

**NOMINATION HEARINGS OF THE
115TH CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION**

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

**COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
UNITED STATES SENATE**

ONE HUNDRED FIFTEENTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

—————
JANUARY 3, 2017 TO JANUARY 3, 2018
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Printed for the use of the Committee on Foreign Relations



S. HRG. 115-413

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CONTENTS

The nominees' responses to additional questions and any other additional material submitted for the record are located at the end of each hearing transcript.

	Page
Wednesday, January 11, 2017	na
Tillerson, Rex, to be Secretary of State, transcript printed under separate cover, S. Hrg. 115-4.	na
Wednesday, January 18, 2017	na
Haloy, Gov. Nimrata "Nikki," to be Ambassador to the United Nations, transcript printed under separate cover, S. Hrg. 115-345.	na
Thursday, February 16, 2017	1
Friedman, David, of New York, to be Ambassador to Israel	9
Wednesday, April 26, 2017	71
Mushingi, Hon. Tulinabo Salama, of Virginia, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Senegal and to the Republic of Guinea-Bissau	73
Haskell, Todd Philip, of Florida, to be Ambassador to the Republic of the Congo	75
Tuesday, May 2, 2017	93
Branstad, Hon. Terry, of Iowa, to be Ambassador to the People's Republic of China	98
Tuesday, May 9, 2017	145
Sullivan, Hon. John J., of Maryland, to be Deputy Secretary of State	149
Wednesday, May 17, 2017	207
Brown, Scott P., of New Hampshire, to be Ambassador to New Zealand, and to the Independent State of Samoa	211
Thursday, May 18, 2017	227
Hagerty, William Francis IV, of Tennessee, to be Ambassador to Japan	231
Thursday, June 15, 2017	259
Green, Mark Andrew, of Wisconsin, to be Administrator of the U.S. Agency for International Development	266
Tuesday, July 11, 2017	303
Bohigian, Hon. David Steele, of Missouri, to be Executive Vice President of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation	307
Washburne, Ray, of Texas, to be President of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation	309
Currie, Kelley Eckels, of Georgia, to be U.S. Representative on the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations	312
Murray, Jay Patrick, of Virginia, to be an Alternate Representative for Special Political Affairs in the United Nations	315

IV

	Page
Tuesday, July 18, 2017	345
Gingrich, Callista L., of Virginia, to be Ambassador to the Holy See	349
Sales, Nathan Alexander, of Ohio, to be Coordinator for Counterterrorism, Department of State	352
Glass, George Edward, of Oregon, to be Ambassador to the Portuguese Republic	355
Risch, Carl C., of Pennsylvania, to be an Assistant Secretary of State, Consular Affairs	358
Wednesday, July 19, 2017	389
Arreaga, Hon. Luis E., of Virginia, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Guatemala	389
Day, Sharon, of Florida, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Costa Rica	391
Urs, Krishna R., of Connecticut, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Peru	393
Thursday, July 20, 2017	415
Hutchison, Hon. Kay Bailey, of Texas, to be U.S. Permanent Representative on The Council of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization	425
Craft, Kelly Knight, of Kentucky, to be Ambassador to Canada	429
Johnson, Robert Wood IV, of New York, to be Ambassador to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	432
Eisenberg, Lewis M., of Florida, to be Ambassador to the Italian Republic and to the Republic of San Marino	434
McFarland, Kathleen Troia, of New York, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Singapore	437
Wednesday, July 26, 2017	491
Raynor, Hon. Michael Arthur, of Maryland, to be Ambassador to the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia	492
Brewer, Maria E., of Indiana, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Sierra Leone	494
Desrocher, John P., of New York, to be Ambassador to the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria	496
Tuesday, August 1, 2017	517
King, Stephen B., of Wisconsin, to be Ambassador to the Czech Republic ..	518
Tuesday, September 12, 2017	531
Ueland, Eric M., of Oregon, to be an Under Secretary of State (Management)	536
Bass, Hon. John R., of New York, to be Ambassador to the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan	556
Siberell, Justin Hicks, of Maryland, Nominee to be Ambassador to the Kingdom of Bahrain	560
Dowd, J. Steven, of Florida, to be U.S. Director of the African Development Bank for a Term of 5 Years	563
Tuesday, September 19, 2017	617
Huntsman, Hon. Jon M. Jr., of Utah, to be Ambassador to the Russian Federation State	624
Mitchell, A. Wess, of Virginia, to be an Assistant Secretary of State (European and Eurasian Affairs)	640
Wednesday, September 27, 2017, (a.m.)	693
Kritenbrink, Daniel J., of Virginia, to be Ambassador to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam	695
Fitzpatrick, Kathleen M., of the District of Columbia, to be Ambassador to the Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste	698
Wednesday, September 27, 2017 (p.m.)	715
Hoekstra, Hon. Peter, of Michigan, to be Ambassador to the Kingdom of the Netherlands	718
Buchan, Richard Duke, III, of Florida, to be Ambassador to the Kingdom of Spain	721

	Page
Wednesday, September 27, 2017 (p.m.) —Continued	
Grenell, Richard, of California, to be Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany	725
McCourt, Jamie, of California, to be Ambassador to the French Republic, and to the Principality of Monaco	728
McMullen, Edward T. Jr., of South Carolina, to be Ambassador to the Swiss Confederation, and to the Principality of Liechtenstein	732
Tuesday, October 3, 2017 (a.m.)	763
Juster, Hon. Kenneth Ian, of New York, to be Ambassador to the Republic of India	767
Tuesday, October 3, 2017 (p.m.)	789
Andre, Hon. Larry Edward, of Texas, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Djibouti	792
Barlerin, Peter Henry, of Colorado, to be Ambassador to Republic of Cameroon	794
Whitaker, Eric P., of Illinois, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Niger ..	796
Dodman, Michael James, of New York, to be Ambassador to the Islamic Republic of Mauritania	807
Fite, Nina Maria, of Pennsylvania, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Angola	810
Foote, Daniel L., of New York, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Zambia	813
Reimer, David Dale, of Ohio, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Mauritius and the Republic of Seychelles	815
Wednesday, October 4, 2017	849
Sison, Michele Jeanne, of Maryland, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Haiti	851
Brownback, Hon. Samuel Dale, of Kansas, to be Ambassador-at-Large for International Religious Freedom	855
Thursday, October 5, 2017	883
Sands, Carla, of California, to be Ambassador to the Kingdom of Denmark	884
Kohorst, W. Robert, of California, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Croatia	887
Wednesday, October 18, 2017	903
Carter, Thomas, of South Carolina, to be U.S. Representative on the Council of the International Civil Aviation Organization	905
Newstead, Jennifer Gillian, of New York, to be Legal Adviser of the Department of State	907
Singh, Manisha, of Florida, to be an Assistant Secretary of State (Economic and Business Affairs)	910
Evanoff, Michael T., of Arkansas, to be an Assistant Secretary of State (Diplomatic Security)	911
Wednesday, November 1, 2017	955
Goldstein, Irwin Steven, of New York, to be Under Secretary of State (Public Diplomacy)	957
Lawler, Sean P., of Maryland, to be Chief of Protocol of the Department of State	960
Johnson, Lisa A., of Washington, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Namibia	962
Gonzales, Rebecca Eliza, of Texas, to be Ambassador to the Kingdom of Lesotho	964
Evans, James Randolph, of Georgia, to be Ambassador To Luxembourg	966
Tuesday, November 28, 2017	1013
Poblete, Yleem D.S., Ph.D., of Virginia, to be an Assistant Secretary of State (Verification and Compliance)	1019
Ford, Christopher Ashley, D.Phil., of Maryland, to be an Assistant Secretary of State (International Security and Non-Proliferation)	1022

VI

	Page
Thursday, November 30, 2017	1071
Bierman, Hon. Brock D., of Virginia, to be an Assistant Administrator of the United States Agency For International Development	1076
Braithwaite, Rear Admiral Kenneth J., USN (Ret), of Pennsylvania, to be Ambassador to the Kingdom of Norway	1080
Trujillo, Hon. Carlos, of Florida, to be the Permanent U.S. Representative to the Organization of American States	1083
McClenny, M. Lee, of Washington, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Paraguay	1086
Tuesday, December 19, 2017	1123
Vrooman, Peter Hendrick, of New York, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Rwanda	1125
Danies, Joel, of Maryland, to be Ambassador to the Gabonese Republic and to the Democratic Republic of Sao Tomé and Príncipe	1128

APPENDIX

Alphabetical listing of nominees considered by the committee, including im- portant dates	1151
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NOMINATIONS

THURSDAY, JULY 20, 2017

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

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 9:30 a.m., in Room SD-419, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Bob Corker, chairman of the committee, presiding.

Present: Senators Corker [presiding], Risch, Rubio, Gardner, Young, Barrasso, Portman, Paul, Cardin, Menendez, Shaheen, Coons, Murphy, Kaine, Markey, and Booker.

OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. BOB CORKER, U.S. SENATOR FROM TENNESSEE

The CHAIRMAN. The Foreign Relations Committee will come to order.

We have a number of distinguished nominees here today, and we welcome them.

We also have a number of very distinguished introducers, and we welcome you. We thank you for coming to our committee. In order for you to be able to go ahead and do other business today, Senator Cardin and I will defer, relative to making opening comments, and let you go ahead and do what you need to do. We look forward to those comments, and then, we realize, you will probably like to go elsewhere.

I know Senator McConnell is also coming today, and Senator Rubio. But why don't we just start in the order of seniority? We appreciate so much you being here.

Senator CARDIN. That would be Senator Lieberman. Oh, you are not talking about age.

The CHAIRMAN. Actually, I was.

But we welcome you all.

And, Senator Cornyn, why don't you start? We thank you for your distinguished service to our country, and for being here today.

STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN CORNYN, U.S. SENATOR FROM TEXAS

Senator CORNYN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member Cardin, and members of the committee.

It is a pleasure to be back here. It is the second time in less than a couple weeks. It is not often that I darken the door of the Foreign Relations Committee, but as long as the President keeps nominating Texans, I promise to come back often.

I cannot think of a better nominee to an important ambassadorship to Brussels than our dear friend, Kay Bailey Hutchison. She truly is someone who needs no introduction, but I am going to give her one anyway.

I had the honor of serving alongside of Kay for 10 years in the Senate. And when I got here, there were some things that I figured out pretty quickly about her.

Number one, she is tireless. You would be hard-pressed to find a Senator in the Chamber who worked harder than Kay Hutchison.

Second, she was relentless. She would not stop until she achieved her objective.

And most importantly, she always did what she thought was the right thing for Texas. Whether it was working with Republicans or Democrats, that was always her guiding star.

As I think about the type of individual best-suited to represent the U.S. on the world stage, I can think of no one better than Kay.

She has always been a trailblazer. After graduating from the University of Texas Law School, she became the first female on-air news reporter in Houston. Years later, she became the first woman to represent Texas here in the Senate.

When she was here, as you will recall, her leadership was quite evident. She served as the ranking member of the Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee, and chaired the Republican Policy Committee.

Kay was not and is not afraid of working across the aisle. It was the way she was able to get so much done during her time here, not only on behalf of Texas but on behalf of the Nation.

She has always been a fierce advocate for military families. It is no exaggeration to say that every base in our State has felt the impact of her work. And she has worked hard for veterans, to make sure they get the medical assistance, job training, and support that they needed when they came home.

And she has worked hard to promote things like tax relief for hardworking Texas families. And she made it easier for women to save for their retirement and worked to reduce the unfair marriage penalty tax.

During her time here, Kay served on the Intelligence Committee, and the Armed Services Committee as well. So I know that promoting American global leadership and strong diplomacy guided her committee work and will prepare her well for her duties in Brussels.

So I think her time in this chamber was instructive as to how she will serve in this new position. We are, as we all know, in a time of increasing instability across the globe. And now more than ever, our friends and allies need a determined and steady hand representing the United States.

Senator Hutchison has the experience, determination, and tact required for our representative to Brussels. And there is no one better prepared to successfully navigate and strengthen our relationships on the world stage. Kay will do it, and she will do it with poise and grace.

So I look forward to supporting her confirmation on the Senate floor.

Once again, thank you, Mr. Chairman, Senator Cardin, and members of the committee for allowing me to say a few words on behalf of Kay Bailey Hutchison.

The CHAIRMAN. We thank you so much for being here.

Senator McConnell, you are welcome to go next, or if you want to get your thoughts together, we can go to Senator Cruz. It is your choice. We defer to you.

Senator MCCONNELL. Mr. Chairman, since I also need to also open the Senate, if you would not mind, if Senator Cruz would not mind, I would like to go ahead.

The CHAIRMAN. We thank you very much for being here. It is an honor to have you, and we look forward to your comments.

**STATEMENT OF HON. MITCH McCONNELL,
U.S. SENATOR FROM KENTUCKY**

Senator MCCONNELL. It is my privilege to be here today to recommend Kelly Knight Craft, a native of Glasgow, Kentucky, to serve as the next United States Ambassador to Canada.

President Trump made a strong choice when he nominated her, and in today's hearing, this committee will learn of her experience and skill in advancing the priorities of the United States.

Ms. Craft has a distinguished record of service in my home State of Kentucky and to our Nation. She helped lead organizations like the United Way of the Bluegrass, the YMCA of Central Kentucky, the Salvation Army of Lexington, and the Center for Rural Development. She has also served on the board of trustees of our shared alma mater, the University of Kentucky.

In 2007, President Bush named her to serve as an alternate representative for the U.S. delegation to the United Nations General Assembly. The Senate confirmed Ms. Craft to that position by unanimous consent. In the General Assembly, she represented the United States' position on the New Partnership for Africa's Development.

Her ability to build consensus among international stakeholders toward a common goal served her well at the U.N., and I believe it also makes her an ideal candidate to be the next Ambassador to Canada.

The United States and Canada are closely interconnected, sharing a common history and set of values, while boasting a strong bilateral relationship founded on robust security and trade relations.

The relationship with Canada is particularly important for Kentucky. Direct investment from Canada supports thousands of Kentucky jobs, and Canada is the Commonwealth's number-one export market. Maintaining this strong relationship between our two nations is vital.

So Ms. Craft has the necessary skills and experience to continue the long history of friendship between our nations. Her work will continue to serve the interests of the United States very well.

I would also like to recognize her husband, my good friend, Joe Craft, another extraordinary Kentuckian, who is here today to support his wife's nomination.

So thanks, again, Mr. Chairman, for allowing me to testify on behalf of Kelly. I appreciate your consideration of her nomination, and we look forward to her confirmation.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you so much for being here.
 Senator Cornyn, if you feel like you want to help open the floor, you are welcome to leave also. Thank you so much for coming.
 Thank you both.
 Senator Cruz?

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

Senator CRUZ. Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member Cardin, members of the committee, it is a privilege to join you this morning, especially with the great honor of introducing my friend and a true Texas legend, Senator Kay Bailey Hutchison.

Many of you served with Kay and know her well as a friend and colleague. All of you, I know, respect Kay. And a great many, I know, were grieved when you saw her successor. [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. I don't think that is the case.

Senator CARDIN. Ayes and nays? [Laughter.]

Senator CRUZ. I object. [Laughter.]

Senator CRUZ. But I have to say I think Kay Bailey Hutchison is an extraordinary choice to be Ambassador to NATO. The President has chosen well, and I am confident that the Senate will agree in that assessment.

Kay's history in Texas, she was born in Galveston and grew up in La Marque. She is a proud Texas Longhorn, having earned her law degree at the University of Texas. Her late husband, Ray, was also a Texas public servant, having served in the Texas House and also as chairman of the State Republican Party. And their two children, Bailey and Houston, are the joys of her life.

Senator Hutchison began her public service career in the Texas House, and honorably served our home State for 20 years in this body, where she built a distinguished record of service on the Senate Armed Services Committee and the Defense and Military Construction Appropriations Subcommittees that will give her direct and powerful insight into the security issues facing Europe and North America.

Few statesmen have the qualifications, the relationships, and the gravitas that Senator Hutchison brings to this position.

After years of inadequate resourcing, Kay led an effort in the Senate to rebuild our military and helped prepare to meet the new, more stringent demands of the global war on terror.

After the Kosovo conflict, Kay led the first Senate codel to the region. There, she met with NATO leaders to discuss the future of our NATO endeavor and to help bring stability and democratic elections to the region.

In fact, Kay has toured every major conflict since her arrival in the Senate in 1993. From Bosnia to Iraq, Afghanistan to Serbia, Senator Hutchison made it a priority to meet with commanders in the field, with troops in areas of combat, and with international leaders to make sure that they had the resources that our military needed to carry out their mission. She has a heart for the men and women serving our Nation.

Her commitment to safeguarding America's national security will serve her well in this new role protecting America's and our allies' interests as U.S. Ambassador to NATO.

Kay also has an eye for talent. When I arrived in this body, in my office among the staff, we had a John Cornyn mafia as part of the staff. We had a Rick Perry mafia as part of the staff. But there was no bigger group than the KBH mafia, which was and is a very large chunk of our team because she has such a good eye for talent and she trains them well. That will serve her well as our Ambassador.

You know, I agree with the President's effort to extract more from our allies in support of NATO. I think that is a positive direction for our country. But I think it is also very good to have a U.S. Ambassador who has a strong will and a gracious smile to represent America, to represent America with our allies and strengthen those friendships and alliances. And I am proud to support her nomination.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you for being here. I think we would all agree we have had two very strong-willed Senators in this seat.

And so we can save the best for last, Senator Lieberman, I am going to Senator Rubio.

**STATEMENT OF HON. MARCO RUBIO,
U.S. SENATOR FROM FLORIDA**

Senator RUBIO. Thank you for this opportunity and the privilege of introducing Mr. Lewis Eisenberg of Florida to be the Ambassador to the Italian Republic and to the Republic of San Marino.

Mr. Eisenberg is a cofounder and managing partner of Iron Hill investments in New York. From 1995 to 2001, he was chairman of the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey, responsible for overseeing the region's international airports and seaports, bridges, tunnels, and the World Trade Center. He was named a founding board member of the Lower Manhattan Development Corporation, which was formed after the terrorist attacks of 11th of September 2001. He chaired its Victims' Families and Transportation Advisory Councils for 2 years, from 2001 to 2003.

Mr. Eisenberg was a senior adviser for Kohlberg Kravis Roberts from 2009 to 2015, cochairman of Granite Capital International Group, both in New York, from 1990 to 2011. He spent 23 years at Goldman Sachs, where he served as a general partner and cohead of the equity division.

He is a recipient of numerous awards and has been honored by the American Jewish Committee, the National Conference for Community and Justice, Monmouth University, Liberty Science Center, the Boys and Girls Clubs of Newark, New Jersey, and the New Jersey Alliance for Action.

As you can see, has strong links to New York and New Jersey, so you may ask, what does that have to do with Florida? Well, that is very typical of Florida, strong links to New York and New Jersey.

But I know him as a resident of Florida, and I have known him for quite a while, along with his family. I am excited for him and for the country. He will be an incredible representative of the United States with an important ally.

He is, I believe, deeply qualified for this position, and we are, frankly, grateful for his willingness to serve his country and our country.

So thank you. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. Thank you very much.
Senator Lieberman?

**STATEMENT OF HON. JOSEPH LIEBERMAN,
FORMER U.S. SENATOR FROM CONNECTICUT**

Senator LIEBERMAN. Thanks, Mr. Chairman, Senator Cardin, members of the committee. It is good to be back here.

Let me say, first, just a loud, sincere amen to all of the positive words said about Kay Bailey Hutchison, someone who I have been privileged to know well.

I am honored to be here this morning to introduce to the committee K.T. McFarland as the President's nominee to be our Ambassador to the Republic of Singapore.

K.T. has had a remarkable career, which just says so loudly that she is ready to take on this post. You can see it in the documents before you. If you had a chance to meet her, I think you probably appreciate it.

There have been two letters filed with the committee that I think speak really in a very unique way about the arc of K.T.'s life in service. The first is from Dr. Henry Kissinger who writes on her behalf, as a student at George Washington University, K.T. worked as an assistant for Henry Kissinger when he was National Security Adviser in the early 1970s, and stayed with him through the Nixon and Ford administrations.

The second letter is from General H.R. McMaster, who K.T. has worked with over the last several months as Deputy National Security Adviser.

I think those two letters together tell you how qualified she is.

But I am really here as a friend of K.T.'s, and as a friend of her husband's, Alan McFarland. I just want to speak briefly about them in that regard.

Alan and I went to college and law school together. I will not embarrass either of us by telling you how long we have known each other. Maybe I will say, in general terms, that we are in the sixth decade of our friendship, and it has been a good friendship that has taken us through all the ups and downs of life.

I can tell you, based on that, that K.T. and Alan are people of great character, high principle, a commitment to living an ethical life. They will bring with them, if confirmed, to Singapore a spirit of patriotism and honor, and a commitment to improving the relationship between our two important countries that are such great allies.

I thought that I would tell you two stories to indicate briefly who these people are.

On Election Night, the first time I ran for the U.S. Senate when I got elected, I was an underdog. It was very close. It was not until well after 11 p.m. that I felt confident enough to go down and declare victory. We all remember the maxim that victory has a thousand parents but defeat is an orphan.

My suite at the hotel in Hartford had filled up amazingly as the returns began to come in. And finally, when I was heading out, somebody came over to me and said there is somebody named Alan McFarland on the phone. So it was such a drawing back to a

friendship and earlier life, I went and took the call. And Alan was full of excitement and congratulations. And he said, hey, incidentally, K.T. had an apartment in Washington that we are not using since she is in New York with me. If you need a place to live for a while, why don't you use it?

So I totally forgot about it, went down, got swept up in all the post-election stuff. About a month later, because Hadassah was going to stay in Connecticut with our kids until June when they finished school, I had one of those pre-senatorial moments when you say, where am I going to live? And I remembered the call, and they graciously had me as their tenant for 5 or 6 months.

So I would add to K.T.'s resume that she once operated a shelter for a homeless Senator, and did it well. [Laughter.]

Senator LIEBERMAN. The second is a very different kind of story. You will note on K.T.'s resume that her work life has been divided into two. In between, beginning in the mid-1980s, she made a tough decision, which was that she was going to devote herself to being a wife and mother, eventually of five children.

One of them is a story that says a lot about Alan and K.T. In 1995, Alan's first wife, Nell, who was married to a man some of us knew named David Sawyer, they died within a short period of time of each other, and they left a son who was essentially alone. And it is a long story, but the bottom line is that Alan and K.T. stepped forward and adopted Luke and have raised them as their child. It really says a lot about them.

I grew up with the phrase from the Talmud that, if you save one life, it is as if you save the entire world. And they saved one life, and, in that, I think the entire world.

So for all of these reasons, both professional and personal, I recommend K.T. McFarland to you without hesitation. I truly believe she deserves your support, that she deserves nonpartisan support from the Senate.

Thank you very much.

The CHAIRMAN. We thank you both very much for being here.

Before I turn to Senator Menendez, who is going to introduce our next Ambassador nominee, you all are welcome, if you wish, to go about other business. We really do appreciate both of you being here and elevating our meeting.

Senator RUBIO. Thank you.

Senator LIEBERMAN. Thank you very much.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Menendez?

**STATEMENT OF HON. ROBERT MENENDEZ,
U.S. SENATOR FROM NEW JERSEY**

Senator MENENDEZ. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

We generally say that the United States and the United Kingdom have a special relationship. And, indeed, there are few other nations with whom our bilateral relationship is as expansive and as important as the United Kingdom. And that relationship is based on shared values of our two nations, democracy, respect for human rights, and having helped shape the postwar, rules-based international order.

Maintaining and strengthening this relationship is critical for the United States' national security, for our transatlantic relation-

ships in general, and many of our foreign and military engagements around the world.

Being a diplomat requires certain qualities and the ability to navigate uncertain waters. Some new diplomats try their hand at this endeavor with the best intentions but fumble in their execution.

Hailing from the great State of New Jersey, however, I have no doubt that Robert Wood Johnson is up to the task and would be an excellent representative of the United States.

Mr. Johnson is the chairman and CEO of the Johnson Company.

He is the CEO of the New York Jets. It is the one few things that I have in disagreement with him. It should be the New Jersey Jets. But in any event, they are the New York Jets.

And he has a wide range of civic endeavors, and also sits on the Council on Foreign Relations.

As the United Kingdom continues to sort out the practical implications of Brexit, including future trade deals, his successful private sector experience, I think, will be critical.

In our conversation earlier this week, he expressed his appreciation for the importance of our robust security relationship and intelligence-sharing operations with the United Kingdom. He has spoken on how he will draw on the knowledge and experience of the career officers with whom he has met. And his extensive management experience will be an asset in running a large Embassy in London.

He has assured me that he will consult with this committee, something we always like to hear from our nominees. And I believe it is critically important that our Embassy in London has the leadership it needs to continue strengthening the already deep bond between our two nations.

And I believe Mr. Johnson can provide that leadership. And I welcome him to the committee, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you so much. I apologize for not knowing you were introducing until just a moment ago. We thank you for that introduction.

And I thank all of you for being here. I think we have an extremely distinguished panel here today. I am glad that all of you are here together, and I appreciate your desire to serve our country in the way that you have.

We are going to consider, as we all know, the nominee to be U.S. Ambassador to Canada, our single largest trading partner as of May 2017.

Throughout the Cold War and to this day, Canada has stood shoulder-to-shoulder with the United States through the North American Aerospace Defense Command, better known as NORAD.

Canada's military is an important NATO partner, and we have close intelligence-sharing and law enforcement ties.

Canada values its relationship with the United States, and we value our very close relationship with our neighbor to the north. This week, Prime Minister Trudeau joined Vice President Pence in speaking to the U.S. National Governors Association.

