NOMINATIONS

THURSDAY, JULY 30, 2026

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

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:36 a.m., in room SD–419, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. James E. Risch, Chairman of the committee, presiding.

Present: Senators Risch [presiding], McCormick, Hagerty, Cruz, Scott of Florida, Shaheen, Murphy, Kaine, Van Hollen, and Rosen.

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

Senator RISCH. The Foreign Relations Committee will come to order.

Thank you all for being here today. We welcome our guests who have joined us at this public hearing. We are always glad to have guests. I want to remind everyone that this is a function of the U.S. Government, which cannot be interrupted. We have had that from time to time. Have not had any lately, which is good. We know how to handle it if it happens, but I would ask everyone to not attempt to communicate with in any fashion during the hearing so we can get about our business.

So we have three different nominees today. And the way this will work is I am going to make a brief opening statement, then turn to the Ranking Member. We will then have one introduction, I am told, and then we will hear from our panel today.

Thank you so much for being here. And thank you, to your families, for being here. We would ask you to keep your remarks to about 5 minutes. If you have more, happy to include whatever you want in the record of the hearing.

So thank you to our nominees for being here today, and especially thank you to the families when you serve, we all know that the families share part of the burden and responsibility that that takes, and it is always stress on them, just as it is on those who step forward to take part in our government.

Ms. Rogers, this call to serve is not new for you or for your family, your potential dual role serving as Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and the CEO of USAGM, would create a unity of operations and of messaging across the Federal Government. And as Secretary Rubio continuously demonstrates in this Administration, the best reward for hard work is another job. As you know, USAGM is the funding source of some of America's most important public diplomacy tools, but it is also an agency with a trou-

bled past, and in this Administration, it is in a period of transition. It will be your responsibility to right the ship and chart a much improved course for the organization, and U.S. public diplomacy in general.

Ms. Jurata, the International Monetary Fund is the international organization focused on promoting international economic stability. If confirmed as U.S. Economic Director to the Board, you will be tasked with representing the U.S. position in the day to day operations and business of the IMF, and ensuring American interests are protected. I look forward to hearing how you plan to promote President Trump's vision for refocusing the IMF's efforts, and in achieving its core mandate of global economic cooperation and stability.

And finally, Ms. Carroll, Trinidad and Tobago is a fellow democracy and a key U.S. economic, diplomatic, and security partner in the Caribbean. Trinidad has benefited from and actively participated in U.S. initiatives like the Caribbean Basin Trade Partnership and the Caribbean Basin Security Initiative, and most recently, Trinidad has played an active role in support of U.S. law enforcement efforts in the region, including the arrest and extradition of Nicolas Maduro in Venezuela. We are very grateful for this work. I look forward to hearing your thoughts on ways we can deepen our strategic relations with Trinidad, if you are confirmed as ambassador.

Thank you, again, to our nominees. Again, thank you to your families.

And now I will turn it over to the Ranking Member for her remarks.

STATEMENT OF HON. JEANNE SHAHEEN,
RANKING MEMBER, U.S. SENATOR FROM NEW HAMPSHIRE

Senator SHAHEEN. Well, thank you, Mr. Chairman.

And welcome to each of our nominees today, to all of your families, and friends, and supporters who are here with you.

Every day, U.S. adversaries try to shape the information environment in ways that hurt America's interests. We see it with China's efforts to isolate Taiwan, with Iran's efforts to undermine confidence in American military power, and in Russia's efforts to undermine support for Ukraine to divide Americans and erode confidence in our democracy. Our adversaries treat information as a domain of strategic competition. Iran, a country under crushing sanctions, still found the resources to triple the budget for its state broadcaster. Russia spends roughly $1.5 billion a year on state media and propaganda. And as we know, this is not a new challenge. One former KGB propagandist who defected to the West estimated that 85 percent of the KGB's time, money, and manpower was devoted to influence campaigns and ideological warfare.

Now, the United States used to understand this. During the cold war, we built Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, and Radio Liberty to counter Soviet propaganda with fact based reporting behind the Iron Curtain. We invested in public diplomacy because we understood that influence does matter. We exposed foreign disinformation because we recognized that information is a strategic asset. That commitment continued long after the cold war.

Republicans and Democrats agreed that America had to compete in the information space.

Sadly, this Administration has walked away from that tradition. It has gutted U.S. international broadcasting, it has dismantled the State Department's capability for countering foreign propaganda, and it has shifted our public diplomacy from confronting authoritarian regimes to criticizing democratic allies. And today, we are seeing the consequences. A recent European Council on Foreign Relations poll found only 11 percent of Europeans now describe the U.S. as an ally, and we can see it here in the poster.

[Poster on display.]

Senator SHAHEEN. Globally, more countries name the United States as the biggest threat to the world than named Russia. Earlier this month, the Pew Research service found that for the first time in its history, across most of the world, China is now viewed more favorably than the United States. And again, we can see where those lines crossed in 2025.

At the very moment we should be strengthening America's ability to compete for influence, the Administration has weakened it.

Ms. Rogers, you have overseen our public diplomacy efforts over this period. Now the President has nominated you to take over and resuscitate the U.S. Agency for Global Media after Kari Lake's efforts to dismantle it. This raises serious concerns about the statutory firewall that is supposed to protect the editorial independence of Radio Free Europe, Voice of America, and other international broadcasters from political influence. And given the record on public diplomacy over the last several months, there are real questions about whether this nomination will make things better or worse.

Ms. Jurata, you have been nominated to serve as the United States Executive Director to the International Monetary Fund. The IMF has played a critical role helping Ukraine keep its economy functioning as it defends itself against Russian aggression. If confirmed, I hope you will continue to ensure the United States remains a strong advocate for Ukraine at the IMF.

And finally, Ms. Carroll, you have been nominated to be the U.S. Ambassador to Trinidad and Tobago. As the Chairman said, Trinidad and Tobago's proximity to Venezuela places it on the front lines of regional instability. The country has faced increased migration pressures, trafficking networks, and broader security challenges as a result. If confirmed, I hope you will work to deepen our partnership and support regional stability.

I look forward to hearing from each of you.

Thank you.

Senator RISCH. Thank you very much, Senator Shaheen.

Before we turn it over to the nominees, Senator Cruz, I understand you have something for us.

STATEMENT OF HON. TED CRUZ, U.S. SENATOR FROM TEXAS

Senator CRUZ. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

It is my privilege to introduce President Trump's nominee to serve as the Chief Executive Officer of the United States Agency for Global Media, Sarah Rogers. Ms. Rogers has spent her life as a committed advocate for freedom of speech and ideas, and as a

passionate believer in their power to enhance freedom. She earned her bachelor's in international relations from Dartmouth College. She later earned her J.D. from Columbia Law School, which she followed by carving out a distinguished legal career rooted in constitutional advocacy, free speech, and public service. Ms. Rogers spent more than 2 decades on these causes. As a partner at the New York litigation boutique Brewer she represented the National Rifle Association in landmark First Amendment litigation, securing a victory before the Supreme Court.

Since October 2025, Ms. Rogers has served as Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs, where she has advanced U.S. interests in a global environment that has become complicated and challenging in ways that are quite literally unprecedented in all of human history. We have entered a new era in which American adversaries are using traditional and digital platforms to advance their interests at the expense of the safety and prosperity of Americans. The geopolitical stakes have never been higher. Ms. Rogers has overseen the Bureau's efforts in that space with unremitting commitment. Her leadership is just as necessary at USAGM.

USAGM's mission has never been more important. Authoritarian regimes are right now weaponizing propaganda campaigns to undermine the United States and our allies. Ms. Rogers' professional and government experience makes her eminently, and perhaps, uniquely qualified to lead the agency at this critical moment. I am grateful for Ms. Rogers willingness to continue serving our country in this role, and I thank her family for the sacrifices they have made in support of her public service.

Mr. Chairman, I am confident that Ms. Rogers will serve with integrity, distinction, and an unwavering commitment to the interest of the United States as the CEO of USAGM, and I urge my colleagues to support her nomination.

Senator RISCH. Thank you, Senator Cruz. We appreciate those remarks.

We will now hear from our nominees. And again, I want to ask that you keep it to about 5 minutes, and then you will have another shot at it as we ask questions.

So Ms. Carroll, let us start with you, and you have the floor.

STATEMENT OF HON. JENNIFER JOHNSON-CARROLL, OF FLORIDA, TO BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE REPUBLIC OF TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

Ms. JOHNSON-CARROLL. Good morning, Chairman, Ranking Member, and distinguished members of the committee. Thank you for the opportunity to appear before you today as President Trump's nominee for the Ambassador to Trinidad and Tobago. I would like to take a moment, a point of privilege, to recognize my family that traveled the distance to be with me here today.

This nomination holds special, personal meaning for me. I was born in Port of Spain, Trinidad. I immigrated to the United States at the age of eight, and I have carried a deep connection to the Trinidad and Tobago throughout my life and career. I have also committed to a life of service in the United States as a Navy vet-

eran who rose from an enlisted jet mechanic to retire as a lieutenant commander after 20 years of service.

I later served as Florida's 18th Lieutenant Governor. I have dedicated my career to strengthening America's security and economic interests. As Lieutenant Governor, I led successful trade missions to Trinidad and Tobago, and other nations, garnering over $70 million in new trade for Florida's businesses. I will draw directly from those experiences in this role.

If confirmed I will focus my efforts on four priorities central to strengthening the U.S.-Trinidad and Tobago relationship, and advancing American interests and President Trump's vision for the Western Hemisphere. First, my most important priority will be to ensure the safety and security of American citizens residing in Trinidad and Tobago, including the thousands who travel there each year for business and tourism.

Second, economic security and prosperity are critical to both of our countries. I will promote the American exports, market opportunities, and trade that generate commercial wins for U.S. businesses, while helping Trinidad and Tobago build a resilient, diversified economy, positioning the United States as a key partner for its economic growth and competitiveness. I will advance our nation's economic strength by promoting fair trade, American investment, and energy security that benefits U.S. workers and industry while building mutual beneficial ties with this resource rich Caribbean partner.

Recognizing that economic and security interests are deeply intertwined, I will work closely with the Trinbagonian officials to deepen our security partnership, building off of our shared cooperation, including through the Caribbean Basin Security Initiative. As a founding member of the Americas Council Cartel Coalition, and the Shields of the America, Trinidad and Tobago is a regional leader on security, and a strong partner in the fight against transnational organized crime. If confirmed, I am committed to working with Trinidad and Tobago to stop illicit narco trafficking that corrupts the lives and livelihood of both our citizens.

Finally, if confirmed, I pledge to champion American sovereignty and independence, ensuring that U.S. engagement with Trinidad and Tobago serves our national interests first, and reinforces our nation's right to control its own borders, resources, and decision-making. I am committed to supporting enhanced border security and regional migration cooperations, working with the Trinbagonian authorities to prevent illegal immigration, and ensure orderly, lawful movement of people throughout the Caribbean. Together, these priorities reflect this administration's commitment to a safe, secure, and more prosperous Western Hemisphere.

I look forward to your questions, and if confirmed, to advancing these goals on behalf of the American people in Trinidad and Tobago.

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, and Ranking Member.

NOMINEE COMMITMENT 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: Jennifer Carroll

Date: July 30, 2026

[The prepared statement of Ms. Johnson-Carroll follows:]

Prepared Statement of Hon. Jennifer Johnson-Carroll

Good morning, Chairman Risch, Ranking Member Shaheen, and distinguished Members of the Committee, thank you for the opportunity to appear before you today as President Trump's nominee for Ambassador to Trinidad and Tobago.

This nomination holds special personal meaning for me. I was born in Port of Spain. I immigrated to the United States at the age of eight, and I have carried a deep connection to Trinidad and Tobago throughout my life and career.

I have also committed to a life of service to the United States. As a Navy veteran who rose from an enlisted jet mechanic to retire as a lieutenant commander after 20 years of service, and later to serve as Florida's 18th Lieutenant Governor, I have dedicated my career to strengthening America's security and economic interests. As Lieutenant Governor, I led successful trade missions to Trinidad and Tobago and other nations, generating over $70 million in new trade for Florida businesses. I will draw directly from these experiences in this role.

If confirmed, I will focus my efforts on four priorities central to strengthening the U.S.-Trinidad and Tobago relationship and advancing American interests and President Trump's vision in the Western Hemisphere.

First, my most important priority will be to ensure the safety and security of American citizens residing in Trinidad and Tobago, including the thousands who travel there each year for business and tourism.

Second, economic security and prosperity are critical to both our countries. I will promote American exports, market opportunities, and trade that generate commercial wins for U.S. businesses while helping Trinidad and Tobago build a resilient, diversified economy—positioning the United States as the key partner for its economic growth and competitiveness. I will advance our nation's economic strength by promoting fair trade, American investment, and energy security that benefit U.S. workers and industry, while building mutually beneficial ties with this resource-rich Caribbean partner.

Recognizing that economic and security interests are deeply intertwined, I will work closely with Trinbagonian officials to deepen our security partnership, building off our shared cooperation including through the Caribbean Basin Security Initiative. As a founding member of the Americas Counter-Cartel Coalition and the Shield of the Americas, Trinidad and Tobago is a regional leader on security and a strong partner in the fight against transnational organized crime. If confirmed, I am committed to working with Trinidad and Tobago to stop illicit narcotrafficking that corrupts the lives and livelihoods of both our citizens.

Finally, if confirmed, I pledge to champion American sovereignty and independence, ensuring that U.S. engagement with Trinidad and Tobago serves our national interests first and reinforces our nation's right to control its own borders, resources, and decisionmaking. I am committed to supporting enhanced border security and regional migration cooperation, working with Trinbagonian authorities to prevent illegal immigration and ensure orderly, lawful movement of people throughout the Caribbean.

Together, these priorities reflect this Administration's commitment to a safe, secure, and more prosperous Western Hemisphere. I look forward to your questions and, if confirmed, to advancing these goals on behalf of the American people in Trinidad and Tobago.

Senator RISCH. Thank you, Ms. Carroll. We appreciate that.

Now, Ms. Jurata.

STATEMENT OF MS. REBEKAH JURATA, OF CALIFORNIA, TO BE UNITED STATES EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND FOR A TERM OF TWO YEARS

Ms. JURATA. Chairman Risch, Ranking Member Shaheen and distinguished members of this committee, thank you for the opportunity to appear before you today as President Trump's nominee to be the United States Executive Director at the International Monetary Fund.

I want to thank President Trump and Secretary Bessent for their support. I am humbled by this nomination. Most of my career has been spent in public service, and that is where my heart has al-

ways been. I look forward, if confirmed, to returning to public service in this capacity.

I would like to briefly acknowledge some of the people I am most grateful to who have helped pave the way for me to appear before you today: my family and my friends. I want to recognize my father, who is no longer with us, whose life was a prime example of the American Dream. He was born during the Great Depression. He started working at 6 years old, he enlisted in the United States Navy, and he ultimately became a computer engineer. From my dad, I learned a great love of this country and the belief and knowledge that hard work and determination make anything possible. From my mother, I learned that good judgment requires not only logic, but also heart.

I also want to acknowledge my stepdaughters, Kaitlyn, and Jacki, who are here with me today. My brother Joshua, his wife Molly, and my three nephews. Thank you all for your encouragement. Last, and not least, I want to thank my husband, Jay, whose love and support have made my service possible. Those lessons and the love of a large and supportive group of family and friends have shaped both who I am and how I have approached my career.

My professional experience has centered on financial markets, economic policy, and public service. I have had the privilege of serving at the Department of Treasury, the White House National Economic Council, the Securities and Exchange Commission, and the House Financial Services Committee, and the Public Company Accounting Oversight Board. While I was at Treasury, I was honored to represent the United States in international standard setting bodies where I saw firsthand the importance of American engagement in multilateral institutions in promoting pro-growth economic initiatives and market oriented regulatory frameworks. That experience taught me that American leadership in these forums is not optional. When we step back others feel the void, often in ways that do not reflect our values or our interests. Throughout my career, one lesson has remained constant: American prosperity is inseparable from economic growth, stability, transparency, and confidence in the financial system, both here at home and in the international institutions that help sustain it.

The IMF was founded to, among other things, promote international monetary cooperation, facilitate the balanced growth of international trade, promote exchange rate stability, and provide members with resources under appropriate safeguards to correct balance of payment problems without resorting to measures destructive to national or international prosperity. If confirmed, it will be my priority to help ensure the IMF is focused on this core mission. As Executive Director, I will work to ensure the United States' voice is clear and effective at the IMF in advancing our economic and strategic interest consistent with the President's America First policy. I believe the objective of facilitating balanced growth of fair and reciprocal trade should be a focus of the Fund's work, and I will push for policies that strengthen economic growth and stability, both here and among our trading partners.

At the same time I believe the IMF must maintain rigorous conditions and accountability in its lending programs and remain focused on its core financial stability mission, rather than expanding

into areas beyond its mandate. I will work closely with the Treasury Department and the Administration to advance American interests at the IMF, and I will engage with this committee throughout my service.

I am grateful for the opportunity to continue a career in public service that I care deeply about, and I hope to earn your support. Thank you for your consideration, and I look forward to your questions.

NOMINEE COMMITMENT 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

Rebekah Jurate

Printed Name: Rebekah Jurata

Date: July 30, 2026

[The prepared statement of Ms. Jurata follows:]

Prepared Statement of Rebekah Jurata

Chairman Risch, Ranking Member Shaheen, and distinguished Members of the Committee, thank you for the opportunity to appear before you today as President Trump's nominee to serve as the United States Executive Director at the International Monetary Fund.

I want to thank President Trump and Secretary Bessent for their support; I am humbled by this nomination. Most of my career has been spent in public service, and that is where my heart has always been. I look forward, if confirmed, to returning to public service in this capacity.

I would like to briefly acknowledge some of the people I am most grateful to and have helped pave the way for me to appear before you today: my family and friends.

I want to recognize my father, who is no longer with us, but whose life was a powerful example of the American dream. Born during the Great Depression, my dad began working at age 6, enlisted in the United States Navy and ultimately became a computer engineer. From him, I learned love of country and the belief that hard work and determination can make anything possible. From my mother, I learned that good judgment requires not only intellect, but also heart.

I also want to acknowledge my stepdaughters, Kaitlyn and Jacki, my brother Joshua, his wife Molly, and my three nephews. Thank you all for your encouragement. Last, and not least, I want to thank my husband, Jay, whose love and support have made my service possible.

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That experience taught me that American leadership in these forums is not optional—when we step back, others fill the vacuum, often in ways that do not reflect our interests or values. Throughout my career, one lesson has remained constant: American prosperity is inseparable from economic growth, stability, transparency, and confidence in the financial system, both here at home and in the international institutions that help sustain it.

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As U.S. Executive Director, I will work to ensure the United States' voice is clear and effective at the IMF in advancing our economic and strategic interests, consistent with the President's America First policy. I believe the objective of facilitating balanced growth of fair and reciprocal trade should be a focus of the Fund's work, and I will push for policies that strengthen economic growth and stability both here and among our trading partners. At the same time, I believe the IMF must maintain rigorous conditions and accountability in its lending programs and remain focused on its core financial stability mission, rather than expanding into areas beyond its mandate.

I will work closely with the Treasury Department and the Administration to advance American interests at the IMF, and I will engage with this Committee throughout my service. I am grateful for the opportunity to continue a career in public service that I care deeply about, and I hope to earn your support.

Thank you for your consideration. I look forward to your questions.

Senator RISCH. Thank you very much.

Ms. Rogers.

STATEMENT OF HON. SARAH B. ROGERS, OF NEW YORK, TO BE CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER OF THE UNITED STATES AGENCY FOR GLOBAL MEDIA

Ms. ROGERS. Chairman Risch, Ranking Member Shaheen, and distinguished members of this committee. One year ago, I appeared before you as President Trump's nominee for Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy, the position I now hold. It is an honor to return today as nominee for Chief Executive Officer of the U.S. Agency for Global Media, or USAGM. I would like to thank President Trump and Secretary Rubio for their confidence, and my family, and my husband, Jeff, who is here with me today for their love, patience, and support.

Before entering public service, I spent my career as an attorney fighting for the First Amendment. I took that fight all the way to the Supreme Court and remained devoted to that cause while in office. Like I said in my opening testimony last time, freedom of speech is not just America's most famous freedom, it is our number one strength, and USAGM helps champion free speech and freedom of the press worldwide.

In my current role as Under Secretary, I oversee a $1 billion budget, and lead a workforce of more than 5,000 employees to advance American foreign policy and counter propaganda from adversaries including China, Russia, and Iran, as well as Cuba and North Korea. Countering propaganda without countenancing censorship has been my core mission. Sometimes, that does mean sparking conversation with a tweet, but it means multi-layered diplomatic engagement, too. It means reaching people through music, sports, and entrepreneurship. Above all, it means telling the truth credibly in a media environment where adversaries do want to seed your timeline with slop.

Truth telling is what AGM is for, and if confirmed that is the effort I will lead. Over the past year, I have traveled more than 70,000 miles and seen firsthand the power of free information in closed societies. In Turkmenistan, I met students exploring an uncensored internet through our American Center. In Seoul, North Korean defectors told me that snippets of American radio were the first hints they heard of another kind of life. These defectors risked torture and risked death, fleeing toward a freedom they had only heard existed here. And they heard it from us.

That is a great honor, and it is also evidence that Voice of America, the Office of Cuba Broadcasting, and our grantees—RFE/RL, MBN, RFA, and OTF—can be indispensable instruments of American foreign policy. Free people tend to choose America, and the truth sets people free. That is why delivering truthful information behind the Iron Curtain helped defeat Soviet Communism, and in today's information war truth remains America's best tool.

