

NOMINATIONS

THURSDAY, APRIL 7, 2022

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

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:03 a.m. in Room SD-106, Dirksen Senate Office Building, and via videoconference, Hon. Christopher Murphy presiding.

Present: Senators Murphy [presiding], Menendez, Coons, Kaine, Markey, Booker, Schatz, Van Hollen, Romney, Young, Cruz, and Hagerty.

OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. CHRISTOPHER MURPHY, U.S. SENATOR FROM CONNECTICUT

Senator MURPHY. Good morning, everyone. The hearing of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee will now come to order.

Thank you for the participation of our witnesses in this important hearing. We are going to be in the middle of votes throughout the hearing, but in the interest of your time we are going to try to work through this hearing, and Senator Romney and I and Senator Schatz will go back and forth to votes. We will have other colleagues joining us over the course of the morning.

Today we are considering four nominations: Caroline Kennedy to be Ambassador to the Commonwealth of Australia; Philip Goldberg to be Ambassador to the Republic of Korea; MaryKay Carlson to be Ambassador to the Republic of the Philippines; and Marc Nathanson to be Ambassador to the Kingdom of Norway.

Let me begin by welcoming our nominees and your families. We are thankful for your willingness to serve.

I am going to give some brief opening remarks, hand it over to Senator Romney, and we have a few of our colleagues to help us with introductions.

If confirmed, you are all going to take your oath of office at a critical point in world history. Just this week, we have seen the horrific images from Ukraine. We have seen a country turned into a crime scene where there is irrefutable evidence of brutality against civilians by Russia's forces. These actions demand accountability, both for the soldiers who perpetrated these atrocities and the officials in the Kremlin who ordered them.

We have seen countries from around the world step up to impose unprecedented costs on Russia for its unjustified and unprovoked war of aggression on Ukraine. Last month, each of the four countries we are here to talk about today joined an overwhelming majority of the world at the U.N. General Assembly in condemning

the Russian invasion and supporting greater humanitarian access in Ukraine. We know that maintaining that unity amongst allies and partners will be crucial.

Ambassador Kennedy, let me begin by thanking you for your continued service to this country, and let me say a few words about Australia, one of our most important partners in the Indo-Pacific.

The recently announced AUKUS security pact, of which I am a great champion, takes our bilateral partnership to a new level and will further advance the exchange of defense capabilities, including supporting the acquisition of nuclear-powered submarines for the Australian Navy. But our cooperation goes far beyond the security sector. President Biden has placed a priority on strengthening the region, coordinating the power of the Quad so that the United States and Australia, along with the other members, can help work together on COVID-19 vaccines, climate change, technological innovation, and regional competition. The Quad format shows tremendous promise in its ability to convene regional democracies to solve collective challenges and to present a contrast to China's increasingly assertive posture in the Indo-Pacific.

Ambassador Goldberg, as you well know, throughout your wealth of experience in the Foreign Service, South Korea is one of our oldest and most important partners in Asia. Since 1953, our Mutual Defense Treaty has been ironclad. We now have nearly 30,000 troops based in South Korea, and I applaud the administration's success in negotiating a new cost-sharing agreement with the South Korean Government.

After competitive elections that ended last month, which included not only contentious debate on domestic issues but also outlined competing policies on how South Korea will address the challenges from North Korea and China, there is going to be a new president taking office in May, and we look forward to working with you as you tell us more about how you are going to work with the incoming president.

Ms. Carlson, the United States and the Philippines have a special relationship through shared history, cultures, defense cooperation, economic relations, close people-to-people ties. The Philippines' strategic location bordering the South China Sea in proximity to Taiwan undergirds the importance of our defense relationship. They have been a major non-NATO ally since 2003.

Despite those close security ties, democratic backsliding throughout the course of President Duterte's time in office has been troubling. Senator Schatz and I were part of the first congressional delegation to meet with President Duterte in Manila shortly after his election. In that meeting, he was crystal clear about his objectives to use any means possible to wage war on drug dealers and drug users, but the execution-style violence he has employed, frankly, surpassed my worst expectations. President Duterte called President Putin his idol, a personal friend, while claiming that the Philippines would remain neutral in response to Russia's invasion of Ukraine.

Mr. Nathanson, the United States and Norway enjoy a long tradition of strong ties based on our shared democratic values. We share an interest in addressing the problems posed by climate

change, particularly with respect to the Arctic and collaborating with other Arctic states.

On the security side, Norway, as you know, is a founding member of NATO. It has been a crucial partner with us in strengthening the eastern flank of that alliance in response to Russia's invasion of Ukraine.

Norway is also the world's third largest exporter of natural gas, and the fifth largest petroleum exporter, and is poised to play a critical role in stabilizing energy markets that are roiled by Russia's war in Ukraine.

These are incredibly important bilateral relationships made more important by the crisis that our friends in Ukraine are embroiled in today, and we look forward to having a robust discussion with you today about these important posts.

We have a few of our colleagues here to help us with introductions, and so before we do that, let me turn it over to Senator Romney for opening remarks.

**STATEMENT OF HON. MITT ROMNEY,
U.S. SENATOR FROM UTAH**

Senator ROMNEY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. And thank you, those of you who are willing to serve our country yet again in our service overseas.

This is a critical time in the world's history. I met with leaders from an international body yesterday, and they said in some respects this is unprecedented. We have war at the same time we have famine, and at the same time we have a pandemic, all three hitting the world at the same time. And you will each represent our interests in parts of the world that are critical to promoting America's interests around the world.

There are some who think we should simply forget the world and just return home and only think about what is happening here. I happen to believe that if we are truly interested in America's interests first, that means we need to be extensively involved in the world, making sure that the cause of freedom persists such that we can enjoy the economic vitality and peace that has been associated, in large measure, with the last 70 years.

And I want to thank each of you for your willingness and that of your families to be willing to serve yet again. You have been nominated to serve in countries that are obviously very important allies to the U.S., and those partnerships are going to become more important in the years ahead.

The Honorable Ambassador Caroline Kennedy will be going to Australia. As she knows, Australia is our steadfast partner and among our most important allies historically and today. Our partnership will remain critical in maintaining a free and open Indo-Pacific.

I hope, Ambassador Kennedy, that you are going to be able to work with our friends in Australia to identify new opportunities for bilateral and multilateral cooperation, and to strengthen the already strong Quad relationship which we have.

The Honorable Philip S. Goldberg, South Korea, as you know, is our most important ally in dealing with the ongoing threat of North Korea, and we need to work together to deter North Korea's

aggression, to push the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to abandon its nuclear weapons program, to stop its belligerent actions, and to cease its illegal activity.

Of course, our partnership goes beyond this single common threat. I hope you will also approach your time as ambassador to recommit to our partnership and to find new ways to advance the interests which we have among freedom-loving countries and nations that follow the rule of law to encourage China to begin to abide by those common rules.

Ms. MaryKay Loss Carlson, if confirmed, you will be stepping into a vital role and will be tasked with perhaps rebuilding and strengthening our relationship with the Philippines. As the Chairman has just indicated, our relationship with the Philippines has been strained with the current president expressing points of view which are antithetical to those which many of us hold. We are happy to see that the Visiting Forces Agreement was restored last year. We clearly have a good relationship with those who have the long-term interest of the region in their sights. I hope that you will be able to work with our friends in the Philippines to find a much better path forward with regards to our common interest in human rights.

Mr. Marc Nathanson, I do not need to tell you that NATO is pleased to have Norway as an important ally. Its geopolitical significance will only become more important as Russia and China attempt to change the rules of the road, particularly as they relate to their presence in the Arctic. I hope you will use your time as ambassador to strengthen our cooperation with Norway, especially on those Arctic issues. And additionally, I hope you will be able to work with our Norwegian allies to develop common or complementary responses when faced with threats from Russia and China.

So, to all of you, I appreciate your willingness to serve. It is a real commitment, and I hope the American people recognize that on the part of you and your families to go serve our country in a foreign place with so much happening in the world represents a sacrifice on your part and is one which I personally, and I think all members of our committee, deeply appreciate.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator MURPHY. Thank you, Senator Romney.

Let me now turn to Senator Markey for purposes of an introduction.

**STATEMENT OF HON. EDWARD J. MARKEY,
U.S. SENATOR FROM MASSACHUSETTS**

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

It is my pleasure to introduce Caroline Kennedy, who is nominated to be our next Ambassador to the Commonwealth of Australia.

Joining her in person is her husband Ed and her son Jack, who, like mom, once graced these halls as a Senate intern. We welcome them today as we all recognize Caroline Kennedy's tremendous achievements in diplomacy.

Watching on this committee's livestream no doubt are Ambassador Kennedy's two daughters, Rose and Tatiana.

Caroline Kennedy has statesmanship and public service in her DNA, public service to kids in New York City, public service in support of what her father called the moral cause of civil rights, and public service as our Ambassador to Japan. She embodies the strength, integrity, poise, and humor that is necessary to serve our country in consequential times.

Caroline was not a conventional ambassador. She has been a trailblazer as the first woman to serve as U.S. Ambassador to Japan. She used her megaphone to champion the rights of women, to deepen our alliance with Japan, and to skillfully navigate the key touchpoints in the bilateral relationship.

She did the unconventional, from a bike ride to lift spirits ravaged by the 2021 earthquake, to donning a Santa Claus hat to reach youths on YouTube.

But she also excelled in her more traditional duties. Japanese Foreign Minister Kishida, who is now Prime Minister of Japan, said of Caroline, "She was an exceptionally tough negotiator." As a best-selling author and student of history, Caroline Kennedy was mindful of symbolism. President Kennedy's boat was sunk by the Japanese in World War 2, the same war that saw the attack on Pearl Harbor and later the first and only use of nuclear weapons that ended the war at a great cost.

As Ambassador to Japan, Caroline played a key role to reconcile the painful legacy of war by facilitating President Barack Obama's historic visit to Hiroshima and helping Prime Minister Abe communicate directly with the American people at Pearl Harbor.