Canada also supports working with the U.S. and Mexico to update the North American Free Trade Agreement.

We will also have a conversation with our nominee to be the U.S. Permanent Representative to NATO.

NATO faces the threat of an increasingly antagonistic Russia, which has occupied the Crimean and eastern regions of Ukraine, a country once considered a contender for NATO membership.

NATO has increased its deployments in the Baltic region in recent months due to fears of a potential clash with Russia there. Both NATO itself and individual member states are members of the U.S.-led coalition conducting airstrikes against ISIS.

Maintaining a strong NATO depends not just on the United States but on all members meeting their commitments on defense.

And we thank you for being here to do that.

We will look to the nominee to be Ambassador to the United Kingdom as well, one of the United States' most critical allies. The bilateral U.S.-U.K. relationship has grown into a global network of military, intelligence, and trade partnerships that together fight terrorism, resist Russian aggression, and drive economic growth.

The United Kingdom has not just deployed its military beside ours, it has helped us build the international framework that includes the United Nations and NATO. Our countries work together with these institutions to help make the world a safer and more prosperous place.

We thank you for being here.

We will also have a chance to engage the nominee to be Ambassador to Italy, where we also have positive and strong relations.

Italy is now on the U.N. Security Council and continues to play a key role in European and Mediterranean security policy.

We thank you for being here.

Lastly, we will consider the nominee to Singapore. Singapore is one of our strongest security partners in Southeast Asia and plays rotational host to the U.S. naval vessels operating in the region.

Singapore is also a key economic and trading partner for the United States in the region. Our strategic partnership is vital to maintaining peace and stability in the Indo-Pacific.

We thank you for being here.

I really am elated that all of you are here together. I think you are going to do an outstanding job for our Nation. I know you are honored to be nominated to these positions.

And with that, I will turn to our distinguished ranking member, my friend, Ben Cardin.

**STATEMENT OF HON. BENJAMIN L. CARDIN,
U.S. SENATOR FROM MARYLAND.**

Senator CARDIN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Let me welcome all five of our nominees and their families.

First, I really want to thank each of you for being willing to serve your country, and thank your families as we recognize this cannot be done without a supportive family, so we thank you.

The five positions that are being nominated are extremely important to our country.

And, Mr. Chairman, I hope that you will be a little bit lenient as far as the time limits are concerned, because these are extremely important countries, and I know members may have questions that they want to ask more than one witness.

Secondly, I would ask our nominees that we do questions for the record. I know Kay is well-aware of that. I would ask that you give that personal attention. I know sometimes there is a volume issue here. I know that we are not going to be able to get through all the questions we want to ask you directly, and the questions for the record are very important.

I know I am going to defer a lot of my questions for the record, so I just ask that you recognize that, because of the large number who are here, and the importance of the countries that are represented, that this is our opportunity to get important issues aired that are in the portfolios that you will be responsible for.

It is particularly a pleasure to have Kay Bailey Hutchison back before our committee, and it must be a little different experience on the other side of the dais, but we thank you very much. I know that you are going to do an incredible service to our country at NATO.

We had a chance to go over some of those issues in my office. NATO is so important to our national security. Probably today more than ever before, there are challenges. We know that Russia's aggression really is a major concern to many of our NATO partners. And our strategies on how we deal with Russia's incursions into Ukraine and Georgia and Moldova is a real challenge to NATO. We know Afghanistan is a continued challenged NATO.

So you are going to have your plate full, and we look forward to working with you and this committee.

I particularly, Mr. Chairman, like one of the suggestions that Senator Hutchison made on how we can formally observe the work at NATO and have representatives of our committee work directly with our Ambassador, so I thank you very much for that suggestion. I thought it was an excellent suggestion.

With all four of the countries that are represented here, there is a common thread. We have democratic countries that share our principles of democracy that are critically important to us for intelligence gathering and sharing of intelligence information. They are major trading partners that are critically important to our economy. And many of these countries share directly in our military burdens, and whenever we need help, it is those countries that we turn to first that help us in regard to our national security concerns. So these are really close partners.

The chairman knows that I always raise issues concerning human rights. You might think that when you are looking at four democratic countries, that maybe that is not as important. Promoting American values is always important. Our strength is in our values, and our values are respect for human rights for all citizens.

So particularly as it relates to Singapore, we do have issues. Singapore does not protect people against discrimination based upon their sexual orientation or gender identity. They also are ranked near the bottom in their protection in many of the human rights issues.

Reporters Without Borders ranked Singapore 151st out of 180 nations in its annual World Press Freedom Index behind neighbors such as Burma, Cambodia, and Malaysia.

So we will be asking you, Ms. McFarland, how you will represent American values in Singapore, a friend and trading partner, and a major commerce center, as to how we can get advancements on these universal human rights, which I believe are very, very important.

I really did enjoy the conversations I had with several of you, and I want to just underscore a point that Senator Menendez said in regard to Mr. Johnson, the same thing is true of Ms. Craft, that there is a real genuine desire to work with this committee, members of Congress, to further the missions of the United States in the countries that you represent.

So I look forward to a robust discussion, and I again thank you all for your willingness to serve our country.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you for your comments.

Senator Hutchison, we are glad to have you back. Since you have done this so many times on this side of the dais, we thought it would be good for you to lead off and help the others get started.

I understand that at least the first five rows are family members and friends. It may be that the entire audience is that. We hope so.

But please feel free, as you come to your turn, to introduce your family and friends who are here with you. We thank them for their willingness to support you in the effort that you are getting ready to undertake.

With that, Senator Hutchison, thank you for being here.

STATEMENT OF HON. KAY BAILEY HUTCHISON OF TEXAS, TO BE UNITED STATES PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE ON THE COUNCIL OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION, WITH THE RANK AND STATUS OF AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY

Senator HUTCHISON. Thank you so much, Mr. Chairman.

I do not have my two teenagers here. Many of you knew my teenagers when they were little babies, and I was walking the halls with them. They are both back in Dallas. I have my neighbor from Virginia, Mary Jarrett.

The CHAIRMAN. We do hope to get you to NATO by the time school enrollment starts.

Senator HUTCHISON. Thank you. It is so important that my son starts school on time, so I thank both of you for acknowledging that.

And I also want to thank you, Mr. Chairman and Mr. Ranking Member, for your courtesies throughout this process and your leadership and the way you work this committee together. I appreciate it so much.

I appreciate all the members of the committee, and I know how much you spend in time and effort to make sure that our foreign policy, our Ambassadors, our State Department, our military and the Defense Department are covered in the Senate. You do a great job, and I thank you.

I am not used to being on the side of the podium, as you have said, but I had many great years here.

I am here, if you consent, to have the opportunity to represent our country in a different way, but in an area with which I am very

familiar. As my colleagues have said before, I have visited U.S. troops in harm's way in every conflict that we had when I was in the Senate, and very often, there were NATO members with those troops—Bosnia, Kosovo, Iraq, and Afghanistan.

I have met with military and diplomatic leaders as well, and I have to say that our diplomatic side, which is one that I had not been as familiar with, was amazing.

In Bosnia, when we went in, the Serbs were still shooting from the hills. Our Ambassador resided in a bombed-out building that did not have running water. He slept on a cot in his office to serve our country, when we first went into Bosnia.

I visited Afghanistan right after our troops started going in. I stayed in a Russian-built institution in the hanger that the Russians had built near a runway in Afghanistan. It was the only place that the troops could sleep. So there were hundreds of cots under this leaky-roofed hanger, and all they had with them was a duffel bag with their uniforms. They were making way for the presence that we would have there, for the building of a hospital, for the building of barracks, so that those who followed would have a place to do their job.

That is what our people do in the Foreign Service and the military. And my appreciation for them is boundless.

I look forward to being an effective partner for our policies, for our military, for our allies, who are also making sacrifices for our mutual defense.

NATO is the most successful defense alliance in the history of the world. It was formed in 1949. And at the time, President Truman said, following two terrible World Wars in that century, "By this treaty, we are not only seeking to establish freedom from aggression and from the use of force in the North Atlantic community, but we are also actively striving to promote and preserve peace throughout the world."

It was determined that an alliance between Europe and North America sends a message of solidarity that would deter aggression and help avoid a third World War and, in the event of conflict, make earlier action against a common enemy more effective in protecting freedom for its democratic members.

Does NATO exist to protect allies against any threat of aggression? Yes. That was one of NATO's original mission. It remains relevant today.

But NATO has also evolved into much more, because today's security environment now encompasses a much broader array of challenges, including asymmetric warfare.

Terrorism by ISIS, Al Qaeda, and other extremist elements seek a caliphate to displace religious freedom where it is protected throughout the world. Rogue nations, such as Iran and North Korea, have developed ballistic missile capabilities and may be close to achieving nuclear weapons, a threat to all the 29 members of the alliance and our partners.

Russian disinformation campaigns and malign influence targeting NATO allies and partners seek to undermine Western democratic institutions and principles, and sow disunity in our long-standing transatlantic bonds.

In its evolution, many questions are raised. Does every country in the alliance meet its agreed commitment? No. Improvements are in order.

President Trump has called for a stronger effort from allies not meeting the Wales pledge on defense investment—2 percent of GDP on defense, and 20 percent of total defense expenditures on defense modernization. Allies need to meet this commitment.

We also stand firm on Article 5. President Trump has said that each ally should honor the pledge to increase spending because it will make all of our efforts more robust, our deterrence credible, and the cost of our collective defense will not unfairly rest on the shoulders of American taxpayers.

I believe, as you have said in your opening statements, that the shared values of democracy, protection of human rights, individual liberty, and rule of law bind all NATO members. This bond must be reinforced because it does unite us.

I have said as a U.S. Senator, and will continue to say, that that this alliance is something like the world has never seen. Our allies have been by our side throughout history. Our allies especially have been with us in Afghanistan, which has been a tough road. They have stood with us in solidarity in Afghanistan, where over 900 troops of our allies and partners have given their lives alongside U.S. soldiers for more than 15 years.

Our NATO allies are our core partners in diplomacy and on the battlefield, our partners of first resort in dealing with old and new threats to the security of our people.

The strength of this alliance benefits every member.

If confirmed, I hope to represent the integrity of the American commitment to be a formidable enemy and a reliable ally. America should be both.

In closing, I want you to know how much I appreciate the hard work you do. I have been there, and I know that every one of you love America like I do, and you are here to make sure that our country is the strongest and safest for all of your constituents.

And I want to make sure that we are able to preserve what our fore-fathers and -mothers gave to us and fought for and died for, in many instances: security, freedom, and an indomitable spirit.

Thank you so much.

[Senator Hutchison's prepared statement follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. KAY BAILEY HUTCHISON

Good Morning Chairman Corker, Ranking Member Cardin and all of the committee.

I'm not used to being on this side of the podium, but I am pleased to be where I spent so many great years working with my colleagues for my state and our united country.

I am here if you consent, this time, to have the opportunity to represent our country in a different capacity, but in an area with which I am very familiar.

I have visited U.S. troops often, sometimes together with service members from other NATO nations, wherever they have been in harm's way—Bosnia, Kosovo, Iraq and Afghanistan. I have met with military and diplomatic leaders during their deployments, sometimes as in Bosnia, where our Ambassador resided in a bombed-out building, sleeping on a cot in his makeshift office, or in a Russian-built hanger next to a runway in Afghanistan, where hundreds of troops slept under a leaky roof with only a duffel bag of uniforms under their cots as they began to build a headquarters, barracks and hospital for the larger contingent to follow.

My appreciation for the work of our military and the crucial role of the diplomatic corps is boundless and I look forward to being an effective partner for our policies, for our military and for our Allies, who are also making sacrifices for our mutual defense and protection.

NATO is the most successful defense and security alliance in the history of the world. It was formed in 1949 after the sad experience of the two world wars last century. President Truman said at the time, "By this treaty, we are not only seeking to establish freedom from aggression and from the use of force in the North Atlantic community, but we are also actively striving to promote and preserve peace throughout the world."

It was determined that an Alliance between Europe and North America sends a message of solidarity that would deter aggression and help avoid a third World War, and in the event of conflict, make earlier action against a common enemy more effective in protecting freedom for its democratic members.

Does NATO exist to protect Allies against any threat of aggression? Yes, that was one of NATO's original missions and it remains relevant today. But NATO has also evolved into much more because today's security environment now encompasses a much broader array of challenges, including asymmetric warfare. Terrorism by ISIS, Al Qaeda and other extremist elements seek a caliphate to displace religious freedom where it is protected throughout the world. Rogue Nations such as Iran and North Korea have developed ballistic missile capabilities and may be close to achieving nuclear weapons; a threat to all of the 29 members of the Alliance. Russian disinformation campaigns and malign influence activities targeting NATO Allies and Partners seek to undermine Western democratic institutions and principles, and sow disunity in longstanding transatlantic bonds.

In its evolution, many questions are raised. Does every country in the alliance meet its agreed commitment? No. Improvements are in order. President Trump has called for a stronger effort from Allies not meeting the Wales Pledge on Defense Investment—2 percent of GDP on defense, and 20 percent of total defense expenditures on defense modernization. Allies need to meet this commitment because it is necessary for their security.

I am encouraged by the recent meeting of Alliance Heads of State and Government where, under the leadership of the Secretary General, Allies agreed to redouble efforts to meet their commitments on defense spending and burden sharing.

In addition there are moves to become more focused on the common threat of terrorism, including efforts to ramp up counter terrorism initiatives.

I believe the shared values of democracy, protection of human rights, individual liberty, and rule of law bind all NATO members. This bond that unites us must be reinforced. Those values underscore why we need to remain firm in dealing with Russian aggression, balancing an Alliance commitment to strong deterrence with political dialogue, foremost on issues like the situation in Ukraine. I want—I think all NATO Allies want—a constructive relationship between NATO and Russia, but there can be no return to "business as usual" between NATO and Russia as long as Russia fails to live up to the deal it signed in Minsk and continues to ignore basic norms of international law and responsible international behavior.

President Trump stands firm on the U.S. commitment to Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty. He has also asked that each Ally honor the pledge they made to increase defense spending so that our capabilities will be robust, our deterrence credible, and the cost of our collective defense will not rest unfairly on the shoulders of the American taxpayers.

I have said this as a U.S. Senator and I will continue to encourage our allies to equitably share the responsibility for our common defense.

We are stronger together than any one of our countries would be alone. Our Allies have been by our side throughout NATO's history. The first—and only—time in the Alliance's decades' long history NATO invoked Article 5, the collective defense clause of the Washington Treaty, was when America was attacked on September 11th, 2001. Allies stood with us in solidarity, and there is no better example of this than Afghanistan, where over 900 troops from Allies and partners have given their lives alongside U.S. soldiers for more than 15 years. Our NATO Allies are our core partners in diplomacy and on the battlefield, our partners of first resort in dealing with old and new threats to the security of our people. The strength of this alliance benefits every member.

If confirmed, I hope to represent the integrity of American commitments. To be a formidable enemy, we must be a reliable Ally. I want America to be both.

In closing, I appreciate the role of the Senate. I know how hard you work and the dedication of each of you to represent your state and build the strongest and safest union for those who elected you to be their representative in Washington.

Thank you for your consideration. If confirmed, I look forward to working with you to represent this Country that we love and to protect what our forefathers and mothers fought for us to keep—security, freedom and an indomitable spirit.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you so much for your comments.
Ms. Craft?

**STATEMENT OF KELLY KNIGHT CRAFT OF KENTUCKY, TO BE
AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF
THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO CANADA**

Ms. CRAFT. Thank you. I would like to express our thoughts and prayers for Senator McCain and his family.

Thank you, Chairman Corker, Ranking Member Cardin, and members of the committee.

And a special thanks to my fellow Kentuckians, Leader McConnell, who has been such a dear friend to our family for so many decades, and Senator Paul, who, as a friend and a member of this committee, makes me feel right at home.

It is an honor to be with you today as the President's nominee to be the U.S. Ambassador to Canada. I am humbled to be entrusted with this responsibility to lead our engagement with such an important friend, ally, and neighbor.

I have not made this journey alone. With me today are my husband, Joe; two of our children, Jane and Kyle; my brother Marc and his wife, Elisabeth; our close friend John Wyatt. My daughter, Mia, is home preparing for her wedding in 2 weeks. My sister, Micah, is watching from our hometown of Glasgow, Kentucky. Our other children and grandchildren are watching from Oklahoma.

Although my parents, Dale and Bobby Guilfoil, have passed away, they gave me the gift of unconditional love and an unwavering faith in God, for which I will always be grateful.

I appreciate the confidence that President Trump, Vice President Pence, and Secretary Tillerson have shown in me, and, if confirmed, I commit to work every day to live up to their trust, in collaboration with the most talented and dedicated public servants. They are truly exceptional.

On a personal note, I am a testament to the fact that if this young girl, who grew up 671 miles southwest from here, can be nominated by the President of the United States as the first woman to serve as Ambassador to Canada, anything is possible when you work hard.

And I know that Senator Shaheen knows this firsthand, as I have been so inspired by her public service.

My first diplomatic experience with Canada was in 2007 when I represented the U.S. Government with the American people at the opening of the United Nations General Assembly. While observing several multilateral negotiation teams, I experienced how the American-Canadian relationship could be a powerful force around the world.

I share the President's belief that the United States is deeply fortunate to have a neighbor like Canada. Just 3 weeks after his inauguration, on February 13th, President Trump hosted Prime Minister Trudeau. As President Trump said that day: Our two nations share much more than a border. We share the same values. We share the love, truly a great love, of freedom. And we share a col-

lective defense. American and Canadian troops have gone to battle together, fought wars together, and forged the special bonds that come when two nations have shed their blood together.

Today, the economies of the United States and Canada are similarly intertwined. We are one another's number one trading partner.

If confirmed, I will work tirelessly to further enhance our strong economic partnership, the most extensive and integrated economic relationship of any two nations in the world. The nearly \$2 billion in goods and services and 400,000 people crossing the border every day are testaments to the strength of this relationship.

I believe we can do better. If confirmed, I will seek new opportunities to foster further growth to create more jobs for both countries while promoting free and fair trade to ensure that American businesses and workers can compete on a level playing field.

A significant part of our economy is our energy relationship, the world's largest. If confirmed, I will advance our shared goals of energy security, a robust and secure energy grid, and a strong and resilient energy infrastructure.

Recognizing that our cooperation on energy is inextricably linked with the environment, I will also work to advance our shared environmental goals, stewardship of our common watersheds, landmass, wildlife, farm life, and the air we breathe, from coast to coast as the Canadians say, the Atlantic, the Pacific, and the Arctic.

At 5,525 miles, the U.S.-Canada border is the longest shared border in the world. We in Kentucky know a few things about borders. We have seven States with whom we share a border. And the only trouble comes when they go home, like to Tennessee and Indiana after losing to the Kentucky Wildcats. [Laughter.]

Ms. CRAFT. The United States is fortunate to have a neighbor that shares a strong commitment to democratic values and works tirelessly to promote peace, prosperity, and human rights around the world.

Canada is our partner in NORAD and NATO, and it is with great appreciation that I acknowledge the Canadian troops who have served bravely alongside Americans throughout our shared history.

If confirmed, I will be a respectful steward of this partnership with Canada. Thank you for this opportunity to be with you today.

[Ms. Craft's prepared statement follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF KELLY CRAFT

Thank you Chairman Corker, Ranking Member Cardin, and members of the committee. And a special thanks to my fellow Kentuckians, Leader McConnell who has been such a dear friend to our family for so many decades, and Senator Paul, who as a friend and a Member of this committee makes me feel right at home.

It is an honor to be with you today as the President's nominee to be the U.S. Ambassador to Canada. I am humbled to be entrusted with this responsibility to lead our engagement with such an important friend, ally and neighbor.

I have not made this journey alone. With me today are: my husband Joe, and two of our children, Jane and Kyle, my brother Marc and his wife Elisabeth, and our close friend John. Our daughter Mia is home preparing for her wedding in two weeks, my sister Micah is watching from our hometown of Glasgow, Kentucky, and our other children and grandchildren are watching from home. Although my par-

ents, Dale and Bobby Guilfoil have passed away, they gave me the gift of unconditional love and an unwavering faith in God, for which I will always be grateful.

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On a personal note, I am a testament to the fact that if this young girl, who grew up 671 miles Southwest from here, can be nominated by the President of the United States as the first woman to serve as Ambassador to Canada, anything is possible when you work hard. I know that Senator Shaheen knows what I'm speaking of, as I have been so inspired by her public service.

My first diplomatic experience with Canada was in 2007 when I represented the U.S. Government and the American people at the opening of the United Nations General Assembly. While observing several multilateral negotiation teams, I experienced how the American-Canadian relationship could be a powerful force around the world.

I share the President's belief that the United States is deeply fortunate to have a neighbor like Canada. Just three weeks after his inauguration, on February 13, President Trump hosted Prime Minister Trudeau in Washington.

As the President said that day, "our two nations share much more than a border. We share the same values. We share the love, and a truly great love, of freedom. And we share a collective defense. American and Canadian troops have gone to battle together, fought wars together, and forged the special bonds that come when two nations have shed their blood together." He added that "both of our countries are stronger when we join forces in matters of international commerce. We will coordinate closely to protect jobs in our hemisphere and keep wealth on our continent, and to keep everyone safe."

Today the economies of the United States and Canada are similarly intertwined. We are each other's number one trading partner.

If confirmed, I will work tirelessly to further enhance our strong economic partnership—the most extensive and integrated economic relationship of any two nations in the world. The nearly \$2 billion in goods and services and 400,000 people crossing our border every day are testaments to the strength of this relationship.

I believe we can do even better. If confirmed, I will seek new opportunities to foster further growth to create more jobs for both countries, while promoting free and fair trade to ensure that American businesses and workers can compete on a level playing field.

A significant part of our economic relationship is our energy partnership—the world's largest, in fact. If confirmed, I will advance our shared goals of energy security, a robust and secure energy grid, and a strong and resilient energy infrastructure. The United States and Canada's highly integrated and interdependent energy markets make North America a potential global energy powerhouse.

Recognizing that our cooperation on energy is inextricably linked with the environment, I will also work to advance our shared environmental goals, stewardship of our common watersheds, landmass, wildlife, farm life, and the air we breathe—from coast to coast to coast as they say in Canada, meaning not only the Atlantic and Pacific, but the Arctic as well.

At 5,525 miles, the U.S.-Canada border is the longest shared border in the world. The two countries are connected by more than 120 land ports of entry, more than 200,000 annual flights, and the numerous commercial and recreational vessels that cross the maritime border. We work closely with our Canadian partners to promote lawful trade and travel, while securing our common perimeter. We in Kentucky know a thing or two about borders, we have seven states with whom we share a border, and the only trouble comes when zealous basketball fans from Tennessee and Indiana to find themselves headed back home after, oftentimes, losing to our own Kentucky Wildcats.

The United States is fortunate to have a neighbor that shares our strong commitment to democratic values and works tirelessly to promote peace, prosperity, and human rights around the world.

Canada is our partner in NORAD and in NATO, and it is with great appreciation that I acknowledge and respect the Canadian troops who have served bravely alongside Americans throughout our shared history. If confirmed, I will be a respectful steward of this partnership with Canada.

Thank you for this opportunity to be with you today. I would be pleased to answer your questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you for your comments and your willingness to serve in this capacity.

Mr. Johnson?

**STATEMENT OF ROBERT WOOD JOHNSON IV OF NEW YORK,
TO BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENI-
POTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE
UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRE-
LAND**

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, I would like to offer my family's prayers to the McCain family and wishes for a speedy recovery as well.

Chairman Corker, Ranking Member Cardin, and distinguished Senators, I am deeply honored to appear before you today. I am grateful to President Trump for nominating me to be the United States Ambassador to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

And I am also deeply humbled that I may be permitted to act as the Ambassador of the President and the American people. Both family history and personal experience confirm to me that public service is both a privilege and an obligation, and that the ties between the United States and the United Kingdom are profoundly important.

Today, I am joined here by my wife, Suzanne; my children Jamie, Daisy, Brick, and Jack; and, most gratifying, my 97-year old mother, Betty, who, during World War II, served in the Navy, teaching celestial navigation to Navy sailors.

She inspired in me the importance of service and love of country. I can assure you that she expects nothing less of me than the best of me right now. And, if confirmed, I will not disappoint.

I am committed to the United States' historic partnership with the U.K. Almost 100 years ago, my grandfather opened the first Johnson & Johnson facility in the U.K. That company is there to this day.

During World War II, he also served in the military to help small- and medium-sized businesses play a direct role in the United States' wartime partnership with the United Kingdom. This partnership, this special relationship, endures today.

I first traveled to the United Kingdom more than 50 years ago and have been back many times for both business and pleasure. I care deeply about the United Kingdom and our relationship with it. If confirmed, I will devote all of my energy to strengthening and deepening that relationship.

Chairman Corker, Ranking Member Cardin, and Senators, as the U.K. undergoes a complex transition, politically and economically, there are opportunities and challenges for the United States. I believe I can make a contribution by drawing both on my business and philanthropic experience.

I have had the privilege of managing many organizations, bringing in people from diverse backgrounds and experience and perspectives. It is my belief that diversity of experience and expertise are strengths in achieving shared goals and priorities.

In my years working with the Robert W. Johnson Foundation to improve health and health care for Americans, I learned the value of patience and tenacity in meeting challenges. The foundation's 40-year, multibillion dollar effort to reduce smoking is just one example.

After my daughter Jamie was diagnosed with lupus, I launched the Alliance for Lupus Research in 1999. I did this not only for my daughter, but to help the 1.5 million Americans that suffer from lupus, 90 percent of whom are women stricken with lupus.

