms exports. Subject to the Arms Export Control Act and Department policy, I commit to abiding by the informal and formal review process.

Question. As you seek to reduce bureaucracy, do you at the same time commit to ensuring that human rights and civilian harm considerations continue to be a primary factor in assessing whether to move forward with a particular arms sale?

Answer. If confirmed, I will follow President Trump's Conventional Arms Transfer Policy, captured in National Security Presidential Memorandum 10 of April 19, 2018, which requires departments and agencies to account for human rights and international humanitarian law in making arms transfer decisions.

Leahy Law Vetting

As you know, the "Leahy law" refers to two statutory provisions prohibiting the U.S. Government from using funds for assistance to units of foreign security forces where there is credible information implicating that unit in the commission of gross violations of human rights (GVHR). However, I have concerns regarding the U.S. government's failure to apply the consistently to all recipients of U.S. security assistance. In particular with countries that have specific "vetting forums," where reportedly different standards and processes are used than with other countries when the Department adjudicates whether a foreign security unit is eligible for U.S. assistance. Moreover, in 2022, the State Department Leahy Law was amended to address situations where the recipient unit cannot be identified in advance of a transfer. The Secretary is required to proactively provide the recipient government

a list of units that are prohibited from receiving assistance in cases when units cannot be identified prior to a country receiving U.S. assistance.

Question. Do you commit to applying the Leahy Law evenly to all countries in accordance with statutory obligations and congressional intent?

Answer. I commit to follow the law.

Question. Do you commit to following the 2022 law requiring the State Department to produce a list from each country that receives U.S. assistance of units prohibited from receiving such assistance?

Answer. I commit to follow the law.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO SARAH ROGERS BY SENATOR JAMES E. RISCH

Promoting America

The Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs has a key role in shaping how the U.S. image is portrayed around the world by directing public-facing diplomatic tools.

Question. What do you believe defines America's brand abroad and which of its core principles do you hope to prioritize as you and your team share that brand with the world?

Answer. America is about freedom and fairness. Our commitments to liberty and justice—enshrined in a rigorous rule of law that adjudicates claims by individuals, not racial or tribal or class collectives—must define us both at home and abroad. This means that every dollar we spend, every message we author or amplify, and every engagement we undertake must align with the principles of the U.S. constitution, including the free and fearless exchange of ideas.

Question. Under your leadership, what tools will the Bureau of Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs employ in its efforts to engage the United States and its citizens with the rest of the world?

Answer. If confirmed, I would ensure that the United States engages with the rest of the world through the many public diplomacy channels available to the Office of the Under Secretary of Public Diplomacy. The Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs has facilitated more than one million people participating in exchange programs over the past 80 years, including more than 240,000 U.S. citizens from every U.S. State. These participants are ideal candidates for connecting citizens of other countries with our own and exposing them to our values, beliefs, and ideas. Expo Osaka, which opened this month, promises another opportunity to showcase American excellence, leadership, and innovation for millions of international visitors, including from China.

The Bureau of Global Public Affairs (GPA) has a wealth of capabilities to communicate foreign policy to both American and international audiences, including through six media hubs, department websites, and more than 1,400 social media accounts to engage foreign audiences. GPA also has a robust research and analytics capability, allowing it to take an audience-first approach to messaging and measure the efficacy of campaigns, ensuring tax dollars are spent prudently and that the Department's engagements with the rest of the world have maximum impact.

Question. As Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs, how do you hope to leverage the tools within your bureau to promote free speech abroad as a counter to PRC propaganda?

Answer. Free and truthful speech furnishes our best response to adversaries like the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), which spends billions each year on its soft-power influence, information operations, and censorship activities.