Ambassador Kennedy is a fantastic pick for another key ally, Australia, the democratic anchor in the Indo-Pacific. Caroline and other members of her family started the Profiles in Courage Award in 1989. Past recipients include George Herbert Walker Bush, Ambassador Robert Bord, and a member of this committee, Senator Mitt Romney.

As an educator, author, philanthropist, ambassador and, most of all, a proud mother, Caroline's life has been and will continue to be what we all believe is a profile in courage.

And as Chair of the East Asia Subcommittee, it has been my pleasure to work with Caroline Kennedy in her role in the Asia region, and I am proud to support my friend, Caroline Kennedy, for this important post. She will do an absolutely great job. I urge swift confirmation for Ambassador Kennedy to this new and critical post.

Senator MURPHY. Thank you very much, Senator Markey. We know that votes are pending on the floor, and we appreciate you providing the introduction.

Let me give some brief introductions of our other guests here today. We may be joined by another colleague for help in those introductions, and then we will begin with testimony from our witnesses.

We are also joined here today by Ambassador Philip Goldberg, our nominee to be Ambassador to Korea. Ambassador Goldberg is completing his current assignment as Ambassador to Colombia after previously serving at our Embassy in Cuba and as our Ambassador to the Philippines.

After that, we have Ms. MaryKay Loss Carlson, the nominee to be Ambassador to the Philippines. Ms. Carlson is a career member of the State Department's Senior Foreign Service, having most recently served as the chargé in Argentina.

And finally, Mr. Nathanson is nominated to be Ambassador to Norway. We are grateful for his significant service in the private sector, his active participation in matters of foreign affairs. We are grateful to have him before the committee, and I think we will have a supplemental introduction.

Let us start with you, Ambassador Kennedy. We welcome your opening remarks, and then we will go down the panel. Just make sure your microphone is on.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. CAROLINE KENNEDY OF NEW YORK, NOMINATED TO BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA

Ambassador KENNEDY. Mr. Chairman, thank you, Ranking Member Romney, members of the committee. I want to also thank my friend, Senator Markey, for his very kind introduction and for being here today.

It is an honor to appear before you this morning as the President's nominee to serve as United States Ambassador to Australia. I am grateful for the consideration of this distinguished committee, and I look forward to answering your questions and hearing first-hand your thoughts and concerns about our vital relationship with Australia.

If confirmed, I look forward to working with you and other members of Congress to advance the interests of the United States, protect the safety of our citizens, and strengthen the bilateral relationship for the benefit of both our countries.

I would like to thank my family for their support during this process, and their enthusiasm for this mission. My husband Ed and my son Jack are here with me, and my daughters and my new grandson are watching from home. Ed and I visited Australia on our honeymoon, and we were thrilled to return as a family in 2014.

I am humbled by this opportunity and the chance to be here today. I will always be grateful to the Australian coast watchers and Solomon Islanders who rescued my father during World War 2, and I know he hoped to be the first sitting president to visit Australia during his second term. If confirmed, I hope to be able to carry that legacy forward in my own small way. Whenever I come to the Senate, I feel the presence of my Uncle Teddy whose devotion to this institution, to his colleagues, and to our country was an inspiration to generations of Americans, and whose love and support meant the world to me.

I can think of no greater privilege than serving my country abroad. From 2013 to 2017, as Ambassador to Japan, I was proud to advocate for American ideals in a country that, like Australia, shares our commitment to democracy, human rights, and the rule of law. I gained broad exposure to the changing dynamics in the Indo-Pacific region: the increasing security tensions and evolving demands on the U.S. military; the rising trade, economic, and climate challenges; the importance of working with U.S. allies and

partners; and of building support for people-to-people ties among younger generations. These challenges have only become more urgent during the past five years.

I also appreciated the opportunity to work closely with our talented diplomats and local staff, and I believe all these experiences will help me to be successful if I am confirmed to this position.

Before serving abroad, I worked to make history more accessible and inspire new generations to public service. I spent 10 years working with the New York City public schools to build public-private partnerships, chaired the Harvard Institute of Politics, and the John F. Kennedy Library Foundation, which has honored political courage for the past 30 years, including on this committee. The lessons I learned from these experiences and from writing books on the Constitution, poetry, and civics will help me represent the United States in a world where the liberal international order is being undermined, yet American values are more essential than ever.

There is no country more committed to these values than our close ally and Five Eyes partner, Australia. Australia has fought with us for the past 100 years, and together we mark the 70th anniversary of the ANZUS treaty. Our Marines have rotated through Darwin for the past 10 years. Our future security cooperation will build on this strong foundation. Last year we announced AUKUS, an ambitious 21st century partnership between the United States, the UK, and Australia. If confirmed, I will work hard to further this ground-breaking partnership.

Australia is an essential partner in the Quad, among our most significant diplomatic initiatives in the Indo-Pacific. Together with Japan and India, we are engaging in a range of activities to promote a free and open, secure, and resilient Indo-Pacific. These initiatives include health and climate security and emerging technologies. We also partner closely with Australia on humanitarian assistance and disaster relief, as well as vaccine deliveries across the Pacific Islands and throughout the region.

The United States is Australia's most important economic partner. Our two-way trade has doubled since our Free Trade Agreement went into effect in 2005. We are increasing vital cooperation on critical technologies, rare earth minerals, supply chain resilience, and energy transformation.

As we emerge from the restrictions of the past two years, Americans and Australians are eager to resume their in-person ties of friendship and business and study abroad, which are among the closest in the world. If confirmed, I look forward to working with the talented members of Mission Australia to assist these efforts and ensure that the ties between our two countries grow even stronger in the coming years.

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

[The prepared statement of Ambassador Kennedy follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. CAROLINE KENNEDY

Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member Romney, members of the committee: It is an honor to appear before you this morning as the President's nominee to serve as United States Ambassador to Australia. I am grateful for the consideration of this

distinguished committee, and I look forward to answering your questions and hearing first-hand your thoughts and concerns about our vital relationship with Australia.

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I would also like to thank my family for their support during this process, and their enthusiasm for this mission. My husband, Ed and my son Jack are here with me, and my daughters and my new grandson are watching from home. Ed and I visited Australia on our honeymoon, and we were thrilled to return with our children in 2014.

I am humbled by this opportunity and the chance to be here today. I will always be grateful to the Australian coast watchers and Solomon Islanders who rescued my father during WW2, and I know he hoped to be the first sitting President to visit Australia during his second term. If confirmed, I hope to be able to carry that legacy forward in my own small way. Whenever I come to the Senate, I feel the presence of my Uncle Teddy whose devotion to this institution, to his colleagues and to our country was an inspiration to generations of Americans, and whose love and support meant the world to me.

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

Senator MURPHY. Thank you very much.

Ambassador Goldberg?

STATEMENT OF THE HON. PHILIP S. GOLDBERG OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, A CAREER MEMBER OF THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE, CLASS OF CAREER AMBASSADOR, NOMINATED TO BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENI-POTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA

Ambassador GOLDBERG. Mr. Chairman, distinguished members of the committee, I am deeply honored to be here today as the President's nominee to serve as the United States Ambassador to the Republic of Korea. I am grateful for the confidence shown by President Biden and Secretary Blinken in entrusting me with this important responsibility and, if confirmed, I look forward to working closely with this committee to advance U.S. priorities in the ROK and further strengthen our nearly seven decades-long alliance.

I am honored to be before this committee for the sixth time as a Presidential appointee of both parties, asking for your advice and consent to serve, and deeply appreciate the crucial role Congress plays in the foreign policy process.

I want to thank my family watching and streaming from home, my sister, brothers-in-law, and nieces and nephews for their support and love. I want to thank my colleagues in Bogota, who are no doubt watching, as well as the Korea Desk, friends and colleagues around the world who I have worked with for a long time and who protect our interests overseas and the people of the United States every day. I am honored to be a member of the U.S. Foreign Service.

Since 1953, our alliance with the Republic of Korea has been a linchpin of peace, security, and prosperity in the Indo-Pacific and beyond. Forged during the Korean War and the 1953 Mutual Defense Treaty, the U.S.-ROK Alliance has evolved into a partnership that is comprehensive and global in nature. If confirmed, my top priority will be to strengthen our ironclad alliance, even as we expand the relationship's regional and global reach.

Over the past few years, we have seen Korea act as an important partner in several crises, including in working with the international community to condemn the military coup in Burma, and Putin's unprovoked and unjustified war against Ukraine. The ROK has also joined with the United States in addressing other global challenges, such as COVID-19, global democracy, and our shared climate agenda. The United States needs and welcomes a global Korea, not only to tackle the most pressing challenges of the 21st century, but also to seize this century's greatest opportunities.

Even as the U.S.-ROK relationship has become a pivotal global partnership, we remain focused on our commitment to protect the ROK from external aggression. The U.S. military personnel stationed in the ROK work closely with the Korean military and United Nations Command member countries to deter and defend against the threat from the DPRK, North Korea, and maintain the Armistice Agreement. If confirmed, I will continue to pursue the President's calibrated approach to achieve our goal of the complete denuclearization of the Korean peninsula. To that end, I would also

ensure we continue to consult closely with our Korean, Japanese, and other allies and partners for the full implementation of U.N. Security Council resolutions while exploring the potential for diplomacy.

Our deep economic ties makes the U.S.-ROK relationship unique. The KORUS Free Trade Agreement, which just celebrated its 10-year anniversary, remains the bedrock of our economic relationship, and today Korea is our sixth-largest trading partner. Korean investments in the United States create thousands of high-paying jobs and, if confirmed, I will continue to work attracting investment to the United States to create jobs and prosperity for the American worker.

A keystone of our relationship is our longstanding people-to-people ties. There are now more than 2 million Americans of Korean descent, and they are members of Congress, senior officials in our military, U.S. diplomats, and business and civil society leaders. More than 1.7 million Koreans have studied in the United States, and approximately 26,000 Koreans have participated in U.S.-sponsored exchanges. The American people benefit from and celebrate Korea's rich culture, everything from traditional hallmarks like the hanbok and kimchi, to recent cultural phenomena like BTS and Squid Games. If confirmed, I will work to ensure the bonds of trust and affection between our people remain strong and vibrant.