It took years to bring together this organization with the best scientists, organizational structure, and figuring out how to raise money to become now the world's largest non-government funder of lupus research, to treat, cure, and prevent lupus.

Owning the New York Jets has taught me the importance of commitment and perseverance. [Laughter.]

Mr. JOHNSON. Right. Exactly.

One example of that, not a football example, one example of that is our 10-year effort to build a stadium. It is very difficult to build a stadium, and we accomplished the objective. We built a privately funded \$1.6 billion stadium in the great State of New Jersey.

If confirmed by the Senate, my mission will be to strengthen America's special relationship with the U.K.

The U.K. has been our most steadfast ally in promoting freedom, fairness, and the rule of law. My first task there will be to know the talented professionals at the Embassy. I have been tremendously impressed by the professionalism and dedication of the men and women of the State Department, and the Embassy is home to many of our best people. I want to inspire and enable our Embassy to provide exemplary service to American citizens and businesses.

If confirmed, my goal would be to provide the strong leadership needed to preserve and strengthen, once again, this absolutely special and critical relationship.

Thank you very much.

[Mr. Johnson's prepared statement follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF WOODY JOHNSON

Chairman Corker, Ranking Member Cardin, and distinguished Senators, I am deeply honored to appear before you today. I am grateful to President Trump for nominating me to be the United States Ambassador to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. I am also humbled that I may be permitted to act as the Ambassador of the President and the people of the United States.

Both family history and personal experience confirm to me that public service is both a privilege and an obligation, and that the ties between the United States and the United Kingdom are profoundly important.

Today I am joined by my wife Suzanne; my children Jamie, Daisy, Robert and Jack; and, most gratifying, my 97-year old mother, Betty. During World War II, my mother, Minnesota-born and raised, served in the navy, teaching celestial navigation to sailors. She inspired in me the importance of service and love of country. I assure you that she expects nothing less than the best from me and, if confirmed, I will not disappoint.

I am committed to the United States' historic partnership with the UK. Almost 100 years ago, my grandfather opened Johnson & Johnson's first overseas operation in the UK, and the company is there to this day. During World War II, he too served in the military and helped small and medium-sized businesses play a direct role in the United States' wartime partnership with the United Kingdom; this partnership, this special relationship, still endures.

I first travelled to the United Kingdom more than 50 years ago, and have been back many times for business and pleasure. I care deeply about the United Kingdom and our relationship with it. If confirmed, I will devote all of my energy to strengthening and deepening that relationship.

Chairman Corker, Ranking Member Cardin, and Senators, as the UK undergoes a complex transition, politically and economically, there are opportunities and challenges for the United States. I believe I can make a contribution by drawing upon both my business and philanthropic experience.

I have had the privilege of managing many organizations, bringing together people from diverse backgrounds and perspectives. It is my belief that diversity of experience and expertise are strengths in achieving shared goals and priorities. In my years of working with the RWJ foundation to improve Americans' health, I learned the value of patience and tenacity in meeting challenges. The foundation's forty-year multi-billion dollar effort to reduce smoking is just one example.

After my daughter Jamie was diagnosed with Lupus, I launched the alliance for Lupus research in 1999. I did this not only to treat my daughter, but to help the 1.5 million people in the U.S.—ninety percent of them women—stricken by Lupus. It took years to bring together the best scientists, organizational structures and capital sources to make it the world's largest non-government funder of research to treat and cure Lupus.

Owning the New York Jets has taught me the importance of commitment and perseverance. One example is the ten-year effort we undertook to build a new, privately-funded, \$1.6 billion stadium in the Meadowlands, in the great state of New Jersey.

If confirmed by the Senate, it will be my mission to protect and strengthen America's special relationship with the UK. The United Kingdom has been our most steadfast ally in promoting freedom, fairness and the rule of law. My first task there would be to know the talented professionals at the Embassy. I have been tremendously impressed by the professionalism and dedication of the men and women of the State Department, and the Embassy is home to many of our best people. I want to inspire and enable our Embassy to provide exemplary service to American citizens and businesses. If confirmed, my goal would be to provide the strong leadership needed to preserve and strengthen our special relationship with the United Kingdom.

Thank you for the opportunity to be considered for the position of United States Ambassador to the United Kingdom. I Look forward to your questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. We very much appreciate your comments and your willingness to serve in this capacity.

Ms. Johnson, based on my experiences over the last few weeks, we could use a little help with celestial navigation on health care. [Laughter.]

Mr. Eisenberg?

STATEMENT OF LEWIS M. EISENBERG OF FLORIDA, TO BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE ITALIAN REPUBLIC, AND TO SERVE CONCURRENTLY AND WITHOUT ADDITIONAL COMPENSATION AS AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE REPUBLIC OF SAN MARINO

Mr. EISENBERG. Mr. Chairman, thank you very much, Mr. Ranking Member, members of the committee, thank you—K.T. McFarland—Senator Marco Rubio, for your kind introduction and full description of my background.

It is with sincere humility that I appear before you today. I am most grateful to President Trump to make me his nominee for the position of Ambassador to the Italian Republic and the Republic of San Marino, without compensation.

I would also like to express my thanks to Secretary Tillerson for his support and confidence. I am humbled for the opportunity to be of service to our country, should my nomination be confirmed.

And since Senator Rubio and Senator Lieberman were so kind to say a few words, I would like to depart from what I was going to do and read my history and my interest in serving our country in Italy, although it is interesting to note that Senator Menendez, were he here, would testify that I lived many years of my life in the State of New Jersey while I worked in New York, and I have

learned that there are some 20 million Americans of Italian descent. I am confident that the largest percentage of them live in New Jersey and New York and, hence, they are my neighbors and some of my closest friends.

I am going to depart and talk, rather, on why I want to do this in, as Senator Lieberman pointed out, Alan McFarland's and my late stage in our distinguished, so far, careers, if confirmed.

This is hard for me, a little bit, to depart from script, but it was a day not too dissimilar from this. It was a sunny day, not quite so warm, and I had a meeting that had been called suddenly and drew me from my original point of departure. That morning, when I left that meeting, I was met by two police officers from the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey who asked me to get into the car, their car, and informed me that the Port Authority, the towers, had been struck, not by one airplane but by two.

It began one of the most difficult periods not only in my life and your lives but in the lives of our country and the world.

My wife was picked up and brought from New York to our home in New Jersey, and I was brought to a makeshift station in Jersey City, where we waited for survivors to come, and we learned of the hit on the Pentagon and the crash in Pennsylvania.

I was asked by the police to try to organize what staff we had from the police who were always there, always professional in response.

And, you know, it is amazing. There are these plates in your life that change. There are births. There are deaths. There is marriage. There is graduation. It was one of those unique shifts in life that has changed us all forever.

We put together a makeshift organization around trying to identify who was lost. I learned that the person who had taken my life at Windows on the World had been lost that morning. The head of police who had climbed to the 27th floor and called me to say he was coming up to get me, learned that I was not there, died that day.

I learned over the subsequent days that we had lost 84 people with whom I worked and thousands of Americans. The Port Authority is a unique bi-state organization. It was my seventh year. It was the day before I was to retire from that office. I remained for 90 days.

After that, I traveled to daily from our Jersey headquarters to what was then called Ground Zero. I acted as a spectator amongst heroes. I served coffee. I gave hugs. I saw the families. It hurt.

The following few months, as my term there came to an end, Governor Pataki of New York asked me to serve in the Lower Manhattan Development Corp., which was to rebuild lower Manhattan, and asked me to chair the Families of Victims Committee and Transportation Committee—clearly, the hardest task of my life.

When I left that, I said to the people in those commissions, to the families of the Port Authority, to my children and grandchildren, who I neglected to introduce as I sat down, but who sit behind me, I pledged that if any opportunity ever came up for me to contribute to the welfare of our country economically or through security, I would do whatever it takes.

If confirmed, I pledge my faithful service, and I thank you for this opportunity.

[Mr. Eisenberg's prepared statement follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF LEWIS M. EISENBERG

Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member, members of the committee:

It is with sincere humility that I appear before you today. I am most grateful to be President Trump's Nominee for the position of Ambassador to the Italian Republic and the Republic of San Marino. I would also like to express my thanks to Secretary Tillerson for his support and confidence. I am humbled by the opportunity to be of service to our country, should my nomination be confirmed.

I would also like to introduce those most dear to my heart and sitting behind me: My wife, Judy, we recently celebrated our 52nd anniversary; and two of my daughters, Lisa Goodwyn and Laura Barr; my sons-in-law, Rick Goodwyn and Dr. Kyle Barr; and 3 of our 10 grandchildren, Henry Goodwyn, Chase Goodwyn, and Jack Balestro. Unfortunately, my daughter Stacy Lyle, my son-in-law Paul, and their three children could not be here. Judy's parents, Lois Lee and Leonard Bierman, and my parents, Estelle and Seymour Eisenberg, all have passed away, but have given us the gift of enduring love, hard work and guidance, for which we will always be grateful.

Judy and I met in college in 1962 and were married in 1965. Judy worked. I studied. I graduated with an MBA in 1966 and joined Goldman Sachs in the summer of that year. It was the beginning of a fifty-year career in the world of finance; becoming a partner and co-head of the equity division at Goldman Sachs, co-founding Granite Capital International Group, becoming a senior advisor at KKR and establishing Ironhill Investments LLC. In addition to business, I have always had an intense interest and involvement in politics, government service, and philanthropy.

There are certain events, that like shifting Tectonic plates, significantly alter the course of one's life.

In 1994 Governor Christine Todd Whitman appointed me to serve as commissioner to the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey, and in 1995 the Board of Commissioners elected me Chairman.

As Chairman, I led policy decisions that deepened our ports; refurbished our bridges and tunnels; initiated trains running to and from our airports; and witnessed

a police force of 1,500 reduce crime in our region and protect our transportation assets. The agency ran on budget with excellent bond ratings, and included a team of 7,200 professionals. My leadership role of this bi-state agency allowed me to regularly negotiate with unions, cities, towns and, of course, between the states of New York and New Jersey. I have never worked with a more dedicated or professional organization.

In the late summer of 2001, under the direction of Governor George Pataki of New York, I led the agency's successful negotiations for the sale of the World Trade Center. At the time, the \$3 billion plus real estate transaction was the largest in New York history. I was due to leave that position on September 12, 2001. On September 10th, my office on the 67th floor of Tower One was arranged for a goodbye celebration the following morning.

On the morning of September 11, 2001, I made an unexpected stop to meet someone for a quick cup of coffee in midtown Manhattan. As I left my meeting, I was greeted by Port Authority police officers who informed me that the World Trade Center Towers had been struck by not one, but two commercial airliners. I immediately knew we had "been attacked." The buildings would come down and, of course, I learned the Pentagon had been hit and of the crash of United #93 in Shanksville, Pennsylvania.

The shock of the loss of thousands of lives and the nature and extent of these tragedies was hard—very hard—to comprehend. More than 3,000 lost. Our homeland was hit. The world forever changed.

For the next ninety days, I led an agency so deeply wounded by events, attending many funerals, sometimes three a day, and reacting to daily crises.

Many days I commuted from our Jersey City headquarters to Ground Zero—referred to by many in those harrowing weeks as "the pile"—where I was but a spectator amidst heroes. We worked and we grieved. We lost 84 dedicated colleagues, including our executive director, Neil Levin, the secretary of the agency, Danny Bergstein and our superintendent of police, Fred Morrone.

In January of 2002, New York Governor George Pataki appointed me as a founding board member of the Lower Manhattan Development Corporation (LMDC) and

Chairman of the 9/11 Families and Transportation Advisory Councils—the most demanding and heart-wrenching challenge I ever had.

In departing the LMDC in 2003, I pledged to the people of the Port Authority, the grieving families and to my wife, children and grandchildren that I would, at every opportunity, dedicate myself to the service of our country.

Today, as I sit before you, my commitment remains. U.S. cooperation with Italy is at an all-time high, as demonstrated in May when President Trump made his visit to Rome a centerpiece of his first trip abroad. We are also working with Italy as G-7 President and a member of the UN Security Council to advance our shared priorities.

As a top global partner, Italy has been a leader in the NATO-led missions in Afghanistan and in the fight against ISIS in Iraq. In both countries, Italy has committed the most troops of any U.S. ally. Italy also hosts nearly 30,000 U.S. service members, DoD officials, and family members at bases that allow us to operate effectively and efficiently across the Mediterranean, the Middle East, and Africa.

If confirmed, I look forward to further strengthening our security cooperation, and working with Italy to continue increasing its defense spending consistent with NATO leaders' commitment.

Italy is also a vital economic partner for the United States. U.S. exports to Italy and Italian investment in the United States together support over a quarter-million American jobs. If confirmed, I will work to increase opportunities for U.S. businesses in Italy.

Of course, it is the lasting bonds between our peoples that form the bedrock of the U.S.-Italy friendship. In addition to the 20 million Americans who trace their ancestry to Italy, over a million Italians continue to visit the United States each year, and more than four million Americans travel to Italy—including over 35,000 U.S. students.

If confirmed, I will work to sustain our countries' historic ties and expand these meaningful connections. I will also dedicate myself to continue our cooperation with the Republic of San Marino, whose friendship with the United States dates back to 1861, when San Marino's heads of state bestowed honorary citizenship on President Abraham Lincoln. Today, our two countries are working together on critical challenges like combatting money laundering and terrorist financing.

The staff of the U.S. Mission to Italy—across our embassy and three consulates general—works tirelessly to serve American citizens, promote

American business, and advance our cooperation on the full range of top global challenges. If confirmed, I look forward to leading this extraordinary team.

I have had the opportunity to visit Italy over the years on business and pleasure, with my wife, enjoying the beauty of the country. Italy has always occupied a place in our hearts and memories. The warmth and spirit of the Italian people, as in America, is founded on faith in God, love of country, and an abiding love in family. If confirmed, I will strive to continue our cooperative relationships with Italy and San Marino, strengthen our economic, security, history, and friendship. It would be one of the greatest honors of my life. Thank you for your consideration.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you for those touching comments and your desire to serve in this capacity.

Ms. McFarland?

**STATEMENT OF KATHLEEN TROIA McFARLAND OF NEW YORK,
TO BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENI-
POTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE
REPUBLIC OF SINGAPORE**

Ms. McFARLAND. Thank you so much.

And, Lew, thank you so much for sharing all of that with all of us. We were all someplace September 11th, and the fact that you were where you were has made our lives a lot better, so thank you.

And thank you, Chairman Corker, Ranking Member Cardin, and members of the committee for the honor of addressing you and testifying before you for the nomination to be the Ambassador to Singapore.

I would like to thank my friend Joe Lieberman for his very kind introduction, and for the family friendship that spans over half a century. Senator Lieberman is a man of integrity, enormous ability,

and true patriotism. He is also a man that encourages us all to be better people, and we are all the better for having him in our lives.

I am also deeply humbled by Dr. Henry Kissinger's letter, which Senator Lieberman referred to, Dr. Kissinger endorsing my nomination to serve in this position. He has been a boss, a mentor, and a friend for decades, beginning with my first job as a freshman at George Washington University in 1970 and continuing through my years at Oxford and MIT, the Reagan administration, while I was in cable news, and then coming full circle when I joined the Trump administration in the very same West Wing office that I had started working in 45 years before.

I am also thankful for that very strong endorsement from the President's current National Security Adviser, General H.R. McMaster, who sent a letter to all of you. He is a man of great intellect and strategic vision.

I would also like to thank Secretary Tillerson for the opportunity to work with him and the very able people at the State Department and at Embassy Singapore.

But most importantly, I would like to thank President Trump for believing in me and selecting me for not just one, but two, of the most important positions in his administration.

But I would not be here today without the encouragement of John McCain, because in 2005, the two of us stood in the rain outside the Naval Academy football stadium and he encouraged me to get back into public life and to run for office. So I think all of us wish him and his wonderful family Godspeed, frankly, as he slays yet another dragon.

If I am confirmed, I would not be able to take on this new responsibility were it not for the support of my very large family, my husband of 33 years, Alan McFarland; our five children, Andrew, Gavin, Fiona, Luke, and Camilla; daughter-in-law, Gretchen; son-in-law Matt Melton; our five grandchildren, Arabel, Alasdair, Lachlan, Louisa, and Gigi, almost all of who are sitting right behind me.

If I am confirmed, I also would not presume to take on the responsibility without the support of Embassy Singapore. It is home to some 19 government agencies, and especially to the extraordinarily talented and dedicated Foreign Service Officers who serve there. The men and women of Embassy Singapore are the very best of the best. And I would consider it an honor if you allow me to serve with them.

So, why Singapore? Three reasons.

First, our economic relationship is robust. We have had a bilateral trade agreement since 2004, and it is the first such agreement we have had in Asia. The U.S. has a healthy trade surplus of nearly \$20 billion in goods and services. U.S. businesses invest over \$180 billion in Singapore, twice as much as we invest in China, five times as much as we invest in India. And 4,200 American businesses have headquarters in Singapore. More than 30,000 Americans live there.

Second, we have a close security relationship. When America closed our bases in the Philippines in 1990, Singapore stepped up to make its facilities available to us. In 1990, we signed the U.S.-Singapore Memorandum of Understanding, which was expanded by

two follow-on agreements since then. Today, our Poseidon P-8 aircraft operating out of Singapore. Our littoral combat ships rotate out of Changi Naval Base.

And in fact, the USS Coronado, one of the Navy's newest littoral combat ships, is currently in Singapore Harbor, and my daughter, sitting right behind me, Lieutenant Fiona McFarland, was one of the sailors that took the Coronado from its construction in the shipyard through its sea trials and its commissioning into the fleet.

And third, we have a lot in common. We are both melting pot nations where people of different races and cultures and religions have come together to create a meritocracy and a democracy. Our free-market economies are innovative, dynamic, entrepreneurial.

But even so, we urge them to go further in their human rights agenda. We urge them to continue their efforts to curb human trafficking, building on their adoption in 2015 of the Prevention of Human Trafficking Act. And we urge them to expand their political freedoms, freedom of speech, assembly, and a free press.

And, Senator Cardin, I listened to your remarks, and I agree with them, and I know the power of the bully pulpit.

And on March 30, 1981, Ronald Reagan spoke to the AFL-CIO here in Washington. And in that speech, he added a couple sentences, talking to the people in Poland. There were Polish dockworkers who were trying to organize, trying to strike, under their leader, Lech Walesa.

President Reagan made a few comments, made a few sentences, and nobody remembered them, because within a few minutes, he was shot and narrowly survived an assassination attempt.

But the Polish people heard him. And years later, when the Iron Curtain came down and the Polish people were free, Lech Walesa, the first President of Poland, said that what kept him going and what kept them going in their darkest moments of taking on the communist empire were the words of President Reagan and others, the encouragement he gave them to keep going to demand their rights.

And so I understand the power of what you are saying, and I would hope that, were I confirmed, I would be able to speak out and use the bully pulpit in the same kind of way. Thank you.

So if the Senate does confirm my nomination, I see my job as the steward of all aspects of that close relationship with Singapore. It is a security relationship, because they stand at the entrance to the South China Sea. It is an economic relationship, because it is the gateway between East and West. And I would do so as the chief proponent of American values.

I look forward to answering your questions today. And if I am confirmed as Ambassador to Singapore, I will look forward to working with all the members of this committee, as well as within the administration, to advance our interests. Thank you.

[Ms. McFarland's prepared statement follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF K.T. MCFARLAND

Thank you, Chairman Corker, Ranking Member Cardin, and members of the committee for the honor of allowing me to testify before you here today as the nominee to become the United States Ambassador to Singapore.

I'd like to first thank Senator Lieberman for that very kind introduction, and for our family friendship that spans over half a century. Senator Lieberman is a man

of integrity, enormous ability and true patriotism. He is also a man that encourages us all to be better people, and we are all the better for having him in our lives.

I am also deeply humbled by Dr. Henry Kissinger's letter of endorsement for my nomination to serve in this position—he has been a boss, mentor and friend for decades, beginning with my first job in Washington, when I was a freshman at George Washington University in 1970. It continued through my years at Oxford and MIT, during the Reagan administration, while I was in cable news and coming full circle when I joined the Trump administration—in the same West Wing office that I had started working in 45 years before.

I am also thankful for the strong endorsement from the President's National Security Adviser, General H.R. McMaster, most my recent boss. He is a man of great intellect and strategic vision. I would also like to thank Secretary Tillerson for the opportunity to work with him and the very able people at the State Department and at Embassy Singapore.

But most importantly, I would like to thank President Trump for believing in me, and for selecting me for not just one, but two, of the most important positions in his administration, first as Deputy National Security Adviser, and now as nominee for Ambassador to Singapore.

If I am confirmed, I would not be able to take on this new responsibility of moving halfway around the world to promote America's interests, were it not for the support of my very large family, including my husband, our five children, their spouses and our five grandchildren. My husband Alan, and our five children Andrew Gavin, Fiona, Luke and Camilla. Daughter in law Gretchen and son-in-law Matt Melton our five grandchildren Arabel, Alasdair, Lachlan, Louisa and Gigi.

And if confirmed, I would not dare take on this heavy responsibility without the support of Embassy Singapore, home to some 19 government agencies, and especially to the extraordinarily talented and dedicated Foreign Service Officers who serve there. The men and women of this Mission are the very best of the best. I would consider it an honor to serve with them.

So, why Singapore? Three reasons:

First, our economic relationship is robust. We have had a bilateral Free Trade Agreement since 2004, our first such agreement with an Asian country. The US has a healthy trade surplus of nearly \$20 billion in goods and services with Singapore. 215,000 American jobs are supported by our trade with Singapore. US businesses invest over 180 billion dollars in Singapore, twice as much as we invest in China and five times our investment in India. 4,200 US business are headquartered in Singapore, and more than 30,000 Americans live there.

Second, we have close security relationship. When America closed our bases in the Philippines in the 1990s, Singapore stepped up to make its facilities available to the US Navy. In 1990 we signed the U.S.-Singapore Memorandum of Understanding, which was expanded by follow-on agreements in the years since. Today our Poseidon P-8 aircraft operate out of Singapore. Our Littoral Combat ships rotate out of Changi Naval base. In fact, the USS Coronado, one of the Navy's newest Littoral Combat ships, is currently in Singapore—my daughter Navy Lt Fiona McFarland was one of the sailors that took the Coronado from its construction in the shipyard, through its sea trials, and its commissioning into the Fleet.

Singaporean pilots train with American pilots, Singaporean sailors join programs with our sailors, our militaries train together, our intelligence, homeland security and law enforcement communities share information and best practices.

Singapore was the first Asian nation to join the Global Coalition Against ISIS. When Secretary Tillerson asked me to chair the 68-nation ministerial earlier this year, I met with Singapore's foreign minister. We discussed our common threats: the spread of radical Islam, North Korean nuclear proliferation and competing territorial claims on the South China Sea.

Third, we have a lot in common. We're both melting pot societies where people of different races, cultures and religions have come together to create a meritocracy, and democracy. Our free market economies are innovative, dynamic and entrepreneurial. We're at the cutting edge of technology and the digital age. Our nations have been beacons of stability and prosperity—and an important example of what can be accomplished through hard work, the rule of law and economic freedom.

Even so, we urge them to go further with human rights agenda. We urge them to continue their efforts to curb human trafficking, building on their adoption in 2015 of the Prevention of Human Trafficking Act. We also urge them to expand their political freedoms, freedom of speech, assembly and a free press.

But the Singapore's value to the United States is more than just our bilateral relationship, strong as it may be. I'm a New Yorker where one of the first rules is location, location, location. Despite its small size—Singapore is about four times the size of Washington, DC, or about the size of NYC without Staten Island—Singapore

sits astride one of the most important geostrategically important locations in the world. It is the economic gateway between East and West as one of the world's most important trade routes—on the Malacca straits. It is the world's largest trans-shipment port.

Singapore is also the security gateway between East and West as the entrance to the South China Sea.

The world's diplomatic chessboard is being rearranged. Economic growth will increasingly come from Asia, especially Southeast Asia. North Korea is on the verge of becoming a nuclear weapons state that will threaten not just Northeast Asia but South Asia as well, and even the US. China is building a blue water navy and flexing its military muscles up and down the Asia Pacific. It seeks to disrupt our relationships with many Asian nations as it lures them into China's orbit. Radical Islamic elements—including terrorists fleeing the crumbling Islamic State—are moving to other parts of the world, including the Asia Pacific region. With each of these security issues, the strength of the U.S.-Singapore relationship will be instrumental to our success.

If the Senate does confirm my nomination, I see my job as the steward of all aspects of our close relationship with Singapore: as the chief commercial officer in promotion of U.S.-Singapore trade; as the chief security officer in maintaining the close U.S.-Singapore security and law enforcement relationship; as the chief proponent of American values; and as the President's personal representative to one of America's most important partners in the region if not the world.

I look forward to answering your questions today, and if confirmed as Ambassador to Singapore, I will work with the members of this committee to advance America's interests. Thank you for taking the time to consider my nomination. I look forward to answering any questions you may have.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Without objection, the two letters you referred to will be entered into the record.

[The information referred to is located at the end of this hearing transcript on pages 488–90.]

The CHAIRMAN. I am personally struck by the deep sense of duty that all of you have, your desire to serve our country, and look forward to your confirmation.

I am going to defer my questions and save that time for interjections down the road and, with that, turn to Senator Cardin.

Senator CARDIN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I want to join you. Each of you have an impressive background, and your testimonies here today have been very much in keeping with the impressive backgrounds that you have.

Mr. Eisenberg, I want to first thank you for your testimony. When we think we have tough days here, I am going to recall your eyewitness testimony about 9/11 and recognize exactly why we are fighting so hard for the security of our country. So thank you for sharing that. That was inspirational to all of us.