The information environment is changing almost daily, and we need to respond to those changes in order to effectively counter CCP propaganda. I hope to encourage an agile, proactive, and creative approach to strategic messaging (including social media) in a way that is dynamic, engaging, and above all serves American interests. The Department can also leverage affirmative and sustained communications campaigns to promote American priorities and values and to raise awareness of China's malign influence and build resilience against it. Northstar, the Department's own AI-powered global media analytics platform, is a tool which gives public diplomacy officers located in all corners of the world immediate access to global media narratives, including CCP messaging trends, as well as related Department social

media metrics. These insights, coupled with in-depth audience research and measurement leveraging predictive AI, will further empower public diplomacy officers to counter CCP narratives overseas and advance U.S. foreign policy priorities.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO SARAH ROGERS BY SENATOR BRIAN SCHATZ

This administration is in the process of dismantling the U.S. Agency for Global Media and its networks and grantees, including Voice of America, Radio Free Asia, and other broadcasters that provide accurate, unbiased, local-language news in closed media environments, including the PRC.

Question. How do you assess this dismantling will affect the United States' ability to counter the propaganda of the PRC, Russia, Iran, and other adversaries?

Answer. We remain clear-eyed on the threat China, Russia, Iran, and other adversaries pose to U.S. interests. The United States is committed to countering those threats but doing so in a modern and cost-effective way. Just as our adversaries continue to adapt, the U.S. Government and the Department need to adapt to a modern information environment, and we are committed to ensuring the United States, President Trump, and Secretary Rubio have a full range of resources and tools available to counter state-sponsored propaganda adverse to our national interests.

Question. Do you see a role for U.S. government-supported media, and if so, what is it?

Answer. Since the beginning of broadcasting, the United States has led the way in ensuring that voices everywhere are heard. If confirmed, I look forward to being involved in the Administration's review of the role of the United States in funding international civilian broadcasts. The information environment will continue to change and so the U.S. Government must also continue to modernize its capabilities, particularly to reach evolving and young audiences.

Question. The PRC, Russia, and other foreign adversaries regularly spread lies about the United States and our policies in foreign press and on social media. With the dissolution of the Global Engagement Center last year, how will you approach countering propaganda and disinformation emanating from foreign adversaries?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work to ensure we continue to condemn and push back on foreign propaganda and information manipulation, including by using new and creative messaging tools, leveraging U.S. cultural influence to highlight American excellence, and spotlight the gap between CCPs words and deeds by proactively sharing accurate information.

Question. If you encounter obstacles to achieving your mission created or exacerbated by the administration's program terminations, reductions in staff, and/or other foreign assistance cuts, do you commit to raising your concerns with Secretary Rubio and the White House?

Answer. Yes, I commit to raising any concerns with Secretary Rubio and the White House.

Question. Some offices that conduct "R" family functions are located within regional bureaus, officially under the purview of the Under Secretary for Political Affairs. What is your opinion on this division of function and do you see any need for reorganization?

Answer. My understanding is that this division has historically worked well, to ensure PD activities reflect bilateral and regional imperatives and are immediately responsive to policy directives as they impact their specific countries and region. The offices and bureaus under the Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy have served as nodes for the programs, services, and resources that are utilized by public diplomacy officers worldwide. The regional bureaus are responsible for staffing Public Diplomacy sections at post and apportioning allocated funds to achieve policy goals.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO SARAH ROGERS BY SENATOR MIKE LEE

Question. The political climate of many of our closest allies in Europe has put free speech and expression in danger, as "thought crimes" inch closer to reality. In fact,

with an unprecedented conviction last fall, a U.K. court effectively criminalized silent prayer. How can the U.S. harness our soft power potential to counteract the dismantling of free speech amongst those we consider our allies?

Answer. Free speech has been a chief focus of my legal career and a cornerstone of the American way of life. I am deeply concerned with the hostility toward free speech evinced by authoritarian policies, like those in the U.K. and EU, that purport to prescribe what people can think and say—and even how they can pray. Free speech is foundational to American safety, strength, and prosperity. If I am confirmed, I will champion it as my leading priority.