On March 9th, the ROK held its eighth presidential election since its transition to democracy in 1987. I admire the Korean people's commitment to democracy, and congratulate President-elect Yoon on his election. The U.S.-ROK relationship has blossomed thanks to President Biden and President Moon's leadership, and if confirmed, I will work with President-elect Yoon's administration and the Korean people to continue to push forward our shared vision of a free and open Indo-Pacific, and a world committed to the international rules-based order, democratic principles, and respect for universal human rights.

Ranking Member Romney, I would be honored to lead the outstanding men and women of U.S. Mission in Korea and to work with our military to strengthen our historic alliance. If confirmed, I look forward to working with Congress to continue shepherding our ever-increasing bonds with the ROK to rise to meet the challenges of the 21st century.

I look forward to your questions.

[The prepared statement of Ambassador Goldberg follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. PHILIP S. GOLDBERG

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Chairman Murphy, Ranking Member Romney, I would be honored to lead the outstanding men and women of U.S. Mission in Korea and to work with our military to strengthen our historic alliance. If confirmed, I look forward to working with Congress to continue shepherding our ever-increasing bonds with the ROK to rise to meet the challenges of the 21st century.

I look forward to answering your questions.

Senator ROMNEY [presiding]. Thank you so much.

I see that Senator Padilla is here, and so we are going to turn to him so that he will be able to introduce our nominee to be Ambassador to Norway, Mr. Nathanson.

Welcome, Senator Padilla, to the committee, and please proceed.

**STATEMENT OF HON. ALEX PADILLA,
U.S. SENATOR FROM CALIFORNIA**

Senator PADILLA. Thank you, Ranking Member Romney, Mr. Chairman in absentia, and members of the committee. I am glad this worked out. I raced over from EPW to be able to introduce my friend, Marc Nathanson. I am proud to introduce him to this committee. He is a fellow Californian, a fellow Angelino, and President Biden's nominee to serve as United States Ambassador to Norway.

As I hope you have become familiar, throughout his decades-long career Mr. Nathanson has been one of the world's leading communications entrepreneurs, as well as a staunch environmentalist.

Mr. Nathanson earned his Bachelor's degree from the University of Denver, and a Master's degree from the University of California-Santa Barbara, where he was a National Science Foundation Fellow.

In 1975, Mr. Nathanson founded Falcon Cable TV, and in 1999 became Vice Chairman of Charter Communications. Today he is Chairman of Mapleton Investments and Chairman Emeritus of Falcon Water Technologies. He has served on the boards of the Annenberg School of Communications at the University of Southern California, as well as UCLA's Anderson School of Management and UCLA Center for Communications Policy.

Think about that. You want diplomacy, someone who is liked both on the campuses of UCLA and USC? That speaks volumes.

His career has also included public service, working to advance democracy at home and abroad. He was Chairman of the United States Agency for Global Media, then called the Broadcasting Board of Governors, under both Presidents Clinton and Bush. This global media agency is vital to inform, engage, and connect people around the world in support of freedom and democracy, which is always important, but today even more timely.

Through this role, Mr. Nathanson became intimately familiar with the information operations and the importance of countering information and disinformation, which is a key destabilizing tool used by the Kremlin today.

Mr. Nathanson has also served as Co-Chairman of the Pacific Council on International Policy and Vice Chairman of the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs.

All told, Mr. Nathanson has more than 25 years of foreign policy and public diplomacy experience. He has been recognized by several environmental organizations for his work on water conservation and other climate issues, and I am confident he will aptly represent our values and our national interests in Norway.

The United States and Norway share strong democratic values and critical partnerships on a wide range of issues, from combating the climate crisis to strengthening the NATO alliance. I know that in Mr. Nathanson, the United States has a reliable and trusted representative, and I urge his swift confirmation.

Thank you again.

Senator ROMNEY. Thank you, Senator Padilla.

We will now turn to Mr. Nathanson for his testimony.

STATEMENT OF MARC B. NATHANSON OF CALIFORNIA, NOMINATED TO BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE KINGDOM OF NORWAY

Mr. NATHANSON. Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member, and distinguished members of the committee, I am honored to be here today as the President's nominee to be the U.S. Ambassador to the Kingdom of Norway.

Thank you, Senator Padilla, for your gracious introduction and your long friendship.

I am deeply grateful to President Biden and Secretary Blinken for their trust and confidence. If confirmed, I look forward to working closely with Congress to build upon the strong partnership between the United States and Norway.

I would like to acknowledge my family, including my eight grandchildren. My commitment to public service is driven by my love of family, who have motivated me to make our world a better place for future generations. My two sons, Adam and David, are here representing their sister Nicole and our family.

My eternal gratitude goes to the love of my life, Jane Fallek Nathanson, whom I met on the first day of college. I would not be here today without Jane's unwavering support for the last 54 years.

I spent my professional career in communications and founded my own company, Falcon Cable TV, in 1975, which served communities both domestically and internationally. I later entered government as a member of the Board of Governors of the U.S. Agency for Global Media and became its first Chair. I served seven years in the Senate-confirmed post under both President Clinton and President Bush. In addition, the Secretary of State appointed me to serve on the Board of Governors of the East-West Center in Honolulu, Hawaii.

After government service, I joined the board of the National Democratic Institute and became Vice Chair under Madeleine Albright's leadership. Secretary Albright was a very close friend of mine. We all celebrate her legacy in foreign policy, and we mourn her passing.

Throughout my career in government service, I believe I have developed the leadership and diplomatic skills required to represent the United States effectively.

Norway is a trusted ally and close friend of the United States. If confirmed, I will work closely with our talented team at Embassy Oslo to strengthen our great relationship with Norway.

There are three priorities to our work.

First, enhancing shared security. If confirmed, my top priority will be the safety and security of Americans in Norway, including Mission personnel.

Furthermore, I will promote our shared security interests. As a founding NATO ally, Norway has stood with the United States to address a range of emerging threats, including Russia's unprovoked war of choice against Ukraine and threats to European security in general. Norway plays a critical role patrolling and protecting NATO's northern flank. If confirmed, I will support Norway's efforts to strengthen its defense capabilities.

Second, upholding global norms and addressing global challenges. The United States and Norway partner to strengthen democracy, promote human rights, and confront many of the world's most pressing issues. As Arctic states, the United States and Norway can together ensure the region remains stable and conflict free, governed by the rules-based international order despite actions by China and other competitors. A key tenet of Norway's foreign policy is humanitarian and development assistance. If confirmed, I will work tirelessly to uphold these important norms in the Arctic and globally.

Third, increasing energy, environment, trade, and investment opportunity, with a focus on the green transition. Our two countries have longstanding economic ties. Norway is the second largest natural gas exporter to Europe. Norwegian investment in offshore wind near New York will power up to 2 million homes and is an example of cooperation in this energy transition. If confirmed, I will work to promote shared prosperity and combat the climate crisis.

I recognize the honor and responsibilities bestowed upon me by this nomination. If confirmed, I will do my best to uphold the trust that you and the American people are placing in me.

Thank you again for this opportunity to appear before you today. I look forward to any questions.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Nathanson follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF MARC B. NATHANSON

Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member, and distinguished members of the committee, I am honored to be here today as the President's nominee to be the U.S. Ambassador to the Kingdom of Norway.

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I am deeply grateful to President Biden and Secretary Blinken for their trust and confidence. If confirmed, I look forward to working closely with Congress to build upon the strong partnership between the United States and Norway.

I would like to acknowledge my family, including my eight grandchildren. My commitment to public service is driven by the love of my family, who motivate me to make our country and the world a better place for future generations. My two sons, Adam and David, are representing my family today.

My eternal gratitude goes to the love of my life, Jane Fallek Nathanson, whom I met on the first day of college. I would not be here today without Jane's unwavering support for the last 54 years.

I spent my professional career in communications and founded my own company, Falcon Cable TV in 1975, which served communities both domestically and internationally. I later entered government service as a member of the Board of Governors of the U.S. Agency for Global Media and became its first Chair. I served seven years in this Senate-confirmed post, under both President Clinton and President Bush. In addition, the Secretary of State appointed me to serve on the Board of Governors of the East-West Center.

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I recognize the honor and responsibilities bestowed upon me by this nomination. If confirmed, I will do my best to uphold the trust that you and the American people are placing in me.

Thank you again for this opportunity to appear before you today. I look forward to your questions.

STATEMENT OF MARYKAY LOSS CARLSON OF ARKANSAS, A CAREER MEMBER OF THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE, CLASS OF MINISTER-COUNSELOR, NOMINATED TO BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE REPUBLIC OF THE PHILIPPINES

Senator MURPHY [presiding]. Thank you very much.
Ms. Carlson?

Ms. CARLSON. Chairman Murphy, Ranking Member Romney, and distinguished members of the committee, I am deeply honored to be here today and grateful to President Biden and Secretary Blinken for placing their confidence in me to serve as the next U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of the Philippines. I appreciate the opportunity to answer your questions and hear your thoughts about our relationship with the Philippines, our oldest treaty ally in the Indo-Pacific. If confirmed, I look forward to working with the committee and other members of Congress to advance the interests of the United States, protect our citizens, and strengthen the bilateral relationship.

I would like to take a minute to thank some people whose support and guidance have shaped my life in important ways: my parents, George and Kay Loss of Little Rock, Arkansas, who serve as my inspiration and to whom I owe everything, including my sense of public service; my husband Aubrey and our daughters, Kathryn and Karen, who are the center of my life. I want to also thank the many U.S. Embassy teams with whom I have had the honor to serve over the course of my 37-year career, including the dedicated local staff members who are the backbone of our overseas operations. And to my three siblings and other family watching from Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, New York, Connecticut, and California, and mentors, friends, and colleagues around the world, thank you.

If confirmed, I would be thrilled to represent our country in the Philippines, a vibrant democratic ally with which we share a long history. Our ties are enriched by the more than 4 million Filipinos and Filipino-Americans in the United States and more than 350,000 U.S. citizens who live and work in the Philippines.