Mr. EISENBERG. Thank you, Senator Cardin.

Senator CARDIN. Ms. McFarland, I thank you for your response in regard to American values and reminding us of some of the great moments in American history where our leaders have stood up to oppression and stood up to countries that have proposed policies that are contrary to universal values.

And you are right. Singapore is a small country. It is an important country. It is one of the economic powers. It is the gateway to the China Seas, which is very important for national security. It is a democratic country. But it is a country that does not protect the human rights of its citizens against discrimination. It is a country that does not do well with freedom of the press. And it is a country where America's spokesperson, our Ambassador, can fur-

ther the hopes of people of Singapore who want to see their country protect these rights.

So I thank you for the statement you made. I am satisfied by your response and just want to let you know that you have support on both sides of the aisle to reinforce American values in Singapore and elsewhere. Of course, the region in which you are going to be operating, there are countries that are problematic when it comes to basic values. So you are going to be operating in an area that your mission there, working with other U.S. missions, can very much further U.S. values.

I will be checking in with you and all of the Ambassadors about how we are proceeding on American values, what specifically you have done in regard to your speeches, in regard to people you meet with, in regard to the priorities that you supervise with the people that are there to advance American values. So I look forward to that.

You have a very impressive background. I am going to be asking some questions for the record, but I am going to give you a chance here to respond to one of the statements you made, and it was made in 2013. This is before Russia invaded Ukraine, certainly before they interfered in our elections.

And you said that Mr. Putin is one who really deserves the Nobel Peace Prize. I hope your views are not the same today, but I wanted to give you a chance to respond to that.

Ms. MCFARLAND. Senator, thank you, first of all, for the very kind words, and thank you also for the chance to set this record straight and to put that into context.

Now I regret that it was a little tongue-in-cheek, but at the time, President Obama had laid a redline down on Syria's use of chemical weapons against its civilian population and was either unable or unwilling to carry out that redline. When Secretary Kerry said that perhaps if Syria were to give up its chemical weapons, we would think differently, the Russians stepped forward and said they would like to help broker that deal.

Secretary Kerry, the Russian Foreign Minister, and the Syrians got together. They agreed that Russian would take the lead to dismantle Syria's chemical weapons program.

We now flash forward to today. They were either unable to do it or they were unwilling to do it, and Putin deserves no prize for that. In fact, when I entered the Trump administration, one of the first crises we faced was there were the Syrians again, using chemical weapons against women and children.

So I, certainly, feel that, as you pointed out, the invasion of Ukraine and the other things that the Russians have done, perhaps with President Putin's personal direction, I have a very different opinion today.

Senator CARDIN. Thank you for clarifying that.

Senator Hutchison, I want to pivot to Russian and the problems that we are going to have. Clearly, Ukraine is continuously under attack by Russia. We know that there is a continuing presence in Georgia and Moldova.

What can NATO do, working with those countries, in order to shore up their capacity to deal with the aggression of Russia?

Senator HUTCHISON. Well, it is one of NATO's prime focuses, the aggression of Russia in Ukraine, of course, Georgia as well.

And I would say, first of all, the European Reassurance Initiative is an effort to strengthen the areas that are most vulnerable, where we have four battle groups now, one in each of the Baltic states plus Poland, and the United States is leading in the one in Poland. And Canada is leading as well. U.K. is leading as well. And Romania in the other three. So I think we are beefing up defenses for an aggressive Russia.

And secondly, I am pleased that the administration has sent to Kurt Volker over to Ukraine now as a special envoy, because I think that attention to the whole Russian aggression in Ukraine is so important.

And as NATO has said, there is not going to be business as usual with Russia as long as they violate the agreement they made in Minsk, which is regarding Ukraine.

Senator CARDIN. I just want to point out that we hope that, within a matter of days, we are going to pass legislation through both the House and Senate in regard to Russia that includes a NATO-like commitment to unify on the misinformation attacks that Russia is doing in Europe and their use of the Internet. So we are trying to give you additional tools, working with our NATO partners, to share best information and practices against the aggression of Russia.

Ms. MCFARLAND. And I think that Congress is doing the right thing to put those sanctions in place. I know there are some disagreements on some of the language, and everyone is working to make sure that it does not have unintended consequences. I think it is very important.

And that is also an initiative that was made in the May 25th meeting of the heads of state of NATO, that there would be more of a focus on this hybrid warfare, the use of Russian cyberwarfare to interfere with several democracies within our alliance. And that is a focus of NATO, and I think your bill and the inclusion of that language will give us more strength.

Senator CARDIN. We will use your endorsement in the House to try to get it passed.

Thank you, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. I think it will happen very soon.

Senator Young?

Senator YOUNG. Thank you, Chairman.

I want to thank all our nominees. We have, from my perspective, a very competent, qualified panel of distinguished individuals, who I think will serve this country well.

Ms. Hutchison, I enjoyed our visit and would like to continue our conversation we began in the office about the INF Treaty.

In July 2014, 3 years ago, our Department of State issued a report that said the following: The United States has determined that the Russian Federation is in violation of its obligations under the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty not to possess, produce, or flight test a ground-launched cruise missile with a range capability of 500 to 5,550 kilometers, or to possess or produce launchers of such missiles.

Now State has issued its latest report in April of this year against certifying that Russia "continued to be in violation of its obligations under the treaty."

While Russia has been developing and testing the missile in question for years, on March 8 of this year, General Selva, who is the vice chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, as you know, testified that Russia deliberately deployed it in order to pose a threat to NATO and to facilities within the NATO area of responsibility.

So my question to you is this. Given this threat to our troops in Europe and our NATO allies, as the nominee to serve as our Ambassador to NATO, do you believe we should take tangible and urgent steps to ensure Russia does not gain military advantage based on this treaty? Should we compel Russia to comply with the treaty?

Senator HUTCHISON. Absolutely. We should reinforce our efforts to get Russia to comply with the treaty, and it is the position of the American Defense Department, State Department, that Russia is in violation.

We are consulting with our allies. There are many views about what should be done to continue to encourage and push the Russians to meet this agreement.

But I will say, Senator Young, that we are also beefing up defenses, and we have ballistic missile defense capabilities that are within the treaty that we have signed, INF. Well, we did not, but the treaty. We are complying with it.

And our efforts to build up our missile defense in several countries in the alliance also are a signal to Russia that we are serious about this treaty.

Senator YOUNG. I am encouraged to hear that the pressure campaign will ratchet up and will continue and, no doubt, evolve. I will look forward to continuing to work with you, assuming you are confirmed, which I believe you will be.

This is a good segue, the latter part of your response to my question.

The INF is it two-part treaty. It is United States. It is Russia. But Russia is not complying. So it has become a one-sided treaty, which defeats the whole idea of a treaty, in a sense.

So meanwhile, according to the Commander of the Pacific Command in April, over 90 percent of land-based missile forces in China's arsenal fall within this range that is prohibited under the INF Treaty. Now, China is not a party to this treaty, but the point here is that the world has changed since the INF Treaty was signed in 1987.

It begs the question, if Russia fails to return to compliance with the treaty, without delay, do you believe that we should withdraw from the treaty?

Senator HUTCHISON. That is something that has to be, from the NATO standpoint, a consensus. Some of our allies are concerned that a withdrawal would make Russia more aggressive.

I think we have to consult. I know the State Department and the Defense Department are looking at what are our best efforts to apply what leverage we have for Russia to comply, and I think we have to look at all the factors before that decision is made.

Senator YOUNG. That is a fair answer. It is a complicated question.

Senator HUTCHISON. It is hard.

Senator YOUNG. We will have to continue to work through this, and I hope you will keep the committee informed as these assessments continue.

Senator HUTCHISON. Of course. They will be, I am sure, on everyone's mind. Thank you.

Senator YOUNG. I would just like to end here.

Ms. Craft, congratulations to you. I have little doubt that you will serve with distinction in this new role.

I am going to perform a task, since you did invoke the Kentucky-Indiana rivalry. I see Coach Calipari behind you, for whom I have great respect. But consider this a diplomatic test. [Laughter.]

Senator YOUNG. I am going to play a very brief audio clip, and this audio clip is from December 10, 2011. And I would just like to get a response. [Audio presentation.]

Senator YOUNG. You can respond in writing, if you prefer. [Laughter.]

Senator YOUNG. I suspect I will be hearing from thousands of Kentucky residents as well.

I have nothing else, Mr. Chairman. Thank you for indulging me.

Ms. CRAFT. Thank you, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. I believe that is a first.

Senator Menendez?

Senator MENENDEZ. Mr. Chairman, I have a procedural comment, and that is that the breadth and scope of the nominees and the countries and institutions for which they have been nominated makes it impossible in 5 minutes to pursue the issues I certainly want to. I do not know how others feel.

So to the extent that there is the opportunity for second round, I would urge you. And if not, I am going to be looking for very substantive answers to questions for the record, in order to be able to determine to move forward with the nominees.

The CHAIRMAN. I would be glad to accommodate both.

Senator MENENDEZ. Thank you.

Congratulations to all of you.

Senator Hutchison, it is good to see you again.

Two quick questions. Do you believe NATO is obsolete? And secondly, do we have an unequivocal commitment to Article 5, in your view?

Senator HUTCHISON. Absolutely. The President has come to see that NATO is important.

Senator MENENDEZ. Which one is absolute? Which one is absolute, my first question?

Senator HUTCHISON. The commitment to Article 5.

Well, first of all, NATO is not obsolete, and I think the President has acknowledged that he, after meeting with many of the Defense—including General Mattis' appointment to the Department of Defense, with Rex Tillerson, the Secretary of State, and with Secretary General Stoltenberg, I think the President realized immediately that it is an important and successful alliance.

He has made the commitment, of course, to America's support of Article 5, and so has the Vice President, the Secretary of Defense, and the Secretary of State.

Senator MENENDEZ. Your role in asserting that will be very important, and I appreciate your service.

Senator HUTCHISON. Absolutely.

Senator MENENDEZ. Ms. McFarland, judgment in a United States Ambassador is incredibly important, so I know that Senator Cardin lightly talked with you about your suggestion at one point that Putin is the one who really deserves a Nobel Peace Prize.

But I look at a regime that actually bombs indiscriminately citizens in Syria, that obviously either did not have the ability or actually, I believe, had the complicity to allow the Syrians to go ahead and continue with their chemical weapons.

I look at some of your other comments that have been made in the past.

On Islam, terrorism, the people of the Middle East: "Look, they're Arabs. They're not going to say to your face something they know is going to upset you."

On waterboarding: "Even if it's torture, it's probably worth doing."

On President Obama: "To me, it's a dereliction of duty. What was this president doing? Well, he was playing a lot of golf this summer"—that sounds very familiar to what is going on this summer—"but he clearly was not attending to the defense of the United States."

And I could go on and on.

When you are, if confirmed, going to a country that is critically important in the South China Sea, how we deal with that issue, who has questions on human trafficking, who also has a significant population that is part of our challenge in the world, can you tell me that your judgment is better than the comments that you have made in the past?

Ms. MCFARLAND. Thank you very much for that question, Senator Menendez.

I think it is important, for me, anyway, to think of this as a different kind of position. In the past, when I have been a media commentator, it was to draw certain points and perhaps points drawn very sharply. As an ambassador, if I am confirmed, it is a diplomatic mission. It is to take direction from the Secretary of State and the President, and what their positions are, the United States Government positions.

I would feel that that is the image I want to project.

As far as representing American values and judgment and the whole world of an ambassador in promoting American interests and the American way of life and America's core values, those I would promote absolutely.

You know, America is a big tent. We have a big roof. And I would welcome all under my roof.

Senator MENENDEZ. A United States Ambassador must represent that entirety.

Ms. MCFARLAND. Absolutely.

Senator MENENDEZ. Let me ask you, if you were to be confirmed, how would you work to ensure that Singapore and the United States work productively to address tensions and seek common interests in the South China Sea, particularly at a time that Singa-

pore continues to think about its balance of its interests between China and the United States?

Ms. MCFARLAND. It is a topic that I have actually discussed with the Singapore Foreign Minister when he was in Washington, the greater topic of not only the U.S.-Singapore security relationship but the South China Sea, and what does that represent?

Singapore has said that on any of these contested islands, these militarized, contested islands, that international law should prevail. It has also said that it is in a neighborhood where they have to recognize the interests of all of the countries.

The fact that they have allowed us and, in fact, embraced us, to have rotational deployment of our aircraft, our military vessels, in the various Singapore naval bases I think is an indication that they want to work with us.

Our sailors train together. They buy their military equipment from the United States. And so it is a security relationship that I would, if I am confirmed, would want to not only endorse as it is now but strengthen it.

Senator MENENDEZ. My question, maybe unartfully phrased, is that, how will you help tilt that balancing that they are doing between China and the United States in our favor?

Ms. MCFARLAND. The Singaporean Government, because we have a lot of the shared values, not all share values, but the shared values of a democracy and the rule of law, they have indicated, in many ways, that they value our relationship and do not want us to leave.

One of the things that I think is so important, and why I was interested in Singapore for myself, as somebody who has spent a lot of time studying Asia, is because I look at not just Singapore but that entire region as critical to American national security. They are the swing states.

And if Singapore and the others, if they conclude that we are not interested in being an Indo-Asia-Pacific power, if America is a Nation in decline—as often the Chinese are encouraging them to say, we are the rising power, America is a declining power. And so a lot of the importance of the mission that I would have, it is not just the normal bilateral relationship, but also encouraging them to believe that we are there. We take this region seriously.

The fact that Singapore is going to be the chairman in 2018 of ASEAN, that they want to take ASEAN the direction of cyber technology, cybertheft, cyber defense. That is something that we could encourage with them. They have said that, as they are looking for a cyber partner, they look to the United States, not others.

So I think that there are opportunities there to increase that security relationship with them, and I would hope that that would be one of my primary missions, is not only the economic interests that we have not Singapore but the strategic interests.

It is the gateway to the South China Sea, which is a military trade route as well as an economic trade route, but it is also a security route.

Senator MENENDEZ. Mr. Chairman, I do not want my fellow New Jerseyans to think I am ignoring them, but since my time has expired, if you do have a second round, I have a series of questions for the other candidates.

The CHAIRMAN. Absolutely. Thank you, sir.
Senator Rubio?

Senator RUBIO. Thank you all for being here.

Ms. CRAFT, let me begin, as you know, President Trump intends to conduct negotiations to modernize NAFTA. What do you see as your role in that modernization negotiation?

Ms. CRAFT. Thank you for your question, Senator Rubio. Twenty-three years ago, when NAFTA was signed, there were so many aspects of the economy that were not yet conceptualized. And not being confirmed, I have not had a role in writing any of the policies.

However, if confirmed, I am looking forward to working closely with Ambassador Lighthizer and Secretary of Commerce Ross to promote the priorities for the NAFTA negotiations.

Senator RUBIO. Mr. Johnson, as you know, as I shared with you yesterday, because of my lifelong being a fan of the Miami Dolphins, support for your nomination due to your relationship with the New York Jets is painful and difficult, but I am willing to do it for the good of the country.

I will, however, say that I think you and I agree that the country would be well-served if a certain Thomas Brady of Massachusetts were nominated Ambassador of Brazil. [Laughter.]

Senator RUBIO. Perhaps that could be arranged before September of this year. [Laughter.]

Mr. JOHNSON. I am glad we got that out.

Senator RUBIO. I do not know why people are laughing. I am very serious about that. [Laughter.]

Senator RUBIO. I see that Senator Markey is not here to object, and Senator Shaheen, so I think we can get this done.

Now, the U.S.-U.K. relationship, what do you feel—obviously, is it very closely link, historic. Our security, I do not know that there is a rival to it, in terms of relationship between the United States and the United Kingdom.

What do you see as the most important issue today in our bilateral relationship?

Mr. JOHNSON. Well, if I look at that relationship from a macro standpoint, it is preserving and protecting and enhancing that relationship, which has been very valuable to the U.S. for a long time, going back to World War II. But actually, going back—it was coined World War II by Winston Churchill. But it was a relationship that is really going back even further than that.

It is one based on trust and working together through thick and thin for many, many decades. The security relationship is fundamental to that, and that is based on trust and confidence, and sharing information and gathering information, being very innovative to the task at hand, which keeps changing. The world is getting more complicated with cyber and various types of terrorism that are occurring now. So it is challenging us to be innovative and creative and working together even stronger.

So this will continue to be an important relationship, very important.

Senator RUBIO. Mr. Eisenberg, as I said, I am proud to have introduced you today. We have known each other for a while. I think above all else, you can confirm that, unlike New York and New

Jersey, it does not snow in Florida in December and January. Just a plug.

But I will say this. I want to ask you this, because this is often not pointed out. Italy has the eighth largest economy in the world, in essence, a \$2 trillion GDP. It is basically the equivalent of the Russian economy, which receives an extraordinary amount of attention. But also, I think, it is a testament to their capabilities.

So I would ask if you are prepared to commit to press our Italian partners to increase their defense spending as part of their obligations to our treaty alliance through NATO. They certainly have the capability to do it. I think among friends and allies, that is a point that has been stressed by multiple administrations. There has been a lot made of this administration's insistence on that. But you go back in the record, you will see multiple Presidents have made the same request.

We do not mean this in an adversarial way, obviously, toward our partners in Italy, but at \$2 trillion, that is a significant economy with the capability to contribute to our mutual defense.

And so I would just ask for your commitment that we would continue to further what has been not just this administration's position, but what they agreed to do and what multiple administrations before us have asked of our partners as well.

Mr. EISENBERG. Of course, my answer to that is I will continue to strive to have Italy take up a greater portion of the expense for defense.

But I would like to note that, as we speak, Italy is defending the Mediterranean that is now experiencing probably the most dramatic immigration and refugee problem in Europe. They had 180,000 depart from Libya last year with a significant amount of casualties, and are incurring great and unusual expense.

That number is being exceeded this year. They will probably take in over 200,000. And they are retaining, within Italy, in a very humane way, monitoring trafficking, with our help and support, almost 90 percent of that immigration and refugee problem, while at the same time, they maintain 30,000 U.S. troops on five distinct military bases. They have the second largest commitment in both Iraq and Afghanistan of troops on the ground.

So in many ways, their efforts and what they have achieved is quite meaningful. They have committed as recently as the G-7, and I think afterward at a meeting between the Prime Minister and the President here, that they would continue to honor their agreement to move to the NATO requirement of 2 percent by 2024. And they have moved in that direction meaningfully in the last year.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, sir.

Senator Kaine?

Senator Kaine. Thank you, Mr. Chair.

Congratulations to each of the witnesses. These are very important relationships.

I want to start with Ms. Craft, just quickly. I am going to be with some great Kentuckians tomorrow. My wife is from Wise County, she and her family on her dad's side, which is right across the border, I think, from Harlan, Letcher County, and Pike County.

And tomorrow and over the weekend, there is an amazing event that is called the Remote Access Medical Clinic, where people who do not have health insurance gather from all over the Southeast of the United States to get free treatment from volunteer doctors and nurses. It is an amazingly uplifting event because of the hundreds of volunteers, many from Kentucky and Virginia and elsewhere. And it is an amazingly heartbreaking event.

Every time I go, and I have been going since 2002 to work the registration table, it reminds me of when I was a missionary in Honduras, and that was the way that health care was done in that country, which is the second poorest country in the Americas. And to see it right in my own Commonwealth, it is heartbreaking.

But the valor of the Kentuckians who participate will be a really impressive thing, and I am looking forward to being with them tomorrow.

Kay Bailey, congratulations. I am so excited you are the nominee. I will be real blunt. My oldest was deployed with the European Reassurance Initiative on the border with Russia last year, and when he was there doing an exercise with Lithuania and others, Russia was engaged in cyberattacking our election, Russia was engaged in an amazing effort to cyberattack an election in Montenegro, and their Plan B was to assassinate the Prime Minister, assassinate opposition leaders, all to try to keep Montenegro out of NATO.

Russia is engaged now in activities in Lithuania to destabilize NATO exercises that are happening there.

Watching that going on, and, frankly, I was very, very worried in the early days of this administration to hear the President basically suggest that Russia was not doing anything wrong, but also to say that NATO was obsolete when the entire 1,200 members of my son's battalion were deployed there in harm's way doing work that I thought was important.

Your nomination sends a signal that the NATO relationship is an important one. I do not think the administration would have asked somebody of your qualification if they did not mean to send a signal that, whatever the earlier statements or thoughts about NATO, there is now a commitment.

And as you shared with me yesterday, if you wondered whether there was a commitment to the seriousness of the relationship, you would not have accepted the nomination.

So I am very, very happy to see you before this committee, and I am very anxious to get you confirmed as quickly as we can, because I think this is incredibly important.

To Ms. McFarland, Senator Menendez asked you some questions about statements. It is a little bit of a burden being a commenter. You comment sharply, and your statements are mostly self-explanatory. But there was one that I was curious about.

When there was press around your earlier position on the National Security Council, one of the things that was often mentioned in accounts that I was curious about, because it was never a quote from you, so I do not even know if it was accurate, is that you were in favor of the Brexit vote. You approved and were happy about the outcome of the Brexit vote.

I was just curious if that was accurate reporting. And given that we have a U.K. Ambassador nominee and will have an EU nominee before us soon, I was curious, if that is true, what did you think was positive about that vote?

Ms. MCFARLAND. I do not specifically remember saying it in those terms, but at the time, I said that—the important thing is for the British people to decide what they want to do. I do not think it is for anybody to tell them what to do, and was encouraged by the fact that the British people, in a very large percentage and large numbers, were taking it on their own authority to make a decision.

Senator KAINE. So you did not have a personal opinion yourself about whether the removal of the U.K. from the European Union was a good thing or a bad thing?

Ms. MCFARLAND. I do remember making the statement that—and, again, I do not want to—I know this is an important issue. I do not want to speak off the top of my head. But I did say something along the lines that, if the British do choose to do that on their own, that that might present opportunities for them in bilateral trade agreements with the United States or other relationships.

Senator KAINE. I do not want to catch you flatfooted on this, either, so I may ask that in writing—

Ms. MCFARLAND. Sure.

Senator KAINE [continuing]. With a reference, and have you follow up on that.

Thank you, Mr. Chair.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator.

Senator Paul?

Senator PAUL. Congratulations to all of you for your nominations. As a proud father of two Kentucky Wildcats, particular congratulations to my fellow Kentuckian, Kelly Knight.

And sometimes when we put things forward, we do not get the whole truth. And so we heard a little bit from the Senator from Indiana about a particular game in 2011. [Laughter.]

Senator PAUL. But I think there was a rematch later in the NCAA finals. Do you remember who won the rematch?

Ms. KNIGHT. Of course. The Kentucky Wildcats.

Senator PAUL. And then do you remember who were the national champions that year?

Ms. KNIGHT. The Kentucky Wildcats.

Senator PAUL. The Kentucky Wildcats. Absolutely. But I think we have set the record straight there.

I have a little bit more of a serious sort of point, and then maybe we will see if we get a response.

I think it is important that we remember that the State Department is not the Pentagon. We have a Pentagon. We have the mightiest military in the world. And for most of you, and we may exclude NATO to a certain extent, but for most of you, your job is with the State Department, not the Pentagon, and there is a different role.

I mean, the Pentagon is to have the mightiest defense and to be able to wipe out any enemy that should strike us, to be prepared, to try to deter attack, et cetera.

But the job of the State Department is different. Your job is one of friendship and trade. And you are going to be going to friendly countries. Obviously, I jokingly say I do not want war with Canada or Italy or England.

But it is important that your role in the world, as you are out there mixing with other Ambassadors in your region of the world, your role is to foster peace. I think that is important.

Ms. McFarland I think was involved with Secretary Weinberger and the Weinberger Doctrine, which she knows that I am aware of.

Part of that was that we only go to war under certain circumstances. It was not that we are ever gleeful for war. It was that we restrict and restrain ourselves to only go into war. One of the points of the Weinberger Doctrine is we go to war as last resort. One was that we go for vital national interests.

I think sometimes we get sloppy with that, and we just say everything is in our vital national interests. And that is really a conclusion that requires debate and the facts on both sides before we go.

But my hope is always that there is a sufficient voice for war being the last resort. I am not saying we never go, but the State Department is supposed to be part of that, to a certain extent at NATO also. It is about preparedness, but still the goal of NATO is defense, not offense.

I just hope all of you will remember that and realize that really part of your role is to try to preserve peace and keep peace.

And if you would like to, since I named you, Ms. McFarland, you are welcome to respond about the Weinberger Doctrine, your role, or what your thoughts are about your role in the world or our role in the world.

Ms. MCFARLAND. Thank you very much, Senator Paul. You and I have had this conversation a number of times about the Weinberger Doctrine.

I was privileged enough to be at the Pentagon in the Reagan administration and work for Secretary Weinberger and help craft the speech that he delivered that was the Weinberger Doctrine.

There were several points do it. These were guidelines of when the United States should consider going to war or using combat forces overseas.

One of the considerations was that we would do so to protect our vital national interests, that we would do so with a clear idea of what was required, and that we would also have the full support of the American people, and, finally, that our objective would be to win and to prevail.

So I know that is something that has guided your own thinking on national security issues, and I thank you for the opportunity to discuss it, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, sir.

Senator Coons?

Senator COONS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Thank you to all the nominees for your willingness to serve, and for the opportunity to be with you here today.

Senator Hutchison, thanks for the opportunity for a great conversation yesterday about the importance of NATO and the role to which you have been nominated.

Let me just ask again here in this setting, how do you intend to convince our NATO allies to stay the course with us in Afghanistan, given how much they have already sacrificed, given how uncertain the path is ahead? I would be interested in how you think, together, we will make that argument to our vital NATO allies.