Question. At the end of last year, the State Department's Global Engagement Center (GEC) disbanded after its authority lapsed. However, at the time, reporting suggested that GEC employees were simply being reassigned to counter disinformation and malign influence elsewhere beneath State's Public Diplomacy umbrella. To your knowledge, have there been any instances of GEC officials being reassigned to carry out a similar mission set?

Answer. The Global Engagement Center (GEC) terminated by operation of law on December 23, 2024. The Department notified Congress through Congressional Notification 24–350, of the realignment of staff and the reprogramming of Diplomatic Programs (DP) funding to regional and functional bureaus and to a streamlined Counter FIMI Hub.

It is my understanding that the Department is currently undertaking a comprehensive policy and programming review related to the Counter-FIMI Hub and the counter-FIMI mission more generally to ensure the Counter FIMI Hub's mission aligns with the Administration's priorities.

Question. If unclear at this time, can you commit to providing this information to my office upon your confirmation?

Answer. Yes. I commit to providing additional updates if I am confirmed.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO SARAH ROGERS BY SENATOR CHRIS VAN HOLLEN

Question. Educational Exchange Programs: I have heard concerns from constituents regarding the Trump Administration's unexplained freeze on funding for our nation's flagship cultural and educational exchange programs, such as the Fulbright program and the Gilman Scholarship. Marylanders sent overseas on U.S. government-sponsored programs had been cut off from their stipends for living expenses and their ability to access medical care, travel insurance, and housing were in doubt. One Fulbrighter from Maryland teaches English in Estonia to Ukrainian refugees. He told my staff: "About 1/5 of the population here is Russian-speaking, and particularly vulnerable to Anti-American messaging from Kremlin sources. Teaching English with American teachers here helps to insulate them against this potential threat . . . Members of these communities tell me that my efforts to understand their culture have challenged stereotypes they had about Americans . . . I see this program as holding some small piece of goodwill for the American nation."

If confirmed, do you commit to consulting with this committee before attempting to freeze, terminate, or substantially modify congressionally appropriated and directed exchange programs, including the Fulbright program and Gilman Scholarship?

Answer. The Fulbright Program and Gilman Scholarship are long-standing State Department exchange programs, and I am aware that their activities are ongoing. My understanding is that the State Department initiated a strategic review of all open Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs (ECA) grant awards, which included obligations to U.S. implementing partners.

As Secretary Rubio has stated, every dollar we spend, every program we fund, and every policy we pursue must be justified and aligned with the Administration's foreign policy objectives. If confirmed, I will consult with or notify the committee, as appropriate, regarding the implementation of these exchange programs.

Question. Are you committed to the continued effective implementation of our cultural and exchange programs?

Answer. If confirmed, I will seek to ensure that our exchange programs build and strengthen relationships, foster innovation, and promote American excellence in the broadest sense.

Question. Do you agree that these programs play a critical role in pushing back on Russian and PRC attempts to influence foreign publics?

Answer. ECA's educational and cultural exchanges strengthen U.S. global influence. If confirmed, I will seek to use the full breadth of public diplomacy tools to ensure we maintain our competitive edge.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO ALLISON HOOKER BY SENATOR MIKE LEE

Question. Many international organizations that the U.S. played a role in founding no longer serve the interests of the U.S., including the U.N. and NATO. The modern international system has tilted heavily toward multilateral institutions, at the expense of bilateral relationships. How do you intend to restore the power of bilateral diplomacy relative to multilateral institutions?

Answer. If confirmed, I will put American priorities first in the multilateral sphere, while working with countries bilaterally to advance our shared security and economic interests. Aligning U.S. values and interests in multilateral institutions drives both bilateral and multilateral outcomes that bolster the America First principles laid out by President Trump and ensure the United States is safer, stronger, and more prosperous.

Question. As a tool of statecraft, sanctions seem, at best, inconclusive. In most cases, sanctions seem more effective at fueling anti-American sentiments amongst the foreign populations who become subjected to their costs than they are at meaningful behavior change. But, more recently, sanctions have also been weaponized as a means to target political opposition figures as "corrupt" or "undermining democracy"—both of which are largely subjective for purposes of application. Under what circumstances do you believe sanctions are an effective tool of statecraft, and how will you work to ensure that sanctions, when applied, are grounded in fact and not subjective interpretation?