We must work together to deepen the roots of the longstanding friendship and people-to-people ties between our two democracies. We must upgrade and modernize our alliance to face new challenges, expand U.S. trade and investment, and support the rule of law and good governance.

The U.S.-Philippines alliance is irreplaceable and foundational to our strategic interests in the Indo-Pacific. The Mutual Defense

Treaty that our countries signed in 1951 serves as the bedrock of our unwavering commitment to the security of the Philippines. If confirmed, I pledge to continue to expand opportunities for bilateral training, exercises, and capacity building, to support the long-term modernization of the Armed Forces of the Philippines, and to advance peace and security in the region. I will also work to ensure our security cooperation continues to help the Philippine military and law enforcement bodies combat terrorism, transnational crime, and violent extremism.

Concurrently, I will continue U.S. efforts to urge the Philippine Government to conduct all law enforcement operations in accordance with the rule of law and consistent with international human rights standards, and I will urge the Government to conduct thorough, transparent investigations into all suspected unlawful killings, and to hold accountable those who are guilty.

We support the aspirations of millions of Filipinos who want to live in a society characterized by good governance, human rights protections, and the rule of law. If confirmed, I will work to strengthen the administration of justice and support Philippine human rights defenders and civil society, and encourage respect for freedom of expression, including for members of the press.

Among the values our two democracies share is the respect for international law, which underpins freedoms of navigation and overflight, unimpeded lawful commerce, and the peaceful resolution of disputes in the South China Sea and around the world. If confirmed, I will continue our efforts to bolster Philippine capabilities that enhance maritime domain awareness.

The United States seeks to remain a leading trading partner and foreign investor as the Philippines progresses toward economic recovery and upper middle-income status. If confirmed, I will support reforms that enhance transparency, assure labor rights protections, boost beneficial trade and investment, and increase cooperation to ensure resilient supply chains. I will promote an economic partnership that engages the U.S. and Philippine private sectors and other stakeholders so that we can invest in climate action and support low-carbon energy security.

Finally, let me note that our U.S. embassies overseas are more than places of work. They are communities of people.

If confirmed, I will prioritize the safety and well-being of U.S. Embassy Manila's talented staff and families. I will maintain their focus on our top goals, and ensure they represent the diverse talents of our democratic societies.

Thank you for considering my nomination, and I look forward to your questions.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Carlson follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF MARYKAY LOSS CARLSON

Chairman Murphy, Ranking Member Romney, and distinguished members of the committee, I am deeply honored to be here today and grateful to President Biden and Secretary Blinken for placing their confidence in me to serve as the U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of the Philippines. I appreciate the opportunity to answer your questions and hear firsthand your thoughts about our relationship with the Philippines, our oldest treaty ally in the Indo-Pacific. If confirmed, I look forward to working with the committee and other members of Congress to advance the inter-

ests of the United States, protect the safety of our citizens, and strengthen the bilateral relationship for the benefit of both of our countries.

I would like to take a few moments to thank some people whose support and guidance have shaped my life in important ways: My parents, George and Kay Loss of Little Rock, Arkansas, who serve as my inspiration and to whom I owe everything, including my sense of public service; and my husband Aubrey and our daughters, Kathryn and Karen, who are the center of my life. I want to also thank the many U.S. Embassy teams with whom I have had the honor to serve over the course of my 37-year career—especially the dedicated local staff members who are the backbone of our overseas operations. And to my three siblings and other family watching from Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, New York, Connecticut, and California, and mentors, friends, and colleagues around the world—thank you.

If confirmed, I would be thrilled to represent our country in the Philippines, a vibrant democratic ally with which we share a long history, and one of our most important partners. Our ties are enriched by the more than four million Filipinos and Filipino-Americans in the United States and more than 350,000 U.S. citizens who live and work in the Philippines. We must work to deepen the roots of the long-standing friendship and people-to-people ties between our two democracies, upgrade and modernize our alliance to face new challenges, expand U.S. trade and investment, and support the rule of law and good governance.

The U.S.-Philippines alliance is irreplaceable and foundational to our strategic interests in the Indo-Pacific. The Mutual Defense Treaty that our countries signed in 1951 serves as the bedrock of our unwavering commitment to the security of the Philippines. That treaty, and the Visiting Forces Agreement and the Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement, enable our strong security and defense cooperation with the Philippines. If confirmed, I pledge to continue to expand opportunities for bilateral training, exercises, and capacity building, to support the long-term modernization of the Armed Forces of the Philippines and to advance peace and security in the region. I will also work to ensure our security cooperation continues to help the Philippine military and law enforcement bodies combat terrorism, transnational crime, and violent extremism.

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Understanding that our consular operations at the U.S. Embassy Manila play an important role in helping provide visas to qualified skilled workers in crucial industries such as healthcare, if confirmed, I will ensure that our Mission resources remain focused on this effort.

Finally, let me add that our U.S. Embassies overseas are more than places of work. They are communities of people. If confirmed, I will prioritize the safety and well-being of Embassy Manila's talented staff and families, maintain their focus on top goals, and ensure they represent the diverse talents of our democratic societies.

Thank you for considering my nomination. I look forward to your questions.

Senator MURPHY. Thank you to all of our witnesses.

We will begin our round of 5-minute questions. I will start with a few.

Ambassador Goldberg, let me just start with you. I sometimes worry that American foreign policy has become dangerously sclerotic. We sanction our enemies and we sell weapons to our friends, while other countries that are often adversaries, like China or Russia, have a much more diverse toolkit at their disposal with which to try to gain influence.

You spent some time as the North Korea sanctions coordinator, and you are going to inherit an even more robust set of sanctions on North Korea given the announcements from the Biden administration in the wake of the latest ballistic missile tests.

I am just interested to hear your assessment about the efficacy of our sanctions regime given the fact that Americans with just a passing interest in world affairs have not helped but notice that these devastating multilateral sanctions have not seemed to have had any practical impact on the conduct of the North Korean regime. I am interested to hear your take on this question.

Ambassador GOLDBERG. Senator, I think sanctions work, but they are not a policy in and of themselves. They have to be accompanied by other elements of U.S. and world influence and power. They have to be multilateral without much leakage. In some cases and in the case of North Korea, the lack of tie-in to the international financial system and trade make it more difficult in some respects, easier in others, to enforce sanctions.

You have to have a population that has a say in what is going on in their country. There are other examples of sanctions elsewhere that have worked more quickly to influence public opinion, but there is no public opinion in North Korea. So it is a very difficult hard target for sanctions.

All of that said, North Korea wants those sanctions lifted, which is a reason to keep pressing, because they want them lifted for a reason. They want to have their cake and eat it too in terms of not being forthcoming on negotiations, which we have offered without preconditions. So they are an important element, but they are not an element that will necessarily do the trick by themselves.

Senator MURPHY. Ambassador Kennedy, I wanted to draw for a moment on your experience in Japan. Here is how the editor of one of the most significant Chinese Communist Party-run newspapers described Australia. He said, "Australia is chewing gum stuck on the sole of China's shoes. Sometimes you just have to find a stone to rub it off."

He said this in the context of a pretty significant row between China and Australia driven by an increasingly hostile and muscular diplomatic presence and set of activities from the Chinese Government inside Australia. And this is, of course, the story all throughout the region. The Chinese are willing to do things and say things, employ more aggressive tactics in a way that they were not 10 to 20 years ago.

I would just be interested to hear a little bit about what you learned during your time in Japan about the increasingly aggressive diplomatic tactics of the Chinese and how you will take those learnings to this new job.

Ambassador KENNEDY. I think what I have seen is that things have really changed and increased in the region, the tensions, since my time in Japan. All the countries out there have dealt with each

other for a very long time, but certainly Australia most recently has been challenged by Chinese economic coercion, and I think that the United States can learn a lot from their response. They have stood firm, and I think they have managed to come together with a bipartisan foreign policy, and I think a greater and deeper partnership with us in the security and diplomatic areas, as well as across the board, will serve their country and ours well as we move forward into this increasingly tense time in the Indo-Pacific. So I look forward to working with the Australians and with the Japanese to secure a free and open Indo-Pacific.

Senator MURPHY. Did you see an increase in the virulence of these tactics while you were in Japan, or do you think that some of this happened more recently?

Ambassador KENNEDY. I did see it, but I think it has become much more widespread, much more public, much more open. The South China Sea issues were certainly present, some of the economic coercion was certainly happening. But I think all of that has become more dramatic in the last five years.

Senator MURPHY. Senator Romney?

Senator ROMNEY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Ms. Carlson, I think a number of us have been surprised and a little disoriented by the comments made by the current president of the Philippines, the current distance he has with the cause of freedom and his closeness to China. Obviously, our nation has worked with the people of the Philippines to provide for the safety and security of that nation, and his redirection has been hard to understand.

Can you give me a sense from your perspective as to what it is that may have led him to make the departure from our historic relationship that he has, and to what extent you believe that is being welcomed by the people of the Philippines?

Ms. CARLSON. Thank you for that question. I think it is important to look at the U.S.-Philippines relationship in its entirety. We are friends, partners, allies, with a 75-year history of diplomacy. We are celebrating "Thriving at 75" just this year.

So with regard to any particular individual, I think the more important thing is to look ahead. We have a strong foundation of shared values with the people of the Philippines. We train with their military very closely, hundreds of training exercises every year, including the Balikatan premiere exercise, which means shoulder to shoulder, which is just finishing up today in the Philippines, where our colleagues across all sectors of society work together, including freedom of expression and countering Chinese aggression.

So I think as we look forward to the next 75 years, there is a lot of room for optimism based on the strong foundations of democracy that exist in the Philippines.

Senator ROMNEY. Thank you.

Ambassador Kennedy, I think we have been very impressed by the backbone that has been shown by the people of Australia. They banned Huawei products. They have probed the origins of COVID. They participated in a diplomatic boycott of the Olympics as a result of what was being perpetrated against the Uyghur people.

In this setting, they are obviously a very small, in terms of population and economy, neighbor of China. We share interests in getting China to behave in a more normal and rules-based way.