As multiple administrations have agreed, USAGM must reform and modernize to meet today's media environment. If confirmed as CEO, I will work to meet audiences where they are, which is not always television broadcast or shortwave radio. We will not abandon those mediums where we need them, but we will expand to short form video, diaspora group chats, podcasts, and other timely forms of engagement.

Over a year ago, President Trump signed an executive order directing AGM to operate at its statutory minimum. Put plainly, that means the Agency should do what Congress codified, no more and no less. That means we must reach audiences in strategically significant places like Cuba and the Middle East, where censorship impedes our foreign policy. If confirmed my first priority will be to stabilize the Agency, strengthen its leadership, modernize its operations, and restore research capacity so we can actually measure reach and viewership: are we actually reaching people, and how can we do it better, and how can we make every taxpayer dollar count? Those will be my obsessions. I pledge to engage consistently with Congress and rebuild local language and transmission capabilities in areas where we need them to.

Just last week, I attended the second White House Correspondents Dinner of 2026, and listened to President Trump's remarks on the free press. At the first dinner, I never got a chance to hear them. Like most dignitaries, I dove for cover when the shooting started. One person sitting near me did not, though. Susan Zirinsky of CBS was about four feet tall, stood on a chair to film the room as the rest of us crouched for cover. When I saw Susan, Friday, I thought of the journalists across AGM and our grantees who report the news in the line of fire daily despite threats of detention, persecution, and violence. If confirmed I will work every day to be worthy of their courage and of the mission Congress entrusted to this agency. That means keeping the cause of freedom alive where it is under greatest threat.

Thank you, and I look forward to your questions.

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   Answer: Yes

Printed Name: Sarah B. Rogers

Date: July 30, 2026

[The prepared statement of Ms. Rogers follows:]

Prepared Statement of Hon. Sarah B. Rogers

Chairman Risch, Ranking Member Shaheen, and distinguished Members of the Committee:

One year ago, I appeared before you as President Trump's nominee for Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy—the position I now hold. It is an honor to return today as nominee for Chief Executive Officer of the U.S. Agency for Global Media, or USAGM.

I would like to thank President Trump and Secretary Rubio for their confidence, and my family for their love, patience, and support.

Before entering public service, I spent my career as an attorney fighting for the First Amendment. I took that fight all the way to the Supreme Court, and remain devoted to that cause while in office. Like I said in my opening testimony last time: freedom of speech isn't just America's most famous freedom. It's our number one strength. And USAGM helps champion free speech and freedom of the press worldwide.

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And it's also evidence that Voice of America and our grantees—RFE/RL, OCB, MBN, RFA, and OTF—can be indispensable instruments of American foreign policy. Free people tend to choose America. And the truth sets people free. That's why delivering truthful information behind the Iron Curtain helped defeat Soviet Communism. And in today's information war, truth remains America's best tool.

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Over a year ago, President Trump signed an executive order directing AGM to operate at its statutory minimum. Put plainly, that means the agency should do what Congress codified—no more and no less. That means we must reach audiences in strategically significant places, like Cuba and the Middle East, where censorship impedes our foreign policy.

If confirmed, my first priority will be to stabilize the agency, strengthen its leadership, modernize its operations, and restore research capacity so we can actually measure reach and viewership. Are we actually reaching people, and how can we do it better, and how can we make every taxpayer dollar count—those will be my obsessions. I also pledge to engage consistently with Congress, and rebuild local-language and transmission capabilities in areas where we need them.

Just last week, I attended the second White House Correspondents Dinner of 2026, and listened to the President's remarks on the free press. At the first dinner, I never got the chance. Like most dignitaries, I dove under the table when the shooting started. One person sitting near me didn't, though. Susan Zirinsky of CBS, who's about four feet tall, stood on a chair to film the room as the rest of us crouched for cover. When I saw Susan Friday, I thought of the journalists across AGM, and our grantees, who report the news in the line of fire. Daily. Despite threats of detention, persecution, and violence.

If confirmed, I will work every day to be worthy of their courage, and of the mission Congress entrusted to this agency. That means keeping the cause of freedom alive where it is under the greatest threat.

Thank you. I look forward to your questions.

Senator RISCH. Well, thank you very much to all three of you. And we will now do some questions, starting with myself, and then Senator Shaheen.

And let us see. Let us start with you, Ms. Carroll. We do not often get an appointee that has as great a connection to the country that they are going to as you have. So it is good to see you, and glad you are willing to do this. Tell us a little bit about our relationship with Trinidad and Tobago.

Ms. JOHNSON-CARROLL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Right now, the United States is experiencing a good relationship with the country of Trinidad and Tobago in that they have been very supportive of the Caribbean Basin Initiative, security initiatives, such that they recognize that they do have a porous border, and we do need some resources, or they need some resources, in order to curtail against illicit human trafficking as well as narco-terrorists.

Additionally, we have an issue with regards to energy, of their production reducing. And the United States is committed to moving forward with a license that has been accepted for a sector in the Caribbean area between Venezuela and Trinidad to help the country explore for additional resources, which will also help the United States in its efforts to increase direct support for business opportunities.

So we can see that the—at least, Trinidad and Tobago is committed to working with the United States to increase economic opportunities, increase oil and gas exploration, as well as utilize our assistance to help combat some of those illicit trafficking.

Senator RISCH. What is the stability of their government like?

Ms. JOHNSON-CARROLL. The government, as far as its stability, I cannot speak to that. If confirmed in getting down to the region and having more dialogue with post as well as the government, to find out more about that. But I do know that they have had several emergency orders, which does not bode well with regards to the criminal activities that is been occurring for a number of years, and that is something that needs to be addressed. And hopefully, if confirmed, with my direction on the ground and sharing that information back to committee, as well as the President, and the state, that we can come up with some strategic goals to help in that endeavor.

Senator RISCH. Thanks so much.

Ms. JOHNSON-CARROLL. Thank you.

Senator RISCH. Ms. Jurata, as Executive Director at IMF, what kind of staff do you have? How many people do you oversee there—would you oversee?

Ms. JURATA. Thank you, Chairman.

It is my understanding that it is around a dozen career staff report up to the U.S. Executive Director, but I can confirm and get back to you.

Senator RISCH. Yes, I was just looking at approximate, that is all. And who will you report to? Do you report to the board, or the chairman of the board, or who is your immediate supervisor?

Ms. JURATA. I report to Secretary Bessent, sir, of the Treasury Department.

Senator RISCH. OK, good. And does Secretary Bessent—is he actively engaged with the board as far as setting policy and that sort of thing?

Ms. JURATA. So the governance structure of the IMF is that you have the Board of Governors and Secretary Bessent is the Governor—on the governing board and meets a couple times a year, and they have the overarching setting of the agenda. As U.S. Executive Director to the IMF, I would be sitting on behalf of the United States on the executive board, which meets very regularly, multiple times a week, to entertain and vote on underlying decisions that range from day to day operations to major policy decisions.

Senator RISCH. We appreciate that.

Ms. Rogers, interesting to hear your story about talking with people who have fled or escaped another country. I think all of us that sit on this committee have, from time to time, met with the same people. And it is always a wake up call to realize how we take for granted what we have here in America. It just amazes me. We wake up every morning, do not even think about it. And then if I travel, I come back here, and I turn on, against my better judgment, TV and watch the talking heads and talking about how bad America is and all the troubles we have here and et cetera. It just amazes me how people are in awe when they come to the United States as to what we have here.

Let me ask this: there are almost 200 countries, more or less, depending on how you count them, on the planet. And obviously, you are going to have to be active in some. And obviously we cannot be in all. So how do you make a decision as to where you are going to focus your efforts?

Ms. ROGERS. Thank you very much, Chairman.

I totally agree, and my travels have underscored the same gratitude. So look, the statutory mission of AGM set forth in International Broadcasting Act, Subsection 6202, includes reaching audiences and information environments where a free media ecosystem is not possible. So we are focusing on censored societies, and we also have to think about advancing the broad objectives of U.S. foreign policy. That is Subsection 6202(a).

And I think precedent and statute kind of give us a bit of a guide. We have to be operating in the Middle East. We have to be operating in Asia. We have to be operating in Cuba. And then there is Radio Free Europe, and obviously, Radio Free Europe is really one of the crown jewels of cold war soft power. I still have interactions with Europeans who grew up behind the Berlin Wall, and they get tears in their eyes when they talk about hearing rock and roll music on Radio Free Europe, and that was like a shaft of light from a free society. I think Radio Free Europe now should stay focused on the Russian periphery, Iran, and Afghanistan, where it is.

And then, you know, there were some languages and regions that were deprecated under Kari Lake that I think were probably correct to shift away from. I do not think we need to be broadcasting in places like Hungary and Greece now that the cold war is over. It is not that those media environments are perfect. It is just those are not the kinds of places where the taxpayer dollar is most effi-

ciently deployed to get information to people who literally cannot get it otherwise.

I do think Africa is something we should not totally abdicate. The security situation in the Sahel and the advances made by Russia and China there show that. So I would, as I have in my role, as are with my Limitless Africa podcast and Young African Leaders Program, explore some careful tactical, resuscitation of resources there, but otherwise, I think, you know, Cuba—a huge focus, obviously—we cannot have communism in our hemisphere. Asia, huge focus. Iran, Afghanistan, Middle East. Huge focus. And it is basically countering adversarial propaganda with the truth, and we have got to do that everywhere.

Senator RISCH. Thank you.

I am always amazed when I speak to part of the diaspora from Iran, the reach that we have and the penetration that we have into Iran, even with their efforts to keep that down. So keep that up.

Senator Shaheen.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Ms. Rogers, in May, the State Department sent Congress a report concluding that the IRGC uses social media bots to spread anti-Semitic propaganda and manipulate online discourse. The President goes on to say that Iranian propaganda is a national security threat, and your own department says that the IRGC is conducting influence operations against Americans. So help me understand why the Administration waived sanctions earlier this month on Iran's state broadcaster, IRIB, the regime's principal propaganda outlet. I have a copy of the waiver here signed by Secretary Rubio.

Mr. Chairman, if we could introduce this into the record, I would appreciate it.

Senator RISCH. It will be introduced.

[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 SHAHEEN. So help me explain why, given the propaganda challenges we have with Iran, why we would provide that kind of a waiver.

Ms. ROGERS. Thank you very much, Ranking Member Shaheen.

You know, we have been very, very active on the Iranian propaganda issue, and I can get to some of our activities in a moment, but I will address your question. So public diplomacy was not involved in that particular waiver. I can tell you, though, that Secretary Rubio has been extremely aggressive in enacting sanctions on Iranian entities, listing Iranian foreign terrorist organizations, and kicking, frankly, the family members of Iranian authoritarian murderers out of the United States.

Senator SHAHEEN. Would you agree with me, though, that that does not make sense, that we should provide a waiver? I mean, this is an example of the propaganda that they are putting out a billion views of this video. And why do we want to encourage our adversary, who is bombing Americans and our allies in the Middle East by letting them continue their propaganda efforts?

Ms. ROGERS. I do not think there is a single person in this Administration who wants to encourage Iran to bomb Americans or

have a nuclear weapon. We have been very aggressive against Iran. But I want to address your question. So look, these sanctions determinations are legalistic——

Senator SHAHEEN. And I am not asking about the sanctions determinations.

Ms. ROGERS. Yes.

Senator SHAHEEN. I agree with those. What I am asking about is this waiver, do you know why we provided this type of waiver?

Ms. ROGERS. The determination of that sanctions waiver would be legalistic and fact specific, and I am not the person to speak on it, but I——

Senator SHAHEEN. Perhaps if you get confirmed, you could get an answer for the committee and respond to us, because it is hard for me to understand why we would do that.

Ms. ROGERS. I will certainly be responsive to the committee, Senator.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you.

I also am concerned, as I said in my opening remarks, about one individual serving as both the head of the USAGM and public diplomacy at the State Department. I think USAGM is by statute an independent agency. Its mission is to provide objective, as you have confirmed, objective, accurate news, free from editorial interference. So I would like to hear from you how you plan on maintaining that independence, and whether you would commit to allowing USAGM broadcasters and grantees to operate free from any interference by you, the State Department, or other political appointees?

Ms. ROGERS. Thank you, Senator.

So I commit to follow the law. That is my North Star. I have come from the courtroom, and I would not want to do anything else. And I have done that as far.

Senator SHAHEEN. And would you agree that that is the law——

Ms. ROGERS. So the law——

Senator SHAHEEN. That the law is——

Ms. ROGERS. Sorry, I do not mean to interrupt you, Senator.

Senator SHAHEEN. Well, as I understand, the International Broadcasting Act says that USAGM shall continue to exist within the executive branch as an entity described in 5 U.S.C. 104, the statute on independent agencies, and that there are multiple references to its independence and the independence of the grantees. And it also says clearly that the Secretary of State and the CEO shall respect the professional independence and integrity of USAGM.

Ms. ROGERS. Yes. So I absolutely commit to respect the professionalism and independence of broadcasting. That is what the statute says. I do not think the statute says, though, that there should be no "interference or interaction," because the statute requires that AGM consult with the Secretary of State on foreign policy guidance. I am usually the delegate for that consultation, and the law requires that I ensure that is the verb the statute uses, ensure that broadcasting is consistent with our broad foreign policy objectives.

What that means for practical purposes, Senator, and when I meet with the heads of the grantees, this is what they ask me for,

is that they do not want me to—and I do not have the time to—copy edit individual stories so that they look like propaganda from our team. I do not want to do that. But I do want and the grantees want me to provide strategic management level guidance on things like standards and practices, on things like foreign policy priorities, and I think they are crying out for this. And if confirmed I would be willing to do that.

But I do not want to trample on the independence or professionalism of broadcasting, because candidly, accomplishing our foreign policy objectives means that these organs of broadcasting have to be credible, and Xinhua is not credible. I want VOA to be credible.

Senator SHAHEEN. As I understand the statute, it says that the CEO shall respect the professional independence and integrity of USAGM, its broadcasting services, and the grantees of the Agency. That does not say to me that they are looking for the CEO to provide them the kind of direction that you are talking about.

Ms. ROGERS. So you would also have to read Section 6202. You are reading, I think 6201.

Senator SHAHEEN. We will pursue—my time is up, but I will pursue questioning when the second round comes back.

Thank you.

Senator RISCH. Thank you, Senator Shaheen.

Senator Cruz.

Senator CRUZ. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Congratulations to each of the nominees.

Ms. Rogers, authoritarian regimes are investing enormous resources into coordinated campaigns to undermine the United States. Chinese, Russian, Iranian, and other hostile foreign governments are amplifying these campaigns. They do so through vast networks of anonymous social media accounts, automated bot farms, state controlled media, and covert influence operations. These efforts are backed by effectively unlimited state resources. Their objective is to constrain America's ability to confront hostile regimes, including especially Iran, the world's leading state sponsor of terrorism.

To achieve that objective, foreign backed influence campaigns work aggressively to kneecap America's technology and defense sectors. They manufacture the illusion of widespread domestic opposition to policies that boost U.S. national security, designed to erode the political will to counter our adversaries. We have also seen foreign bot networks amplify anti-Israel and antisemitic narratives as a broader campaign to wear down American support for our Israeli allies. Walk us through how these foreign influence operations actually work in practice.

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

You know, you are absolutely right. When you allude to effectively unlimited resources, China alone spends about $40 billion on propaganda and influence operations.

Senator CRUZ. And just to repeat that statement, because that is a staggering statement.

Ms. ROGERS. China spends about $40 billion on propaganda and influence operations. I have $1 billion, and most of that goes to salaries and keeping the lights on. But America keeps winning the in-

formation war in the sense that people who can choose would choose to come to America over China pretty much any day. And why is that? You know, part of it is that American freedom sells itself. And I could wax on about that for 5 minutes, and I will not waste your 5 minutes, Senator.

So we have coordinated bot hives. That is certainly part of it. We also have foreign influence, united front spending through networks like the Singham network and Code Pink of great concern to this Administration. And we even have foreign influence in our universities. So through a partnership between my office and the Education Secretary, we have started digging up data that universities were obligated to disclose for years but were not disclosing. We found hundreds of millions in dollars flowing into places like Harvard from sanctioned Chinese nuclear labs and the like. The American people just did not know about. And so these influence operations, they are broad, they run deep, and we are countering them on a lot of different levels through counter-speech and exposure. What does not work is playing Whack-A-Mole censoring American tweets.

Senator CRUZ. You brought up the Singham network and Code Pink, and there have been recent reports about the major investment they are making in driving anti-AI sentiment in the United States, with the objective of discouraging America from investing in AI to help the Chinese Communist Party beat America in the AI race. Elaborate a bit more in the Singham network and Code Pink, and what exactly they are doing.

Ms. ROGERS. Yes. So this is a billionaire based in China who is sympathetic to Communism and Socialism. And I am not going to focus too much on that individual. It is really a whole united front network. So the day after our wildly successful operation against Maduro in Venezuela, we had protests pop up, you know, seemingly overnight in like 75 different cities waving the same signs. The information I have received is that that was funded by the Singham network. Singham network, very congenial with China. There is actually, incredibly a *New York Times* exposé. Even the *New York Times* has noticed this from 2023 on it, and it is a big problem. And I wanted—Senator, the anti-AI thing. You are absolutely right. This sloppy list elitism, data center hysteria. It is not—you cannot blame it completely on foreign bots, but it is being amplified by foreign bots for sure.

Senator CRUZ. And it is being amplified on both the left and the right. Our adversaries find our open free market of ideas particularly vulnerable to manipulation now. Chinese and Iranian influence operations appear particularly sophisticated and persistent. What distinguishes their influence ops from those of other adversaries, and how should the United States prioritize our response?

Ms. ROGERS. So both Chinese and Iranian influence operations skew, especially noticeably toward this kind of a leftist anti-colonial ideology. By the way, so does Cuba. Our recent Cuba report very strong on this. Russia, I would say——

Senator CRUZ. My colleagues on this committee would agree. We have too many Cubans.

[Laughter.]

Senator RISCH. One.

Senator CRUZ. We only have one left.

Ms. ROGERS. Well, maybe with OC's help, we make Cuba a nicer place for Cubans to return.

Senator CRUZ. Amen. From your mouth to God's ears. I am sorry you were giving your answer.

Ms. ROGERS. Oh, no, I just—I think there is more of a consistent leftist and anti-colonial ideology and some of the stuff. Russia dabbles in that, but Russia is also a bit entropic and entrepreneurial. And we saw, you know, when they tried to muster up—there was no evidence that Russia caused President Trump to win the election. That was nonsensical, but they found like $100,000 worth of Instagram posts, and there were pro-Black Lives Matter posts, and there were fake White nationalist posts, both from Russia. Russia's a little more chaotic, and a lot of Russian misinformation right now focuses on recruiting soldiers for its war as well, which China and Iran are not focused on. China and Iran are doing a lot more antisemitism also.

Senator CRUZ. Thank you.

Senator RISCH. Let us see.

Senator Rosen was next.

Senator ROSEN. Thank you.

Thank you, Chair Risch, Ranking Member Shaheen, for holding this hearing.

And thank you to the witnesses for being here today and your willingness to serve.

I want to build a little bit on Senator Shaheen's line of questioning about editorial independence. USAGM has audiences in more than 100 countries providing reliable, trusted reporting by journalists, not political officials. But under Kari Lake's leadership of the Agency, these standards were not maintained. For example, Ms. Lake shut down Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty Hungarian News Service, because she claimed its programming had "undermined President Trump's foreign policy by opposing the duly elected prime minister of Hungary."

So I am going to double down on what Senator Shaheen asked. Ms. Rogers, if confirmed, will you commit specifically—specifically—to not interfering in reporting that is critical of politicians, governments, or political parties that President Trump has expressed support for?

Ms. ROGERS. I commit to respect the professionalism and independence of international broadcasting, Senator.

Senator ROSEN. Well, it should not really be a difficult question. I just want to say this, if the USAGM is seen as a tool of the U.S. Government to punish President's opponents, any President's opponents, and to silence the criticism of his friends, it will lose the very critical credibility that I think so many of us believe make it an incredible tool in our arsenal.

So I am going to move on to Lebanon. Ms. Jurata, following Lebanon's 2019 economic collapse, the IMF has made it clear that unlocking financial assistance program for Beirut depends on comprehensive economic reforms, including a credible banking restructuring strategy. At the same time, Lebanese depositors have had their savings effectively frozen for years, and any path to making them whole will likely require some combination of losses absorbed

by the banking sector, the government, or the depositors themselves.

The U.S. has long advocated for these reforms, not just for the good of the Lebanese people, but also to rebuild the international community's confidence in Lebanon's economy and banking system. So Ms. Jurata, given the reforms that IMF is asking for and the goal of fully repaying depositors, it may pull in different directions. How would you approach balancing these two imperatives? In your view, is there a realistic scenario in which Lebanon can satisfy the IMF's conditions while also delivering an outcome that the people of Lebanon will see as fair?

Ms. JURATA. Well, thank you, Senator, for that question. So to state a little bit of the obvious, which is I am obviously not currently in the role, so I have not been privy to some of the underlying——

Senator ROSEN. Just generally.

Ms. JURATA [continuing]. Deliberations, but generally, what I can say is if confirmed, that I can commit that in evaluating what is an ongoing program, getting up to speed on what the current status is, and then making sure that one of the core functions of the IMF, which is capacity development and technical assistance, is deployed in order to help build up that economy. Because once you do get the lending program rolled out and you have the finances going there, you want to make sure that you have a respected rule of law and the infrastructure associated with it so that then it can develop, and I will, you know, commit to staying coordinated with the Treasury Department and ongoing commitment with this committee on that issue.

Senator ROSEN. Thank you.