Senator HUTCHISON. Yes, thank you very much. Thank you for meeting with me.

Senator Coons, Afghanistan is hard. It is hard for America, and it is very hard for all of our allies. But we know that Al Qaeda is rising up in Afghanistan. We know that that is a common thread. It is a common threat to all of us.

And our allies have never flagged. When we have asked for certain numbers of increased help or capacity, they have stepped up. They have stepped up for 15 years in Afghanistan. Our allies have been with us side-by-side.

They are stepping up now in Iraq, because we are regrouping and doing more in Iraq. These are very tough duties, but they are there.

And to say, what are you going to do to keep them? I think they have been there. I think that they have been with us. And it is our common threat.

Senator COONS. I agree.

Senator HUTCHISON. Al Qaeda is our common threat. ISIS is our common threat.

So I will appreciate them and continue to encourage all of us to stay firm.

Senator COONS. Thank you. I have two more questions, if I might. First to you, Senator.

How would you also help shape NATO's cyber strategy? We have seen cyberattacks in the past on our now-NATO ally, Estonia. Many of us are concerned about the cyber actions by Russia in American domestic matters, as well as the matters involving our key allies.

Does a cyberattack on a NATO ally trigger Article 5? And if so, how should the alliance respond? And how do we strengthen cyber?

And I have one more question I would like to get to, if I might.

Senator HUTCHISON. I think we have to see what kind of attack we would be addressing before we talk about whether it would invoke Article 5. However, the Leaders' Meeting in May, as well as the previous defense meetings of NATO, have made it more of a focus and more of an awareness of the cyberattacks of Russia and the interference with many processes and many of our allied countries.

And I think cyber is going to continue to be more of an emphasis of NATO as we go forward, but I think the leaders have already staked out that as a new focus.

Senator COONS. Thank you, Senator.

If I might, Ms. McFarland, thank you for your service and your willingness to step up to this role. I had the chance, the honor, to travel with Senator McCain to Singapore, along with Senator Barroso, to the regional security conference, and was struck at how broadly our regional allies and partners expressed concern at withdrawal from TPP.

How will the Trump administration, how would you, if confirmed as Ambassador, undertake economic statecraft? And given some grave concerns, I think, about security issues in the Philippines, and elsewhere in the region where ISIS is making some advances, how will you work with your counterparts to confront the growing threat of terrorism in the region?

Ms. MCFARLAND. Thank you very much for that question, and particularly for your interest in Asia, Southeast Asia.

The President, first of all, we have a bilateral trade agreement with Singapore, as you know. It is the first one we have had with any Asian nation, and it has been very successful for the two of us.

When the administration pulled out of the TPP, I had the opportunity to meet with the Singapore Foreign Minister, not knowing that I was eventually going to be sitting before you, hoping to be confirmed to be the Ambassador to Singapore.

And he said, you know, we understand. We have a strong and robust economic relationship. We want to continue it.

What the administration has said is that the U.S.-Singapore Free Trade Agreement is one that would be a foundation. It would be something that they would use as a template to have bilateral economic relations with other countries.

And when President Trump withdrew from TPP, he said that he felt that the best interests of the United States would be served by bilateral trade agreements. I have been out of the administration for 2 months, so I am not sure where the issues go, but that would be the first.

And the second one is the security relationship. One of the reasons that I was interested in this position, and when it was offered to me, was excited about it, is because I, too, had heard in my position as the Deputy National Security Adviser, I had heard from a number of counterparts from other countries, and they all made the same point that you are making, that there was concern that the United States was lessening its commitment to the region, was not as concerned about what was happening in the South China Sea, that they saw an increasingly aggressive China building a blue water navy and kind of muscling its way across the whole Asia-Pacific region.

So one of the things that I would hope to do with Singapore, and then work with the other Ambassadors, if they are confirmed, if we are all confirmed, the other Ambassadors in the Southeast Asia region, would be to put this at the forefront.

The Vice President went to Indonesia, met with the ASEAN. President Trump will make a trip to the Far East in a similar capacity.

So I think part of it is just to show our interests, our commitment, and then to keep—let them know that we are not a waning power, that the United States is not a declining power, that this is not an inevitable thing that is going to happen. We are just as committed to the region as we have ever been, and we continue to be even more committed to the region. And also that we are a power that is not in decline. America's greatest days are ahead of it, and we hope that they will be with us.

Senator COONS. Well, I hope to have the opportunity to work with each of you and the countries to which you have been nomi-

nated, to advance that I think shared and important goal, which is to continue to strengthen our alliances, to strengthen our role in the world, and to work in a bipartisan way in that.

And, Mr. Chairman, you have played a critical role in this committee in advancing that vision, so thank you.

And to your families, thank you for supporting your public service.

Mr. Chairman, thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, sir.

Senator BARRASSO?

Senator BARRASSO. Very much, Mr. Chairman.

Ms. Craft, thank you very much for being here. Congratulations on your nomination.

Ms. CRAFT. Thank you.

Senator BARRASSO. The thing about Canada, it is the second largest trading partner of the United States. It is Wyoming's second largest export market. In 2016, two-way, cross-border goods and services traded between the United States and Canada was \$1.7 billion.

So the two nations have a highly integrated energy market. We work closely together. Canada is the largest supplier of U.S. energy and the largest recipient of U.S. energy exports.

Can you talk just a little bit, as the Ambassador, about how you will promote American exports and work to further expand the trade relationship between our two countries?

Ms. CRAFT. Thank you for your question, Senator.

If confirmed, I am going to work very closely with Ambassador Lighthizer and Secretary of Commerce Ross to promote the priorities of the Trump administration's agenda with NAFTA and also with the different areas of softwood timber, the dairy industry, the poultry industry, and the other industries that would be a benefit to the American prosperity and the American people, both small businesses and large businesses.

Senator BARRASSO. The same follow up with you, Mr. Johnson. The United States and United Kingdom, an incredibly significant trade and investment relationship. U.S. imports from the United Kingdom were worth—as well as the other way around.

Can you talk a little bit about, as the United Kingdom is leaving European Union, what opportunities exist? What challenges exist for great trade and investment between the two countries?

Mr. JOHNSON. Thank you very much for that question, Senator.

If confirmed, I will be working on Brexit and trying to help the Congress, the President, and Secretary Tillerson, figure out what opportunities and challenges that we can have access to.

You are right, exactly, the relationship has been robust. It is not as big as Canada. I think it is about \$200 million in trades and services. There are a million jobs on either side of the Atlantic that rely on that relationship. And our job is to encourage, as I said in my opening testimony. The overall relationship with the U.K. has to be enhanced. We want to enhance it and leave it better than we found it. A big part of that is trade. I do not know if that is a direct answer.

Senator BARRASSO. Thank you.

Mr. JOHNSON. Thank you.

Senator BARRASSO. Ms. McFarland, I just want to talk about kind of the area of the world that you have been nominated to serve. I was in Singapore last month with John McCain, who you mentioned how he had encouraged you, for your service.

And we went to Singapore for an international defense conference, security conference, following the time that we went to Vietnam. So we had just been to Singapore, meeting with the leaders there.

But Singapore really has been, one, a strong partner of the United States in trade as well as in security. It is also a major focal point in that whole part of the world.

So can you talk a little bit about how important the U.S. presence is in that region, specifically in Singapore? And as Ambassador, how do you plan to further strengthen the cooperation between the United States and Singapore?

Ms. MCFARLAND. Thank you, Senator Barrasso. And thank you, too, for your interest in that part of the world. I think you and I both agree that it is going to be an extremely important part of America's future as well.

A lot of economic estimates are that 60 percent, even as much as 80 percent of the world's economic growth in the next decade are going to come from Southeast Asia and that region.

The United States has 4,200 American companies that are headquartered in Singapore. That is up from about 3,700 about 2 years ago. And Singapore acts as the hub of a lot of the economic interests throughout the region.

So in other words, if there is an American company headquartered in Singapore, it will do business in Singapore, but it also may do business in other nations in Southeast Asia, Malaysia, Indonesia, et cetera.

So given that trend, I think it is an important place for the United States to be to advance those commercial interests. As good as they are now, they could be a lot better. And it is an area of the world that we do not want to forsake, or that we do not want to be edged out of as that area of the world increases in its economic relationship.

As far as all the other parts, it also remains a hub for security relations. If you look at a map, the Strait of Malacca is the gateway. All trade that is going from Europe, from the Middle East, energy trade, has to go past Singapore on its way to all of Asia. American trade going from the West Coast goes in the opposite direction through Singapore.

So it is important for us to have an economic presence there, but also have a security presence there.

Singapore understands its responsibilities. As a small nation-state, it is only 5.5 million people. Its landmass is about four times the size of Washington, or for a New Yorker like me, it is like New York City without Staten Island. So it is a small place, but it plays big. And it plays particularly big in the security relationship.

Singapore spends close to 4 percent of its GNP on defense. And out of every—its entire national budget is spent on a number of things, but \$1 out of every \$3 or \$4 is spent on defense. A lot of that military equipment that they buy is American military equip-

ment, which, as you know, Singapore buys planes from your part of the world and trains in Wyoming.

The Singapore military, because it is a small area, they have bases elsewhere. They have training facilities in the United States and in other parts of the world that they then use that equipment as they come home to Singapore.

So I think it is those things. It is the fact that it may be small, it may have a small population, but it is a hub for so many things.

And it is an important part of the world that we need to be in, and particularly, as you mentioned, as other countries look and wonder about our commitment, because those are the swing states. If we are somehow not present economically, are not present in a security sense, that is a part of the world that make its own separate deal, and it is a part of the world that we may not be heavily involved in for hundreds of years.

Senator BARRASSO. Well, thank you very much. Congratulations to each and every one of you.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Senator Markey?

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

I have been informed of Senator Rubio's earlier comments, and I just want to say that I do not think that is going to be possible because co-owner Robert Kraft is a very close friend of Donald Trump's, so I do not think there is any chance of Tom Brady leaving the country until he has won at least two or three more Super Bowl championships. And at that point, it is whatever he wants, okay? So that is our approach.

You understand that, Mr. Johnson, very much, notwithstanding the competitive advantage the Jets would receive.

Mr. JOHNSON. I am open to it.

Senator MARKEY. Let me ask you, Ms. McFarland, the rigorous enforcement of sanctions on North Korea is essential to get North Korea to the table for serious negotiations of our denuclearization of the peninsula. Singapore has an important role in the effort.

The United Nations panel of experts set up to monitor North Korean compliance with international sanctions has assessed that North Korea continues to evade sanctions through the use of front companies, including in Singapore.

That panel's report linked a Singaporean company to a North Korean firm that is involved in the sale of conventional arms. The company, Glocom, was identified as a front run by North Korean intelligence agencies that sell equipment in violation of U.N. sanctions.

More recently, the research organization NK News published a comprehensive report indicating that a Singapore-based company named OCN Singapore is involved in importing luxury goods into North Korea in defiance of U.N. Security Council sanctions.

Singapore needs to fully investigate those allegations and ensure that North Korea is not using its open financial and trading environment to evade sanctions.

If you are confirmed, Ms. McFarland, would you ensure that the strongest possible message is sent from the United States to the

Singapore Government that we expect full compliance with the North Korean sanctions?

Ms. MCFARLAND. Absolutely. As President Trump has said, North Korea's nuclear proliferation program is one of the most serious and immediate crises we face. And whether it is the financial technology issues, the fintech, or whether it is the counterproliferation transshipment points that Singapore is for goods that might be going to North Korea of any type, it is important not only that we have these international agreements, but that we enforce them.

So you can have complete confidence that, if I am confirmed, I will pursue that. Thank you.

Senator MARKEY. It is hard to get the attention of North Korea, if China is not imposing tough sanctions. There has been a 37 percent increase in trade between China and North Korea over last year. The same thing is true for some of these other countries.

We just have to make sure that the pressure is intensified, so that North Korea does come to the bargaining table.

Mr. Johnson, the issue of Northern Ireland is very important to tens of millions of Irish in the United States. Following his nomination by President Clinton, Senator George Mitchell chaired the all-party negotiations that ultimately produced the Good Friday Agreement of 1998. It ended years of bloodshed.

But a crisis in Northern Ireland has prevented the formation of a government there since January when Martin McGuinness resigned as Deputy First Minister 2 months before he died.

Since January, Sinn Fein and the Democratic Unionist Party have been in difficult talks to form a new government.

The June election in the U.K. has resulted in Prime Minister May's Conservative Party forming a coalition with the Democratic Unionist Party. The DUP was the only party in Northern Ireland that opposed the Good Friday Agreement, although its founder, Ian Paisley, ultimately agreed to a government in which he served as First Minister and McGuinness served as Deputy First Minister.

Prime Minister May's coalition was formed with the DUP, and it is particularly troubling because the British Government is the guarantor of the Good Friday Agreement and is responsible for mediating the political crisis in Belfast.

So all of these factors raise serious concerns, especially since the Northern Irish voted overwhelmingly against Brexit, even as there is a goal set by Prime Minister May that she wants a hard Brexit, which causes real problems, potentially, in Northern Ireland.

Could you talk a little bit about that issue and how you would represent the United States?

Mr. JOHNSON. Senator, I thank you for that very complicated question, because it reflects the complications of what is happening in Northern Ireland and its relation to both the U.S. and the U.K.

The Good Friday agreements, as you pointed out, that were shepherded by the U.S., by the U.K., and by the Irish themselves led to roughly 19 years, so far, of peace, relative peace and tranquility from a period that was very turbulent.

These are complicated issues, particularly now, if you inject Brexit into the equation as a factor, as a major factor. You have issues, border issues, trade issues, immigration issues. A lot have been done, as you commented on, with supporting jobs along the

border to harmonize the relationship and to try to have a better understanding between secular beliefs that were the cause of some of the unrest.

I pledge to you, because I know this is an important issue, that, if confirmed, I will spend a lot of time trying to do anything I can do to facilitate the establishment of an understanding and try to pick up on what you did in 1998 to establish this. Because it is in the U.S.'s best interests to have a stable U.K., including Northern Ireland.

Senator MARKEY. So I thank you for that. The more attention you pay to it, I think, the greater the likelihood that the peace will hold. It is the economic integration largely, the customs integration issues, the security issues, that have really helped to integrate Northern Ireland into Europe, and with Ireland itself.

So the more that Brexit kind of starts to fool with that formula is the more it could lead to a delay in the full integration, which I think ultimately is what the people of Northern Ireland need to finally bring permanent peace and tranquility to their country.

So thank you, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Senator Gardner?

Senator GARDNER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Thank you to all the nominees for your willingness to serve our country. Welcome to your families who are in attendance to today. And I just appreciate the fact that you are willing to serve our country. I truly do appreciate it.

I have had the chance to visit with all of you about the work that you will be pursuing in the various countries that you will be representing, and the alliance, of course, that is so important and critical to the safety and security of Europe and the United States. I look forward to working with you in years to come, upon confirmation.

I do serve as chairman of the East Asia Subcommittee, so, Ms. McFarland, I am sorry, I am going to spend most of my time sending questions your way.

We have had a lot of conversations already that even Senator Markey most recently brought up about North Korea and actually covered one of the companies that I was going to talk about. Recent reports are OCN, as Senator Markey mentioned, was found to have been doing business with Pyongyang, doing business in Pyongyang and North Korea, a luxury goods store.

As Ambassador, how do you approach that situation? How will you approach that situation where you see a report and find out some information about a company that is doing business in violation of either a U.N. resolution or a U.S. law like we passed last Congress dealing with North Korean sanctions? How do you approach this? How do you work with the Government of Singapore or any Nation, for that matter? How do you work within ASEAN to spread greater awareness of the need to address these sanctions and fully enforce them? And how do you deal with that, within the Trump administration?

Ms. MCFARLAND. Thank you, Senator Gardner. And I do, if confirmed, look forward to a long and fruitful conversation with you as the chairman of the East Asia Subcommittee.

I think I would start with Embassy Singapore. It has not only Foreign Service Officers who are economic officers as well, but there are members of the Commerce Department, special trade rep, intelligence community and others.

The first step would be to find out, okay, what is going on? What are these companies? What is their economic tie? And what is, potentially, their military tie to North Korea? And working through the State Department, as well as those people at Embassy Singapore who would be working with their home agencies, some 19, including even the Agriculture Department has representation in Singapore.

And then it would be to present that issue to the appropriate place in the Singapore Government. Singapore wants good relations with us. They have said that time and again. Whether it is economic relations, whether it is military relations, whether it is political relations, security relations, they value our support at the United Nations and others. So that is worth something.

And I think that the ability to go to a friendly country and say this is what we have determined, this is what the United Nations has determined, with regard to a company of yours. How are we going to work together to stop this?

Singapore has said, Singaporean leaders, the Prime Minister, and others have said that they, too, are concerned about the threat of North Korea. And as Senator Markey pointed out, the only way that North Korea is ever going to get to the point of potentially giving up its nuclear weapons or changing its attitudes is if they feel the pressure.

And where are they getting the pressure? We have had a number of sanctions that are against North Korea through the United Nations and other international organizations, but there has to be secondary pressure that is brought to bear. And as Secretary Tillerson has said, with regard to North Korea specifically, China looks at North Korea as a strategic asset. How are we going to change their minds to view it as a strategic liability? One of these would be the kind of economic pressure.

But as we are bringing economic pressure to other countries not to do business with North Korea, Singapore we hope would work with us in that same goal.

Senator GARDNER. You mentioned talking about presence and you talked about the fact that, if we are not present within the region either economically or from a security standpoint, that creates a challenge for U.S. leadership.

We have been working on legislation to try to create a long-term Asia strategy. What do you think some of the key points and framework should be of a long-term U.S. strategy to build that presence in Singapore and Southeast Asia overall?

Ms. MCFARLAND. Yes, and I think that in the conversations I have had with you, the direction you are going I think is very much in concert with what the administration, what Secretary Tillerson and others have said is their goal in the Asian region.

One place that I think offers an enormous amount of future opportunity is cyber. Singapore and the United States have both been named as the two countries which are the best at and take most

seriously the whole cyber issue, whether it is intellectual property theft, whether it is cyber defense, whether it is cyber hacking.

And since Singapore is going to be chairman of ASEAN, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, in 2018, they have already said that they want the cyber issue to be first and foremost, not only for Singapore but for the other countries in the region.

Singapore's goal is to be the first smart nation where they use digital technology, where they use logarithms to help various aspects of their society, civil society.

So I think that represents the future. And the world is going in the cyber direction, the Internet of Things. And if Singapore said that they are interested in doing that, we know we have had an interest in doing it.

We know that we are both very vulnerable. We are the most connected countries in the world, but that leaves us with great vulnerabilities as well.

So I would think that is a place to look, not only that I would be interested in looking at with Singapore but any work that you are doing as I proceed with this legislation that you are proposing.

Senator GARDNER. Thank you.

Thanks to all of you for your service.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Senator Murphy?

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

Thank you to you all for your willingness to serve the country.

Senator Hutchison, I am sorry that we did not get to serve together here in the Senate, but I am glad that the siren of public service has called you once again. I wanted to ask you a question about the role of counterterrorism within the NATO alliance.

I think there are still some pretty glaring vulnerabilities in Europe, with respect to their ability to share information about terrorism threats, both to Europe and to the United States. It is as if the United States were trying to thwart terrorist attempts without the FBI, with 50 different State law enforcement jurisdictions voluntarily cooperating with each other.

Is this an issue that should be left to the EU to figure out and to the EU Ambassador? Or is this a proper subject for our NATO Ambassador to engage with countries through that forum, to try to improve the ability of European countries to share information, perhaps through new mandatory procedures regarding counterterrorism threats?

Senator HUTCHISON. Thank you. I think that is a very good question.

I definitely think it is in NATO's purview. And I think the President, President Trump, brought that up. And NATO has now affirmed that cyberterrorism is a threat, in many instances. It could be in a communications system. It could be in any kind of business disruption. And it could be in our military communications or military activity.

So I think it is in NATO's interests. They have already agreed that it will be one of the focuses and one of the main focuses.

NATO is somewhat like the United States Senate, or any group that has different threats and different constituencies. Some members of NATO are more concerned about Russian aggression. Oth-

ers are more concerned about terrorism and counterterrorism, depending on where they fall geographically.

So I think it is very much a common threat, and it should be in the purview of NATO.

Senator MURPHY. I think it is probably in the purview of NATO. It is also in the purview of the EU. I think we need to apply as much pressure as possible to clean up these vulnerabilities, in part because there are vulnerabilities. These are visa waiver countries in which these threats can land on our shores without any security screens, so I thank you for that.

Senator HUTCHISON. Your point, also, is very important, that NATO and the EU are also beginning to do more sharing than they have ever done before.

Senator MURPHY. Mr. Johnson, I know you got a question when I was not here earlier on Brexit and the future of Britain's relationship with the EU. But I wanted to talk to you about the conversation around a free trade agreement with Britain.

There has been some talk within this administration of engaging in talks with Britain, with respect to a free trade agreement. There is great worry. I am in the category of those who worry that, if this is placed before a bilateral negotiation with the EU on what we call T-TIP, that it is going to provide an incentive for other countries to exit Europe, because they can get first in line for a trade agreement with the United States.

Do you think that it is appropriate to negotiate a free trade agreement with England, with Britain, before we have engaged in a trade agreement negotiation with Europe, as a whole?

Mr. JOHNSON. Thank you for that question. Thank you for that question, Senator.

Yes, Brexit is going to be complicated. It is going to be a complicated series of agenda items going forward. And one of them is free trade and how that is played, I mean the bilateral trade between the U.S. and that country, and what impact that has, positive or negative. So I think that has to be factored in.

I suspect that we are going to have to wait until this process unfolds a little more, so we figure out what the pieces are.

And as Ambassador, if confirmed, I would be talking to the political and business leaders, and opinion leaders, in the country to figure out what vulnerabilities and what opportunities there are for American businesses and Americans.

And you point out, there is every one of these factors, whether it is negotiating a bilateral agreement or even looking at cybersecurity, like you were just talking about. Everything is impacted by Brexit and our ability to kind of predict and project what is in our best interests as this unfolds.

Senator MURPHY. I do not expect you to be able to answer the precise question, but I would just caution you on this issue. It is one thing for our President to cheerlead Brexit. It is quite another to reward with them with a free trade agreement that will be fodder for many of the groups that are pushing for other countries to leave the EU as well. So I appreciate you giving more thought to that issue.

Mr. JOHNSON. Thank you, sir.

Senator MURPHY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

I see the making of a diplomat there.

Senator MENENDEZ?

Senator MENENDEZ. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I have been asking this question of all of our nominees when they go to a specific country, so it is not personal, but it is just a continuing effort.

Ms. McFarland, do you speak Mandarin, Tamil, or Malay?

Ms. MCFARLAND. No. My undergraduate degree was in Chinese studies, and I did study Chinese intensively for those years. My graduate work at MIT was on the Sino-Soviet military balance and the Sino-Soviet military conflict of 1969. The dissertation, sadly, I did not have an opportunity to finish.

My Mandarin is very, very, very rusty. And one of the first things I would do is look forward to trying to see if I could remember back 40 years and try to refresh that. Thank you.

Senator MENENDEZ. Mr. Eisenberg, you speak Italian?

Mr. EISENBERG. [Speaking in Italian.]

If you will allow me, Senator, since you have asked the question, I was remiss in the opening, gratified by the introduction of Senator Rubio, since my wife and I have now been residents of Florida for almost a decade, but very remiss, I might say, in not addressing the fact that nine of my 16 immediate family are sitting directly behind me, who are residents of the Garden State.

Senator MENENDEZ. Oh, I am familiar with that. [Laughter.]

Mr. EISENBERG. I know that you are, but if you would just allow me, my wife, Judy, we just celebrated our 52nd anniversary, so for personal reasons, I would like to introduce my wife. My oldest daughter, Lisa Goodwyn, and my daughter, Laura Balestro, are here. Their husbands, Rick Goodwin, it is actually Laura Barr and Dr. Kyle Barr. And unfortunately, my daughter, Stacy Lyle and Paul Lyle, could not be here, but have three children who also will be voters in the State of New Jersey. [Laughter.]

Mr. EISENBERG. So I would just be remiss if I did recategorize a little bit my origin, so thank you for that extra moment.

We will continue to take Italian lessons, so that I can speak more than that opening phrase.

Senator MENENDEZ. Well, we should have made you the nominee to the Holy See, based upon that large, expansive family. [Laughter.]

Senator MENENDEZ. But I do not believe that not having a language ability is disqualifying. And I did not ask you my second question, because you all said it in your testimony, about whether or not you visited the country.

Unfortunately, some of my colleagues in the past have held against Democratic nominees whether they did not speak the language or did not visit the country.

So I am going to create a continuing record, so that we hopefully have equity at the end of the day, regardless of who the nominee is.

Senator CARDIN. Aren't you going to ask Mr. Johnson if you can speak the British English? [Laughter.]

Senator MENENDEZ. We have been working with each other on our Gaelic.

So let me ask you all, with just a simple yes or no answer, do you believe that Russia sought to interfere in our presidential elections last year?

Ms. MCFARLAND. Yes.

Mr. EISENBERG. I do not know the answer to that, but I think there is enough investigation and discussion going on, so I would like to reserve judgment for the moment.

Senator MENENDEZ. With 17 intelligence agencies, you still do not have a view.

Mr. EISENBERG. I think it is likely, but I do believe there are investigations that are going on to corroborate it as fact.

Senator MENENDEZ. Mr. Johnson?

Mr. JOHNSON. I have not studied the evidence on the inside, so I can just go by what I read, and it looks like, you know, it could have happened, maybe it did happen. But until I, really, if I went—if I did a complete analysis with all the information, I would be able to give you a much better judgment.