What is your perception of how Australia might be able to lead an effort to really develop a comprehensive strategy to confront China?

Ambassador KENNEDY. I think Australia and the United States working together, especially in the Quad with our India friends and with Japan, is a very powerful alliance and combination. And I think that the Australian people have now come together in understanding the challenges posed by China. So I think we have an opportunity through our partnerships and alliances, working multilaterally throughout the region, to really create a comprehensive strategy that will strengthen deterrence and increase our own security, as well as allowing for the continued prosperity of the region.

I think the rules-based order that America has stood behind working with Australia has really allowed millions to prosper and provide a great opportunity for Americans. I think that together with Australia we will continue to deliver on that.

Senator ROMNEY. I would note that China has a very comprehensive and, to date, pretty successful strategy to expand their influence in the world, to develop the strongest military in the world, to become the strongest economy in the world, and I am concerned that we as a nation, and even members of the Quad, have not settled on what our strategy is to deal with China.

Do you agree that China is behaving in a malevolent and predatory way that represents a real threat to our interests here and around the world?

Ambassador KENNEDY. I think the strongest thing that we have is our values. I saw when I was in Japan how the whole world really still looks to America as the place they want to come to, the place that inspires them. So I feel confident that we do have in our values, in our economic strength, in our security partnerships, our alliances, our multilateral work, that we do have a winning strategy, and I know that Australia and the United States together work side by side to implement that every day. So I am confident in the United States and in our ability to maintain a free and open and secure and prosperous Indo-Pacific.

Senator MURPHY. Senator Schatz?

Senator SCHATZ. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member; and to all of the nominees, thank you for your willingness to serve.

I am so thrilled to be here. This really is the A-Team, and this conveys a degree of seriousness from the Biden administration and from Secretary Blinken to put its best team on the field in the Indo-Asia-Pacific region, so thank you.

Mr. Nathanson, I was just thinking about Secretary Albright. Whatever one's views of the afterlife may be, I know she is watching C-SPAN right now and proud of all of you, so thank you very much.

My first question is for Ambassador Goldberg, and I want to follow up on what Senator Murphy was asking about, especially as it relates to CVID. We have had this conversation, and we had this conversation in the Banking Committee with Bob Corker six years ago. We lack intermediate steps, it occurs to me. We have a dec-

laration of where we want to land: complete, verifiable, irreversible denuclearization of the peninsula. Everyone can get behind that. And what is our tool? Well, sanctions. It is clearly not working.

So what is the in-between space? How do we do a serious reevaluation of whether or not our bipartisan failure on this issue can be tweaked? I understand our limitations, and it may just be that this is a hard problem and we have to maintain pressure until the opportunity presents itself, but then we should articulate that.

I am just worried that everyone is too afraid to say CVID is a nice goal but not anything we can achieve in the next 5 years, or even 10 years, and we should have some intermediate steps in the intervening time, and I am wondering what your thoughts are, and at least I would like to hear a willingness to reevaluate our policy.

Ambassador GOLDBERG. Thank you, Senator. Comprehensive, verifiable, irreversible denuclearization—those are difficult goals, but they fit very well with our non-proliferation goals. They fit with our policy of deterrence; building, broadening, deepening our alliance with the Republic of Korea, and doing all possible to defend against a rogue regime in North Korea that is violating at every opportunity U.N. resolutions, their own commitments, international agreements.

So it is a very difficult problem. If we do not admit it, I am admitting it here. But it is one that we need to continue to work on and be quite resolute about.

Senator SCHATZ. Well, you are not in the position yet, and so I do not expect you to move U.S. foreign policy before confirmation. That is unreasonable and possibly politically dangerous for your confirmation, so I get that. But let us have a real dialogue about what is working and not working.

Senator Murphy said it exactly right, and this goes for the military space too. People are terrified of going toe to toe with us; but in the gray zone, and also in the diplomatic gray zone, people are running circles around us. And so we have got to maintain a little bit of flexibility here and try to figure out what we can do to change policy, and that does not mean that we are not working towards CVID. It means that we acknowledge that that is not the only thing that we say as it relates to the peninsula.

The final question is for Ms. Carlson. I think everybody knows I am for climate action, but I want to focus on a different aspect of climate, which is climate adaptation and specifically preparing for and responding to increasing severity and frequency of natural disasters in the Philippines. That seems to me to be a place where we are already doing very well and bolsters the ties, including the people-to-people ties, between the U.S. and the Philippines.

I am wondering what your thoughts are on what more we can do in that space. I think that is at the humanitarian level an incredibly important priority for the United States, but also it has positive geo-political implications. I would like your thoughts.

Ms. CARLSON. Thank you very much. I totally agree with what you have just said. If confirmed, I would work to lead our talented Embassy team there to find ways that we could work with our friends and partners in the Philippines to enhance their ability to combat climate change. As you know, the Philippines is particularly vulnerable given its long shorelines to climate change. They

are subject to typhoons and disasters. Fortunately, our USAID teams and our military INDOPACOM colleagues have been there to assist in partnership with the Philippines.

So it is definitely in our interest to enhance their ability to respond. I am sure there are very specific things that we can do and, if confirmed, I would look forward to working with you and other members of the committee and in Congress to find ways that we could support climate adaptation in the Philippines for the benefit of both of our countries. Thank you.

Senator SCHATZ. Thank you very much.

Senator MURPHY. Senator Hagerty?

Senator HAGERTY. Thank you very much, Chair Murphy; and congratulations to all of the nominees today.

I would like to start, if I might, with Ambassador Kennedy, to say welcome to your husband Ed. It is so good to see you again. And Jack, I know that your family's support has meant a great deal to your success, and it is great to see you all here today.

Ambassador Kennedy, several questions. I know you have great experience dealing with the Quad partnership from your previous role as Ambassador to Japan. I would love to hear your perspective on how we can further strengthen our relationship with the Quad.

Ambassador KENNEDY. I think the Quad is one of the most important diplomatic initiatives that we have and it affords a great opportunity for the United States and for other like-minded democracies to really work together on key issues like COVID, like climate change, like supply chain resilience and security, and new technologies to really strengthen our partnership, preserve the rules-based order in the Indo-Pacific, and advance the United States' interests.

Senator HAGERTY. Something is happening in the region right now that I am sure you are well aware of, in the Solomon Islands. The Chinese Communist Party has been very engaged in that region, working with the Government of the Solomon Islands. They are stepping in now and talking about constructing a bilateral security agreement. It is very concerning to us as a nation here. I know it is very concerning to the Australians, as well.

What do you think the prospects are for that bilateral security agreement being entered between China and the Solomon Islands, and what should the United States' posture be relative to that?

Ambassador KENNEDY. Well, obviously, I am not fully read in on that, but if confirmed, I would work very hard. Australia has a very active Embassy in every Pacific Island nation, and it has been an historic area of United States engagement as well, and I think that the fact that we are reopening our Embassy in the Solomon Islands, that cannot come to enough. I think that together with Australia, with the infrastructure partnership that we have in the Pacific Islands, which I know that you worked to initiate when you were ambassador to Japan, we can do more and we should do more, and we must stay engaged.

This is a vital region, and I think that we need to be more visible, but I think that our long record in the region of supporting assistance over many years, if we are able to build on that, that we can really make a difference.

Senator HAGERTY. I appreciate that, and I think our allies like Australia can be invaluable as we continue to be ever diligent in the region, because we know that the Chinese Communist Party is looking for every opportunity to change the status quo there. So I applaud you and encourage you to find every way possible to work with Australia. I know that people on this committee will be supportive of finding ways, again, to push back wherever possible.

If we could switch now to the AUKUS Trilateral Security Agreement, I was encouraged to find out that we are going to be working with our allies to facilitate Australia's nuclear propulsion, submarine propulsion technologies and capabilities. Just two days ago, it was announced that we are going to be stepping up that partnership to work with hypersonics and with counter-hypersonics.

My view is that deepening that relationship with Australia from a security perspective is going to be invaluable to our security in the region. I would love to hear your perspective on how you will work to continue that process.

Ambassador KENNEDY. Well, if confirmed, I look forward to learning more about the details of that partnership. I know that a lot of work is happening now. There are many working groups on all aspects. As you said, it involves the submarines, but it also involves the cooperation on AI and quantum and cyber and undersea technologies. So I think that it is really the kind of partnership that, as it grows and strengthens and we are able to build on it, we will deliver great results for both our technological sector and American innovation, working together with Australia. And I think that there is a lot of deterrence that it will deliver well before the submarines are in operation.

Senator HAGERTY. I think it has great potential, and I appreciate your attention to that arena, as well. The technology front will be an important line to follow the confrontation in the region with our greatest strategic adversary, China.

I would like to turn my questions now to nominee Carlson. MaryKay, you and I have talked about this before, but I would like to talk with you about nurse visas. As we all know, through the coronavirus pandemic, we have had a severe shortage of nursing talent here in America. It has almost reached a crisis proportion.

We have talked about visa interviews by videoconference as a means to try to facilitate speeding up what has become a very big backlog at the Embassy there at the Philippines.

I would like to get your current assessment of where the backlog is at Embassy Manila, and also what your plan might be to set the metrics to work through that backlog and to get your commitment to report back to me and my staff on how this is progressing.

Ms. CARLSON. Thank you, Senator. You have my commitment to continue to work on this very important issue. No one likes a backlog, least of which is our talented team working so hard in the Consular Section at the U.S. Embassy in Manila. I have spoken after our conversation with a number of folks here in Washington and in the Philippines in our Consular Section there, and there are ways that we can do everything possible to speed up those interviews, and I pledge to work with you and with the folks here at the National Visa Center and at the Embassy to accelerate the

processing within the bounds of the U.S. law with regard to immigration.

Senator HAGERTY. I look forward to that. As you know, my home state of Tennessee is a hub of hospital management, and we see the problem probably more clearly than any other state in the nation. So this is a crisis. This is something that the American public needs addressed, and I very much appreciate your help in doing so.

With respect to the other nominees, I will submit my questions for the record. Congratulations to all of you again. Thank you very much.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator MURPHY. Thank you.