I want to move on to you, Ms. Johnson-Carroll, and talking about countering violent extremism, because Trinidad and Tobago has the highest per capita rate of ISIS recruitment in the Western Hemisphere. The country has struggled with repatriating its nationals and has dealt with lingering security risks. At the same time, the Trump administration has gutted funding, gutted funding for countering violent extremist efforts, or CVE, the very program designed to address radicalization in places like Trinidad and Tobago.

So Ms. Johnson-Carroll, do you believe that cutting CVE programs helps us advance the U.S. national security interests? And if confirmed, would you advocate for programs to prevent radicalization in Trinidad and Tobago?

Ms. JOHNSON-CARROLL. Senator, thank you so much for the question.

is an important issue with regards to transnational, illicit opportunities for criminal elements in the country. And since I am not in post, I cannot say what amount of moneys has been——

Senator ROSEN. I am not asking for the amount of money, but would you advocate that those programs to prevent radicalization should be funded? Not asking for an amount.

Ms. JOHNSON-CARROLL. Thank you.

With the INL, is my understanding, and the CBSI has been—items that have been placed, particularly with combating those particular issues that the committee have supported, the CBSI and

INL as well, and I look forward to at least seeing what sort of resources would——

Senator ROSEN. You agree this radicalization is a problem and it needs funding to be addressed so you can do your job?

Ms. JOHNSON-CARROLL. The radicalization is a problem, ma'am, and I look forward to working with the committee, and the State Department, and President Trump in combating this issue.

Senator ROSEN. Thank you.

Senator RISCH. Thank you, Senator Rosen.

Senator Murphy.

Senator MURPHY. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Ms. Rogers, you stated that your intention is to follow the law. The appropriations law is one of the most relevant laws that applies to your agency. Congress allocated $199 million to VOA in this fiscal year. That is less than the previous year, but it was a bipartisan rejection of the President's request to essentially just fund the wind down of the Agency. But we are now well into this fiscal year in July 2026. So in this month it is expected that VOA will operate for about 208 hours. That is compared to 2,400 hours in 2004. There are 1,042 VOA employees that are currently on administrative leave.

You are in violation—the VOA, the operation of VOA is in violation of the Appropriations Act right now because VOA is funded at a level and they are not coming close to the level of operation and reach that Congress is funding them for. So is it your intention to bring back to work the 1,042 employees that are currently on administrative leave and return VOA to its funded level of operation?

Ms. ROGERS. Thank you, Senator.

So my numbers are slightly different than that, but it is my intent to follow appropriations law. And I will just note that I have a track record of doing that in public diplomacy. So budget process, as you know, is iterative interagency, and there have been moments in that iterative interagency process where things like the Fulbright Scholarship have been defunded in budget proposals. I, obviously, stand with each of the President's budget requests. He was elected. I was not. I serve him, but you know, when it is ultimately Congress's decision, how much money gets deployed, I have deployed that money, and I will follow appropriations law in this function.

Senator MURPHY. But does that mean you are bringing back—you may have different numbers, but obviously, there are hundreds and hundreds of employees who are on leave. Are you bringing back those employees?

Ms. ROGERS. I am definitely going to bring back more of them. I am not committing to return the Agency to like the same exact, identical footprint it had under President Biden. I think we do need to reform and modernize, but we should see people coming back to work.

Senator MURPHY. But you are required to spend that money in accordance with directive from Congress.

Ms. ROGERS. Yes, I will deploy the appropriated resources.

Senator MURPHY. Let me ask you about this question of how—you mentioned Hungary as a place you did not necessarily think the United States needs to be. But it is an interesting example be-

cause the State Department noticed Congress of its intention to terminate Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty's Hungarian language programming, and they sort of pulled back the curtain as to their reason in the statement to Congress. They said that they are terminating the programming because the programming undermined President Trump's foreign policy by opposing the duly elected prime minister of Hungary. Essentially, criticism of an elected leader was, by definition, in opposition to U.S. foreign policy.

That is extraordinary. We have never determined our foreign policy as being in service of one particular elected leader and punished our grantees for being critical of that leader. That sounds like the opposite of free speech, right? That sounds like if you are a grantee and you run programming that is critical of a friend of the President, you will have your contract terminated. So is that the policy now of VOA, or of broadly funded information networks, that if they run programming that is critical of someone that President Trump is friends with or supports, that they will have their funding pulled?

Ms. ROGERS. So Senator, when I said I did not see Hungary as a place we needed to be broadcasting, I just mean that Hungary is the kind of environment—it is not like North Korea or Cuba. Right? Like, if taxpayers are paying to help people in the most deprived, most censored societies get information, Hungary is not one of those. I also think broadcasting in an allied country is an interesting proposition. Like, I would not want to start broadcasting in Britain or Germany either, even if sometimes we are at odds with their elected leaders.

Senator MURPHY. But I guess I am asking a broader question.

Ms. ROGERS. Yes, yes.

Senator MURPHY. Separate and aside from whether it is an allied country, is it our policy now that if a grantee is being critical of an ally of the President, they are—that is exactly what we said here. We said that we were pulling the funding because our foreign policy was to support Orban. Is that the way we are going to do grants now, is that if that a grantee is critical of an ally of the President, they risk losing their funding?

Ms. ROGERS. So we have to respect the independence and professionalism of our broadcasters. That is right there in the statute. And frankly, Senator, I am not going to have time to do tit for tat fly specking of every piece of content to see if there is any criticism of anyone the President likes. I have more important foreign policy priorities to address, so I would not see that as a lodestar of our grant making. I do think, as the statute says, broadcasting has to be consistent with our broad foreign policy objectives. So undermining the elected government of an allied country is not something I would expect to do. I think that would be pretty extraordinary.

Senator MURPHY. What is that? I am sorry, I know, but what does that mean, undermining? Again, that does sound like you are saying that a grantee who is critical of an allied government would lose funding. That is the opposite of free speech.

Ms. ROGERS. Well, I mean, this speech is not free. It is being paid for by the taxpayer to support American foreign policy. But Senator, we are not currently broadcasting in any allied countries

or broadcasting in places like Iran. Right? So I think it is almost a moot point, but look, you are asking, am I going to pull funding from a grantee if any of its reporters criticize anybody the President likes. I do not think that is what the statute envisions, and I do not think that is what my priorities are going to be.

Senator MURPHY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator RISCH. Thank you, Senator Murphy.

And we will now turn to Senator Hagerty.

Senator HAGERTY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Ms. Rogers, I would like to continue with you, if I might. I have been very pleased to actually see common sense prevail for once in the administration of government functions. As I think about what was going on at USAGM before this Administration came to office, it had basically run amok. You have got journalists tied to the Kremlin. You have got employees there calling up Republican Members of Congress and threatening them and winding up in jail as a result of that. I think you have a unique opportunity to actually align this organization with the other role that you perform, which is our Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy.

I have been in the field; I have been an ambassador. I have actually seen what our communications can do, and should do, and where they fail. This sounds to me, as a business person for my whole career, as an opportunity for alignment that is rarely achieved in the U.S. Government. So I would like you to just articulate how you are going to see that this alignment works and how you are going to advance the interest of the United States taxpayer as a result.

Ms. ROGERS. Thank you so much, Senator.

So one of the commands on the statute that I think may have been neglected and that I really want to revive, is we have to do research to make sure that we are reaching audiences in the kinds of censored environments where Congress commands us to, and that means re-invigorating our audience measurement capabilities and coming up with new ways of doing that. I think there is some synergies through OTF tools that can be really useful in that regard.

And in terms of alignment, you know, we hear a lot of concern from minority about this firewall and that we—and I do not want to be micromanaging the editorial: copywriting or bylines of any of these outlets. But these grantees are asking for strategic guidance on broad foreign policy objectives, which is what I am supposed to provide, and I look forward to providing it. And I think, you know, these are mostly patriots who serve these entities. These are reporters who risk their lives to get truthful information to their countrymen in places like Iran, and they know they are working indirectly with the United States. And I think these grantees want our guidance, and we are happy to give it, and I think we can do that without the kind of editorial micromanagement that minorities are afraid of.

Senator HAGERTY. Well, in your role as Under Secretary of State, I think you have a unique opportunity to provide that guidance in an informed fashion and really avoid the situation where we wind up being far astray from what American foreign policy is. So I commend you for that. I look forward to supporting you in that role.

Ms. Jurata, I would like to turn to you now on the IMF. The United States is the IMF's largest shareholder. You and I have talked about the central role that the United States can and should play there. And the U.S. Executive Director, I think, has a responsibility to ensure that IMF policy actually advocates for both global financial stability, and also for our own American economic interests. And so I would just like for you to articulate for us the standards that you will use to determine whether the United States should support IMF assistance to countries that have repeatedly failed to implement reforms.

Ms. JURATA. Well, thank you, Senator Hagerty, for that question, and thank you again for your time with meeting with you.

So I could not agree more with you that on as being—if confirmed the U.S. Executive Director to the IMF, the first core tenet is that I would be representing American interests. And so when evaluating whether a specific country project is pending before the board, I would want to evaluate it on some of the core tenets that I identified in my opening statement, which is what is the underlying transparency associated with the existing debt to that country. So in particular, if there is a concern that that country has outstanding debt to China and making sure we have the transparency to that. What is the fiscal responsibility? Because I recognize that I am a steward of the tax paying dollars. And then what is the conditionality associated with that underlying loan program, making sure it is coupled with the appropriate, you know, technical assistance and structural reform that the country would then be held accountable as the payment would be rolling out.

Senator HAGERTY. Well, I certainly do not think American taxpayers want to see their money deployed without conditions. I think the whole purpose of engaging in this regard is to achieve reform and to achieve improvement. And I would love to hear your perspective, that I could go back home and tell my constituents in Tennessee of why would Tennessee taxpayers benefit from the role that the IMF is going to play under your leadership.

Ms. JURATA. Well, thank you, Senator.

I think it is important that we have a strong U.S.-led IMF that is credible as a lender of last resort, because in the absence of that, these countries that are in financial distress are going to look for lending elsewhere. And so by enforcing the fact that the—or encouraging them to come to the IMF, then we can have the safeguards associated with it. You can have the conditionality so that we can implement and facilitate structural reform by having the capacity development and the conditions that you evaluate when those programs are subject to review, and whether they are going to get another tranche of capital. And I also think it is really important one other tenet as it relates to the IMF program is the country specific surveillance as to whether that country raises any kind of financial stability risk.

Senator HAGERTY. I think it is a critical role. I look forward to your leadership there, because I think it is absolutely vital that we participate in a way that drives toward reforms that will actually benefit the entire global financial system. Thank you.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator RISCH. Thank you, Senator Hagerty.

Senator Van Hollen.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Ms. Rogers, I am worried that the United States is ceding more and more of the information space to our adversaries, and that the dismantling of much of VOA has contributed to that. I am looking at an article here, *Wall Street Journal* article here from July of last year, just months after the President's executive order, headlined, "China Gets More Air Time Around the World as Voice of America Signs Off." Subheading, "Chinese state media has expanded its reach from Indonesia to Nigeria after Trump's March order to dismantle U.S. government-funded outlets."

And I would ask unanimous consent, Mr. Chairman, this be entered into the record.

Senator RISCH. It will be entered.

[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.

Does that concern you, and do you disagree with the statement in the reporting that China has been trying to fill the information space that the United States is leaving in many of these areas?

Ms. ROGERS. China is rapacious, and it is expanding all of its propaganda efforts, and because I am recused and I am not in the operations of the Agency, I do not have microdata on what China is doing in each transmission facility in each place. But I agree that China's adversarial propaganda is a problem, and combating it has been a cornerstone of my public diplomacy strategy and will be a cornerstone for me if confirmed.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. Yes. And you agree, and I think I heard some of your earlier testimony that Africa is a critical region of the world?

Ms. ROGERS. Certainly, we have critical equities there.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. So this story reports how the Nigerian communications minister is troubled by the fact that China is essentially filling the space that VOA is leaving. Can you commit that the VOA Africa Service, Africa Language Services will be reinstated?

Ms. ROGERS. So no good CEO would sight unseen, you know, obligate tens of millions in spending on specific transmission capabilities. I will—I intend to take a closer, fresh look at Africa, because I do think there are information skirmishes there that we should be in. I think, Sahel is one of them.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. Yes. I would argue the same is true of much of East Asia. I know that you have had languages restored in Korea and Mandarin, but as this *Wall Street Journal* article points out, Indonesia, for example, has been sort of left. That is a big, and critical, and important country. And it seems to me that the United States should have its voice airing there and providing factual information. That same, I would think, is true for Latin America. I mean, I know the Cuban Broadcasting Service is up and running, and there are lots of resources dedicated to Cuba, but Latin America is a very big country.

The *New Yorker* has a story today entitled, "How Donald Trump Silenced the Voice of America," and they talk about the situation

you referenced earlier in the aftermath of the taking out of Maduro, there was no VOA there, and China and other voices have been filling the void. So I understand you are not going to make a commitment here, but I would argue that—you agree that Latin America is an important part of the world.

Ms. ROGERS. Absolutely.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. So those are two. I mean, we just talked about three really important parts of the world, right? Africa, East Asia, Latin America. And I really think it is important that, you know, we have America's voice back in those regions.

I heard a little bit of your exchange with Senator Murphy about bringing folks back. My understanding is right now, about 400 VOA employees and 25 USAGM employees are still on paid administrative leave since March of last year. My understanding is that has cost American taxpayers about $140 million. Would you not agree that it would be better if those $140 million were spent to make sure those people could be doing their jobs in different parts of the world, rather than sitting at home?

Ms. ROGERS. Senator, the last thing I want to do as CEO is pay people not to work.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. So can you commit to bringing them back?

Ms. ROGERS. I commit to taking a close, fresh look at staffing needs, and if we—and I suspect we will want and need more staff in some places, and I will dip into that pool and bring people back.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. Could you commit to giving preference to those who have been displaced, had experience, and displaced in terms of bringing people back?

Ms. ROGERS. I will talk to my employment lawyers about preferences, but we obviously hire those people for a reason, and I would look at rehiring them.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. And how about the director of VOA? Should we bring the director back?

Ms. ROGERS. I really do not want to make specific personnel decisions before confirmation.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. Just last question. Who is running VOA these days?

Ms. ROGERS. So Mike Rigas is acting CEO.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. OK. Well, you have a director, right? I think it is Mike Abramowitz.

Ms. ROGERS. We have good executives in there. We have Chris Wallace in there. But in terms of day to day, who is sitting at what dashboard doing what, I do not have micro visibility.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. OK. Well, I hope you will reinstate the professional team. I am all for reform, but there is some very talented people, and I hope they will be brought back.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator RISCH. Thank you, Senator Van Hollen.

Senator Kaine.

Senator KAINE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Ms. Rogers, I know you are familiar with the VOA charter, and it is a simple document. It requires VOA to be accurate, objective, comprehensive, and representative of America as a whole, not any one party, or in one region, or one segment. Will you commit to enforcing the charter?

Ms. ROGERS. Absolutely, Senator, I am going to follow the law in every respect.

Senator KAINE. Thank you. Thank you for that.

I want to echo my colleague's comments just how bizarre it is that we are paying so much money to VOA employees, but forbidding them from working. There is a lot of expertise in that group of employees. And as you point out, the last thing you would want to do as a CEO is pay people not to work, and I think we should try to get folks back to work, and in particular on Latin America. You commented favorably to my colleague's question about whether we should have services there.

One area I really agree with the Trump administration, and I am not hesitant in saying I do not agree, but in the national security strategy and more generally, they have really elevated the Americas to near the top, maybe at the top. And I have some differences of opinion about exactly what, but I actually really like that prioritization of Americas. And that is why it seems very odd to me that we have essentially reduced Spanish language services throughout the Americas, with the exception of Cuba.

I was a missionary in Honduras and was feeling very, very lonely in a world where my English served no purpose, and I loved to be able to listen to Voice of America. Programming in Spanish helped me learn a little bit to be better with my students. Jazz music on Christmas. You know, I can still remember listening to VOA Christmas music high in the mountains of Honduras, just like others were. So I do think Spanish language programming by VOA in the area that the Trump administration says should be a priority for the Agency. And I gather you do not disagree with that.

Ms. ROGERS. Yes, Senator, I do not want to make operational commitments sight unseen. A good CEO would not, but I strongly expect you will see more from us in West Hem.

Senator KAINE. Thank you.

Here is something that troubles me. Earlier this year, you did a social media post where you said, "Germany infamously retains very few Jews, yet imported barbarian rapist hordes—as an American, I am allowed to call them that under Merkel."

I would like to introduce that social media post for the record.

Senator RISCH. Do you want to supplement the record?

Senator KAINE. Yes, yes. Just slide that right in. I will produce the tweet.

[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 KAINE. As an American, you are allowed to say that, I mean, obviously, but this was not on your personal account. You posted it on your account as Under Secretary of State, Sarah B. Rogers. You are nominated for a position that is very much about communication. Communication should be really truthful, and communicators should be careful to use narrow brushes, not broad brushes. Talking about the importation of barbarian racist hordes struck me as: And wait, she is being nominated to be a key leader of our communication enterprise. Tell me how I can square those two things.

Ms. ROGERS. Well, so Senator, the barbarian rapist horde language is not my original language. That is language that a German woman used to describe a horrific gang rape attack, and that language was then censored in Germany. Now, the tweet you are quoting is part of a much longer exchange in which the censorship is addressed. And I am actually rebuking there pretty forcefully, a self-identified Nazi who responds to my tweet.

Senator KAINE. Yes, I saw that. And I will introduce the entire exchange. Yes, it is fair in context, but you did not like put a quote around Germany imported, "barbarian rapist hordes," according to this or that person. I mean, you used it in your own voice on an account that was an official government account. And I cannot quite wrap my head around using that language from an official account from the Department of State, given the nomination to be the head of this really important communication enterprise.

Ms. ROGERS. So what I would say, Senator, is viewed in context, that quote, origin is more obvious than if you disembody it. It probably does need to have quote marks around it. If you view the whole thread, it is clear that it is a quote. But ironically, you know, I am a very strident anti-censorship person, and you might not agree with me on every single stance, every single point of emphasis, every single tonal choice I make. But you should want a strident anti-censorship person in this role, because the whole point of AGM is to deliver objective, truthful, balanced broadcasting in countries where censors want to stamp that out.

Senator KAINE. I do not disagree with you on government censorship, but I do believe that there is judgment that a leader needs to utilize in deciding how to express very, very important sentiments. And I think it is fair to judge someone on their judgment without censoring what they might state as an American or national of any other country.

I yield back, Mr. Chair.

Senator RISCH. Thank you, Senator Kaine.

[Off mic]—Senator Shaheen.

Senator SHAHEEN. I do. I have another round that I would——

Senator RISCH. Sure.

Senator SHAHEEN [continuing]. Like to follow up on, because I would like to follow up, Ms. Rogers, on the questioning that Senator Kaine has opened, because as we have looked at your debates online, it seems like you have spent an inordinate amount of time engaging in provocative debates rather than strengthening alliances that would be important to the U.S. public diplomacy aspect. And I do not understand how that makes us stronger. I mean, I cited, and we have the poster again in my opening comments, I cited that a recent poll has found that only 11 percent of Europeans now describe the United States as an ally, that China is more popular around the world than the United States.

I find that really troubling, because I think our values and our commitment to free speech, to human rights, to individual freedoms, it totally differentiates us from China. And yet that is not how the world is now seeing the United States. And that is troubling. And as somebody who is supposed to have been the head of public diplomacy at the State Department, I do not understand what your strategy is, and it is clearly not working.

So how do we reverse that, and how will you, as the head of USAGM, reinforce the factual nature of the differences between the United States and our adversaries like Iran, like China, like Russia, because that is not coming through now as part of your role at the State Department?

Ms. ROGERS. Thank you, Senator.

So I think my Twitter account has focused prominently on some of these kinds of punchy, populist debates in Western Europe. I have also tweeted a lot of content about Japan and some about India. The reason my Twitter account has focused on Western Europe, Japan, and India, is that Western Europe, Japan, and India are the countries where Twitter is most popular. But Twitter is a tiny, tiny segment of public diplomacy. I do not spend a lot of time on that.

Senator SHAHEEN. And I was not necessarily referring just to your Twitter account. I am referring to other meetings that you have had with right wing representatives in countries that are supposed to be our allies. I am referring to conversations that you have had, and fundamentally, I am asking you how that promotes American foreign policy and how the rest of the world views us. Because I do not think it is been working. Clearly, it is not. I mean, the polling shows it is not working.

Ms. ROGERS. Well, if my meetings were the main driver of the public perception of America in China, I think that would put a lot more power in my pocket.

Senator SHAHEEN. I did not say they were the main driver. I am saying that they have—I am trying to understand what the strategy is to contribute to improving the image of the United States around the world, and how you see USAGM as being able to help do that.

Ms. ROGERS. So look, my strategy when I take meetings as a diplomat, as I meet with people that the State Department and our national security strategy favors that I meet with, and that is a wide variety of people. I have met with right wing parties, middle of the road parties. I have met with some leftist politicians. I have met with NGOs. I do all of that.

Now, on to AGM, because that is the matter of the day. I mean, I really think—I am not going to be making the day to day editorial choices, especially at the grantees. So if you slightly disagree with me on tone, or emphasis, or how we carry out the Europe prong of our national security strategy, I am not the one deciding what the headline on RFE/RL is going to be. I am supposed to provide general strategic management guidance. I am supposed to make sure that these entities can run efficiently, that they have access to transmission capabilities, that they have access to back office services, that they have access to journalistic standards and practices guidance. And those are the kinds of things I want to do.

And as to how that advances our foreign policy, I think—Senator, I think you and I actually agree on this: that just the fact that the United States is holding out as funding a resource of reliable——

Senator SHAHEEN. Oh, I totally agree with that. And I am concerned that under this Administration that there will be a reversal of what has been the history at USAGM with all of those entities

of providing that factual information and not having the political ideology interfere with what is factually presented over the air.