Senator MENENDEZ. Ms. Craft?

Ms. CRAFT. Thank you. I believe, just from reading the material that everyone has had the opportunity to read, that it looks as if, yes. I would have to investigate this further and learn more points, but I do believe, yes.

Senator MENENDEZ. Senator Hutchison?

Senator HUTCHISON. I think, from what our intelligence community has said and what has been in the newspapers and other media, that there is a good likelihood yes. I also think it is important that we know the extent and how it was done, and that is what the investigations are meant to do.

Senator MENENDEZ. And the reason I asked the question, it may seem unrelated to your nominations, but the fact is that the Senate passed 98–2 sanctions—it is very rare these days we get 98–2 votes—on Russia for, among other things, interfering in our elections.

And when I heard your answer, Senator Hutchison, to Senator Murphy about cyberattacks and NATO, and how you described the different elements of what a cyberattack would be, we need to have our Ambassadors abroad making clear, unequivocal advocacy in the countries in which they are assigned join us in our multilateral sanctions effort, whether it be Iran, which is also part of that legislation, or whether it be Russia.

So I am a little worried that, with all of the public knowledge—I am not saying that they affected the election. The mere fact that they tried to affect the election should be of great concern from the average citizen to the President of the United States. We need our Ambassadors to be advocating that point of view as it relates to sanctions when this finally passes the House and is signed by the President, and I hope we can count on you to do that.

In that regard, Mr. Eisenberg, in reference to that legislation, one of the concerns that I have is to Italy. While Italy has complied with sanctions, it has relatively close relations with Russia and has indicated interest in doing more business with Iran.

As my colleagues have noted, we expect this legislation soon to pass the House.

How will you engage with the Italians on maintaining economic pressure, both on Russia and Iran?

Mr. EISENBERG. If confirmed, Senator, I would intend to become more decisively involved in that discussion.

But I would note that Italy is 80 percent reliant on its energy resources from Russia and Libya, but they have continued to maintain their substantial support on the sanctions. And I have no reason to expect that I would not continue to encourage and try to help them to live up to that.

Senator MENENDEZ. I appreciate their energy challenges, and you are right. But as a NATO ally, and dependent upon the United States as a major element of that, we need them, as well as other European countries that some of you will be nominated to—I do not have any doubt about Great Britain—but nonetheless, to be engaged in making sure that—because the European Union is by unanimity, one country breaking away breaks the sanctions regime. And if our multilateral sanctions regime is broken, then we have a real challenge in returning to the international order.

So I commend that to part of your commitment to your work.

And if I may take one last moment, Mr. Chairman, to Mr. Johnson, I appreciate the answer you gave on peace and justice in Northern Ireland, something that we spoke about when you came to visit me, and I am glad you came to visit me.

Let me ask you this. The other problem with Great Britain right now is it is a critical security ally of ours. Sharing intelligence is critical to the national interests and security of the United States. We had some irritants between what happened at the Ariana Grande concert with leaks. We had comments made about the mayor of London.

Will you work as our Ambassador to assure the United Kingdom that our commitment to security and our confidentiality in terms of the sharing of intelligence is going to be preserved?

Mr. JOHNSON. Thank you, Senator. I certainly will.

Senator MENENDEZ. I have questions about Canada that I will submit to the record and look for a response.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you so much.

Senator Cardin?

Senator CARDIN. Mr. Eisenberg, I want to follow up on Senator Menendez's point, because your response in regard to Russia's interference in our elections, I fully appreciate the fact that you have not studied the issue, but there has been widespread reporting on it, and this Congress feels very strongly that Russia represents an extreme danger against America.

That is the reason we are going to pass and enact the stronger sanctions taking away some of the discretion of the President as it relates to imposition of sanctions against Russia.

Italy is a country that does business with Russia. Of the countries that we have Ambassadors, that is the only one of the four that currently does business with Russia. It is very possible they are going to be impacted by the sanctions.

We have to work very closely with our European partners for sanctions to work against Russia. Europe is more vulnerable than we are to the activities that Russia is doing, so it is in their inter-

ests that we have strong unity between the United States and Europe in enforcing sanctions against Russia.

But there will be business interests, and perhaps some governmental interests, in Italy that will resist some aspects of this, saying, "Gee, can't we at least get a pass, so that we can continue to do this?" And that weakens the whole fiber, the whole fabric of our sanctions regime. And we are going to need a very strong voice in Italy working with the EU and the United States to have a very united, strong position against Russia that, if they continue to interfere in our countries, they are going to pay a heavy economic price.

Are you prepared to be that person?

Mr. EISENBERG. If confirmed, I think I can deliver that message and execute on that message.

Senator CARDIN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. I want to thank you all for, again, your willingness to serve.

I do want to reiterate, especially in Italy, U.K., and at NATO, Russia will do everything it can to destabilize and to pose a threat to democracy. And I think it is rare that the United States Senate has acted in the way that it has, regardless of what people may or may not think happened during the election, and I do think they did attempt to interfere, there is no question their goal is to destabilize democracies. I know that each of you will be strong advocates for that not occurring.

I want to say, in particular, to Italy, I know that you will not be the Ambassador to the Vatican, but on my recent visit there, I was struck by the public relations campaign Russia had done to hold itself up as the protector of Christians, and the fact that the Pope and others seemed to be open to that.

So I think there is a lot of work that we have to do there, and that mostly is in relation to what is happening in Syria.

Then finally, I would just say that, in addition to passing a bill 98-2, this committee unanimously reported, and the Senate has adopted a major effort to end modern slavery around the world. In all the countries that you are going to, slavery exists. It exists in our own country. I know that each of you will have questions about trafficking, and that kind of thing. But we do hope that you will be advocates on that human value.

The record will remain open until the close of business on Friday.

I know a number of you have family issues, and you need to get to countries before school starts and that kind of thing. It is an usual time here in the Senate, but one of the things that can speed it along is, when you do get the questions, to the extent you can, pay personal attention and answer them fully.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you all for your desire to serve.

The meeting is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 11:54 a.m., the hearing was adjourned.]

Additional Material Submitted for the Record

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO HON. KAY BAILEY HUTCHINSON BY SENATOR MARCO RUBIO

Question 1. NATO estimates that only four other countries last year met the NATO guideline of spending 2 percent of GDP on defense. I know that some countries have now reached that mark or are on pace to do so in the near future, like Lithuania and Latvia. Still, there are too many in the Alliance that aren't reacting quickly enough to the new reality of consistent and destabilizing Russian aggression. Do you intend to press our NATO allies to hit NATO's 2 percent guideline? As defense spending increases in NATO countries, where should NATO look to add capability?

Answer. As President Trump has made clear, it is no longer politically sustainable for the United States to maintain a disproportionate share of NATO's defense expenditures. If confirmed, I will continue to press Allies to increase their defense spending to meet the Wales pledge, in which Allies agreed to aim to move toward two percent of GDP on defense spending by 2024, with twenty percent of total defense expenditures on defense modernization. This issue goes beyond equitable burden sharing; it reflects what Allies need to do for themselves to meet the changed security environment.

Five Allies—Estonia, Greece, Poland, the United Kingdom and the United States—already meet the two percent goal. We expect Romania to reach two percent this year, and Latvia and Lithuania should reach that goal in 2018. Thirteen Allies spend at least 20 percent of their defense budgets on major equipment. Three Allies—Poland, the United Kingdom, and the United States—currently meet both the two percent and the twenty percent goals, and Romania should reach both targets this year.

At the May NATO Leaders Meeting, Allies agreed to develop national plans to put them on a path towards achieving these goals. I will continue to work with Allies through NATO structures and bilaterally to ensure that they meet their commitments.

As the President has said, NATO must adapt to the challenges of the future. This includes acquiring the capabilities necessary to focus on today's most pressing security challenges, including the fight against terrorism.

In June, Allies agreed to new capability targets—specific areas where the Alliance plans to improve in order to meet collective defense requirements in the face of existing and evolving threats. It is important for Allies to invest more on defense, with an eye towards meeting capability targets and modernizing in a way that avoids duplication, in order to fulfill capability shortfalls.

NATO's Secretary General announced prior to the June 2017 Defense Ministerial that defense spending increases will be spent in such areas as heavy equipment, air-to-air refueling, more exercises, salaries, and missions in Afghanistan and Kosovo.

Question 2. NATO added its 29th member this year, Montenegro, which was the first expansion since 2009. As Russian aggression continues, particularly in Eastern Europe, do you believe we should continue expanding NATO in the region? Should NATO invite Moldova to the Alliance? Georgia? Ukraine?

Answer. Montenegro's accession demonstrates to NATO's other aspirants and the broader international community that NATO's commitment to its Open Door Policy is enduring and that no third country has a veto on NATO membership.

The Open Door Policy is a Founding Principle of the Washington Treaty and one of the Alliance's great successes. NATO's door is open to all European democracies which share the values of our Alliance, which are willing and able to assume the responsibilities and obligations of membership, which are in a position to further the principles of the Treaty, and whose inclusion can contribute to the security of the North Atlantic Area. Decisions on enlargement are for NATO and the nation in question; no other outside country, such as Russia, has a voice in the process. At the Warsaw Summit NATO Allies said that they remain fully committed to the integration of those countries that aspire to join the Alliance, judging each on its own merits. The current aspirants are Bosnia and Herzegovina, Georgia, and Macedonia. That continues to be the right approach, and if confirmed, I will work to assist these countries in making progress. The enlargement process has and will

continue to serve as a particularly effective vehicle for promoting democratic values, reform, and respect for the rule of law within the Euro-Atlantic region.

The Membership Action Plan (MAP) is a NATO program of advice, assistance and practical support tailored to the individual needs of countries wishing to join the Alliance. Participation in the MAP program does not prejudice any decision by the Alliance on future membership. The MAP process provides a focused and candid feedback mechanism on aspirant countries' progress on their programs. This includes both political and technical advice, as well as annual meetings between all NATO members and individual aspirants at the level of the North Atlantic Council to assess progress, on the basis of an annual progress report. Moldova, Georgia, and Ukraine do not participate in the MAP program.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO HON. KAY BAILEY HUTCHISON BY SENATOR BENJAMIN L. CARDIN

Question 1. What are the most important actions you have taken in your career to date to promote human rights and democracy? What has been the impact of your actions?

Answer. I believe the pillars of freedom, human rights and democracy, are the crucial values on which America stands and our global leadership must project.

As a founding honorary co-chair of Vital Voices, an organization that promotes women's equality, I have championed the women who have stood up for human rights and dignity throughout the world.

I serve on the board of the International Republican Institute (IRI), part of the National Endowment for Democracy, that with its democratic counterpart promotes democratic institutions in emerging democracies.

Mission Statement

A nonprofit, nonpartisan organization, the International Republican Institute advances freedom and democracy worldwide by helping political parties to become more issue-based and responsive, assisting citizens to participate in government planning, and working to increase the role of marginalized groups in the political process—including women and youth.

Question 2. What are the most pressing human rights concerns facing NATO today? What are the most important steps you expect to take—if confirmed—to advance human rights and democracy at NATO and with its member countries? What do you hope to accomplish through these actions?

Answer. NATO's Open Door and its enlargement process encourage and support democratic reforms and the establishment of civilian and democratic control over military forces. Countries seeking NATO membership must, among other things, demonstrate that they have a functioning democratic political system. Critical elements of a functioning democratic system include free and fair elections, rule of law and an independent judiciary, and respect for human rights. These requirements provide aspiring countries a blueprint to set up democracies that protect human rights. I will promote these principles for our present and future allies. These are principles we also promote with our over 40 partners, even those not seeking to join the alliance.

With regard to NATO-led operations, NATO remains vigilant about maintaining the highest standards of human rights in its military operations and activities.

Over the past several years, NATO has worked closely with the UN to develop a policy on Women, Peace and Security (WPS), Children and Armed Conflict (CAAC) and Protection of Civilians (PoC). I will work with Allies to ensure the continued implementation of these policies not only in NATO-led operations and activities in the field, but also throughout the NATO Command Structure and NATO Headquarters.

Question 3. If confirmed, what are the potential obstacles to addressing the specific human rights issues you have identified in your previous response? What challenges will you face at NATO in advancing human rights, civil society and democracy in general?

Answer. Within NATO, the biggest challenge is the lack of resources for these initiatives. Most of the resources for these projects are provided by nations through trust funds and voluntary contributions of personnel. Another challenge is to continue to encourage aspirants to meet NATO standards for democratic governance. Each aspirant is unique and judged individually on its merits. We are unwavering in our commitment that any Euro-Atlantic country that wishes to join the Alliance

must meet the requirements to do so. If confirmed, I will continue the work that we do bilaterally and through NATO structures, to assist them in their reform efforts to meet NATO standards.

Like aspirants, all NATO partners are unique. The challenge will be ensuring that partners maintain the same high democratic standards, especially when participating in NATO-led operations. I will continue to work through NATO structures and bilaterally to ensure that in executing operations and designing partnership agreements we continue to encourage partners to maintain NATO standards and values.

Question 4. Do you commit to bring to the committee's attention (and the State Department Inspector General) any change in policy or U.S. actions that you suspect may be influenced by any of the President's business or financial interests, or the business or financial interests of any senior White House staff?

Answer. I commit to comply with all relevant federal ethics laws, regulations, and rules, and to raise concerns that I may have through appropriate channels.

Question 5. Do you commit to inform the committee if you have any reason to suspect that a foreign government, head of state, or foreign-controlled entity is taking any action in order to benefit any of the President's business or financial interests, or the interests of senior White House staff?

Answer. I commit to comply with all relevant federal ethics laws, regulations, and rules, and to raise concerns that I may have through appropriate channels.

Question 6. Research from private industry demonstrates that, when managed well, diversity makes business teams better both in terms of creativity and productivity. What will you do to promote, mentor and support your staff that come from diverse backgrounds and underrepresented groups?

Answer. If confirmed, my primary job as Ambassador is to lead the men and women at USNATO. My success rests on all of them. As their leader, I will strive to make sure they are empowered to advance U.S. national interests at NATO, and that they have the political and other support they require to effectively and efficiently do their jobs. I am conscious that my leadership legacy at USNATO is about more than securing policy successes. It is also about building the mission as an institution and developing the people who work there. I take this very seriously. If confirmed, I will fully support the Department's mentoring programs, and along with my Deputy Chief of Mission, ensure staff are provided with the professional development opportunities they require to build their capacity to serve at USNATO and at higher levels in other assignments. I am also cognizant of the importance of ensuring my team contains a diverse group of individuals from different backgrounds. I will expect my Department of State and Department of Defense employees, especially my senior managers, to demonstrate the same cognizance as we recruit employees, build internal teams or working groups, and set mission strategy. Finally, I understand the importance of mentoring, especially mentoring new employees or employees early in their careers, from all backgrounds.

Question 7. What more is needed to build defense capacities within Ukraine, Moldova and Georgia?

Answer. Russian aggression along portions of its periphery has affected or has the potential to directly affect these states. We recognize the need to increase these states' capacity to provide for their own defense, improve interoperability with NATO and other Western forces, and implement deep and sustainable defense reforms, which will contribute to collective security and stability along NATO's eastern flank.

In response to Russian aggression, the United States has committed more than \$600 million in security assistance and has provided training and equipment to help Ukraine defend its sovereignty and territorial integrity, better monitor and secure its borders, and deploy its forces more safely and effectively. Working with Ukraine's Armed Forces, we have also established a Multinational Joint Commission and training group to coordinate international efforts to help build Ukraine's defense capacity and deter further Russian aggression. NATO assistance to Ukraine was formalized in a Comprehensive Assistance Package (CAP) adopted at the July 2016 NATO Warsaw Summit. The more than 40 targeted support measures in the CAP focus on assisting Ukraine's ongoing defense reforms, which aim to bring Ukraine up to NATO standards, including civilian control of the military, by 2020.

Efforts in Georgia seek to strengthen its defense readiness, support expeditionary deployments, and support Georgia's sovereignty and territorial integrity through the Georgia Defense Readiness Program. Georgia received a significant increase in security assistance to total more than \$30 million in FY 2016. NATO Allies, including the United States, also are supporting Georgia's defense institutions through the

Substantial NATO-Georgia Package, which provides resources and advisors help to prepare Georgia for eventual NATO membership.

NATO Allies support Moldova through a Defense and Related Security Capacity Building program aimed at reforming the country's defense and security sector. Allies also support the wider democratic, institutional and judicial reform process underway in the country. U.S. security assistance to Moldova totaled \$12.75 million in FY 2016 and focused on defense reform, strengthening internal defense capabilities, and ensuring interoperability with regional partners, including NATO.

Question 8. What opportunities do you see to better support democratic governance and institutional reforms in countries vulnerable to Russian aggression?

Answer. Transparent and accountable defense institutions under democratic control are fundamental to stability in the Euro-Atlantic area and beyond, and are essential for international security cooperation. Within the framework of its Building Integrity Program, NATO works to support Allies and partner countries to promote and implement the principles of integrity, transparency and accountability in accordance with international norms and practices.

Because no single model will work for all countries, there is a wide range of support NATO and the U.S. Government can bring. NATO support to vulnerable countries such as Ukraine and Georgia can help bolster democratic governance and further institutional reforms. The United States and Allies help train the militaries and advise governments on necessary military reforms, such as civilian control of the military and in promoting anti-corruption efforts, offering our own programs as well as supporting European experts in their work. Corruption is a key lever of influence for Russia, and eliminating it is essential to building resilience.

RESPONSES TO AN ADDITIONAL QUESTION FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO HON. KAY BAILEY HUTCHISON BY SENATOR CORY BOOKER

Question 1. If confirmed as NATO ambassador, you would be entrusted with safeguarding relationships with our most trusted allies and partners and, if President Trump's latest meeting with NATO is any indication, addressing the statements of the President while not further fracturing alliances with our allies.

Nicholas Burns, who served as ambassador to NATO under President George W. Bush, stated "I do think Trump's visit to NATO was the least effective of any American president since 1949," following President Trump's attendance at the NATO summit earlier this summer. The President did not reaffirm Article 5 even after NATO states came to America's aid after 9/11—the only time in the alliance's history that it has invoked Article 5. About a third of the NATO soldiers killed in Afghanistan have come from countries other than the United States.

- Do you believe that the United States should abide by our Article 5 commitment and how will you reassure our allies that we stand shoulder to shoulder with them?

Answer. I fully agree with the public statements made by President Trump, Vice President Pence, Secretary Tillerson, and Secretary Mattis, that the United States is fully committed to Article 5. Collective defense in accordance with Article 5 is a bedrock principle of NATO and underpins the transatlantic relationship.

The United States' commitment to Article 5 is ironclad and the United States backs up this commitment with action. The United States leads a rotational multinational battle group in Poland as part of NATO's enhanced Forward Presence. In addition, the United States supports deterrence and defense activities in Europe through the European Readiness Initiative (ERI). This administration's Fiscal Year 2018 Budget request included \$4.8 billion—a \$1.4 billion increase from last year—to fund ERI. I appreciate Congress' steadfast support for this initiative.

I welcome recent resolutions passed by the House and Senate reaffirming the U.S. commitment to Article 5.

We recall with gratitude that the only invocation of Article 5 in NATO's 68 years happened in the wake of the September 11, 2001, attacks.

RESPONSE TO AN ADDITIONAL QUESTION FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO KELLY CRAFT BY SENATOR MARCO RUBIO

On NATO and ISIS

Question 1. While Canada has a contingent of 800 troops to fight ISIS, it recently discontinued flying counterterrorism sorties in Syria due to security concerns. In 2016, NATO estimates that Canada only spent less than 1 percent of its GDP on defense. Are Canada's contributions to NATO operations and the coalition against ISIS enough? Do you commit to press the Canadian Government to increase its contributions to NATO and the anti-ISIS coalition?

Answer. Canada continues to play a central and critical role in U.S. counterterrorism operations worldwide, including in Afghanistan and Iraq, where Canada has troops deployed on the ground. In support of D-ISIS operations in Iraq, Canadian forces are training, assisting, and advising Iraqi forces together with U.S. and Coalition personnel, including throughout the recent nine-month operation to liberate Mosul.

The United States has made clear to NATO allies, including Canada, our expectation that they live up to their Wales commitments to allot 2 percent of GDP to defense. We have raised this repeatedly with Canada and I will continue to do so if confirmed. Canada recently released the results of a comprehensive defense policy review, which includes many welcome elements which will reform and strengthen Canadian military capabilities. We will continue to urge fulfillment of these commitments and greater burden sharing from NATO allies.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO KELLY CRAFT BY SENATOR BENJAMIN L. CARDIN

Question 1. What are the most important actions you have taken in your career to date to promote human rights and democracy? What has been the impact of your actions?

Answer. One of the most important ways to promote democracy is to be an active participant in our great American experiment. Throughout my life, starting with my father (a life-long Democrat), I have learned the importance of participating in elections by supporting candidates in whom you believe, volunteering on campaigns in your own community, and speaking up against inequities regardless of political repercussions. With regard to human rights issues, I previously had the privilege to serve our country as an alternate delegate to the United Nations, an international organization whose mission, in great part, is to advance the rights of all people around the world.

If confirmed, I look forward to building on these past experiences and working with President Trump, Congress and other key stakeholders to advance human rights and democracy. In particular, I anticipate dedicating my time and energy to the issue of human trafficking—a matter on which Chairman Bob Corker, Ranking Member Ben Cardin, Senator Robert Menendez and their colleagues have shown greater leadership in recent years. As part of this effort, I will work diligently on the State Department's recommendation for Canada to: "increase specialized services and shelter available to all trafficking victims..." as well as pay special attention to interagency and bilateral efforts that can improve data collection and coordination on anti-trafficking efforts here in North America and in multi-lateral fora in which Canada and the United States collaborate.

Question 2. Are you committed to meeting with human rights, civil society and other non-governmental organizations in the U.S. and with local human rights NGOs from Canada?

Answer. Yes. Canada and the United States have a long and proud history of jointly advancing the cause of human rights both at home and abroad. I look forward to working with my Canadian counterparts to continue to promote our common values.

Question 3. Will you engage with Canadian Government officials on matters of human rights, civil rights and governance as part of your bilateral mission?

Answer. Yes. I look forward to working with my counterparts to promote the cause of human rights, civil rights, and governance worldwide.

Question 4. Do you commit to bring to the committee's attention (and the State Department Inspector General) any change in policy or U.S. actions that you sus-

pect may be influenced by any of the President's business or financial interests, or the business or financial interests of any senior White House staff?

Answer. I commit to comply with all relevant federal ethics laws, regulations, and rules, and to raise concerns that I may have through appropriate channels.

Question 5. Do you commit to inform the committee if you have any reason to suspect that a foreign government, head of state, or foreign-controlled entity is taking any action in order to benefit any of the President's business or financial interests, or the interests of senior White House staff?

Answer. I commit to comply with all relevant federal ethics laws, regulations, and rules, and to raise concerns that I may have through appropriate channels.

Question 6. Do you or do any members of your immediate family have any financial interests in Canada?

Answer. To my knowledge, neither I nor any of my immediate family members have any direct financial interests in Canada. If confirmed to serve as U.S. Ambassador to Canada, I will commit to the highest standards of ethical conduct for government officials and honor my ethical obligations under applicable federal law, regulations and rules. Additionally, if confirmed, I will adhere to all of the commitments set forth in my pre-clearance ethics agreement with the U.S. Department of State and raise any pertinent conflict of interest or ethical concerns that I may have through appropriate channels.

Question 7. Research from private industry demonstrates that, when managed well, diversity makes business teams better both in terms of creativity and in terms of productivity. What will you do to promote, mentor and support your staff that come from diverse backgrounds and underrepresented groups in the Foreign Service?

Answer. Yes. I share the view that a diverse workforce is key to ensuring a productive and creative team. I will endeavor to reflect the diversity of our great nation by promoting the value of diversity as Ambassador to Canada through our Embassy and our activities.

Question 8. What steps will you take to ensure each of the supervisors at the Embassy are fostering an environment that's diverse and inclusive?

Answer. I will lead by example by fostering a culture of acceptance and inclusivity throughout Mission Canada. To achieve a diverse workforce, I will:

- Work to implement appropriate procedures for support and mentoring of staff;
- Fully comply with federal non-discrimination laws and regulations in our Embassy and consulates; and
- Clearly communicate the importance of complying with established protocols and procedures.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO KELLY CRAFT BY SENATOR ROBERT MENENDEZ

Question 1. Until recently, Canadian courts have applied a utility requirement—referred to as the “promise doctrine”—when assessing biopharmaceutical patents. Canada has used this policy to invalidate 26 patents over the last decade. Last month, the Supreme Court of Canada invalidated the promise doctrine.

- Will you press for full and immediate implementation of this decision?
- How will you work to ensure that our trading partners, including Canada, uphold their FTA and WTO commitments on intellectual property rights?

Answer. Yes. I am aware of the Canadian Supreme Court decision, which addresses a longstanding concern of the United States. Together with my team at Mission Canada, we will work closely with our colleagues at the Department of Commerce and the U.S. Trade Representative's office to press the Government of Canada to enforce the highest standards on intellectual property rights and to ensure that U.S. companies are fairly treated.

Question 2. More money is spent on biomedical research and development in the U.S. than in any other country in the world. Proposals under consideration by the Canadian Government to change the way medicines are paid for in Canada would adopt pricing setting measures that discount this important investment. This could significantly harm U.S. biopharmaceutical companies and ultimately patient access to medicines.

- How will you work to advance policies for American innovators that appropriately recognize and reward the value of medicines and ensure patients have access to the medicines they need?

Answer. Patients in both countries benefit from continued innovation in the medical and pharmaceutical industries. If confirmed, I will work with U.S. Government agencies to ensure that U.S. biopharmaceutical companies are fairly treated in the Canadian market.