Senator Van Hollen?

Senator VAN HOLLEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Congratulations to all of you on your nominations. It is good to see you are all going to countries that voted with the United States to condemn the Russian invasion of Ukraine. I am sure all of you will be working very hard, if confirmed, to make sure we sustain that pressure given the unprovoked attacks on the people of Ukraine.

And I am pleased that right now at the United Nations, our Ambassador is seeking a vote to expel Russia from the United Nations Human Rights Council. They have no business being there when they are clearly implicated in war crimes as we speak.

Ambassador Goldberg, if I could just follow up on some questions I think Senator Murphy opened with, with respect to North Korea and its recent launch of another long-range ICBM.

As you know, for years we have been working to try to tighten the sanctions regime, economic sanctions regime on North Korea, and we repeatedly find leaks in that. We have seen a series of U.N. reports identifying Chinese entities as the major source of circumventing those economic sanctions.

We also know that really China is the big player as North Korea's neighbor and could exert more pressure on the North Koreans with respect to their weapons programs, even though they sometimes have a rocky relationship.

My question is this: As we have seen our relations with China get more strained, have we seen China back off on the pressure it is putting on North Korea with respect to constraining their nuclear weapons program, specifically their long-range missile program?

Ambassador GOLDBERG. What I can say from public information, Senator, is that the Chinese did not vote to impose further sanctions at the U.N., nor did the Russians, of course. So they do have a slightly different approach to the North Koreans and ask for our concessions, as opposed to having discussions/negotiations without preconditions. So there is a divergence there.

When I was doing the enforcement job of North Korean sanctions, and it was some time ago, more than 10 years, there was leakage, and there continues, no doubt, to be leakage. I am not revealing anything here because I am not aware of particular cases. But there were issues related to Chinese banks and trade.

It is a difficult, as I mentioned earlier, a hard target for sanctions, North Korea, but we do and we should continue to seek Chi-

nese cooperation not just on sanctions, which is very important, but sanctions, as I mentioned before, is not a policy in and of themselves, but also their cooperation in moving forward with negotiations and getting back to some sort of discussion about denuclearization and how we are going to handle that issue.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. Well, that was my next question. So, what in your view is the best way forward there in terms of both continuing to apply pressure but trying to reach the goal of a denuclearized peninsula?

Ambassador GOLDBERG. Well, I do not know if it is my good fortune, Senator, but my primary responsibility will be to strengthen the alliance and deterrence and to take other steps to try to convince the North Koreans to return to negotiations and working very closely with the new President-elect's government. So I would allow Ambassador Sung Kim or people at the State Department to speak more about North Korea policy and the way forward and not preempt their responsibilities.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. All right.

Ambassador Kennedy, congratulations on this nomination.

With respect to China and Australia, as you well know, they have strong commercial ties, but Australia has appropriately pushed back hard on China's efforts to use coercion by applying economic pressure on political and human rights issues.

How do you see the U.S. and Australia working now to push back on China's aggression in the area?

Ambassador KENNEDY. I think that pushing back on Chinese economic coercion is something where the United States is going to have to support our allies and those that are suffering from it, like Lithuania, as well as Australia. Australia has been a model, and they are fortunate in that they have a lot of minerals and critical elements that a lot of their other exports they have been able to find other markets for.

But this is a complicated issue, and the United States and Australia, I think by working closely together across all aspects of the relationship, whether they are diplomatic, whether they are regional, upholding the centrality of ASEAN, strengthening the Quad, we have a real opportunity here to create and sustain a connected and secure Indo-Pacific, and I think that our alliance is certainly a key element of that, as well as just as our alliances with Korea, Japan, the Philippines also will help create a region that is more secure and abiding by the rules-based order that has served us all so well.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. Thank you.

And thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator MURPHY. Thank you.

Chairman Menendez?

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator Murphy; and congratulations to all of the nominees on their nominations. This is a very important group of countries that you have been nominated to.

Let me start with you, Ambassador Goldberg. I was with the Special Envoy of the President-elect of South Korea yesterday with Senator Risch. We had a very interesting conversation. It seems like it will be a rather dramatic shift from the Moon policies of the last four years. We have a large diaspora, certainly in the United

States but in New Jersey, of Korean Americans who have done exceptionally great work, including the Korean American Grassroots Conference. Mr. Kim, I think, is here in the audience.

There is a lot of expectation for your confirmation and presence in South Korea, both by the South Koreans and by the community here.

So what is your assessment, then, of the recent North Korea cruise and ballistic missile tests? Are you concerned that North Korea may be seeking to up the ante with a bigger provocation? And if so, how should we respond?

Ambassador GOLDBERG. Mr. Chairman, the outrageous and continued provocations from the North are, of course, deeply troubling, concerning, and I think our special representative for North Korea, Sung Kim, said just yesterday that we expect more, especially with some of the celebrations upcoming in North Korea.

We have to react with enhanced deterrence, with a solid alliance between the United States and South Korea, Japan, and working together to thwart these threats from North Korea. When sanctions are available and enforceable, to also continue with very strong implementation. So we do need to be aware that this could happen and that these provocations, which are illegal, which violate U.N. resolutions, which violate their own commitments, North Korea's own commitments.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me ask you, already the ballistic missile tests are clearly a violation of the U.N. Security Council resolutions. Should we pursue additional sanctions against North Korea?

Ambassador GOLDBERG. I mentioned earlier to Senator Van Hollen that my primary responsibility, if confirmed, would be to help in solidifying the alliance and deterrence and working with our military and other countries. I am not, strictly speaking, going to be responsible for a North Korea—

The CHAIRMAN. No, but I am sure the administration would have you on the phone once you are confirmed as part of the interagency process to opine; do you not think so?

Ambassador GOLDBERG. I hope so.

The CHAIRMAN. I hope so, too, or else I do not know why we are sending you there. It seems to me that there has to be a response. If North Korea can continue to create provocations, can continue to violate Security Council resolutions with impunity and there is no response, then it will continue to do so, and it will only deepen it.

Ambassador GOLDBERG. Well, I think you are right, Mr. Chairman, but I also know that we will take measures, as we have, if it has to be through unilateral action or with our allies after these kinds of provocations, that we cannot rely on the United Nations when China and Russia have vetoes at the Security Council.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me ask you this. You know, we have historical issues between South Korea and Japan; I recognize them. But we also have the importance of having a close relationship with those two countries and ourselves, an ability to meet the regional challenge of North Korea, as well as China and others.

Do you see playing a role in helping the South Koreans find a pathway forward with their Japanese counterparts?

Ambassador GOLDBERG. Absolutely. I think that is a role, if confirmed, that an ambassador in Seoul would play, working with our

ambassador in Japan. You know they are each other's third largest trading partners. Japan is the biggest investor in South Korea, outstripping the United States. There are reasons that two democratic, technologically advanced, scientifically advanced countries should be working together more, not just on the North Korea issue, which has been an issue where they have come together, but also on other issues regionally and around the world.

The CHAIRMAN. Ambassador Kennedy, congratulations on your nomination. I appreciate your service in the past to our country.

Australia is a microcosm of the global climate crisis. A few weeks ago, Brisbane and East Australia received a record 26 inches of rain in 72 hours. The 2022 emergency in Queensland and New South Wales is now \$1.4 billion, and it is only the first week of April. The dawn of the COVID-19 pandemic in March of 2020 made it easy to forget when Australia's wildfires were dominating global headlines until the pandemic took center stage. Those fires cost Australia an estimated \$103 billion, and ocean acidification is killing thousands of acres of the Great Barrier Reef.

Now, this is an incredibly important relationship, part of the Quad. As a matter of fact, I will be traveling there this recess. But there are great lessons for the United States to learn for how to prepare for such extreme climate disasters and how to get Australia to think about the climate responsibilities they have, in their own interest as well as the global interest.

Can I get you to commit to fostering information and strategic exchanges for scientists and disaster responders to learn and share experiences between our two countries?

Ambassador KENNEDY. I think that we should do more of that. I know that the United States has tried to help, where possible. There were firefighters from Wyoming, for example, that went to help during the terrible fires in Australia. But certainly Australia has learned a lot about these kinds of disasters, and we also have been impacted by fires and floods and storms here in the United States. So the more that we can learn about and learn how to combat and also move toward a clean energy transition and reducing the impact of climate change, the faster we can do that, if confirmed, I would be eager to work on that.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I have questions for Ms. Carlson and Mr. Nathanson, but I will submit them for the record. I am very concerned about Norway in the midst of the challenges of Russia now. It has its own neighborhood problems. And I look forward to understanding where we are headed with the Philippines in the aftermath of the present administration, hopefully a new dynamic that we can create. Thank you.

Senator ROMNEY [presiding]. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator Kaine?

Senator KAINE. Thank you, Senator Romney.

Mr. Chair, good to be with you, and great to be with the wonderful panel.

Ms. Kennedy, great to see you again. We have had good interactions in our public service lives, and I am really thrilled with your nomination.

And, Ambassador Goldberg, I have really enjoyed visits to Colombia when you have been there.

This is a really strong panel.

Let me start with Ms. Carlson. Here is a worry of mine, press freedom. Reporters Without Borders ranked the Philippines 138th out of 180 countries in the most recent World Press Freedom Index, and attacks on the media have escalated under President Duterte; but even prior, the Philippines has long been one of the most dangerous countries in the world for journalists. The country also has one of the highest impunity rates in the world, with no one being held accountable in more than 80 percent of journalist murders over the last 10 years.

Earlier this week, a number of us met with Maria Ressa, an investigative journalist and Filipina who is the founder of the online news site Rappler. She won the 2020 Nobel Peace Prize for her courageous reporting about abuses of power, uses of violence, and authoritarianism in the Philippines. Ahead of the national elections in the Philippines in May, the Filipino Government has stepped up its harassment of both Maria Ressa and Rappler.

If confirmed, how will you work to strengthen freedom of expression in the Philippines?