I do have another question for Ms. Jurata on the IMF. It continues, again, as I said in my opening statement, continues to provide support to Ukraine. And last week, it approved another disbursement of funds, signaling continued confidence in the Ukrainian government's economic policies. So can you talk a little bit about how you think the Fund could continue to support the Ukrainian economy in the midst of this Russian war?

Ms. JURATA. Well, thank you, Senator, for that question.

So obviously, I am currently not yet confirmed, so I am not privy to some of the underlying analysis or deliberations in the decision. But what I can commit to you is in evaluating the ongoing future decisions as it pertains to disbursement of additional capital to Ukraine, is doing it consistent with how I have sort of—my core function or like framework is, you know, is it in the American best interest? Coordinating with Treasury, and the Administration, Department, ongoing engagement with this committee, and definitely, recognizing the need that the Ukraine economy needs the capacity, development, and ongoing capital commitment, not just from the United States, but from other allies.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you. I appreciate that and encourage you to take that approach.

The IMF has also launched what it calls an "intensive program of engagement" with Syrian counterparts to assess their economy, to provide advice, and the Fund visited Damascus in February. If confirmed will you continue to advocate for an IMF lending program in Syria?

Ms. JURATA. What I can commit to you, Senator, is if confirmed wrapping my head around what that current proposal is and understanding what the current status is. And then, again, with that same framework that I just articulated as it relates to Ukraine and recognizing how to bring Syria into additional lending and capital development, and infrastructure aid, or technical assistance, rather for that specific country.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator RISCH. Thank you. Thank you, Senator Shaheen.

That will conclude our hearing. And I want to thank you all for providing us with the benefit of your testimony and responses today, and your families for participating.

Before closing, I would like to add all the letters of support and otherwise that the committee has received to the record.

[EDITOR'S NOTE.—The information referred to above was not received at press time.]

Senator RISCH. I will also note, for the information of members, the record will remain open until close of business—until tomorrow, Friday, July 31, including for members to submit questions for the record.

With the thanks of the committee, this hearing is now adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 11:55 a.m., the hearing was adjourned.]

Additional Material Submitted for the Record

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED TO HON. JENNIFER JOHNSON-CARROLL BY SENATOR JEANNE SHAHEEN

Question. What can the United States do to curb arms trafficking into the Caribbean and how can the United States build up Trinidad and Tobago's institutional and technological capacity to reduce the flow of arms?

Answer. The Trump Administration is committed to stopping the illegal flow of arms and the narco-terrorist groups that drive this illicit trade. If confirmed, I will use all available policy and programming tools to enhance regional cooperation against arms trafficking, including continued support for the Caribbean Basin Security Initiative (CBSI). Through support from the Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs, CBSI provides training and technical assistance to 13 Caribbean countries, supporting specialized units working with U.S. law enforcement like the CARICOM Crime Gun Intelligence Unit based in Trinidad and Tobago, and providing assistance with firearms trafficking investigations, prosecutions, and forensic capabilities.

Question. How can the United States better support Trinidad and Tobago to reduce its economic reliance on the PRC?

Answer. I understand that embassies throughout the region work to identify commercial opportunities and advocate for U.S. companies, especially in strategic sectors including infrastructure, critical minerals, energy, and technology. The Trump Administration also provides technical assistance through the U.S. Trade and Development Agency and the Transaction Advisory Fund, as well as financing tools from the U.S. International Development Finance Corporation and Export-Import Bank of the United States to derisk projects for U.S. companies and offer viable alternatives to malign Chinese investment and financing. If confirmed, I will work closely with the government of Trinidad and Tobago to facilitate these crucial conversations.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED TO HON. JENNIFER JOHNSON-CARROLL BY SENATOR JEFF MERKLEY

Question. Trinidad and Tobago has been a key partner with the Department of Defense in implementing Operation Southern Spear, which has targeted more than 60 vessels and killed more than 200 people since starting. Recent reporting by the *Washington Post* revealed this operation has had minimal impact on drug flows into the United States while raising myriad human rights and international law concerns. If confirmed, will you advocate for continued activities under this operation?

Answer. The Department of State and the Department of Defense each work to combat cartels and halt the flow of drugs into the United States. Both agencies contribute vital capabilities to this national security priority. For more details on Operation Southern Spear, I believe that the Department of Defense is the best to provide information.

Question. If confirmed, will you advocate for continued partnership between the Government of Trinidad and Tobago and the Department of Defense on this operation?

Answer. I welcome Trinidad and Tobago's cooperation with the United States on a range of security matters, which keep both our countries safe. If confirmed, I will continue to advocate for continued partnership between the Department of Defense and the Government of Trinidad and Tobago in accordance with policy direction from Washington. For information on specific operations, I would refer you to the Department of Defense.

Question. Describe your previous work in international diplomacy and how that experience will help you fulfill your duties as Ambassador.

Answer. With two decades of military service alongside my tenure as a State representative and lieutenant Governor, I possess extensive experience managing relationships with foreign dignitaries and navigating complex national security issues. I am well versed in strategic planning, legislative affairs, public representation, and high-level negotiations. Furthermore, my record as a senior executive demonstrates a proven capacity for large-scale administration and a successful history of leading

trade missions that build strong foreign economic partnerships for the United States.

Question. What are the most pressing issues or challenges in our bilateral relationship with Trinidad and Tobago?

Answer. As a member of Shield of the Americas and Americas Counter-Cartel Coalition, Trinidad and Tobago is one of our most reliable partners in the region. Continued joint efforts to counter foreign terrorist organizations and making stronger the economies of the Americas are our top priorities.

Question. If confirmed, how will you address the primary security and economic threats to U.S. interests in Trinidad and Tobago?

Answer. As a member of Shield of the Americas and Americas Counter-Cartel Coalition, Trinidad and Tobago is one of our most reliable partners in the region. We will continue to collaborate on major cocaine seizures and high-profile arrests, and coordinate on the CARICOM Crime Gun Intelligence Unit, which uses intelligence to drive firearms trafficking and gun crime investigations. Economically, Trinidad and Tobago has been a valuable partner in U.S. efforts to stabilize a post-Maduro Venezuela through several projects to utilize gas fields on its border and inside Venezuelan waters.

Question. In your own words, what is an America First foreign policy? What will implementing an America First foreign policy entail in Trinidad and Tobago?

Answer. The America First Policy is to make America Safer, Stronger, and more Prosperous. What can facilitate success in achieving these goals is to make America the preferred partner of choice in trade and business relationships. If confirmed, I will work toward increasing trading partnerships and strengthen American companies' participation in T&T's energy and technology sectors.

Question. In Trinidad and Tobago, how is the United States working to push back against Russian and Chinese influence?

Answer. The Trump Administration works to ensure the United States remains the preeminent partner in our hemisphere by offering a transparent and beneficial alternative to exploitative practices and any malign external actors. This means helping partners understand the risks of predatory lending and opaque deals that undermine sovereignty and leave countries with unsustainable debt. If confirmed, I will work with colleagues in the Department of State and interagency to offer viable alternatives as the partner of choice in critical sectors like energy, mining, technology, and infrastructure—areas where American investment can deliver sustainable growth while securing supply chains vital to our national security.

Question. Are there opportunities where the U.S. can present alternatives to PRC influence operations and infrastructure investments that align with our strategic interests?

Answer. Yes, I understand that embassies throughout the region work to identify commercial opportunities and advocate for U.S. companies, especially in strategic sectors including infrastructure, critical minerals, energy, and technology. The Trump Administration also provides technical assistance through the U.S. Trade and Development Agency and the Transaction Advisory Fund, as well as financing tools from the U.S. International Development Finance Corporation and Export-Import Bank of the United States to derisk projects for U.S. companies and offer viable alternatives to malign Chinese investment and financing.

Question. Congress and the executive branch at times have opposing views on how to achieve our national security goals abroad. How will you approach situations where the statutory requirements and oversight actions by Congress diverge from the executive branch's policy priorities?

Answer. If confirmed, my approach to any situation pertaining to statutory requirements and oversight actions by Congress will always be to consult relevant departmental colleagues, such as the Office of the Legal Adviser, the Bureau of Legislative Affairs, and others who are able to provide insight.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to obligating all appropriated funds for programs and statutory requirements under your management?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to doing my part to obligate appropriated funds in accordance with the law. I also commit to working closely with Congress to ensure appropriated resources are used effectively to advance U.S. national interests.

Question. If confirmed, how will you work to promote human rights, press freedom, and anti-corruption efforts in Trinidad and Tobago?

Answer. If confirmed, I will advance internationally recognized human rights, press freedom, and anti-corruption efforts as core pillars of U.S. engagement with Trinidad and Tobago. I will work closely with the Government of Trinidad and Tobago to strengthen the rule of law and support independent media and civil society. I will also engage with the government on transparency and good governance, recognizing that corruption fuels transnational criminal activity and illegal migration, undermines public trust, and threatens regional stability.

Question. Describe your philosophy on humanitarian aid.

Answer. If confirmed, my philosophy would be one that humanitarian aid is grounded in making America safer, stronger, and more prosperous while alleviating human suffering. The United States is the world's most generous nation, and must continue to lead on this, but in a way that directly benefits the American people and promotes our national interests.

As outlined in the Department of State's Strategic Plan, the Department has refocused its assistance programs into two categories: life-saving programs and strategic investments. Life-saving assistance includes time-limited health and humanitarian programs—disaster response, food security initiatives, and efforts to combat deadly diseases.

Question. What are the responsibilities and opportunities for the United States in providing humanitarian aid and assistance around the globe?

Answer. The United States remains the largest single humanitarian donor in the world. The United States is committed to an America First Foreign Assistance policy that aligns with administration priorities and advances concrete U.S. national interests. The United States is continuing to support life-saving humanitarian assistance as we press for transformative change and U.N. reforms that reduce duplication, increase efficiency, and increase accountability for American taxpayers and populations impacted by crises.

Question. What are the advantages and disadvantages of working through bilateral and multilateral processes on humanitarian aid?

Answer. I understand that through its new Bureau for Disaster and Humanitarian Response, the Department of State is leveraging the comparative advantages of multilateral funding mechanisms and direct funding to trusted implementers. Since December 2025, the U.S. has announced a record $3.8 billion in humanitarian assistance across 21 key countries through the pooled funding mechanisms managed by the U.N. Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs. I understand this announcement has already led to historic reforms to U.N. humanitarian bureaucracy, bringing activities under a single U.N. Resident Coordinator/Humanitarian Coordinator, enhancing efficiency and delivering measurable impact, improving accountability and eliminating waste, fraud and abuse, and slashing bureaucracy to spend more on life-saving frontline work and less on overhead. The Department is also complementing this by providing funding to select implementers such as Catholic Relief Services, World Food Program, and UNICEF. This direct funding will enable these organizations to deliver assistance where it is needed most, whether responding to sudden-onset disasters or addressing surges in needs within ongoing complex emergencies. By consolidating funding into these awards, these organizations gain the budget predictability needed to pre-position resources, maintain staffing, and respond immediately, bypassing lengthy procurement processes and sustaining a model that can move at the speed that crises demand.

Question. What should be the determining factors on whether to use humanitarian aid as a tool in our national security toolkit?

Answer. Humanitarian assistance has been and will always be a tool in the United States' national security toolkit. The Department of State will direct humanitarian assistance to address the most urgent, lifesaving priorities while also ensuring that such assistance can be used efficiently and effectively and not create dependency.

Question. Who makes that decision?

Answer. The Secretary of State leads U.S. foreign assistance strategy under the President's direction, coordinating resources—including humanitarian assistance—with other departments and agencies to ensure they align with national security priorities.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to promoting State Department employees based on merit rather than "political purity" tests?

Answer. Yes, I do.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED TO HON. JENNIFER JOHNSON-CARROLL BY SENATOR CORY A. BOOKER

Question. Trinidad and Tobago is on the State Department's Tier 2 list for trafficking in persons. If confirmed, what measures would you advocate for when engaging with Trinidad and Tobago authorities to reduce the levels of human trafficking, particularly sex trafficking?

Answer. If confirmed, I will prioritize combating human trafficking in my engagements with the government of Trinidad and Tobago. I will advocate for robust efforts to address the recommendations in the annual Trafficking in Persons Report, including strengthening efforts to investigate and prosecute trafficking crimes and punish traffickers, improving victim identification and support measures such as services and shelters, and enhancing efforts to prevent trafficking crimes.

Question. The Trump Administration's boat strike campaign in the eastern Pacific and Caribbean has prompted regional disputes within the Caribbean Community over the legality of the strikes.

In your assessment, are the U.S. maritime strikes against vessels in the eastern Pacific and Caribbean consistent with applicable international law?

Answer. For questions pertaining to Operation Southern Spear, I would refer you to the Department of Defense, which leads this operation.

Question. What role should the U.S. play in supporting regional partners, including Trinidad and Tobago, in addressing challenges that may arise from tensions between Trinidad and Tobago and Venezuela?

Answer. The United States' role is to support the interests of the American people—where those interests intersect abroad, and if confirmed, I stand ready to address them.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED TO HON. JENNIFER JOHNSON-CARROLL BY SENATOR JACKY ROSEN

Countering Violent Extremism

Trinidad and Tobago has the highest per-capita rate of ISIS recruitment in the Western Hemisphere. The country has struggled with repatriating its nationals and has dealt with lingering security risks. At the same time, the Trump Administration has gutted funding for countering violent extremism efforts—or CVE—the very programming designed to address radicalization in places like Trinidad and Tobago.

Question. Do you believe cutting C-V-E programs helps advance U.S. national security interests?

Answer. As I understand, the Department continues to support and implement foreign assistance programs to advance U.S. national security interests. This includes efforts to strengthen law enforcement's ability to detect, deter, and dismantle terrorist activity, to counter online radicalization and recruitment, and support efforts that prosecute, imprison, monitor, rehabilitate and reintegrate individuals who have returned from northeast Syria and other areas of conflict.

Question. And if confirmed, would you advocate for programs to prevent radicalization in Trinidad and Tobago?

Answer. If confirmed, I will continue to advocate for programs to counter terrorism in Trinidad and Tobago; this may include efforts that rehabilitate and reintegrate alleged ISIS fighters and vulnerable youth repatriated from northeast Syria and Iraq.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED TO REBEKAH JURATA BY SENATOR JEFF MERKLEY

Question. In your own words, what is an America First foreign policy?

Question. What will implementing an America First foreign policy entail at the IMF?

Answer. As Secretary Bessent has said, America First does not mean America alone. U.S. leadership was instrumental in founding and designing the Bretton Woods international financial institutions (IFIs), and thanks to strong, America First leadership, the IFIs share core American values of transparency and accountability, anti-corruption, and economic development driven by the private sector and free enterprise. The United States uses its shareholding, voice on the governing bodies, and convening power to proactively shape IFI policies and programs in support of U.S. economic interests, foreign policy, and national security, with a goal of making America safer, stronger, and more prosperous. A thriving global economy increases opportunities for the American people by opening new markets for U.S. exports and investment that will strengthen U.S. economic prosperity, while also supporting stability that enhances our national security.

Question. Congress and the executive branch at times have opposing views on how to achieve our national security goals abroad. How will you approach situations where the statutory requirements and oversight actions by Congress diverge from the executive branch's policy priorities?

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to obligating all appropriated funds for programs and statutory requirements under your management?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to complying with all program management and statutory requirements applicable to Treasury and the Secretary and assigned or instructed to the Office of the U.S. Executive Director.

Question. If confirmed, how will you work to promote human rights, press freedom, and anti-corruption efforts in your position?

Answer. I will keep the IMF focused on its core mandate of promoting stability in the international monetary system and supporting macroeconomic stability. This includes advancing governance reforms, including anti-corruption efforts, through IMF lending and capacity development. I will also support appropriate safeguards to protect IMF resources and American taxpayer dollars.

Question. Describe your philosophy on humanitarian aid.

Question. What are the responsibilities and opportunities for the United States in providing humanitarian aid and assistance around the globe?

Question. What are the advantages and disadvantages of working through bilateral and multilateral processes on humanitarian aid?

Question. What should be the determining factors on whether to use humanitarian aid as a tool in our national security toolkit?

Question. Who makes that decision?

Answer. I would defer your questions to the State Department which leads humanitarian aid policy.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to promoting employees under your supervision based on merit rather than "political purity" tests?

Answer. If confirmed, I will support a merit-based work environment.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED TO REBEKAH JURATA BY SENATOR CORY A. BOOKER

Unfair Lending Practices: There are concerns that IMF lending conditions have, at times, been perceived as more stringent for African countries, including for Ghana, Zambia, and Kenya, than for wealthier member states.

Question. What specific steps will you take to ensure IMF policies and lending conditions are applied fairly, transparently, and consistently across all member countries?

Answer. Secretary Bessent's vision for the IMF is one in which all members are held accountable for implementing significant reforms to durably resolve their balance of payments problems. If confirmed, I will help to ensure that this vision becomes a reality through my engagement with other Executive Directors as well as with IMF management and staff.

Question. Congress has directed the U.S. Executive Director to push for the consideration of workers and social programs in the design of IMF programs—do you think IMF programs adequately consider these issues?

Question. How would you plan to advocate for workers and social safety nets in IMF programs?

Answer. Consideration for social outcomes—such as unemployment and poverty—can support the authorities' ownership of their reform programs and thus bolster the durability of macroeconomic reforms. Since the IMF adopted its Strategy for Engagement on Social Spending in 2019, it has increased its use of social-spending conditionality in IMF-supported programs. This type of conditionality, which is present in most programs, places a floor on government expenditures aimed at protecting the most vulnerable households, while keeping the IMF's overall goal focused on restoring and strengthening macroeconomic stability.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED TO REBEKAH JURATA BY SENATOR JACKY ROSEN

Lebanon: Following Lebanon's 2019 economic collapse, the IMF has made it clear that unlocking a financial assistance program for Beirut depends on comprehensive economic reforms—including a credible bank restructuring strategy. At the same time, Lebanese depositors have had their savings effectively frozen for years, and any path to making them whole will likely require some combination of losses absorbed by the banking sector, the government, or the depositors themselves.

The U.S. has long advocated for these reforms not just for the good of the Lebanese people but also to rebuild the international community's confidence in Lebanon's economy and banking system.

Question. Given that the reforms the IMF is asking for and the goal of fully repaying depositors may pull in different directions, how would you approach balancing these two imperatives?

Question. In your view, is there a realistic scenario in which Lebanon can satisfy the IMF's conditions, while also delivering an outcome that the people of Lebanon will see as fair?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work to keep the International Monetary Fund actively and closely engaged with Lebanese authorities as they implement critical reforms related to the Bank Resolution Law and Financial Stabilization and Depositor Recovery Law. I understand the International Monetary Fund is taking a pragmatic approach to Lebanon and is working with the authorities on a path forward.

Iran War: The I-M-F has said that the most imminent risk to the global economy stems from developments in the Middle East. According to the Fund's most recent economic outlook, a resurgence of conflict in the region could "extend commodity prices volatility, further threaten supply chains, raise prices, and weigh on financial conditions."

Question. Do you agree that a prolonged war—with disruption to energy markets and global trade—poses a serious risk to global economic growth and stability?

Answer. Geopolitical events can affect energy markets and through them broader price levels.

Question. If this conflict escalates further, what specific contingency measures would you advocate for at the IMF, if confirmed?

Answer. I will keep the IMF focused on its core purpose of promoting stability in the international monetary system and supporting macroeconomic stability. The IMF has a wide range of tools to respond to economic instability, including surveillance, policy guidance, and emergency and traditional balance-of-payment lending.

Poverty Reduction: The United States is looking at a global retrenchment from foreign assistance during a moment in which fragile economies are navigating debt distress, food insecurity, and shocks from the war in Iran.

Question. What role, if any, do you think the IMF should play in poverty reduction?

Answer. The IMF's primary mandate remains supporting macroeconomic and financial stability in the global economy. Doing so creates an enabling environment for its member countries to undertake sustainable growth and poverty reduction.

Question. Specifically, would you advocate for continued and expanded access to concessional lending for low-income countries, if confirmed?

Answer. The IMF's Poverty Reduction and Growth Trust (PRGT) remains the primary vehicle for providing concessional financing to low-income countries. I will continue to support concessional lending through the PRGT to low-income countries and work to identify sufficient resources to meet lending demand.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED TO HON. SARAH B. ROGERS BY SENATOR JEANNE SHAHEEN

Independent Agency

Question. If confirmed, you will be charged with heading USAGM and public diplomacy at the State Department. As USAGM is a separate entity by statute, how do you envision carrying out operations at each agency and how much separation do you envision? Please be specific.

Answer. If confirmed, I would lead USAGM separately and concurrently with my role as Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy. As a broad principle, the staff and management structures at the Department and USAGM would remain distinct, while allowing appropriate coordination on matters such as foreign policy guidance, language-service consultations, internet freedom, journalist safety, safety and security of personnel, and diplomatic support where U.S. missions can assist with transmission, distribution, or affiliate relationships. I would build a USAGM team of experts and professionals focused on modernization, agility, and effectiveness. As I evaluate USAGM's needs, I anticipate it may be necessary for some Department employees (e.g. 5–15 employees) to be detailed to the Agency for term-limited or time-bound temporary details to provide expertise, including harnessing regional expertise from foreign/civil service officers. Any such details would be handled consistent with applicable law and with a view to safeguarding USAGM's statutory independence.

I am committed to keeping both the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and Senate Committee on Appropriations apprised of all front office staffing decisions.

Question. Do you commit to keeping staff for USAGM and the State Department separate? Please be specific.