Answer. I believe sanctions can be an important tool to achieve U.S. foreign policy goals. As Secretary Rubio said, sanctions "deny [bad actors] sources of . . . income" to fuel their malign conduct. Sanctions provide crucial leverage in negotiations that can induce meaningful behavioral change and impose costs on adversaries. I commit to examining all tools of statecraft, including sanctions when it is the best tool to protect U.S. interests. I will coordinate with the U.S. interagency to ensure sanctions are evidence-based and targeted for effectiveness.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO ALLISON HOOKER BY SENATOR BRIAN SCHATZ

Question. You served on the board of Radio Free Asia from 2022 until your resignation earlier this year. What were your concerns with RFA's work that led you to resign?

Answer. I appreciated the opportunity to serve on the Board of Radio Free Asia, an organization advancing press freedom and supporting open societies. I worked to uphold RFA's journalistic integrity and U.S. values of transparency and accountability. At the time of my resignation the board of directors were considering decisions that I felt were not in the best interest of RFA. The timing of my decision to step down was also informed by my potential nomination to serve as Under Secretary for Political Affairs at the State Department and the demands this potential new role would bring. I remain supportive of America countering authoritarian narratives and delivering trusted news to audiences lacking free access to information.

Question. Did you make any attempt to engage with RFA leadership regarding your concerns over the 2.5 years that you served on the board? If not, why?

Answer. Yes. As a board member, I engaged regularly with RFA leadership and fellow board members through established governance channels. These engagements were part of routine oversight and reflected my support for the organization's mission.

Question. Why do you think that PRC state media celebrated the administration's announcement that RFA and other outlets under the U.S. Agency for Global Media would be downsized or closed?

Answer. The Chinese Communist Party is the most capable adversary the United States faces in the global information environment and will always seek to further its propaganda efforts to undermine the United States. As the Department looks to implement the President's direction, I understand there will be further conversations about how we can use USG communications tools to advance an America First agenda and counter Chinese Communist Party propaganda.

Question. If confirmed as Under Secretary for Political Affairs, you will oversee the State Department's regional bureaus. Per a Congressional Notification of the administration's proposed restructuring of the Department, each regional bureau will take over management of retained USAID foreign assistance programs that are implemented in their geographical region. Given that U.S. foreign assistance programming is rightfully governed by complex regulations designed to ensure effectiveness and financial propriety, do you believe that the Department's regional bureaus currently possess the capacity to manage these programs, and if not, what is the Department's plan to acquire the capabilities to effectively manage billions in foreign assistance?

Answer. I have not been part of discussions or actions to date regarding the management of the Department or USAID. If I am confirmed, I will work closely with Secretary Rubio, the Deputy Secretary, and other senior officials in the Department to ensure that our foreign assistance and our policies are appropriately aligned and we are best prepared to meet the challenges facing the United States.

Question. Do you commit to raising your concerns with Secretary Rubio and the White House if you encounter obstacles to overseeing foreign assistance and other aspects of your mission created or exacerbated by the administration's program terminations and reductions in staff?

Answer. Yes.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO ALLISON HOOKER BY SENATOR CHRIS VAN HOLLEN

Question. American Teen Killed in West Bank: On April 6, 2025, a 14-year-old Palestinian teenager with U.S. citizenship, Amer Mohamed Saada Rabee, was shot and killed by Israeli forces in the West Bank town of Turmus Ayya. Two other Palestinian-American boys, ages 14 and 15, were injured in the incident. Amer was reportedly shot at the entrance to Turmus Ayya and the Israeli army pronounced him dead after detaining him. The IDF released a video that they claim showed the 14-year-old and the two other boys, in which one of the figures appears to throw an object. Reports suggest that Amer was shot a total of 11 times. Amer is the fourth U.S. citizen, three of whom have been underage, killed in the West Bank over the last 2 years. Do you agree that the U.S. State Department has a duty to ensure the safety of U.S. citizens abroad?