Ms. CARLSON. U.S. policy toward the Philippines is based on our shared values of rule of law, democracy, freedom of expression. And as we are seeing around the world, there is a rise in authoritarianism, which we need to work together with our like-minded partners in civil society and in government in the Philippines to counter, which is why I was really pleased to see that the Philippines participated in the Summit of Democracy and the year-long commitments that are being made, resulting in another summit coming up at the end of this year.

So, if confirmed, I would continue the work that our colleagues at the Embassy are doing to work with all levels of civil society, including and especially journalists, including Maria Ressa and other members of the press who are struggling to tell the story so that we can combat disinformation and make sure that the truth is told about what is happening not only in the Philippines but in other democracies around the world.

Senator KAINE. Thank you very much. I have a piece of bipartisan legislation with Senator Graham, the International Press Freedom Act, previously introduced. We are working with the State Department now to make it even better, and I would hope to be able to get the support of my colleagues on this committee for having a markup and improve that bill and get it out. The bill would provide resources to the State Department to amplify our efforts to protect journalists and include a special visa category that would enable threatened journalists to seek safe haven in the United States or other nations.

Mr. Nathanson, Norway, what a great ally, a nation that is doing so many things right. They are trying to maintain strong energy production so that Europeans can have an energy source nearby that is not Russia, and I applaud them for that. If they can do more, I hope you will encourage them to do more. I know President Zelensky has been encouraging them.

But one of the interesting things about Norway is that they had a tradition of not sending weapons into non-NATO countries, and yet they are being such a strong supporter of the global democ-

racies' efforts in Ukraine. They have shipped about 2,000 M72 anti-tank weapons, and that is recently, the latest shipment. The total number is now in excess of 4,000. And this is a dramatic change in direction from a policy that was in place since the 1950s of not sending arms to non-NATO countries that are at war.

Talk a little bit about your understanding of how Norway is reassessing the relationship with Russia and their role not only with NATO but more broadly for European security as a result of Vladimir Putin's illegal invasion of Ukraine.

Mr. NATHANSON. As you said, Senator, and I appreciate the question, Norway is reassessing its relationship with its neighbor, Russia. They have a 121-mile border in the Arctic with Russia. But the Arctic Council, which Russia is a member of, seven other nations in the Arctic Council have condemned Russia's unprovoked attack in Ukraine, and the Arctic Council is now at a standstill because of this.

So Norway, as a leader in the Arctic area, is reassessing its own position with Russia and looking very seriously at the future with Russia. They recently expelled three Russian diplomats. As you said, they have broken a long tradition of Norway by sending arms to Ukraine, as well as financial aid. And if confirmed, I will continue to work with Norway to reassess their attitude and their position as it relates to Russia.

Senator ROMNEY. Thank you.

Senator Cruz?

Senator CRUZ. Thank you, Mr. Chair.

Welcome to each of the nominees. Congratulations on your nominations.

Ambassador Kennedy, thank you for your willingness to be here. Thank you for your service.

A few weeks ago you and I had a very good conversation in my office about the threat that China poses to American national security and, indeed, global peace. Our efforts to counter China have been institutionalized in a number of frameworks, and in recent years in the Quad, with Australia, India, Japan, and the United States.

I believe that the Quad is a critical and invaluable strategic asset. I know that our regional partners believe so as well. On Saturday, Australia and India signed an interim trade deal to reduce dependence on Chinese supply lines. It was rightly hailed on all sides as a major accomplishment of the Quad framework.

I would like to get your views on that issue and the role you envision the Quad playing, and Australia's role within the Quad.

Ambassador KENNEDY. Thank you, Senator. It is nice to see you again. I agree that the Quad is an ambitious and extremely important diplomatic initiative. I think it is important that it includes initiatives that will benefit the health and prosperity of millions of people in the region across the board, whether it is delivering vaccines and planning for the effects of climate change, as well as securing our supply lines, investing in critical minerals. There are working groups in many, many different areas.

So I think that with our four democracies working closely together, we will be able to advance the administration's goal of a free and open, secure, prosperous Indo-Pacific. We also have the

AUKUS partnership, which is an incredibly important security initiative which is being developed as well, and I think that that will also help secure the region for years to come.

Senator CRUZ. Well, I am heartened to hear that. But candidly, I worry that the views you articulated are not shared across the Biden administration. I have been, in particular, troubled by reports that the administration is considering imposing CAATSA sanctions on India. As recently as last month, U.S. diplomats have reiterated that the administration is considering imposing those sanctions.

I find such talk inexplicable, let alone the possibility of actually following through and sanctioning India. India is the world's largest democracy. They are a key ally. They are in the midst of an historic pivot towards the United States, and the Biden administration seems to be actively working to alienate them and push India towards Russia and China.

Ambassador Kennedy, you just said rightly that you consider an important part of your job strengthening the Quad. What effect do you think imposing sanctions on India would have on your efforts to strengthen the Quad, and will they make them more likely or less likely to accomplish your goals?

Ambassador KENNEDY. Senator, I am hopefully going to be confirmed as Ambassador to Australia, and honestly I would look forward to learning more about that, but I do not have any information on that today.

Senator CRUZ. So you do not have any views on whether the United States sanctioning India would make it harder for the Quad to work together effectively?

Ambassador KENNEDY. I would want to study up on that and talk to you about it some more because I am not familiar with the instances that you referenced.

Senator CRUZ. Well, I will say we have all agreed the Quad was a major strategic step forward, and an alliance between Australia, India, Japan, and the United States is a critical way to press back on China. And if the Biden administration decides instead to treat India as a hostile country subject to sanctions, it would be spectacularly foolish, and it is part and parcel of what has been a consistent pattern of demonstrating weakness and appeasement to our enemies and alienating our friends. I speak with allies of America across the globe who say over and over again they do not understand why the Biden administration treats them so badly, and they wonder sometimes, ironically, would they be treated better if they behaved as enemies to America.

And if you are confirmed, I hope that you serve as a voice of reason in this administration and counsel against the Biden administration sanctioning important allies of America such as India.

Senator MURPHY [presiding]. Senator Coons?

Senator COONS. Thank you, Senator Murphy, Senator Romney.

Great to be with all of you.

Rather than relitigating relationships with allies across the current and previous administrations with my colleague, I am going to try to point us in a forward direction, as tempting as that engagement might be.

For Caroline, Ms. Kennedy, for Mr. Goldberg, Ms. Carlson, great to have all of you in front of us.

I am very interested in the next steps in the Indo-Pacific Economic Framework. It has, I think, the potential to deepen our economic engagement in the Indo-Pacific. The administration has been clear that this framework as imagined will not include new market access commitments. Some of our regional partners have expressed disappointment in this, and I am hoping to work with some of my colleagues on this committee to find other ways to make this framework beneficial to U.S. workers and trading partners.

As the nominees to serve as our nation's representatives to Australia, South Korea, and the Philippines, how would each of you work to make the Indo-Pacific Economic Framework a success with those governments?

And then second, if I might, all three countries—South Korea, Australia, the Philippines—have been subject to punitive economic coercion at the hands of the PRC. I think we have to find a way to help countries. I was recently in Lithuania with Senator Durbin. Lithuania, because of a choice they made, has ended up being on the receiving end of economic coercion from China. South Korea, Australia, and the Philippines have as well.

Would you be willing to work with me and others on this committee as we try and develop other tools in addition to the Indo-Pacific Economic Framework to help our allies and partners stand up to economic bullying?

So, a two-part question. If we could, Ms. Kennedy first.

Ambassador KENNEDY. Thank you, Senator. It is nice to see you. With regard to the Indo-Pacific Economic Framework, the one thing that I know from my time in Japan and I have learned during this process is that the United States' economic engagement is something that the region is very much eager for. So, if confirmed, I would work hard to increase our economic engagement with Australia and the Pacific Islands, as well as any place else that my assistance could be helpful. I think that it is a great opportunity. I saw when I was in Japan how much opportunity there is for Americans in the Indo-Pacific, and I think it is something that, because it is far away, people do not always realize, but we are active there and there is a great deal of opportunity for the future.

I think the Indo-Pacific Economic Framework has a great deal of potential in the digital area to meet high standards, and high labor and environmental standards, as well. So I think that there is a great deal of anticipation and enthusiasm for this framework, and it will be a first step that we can build on going forward.

Senator COONS. Thank you, Ambassador Kennedy. And I appreciate also your recognition of the key role that some of the island states in the Pacific can play. There was just a hearing previously this week on the Tuna Treaty. There are some ongoing challenges in terms of COVID and economic pressure on Palau, Kiribati and others, and we would welcome your advice and engagement on that work as well.

Ambassador Goldberg, great to see you again. I really enjoyed our time together in Colombia, an absolutely critical nation that is about to face a significant election, and I am excited that you have

been nominated for this very central role in our Indo-Pacific strategy. I look forward to your answers to my compound question.

Ambassador GOLDBERG. Thank you, Senator Coons. Good to see you again. The Indo-Pacific is, as Ambassador Kennedy mentioned, in search of American leadership on economic issues, as much as on military and security issues. So it is a key area that we need to develop.

South Korea has some outward-looking programs working with us in the Indo-Pacific, a southern policy started by President Moon that I have little doubt will be continued under President-elect Yoon, and has a lot to offer in the areas of the digitalized economy and infrastructure and the kinds of outward-looking programs that we anticipate with the Indo-Pacific Economic Framework.

On the PRC, clearly we are going to work with friends, partners, allies on supply chains, making all of ourselves less dependent on China. In the case of the Republic of Korea, there are investments being made here in the United States for electric batteries, for semi-conductors. There is a lot we can do in artificial intelligence. There are all kinds of areas where we can work with the ROK to help also limit dependence on China, and those are things we need to work on together, and, if confirmed, I would be very, very anxious to do so.

Senator COONS. Thank you, Ambassador.

Ms. Carlson?

Ms. CARLSON. Thank you. I guess I would start with the question of what are we doing right in this area, and I think if we look at the Philippines, we are doing a lot right. We have very vibrant trade and investment relationships going both ways, and if confirmed, I would work to strengthen those relationships.