Answer. Yes. As a broad principle, my staff at USAGM and the Department will remain distinct, and any details of Department staff to USAGM would be temporary to assist with the transition. At the same time, I also anticipate continued coordination between the Department and USAGM on an array of key issues as envisioned under the U.S. International Broadcasting Act of 1994 (IBA), including required consultation on language services, foreign policy objectives, security and safety, advocacy for detained or imprisoned journalists, diplomatic support for overseas transmission facilities and affiliate partnerships, and other matters as required.

Question. Do you commit to comply with any Federal court orders regarding USAGM?

Answer. Yes, I will comply with all court orders.

Question. When you are engaging in public facing engagements, will you specify in which capacity you are acting?

Answer. Yes, I will specify to audiences in which capacity I am delivering remarks or otherwise participating in public-facing engagements.

Question. At your hearing, you referenced that the USAGM statute includes aligning programming with foreign policy goals. The statute says that "United States international broadcasting shall be consistent with the broad foreign policy objectives of the United States." It also directs that broadcasting shall include "news which is consistently reliable and authoritative, accurate, objective, and comprehensive." How do you plan to ensure that such broadcasting meets those objectives?

Answer. Voice of America, OCB, and the grantees—RFE/RL, MBN, RFA, and OTF—can be indispensable instruments of American foreign policy because free people tend to choose America, and the truth sets people free. In today's information war, truth remains America's best tool, and USAGM best serves U.S. foreign policy when its broadcasting is consistently reliable, authoritative, accurate, objective, and comprehensive. If confirmed, I would ensure top leadership is grounded in journalism ethics and I support the reconstitution of USAGM's Office of Policy and Research periodic reviews of content for editorial standards, as prescribed by statute.

Should concerns arise, I would engage the relevant leadership to ensure accountability, professionalism, and effectiveness while respecting the independence of broadcasters as required by law.

Question. If the Secretary of State or White House directs you to ensure that specific content be broadcast or not broadcast through USAGM networks or grantees, how will you handle that while adhering to the responsibility to provide accurate, objective information?

Answer. I would handle any such request consistent with the U.S. International Broadcasting Act of 1994 (IBA). Principally, I would uphold the Agency's statutory obligations to ensure U.S. international broadcasting is consistent with the broad foreign policy objectives of the United States while also safeguarding journalistic independence. My role would be to provide guidance and oversight, ensure statutory compliance and accountability, and preserve the credibility and professional integrity that makes USAGM broadcasting effective.

Workforce Morale

Question. What would be your strategy for rebuilding morale among the USAGM, Federal network, and grantee workforce?

Answer. If confirmed, my first priority would be to stabilize USAGM by establishing strong leadership, restoring disciplined operations, rebuilding research and measurement capacity, and giving the workforce clear direction. Morale will not be rebuilt through open communication alone; it will be rebuilt through effective management, regular engagement, mission clarity, and accountability across USAGM, the Federal networks, and the grantees. In my first week, I would convene an agencywide town hall, followed by division-level meetings to hear directly from employees and assess operational needs. I would also reinstate regular meetings with non-Federal broadcaster leadership to ensure regular and sustained dialog on strategic and operational matters.

International Broadcasting Advisory Board

Question. If confirmed, would you request that the White House swiftly submit nominees for the International Broadcasting Advisory Board, including adhering to the statutory requirement that "[n]ot more than three members of the Advisory Board appointed under paragraph (1)(A) may be affiliated with the same political party"?

Answer. Yes, I am committed to working with the White House and Congress to reconstitute the International Broadcasting Advisory Board.

Statutory Minimum

Question. What is your interpretation of the statutory minimum for USAGM, as outlined in Executive Order 14238, with regard to number of personnel, legal requirements across the full body of Federal statutory law, and objectives set forth by Congress in the International Broadcasting Act and appropriations laws? Please be specific, particularly as it relates to staffing levels and requirements to spend appropriated funds.

Answer. My understanding is that "statutory minimum" means USAGM must be organized and staffed sufficiently to carry out the legal requirements Congress has enacted, including the U.S. International Broadcasting Act of 1994 (IBA) and other applicable law governing appropriations and executive branch agency management. USAGM must be able to provide news that is "consistently reliable and authoritative, accurate, objective, and comprehensive"; "a balanced and comprehensive projection of United States thought and institutions"; "clear and effective presentation of the policies of the U.S. Government and responsible discussion and opinion on those policies"; surge capacity during crises abroad; programming for audiences whose needs remain unserved; information about each significant region of the world; and voices from places where censorship or repression prevents free expression. The IBA also requires reliable research capacity and adequate transmitter and relay capacity. Accordingly, the required resources are those needed to sustain these and other statutory functions and obligations, including appropriate personnel, language-service capacity, transmission and distribution, research and measurement, grants management, security, technology, and core financial, legal, and administrative controls. If confirmed, I would align staffing and spending decisions with statutory requirements, foreign policy priorities, effectiveness, and applicable appropriations law.

Jailed Journalists

Question. Will you commit to ensuring that freedom for jailed journalists that work for USAGM grantees and Federal networks, including in Azerbaijan, Iran, Russia, and Vietnam, are elevated as a priority in our bilateral relationships with each of these countries?

Answer. Yes. Securing the freedom and safety of current or former USAGM-affiliated journalists would be one of my top priorities if confirmed, and I would work through USAGM, the Department, posts, and interagency partners to ensure these cases receive appropriate attention in our bilateral engagements. Each case requires a bespoke and tailored approach, which may include public advocacy, private diplomacy, coordination with allies, detention monitoring, or senior-level engagement. My objective would be clear: to support the safe release, protection, and ability of journalists to do their work without intimidation, while ensuring those efforts are integrated with broader U.S. foreign policy objectives.

Immigration Status

Question. Do you commit to highlighting to the Department of Homeland Security the asylum cases of employees of USAGM, its grantees, and Federal networks who lost their immigration status as part of being separated from their positions, but would be required to return to countries of origin where they would be in danger for their work as part of the USAGM family?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I would ensure that cases involving the immigration status of current or former USAGM, grantee, or Federal-network employees who may face danger because of the work they performed are elevated through appropriate interagency channels, including with the Department of Homeland Security. I would do so while recognizing that DHS is responsible for adjudicating those matters.

Language Services

Question. Do you see value in continuing to broadcast in Russian, Ukrainian, Georgian, and other languages at both grantee networks and Voice of America, acknowledging the unique statutory missions of the grantees and the Federal networks?

Answer. Yes. I see value in continuing to broadcast in Russian, Ukrainian, and other priority languages at both Voice of America and the grantee networks, consistent with their distinct statutory missions and where foreign policy priorities and audience impact warrant that capacity. VOA and the grantees serve different but complementary purposes, and language-service decisions should account for statutory requirements, regional expertise, audience access, and the need to provide truthful and accurate news in censored societies.

FY26 State Authorization Law

Question. Do you acknowledge the requirement in the Fiscal Year 2026 State Authorization Law that the Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy shall "ensure the Department does not fund organizations engaging in partisan political activity in the United States," including at the Bureau for Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor?

Answer. The Department of State acknowledge this requirement and is committed to following the law; however, the Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy can only administer grant-making associated with .7 and ECE accounts and will take appropriate steps to implement this provision within such programs. For broader Department funding and programs, including with DRL, should be implemented accordingly by the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Assistance (F) or the Department of State's Comptroller.

International Visitor Leadership Program (IVLP)

Question. As Under Secretary, have you instructed your staff to ensure that there are no 'blacklisted' states, cities, or universities when compiling IVLP itineraries?

Answer. The IVLP program does not have any restrictions on states, cities, or universities when compiling IVLP itineraries. All IVLP programs are developed to maximize participant experiences with regard to program topic and knowledge exchange.

ECA Awards

Question. What is the timeline on which award processes for the Young African Leaders Initiative (YALI), the Future Leaders Exchange (FLEX), the Congress-Bundestag Youth Exchange (CBYX), the Young Leaders of the Americas (YLAI), fiscal

year 2027 Fulbright awards, and fiscal year 2027 International Visitor Leadership Program (IVLP) will be completed?

Answer. The fiscal year 2026 awards for YALI, FLEX, CBYX, and YLAI are all in various stages of the pre-award process. For CBYX Young Professionals the solicitation remains open for applications. YALI, FLEX Global, and YLAI have progressed to final decision steps. Meanwhile, FLEX, CBYX, and CBYX Enhancement opportunities have either been awarded or are in final negotiations prior to award.

The fiscal year 2027 awards for Fulbright and IVLP are also in various stages of the process. The Fulbright Scholar, IVLP NPA, and IVLP Global Ties programs are currently in the solicitation phase. The Fulbright Student program SMN is pending Hill clearance. The Fulbright Specialist, Fulbright Teacher Exchange, Fulbright Foreign Student Program, IVLP Collaborative Services, and IVLP IAAD programs are in final decision steps. The annual expected award dates for Fulbright awards are on/about October 1, and for IVLP are on/about January 1.

RESPONSE TO A FOLLOW UP QUESTION FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED TO HON. SARAH B. ROGERS BY SENATOR JEANNE SHAHEEN

Question. How have you briefed your adversarial propaganda strategy to the regional bureaus, and can you provide an example from each regional bureau of how it's been implemented so far?

Answer. I briefed regional bureaus on my counter foreign propaganda and malign influence strategy through a cable released to all U.S. diplomatic missions in March 2026 as well as through a town hall in May 2026 in addition to meetings with the regional Assistant Secretaries and Senior Bureau Officials. Through these communications mechanisms, I provided operational guidance on this line of effort to practitioners highlighting specific, tactical response options to ensure consistent implementation of practices across all global missions.

- In the Bureau of African Affairs, I participated in a symposium with AFRICOM on interagency coordination to counter foreign malign propaganda and influence operations in the region. In addition, the Limitless Africa Podcast-to-Radio project amplifies local voices and non-state actors across Africa. The podcast reaches an estimated 30 million African listeners and amplifies pro-U.S. narratives, supports commercial diplomacy, and counters anti-American influence campaigns.
- The Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs collaborates closely with the Department of War combatant commands, leveraging their messaging and analytical capabilities to monitor and counter propaganda from Iran, its proxies, and other actors—debunking the false narratives of our adversaries and injecting fact-based material into the regional information environment.
- The Bureau of East Asia and Pacific Affairs is funding mapping of Southeast Asia's Chinese-language media ecosystem to expose CCP-linked ownership, content flows, and influence vectors.
- In Europe, Embassy Athens successfully implemented a CPIF grant to improve understanding of Beijing's increasing political and economic influence in Greece. This led to the establishment of a dual master's degree program between a preeminent Greek university and Columbia University focusing on China's activities globally. The embassy has also expanded youth engagement through its network of six American Spaces—including the first ever American Space in the world to be located in a professional soccer stadium—to counter China's five Confucius Institutes.
- The Bureau of South and Central Asia Affairs produces analytical reporting on dominant adversarial narratives in public media that seek to undermine U.S. influence and relationships in the region. The reports allow the bureau to build data-driven responses to false narratives and adversarial propaganda.
- In the Western Hemisphere, following inquiries from Embassy Santiago and a prolonged period of review, Chile's National Television Council (CNTV) ordered Canal Dos (Telecanal) off the air for 7 days in April 2026 for violating the concessions law by effectively handing over its broadcast space to a third party. RT, the Russian state-controlled international television network, had been broadcasting on Canal Dos for approximately 10 months, since June 2025. Following the announcement, Canal Dos reportedly ended its leasing agreement with Mexico's Uno y Medio Publicidad to rebroadcast Russia's RT news signal in Chile, meaning RT will no longer air in Chile.

RESPONSES TO FOLLOW UP QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED TO HON. SARAH B. ROGERS BY SENATOR JEANNE SHAHEEN

Public Disclosures

Question. Describe in detail the circumstances surrounding your disclosure of State Department documents related to the former Global Engagement Center to @DataRepublican and your subsequent public release of those documents on X on August 21, 2026.

Answer. The Department engages regularly with journalists and researchers, often ad-hoc, to provide exclusive access in advance of a pending announcement. Journalists are selected given topical interest and relevance to the subject matter. All materials related to the disclosure were released in a format generally consistent with standard disclosures made under FOIA. We also applied the Department's policy for Exemption 6, which provides additional protection for employees' personal privacy. Our priority with the proactive disclosure was to remain consistent with Department policy and practice and in-line with the exemptions afforded to agencies under FOIA. The policy we applied here affords Department personnel below the DAS-level with protections that prevent the invasion of their personal privacy. We remain committed to ensuring compliance with the Department's policies and the law and further note that the Department's name policy we applied offers such protection.

Question. Identify any Department reviews, clearances, or authorizations you obtained before either disclosure.

Answer. The Office of the Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy, in coordination with the Department's Bureau of Administration, Office of the Legal Adviser, and the Office of the Under Secretary of State for Management, ensured appropriate review of all records through these bureaus—including interagency review where necessary—and compliance with all applicable law. The documents provided consisted of a subset of those documents which the State Department previously announced plans to publicly disclose, and for which redaction and clearance protocols were discussed in letter correspondence between the State Department and your office dated February 24, 2026.

Question. Describe the Department's typical processes applicable to the release of such information and describe the reason for any deviations from those processes.

Answer. The clearance process for this information does not differ materially from standard FOIA disclosure procedure; the distinction here is that the release of these documents is proactive. This proactive disclosure responds to public interest and reflects a well-documented, ongoing transparency effort related to the Global Engagement Center. Consistent with the purpose of the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA), the Department is committed to ensuring that Americans can understand how their government works.

Question. Why did you initially seek to engage the 'X' user @DataRepublican to release the documents rather than first releasing the documents through official Department channels?

Answer. The Department engages regularly with journalists and researchers, often ad-hoc, to provide exclusive access in advance of a pending announcement. Journalists are selected based on their topical interest and relevance to the subject matter.

Question. What did you understand @DataRepublican's role and intended use of the documents to be?

Answer. The intended use of the documents was to provide an analysis and amplification of the findings in the documents to the public in support of government transparency. The Department engages regularly with journalists and researchers, often ad-hoc, to provide exclusive access in advance of a pending announcement. Journalists are selected based on their topical interest and relevancy to the subject at hand.

Question. What Department policies or legal authorities did you rely on in determining that such a disclosure was authorized?

Answer. The Office of the Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy, in coordination with the Department's Bureau of Administration, Office of the Legal Adviser, and the Office of the Under Secretary of State for Management, ensure proper review, including interagency review where necessary, and compliance with all applicable law. Consistent with the purpose of the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA), the Department is committed to ensuring that Americans can understand how their

government works on topics of high public interest and demand. The Department of Justice has recognized the importance of such openness in government: the Attorney General issued a Memorandum to Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies in 2009 strongly encouraging agencies to make discretionary disclosures of information where possible, consistent with the purpose of the FOIA.

Question. At any time during your service in the U.S. Government, have you disclosed, attempted to disclose, or directed another person to disclose classified information or any other nonpublic information protected from unauthorized disclosure by law, regulation, or Department policy to anyone not authorized to receive it?

Answer. No, and any insinuation of such wrongdoing based on these events would be both unfounded and offensive. Here, the State Department disclosed documents that were thoroughly redacted, cleared by multiple agencies, and were the subject of detailed prior discussions with the Hill previewing the scope of the intended disclosure and the precautions to be applied. Publishing them advanced understanding of American policies, advanced the aim of government transparency, and constituted public diplomacy—a far cry from the unauthorized disclosure of classified information, which often constitutes a crime.

Question. On August 21, 2026, you wrote on X, "The 'markings' are FOIA redactions required even for voluntary disclosure." What legal authorities and Department policies supported that statement?

Answer. The release was a proactive, discretionary disclosure, not a response to a request under the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA). The Department applied redactions required as a matter of policy, which is consistent with how the Department redacts employee names and official contact information for Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) and Privacy Act Requests. The Department told the Committee this in advance. In its letter to you, the Department stated that "as a matter of policy, consistent with our practice in similar contexts, the Department will redact the email addresses of Department personnel below the level of a Deputy Assistant Secretary or equivalent, as well as information that implicates employees' personal privacy interests," and that "all records are reviewed by career personnel, who assist in applying redactions." The Department followed through on that commitment to accommodate you and the Committee. The documents were released in a format generally consistent with standard disclosures made under FOIA.

Question. What, if any, review and redaction process was completed before you provided the documents to @DataRepublican and before you published them?

Answer. The underlying documents go through a review process similar to records and information requested under the FOIA. The initial review is conducted by career disclosure professionals within the Bureau of Administration. During this review process, they redact information that must remain protected, such as privacy information, classified national security information, or material protected from disclosure by statute. These professionals also consult with the Office of the Legal Adviser, relevant program offices, and other agencies as needed. The Under Secretary for Management ultimately authorizes disclosure.

Question. What rules governed the treatment of any personally identifiable information (PII) concerning Department employees or personnel of Department grantees?

Answer. The treatment of PII is governed by the Department's Rules of Behavior for Protection Personally Identifiable Information, set out in 5 FAM 468, the Privacy Act of 1974 and the Department of Justice Guide to the Freedom of Information Act Exemption 6.

Question. During your service in the U.S. Government, have you disclosed nonpublic PII concerning Department of State personnel or Department grantee personnel to any person or entity outside the Department without the affected individual's consent or other lawful authorization?

Answer. No.

Question. Do you commit to complying with the Privacy Act, where applicable, and Department privacy policies by disclosing PII outside the Department only in accordance with applicable legal authority, limiting internal disclosure to personnel who need the information to perform official duties, and obtaining all reviews and clearances required before publicly releasing Department records?

Answer. We remain committed to compliance with the Privacy Act and all applicable Department policies.

National Endowment for Democracy

Question. What is the rationale for your proposal to make the R undersecretariat the cognizant entity for NED's annual funding award and reporting?

Answer. Following USIA's abolition in 1999, its functions—other than those associated with international broadcasting—were transferred to the Secretary of State, and significant public diplomacy responsibilities were subsequently delegated to the Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy. Per that Delegation, (Delegation of Authority No. 234,) the responsibility for the grant with the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) has formally resided in R since 1999. The rationale for the new delegation of authorities concerning NED (which reaffirms DA 234 in that respect) is to clarify and centralize NED-related functions, such as auditing and consultation, that were previously undertaken in diffuse, inconsistent, ad hoc fashion across the Department and required a clear "owner." Notably, centralized oversight of these functions will enhance NED Act compliance, such as auditing and consultation, that are not currently being rigorously undertaken by any component of the Department despite the NED Act's requirements. This will create greater clarity for all stakeholders.

Question. The purpose of Public Diplomacy, as stated on the State Department's website is "to advance national interests by seeking to engage, inform, and understand the perspectives of foreign audiences." How would NED's scope of work—as defined by the NED Act—fit into these efforts?

Answer. As the primary entity responsible for communicating State Department policy publicly, R is well-equipped to also carry out that role in consultations with the National Endowment for Democracy (NED). As a funder of numerous public diplomacy programs worldwide, R also has existing experience and expertise with grantmaking and grant administration, as well as on-the-ground knowledge of Department priorities. Finally, as memorialized in State's Delegation of Authority No. 234, R was assigned the majority of functions previously assigned to the United States Information Agency. To the extent that executive branch involvement with NED was previously divided between USIA and State, this consolidation ensures clearer interaction with the Department.

Question. What purpose would be served by moving the management of NED's award and reporting from DRL to the R Undersecretariat?

Answer. The responsibility for the grant program with the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) has formally resided in R since 1999, when the Secretary of State issued Delegation of Authority No. 234. While DRL administratively performs the grant transfer for NED, it has limited substantive engagement with NED and has indicated it does not seek additional responsibilities. Given R's existing formal authority, technical capacity, and policy nexus with the program, it is naturally suited to take on full responsibility for Departmental coordination with NED.

Question. Have you consulted with congressional authorizers and appropriators on the proposed reorganization of authority?

Answer. The proposed realignment of existing authorities does not constitute a reorganization. The R family welcomes the opportunity to engage with congressional authorizers and appropriators on this topic. The intent is to maintain continuity of these programs while ensuring the Department follows through on the recommendations outlined in the Office of Inspector General's Management Assistance Report: Statutorily Required Audits of the National Endowment for Democracy (WISP–26–03) report published in July 2026.

Question. What policy expertise exists in R with regard to authoritarian states, transnational repression, democracy, human rights, free and fair elections, political party strengthening, labor rights and market-economics?

Answer. As the State Department entity primarily responsible for communicating American policy to foreign publics, the R family regularly engages with a broad set of issues, including those listed.

Question. Do you agree that NED is a private, tax-exempt 501(c)(3) corporation, not an agency or establishment of the U.S. Government, and that the NED Act directs State to make an annual grant to enable NED to carry out the purposes specified in the Act?

Answer. Yes.

Question. Are you aware that the NED Act states that "nothing in this [Act] shall be construed to make the Endowment an agency or establishment of the U.S. Government or to make the members of the Board of Directors of the Endowment, or

the officers or employees of the Endowment, officers or employees of the United States"?

Answer. Yes.

Question. Do you believe it would be lawful or inappropriate for the State Department to direct NED's grant making?

Answer. As noted above, Congress funds the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) while simultaneously recognizing its status as a private, nonprofit corporation, so NED, not the Department of State, makes its own grantmaking decisions independent of the Department or any other executive branch entity. At the same time, Congress itself expressly requires consultation between NED and the Department, see 22 U.S.C. § 4414(b), so that consultation is therefore not only appropriate, but legally required. The Department emphasizes that consultation is distinct from directing NED's individual grantmaking decisions.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED TO HON. SARAH B. ROGERS BY SENATOR JEFF MERKLEY

Question. Do you commit to ensuring the journalistic independence of staff and grantees across USAGM?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed as CEO of USAGM, I commit to respecting the professional independence and integrity of the Agency, its broadcasting services, and the grantees of the Agency while ensuring quality, effectiveness and compliance with all statutory standards including that programming be accurate, objective, comprehensive, and reflective of a balanced projection of American thought.