Answer. The Department of State has no higher priority than the welfare of U.S. citizens overseas. The Department confirmed the death of a U.S. citizen in the West Bank, and the U.S. Embassy in Jerusalem is gathering more information. The Bureau of Consular Affairs publishes safety and security information for U.S. citizens overseas on their public website, travel.state.gov, where Americans are advised to reconsider travel to the West Bank due to terrorism and civil unrest.

Question. Do you commit to ensuring that an independent investigation into his killing is done, including an investigation by the Department of Justice?

Answer. The U.S. Department of State does not have jurisdiction over investigations involving the death of U.S. citizens overseas; however, the Department can inquire with local authorities on the status of an investigation. I defer to the Department of Justice directly regarding its jurisdiction on crimes or attacks on U.S. citizens abroad.

Question. Pretoria Agreement in Ethiopia: In November 2022, the Ethiopian Federal Government and the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) signed the Pretoria Peace Agreement, aiming to end a devastating 2-year conflict in the Tigray region. However, recent internal divisions within the TPLF have led to factional disputes and governance challenges and continued pressure from the central government on Tigray has strained the 2022 agreement. In addition, escalating tensions between Ethiopia and Eritrea, marked by military mobilizations and border deployments, threaten regional stability and the potential collapse of the Pretoria Agreement. Given these challenges: What specific strategies will you pursue to support

the full implementation of the Pretoria Peace Agreement and prevent a relapse into conflict?

Answer. In close coordination with our Embassy, I will, if confirmed, engage the Government of Ethiopia and Tigrayan leaders to press for dialogue to reduce tensions in Tigray. If confirmed, I will also encourage resolving the status of disputed territories and facilitating the return of internally displaced persons. Finally, if confirmed, I will also work with the Government of Ethiopia and other partners to support implementation of key provisions of the Pretoria Agreement.

Question. How do you plan to engage with both Ethiopian and Eritrean authorities to address these challenges and promote lasting peace in the region?

Answer. If confirmed, I will engage with leaders in both Ethiopia and Eritrea, based on our shared interest in greater peace, stability, and prosperity in the Horn of Africa. If confirmed, I will also encourage, and where appropriate facilitate, direct engagement between Ethiopian and Eritrean leaders. Tensions between those countries can best be addressed through direct dialogue between their leaders. Productive relationships with both Addis Ababa and Asmara will be key to advancing U.S. goals in the Horn.

Submitted by Senator Chris Van Hollen

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

April 8, 2025

Secretary Rubio
United States Secretary of State
Department of State
2201 C Street Northwest
Washington, DC 20520

Secretary Rubio,

On March 28, 2025, the State Department sent a Congressional Notification indicating its intent to fold USAID into the Department of State. The proposal, if implemented, and action taken to date to gut USAID, are clearly an unconstitutional violation of the separation of powers. The executive branch may not eliminate a congressionally created and funded agency without congressional authorization. Such action would be incompatible with the express will of Congress. The administration's plan to permanently dismantle USAID and fire all of its employees will not only render it impossible for any retained USAID programs to be implemented, but will also cause significant disruption to the State Department's core mission. The actions outlined in this proposal are unconstitutional, illegal, unjustified, damaging, and inefficient.

In addition, we have seen reports on additional restructuring that would include dozens of U.S. embassies and consulates being closed, a fifth of the State Department's workforce slashed, career positions being reclassified into political "Schedule P/C" positions, and the Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC) and U.S. Trade and Development Agency (USTDA) being absorbed into separate divisions under the DFC.¹ This reorganization would have dramatic U.S. national security implications, constitutes an unjustified seismic shift in the U.S. foreign policy enterprise, and includes many proposed measures that would be illegal without congressional action.² We demand that you follow the law and engage with the relevant committees before the State Department begins to execute any such plans, including you testifying before the relevant

¹ Nahal Toosi and Daniel Lippman, "Trump aides circulate plan for complete revamp of foreign aid programs," *Politico*, March 19, 2025; Scott Patterson and Kristina Peterson, "Trump Officials Circulate Plan That Would Overhaul USAID," *Wall Street Journal*, March 19, 2025; Nahal Toosi, "Trump wants to shrink the State Department's size, reach and focus," *Politico*, February 27, 2025.