Question 3. Under NAFTA, when a U.S. investor in Canada is denied “fair and equitable treatment”, the recourse for the U.S. investor is to file a claim with an arbitration panel. In certain cases, after a NAFTA arbitration panel decides in favor of a U.S. investor against Canada the Canadian Government has resorted to its own domestic courts to strike down the decision. After spending considerable time and resources to undertake the dispute panel process, U.S. companies must then fight the Canadian Government in the Canadian courts to preserve their victory.

- Will you commit to work with me and your Canadian counterparts to find a just resolution of these issues?
- How will you seek to impress upon the Canadian Government the importance of fulfilling their existing obligations under NAFTA, including the decisions of dispute resolution panels?

Answer. I share your commitment to protect U.S. investors and, if confirmed, I will work with the Congress and with the Government of Canada to support fair and just treatment of U.S. companies in any dispute resolution process with our NAFTA partners.

Question 4. Following the President's withdrawal from the Paris Climate Accord, the United States and Canada, we recently saw Prime Minister Trudeau reaching out directly to states to engage on critical issues including the environment, clean technology cooperation, and other energy priorities.

- What implications do you think this has for traditional bilateral engagement and how do you plan to represent the United States as a country, when our states are taking the lead with a different policy position?
- Do you plan to continue to work with Canada on mutually beneficial clean technology development? How?

Answer. The issues you mention remain priorities for both of our countries. The United States supports a balanced approach to climate policy that lowers emissions while promoting economic growth and ensuring energy security. We will continue to reduce our greenhouse gas emissions through innovation and technology breakthroughs. This administration believes in cooperative federalism, and therefore is supportive of states and cities making their own choices within their respective borders on climate policy.

Refugees and migrants

Question 5. Given significant and severe refugee crises around the world, Canada has adopted overwhelmingly welcoming policies. Additionally, Canada has migration policies in place that open the doors for entrepreneurs to come to Canada, welcome increasing numbers of students to their universities, and generally promote a positive image of migration in Canada.

- How do you plan to engage Canada on the issues of refugees and migration?
- Do you believe it puts the United States at a disadvantage to have more restrictive immigration policies that those of our neighbor?

Answer. If confirmed, I will engage the Canadian Government at the federal and provincial level to share views on immigration and refugee issues and ensure continuing cooperation. The United States and Canada work together closely on border security and information sharing, and we are both proud of our history as countries with diverse populations and a strong record of welcoming immigrants and migrants with legal status.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED TO KELLY CRAFT BY SENATOR RON JOHNSON

Question 1. In 2015, the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC), Canada's broadcasting and telecommunication regulatory agency, issued a decision that singled out the Super Bowl as it relates to simultaneous substitution. I, along with Senator Marco Rubio, first raised this issue in a December 2016 letter to Canadian ambassador David MacNaughton, urging Canada to reverse

the CRTC's ruling related to the Super Bowl. I also am aware that colleagues in both the House and Senate, from both sides of the aisle, also raised this issue over the course of many months with the Ambassador and other officials in both Canada and the United States. Unfortunately, however, the Canadian Government took no action, and the policy went into effect, causing significant harm to the NFL and its Canadian partner with the exclusive broadcasting rights there. If confirmed, will you commit to examining this issue and working with officials and stakeholders on both sides of the border to resolve this issue and protect the interests of the NFL as a U.S. copyright owner?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I will continue to examine this issue and work with the appropriate government officials and stakeholders in both countries, and to advocate on behalf of the NFL on the issue of broadcasting rights for the Super Bowl.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO ROBERT WOOD JOHNSON BY SENATOR BENJAMIN L. CARDIN

Question 1. What are the most important actions you have taken in your career to date to promote human rights and democracy? What has been the impact of your actions?

Answer. As a private citizen in the United States, I've taken a number of philanthropic steps to improve the lives of those living in disadvantaged communities or poor state of health and physical condition. Some of the accomplishments of which I'm most proud include my philanthropy toward relief from diabetes and lupus as well as supporting catastrophically injured veterans.

As a former Chairman of the Juvenile Diabetes Research Foundation International, I initiated the campaign "The Only Remedy Is a Cure," transforming a small, non-profit group into the largest private medical entity focused on finding a cure for diabetes. I devoted a good deal of time working with the National Institutes for Health to secure government funding for diabetes research, and this led to a three-year term on the National Diabetes and Digestive and Kidney Diseases Advisory Council.

In 1999 my focus expanded to include medical research to better treat and cure lupus. As there was no formal organization devoted exclusively to researching this debilitating autoimmune disease, I established the Alliance for Lupus Research (now known as Lupus Research Alliance) to raise funds to prevent, treat and cure lupus. ALR-funded research laid the foundation for development of 30 percent of all lupus drugs currently in the clinical-trial pipeline.

As a New Yorker, I feel compelled to recognize the important sacrifices made by our service members. Through the Stephen Siller Tunnel to Tower Foundation, we support catastrophically wounded veterans in the region to fund the construction of smart homes through the Foundation's Building for America's Bravest program. This program builds specially adapted, custom-designed smart homes to help restore independence and improve the quality of life for our nation's most seriously injured service members. Each smart home imparts self-sufficiency; by means of special technology, a wounded veteran can manage day-to-day tasks without depending on others. It's humbling to be a part of a program that restores independence to veterans who put their lives on the line for their country.

Lastly, following my grandfather's legacy, I have served as a Trustee Emeritus of the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, the nation's largest philanthropic organization devoted exclusively to promoting health and advancing healthcare. The Foundation aims to prompt new public policy, inspire action from the private sector, and improve the delivery of the best health care to the most people. Among its many successes, the Foundation has made substantial inroads in its anti-smoking campaign as well as reducing the rate of childhood obesity.

Question 2. Are you committed to meeting with human rights, civil society and other non-governmental organizations in the U.S. and with local human rights NGOs from the United Kingdom?

Answer. Yes. I am committed to working with civil society groups and NGOs to advance U.S. priorities, including human rights. If confirmed, I would welcome the opportunity to meet with experts in these areas on both sides of the Atlantic.

Question 3. Will you engage with British Government officials on matters of human rights, civil rights and governance as part of your bilateral mission?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I will continue the U.S. Mission's strong partnership with Her Majesty's Government and British civil society to engage on these topics.

Question 4. Do you commit to bring to the committee's attention (and the State Department Inspector General) any change in policy or U.S. actions that you suspect may be influenced by any of the President's business or financial interests, or the business or financial interests of any senior White House staff?

Answer. I commit to comply with all relevant federal ethics laws, regulations, and rules, and to raise concerns that I may have through appropriate channels.

Question 5. Do you commit to inform the committee if you have any reason to suspect that a foreign government, head of state, or foreign-controlled entity is taking any action in order to benefit any of the President's business or financial interests, or the interests of senior White House staff?

Answer. I commit to comply with all relevant federal ethics laws, regulations, and rules, and to raise concerns that I may have through appropriate channels.

Question 6. Do you or do any members of your immediate family have any financial interests in the United Kingdom?

Answer. I have identified all applicable financial interests on my public financial disclosure form, including interests that may be connected to the UK and have consulted at length with the Office of Government Ethics and the Department of State's designated agency ethics official to identify any potential conflicts of interest. All potential conflicts of interest have been resolved to the satisfaction of ethics officials and in accordance with the terms of my ethics agreement.

Question 7. Research from private industry demonstrates that, when managed well, diversity makes business teams better both in terms of creativity and in terms of productivity. What will you do to promote, mentor and support your staff that come from diverse backgrounds and underrepresented groups in the Foreign Service?

Answer. My experience in business and philanthropy has given me myriad opportunities to build high-functioning teams with diverse members. I remain committed to equal employment opportunity principles. If confirmed, I will foster a work environment which recognizes the contributions of all employees, and will make sure they have information available about the Department's Diversity and Inclusion Strategic Plan, foreign affairs affinity organizations, and opportunities specific to various groups.

Question 8. What steps will you take to ensure each of the supervisors at the Embassy are fostering an environment that is diverse and inclusive?

Answer. If confirmed, I will encourage all supervisors to take available courses on EEO principles, diversity, and related issues. I will urge them to discuss unconscious bias and similar topics when they mentor junior colleagues. I will direct supervisors to transparently and fairly provide opportunities to all entry- and mid-level professionals. By providing time for professional development discussions to address diversity, I will highlight that this is a priority for me as the Ambassador.

Question 9. What is your assessment of the United Kingdom's military capabilities and defense spending?

Answer. The United Kingdom Ministry of Defense (MOD) and Armed Forces are our closest partners and one of the top contributors to NATO and U.S.-led missions globally. Her Majesty's Government (HMG) remains committed to spending at least two percent of GDP on the defense budget, and is spurring other NATO Allies to meet that same commitment. If confirmed as Ambassador, I will underscore the importance that America's allies, including the United Kingdom, share the burden in meeting and addressing threats to our peace and security, including by continuing to meet its commitment to spend at least 2 percent of GDP on its military.

The MOD in 2015 presented ambitious defense capability upgrades and force integration plans. Officials confirmed that the MOD would bring two new aircraft carriers into action, continue acquiring the F-35 Joint Strike Fighter, and improve capabilities by acquiring the P-8 Maritime Patrol Aircraft, additional AH-64 attack helicopters and CH-47G heavy lift helicopters, and the new Ajax armored vehicle. In July 2016, HMG committed to its continuous at-sea nuclear deterrent with the intent to commission four new nuclear ballistic missile submarines.

Question 10. Do you think recent United Kingdom defense cuts have affected transatlantic cooperation and burden-sharing or the United Kingdom's military's ability to carry out operations?

Answer. The United Kingdom maintains a high-tempo of global military operations and defense engagement. UK operational priorities include support to defeating ISIS and supporting the Iraqi Security Forces; countering violent extremism in Libya; supporting the Afghan National Defense and Security Forces in NATO's Resolute Support Mission; deterring Russia by leading a battle group in Estonia as part

of NATO's enhanced Forward Presence effort; and building defense capacity in Ukraine, Nigeria, Tunisia, Jordan, and east Africa. In addition, MOD officials work closely with U.S. counterparts to achieve our shared counterterrorism objectives.

Question 11. Should U.S. policymakers be concerned that the United Kingdom could become a less robust and less influential defense partner in the coming years?

Answer. Prime Minister May has made clear that the UK will continue to be a global leader, and a key U.S. partner, in tackling global security and defense challenges.

Even before the decision to leave the European Union (EU), HMG made international engagement a priority in its 2015 defense strategy review. The MOD committed to work with Allies and partners in NATO, the Joint Expeditionary Force, the Combined Joint Expeditionary Force, and to deepen its interoperability with U.S. forces.

The MOD also charged its forces to increase international defense engagement—to increase British influence globally and build partner defense capacity. This defense engagement task coincides with the UK national prosperity agenda to market and sell British products, primarily defense articles, to partner nations and Allies globally.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO ROBERT WOOD JOHNSON BY SENATOR JEANNE SHAHEEN

Question 1. Mr. Johnson, I noticed that you could not affirmatively say that Russia was behind the cyber intrusion into 2016 U.S. elections. While I understand that you have not reviewed the classified intelligence, do you trust the judgment of our intelligence community and will you be able to affirm their judgment in your bilateral discussions with the UK and other foreign representatives on this and other matters?

Answer. I have the utmost respect for the women and men of the U.S. intelligence community. While planning Super Bowl XLVIII, I saw first-hand their professionalism, judgment, and patriotism as they worked to keep Americans safe during the week-long activities. I trust our intelligence community's judgment and devotion to our nation.

If confirmed, I will carefully review available intelligence and analysis to ensure that I am most effective in advancing U.S. foreign policy objectives in the United Kingdom. And I will certainly affirm my confidence in the judgment of the U.S. intelligence community during bilateral discussions with British and other foreign representatives where appropriate.

Question 2. One other issue that I'd like to raise is something that's been brought to my attention by someone who has testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on the challenge of dealing with Vladimir Putin and his associates in the Kremlin. Vladimir Kara-Murza, a prominent Russian dissident who has suffered multiple assassination attempts, has emphasized the need for the U.S. and the UK to prevent Russian oligarchs who wish to hide stolen assets in the West. This practice is well-documented by investigative journalists and the UK documentary "From Russia with Cash" revealed how real estate agents in Great Britain, in particular, can be key enablers for laundering dirty money. Are you familiar with this issue? How best can the United States close such loopholes in this country and encourage Allies like the UK to do the same? Can you commit to raising it with your British counterparts, if confirmed?

Answer. While not familiar with this specific issue or documentary, I recognize the importance of preventing money launderers from hiding stolen assets in the United States or anywhere else. If confirmed, I will raise this issue and commit to working closely with Her Majesty's Government to explore joint strategies for improving anti-money laundering efforts.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO LEWIS EISENBERG BY SENATOR BENJAMIN L. CARDIN

Question 1. What are the most important actions you have taken in your career to date to promote human rights and democracy? What has been the impact of your actions?

Answer. The importance of American democracy and our basic liberties, values, and way of life was never clearer to me than in the days after September 11, 2001. As the Chairman of the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey, and later as a board member of the Lower Manhattan Development Corporation, I was intimately involved in the immediate rescue, recovery, and rebuilding efforts following the attack on the World Trade Center—efforts that helped send a message that Americans would defend and protect our way of life, even at great cost.

Before and since that terrible day, human rights and democracy have been important values in my career. For the past 15 years, I have worked in electoral politics, including efforts to promote political participation and get young people involved in the democratic process. I served for over 15 years as a board member and volunteer for New York Service for the Handicapped, and in that position I worked to advance the rights and opportunities of persons with disabilities. In my philanthropic activities, I have supported efforts to end discrimination against LGBT persons. And throughout my career, I have worked to promote equal treatment and professional opportunities for women in the financial industry.

Serving with my wife as a national Board Member of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), I had the opportunity to advocate for democratic values in an international context, working to strengthen U.S. support for Israel as a critical democratic ally in the Middle East.

Question 2. What are the most pressing human rights concerns in the Republic of San Marino today? What are the most important steps you expect to take—if confirmed—to advance human rights and democracy in Italy and the Republic of San Marino? What do you hope to accomplish through these actions?

Answer. Italy and the Republic of San Marino are strong partners in advancing human rights around the world. Nevertheless, some important challenges remain. In San Marino, official corruption and transparency issues are important challenges, given the Republic's historic role as an international financial hub. Access for persons with disabilities is another area where more can be done.

Italy's place on the frontline of Europe's ongoing refugee and migration crisis has brought into sharp relief challenges of human trafficking, including labor and sex trafficking, particularly for unaccompanied minors and other vulnerable populations, as well as challenges regarding capacity and adequacy of housing. Other issues in Italy include corruption and incidents of mistreatment and social exclusion of members of minority groups, including Roma.

If confirmed, I am committed to continuing Mission Italy's active engagement with Italian and Sammarinese officials on these important issues. In particular, in the context of the ongoing refugee and migration crisis, I would seek to redouble our efforts to partner with Italy and San Marino in combating human trafficking and addressing human rights abuses against refugees and migrants. I would also look forward to strengthening Mission Italy's programs to combat corruption and promote good governance and transparency.

Question 3. If confirmed, what are the potential obstacles to addressing the specific human rights issues you have identified in your previous response? What challenges will you face in Italy and the Republic of San Marino in advancing human rights, civil society and democracy in general?

Answer. The people and governments of Italy and the Republic of San Marino are strong, willing partners in addressing human rights issues at home and around the world. However, the refugee and migrant crisis has strained Italy's capacity to screen and identify victims of trafficking, provide adequate shelter to newly arrived refugees and migrants, and protect refugees and migrants from exploitation and abuse. If confirmed, I look forward to doing everything possible to support Italy's efforts—together with its European Union neighbors and the international community—to meet this historic challenge and protect the human rights of all who arrive on Italy's shores.

Question 4. Are you committed to meeting with human rights, civil society and other non-governmental organizations in the U.S. and with local human rights NGOs in the Italy and the Republic of San Marino?

Answer. These are very important issues, and if confirmed, I am absolutely committed to meeting with human rights, civil society, and other non-governmental organizations in the United States and with local human rights NGOs in Italy and the Republic of San Marino.

Question 5. Will you engage with Italians and Sammarinese on matters of human rights, civil rights and governance as part of your bilateral mission?

Answer. These are very important issues, and if confirmed, I am absolutely committed to engaging with the Italians and Sammarinese on matters of human rights, civil rights, and governance as part of the bilateral mission.

Question 6. Do you commit to bring to the committee's attention (and the State Department Inspector General) any change in policy or U.S. actions that you suspect may be influenced by any of the President's business or financial interests, or the business or financial interests of any senior White House staff?

Answer. I commit to comply with all relevant federal ethics laws, regulations, and rules, and to raise concerns that I may have through appropriate channels.

Question 7. Do you commit to inform the committee if you have any reason to suspect that a foreign government, head of state, or foreign-controlled entity is taking any action in order to benefit any of the President's business or financial interests, or the interests of senior White House staff?

Answer. I commit to comply with all relevant federal ethics laws, regulations, and rules, and to raise concerns that I may have through appropriate channels.

Question 8. Do you or do any members of your immediate family have any financial interests in Italy or the Republic of San Marino?

Answer. I am committed to ensuring that my official actions will not give rise to a conflict of interest. My investment portfolio includes companies that have a presence in Italy, but I have worked closely with the State Department Ethics Office and the Office of Government Ethics and will divest my interests in those companies the State Department Ethics Office deems necessary to avoid a conflict of interest. I will remain vigilant with regard to my ethics obligations.

Question 9. Research from private industry demonstrates that, when managed well, diversity makes business teams better both in terms of creativity and productivity. What will you do to promote, mentor and support your staff that come from diverse backgrounds and underrepresented groups in the Foreign Service?

Answer. I am fully committed to equal employment opportunity principles. I firmly believe that those who represent the United States abroad must fully reflect America's diversity. As the State Department's Statement on Diversity and Equal Employment Opportunity notes, "Our commitment to inclusion must be evident in the face we present to the world and in the decision-making processes that represent our diplomatic goals." Throughout my career, I have worked to ensure the organizations I helped lead had no barriers to opportunity based on race, religion, gender, or other protected categories. If confirmed, I would uphold the same principles of equality and equal opportunity throughout Mission Italy.

I have worked to promote the success of the diverse teams I have led. If confirmed, I will take the same approach to managing the Mission Italy team, ensuring each member of the mission community is able to draw upon his or her unique background and experience to contribute to our shared goals.

Question 10. What steps will you take to ensure that each of the supervisors at the Embassy are fostering an environment that's diverse and inclusive?

Answer. I take seriously not only my own duty, if confirmed, to lead a diverse and inclusive mission, but also my responsibility to ensure managers and supervisors across Mission Italy fully uphold equal employment opportunity principles and promote the success of each member of our embassy community. If confirmed, I will clearly and consistently articulate these principles as Chief of Mission, and I will work with my Deputy Chief of Mission and Country Team to ensure our mission supervisors consistently prioritize them in their interactions.

Question 11. Over many years, the Russian Government has developed, refined, and deployed its toolkit for malign influence in Europe and elsewhere. I believe that these efforts, which seek to erode citizens' confidence in the credibility of democratic institutions, pose a grave threat to the national security interests of the United States and our allies and partners around the world. There are reports that the Russian Government has sought to exert undue influence in Italian politics, media and civil society. How will you work to counter nefarious Russian influence in Italy?

Answer. Italy shares our concerns about Russian aggression in Europe, including Russian disinformation campaigns and malign influence activities. If confirmed, I will work to strengthen our coordination with Italian partners, across relevant agencies, to detect and counter these activities that seek to undermine democratic institutions and principles. If confirmed, I will make U.S.-Italian cooperation on this issue a priority, particularly in advance of Italian national elections that are likely to take place in 2018.

Question 12. Will you commit to engaging with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on this issue?

Answer. Yes.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO LEWIS EISENBERG BY SENATOR JEANNE SHAHEEN

Question 1. Mr. Eisenberg, I noticed that you could not affirmatively say that Russia was behind the cyber intrusion into 2016 U.S. elections. While I understand that you have not reviewed the classified intelligence, do you trust the judgment of our intelligence community and will you be able to affirm their judgment in your bilateral discussions with Italy and other foreign representatives on this and other matters?

Answer. The weight of publicly available evidence clearly indicates Russia attempted to interfere in the 2016 U.S. elections. I take this very seriously. As Secretary Tillerson has said, Russian attempts to influence democratic political systems have been well documented in the United States and elsewhere. I have tremendous respect for the United States Intelligence Community, and I look forward, if confirmed, to reviewing the more detailed intelligence and analysis that will be available to me upon confirmation.

If confirmed, I will have no hesitation in presenting U.S. Government views and assessments to my Italian counterparts and will strongly advocate for shared action to address common concerns. I will work to strengthen our coordination with Italian partners, across relevant agencies, to detect and counter activities of Russia and other countries that seek to undermine democratic institutions and principles. If confirmed, I will make U.S.-Italian cooperation on this issue a priority, particularly in advance of Italian national elections that are likely to take place in 2018?

Question 2. If confirmed, will you continue to stress to the Italian Government the importance of their support for U.S.-EU economic sanctions on Russia? What are the biggest challenges do you feel you will encounter in this regard and how will you address them?

Answer. If confirmed, I will strongly advocate for continued U.S.-EU unity in maintaining pressure on Russia through sanctions. Our administration and the Government of Prime Minister Gentiloni have made clear that sanctions must remain in place until Russia fully implements the Minsk agreements, including ceasing aggression in eastern Ukraine and respecting Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Maintaining Italian popular support for EU sanctions can be a challenge, particularly amid flawed perceptions that Italian businesses have suffered uniquely from reduced trade with Russia. If confirmed, I will work to dispel these misperceptions, make sure Italians understand the stakes of Russia's aggression—including the suffering of the Ukrainian people—and I will stress the vital importance of continued unity in our response.

RESPONSES TO AN ADDITIONAL QUESTION FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO LEWIS EISENBERG BY SENATOR CORY BOOKER

Question 1. Italy has called for increased U.S. engagement in addressing the ongoing conflict in Libya. There was also some press reporting that a Trump aide, Sebastian Gorka talked to the Europeans about partitioning Libya into three. This idea has been widely discredited.

- What do you think about a possible effort to divide Libya into three?
- What steps is the United States taking to support international efforts to bring stability to Libya and what role do you think we should play in working with European partners in this effort?
- Do you have concerns about militarized responses to areas we are countering extremist networks without a comprehensive diplomatic strategy in place?

Answer. The United States and Italy have been strong partners in support of Libyan efforts to improve security and foster the political stability necessary to defeat ISIS and other terrorists, restore the economy, and address transnational flows of migrants and weapons. Both the United States and Italy have engaged a wide range of Libyan political and security figures, pressing all parties to de-escalate tensions and negotiate a political compromise within the framework of the Libyan Political Agreement (LPA), which provides a roadmap for a transitional government and na-

tional elections. The United States supports a united Libya, with a capable, unified government and unified national security forces.

The United States believes that political stability and peace in Libya depends on national reconciliation. We will work closely with the UN and European and regional partners such as Italy to foster political dialogue among Libyans. Libya's neighbors, states in the region, and European partners such as Italy all have an important role in supporting Libyan-led efforts to reach a political solution. There is no military solution to Libya's conflict. The parties must reach a political compromise to stabilize the country, avoid civil conflict, and unify all Libyan forces against the real enemy: ISIS and other terrorists.

If confirmed, I look forward to strengthening our diplomatic engagement with Italy to help stabilize Libya so it cannot be a platform for terrorists, or for criminal gangs that traffic and exploit migrants.

RESPONSES TO AN ADDITIONAL QUESTION FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO K.T. MCFARLAND BY SENATOR MARCO RUBIO

Question 1. The State Department's Trafficking in Persons Report 2017 places Singapore on Tier 2, stating that "The Government of Singapore does not fully meet the minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking; however, it is making significant efforts to do so" and indicates that Singapore still has a ways to go on reducing labor trafficking. Do you believe that trafficking in persons is a problem in Southeast Asia? In Singapore? Do you commit to working with our partners in the Singaporean Government to support their efforts to reduce the scourge of trafficking in persons?

Answer. Yes, I do believe trafficking in persons is a problem in Singapore and Southeast Asia. While Singapore has implemented measures to curb human trafficking, including through the adoption of the 2015 Prevention of Human Trafficking Act, Singapore can take additional steps to improve its anti-trafficking efforts within the country. If confirmed, I commit to work closely with the Government of Singapore, the Singapore Interagency Task Force on Trafficking in Persons, and Singaporean civil society to address this issue.

RESPONSES TO AN ADDITIONAL QUESTION FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO K.T. MCFARLAND BY SENATOR BENJAMIN L. CARDIN

Question 1. What are the most important actions you have taken in your career to date to promote human rights and democracy? What has been the impact of your actions?

Answer. One of the greatest advances in human rights and democracy in modern times was the collapse of the Soviet Empire and discrediting of communism in the late 1980s and early 1990s. It was brought about in large part by President Reagan's policies of no longer accepting mere coexistence with the Soviet Union but to push toward ending and winning the Cold War on our terms without firing a shot. President Reagan and his administration pressured the Soviet Union on many fronts: by building up America's armed forces, revitalizing our alliances, pressuring the Soviet economy, and using the bully pulpit to call out the evils of communism and oppression.

As President Reagan's Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs and the Senior Speechwriter to the Secretary and Deputy Secretary of Defense, I had, on many occasions, the privilege of crafting the words and articulating the public positions for the senior members of the Reagan administration, including the President.

There are hundreds of millions of people today who are free because of Reagan's words.