Question. As a self-described "strident anti-censorship person," do you believe that USAGM should include reporting that reflects the viewpoints from both the right and left spectrums of American politics?

Answer. Yes. The U.S. International Broadcasting Act of 1994 requires USAGM to present "a balanced and comprehensive projection of United States thought and institutions, reflecting the diversity of United States culture and society." That includes a range of responsible viewpoints from across American political life that showcase why free speech is a cornerstone of free societies. If confirmed, I would expect USAGM reporting and programming to reflect the breadth of American debate, not one political viewpoint.

Question. What specific steps will you take to ensure USAGM's reporting is balanced?

Answer. If confirmed, I would ensure USAGM's reporting is balanced by holding leadership accountable to the statutory standards in the U.S. International Broadcasting Act of 1994, including that programming be accurate, objective, comprehensive, reliable, and authoritative, and present a balanced and comprehensive projection of United States thought and institutions. I would expect senior leadership across the Federal and non-Federal broadcasters to be grounded in journalistic ethics, editorial standards, and USAGM's statutory mission. I would also ensure the Office of Policy and Research resumes periodic reviews of content for editorial standards and that audience research is used to assess whether programming is effective, credible, and reaching the intended audiences. Should concerns arise, I would address them through appropriate leadership, legal, and management channels consistent with the editorial firewall and the CEO's responsibility for ensuring quality, effectiveness, and professional integrity.

Question. If you are confirmed as CEO, would you edit or block stories that report on any negative impacts of USAID's closure on global health response?

Answer. If confirmed as CEO of USAGM, I commit to respecting the professionalism and independence of USAGM broadcasters while also ensuring the agency upholds its statutory mandate to produce broadcasting consistent with broad U.S. foreign policy objectives. Editorial decisions are made by the leadership and editorial structures of the Federal and non-Federal broadcasters.

Question. If you are confirmed as CEO, would you edit or block reports on the harm suffered by deportees who were sent to countries they have never been to under the administration's third-country removals programs?

Answer. If confirmed as CEO of USAGM, I commit to respecting the professionalism and independence of USAGM broadcasters while also ensuring the agency upholds its statutory mandate to produce broadcasting consistent with broad U.S.

foreign policy objectives. Editorial decisions are made by the leadership and editorial structures of the Federal and non-Federal broadcasters.

Question. If you are confirmed as CEO, would you edit or block reports about living conditions in Gaza?

Answer. If confirmed as CEO of USAGM, I commit to respecting the professionalism and independence of USAGM broadcasters while also ensuring the agency upholds its statutory mandate to produce broadcasting consistent with broad U.S. foreign policy objectives. Editorial decisions are made by the leadership and editorial structures of the Federal and non-Federal broadcasters.

Question. If confirmed, would you make any adjustments to USAGM editorial decisions at the request of foreign officials you meet with?

Answer. Editorial decisions are made by the leadership and editorial structures of the Federal and non-Federal broadcasters, not by foreign officials. If a foreign official raised concerns about USAGM editorial decisions with me in my capacity as USAGM CEO or as Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy, I would assess the nature of the concern and any relevant diplomatic issues, but ultimately protecting the integrity and credibility of USAGM's broadcasters would be paramount.

Question. In your own words, what is an America First foreign policy?

Answer. America First foreign policy means ensuring first and foremost the safety of all Americans, achieving economic and technological dominance, and advancing peace through strength. The National Security Strategy and the Department of State's 2026–2030 Strategic Plan are the twin foundations of this approach, providing the strategic framework that guides how we deploy diplomacy, foreign assistance, and all the tools of American power in service of the national interest.

Question. What will implementing an America First foreign policy entail at USAGM?

Answer. At USAGM, implementing an America First foreign policy means ensuring that U.S. international broadcasting meets the statutory standards Congress established while utilizing tax-payer dollars in the most efficient and effective way possible. That includes news and analysis from the Federal and non-Federal broadcasters that is accurate, objective, and comprehensive; presents a balanced and comprehensive projection of American thought and institutions; and clearly presents U.S. Government policy along with responsible discussion and opinion on that policy. If confirmed, I would ensure USAGM advances U.S. national interests through credible, effective journalism that reaches the audiences who need it most.

Question. Congress and the executive branch at times have opposing views on how to achieve our national security goals abroad. How will you approach situations where the statutory requirements and oversight actions by Congress diverge from the executive branch's policy priorities?

Answer. If confirmed, I would approach any divergence between congressional oversight or statutory requirements and executive branch policy priorities by following the law, consulting closely with USAGM's Office of General Counsel, and maintaining open and productive dialogue with Congress. USAGM must execute the statutory mission Congress has enacted while also ensuring U.S. international broadcasting remains consistent with the broad foreign policy objectives of the United States. If questions arise, I will work through appropriate legal, budgetary, and policy channels to ensure the Agency is acting consistent with applicable statutes, appropriations law, and executive branch guidance. As I have done as Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy, I would make myself and my staff available to the committees of jurisdiction for briefings and continued discussion.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to obligating all appropriated funds for programs and statutory requirements under your management?

Answer. As Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy, I have committed to following appropriations law and would continue doing so as USAGM CEO.

Question. If confirmed, how will you work to promote human rights, press freedom, and anti-corruption efforts in your position?

Answer. If I am confirmed, press freedom and journalists' safety will be a top priority. I am committed to working within the Department of State and with other government agencies and civil society organizations to promote human rights and advocate for imprisoned journalists. Truthful and compelling narratives naturally expose corruption. I will ensure the highest standards of professionalism across the Agency and its entities and protect the journalistic integrity that makes this reporting credible and impactful.

Question. Describe your philosophy on humanitarian aid.

Answer. Humanitarian aid does not fall within my remit. The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Assistance, Humanitarian Affairs, and Religious Freedom is responsible for humanitarian aid.

Question. What are the responsibilities and opportunities for the United States in providing humanitarian aid and assistance around the globe?

Answer. Humanitarian aid does not fall within my remit. The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Assistance, Humanitarian Affairs, and Religious Freedom is responsible for humanitarian aid.

Question. What are the advantages and disadvantages of working through bilateral and multilateral processes on humanitarian aid?

Answer. Humanitarian aid does not fall within my remit. The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Assistance, Humanitarian Affairs, and Religious Freedom is responsible for humanitarian aid.

Question. What should be the determining factors on whether to use humanitarian aid as a tool in our national security toolkit?

Answer. Humanitarian aid does not fall within my remit. The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Assistance, Humanitarian Affairs, and Religious Freedom is responsible for humanitarian aid.

Question. Who makes that decision?

Answer. Humanitarian aid does not fall within my remit. The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Assistance, Humanitarian Affairs, and Religious Freedom is responsible for humanitarian aid.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to promoting USAGM employees based on merit rather than "political purity" tests?

Answer. If I am confirmed, I am committed to promoting employees based on merit. Merit-based promotion is a core value for the administration.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED TO HON. SARAH B. ROGERS BY SENATOR CORY A. BOOKER

US Agency for Global Media (USAGM) Editorial Independence: USAGM's statutory charter requires its broadcasting and reporting to be accurate, objective, and clearly distinguish news from opinion. USAGM's underlying statute also requires Voice of America to provide a balanced and comprehensive presentation of U.S. thought, not just from any one segment of American society. It also requires the CEO to respect the professional independence and integrity of USAGM and its broadcasting services. The agency's credibility depends on audience confidence and trust that its reporting is based on facts rather than political or ideological agendas.

Question. If confirmed, if the President or other senior Administration official asked you to change an editorial decision made by a USAGM journalist, would you comply with that request?

Answer. I would handle any such request consistent with the U.S. International Broadcasting Act of 1994 (IBA). Principally, I would uphold the Agency's statutory obligations to ensure U.S. international broadcasting is consistent with the broad foreign policy objectives of the United States while also safeguarding journalistic independence. My role would be to provide guidance and oversight, ensure statutory compliance and accountability, and preserve the credibility and professional integrity that makes USAGM broadcasting effective.

Question. If confirmed, if the President or other senior Administration officials sought to influence or alter editorial decisions or news coverage, how would you respond?

Answer. I would handle any such request consistent with the U.S. International Broadcasting Act of 1994 (IBA). Principally, I would uphold the Agency's statutory obligations to ensure U.S. international broadcasting is consistent with the broad foreign policy objectives of the United States while also safeguarding journalistic independence. My role would be to provide guidance and oversight, ensure statutory compliance and accountability, and preserve the credibility and professional integrity that makes USAGM broadcasting effective.

Question. If USAGM journalists publish reporting that is critical of U.S. policy but factually accurate, will you defend the journalist's right to publish that reporting?

Answer. I am committed to following the law, and the U.S. International Broadcasting Act of 1994 (IBA) requires USAGM broadcasting to be consistent with the broad foreign policy objectives of the United States and conducted in accordance with the highest professional standards of broadcast journalism. If reporting is accurate, objective, comprehensive, and professionally produced, I intend to uphold USAGM's ability to publish it.

Question. If USAGM journalists publish reporting that is factually accurate but critical of the Trump administration, will you defend the journalist's right to publish that reporting?

Answer. I am committed to following the law, and the U.S. International Broadcasting Act of 1994 (IBA) requires USAGM broadcasting to be consistent with the broad foreign policy objectives of the United States and conducted in accordance with the highest professional standards of broadcast journalism. If reporting is accurate, objective, comprehensive, and professionally produced, I intend to uphold USAGM's ability to publish it.

Question. If confirmed, what steps would you take to ensure that USAGM journalists are able to exercise independent editorial judgment when reporting on U.S. Government policies, especially when such reporting is critical of those policies but factually accurate?

Answer. I am committed to following the law, including the U.S. International Broadcasting Act of 1994 (IBA) requirements that USAGM broadcasting be accurate, objective, comprehensive, and conducted in accordance with the highest professional standards of broadcast journalism. If confirmed, I would ensure that editorial decisions remain with the appropriate Federal and non-Federal broadcaster leadership and journalists, and use executive meetings, legal review, professional journalism consultations, and employee training to reinforce the distinction between appropriate oversight and improper editorial interference. Factually accurate, professionally produced reporting may include responsible discussion or criticism of U.S. policy, consistent with USAGM's statutory mission.

Question. If confirmed, what specific policies or safeguards would you establish to ensure that USAGM's editorial independence is protected from inappropriate political influence?

Answer. Independence will be protected through clear editorial chains of command, newsroom policies, legal review, and regular training on the distinction between broad oversight and foreign policy guidance and impermissible involvement in specific editorial decisions. If confirmed, I would reinforce those protections by ensuring editorial decisions remain with broadcaster editorial leadership, while I would focus on maintaining and improving the quality, effectiveness, professional integrity, accountability, and modernization of the Agency. I would also restart regular and structured operational meetings between the CEO and both the Federal and non-Federal grantee leadership to address high-level concerns and priorities in the appropriate forum consistent with the statutory intent of the U.S. International Broadcasting Act of 1994 (IBA).

Question. What standards and processes would you use to distinguish appropriate management oversight from impermissible interference in editorial decisionmaking?

Answer. As a general matter, if confirmed, I expect the cadence and subject matter of my communications with broadcaster leadership to match the strategic purpose—as opposed to an "editorial" or "copy-editing" purpose—of my role. For example, we might routinely meet weekly or monthly irrespective of current news items. "Do-outs" from such meetings would be assigned to executives and involve matters such as training, standards, practices, infrastructure, and resource stewardship as opposed to the alteration of particular content or the assignment of particular stories to particular reporters. Overall, the U.S. International Broadcasting Act of 1994 requires the CEO to ensure USAGM broadcasting complies with statutory standards, including accuracy, objectivity, comprehensiveness, professional integrity, and consistency with the broad foreign policy objectives of the United States—all of my engagement would be structured to achieve those goals.

Question. What risks and consequences do you believe USAGM would face if its editorial independence were compromised, including impacts on audience trust, journalist safety, and the agency's global reputation?

Answer. To be an effective instrumentality of U.S. foreign policy, international broadcasting must be a reliable source of truthful information. Otherwise, audiences

have a reduced incentive to tune in—let alone trust USAGM sources over adversary outlets. In essence, if credibility is sacrificed, other investments and activities mean little. Moreover, maintaining the credibility of USAGM as a broadcaster may reduce risks for USAGM-affiliated journalists operating under pressure from hostile governments.

Past Public Statement: In December 2025, while speaking in your official capacity at a think tank event, you stated that "there are average difference in IQ between racial groups."

Question. Do you stand by making this statement?

Answer. I stand by what I said, which is slightly different from what's quoted here. But first, let me provide some background:

During a Q&A following the think-tank event, I was asked about efforts by overseas governments to censor so-called "disinformation" about science. Some countries have proposed letting subject-matter experts flag "false" scientific claims for removal, an approach that gained momentum during COVID.

In this context, I felt it was important to make the point that scientific consensus can be fractured, contested, and change over time. So, the government should not act as a "Ministry of Truth" suppressing speech that its preferred experts deem untrue.

To this end, I made a list of highly controversial, contested claims that were censored by some countries and disputed among experts. I mentioned the claim: "'There are average IQ differences between racial groups.' A lot of scientists say that's true."

I stand by the point I was making: that governments ought not determine what opinions are allowed in science, that experts can be mustered to support all kinds of claims, and that efforts to censor "disinformation" can do more harm than good. And I stand by the policy position that free speech and free inquiry must prevail, even in areas—like vaccines and intelligence research—where scientific controversy can be weaponized in unsavory, distracting ways.

Even though the government should not censor controversies in science, public officials do have a responsibility to engage carefully with loaded topics. If additional context or caveats would aid understanding or avert harm, it's our job to provide them. To this end, if I were asked to publicly address this topic again, I would add the following: that regardless of what group statistics say, individuals should be judged on their individual merits. Reducing individual human beings to group statistics (let alone group stereotypes) is both stupid and immoral—especially in high-stakes situations historically fraught with discrimination, such as university admissions.

Question. Do you believe this statement is accurate?

Answer. Yes, in context, I understand it to be an accurate characterization of what many scientific experts say. Therefore, it would be problematic to censor such claims as "false" on social media using expert content-flaggers.

Question. Please explain the basis for making this statement.

Answer. The statement that "a lot of scientists say that's true" draws on the robust body of scholarly literature acknowledging measured average differences in competitive test performance across populations—notwithstanding sharp disagreement among scientists about why those differences exist. (For example, many posit environmental explanations).

Scholars who have written about this from different perspectives include James R. Flynn, William Dickens, Richard Nisbett, Ulric Neisser, Diane Halpern, Paige Harden, and Robert Sternberg.

Question. Do you continue to hold this view?

Answer. Yes—I continue to believe the government should not censor contested scientific claims, and this is an example of one.

Question. If not, what has changed since you made this statement?

Answer. N/A

Question. What steps would you take to ensure that your personal views do not affect your leadership of an organization whose mission, including maintaining the trust of its diverse audience, employees, journalists, and grantees?

Answer. My personal view that individuals are entitled to individualized, meritocratic treatment affects almost everything I do. It affects my leadership at the Department of State and will affect my leadership at USAGM if I am confirmed. My opposition to state censorship is also a strong credential for this role. My per-

sonal views on the merits of scientific controversies are unlikely to affect my leadership of the agency: any science-related coverage would be characterized by the same editorial independence and professionalism that applies to all USAGM broadcasting under the U.S. International Broadcasting Act of 1994 (IBA). Of course, I will take other steps to elicit the trust and confidence of agency staff and stakeholders, including regular employee "town halls" and rigorous compliance with employment law.

In the current environment, it is regrettable but foreseeable that some listeners might impute prejudice to a person who airs, or even mentions, controversial ideas. All I can ask, in response, is to be judged by my actions. And I make it a top priority to act as a fair boss.

Educational and Cultural Exchange Programs: The Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs (ECA) has solicited more than 80 awards during fiscal year 2026 for its programs, including the 22 programs that were held by the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) in fiscal year 2025.

Question. How many of those awards will be completed before September 30, 2026?

Answer. ECA is working diligently to get all awards processed by September 30, 2026.

Question. Is there a chance that some do not get completed?

Answer. In any given year there is a possibility that not all grants are completed.

Question. If so, how many?

Answer. Grants are in various stages of the awards process and ECA is working diligently to get all awards processed by September 30, 2026.

Question. If so, why will they not get completed?

Answer. ECA is working diligently to get all awards processed by September 30, 2026.

Question. As Under Secretary, for countries under travel bans and restrictions, have you sought exemptions so that citizens of these countries can participate in the Young African Leaders Initiative (YALI) and the Future Leaders Exchange (FLEX)?

Answer. I will ensure ECA continues to work with our regional and CA counterparts, including Chiefs of Mission at particular posts, who have the lead on this process. National interest exceptions to Presidential Proclamation 10998 may be made on a case-by-case basis for applicants who are otherwise found eligible for a visa when the Secretary of State finds in his discretion that the travel by the individual would serve a United States national interest.

Question. For African countries that will no longer process routine nonimmigrant visas, have you worked with relevant Department officials to ensure that U.S. visas for participants in YALI, IVLP, Fulbright, Humphrey, and other U.S.-government-sponsored exchange programs will be processed in the applicant's home country, without requiring them to travel to a regional hub in a third country?

Answer. My team maintains contact with relevant Department officials responsible for processing U.S. visas for participants in U.S.-government-sponsored exchange programs in accordance with all relevant laws and policies.

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

Your nomination to hold dual leadership roles at the U.S. Department of State and the U.S. Agency for Global Media raises serious concerns about the independence of USAGM entities as outlined in the 1994 International Broadcasting Act and raises a number of questions about your role.

Question. Please describe the Department's interpretation of the firewall between USAGM newsrooms, USAGM employees, and the executive branch.

Answer. The U.S. International Broadcasting Act of 1994 (IBA) requires the Secretary of State and the USAGM CEO to "respect the professional independence and integrity of the Agency, its broadcasting services, and the grantees of the Agency" (22 U.S.C. 6204(b)). At the same time, the Act charges the CEO with assessing the quality, effectiveness, and professional integrity of U.S. international broadcasting and ensuring compliance with statutory standards, including that programming be

accurate, objective, comprehensive, and reflective of a balanced projection of American thought (22 U.S.C. 6202, 6204). That framework requires the CEO to provide strategic direction, foreign policy guidance, resource oversight, and accountability, while leaving day-to-day editorial and operational decisions to the leadership and editorial structures of the Federal and non-Federal broadcasters. That separation is essential to USAGM's credibility with international audiences, particularly in closed media environments, and is the foundation of its effectiveness as a national security tool.

Question. Please describe the policies and procedures in place to protect this firewall.

Answer. Professional independence and integrity will be protected through clear editorial chains of command, newsroom policies, legal review, and regular training that distinguish foreign policy guidance from impermissible involvement in specific editorial decisions. If confirmed, I would reinforce those protections by ensuring editorial decisions remain with broadcaster editorial leadership, while I would focus on maintaining and improving the quality, effectiveness, professional integrity, accountability, and modernization of the Agency. I would also restart regular and structured operational meetings between the CEO and both the Federal and non-Federal grantee leadership to address high-level concerns and priorities in an appropriate forum consistent with the statutory intent of the U.S. International Broadcasting Act of 1994 (IBA).

Question. Have you consulted with the Department's legal office to solicit guidance on appropriate separation of your current role as Under Secretary and potential role as USAGM CEO?

Answer. Yes. I have consulted with the Department's Office of the Legal Adviser and received guidance on the need to clearly distinguish the actions I take as Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and, if confirmed, actions I would take as USAGM CEO, including distinct staffing, funding, technology systems, recordkeeping, and other key functions. If confirmed, I will continue to consult regularly with both the Department's Office of the Legal Adviser and USAGM's General Counsel to ensure my capacities are distinct and that my service in both agencies remains consistent with all applicable legal and ethical requirements.

Question. If so, what guidance have the Department lawyers provided to ensure you are avoiding any potential conflicts of interest when carrying out these roles concurrently?

Answer. Consistent with legal guidance, my approach would be to maintain clear separation between the actions I am taking in my capacity as Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and, if confirmed, the actions I am taking as USAGM CEO, including distinct staffing, funding, technology systems, recordkeeping, and other key functions. I would also ensure that matters involving USAGM's statutory independence, the editorial firewall, personnel, grants, or agency-specific authorities are reviewed through the appropriate USAGM legal and management channels. If confirmed, I would regularly consult with the Department's Office of the Legal Adviser and USAGM's General Counsel to identify and resolve any potential issues promptly.

Question. Will you recuse yourself from any USAGM matters that are delegated to you by the Secretary and/or fall under your purview as Under Secretary?

Answer. If I am confirmed, I am committed to evaluating all delegated duties under the U.S. International Broadcasting Act of 1994 (IBA), particularly with respect to the IBAB, with the Department's Office of the Legal Adviser to determine if a recusal is necessary.

Question. If in your capacity as Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy, a foreign government official or other external individual were to raise issues relating to USAGM broadcasters or grantee staffing or reporting with you, how would you respond?

Answer. If a foreign government official or other external party raised concerns about USAGM in my capacity as Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy, I would assess the nature of the concern and bilateral sensitivities presented, and consult with my teams at both Department of State and USAGM on an appropriate response, including whether follow up or additional engagement is best handled subsequently through USAGM.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit not to make any adjustments to USAGM editorial decisions at the request of foreign officials you meet with in either capacity?