² Section 34 of the State Department Basic Authorities Act of 1956 (22 U.S.C. § 2706) requires the State Department to notify Congress 15 days in advance of a proposed reprogramming of appropriated funds to, among other actions, relocate an office or employees or, separately, reorganize offices, programs, or activities. Section 48 of the same law (22 U.S.C. § 2720) provides for similar requirements with respect to the closure of consular and diplomatic posts abroad. Further, Section 7015(a) of the FY2024 Department of State, Foreign Operations, and Related Programs appropriations act (Division F of P.L. 118-47, as carried forward by P.L. 119-4, the FY2025 full-year continuing resolution) provides that no funds shall be available for obligation for several purposes, including to "create, close, reorganize, downsize, or rename bureaus, centers, or offices" unless Congress is notified 15 days in advance of such obligation. Section 7063 of this same law states that no funds may be used "to implement a reorganization, redesign, or other plan" without prior consultation with and notification to Congress.

committees to explain and defend these plans to restructure the country's premier diplomatic agencies.

According to the congressional notification we received, the administration would eliminate USAID's status as an independent establishment in the executive branch, abolish multiple USAID bureaus and offices, as well as "realigning certain USAID functions to the Department." As you know, Congress mandated that USAID be established in statute.³ Some reporting about the State Department's plans also suggest an attempt to dissolve certain State Department bureaus that focus on functional and bilateral assistance, which could potentially result in the dissolution of multiple bureaus already authorized in law. Any attempt to dissolve those bureaus requires congressional action to modify or repeal the relevant authorizing statutes.

It is also our understanding that the State Department is considering substantially shrinking its workforce and diplomatic footprint around the world. This includes a potential major cut in staffing and the closure of multiple embassies and consulates abroad. If carried out, these plans would undermine our ability to conduct diplomacy abroad at a time when China is increasing its presence globally and outpacing the U.S. presence in multiple regions.

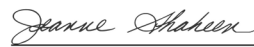
Beyond the immediate structural and personnel changes, these proposed reforms could have a severe deleterious impact for U.S. global leadership and influence. The State Department, USAID, and its diplomatic corps are the backbone of American foreign policy, advancing U.S. interests, strengthening alliances, and responding to global crises. Slashing their workforces, closing embassies, consulates, and missions, and dismantling key bureaus would severely weaken America's ability to conduct diplomacy, support democracy, and counter the growing influence of strategic competitors like China and Russia. At a time when global challenges are increasing, from conflicts and humanitarian crises, such as the recent earthquakes in Myanmar, to economic instability, the United States cannot afford to undermine its own diplomatic capacity.

Given the gravity of these potential consequences, we expect that the administration will immediately engage with Congress before taking any further steps toward implementing these plans, as required by law.

Sincerely,




Chris Van Hollen
United States Senator

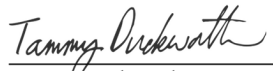



Jeanne Shaheen
United States Senator

³ See 5 U.S.C. § 104.



 Brian Schatz
 United States Senator



 Cory A. Booker
 United States Senator

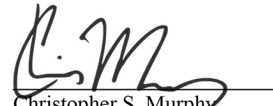

 Tammy Duckworth
 United States Senator


 Jeffrey A. Merkley
 United States Senator


 Christopher A. Coons
 United States Senator


 Tim Kaine
 United States Senator


 Jacky Rosen
 United States Senator


 Christopher S. Murphy
 United States Senator