Question 2. What are the most pressing human rights issues in Singapore? What are the most important steps you expect to take—if confirmed—to promote human rights and democracy in the Republic of Singapore? What do you hope to accomplish through these actions?

Answer. As stated in the State Department's annual Human Rights Report on Singapore, the Government has broad powers to limit citizens' rights on freedoms of speech, assembly association and press, effectively silencing political dissent and allowing the controlling party to overwhelmingly dominate the political scene. Cor-

poral punishment such as caning is used as punishment for some crimes, both violent and non-violent. Human trafficking is also a concern in Singapore, and the Department of State's 2017 Trafficking in Person's Report lists Singapore as a Tier 2 country. Singapore has taken steps to curb trafficking through the adoption of the 2015 Prevention of Human Trafficking Act, which prohibits all forms of human trafficking and sets stringent penalties that meet international standards for those found guilty. If confirmed, I will continue to work closely with the Government of Singapore and civil society to promote basic freedoms in support of their democratic system and to address trafficking in persons.

Question 3. If confirmed, what are the potential obstacles to addressing the specific human rights issues you have identified in your previous response? What challenges will you face by the Republic of Singapore in advancing human rights, civil society and democracy in general?

Answer. While Singapore has free and fair elections, restrictions on media and free speech exist as outlined in our annual Human Rights Report, and further progress is needed in stemming human trafficking. We regularly discuss our concerns with Singapore, and the country has made significant efforts to address human trafficking. We will, however, continue to urge the Government of Singapore to take additional steps to increase investigations, prosecute trafficking cases, and improve victim identification methods. Singapore takes the issue of trafficking in persons seriously, and I look forward to working with Singapore to find better ways to address this problem and other concerns.

Question 4. Are you committed to meeting with human rights, civil society and other non-governmental organizations in the U.S. and with local human rights NGOs from the Republic of Singapore?

Answer. Yes. I am committed to meeting with human rights, civil society, and non-governmental organizations in Singapore.

Question 5. Will you engage with Singapore on matters of human rights, civil rights and governance as part of your bilateral mission?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I will work with the Government of Singapore to engage on matters of human rights, civil rights, and governance. I will also seek to exchange best practices between our governments.

Question 6. Do you commit to bring to the committee's attention (and the State Department Inspector General) any change in policy or U.S. actions that you suspect may be influenced by any of the President's business or financial interests, or the business or financial interests of any senior White House staff?

Answer. I commit to comply with all relevant federal ethics laws, regulations, and rules, and to raise concerns that I may have through appropriate channels.

Question 7. Do you commit to inform the committee if you have any reason to suspect that a foreign government, head of state, or foreign-controlled entity is taking any action in order to benefit any of the President's business or financial interests, or the interests of senior White House staff?

Answer. I commit to comply with all relevant federal ethics laws, regulations, and rules, and to raise concerns that I may have through appropriate channels.

Question 8. Do you or do any members of your immediate family have any financial interests in the Republic of Singapore?

Answer. No.

Question 9. Research from private industry demonstrates that, when managed well, diversity makes business teams better both in terms of creativity and in terms of productivity. What will you do to promote, mentor and support your staff that come from diverse backgrounds and underrepresented groups in the Foreign Service?

Answer. I value the diversity of our Foreign Service Officer corps, and other sources of employees who comprise the staff of Embassy Singapore, which reflects all of America. A strong, diverse workforce ensures we craft the best possible solutions for the foreign policy challenges facing the United States. I will make it a high priority to support my staff at the Embassy, particularly those from diverse backgrounds or underrepresented groups. I will also actively engage the other leaders at the Mission to prioritize mentoring and ensure that we are developing a new generation of diplomats to represent our country effectively.

Question 10. What steps will you take to ensure each of the supervisors at the Embassy are fostering an environment that is diverse and inclusive?

Answer. I will make it clear to the supervisors and all employees at our Mission that I value a respectful and inclusive work environment and will hold supervisors

accountable for abiding by the leadership and management principles established by the Department of State, such as valuing and developing our people. As I have done throughout my career, I will seek to model this behavior through my own leadership of the Mission.

Question 11. Do you believe the United States should lift sanctions on Russia?

Answer. No, not until Moscow reverses the actions on Ukraine and Crimea that triggered sanctions in the first place.

Question 12. Can you share with the committee during your time as a national security advisor to candidate and then-President elect Trump any meetings, contacts or conversations you had with the Russian Government or any Russian-connected individuals?

Answer. To the best of my recollection, there are only two occasions when I encountered any Russian officials during my time as a national security advisor to candidate and then-President-Elect Trump.

The first was at the Republican National Convention in Cleveland. The Russian ambassador, Sergey Kislyak, was one of two hundred or so attendees at the Global Partners in Diplomacy Conference hosted by the Republican National Committee, the Heritage Foundation and the State Department for members of the diplomatic corps. I understand a similar event was held for the Diplomatic Corps at the Democratic National Convention.

I was the moderator of a multi-person panel discussion on then-candidate Trump's foreign policy held at Case Western Reserve University. When we opened the floor to questions from the audience, Ambassador Kislyak asked a question of the panel. I had no personal contact with the Ambassador during the conference. In fact, I did not know who he was until after he identified himself to the audience during his question.

The second was in a receiving line on January 19, 2017. I gave a speech at a luncheon hosted by the Business Council for International Understanding for approximately 100 members of the diplomatic corps and business community. Ambassador Kislyak attended the luncheon, and we exchanged brief pleasantries in the receiving line, as I did with the thirty or so ambassadors and businessmen who also participated in the receiving line.

Question 13. At the Global Partners in Diplomacy conference, a RNC event hosted in Cleveland, press reports say you and Ambassador Kislyak were both in attendance. Did you have any contact or conversations with Russian officials or conduits at this event?

Answer. Please see the answer to Question 12 (above).

Question 14. On Islam, you have said "Islam is religion, Islamism is death cult." You said that the United States "reluctance to hurt their feelings" and "political correctness is getting people killed" Lt. Gen. Michael Flynn, who brought you on to the Trump team called Islamism a "vicious cancer inside the body of 1.7 billion people" that has to be "excised". Singapore has a population that is 15 percent Muslims. Like in any other country, Muslims in Singapore are Members of Parliament, mayors, and crucial members of the Singapore society. How can you represent U.S. values abroad, which was founded on the principles of religious freedom, diversity and inclusion, while also believing that Islam is a death cult?

Answer. Let me clarify the question. I believe Islam is a religion, and not a death cult. I do, however, believe Islamism, is a death cult. I have tried to be careful to make the distinction between Islam on the one hand, and Islamism as practiced by ISIS, Al Qaeda, and the Islamic State on the other. I believe Islamism, which promotes suicide bombers, and the killing of innocents, including women and children is a death cult.

In my previous position as Deputy National Security Adviser, I had several conversations with Singaporean officials, several of whom are Muslim, about the threat posed by the spread of radical Islam. They expressed concerns, and I agreed, that it presents a growing security issue in Southeast Asia.

Like the 68 member Global Coalition to Defeat ISIS, I believe Islamism, Islamists and radical terrorists pose a threat to international peace and stability and continue to commit gross abuses to human rights and violations of international law.

Question 15. In 2012, when asked about waterboarding you said "Even if it's torture, it's probably worth doing." I believe waterboarding, which is classified by the United Nations as torture, is not only morally objectionable but has proven repeatedly to not work. Can you share with the committee your current views on torture?

Answer. Thank you for the opportunity to clarify my position. As I said during my nomination hearing, I have come full circle in my thinking on this issue in the

last five years. I have listened to the arguments of Senator McCain, Senator Graham, General (now Defense Secretary) Mattis and others that torture is ineffective, violates international and U.S. law, and leaves our own military open to torture by others. Finally, I have come to agree with them that there is nothing more important in this regard than living our values.

Question 16. Are there instances in which torture are justifiable to you?

Answer. No.

Question 17. Singapore is a regional hub for American business, and much of the U.S. Ambassador's job inevitably touches on American business interests. Singapore's penal code criminalizes homosexuality, and the country offers no protections against discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation and gender identity. This poses a negative impact not only on U.S. companies' gay and lesbian employees and families, but on talent assignment by American companies. What would you do as ambassador, in partnership with U.S. companies, to encourage Singapore to rescind its anti-LGBT laws and offer employment and other protections for LGBT people?

Answer. LGBT rights are a topic of discussion in our conversations with the Singaporean Government. We continue to urge equal treatment for all and to underscore our commitment to diversity and inclusion. If confirmed, I will engage not only with the Singaporean Government, but also with civil society organizations, the private sector, and like-minded missions to further these discussions.

Question 18. Singapore-based businesses have been accused in recent years of helping North Korea evade sanctions. In 2014, the Singapore-registered Chinpo Shipping company was criminally charged in Singapore for doing business with North Korea's Ocean Maritime Management company, which had been the target of international sanctions. If confirmed, how do you see your role as making sure that Singapore fully implements and enforces its international commitments made to Singapore?

Answer. North Korea's provocations threaten international peace and security. Singapore has reiterated its commitment to fully implement all UN Security Council resolutions on North Korea, including establishing new visa requirements for all DPRK passport holders. If confirmed, I will continue to work closely with Singapore to coordinate our diplomatic, military, and economic response to North Korea's nuclear, ballistic missile, and proliferation programs.

Question 19. What role do you think Singapore should play in addressing maritime tensions in the South China Sea?

Answer. Singapore is a critical partner in promoting a regional architecture that maintains security and promotes economic prosperity across the Asia-Pacific. Singapore is one of the founding members of ASEAN, and views ASEAN as a forum to manage maritime disputes in the South China Sea. We believe that Singapore has an important role to play in helping bring forward a unified ASEAN position that bolsters international law and calls for peaceful settlement of disputes. As China's country coordinator in ASEAN for the next few years, Singapore will also play a significant role in shaping the substance of Code of Conduct negotiations between ASEAN and China.

Question 20. If confirmed, how will you ensure that Singapore and the United States work productively to address tensions and seek common interests in the South China Sea?

Answer. Singapore has a national interest in ensuring freedoms of navigation and overflight, respect for international law, unimpeded lawful commerce, and the peaceful resolution of disputes in the South China Sea. If confirmed, I will continue to discuss with Singapore how we can uphold rights and freedoms in the South China Sea that are reflected in international law.

Question 21. Singapore was one of 11 nations that negotiated the proposed Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) trade agreement with the United States. In an October 2016 interview, Singapore Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong said failure to ratify the proposed TPP would be "a very big setback for America," and that the result would be "your standing goes down with many countries around the world." If confirmed, how will you address concerns about U.S. credibility and leadership in regional and global trade policy voiced by Singapore, a nation heavily dependent on trade?

Answer. Our economic engagement in the Asia-Pacific does not depend on a single agreement or initiative. The United States remains fully committed to strengthening its economic relationships across the region, including in Singapore. The Asia-Pacific remains a top priority for this administration because it is hugely consequential to the future security and economic prosperity of the United States. The high tempo of engagement by senior officials in Asia reflects the administration's focus

on the region. The United States and Singapore have enjoyed a free trade agreement (FTA) since 2004, and we continue to work together with Singapore through our membership in APEC and engagement through ASEAN to promote free and fair trade in the region. If confirmed, I will continue to work with Singapore to promote economic growth and high standards for trade and investment throughout the region.

Question 22. What role does Singapore play in the Trump administration's strategy in Asia?

Answer. Singapore's strategic location in Southeast Asia makes it a hub for people and goods transiting through the region. It is a key partner for the United States on counter-proliferation, counterterrorism, and cybersecurity—priority issues for both of our countries. Our cooperation on both the military and law-enforcement fronts is substantial, and based on 50 years of partnership. If confirmed, I will engage immediately and effectively with the highest levels of Singaporean Government to determine how to strengthen our partnership in these areas, and to empower my staff to grow the working level relationships that are key to day-to-day cooperation.

Question 23. Do you see Singapore's role as different compared to its role during the Obama administration?

Answer. Singapore's role under the current administration is deeply important and bilateral relations remain strong. The U.S.-Singapore relationship is anchored by enduring economic and political ties, and for over 50 years we have enjoyed a close partnership based on our shared vision for peace and prosperity.

Question 24. How do you assess U.S.-Singapore security relations following the 2015 signing of an "enhanced" Strategic Framework Agreement?

Answer. Singapore is one of our strongest defense partners in Southeast Asia, and is committed to regional stability and security. Singapore provides the U.S. military access to bases, ports, and runways and has over 1,000 military personnel and four permanent air force detachments training in the United States.

Question 25. Where do you see opportunities for closer cooperation in areas where the United States and Singapore could benefit from doing more?

Answer. As technological advancement continues to create a more inter-connected world that is increasingly vulnerable to cyber threats, greater cyber security cooperation would benefit both Singapore and the United States. Singapore leads the region on cyber security. In 2016, it launched the ASEAN Ministerial Conference on Cybersecurity and a \$7.5 million regional capacity building program. Through the U.S.-Singapore Third Country Training Program, the United States and Singapore are working closely together to conduct joint capacity building courses and trainings for countries across Southeast Asia in areas such as cyber security and cyber-crime. If confirmed, I will continue to support efforts to deepen our cybersecurity cooperation, and work closely with our Singapore partners to identify all areas of potential collaboration in our mutual interests.

Question 26. How do you assess the utility of the Littoral Combat Ship (LCS) rotations that began in 2013?

Answer. The Littoral Combat Ship rotations underscore strong U.S.-Singapore defense ties. The strategic benefits of our cooperation with Singapore are considerable. In addition to supporting rotational deployments of U.S. P-8 aircraft and U.S. Littoral Combat Ships, Singapore allows U.S. Navy helicopters to use its airfields.

RESPONSES TO AN ADDITIONAL QUESTION FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO K.T. MCFARLAND BY SENATOR TIM KAINÉ

Views on Brexit

Question . During your hearing, I asked you if press reports about your support for the Brexit vote were accurate. You testified that you believed that the will of the British people should be respected. When I asked you in follow up whether you had ever expressed personal support or opposition for Brexit, you could not recall.

Press accounts reveal that you celebrated Brexit, calling it Britain's opportunity to "leave a sinking ship" and said that "Europe is collapsing," comparing it to the Titanic. In a June 24, 2016 article titled "After Brexit: Mr. Trump (or Mrs. Clinton) let's resurrect the Anglo-American alliance," you wrote: "The British people just voted to take back self-rule from the faceless, unaccountable, arrogant, power-grabbing bureaucrats in Brussels."

- Can you explain why you supported Brexit, if you still hold that it was a positive outcome for the UK and Europe, whether you still believe that EU officials are “arrogant, power-grabbing bureaucrats,” and whether you continue to believe that Europe is collapsing?

Answer. I supported the view held by many conservatives, especially in the Tory Party, that British sovereignty was being eroded in favor of the European Union. One British politician in particular who helped shape my views was Steve Hilton, former Senior Adviser to Prime Minister David Cameron. According to them, Brexit would allow British to reclaim sovereignty over issues like immigration, regulatory reform and pursue a pro-growth economic policy, cut taxes and slow the expansion of the welfare state.

Since the Brexit vote, the IMF has predicted that the British economy will expand by 2 percent in 2017, making it one of the fastest growing economies in Europe, and the second fastest-growing advanced economy after the U.S.I believe that the constant expansion of the welfare state in many European countries, coupled with slow economic growth and high deficits, plus the added financial, social services and security burden of large influx of migrants in some of the member states will put pressure on these states as well as the European Union.

RESPONSES TO AN ADDITIONAL QUESTION FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO K.T. MCFARLAND BY SENATOR CORY BOOKER

Question 1. You wrote an op-ed titled “Putin is the one who really deserves that Nobel peace prize.” In that piece, regarding President Obama’s Syria policy, you say that “Putin has saved the world from near-certain disaster.”

- Do you agree that Putin regularly has dissidents, opposition leaders and journalists jailed or murdered?

Answer. Yes.

Question 2. Considering your op-ed on Putin was regarding Syria policy, do you disagree with the assessment that Russian forces are actively supporting the Assad regime through airstrikes that have killed thousands of Syrians, particularly in Aleppo?

Answer. No. I don’t disagree.

To put that opinion piece in context, I wrote it in 2013, after Russia offered to take the lead in brokering a U.S.-Russian-Syrian deal to dismantle Syria’s chemical weapons stockpile. At the time President Obama and Secretary Kerry praised the Russians, as did most members of Congress from both sides of the political aisle.

In the four years since, however, Russia has invaded Ukraine, murdered opposition leaders, propped up Assad in spite of his vicious pursuit of the Syrian civil war, and stood by while the Assad regime used chemical weapons against its own civilian population, including women and children.

One of the early issues the Trump administration confronted was Assad’s renewed use of chemical weapons with attacks against innocent civilians, including women and children. I strongly supported the President’s decision to attack the Syrian airfield involved in those attacks.

Question 3. According to Politico, while you served as Deputy National Security Advisor, you gave President Trump a fake 1970s Time magazine cover warning of a coming ice age. The photoshopped magazine cover circulated around the internet several years ago, but was debunked in 2013.

You also reportedly gave President Trump another fake 2008 Time magazine cover about surviving global warming. President Trump reportedly “got lathered up about the media’s hypocrisy” but “staff chased down the truth and intervened before Trump or tweeted or talked publicly about it.”

- Did you provide President Trump “fake news” about climate change to promote a policy position antagonistic to the Paris climate agreement?

Answer. No.

Senator Booker, Thank you for the opportunity to set the record straight.

It was an honest mistake on my staff’s part, with no intention to deceive or to make the case against climate change.

I do believe the climate is changing, and that humans play a role in it. I would also point out that my husband was one of the founding directors of the World Resources Institute in the early 1980s, one of the early pro-environmental policy groups in the country. He had my full support in that endeavor.

Question 4. If yes, why did you provide President Trump fake Time magazine covers taking contrasting positions on climate change?

Answer. N/A

Question 5. Recent reporting has suggested that Lt. Gen. Flynn was warned by senior members of President Trump's transition team about the risks of his contacts with Russian ambassador Sergey Kislyak. Flynn was reportedly told during a late November meeting that Russian ambassador Sergey Kislyak's conversations were almost certainly being monitored by U.S. intelligence agencies, officials said, a caution that came a month before Flynn was recorded discussing U.S. sanctions against Russia with Kislyak.

Trump transition official Marshall Billingslea, warned Flynn that Kislyak was likely a target of U.S. surveillance and that his communications—whether with U.S. persons or superiors in Moscow—were undoubtedly being monitored by the FBI and National Security Agency, according to officials familiar with the exchange. Billingslea then said that he would obtain a copy of the profile of Kislyak, officials said, a document that Billingslea urged Flynn to read if he were going to communicate with the Russian envoy. Flynn's reaction was noncommittal, officials said, neither objecting to the feedback nor signaling agreement. Shortly thereafter, during the week of Nov. 28, Billingslea and other transition officials met with lower level Obama administration officials in the Situation Room at the White House.

Furthermore, Ranking Member of the House Oversight and Government Reform Committee Elijah Cummings sent a letter to Vice President-elect and Director of the Transition Mike Pence on November 28, 2016, outlining Flynn's Russian and Turkish conflicts of interest. In that letter, Ranking Member Cummings explicitly laid out how Lt. Gen. Flynn's firm was being paid to lobby on behalf of Turkish business interests closely connected to Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan. The letter also made clear the Flynn was paid to travel to Moscow for a speech in December 2015 and join Russian President Vladimir Putin at the head table during a dinner honoring the Kremlin-backed media network RT.

- Did you ever discuss any of General Flynn's contacts with Russian ambassador Sergey Kislyak directly with General Flynn?

Answer. I am not aware of any of the issues or events as described above.

Question 6. As a Trump transition official, did you have any contacts with Russian officials after your meeting with Ambassador Kislyak at the Republican National Convention?

Answer. As a first matter, I did not meet Ambassador Kislyak at the Republican National Convention. He was one of two hundred or so attendees at the Global Partners in Diplomacy Conference hosted by the Republican National Committee, the Heritage Foundation and the State Department for members of the diplomatic corps. I understand a similar event was held for the Diplomatic Corps at the Democratic National Convention.

I was the moderator of a multi-person panel discussion on then-candidate Trump's foreign policy held at Case Western Reserve University. When we opened the floor to questions from the audience, Ambassador Kislyak asked a question of the panel. I had no personal contact with the Ambassador; in fact, I did not know who he was until after he identified himself to the audience during his question.

To the best of my recollection, the only other occasion when I encountered any Russian officials as a national security adviser to then-candidate or President-Elect Trump was in a receiving line on January 19, 2017. I gave a speech at a luncheon hosted by the Business Council for International Understanding for approximately 100 members of the diplomatic corps and business community. Ambassador Kislyak attended the luncheon, and we exchanged brief pleasantries in the receiving line, as I did with the 30 or so diplomats and businessmen who participated in the receiving line.

To the best of my knowledge, I did not encounter any other Russian officials during the transition.

Question 7. Were you aware of General Flynn's conversation with Russian ambassador Sergey Kislyak on December 29, 2016 at any point before Vice President Pence's interview with CBS's "Face the nation" on January 15, 2017? If you were aware of Flynn's conversation with the Russian ambassador prior to Pence's interview, did you discuss Flynn's contact with Kislyak with Pence or any other senior transition officials?

Answer. Any conversations I may or may not have had with General Flynn would have been confidential. As such, it would be inappropriate for me to comment on them.

Question 8. If you were aware of Flynn's conversation with the Russian ambassador prior to Pence's interview, did you discuss Flynn's contact with Kislyak with Pence or any other senior transition officials?

Answer. Any conversations I may or may not have had with the Vice President would have been confidential. As such, it would be inappropriate for me to comment on them.

Question 9 Did you participate in any transition team meetings with Obama officials regarding General Flynn?

Answer. No.

Question 10. After Vice President Elect Pence received the November 18, 2016 from Congressman Cummings regarding General Flynn's lobbying for Turkish interests and paid appearance with Russian President Vladimir Putin, were you made aware of this letter?

Answer. No.

Question 11. Did you ever discuss Ranking Member Cummings November 18, 2016 letter to Vice President Pence with Vice President Pence? If so, when? Please provide details on the nature of those conversations if they took place.

Answer. Any conversations I may or may not have had with the Vice President would have been confidential. As such, it would be inappropriate for me to comment on them. However, generally speaking, the letter described above would have been outside of my area of responsibility.

Question 12. Were you ever in contact with Vice President elect Pence, transition official Marshall Billingslea or other transition officials about General Flynn's work on behalf of Turkey or Russian payments?

Answer. Any conversations I may or may not have had with the Vice President would have been confidential. As such, it would be inappropriate for me to comment on them. However, the topic described above would have been outside of my area of responsibility.

Question 13. Did you ever speak to transition official Marshall Billingslea about his meeting with General Flynn in late November 2016 where Billingslea expressed concern to Michael Flynn about his contacts with Russian ambassador Sergey Kislyak?

Answer. Any conversations I may or may not have had with Marshall Billingslea would have been confidential. As such, it would be inappropriate for me to comment on them. However, the topic described above would have been outside of my area of responsibility.

LETTERS SUBMITTED IN SUPPORT OF K.T. MCFARLAND'S
CONFIRMATION AS U.S. AMBASSADOR TO SINGAPORE

HENRY A. KISSINGER

July 10, 2017

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I understand that you are preparing to consider K.T. McFarland to be America's next Ambassador to Singapore. I am writing to encourage her confirmation.

I have known K.T. since she joined my national security staff in 1970 while she was studying at George Washington University. She continued to serve on that staff throughout the Nixon and Ford Administrations with increasing responsibilities. When I retired from government in 1977, she followed me to the Center for Strategic and International Studies, where she spent a summer working in my office as a research assistant. As a graduate student at Oxford, K.T. helped conduct research for the first volume of my memoirs.

Since then, over decades, I have watched her career evolve; she has been a speechwriter, a spokesperson, a commentator, and most recently, an advisor to President Trump. The relationships she has developed with the President as well as with foreign dignitaries will serve her well as Ambassador. And in addition to her experience and her relationships, I am certain K.T. will bring to the position her customary intelligence, skill, and style. I strongly recommend her confirmation.

Best regards,



Henry A. Kissinger

Senator Bob Corker
Chairman
Senate Foreign Relations Committee
185 Dirksen Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 19, 2017

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I fully and enthusiastically endorse the nomination of Kathleen Troia McFarland to be the United States Ambassador to the Republic of Singapore.

I got to know KT in my first days as President Trump's National Security Advisor. I came into my first Washington-based job under challenging conditions and KT was there for me and the National Security Council. She provided the continuity and institutional knowledge to set us on the right path to becoming the disciplined organization the President wants, responsive to his guidance and respected across the interagency. I quickly came to rely on her advice on pressing challenges that were upon us from North Korea to Syria to Iran. KT, with her unflappable professionalism and good humor, even made those days enjoyable, qualities that will serve her in good stead as a diplomat representing our country.

Even more importantly, KT goes into her new role with the full and personal support of President Trump. Singapore is a key strategic partner in a critical part of the world, and they will know they are getting an Ambassador who has a direct line to the Secretary of State and the President, as well as to her colleagues on the National Security Council.

Combined with her deep experience in national security circles dating back to her work for her mentor Dr. Henry Kissinger, these attributes will make her a formidable voice for America on the international stage. I am pleased to be in the position to strongly recommend her for your approval, and only sorry my schedule did not allow me to do it in person.

Please contact my office with any additional questions.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "H.R. McMaster". The signature is written in a cursive, slightly slanted style.

H.R. McMaster
Lieutenant General, United States Army
Assistant to the President for
National Security Affairs

Senator Bob Corker
Chairman
Senate Foreign Relations Committee
185 Dirksen Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510