Answer. Editorial decisions are made by the leadership and editorial structures of the Federal and non-Federal broadcasters. If a foreign official raised USAGM-related concerns with me in either capacity, I would assess the nature of the concern and any relevant diplomatic issues, but ultimately protecting the integrity and credibility of USAGM's broadcasters would be paramount.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to pause any reduction in force that may be planned for the agency?

Answer. I am not aware of any present plans for a reduction in force. If confirmed, I would review USAGM's staffing needs to ensure the agency can execute its statutory mission while operating as an agile, digital-first, and modernized news organization.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to meaningful bipartisan consultation with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and Senate Appropriations Committee before moving forward with any Reduction in Force?

Answer. Yes. If such a personnel action were determined to be appropriate, I would ensure appropriate consultation with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and Senate Appropriations Committee.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit not to retaliate against any journalists or the services for independent reporting on politicians in other countries that President Trump supports?

Answer. Yes, I commit not to retaliate against any journalist for independent reporting. If a case arose where a personnel action was determined to be appropriate due to a journalist's reporting, I would ensure appropriate consultation with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and Senate Appropriations Committee consistent with applicable law and operational requirements.

Question. If confirmed, would you collect two salaries for your position as Under Secretary and USAGM CEO?

Answer. No. The dual compensation statute, 5 U.S.C. § 5533, bars dual compensation in these circumstances.

Question. If confirmed, would your support staff, such as your chief of staff, special assistants, and staff assistants, operate across both the Office of Public Diplomacy and USAGM? Please detail any positions that you intend to dual-hat or otherwise undertake additional duties to encompass your potential additional role.

Answer. If confirmed, I would lead USAGM separately and concurrently with my role as Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy. As a broad principle, the staff and management structures at the Department and USAGM would remain distinct, while allowing appropriate coordination on matters such as foreign policy guidance, VOA language-service consultations, internet freedom, journalist safety, safety and security of personnel, and diplomatic support where U.S. missions can assist with transmission, distribution, or affiliate relationships. I would build a USAGM team of experts and professionals focused on modernization, agility, and effectiveness, and any temporary or term-limited details from the Department would be handled consistent with applicable law and with a view on safeguarding the agency's statutory independence. As I evaluate USAGM's need, I anticipate it may be necessary for some Department employees (e.g. 5–15 employees) to be detailed to the Agency for what would primarily be term-limited or time-bound temporary assignments to provide sufficient expertise, including harnessing regional expertise from foreign/civil service officers. I am committed to keeping both the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and Senate Committee on Appropriations apprised of all front office staffing decisions.

I envision the two front offices coordinating as necessary—including for routine management matters, statutory-required consultation on the addition or deletion of Language Services, diplomatic advocacy on detained or harassed journalists, and information sharing as appropriate in support of the safety and security of personnel abroad.

> *When Congress created USAGM (then BBG) as a separate entity from the Department of State, the report language accompanying the bill cited two major reasons: preserving the integrity of the journalism, and allowing State deniability on the content of the networks' reporting, allowing diplomats to do their work without having to answer for journalism by the USAGM networks that foreign partners might not welcome.*

Question. How does your plan to serve in both State and USAGM roles comply with those two congressional directives?

Answer. If confirmed, I plan to maintain the roles separately while ensuring USAGM can benefit from coordination that strengthens, rather than compromises, its credibility and effectiveness. I am committed to preserving the integrity of USAGM journalism through strict adherence to the statutory firewall and the professional independence of USAGM broadcasters and grantees. At the same time, the U.S. International Broadcasting Act of 1994 (IBA) contemplates appropriate coordination with the Department, including consultation on foreign policy priorities, on the addition or deletion of language services, and internet freedom. The Department also supports USAGM through U.S. Missions around the world, which provide diplomatic support to advocate for journalist safety, assess the information environment for transmission and distribution, and help establish affiliate relationships. This interagency coordination enhances USAGM's reach and security while protecting the journalistic integrity that lets the Department maintain appropriate distance from specific content decisions and underpins the Agency's credibility and efficacy.

Question. What guidance would you provide to public affairs and political officers to respond to their counterparts' questions about the relationship between the Department and USAGM as prompted by your nomination?

Answer. If confirmed, I would expect to issue guidance to posts abroad, including responses to expected questions from foreign counterparts, so that posts abroad are prepared to accurately explain that I will execute each role separately and that USAGM broadcasting will continue to be independent, while taking into account foreign policy objectives through regular/ongoing coordination with the Department of State.

The State Department Inspector General released an audit of Selected Property Disposals and Lease Terminations at the U.S. Agency for Global Media (AUD-AFA-IB–26–16) that had identified a number of troubling issues at the agency during 2025. USAGM could not provide any documentation supporting the disposal of 1,512 (99 percent) of the overall items reviewed in the audit, only partial documentation for the disposal of 19 items, and no documentation responsive to the audit regarding lease management, lease terminations or expiring leases. The agency's response to the IG on one of the recommendations was to note that a retrospective review was not practicable or necessary.

Question. If confirmed, will you commit to a comprehensive review of the property disposal and lease management practices in 2025 and 2026 to date, including whether: (1) any agency or Federal requirements were not followed; (2) there were instances in which the agency did not have the appropriate oversight over the disposal of U.S. Government assets; and (3) any financial or other mismanagement occurred with such disposals?

Answer. If confirmed, I intend to review USAGM's current property and lease-management controls, and the agency's proposed corrective actions to ensure USAGM is complying with all applicable laws, regulations, and asset-management requirements. That review would prioritize establishing durable internal controls that prevent recurrence of any such issues. OMB has approved a hiring plan that includes additional personnel for the Office of the Chief Financial Officer and the Office of Technology, Services, and Innovation, and I would expect those hires to support strong accountability over agency assets, leases, and modernization effort.

Question. Will you commit to briefing the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the Committee on Appropriations on the results of such review and the systems you have put in place to ensure this does not occur again?

Answer. Yes. If I am confirmed, I commit to making both myself and my staff available to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the Senate Committee on Appropriations for briefings.

To date, USAGM has not fully restored grantees' access to transmitters and satellites as they were available prior to March 2025. These means of broadcasts and transmissions are crucial for audiences in closed media environments and areas with poor telecommunications infrastructure.

Question. Are these plans to restore access to these transmission services underway?

Answer. It is my understanding that Acting CEO Rigas has informed the grantees that once new grant agreements are in place all transmission services will be restored.

Question. If not, when do you plan to restore that access?

Answer. I am committed to restoring the transmission services to the grantees.

The Voice of America Charter, signed into law in 1976, legally protects the journalistic independence, credibility, and integrity of VOA. It ensures that U.S. international broadcasting acts as an objective news source rather than a direct state propaganda tool.

Question. If confirmed, how would you ensure that VOA is complying with its charter (22 USC 6202(c))?

Answer. The VOA Charter provides the governing standard: VOA must be accurate, objective, and comprehensive, must represent America broadly, and must present U.S. policy clearly along with responsible discussion and opinion on that policy. If confirmed, I would ensure compliance through regular engagement with VOA leadership, assessment of quality and professional integrity, and strengthened audience research and measurement to evaluate whether programming is meeting its statutory purpose. That oversight would not include directing daily editorial content, but it would include holding leadership accountable for professional standards, effectiveness, and use of taxpayer resources. I would also expect VOA leadership to consult, as appropriate, with experienced journalism and media professionals to ensure its work reflects the highest standards of modern news gathering and also integrates as appropriate findings of audience research to continually improve the efficacy of their work.

Nearly 400 VOA and USAGM employees remain on administrative leave for over a year. Such a prolonged state of leave raises concerns that these employees have been effectively removed from their positions due to no fault of their own and absent a compelling organizational justification. USAGM is moving forward with hiring contractors to staff the agency but has yet to address a significant portion of the workforce still on administrative leave.

Question. If confirmed, will you commit to bringing back all VOA employees on administrative leave?

Answer. As VOA reconstitutes its Language Services and operations, the agency is continuing to review employees on administrative leave and is committed to recalling those whose skills match current mission needs. That review is driven by career staff with the goal of meeting operational requirements. If confirmed, I would prioritize resolving the status of employees on administrative leave in a lawful, orderly, and mission-driven manner.

Question. Under what timeframe would you conduct any such review?

Answer. If confirmed, I would expect that review to begin immediately and proceed on a rolling basis as VOA and USAGM continue restoring and modernizing operations. My goal would be to ensure staffing decisions are tied to actual service needs, language capacity, technical requirements, and the agency's statutory mission rather than outdated organizational assumptions.

Question. If confirmed, will you commit to bringing back all VOA employees before hiring any additional contractors to do the same work?

Answer. As a general matter, USAGM utilizes contractors when the agency determines work cannot be performed by the available employees due to either a lack of requisite skills or as staffing/hiring models require. USAGM will retain flexibility to use contractors where specialized, temporary or technical needs cannot be met, but I anticipate that would be subsequent to utilizing the cadre of employees currently on administrative leave. Regardless, if confirmed, I would expect those determinations to be made through a disciplined, career-led review tied to VOA's operational requirements and mission.

Question. Is USAGM currently filling any VOA positions with political appointees?

Answer. It is my understanding that no political appointees serve in VOA.

Question. Would you plan to do so if confirmed?

Answer. If I am confirmed, I do not have any plans to have a political appointee assigned to VOA.

Question. If so, in what positions?

Answer. If I am confirmed, I do not have any plans to have a political appointee assigned to VOA.

Question. How do political appointments at VOA align with its responsibility to provide independent journalism?

Answer. It is my understanding that there are no political appointees at VOA.

During your hearing, you emphasized your respect for USAGM and grantee journalists that conduct independent reporting in dangerous conditions.

Question. In your capacity as Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy, how do you or your office engage across the Department and with civil society organizations on the cases of journalists abroad that are targeted, detained, or subject to exit bans?

Answer. Freedom of expression is central to my work as Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy. I believe deeply that freedom of speech and the press are inseparable American principles making journalist freedom and safety a clear priority of mine. During my diplomatic travel, I have also made it a priority to hold off-record engagements with journalists in diverse regions to learn about the de jure and de facto pressures and dangers they face. Free speech and freedom of the press are intertwined—that's why our framers packaged both as part of the First Amendment—and I have been consistent, public, and sustained in my attention to my advocacy on these issues.

The R front office works with regional and functional bureaus, posts, and interagency partners to identify cases, elevate concerns and advocate for imprisoned journalists. Each case is unique and fact-specific, and requires a bespoke approach—whether direct, bilateral diplomacy, coordination with partners or allies, public advocacy, or detention monitoring.

Question. If confirmed, how would you engage on cases of current or former USAGM-affiliated journalists who are detained or subject to exit bans abroad?

Answer. Securing the freedom and safety of current or former USAGM-affiliated journalists is and will continue to be a top priority for me if confirmed. I would work through USAGM, the Department, posts, interagency partners, and like-minded governments to ensure these cases are tracked, elevated, and pursued through appropriate diplomatic channels. Each case requires a tailored and bespoke approach, which may include public advocacy, private diplomacy, detention monitoring, coordination with allies, or senior-level engagement. My objective remains to support their safe release and protect the ability of USAGM journalists to do their work safely, without intimidation by hostile governments.

Radio Free Asia is marking its 30th anniversary this year as it builds back its Indo-Pacific reach.

Question. If confirmed, will you support and facilitate RFA's strategic plan as they build back language and audience reach in the region?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I would work with RFA and USAGM's other non-Federal grantees to rebuild language capacity, audience reach, and trusted access in strategically critical markets. The Indo-Pacific is one of the most consequential regions for the United States, and RFA's ability to reach audiences facing censorship, surveillance, and authoritarian propaganda is a strategic asset. If confirmed, I would ensure such strategic planning appropriately implements Administration foreign policy priorities by balancing audience need, with impact. As CEO, my objective would be to support a modern, effective RFA that has the necessary tools and resources to reach the targeted audiences through credible journalism in the languages, platforms, and formats they actually use.

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

In your testimony, you stated that "That's subsection 6202(a), and I think precedent and statute kind of give us a bit of a guide. We have to be operating in the Middle East. We have to be operating in Asia. We have to be operating in Cuba." Section 6202(b) of the International Broadcasting Act requires that U.S. international broadcasting include:

" . . . (5) programming to meet needs which remain unserved by the totality of media voices available to the people of certain nations;

(6) information about developments in each significant region of the world;

(7) a variety of opinions and voices from within particular nations and regions prevented by censorship or repression from speaking to their fellow countrymen; . . . "

Question. What is the definition of "significant [regions] of the world"?

Answer. The U.S. International Broadcasting Act of 1994 does not define the phrase "significant region of the world," and I understand that language to give USAGM appropriate flexibility to respond to evolving foreign policy priorities and

audience needs. I understand the phrase in context with the statute's related requirements to require that broadcasting include programming in regions where needs remain unserved by the totality of media voices and include a variety of opinions and voices from nations and regions where censorship or repression prevents free expression. In practice, that includes regions such as the Middle East, Asia, the Western Hemisphere, Africa, Europe and Eurasia, and other areas where U.S. international broadcasting is necessary to advance the statutory mission.

Question. If confirmed, how would you develop USAGM's list and methodology for determining significant regions of the world?

Answer. If confirmed, I would develop USAGM's methodology for identifying significant regions of the world by grounding the analysis in the National Security Strategy and the Department of State's Agency Strategic Plan. I would consult with the Department's Embassies and regional bureaus, as well as USAGM's Federal and non-Federal grantee leadership. I would assess where audiences lack access to reliable, authoritative, accurate, objective, and comprehensive news; where censorship or repression prevents a variety of opinions and voices from being heard; and where U.S. foreign policy interests require credible broadcasting capacity. I would also consider where the PRC, Russia, Iran, and other adversaries are actively shaping the information environment, as well as where USAGM has demonstrated audience reach, impact, or surge-capacity needs. The goal would be a disciplined, evidence-based process that aligns language-service and regional decisions with statutory requirements, audience need, foreign policy priorities, and responsible use of taxpayer resources.

In your testimony, you said "I really think you know I'm not going to be making the day to day editorial choices, especially at the grantees."

Question. Do you think that the Federal entities at USAGM have a different standard for journalistic independence than the grantees? If so, please provide the legal justification that allows USAGM to treat the journalistic independence of the grantees differently than the Federal entities.

Answer. I do not interpret the U.S. International Broadcasting Act of 1994 (IBA) to create a lower standard of journalistic independence for USAGM grantees than for Federal broadcasting entities; the CEO should respect the professional independence and integrity of the Agency, its broadcasting services, and its grantees. At the same time, the Federal entities and grantees have different governance and oversight structures, and the CEO exercises responsibilities through different mechanisms, via agency management for Federal entities and via grants or cooperative agreements for grantees. Those differences do not diminish the statutory obligation to respect professional independence and integrity across USAGM.

Question. What is your interpretation of USAGM's statutory minimum requirements and which resources are required to implement those requirements?

Answer. My interpretation is that USAGM is required to maintain the capabilities through organization and staffing necessary to carry out the legal requirements Congress has enacted through the U.S. International Broadcasting Act of 1994 (IBA) and other applicable law governing appropriations and executive branch agency management. At a minimum, under the IBA, USAGM must be able to provide news that is "consistently reliable and authoritative, accurate, objective, and comprehensive"; "a balanced and comprehensive projection of United States thought and institutions"; "clear and effective presentation of the policies of the U.S. Government and responsible discussion and opinion on those policies"; surge capacity during crises abroad; programming for audiences whose needs remain unserved; information about each significant region of the world; and voices from places where censorship or repression prevents free expression. The IBA also requires reliable research capacity and adequate transmitter and relay capacity. Accordingly, the required resources are those needed to sustain these statutory functions, including appropriate personnel, language-service capacity, transmission and distribution, research and measurement, grants management, security, technology, and core financial, legal, and administrative controls. If confirmed, I would align staffing and spending decisions with those statutory requirements, foreign policy priorities, effectiveness, and applicable appropriations law.

Question. Do the statutory minimum requirements include expenditure of the funding levels provided in the appropriations bills, specifically, the $199 million allocated in fiscal year 2026 for VOA broadcasting?

Answer. As I have testified as Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy, congressional appropriations are law, and, if confirmed, I would follow the law.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to regular and advance consultations with this committee and its members, including keeping this committee apprised of any possible reduction in force, hiring contractors in lieu of Federal employees currently on administrative leave, addition or subtraction of broadcast languages, and the addition or subtraction of countries or populations served by international broadcasting?

Answer. Yes, if I am confirmed, I commit to making both myself and my staff available to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee for regular consultations.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to responding to inquiries from this committee and its members in a timely manner?

Answer. Yes, if I am confirmed, I am committed to responding to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and its members in a timely manner.

Several journalists who worked for USAGM are currently behind bars in horrific conditions in foreign countries because of their reporting.

Question. If confirmed, will you commit to doing everything you can to secure their immediate and unconditional release?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, securing the release of current or former USAGM-affiliated journalists imprisoned because of their reporting would be a major priority, and I would use every appropriate diplomatic, interagency, and public advocacy tool available to secure their release.

Question. How will you work with interagency and civil society groups to secure their release?

Answer. I would work through USAGM, the Department, posts, interagency partners, and like-minded governments to ensure these cases are tracked, elevated, and pursued through appropriate diplomatic channels. Each case requires a tailored and bespoke approach, which may include public advocacy, private diplomacy, detention monitoring, coordination with allies, or senior-level engagement. My objective remains to support their safe release and protect the ability of USAGM journalists to do their work safely, without intimidation by hostile governments.

Question. What message do you have for any government or non-state group who would imprison or harm journalists working for USAGM entities?

Answer. My message is simple: release them and allow them to do their work safely. Journalists working for USAGM entities are not enemies or criminals for reporting the truth, and imprisoning or harming them will not silence that truth; it will only bring greater attention, scrutiny, and pressure. The United States stands for the principle that freedom of expression is central to free societies, and that journalists should never be threatened, detained, or harmed for doing their jobs. If I am confirmed, I will work to apply sustained diplomatic and public pressure to secure the safe and immediate release of all imprisoned USAGM journalists.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED TO HON. SARAH B. ROGERS BY SENATOR JACKY ROSEN

Editorial Independence: USAGM has audiences in more than 100 countries, providing reliable, trusted reporting by journalists, not political officials. But under Kari Lake's leadership of the agency, these standards were not maintained. For example, Ms. Lake shut down Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty's Hungarian news service because she claimed its programming had "undermined President Trump's foreign policy by opposing the duly elected Prime Minister of Hungary."

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to not interfering in reporting that is critical of politicians, governments, or political parties that President Trump has expressed support for?

Answer. If I am confirmed as CEO of USAGM, I commit to respecting the professionalism and independence of USAGM broadcasters, as required under 22 U.S.C. § 6204(b), while also ensuring the agency upholds its statutory mandate under 22 U.S.C. § 6202(a)(1) that broadcasting be "consistent with the broad foreign policy objectives of the United States." I also commit to steward taxpayer dollars to most effectively advance USAGM's mission—which under § 6202(b) emphasizes news that is "consistently reliable and authoritative, accurate, objective, and comprehensive," presents "a balanced and comprehensive projection of United States thought and institutions," and gives voice to those "prevented by censorship or repression

from speaking to their fellow countrymen"(§ 6202(b)(7)). Language-service and management decisions should be based on the statutory considerations of audience need, effectiveness, and foreign policy objectives. For these reasons, I expect to undertake minimal if any broadcasting activity in European allied democracies. However, I also commit to minimize the appearance of impropriety or political "interference" in determining when, and how, management decisions are timed and announced.

Journalistic Independence: Voice of America and other USAGM grantees are legally independent from USAGM for critical services such as human resources and personnel decisions and for editorial decisions. Ensuring this firewall exists is critical to maintaining editorial independence among all broadcasters.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to maintaining Voice of America's and other grantees' editorial independence?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I commit to respecting the professional independence and integrity of Voice of America, Office of Cuba Broadcastings, and its non-Federal grantees, as required by law. I would also ensure that USAGM upholds its statutory standards to maintain accurate, objective, comprehensive, reliable, and authoritative journalism, while ensuring appropriate CEO oversight for quality, effectiveness, accountability, and stewardship of taxpayer resources.

Imprisoned Journalists: Several journalists who worked for USAGM partners are currently behind bars in horrific conditions in foreign countries because of their reporting. If confirmed, you will play a major role in advocating publicly and behind the scene for their safety and release.

Question. What will you commit to doing to get them out of prison?

Answer. Securing the freedom and safety of current or former USAGM-affiliated journalists is and will continue to be a top priority for me if confirmed. I would work through USAGM, the Department, posts, interagency partners, and like-minded governments to ensure these cases are tracked, elevated, and pursued through appropriate diplomatic channels. Each case requires a tailored and bespoke approach, which may include public advocacy, private diplomacy, detention monitoring, coordination with allies, or senior-level engagement. My objective remains to support their safe release and protect the ability of USAGM journalists to do their work safely, without intimidation by hostile governments.

Question. How will you work with interagency and civil society groups to secure their release?

Answer. As noted above, securing the freedom and safety of current or former USAGM-affiliated journalists who have been imprisoned because of their reporting or affiliation is one of my top priorities. I would coordinate closely, and direct greater USAGM resources to doing so, with the Department, posts, interagency partners, civil society organizations, press-freedom advocates, and like-minded governments to identify the most effective public and private channels for securing those journalists' release and protecting their safety.

Question. What message do you have for any government or non-state group who would imprison or harm journalists working for USAGM entities?

Answer. My message is simple: release them and allow them to do their work safely. Journalists working for USAGM entities are not enemies or criminals for reporting the truth. Imprisoning or harming them will not silence that truth; it will only bring greater attention, scrutiny, and pressure. The United States stands for the principle that freedom of expression is central to free societies, and that journalists should never be threatened, detained, or harmed for speaking the truth. If I'm confirmed, I will work to apply sustained diplomatic and public pressure to secure the safe and immediate release of all imprisoned USAGM journalists.

Question. What would you say to anyone who would detain or harm a journalist for doing their basic job?

Answer. My message is simple: release them and allow them to do their work safely. Journalists working for USAGM entities are not enemies or criminals for reporting the truth. Imprisoning or harming them will not silence that truth; it will only bring greater attention, scrutiny, and pressure. The United States stands for the principle that freedom of expression is central to free societies, and that journalists should never be threatened, detained, or harmed for speaking the truth. If I'm confirmed, I will work to apply sustained diplomatic and public pressure to secure the safe and immediate release of all imprisoned USAGM journalists.

Submitted by Senator Jeanne Shaheen

July 10, 2026

TRANSMITTAL OF WAIVER DETERMINATIONS TO CONGRESS

Please find enclosed the following Waiver and accompanying documentation from the Department of State. This material is for official Committee use only.

Title of Waiver: Islamic Republic of Iran Broadcasting (IRIB)

Background: Pursuant to sections 1244(i), 1246(e), and 1247(f) of the Iran Freedom and Counter-Proliferation Act of 2012 (IFCA), the Secretary of State, in consultation with the Secretary of the Treasury, has made the requisite determinations to waive the imposition of sanctions under sections 1244(c)(1), 1246(a), and 1247(a) of IFCA with respect to the IRIB. Please find enclosed the waiver determinations and accompanying documentation on this matter.

Recipients:
Senate Committee on Foreign Relations
House Committee on Foreign Affairs
Senate Committee on Armed Services
House Committee on Armed Services
Senate Committee on Finance
House Committee on Financial Services
Senate Committee on Banking, Housing & Urban Affairs
House Committee on Ways and Means

Sincerely,

Kaitlyn Wolfe
Senior Bureau Official
Bureau of Legislative Affairs

Enclosure:
As stated.

Waiver Determinations

Acting under the authorities vested in me as Secretary of State, I hereby make the following determinations:

Pursuant to sections 1244(i), 1246(e) and 1247(f) of the Iran Freedom and Counter-Proliferation Act of 2012 (subtitle D of title XII, P.L. 112-239, 22 U.S.C. 8801 *et seq.*) (IFCA) and the Delegation of Certain Functions and Authorities under IFCA, 78 Fed. Reg. 35545 (June 13, 2013), I determine that it is vital to the national security of the United States to waive the imposition of sanctions pursuant to:

1. Section 1244(c)(1) of IFCA[1] to the extent required for:

   a. transactions involving the provision of ground connectivity services using earth stations and fiber optic connections outside of Iran and the provision and management of satellite capacity for sale or resale to the Islamic Republic of Iran Broadcasting (IRIB), where such ground connectivity services and satellite capacity are to be used for the provision to Iran of public international telecommunications services, and

   b. transactions involving the provision of the following related administrative services to, or for the benefit of, the IRIB, to the extent such services are necessary to establish and maintain ground and satellite connectivity with IRIB: standard operational support, including coordinating with in-country personnel on matters such as configuring ground and earth station equipment to access space segment capacity; marketing services; billing services; and legal services, and excluding any transactions involving persons on the Specially Designated Nationals and Blocked Persons (SDN) List other than IRIB.

2. Section 1246(a) of IFCA[2] to the extent required for the provision of underwriting services or insurance or reinsurance for:

[1] Pursuant to section 1244(c)(2)(C)(iii) of IFCA, the relevant sanction in Section 1244(c)(1) continues not to apply, by its terms, in the case of Iranian financial institutions that have not been designated for the imposition of sanctions in connection with Iran's proliferation of weapons of mass destruction or delivery systems for weapons of mass destruction, support for international terrorism, or abuses of human rights (as described in section 1244(c)(3)).
[2] Pursuant to section 1246(a)(1)(C) of IFCA, the relevant sanction in section 1246(a)(1) continues not to apply, by its terms, in the case of Iranian financial institutions that have not been designated for the imposition of sanctions in connection with Iran's proliferation of weapons of mass destruction or delivery systems for weapons of mass destruction, support for international terrorism, or abuses of human rights (as described in section 1246(b)).

a. transactions involving the provision of ground connectivity services using earth stations and fiber optic connections outside of Iran and the provision and management of satellite capacity for sale or resale to IRIB, where such ground connectivity services and satellite capacity are to be used for the provision to Iran of public international telecommunications services, and excluding any transactions involving persons on the SDN List other than the IRIB; and transactions involving the provision of the following related administrative services to, or for the benefit of, Iran, to the extent such services are necessary to establish and maintain ground and satellite connectivity with IRIB: standard operational support, including coordinating with in-country personnel on matters such as configuring ground and earth station equipment to access space segment capacity; marketing services; billing services; and legal services, and excluding any transactions involving persons on the SDN List other than IRIB.

3. Section 1247(a) of IFCA[3] to the extent required for transactions by foreign financial institutions on behalf of IRIB involving:

a. the provision of ground connectivity services using earth stations and fiber optic connections outside of Iran and the provision and management of satellite capacity for sale or resale to the IRIB, where such ground connectivity services and satellite capacity are to be used for the provision to Iran of public international telecommunications services, and for associated services, and
b. transactions involving the provision of the following related administrative services to, or for the benefit of, Iran, to the extent such services are necessary to establish and maintain ground and satellite connectivity with IRIB: standard operational support, including coordinating with in-country personnel on matters such as configuring ground and earth station equipment to access space segment capacity; marketing services; billing services; and legal services.

[3] Pursuant to section 1247(a) of IFCA, the relevant sanction in section 1247(a) still continues not to apply, by its terms, in the case of Iranian financial institutions that have not been designated for the imposition of sanctions in connection with Iran's proliferation of weapons of mass destruction or delivery systems for weapons of mass destruction, support for international terrorism, or abuses of human rights (as described in section 1247(b)).

Marco Rubio
Secretary of State

July 2, 2026
Date

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Submitted by Senator Chris Van Hollen

https://www.wsj.com/world/china/voice-of-america-china-russia-65f54e6a

WORLD • CHINA

China Gets More Airtime Around the World as Voice of America Signs Off

Chinese state media has expanded its reach from Indonesia to Nigeria after Trump's March order to dismantle U.S. government-funded outlets



The Voice of America's headquarters in Washington, D.C. KENT NISHIMURA/BLOOMBERG NEWS

By Aruna Viswanatha, Alexandra Wexler and Clarence Leong
July 13, 2025 11:38 am ET

Quick Summary

- Trump's administration dismantled much of the U.S. Agency for Global Media, leading to a reduction in Voice of America broadcasts.

View more

For years, one of Indonesia's most popular news channels hosted a weekly segment for the country's Chinese diaspora that often featured reports in Mandarin from both the U.S.-government backed Voice of America and China's state-run television.

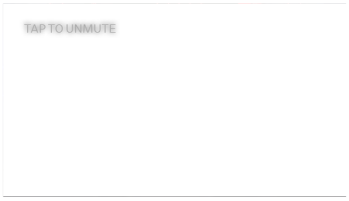
Now, since the Trump administration moved to dismantle most of the U.S. Agency for Global Media in March, only the reports from Chinese state media show up.

In his second term, Donald Trump has blown up decades of U.S. foreign-policy efforts, eliminating billions of dollars of foreign aid and influence programs, saying the money was being misused and would be better spent elsewhere. Trump's March executive order called for the $900 million media agency, which not only funds VOA but also other media outlets, including Radio Free Asia, to do only the things it was legally required to do.

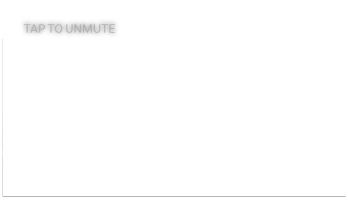
The official overseeing its retrenchment, Kari Lake, accused the agency at a hearing last month of being incompetent, politically biased and itself a national-security threat. Most of the staff has been either fired or put on administrative leave and has filed lawsuits alleging the shutdown of programming was illegal.

In its wake, China's perspective on global events has begun to dominate broadcasts around the world. In Thailand, for example, VOA's regular appearances on the state-owned MCOT broadcaster went to a Chinese media outlet.

A tale of two Thai broadcasts: VOA in February, Chinese state media in May



A February segment on Thai state-owned broadcaster MCOT that included reporting from Voice of America.



A May segment from the same network that featured a Chinese state report.

In Africa, another Beijing-backed network, CGTN, announced in March that it would expand its operations on the continent, following others that have already increased their reach there. China Radio International, for example, mainly broadcasts in English but has expanded its coverage with some of Nigeria's widely spoken languages, Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo, to try to reach local audiences.

The departure of Voice of America from Nigeria "created a perceptible void, especially in terms of trusted, independent international news content," Nigeria's information minister, Mohammed Idris, said in a written response to questions. While VOA's coverage emphasized free speech, human rights and open democratic discourse, Chinese media is focused on development success stories, economic cooperation and social stability, he said.

In Ethiopia, Chinese and Ethiopian state media, as well as officials and diplomats from both countries, met in May to promote cooperation between the two countries and launched "China Hour," a selection of Chinese TV shows, documentaries and cartoons to be broadcast on Ethiopian state television.

"It was an opportunity and [China] had to latch on to it," said Emeka Umejei, a senior research associate in the Department of Communication and Media at the University of Johannesburg.

U.S. priorities compared with China's in two Nigerian broadcasts

A January report from Voice of America's Hausa language service in Nigeria.

A May report from Chinese state television in Nigeria.

Congress set up Voice of America to provide accurate and objective reporting around the world, including about U.S. policies, and gave it independence from political oversight to enhance its credibility. Conservatives have long complained that this reduced its value as a foreign-policy tool and led to anti-American sentiment in its broadcasts.

In a statement, Lake said, "The Chinese Communist Party is deeply unhappy that President Trump is determined to improve how the U.S. does its international broadcasting," adding that she believed Voice of America was putting out thousands of hours of outdated content that was "often anti-American and doesn't align with America's foreign policy."

After the March cuts, the former chief editor of Chinese government-backed Global Times, Hu Xijin, described the paralysis of VOA as gratifying. "The Chinese people are happy to see the U.S. anti-China ideological fortress breached from within," he said on social media.

China's foreign ministry spokeswoman said that she wouldn't comment on U.S. domestic policies but that the media outlets' "blemished track record on China coverage is hardly a secret."

In some cases, the U.S. pullback has meant cutting off hard-won broadcast abilities that had taken years to establish into some of the most closed societies, including North Korea and Iran, that allowed listeners to hear a U.S. perspective.



Kari Lake, the official overseeing the U.S. Agency for Global Media's retrenchment, accused it at a hearing last month of being incompetent, politically biased and itself a national-security threat. JOE RAEDLE/GETTY IMAGES

In North Korea, the U.S. was broadcasting on television through a South Korean government signal. On the final broadcast on March 15, an anchor moderated a segment that included a panelist from the conservative Heritage Foundation to talk about the U.S.-South Korea relationship and threats posed by China.

It also shut down 10 hours of nightly radio programming that were being broadcast into much of North Korea through a signal hosted by Christian broadcaster Far East Broadcasting Company, or FEBC in South Korea.

The network has told officials it has gotten outreach from other broadcasters interested in the hours, but was holding on to them in hopes that the U.S. would return, according to people familiar with the message.

While it is illegal in North Korea to listen to outside stations, a 2023 U.S. survey of North Korean defectors, refugees and travelers found that some of them had regularly listened to Voice of America and Radio Free Asia programming.

In China, too, Voice of America had an audience, said Robert Daly, who until April was the director of the Kissinger Institute on China and the United States at the Wilson Center. On a recent trip to China, Daly said he was surprised by how many think-tank leaders, university students and professors mentioned they had watched a discussion he had conducted in Mandarin on a Voice of America program with Miles Yu, a China policy adviser to Trump's former Secretary of State Mike Pompeo.

A March report from Thai state-owned broadcaster MCOT about the cuts to Voice of America.

By halting VOA broadcasts, Daly said, "we're giving up on having an impact on public opinion in China."

Independent reviews in 2023 and 2024 of Voice of America's Russian, Chinese and Persian services identified some journalistic shortfalls, according to copies of the reports reviewed by The Wall Street Journal. The Chinese service, for example, had inappropriately used a staged video and could use more context in stories, that report said.

But all three reports concluded that the services were generally fair and accurate. The Persian service provided almost equal time, for example, to then-President Joe Biden's efforts to revive a nuclear deal with Iran and to Republican criticism of it, that report said.

Voice of America was created by the U.S. government in 1942 to push back on Nazi messaging during World War II, broadcasting its first message in German: "The news may be good or bad; we shall tell you the truth." Its role expanded during the Cold War, when it worked to counter the spread of Communism. Until recently, VOA was transmitting news and information in more than 100 countries in 49 languages.

'Iranian Foreign Minister Hossein Amir-Abdollahian claimed that Washington has sent two messages to Tehran regarding the war in Gaza. According to him, the U.S. conveyed that it does not wish to see the conflict escalate and urged the Islamic Republic to exercise restraint. U.S. officials, however, say their messages to Tehran included warnings about Iran's support for Hamas and other militant groups in the region'

— A sample of a 2023 AM broadcast of the U.S. government-funded Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, as heard just south of Tehran.

In April, a federal judge ordered Voice of America to restore some of its programming to fulfill its mandate to "serve as a consistently reliable and authoritative source of news," and the service reinstated some Persian news programming in the aftermath of the Israeli airstrikes on Iran. Trump's budget for next year proposes eliminating the agency entirely and provides funds only for its shutdown.

Congressional Republicans have supported trimming funding for the agency, but some said they are working to create a smaller outfit that can maintain the U.S. role in spreading accurate information abroad.

"It is absolutely true that it has become bloated," said Rep. Mario Diaz-Balart (R., Fla.), who leads the House Appropriations panel on national security and the State Department that funds the agency. Still, he said, "it can be very, very useful and a very, very important tool of our national interest."

Write to Aruna Viswanatha at aruna.viswanatha@wsj.com, Alexandra Wexler at alexandra.wexler@wsj.com and Clarence Leong at clarence.leong@wsj.com

Appeared in the July 14, 2025, print edition as 'China Fills In as Voice Of America Retreats'.

Aruna Viswanatha is the Washington enterprise editor for The Wall Street Journal, where she oversees a team of investigative reporters and helps out with stories across the bureau. Before becoming an editor, she spent more than a decade covering national security, the FBI and the Justice Department.

She has been part of teams that have won Pulitzer, SABEW and National Press Club awards. In 2025, Washingtonian magazine named her one of the most powerful women i...

Alexandra Wexler is a reporter for The Wall Street Journal in Johannesburg, where she writes about African companies and multinational firms doing business in Africa. She also occasionally contributes economic and political coverage from the Journal's bureau in South Africa's biggest city. Alexandra has traveled to more than 25 African countries and written on sectors from mining to telecoms to banking to start-ups. She specializes in commodities coverage, from cocoa and coffee to platinum and cobalt, which stems...

Clarence Leong is a former reporter for The Wall Street Journal in Singapore, where he covered Chinese business and general news.

He was previously with Dow Jones Newswires with a focus on Chinese and Hong Kong equities, writing about a range of sectors from real estate to automobiles.

Submitted by Senator Tim Kaine



Post

Under Secretary of State Sarah B. Rogers
@UnderSecPD

Germany infamously retains very few Jews, yet imported barbarian rapist hordes (as an American, I'm allowed to call them that) under Merkel. Even today, Germany suppresses political opposition who point this out.

You guys will say this is because of "Jewish" NGO tentacles or whine that Hitler (who destroyed his country) is treated too harshly by history. You will say this because you're dumb trash who prefer to promote conspiracy theories rather than ascribe Germans (or anyone else) agency over their countries' future.

National Socialists of TikTok @NatSocsOfTikTok · Jan 15
Replying to @UnderSecPD
jews let the browns in

10:54 AM · Jan 15, 2026 · **6.7M** Views

1.7K 2.5K 10K 2.5K

Relevant

View quotes

Under Secretary of State Sarah B. R... @UnderSe... · Jan 17

Now that this tweet has so much attention, let's discuss:

(1) What happened in Cologne, Germany on New Years Eve 2016;

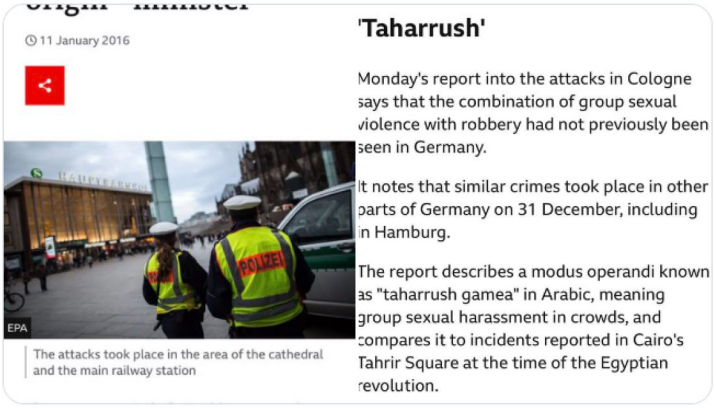
(2) Why it should not be a crime to use "rapist horde" language to describe those attacks — or link them to refugee policy; and

(3) Why Nazi conspiracy grievance politics are worth rebuking.

44 277 2.5K 119K

Under Secretary of State Sarah B. R... @UnderSe... · Jan 17

In the wake of the attacks, shell-shocked European and English language news outlets groped for words to describe them. The BBC and others borrowed "taharrush gamea" from Arabic.



34 224 1.6K 296K

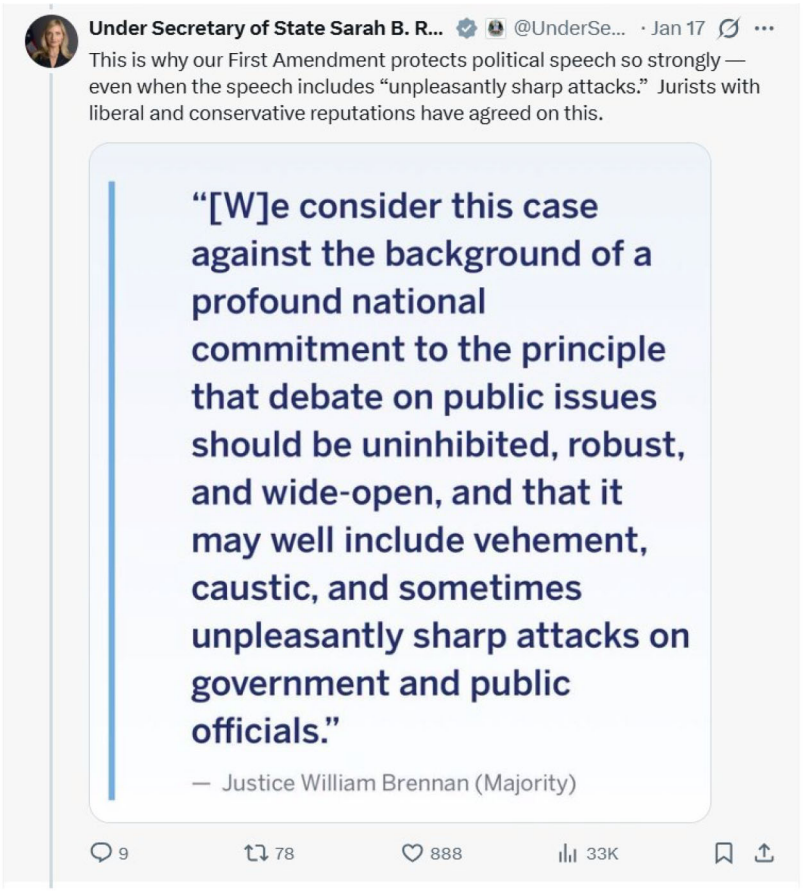


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A German lawmaker was later threatened with criminal prosecution for using the language I quote here (regarding barbarian hordes), and additional censorship constraints were placed on social media companies.

This obviously contravenes free expression — and common sense. In a democracy, if you're upset about rapist hordes and think public policy ought to do something about them, you're supposed to rouse and persuade your fellow citizens to vote (instead of pick up pitchforks or guns). If you conclude, as many official sources did, that migrant policy had something to do with the nameless theretofore-foriegn horrors in Cologne, democratic self-governance requires that you be allowed to say so. And campaign on it. And debate your view with people who disagree.

10 112 1.1K 37K


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This is why our First Amendment protects political speech so strongly — even when the speech includes “unpleasantly sharp attacks.” Jurists with liberal and conservative reputations have agreed on this.
“[W]e consider this case against the background of a profound national commitment to the principle that debate on public issues should be uninhibited, robust, and wide-open, and that it may well include vehement, caustic, and sometimes unpleasantly sharp attacks on government and public officials.”
— Justice William Brennan (Majority)
9
78
888
33K


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The same First Amendment famously permits even Nazis to speak in America, unlike in Germany. Our administration has publicly, forcefully committed to support free speech and to oppose antisemitism. Those goals aren't at odds.
It isn't hard, actually, to oppose censorship laws and also oppose Nazis. America approaches its quarter-century birthday with a proud history of opposing both.
29 89 954 35K
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Unlike historical Nazis, antisemites in your online replies don't run a totalitarian war machine, so they don't pose an existential threat to Jews or any other group. But the kind of politics that blames shadowy anthropomorphized forces (quite often "the Jews") for things, instead of working to solve them, is toxic. It's for bitter losers; it encourages self-victimization and magical thinking; it is, indeed, "dumb trash."
96 266 2.2K 125K
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I don't know if it's undignified for a public official to dunk on Nazis. Probably I won't do it all the time. But in a society where we have the power to say what we want, it feels important to say what's true.
76 81 1K 37K