Before the pandemic, the Philippines was one of the fastest growing economies in the region. There is a great deal of potential. My colleagues have already mentioned a number of the areas in high tech, and also we have the importance of supply chains that we want to work on with the Philippines. And I think if we look at our values, we are focused on transparency and predictability in the area of economic development, and I think that is our real strength when we compare ourselves and when others compare us to our competitors.

Senator COONS. Mr. Chairman, would you tolerate me asking one more question? Thank you.

Mr. Nathanson, it is great to see you. I am excited that you have been nominated for this important relationship with the Kingdom of Norway. They are a key partner, a NATO ally, a long and deep relationship in no small part because of the significant diaspora community here.

I would just be interested in your thoughts on what that relationship looks like now after the Russian invasion of Ukraine and the renewed focus on European collective security. How has our defense cooperation shifted, and how might it further shift, including through the Supplementary Defense Cooperation Agreement, and anything you care to share about the Nordic nations and their relationships with us which might shift? Norway has long enjoyed active participation in NATO, but their neighbors to the east have so far declined to pursue that. I wondered if you thought that was

something that might end up being in your bailiwick as our ambassador, if confirmed?

Mr. NATHANSON. Nice to see you again, Senator Coons. I believe our relationship with Norway, because of Russia's actions in the Ukraine, has only strengthened. Norway has announced increased spending for both NATO and its own military defenses. We have encouraged that. If confirmed, I would work with Norway and our military leaders to make sure that they are strong and that the northern border which borders Russia in the Arctic, which they call the High North, is even stronger than it is today.

Norway is very concerned about this. They continue to be very focused on it, and I think hopefully they will work with their neighbors to be more aware. In recent exercises where over 30,000 American and troops from 27 other countries participated in the Arctic, both Finland and Sweden also participated. I think this was an excellent sign, and I think we can see Norway working with its neighbors in Finland and Sweden, in Denmark and Iceland, to even work more together in military defenses of the Nordic nations.

Senator COONS. Thank you.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator MURPHY. Thank you, Senator Coons.

I just have a few additional questions. I will be happy to entertain a short second round before we let you all go. We have one more vote pending.

Ms. Carlson, I wanted to drill down a little bit more on this tension we have with the Philippines. You talked appropriately about the scope of our defense and security partnership. We see them as a key friend and ally as we seek to address China's designs to expand their influence in the region. But, listen, we cannot look the other way when reportedly up to 20,000 or more people have died since President Duterte came into office, many of them outside of any formal legal process. This is a stunning turn of events in the Philippines.

I tend to think that at this moment in time, when we see this war being waged on democracy around the world, we should err on the side of human rights and democracy when we have a conflict between security and rule of law. What I have found in my brief time on this committee is that oftentimes ambassadors, who are charged with maintaining a good relationship with the home country, are often not on the leading edge of recommending policies that will get tougher, that may change the nature of our relationship as a means to send a message about how much we value human rights, the rule of law, and democracy.

You talked about your willingness to step up and assert our interests when it comes to protecting the rights of human beings in the Philippines, but what are the tools that are at your disposal? Is it enough to just occasionally raise issues in private meetings? What else can a good, thoughtful, capable ambassador do? What tools do you have, what tools do you need in order to do more than just raise objections?

Ms. CARLSON. Thank you very much. I will commit here to say it is more than just a willingness; you have my commitment. But, if confirmed, I will raise those tough issues that you just mentioned. Human rights, respect for human rights, is fundamental to

the U.S.-Philippine relationship. We have ongoing conversations all the time about these hard questions. Friends, partners, allies know how to have those tough conversations. We do not always see the results that we want, but we continue to have the conversations.

Some of the tools that we have in our foreign policy toolkit are, for example, Leahy sanctions. We make sure that we do not give any assistance to any police or military entities that engage in gross violations of human rights. That is one tool that we have. Anytime that we export arms, we make sure that none of those firearms go to entities that have violated human rights.

So we continue to actively monitor human rights abuses and have those difficult conversations with all sectors of the Government. At the same time, we work in close concert with civil society organizations. Senator Coons just mentioned, I believe, the conversation with—I am sorry, somebody did—with the visiting journalist, Maria Ressa, from the Philippines. And if confirmed, I would continue to have those conversations across the civil society bodies and with the Government and use every tool at our disposal to make sure that as friends and partners, we continue together to promote our shared values.

Senator MURPHY. I appreciate that answer. It is a strong one, and I know these decisions are sort of above your level of responsibility. But for the record, we do not have a very good record of refraining from security sales and arms sales to countries with pretty miserable records on human rights, whether it be the UAE, the Saudis, the Egyptians. I think right now we have that balance incorrect. I look forward to working with you on this.

One last question for you, Mr. Goldberg. You have had a really remarkable diplomatic career. This is going to be your third posting as an ambassador. You served as a chargé in a number of places. We are having a really hard time confirming ambassadors here. In fact, it is stunning how difficult it is to get career public servants in ambassadorial posts. It seems that many of my colleagues are pretty blasé about the effects of that, the impact of it. I can understand that to an extent because our chargés are remarkable, they do great work. But it strikes me that there is a big difference between having an ambassador and having a chargé, and you have seen that difference.

So I would just love to get your candid thoughts before the committee as to why it is important to have ambassadors in key countries and what the difference is between that and having a chargé.

Ambassador GOLDBERG. I very much appreciate the chance to do so, Senator Murphy. Having a career or a non-career ambassador confirmed by this body, nominated by the President, brings a prestige and authority that a chargé cannot really fully have. I was a non-confirmed Chief of Mission in Kosovo many years ago when it was being administered by the United Nations, and because of the United States' image in Kosovo, it brought a great deal of authority.

But still, when you are dealing with other parts of our government, as much as the Government to which you are accredited, you do not have the same voice and the same kind of authority to speak about issues. We all have been nominated by President Biden for

these jobs. We are looking to you for confirmation, and that in and of itself is an important indicator to another government.

Access is another issue. There are a lot of foreign governments that do not want to necessarily meet at a very high level with chargés, and so that is an important point as well.

So I do believe we need our Ambassadors in place. We need them to do their work and to carry out the business of our foreign policy. Senator MURPHY. Thank you very much.

Thank you all.

Senator Romney?

[No audible response.]

Senator MURPHY. Good.

Well, thank you all for your testimony today. We look forward to getting you on the job as quickly as possible.

We are going to keep the hearing record open until 5 o'clock tomorrow for additional questions for the record.

And with that, this hearing stands adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 11:51 a.m., the hearing was adjourned.]

Additional Material Submitted for the Record

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO HON. CAROLINE KENNEDY BY SENATOR ROBERT MENENDEZ

Question. Beyond our security partnership there are significant opportunities for the United States and Australia to better coordinate our development and economic statecraft efforts. As you look around the Indo-Pacific, where do you think we can best look for opportunities to step-up coordination that allows each of our nations to play to our comparative advantage?

Answer. The United States and Australia stand steadfast with allies and partners in the region in support of a shared vision and shared values, and the determination to call out and respond to countries that attempt to undermine them. I know from my time as Ambassador to Japan that the region is eager for U.S. economic engagement. As the largest development assistance partner in the Pacific region and the only country with an Embassy in every Pacific Island nation, Australia is a leader in the region. If confirmed, I look forward to working with Congress, my State Department counterparts, Mission Australia personnel, and the Australian Government to identify the best opportunities to step up coordination in development assistance, multilateral engagement, and infrastructure partnerships.

Question. I am very concerned about directed energy attacks on U.S. Government personnel (so-called Anomalous Health Incidents). Ensuring the safety and security of our personnel abroad falls largely on individual Chiefs of Mission and the response of officers at post. It is imperative that any individual who reports a suspected incident be responded to promptly, equitably, and compassionately. Do you agree these incidents must be taken seriously, and pose a threat to the health of U.S. personnel?

Answer. Yes. I am deeply troubled by reported anomalous health incidents that have affected U.S. Government personnel and their family members. Serving one's country overseas should not come at the cost of one's health. If confirmed, the health, safety, and security of Mission Australia staff and their families will be my highest priority.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to ensuring that any reported incident is treated seriously and reported quickly through the appropriate channels, and that any affected individuals receive prompt access to medical care?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I commit to ensuring that all reported potential anomalous health incidents are given serious attention and reported swiftly through the appropriate channels. I will also ensure that staff who are affected by these incidents receive prompt access to the treatment, support, and medical care that they need.

Question. Do you commit to meeting with medical staff and the RSO at post to discuss any past reported incidents and ensure that all protocols are being followed?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I commit to meeting with medical staff and the RSO at Embassy Canberra to discuss any reported anomalous health incidents. If confirmed, I will work to be prepared to protect the safety of Mission Australia and ensure that all protocols regarding anomalous health incidents are being followed.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO HON. CAROLINE KENNEDY BY SENATOR JAMES E. RISCH

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to ensuring we sustain the momentum behind the AUKUS partnership?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I will ensure that we build upon the significant momentum already achieved in the first six months of the AUKUS partnership, as described in the April 5th statement of President Biden and the Prime Ministers of Australia and the United Kingdom. If confirmed, I look forward to learning more about AUKUS and working hard to further this ground-breaking, ambitious, and enhanced trilateral partnership. The AUKUS partnership will play a vital role in the U.S.-Australia relationship, and I will work to ensure that the entire Mission Australia team supports all aspects of the AUKUS partnership.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to include ensuring the partnership yields concrete near-term wins to show its effectiveness, and that the Department of State is robust in engaging with the DoD, NSC, and AUKUS partners to advance the partnership? How will you go about doing that?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I look forward to learning more about where the partnership can produce near-term wins and driving toward those milestones. I would ensure that my Mission Australia team continues to work closely with the Washington interagency, including the Department of Defense, Department of Energy, and the National Security Council, and closely with Congress and our AUKUS partners to advance the partnership.

Question. What are your views on the current situation in the Taiwan Strait?

Answer. If confirmed, I would work closely with Australian leaders to ensure we remain aligned across the full range of policy priorities, including maintaining peace and stability across the Taiwan Strait. Like the United States, Australia enjoys robust unofficial ties with Taiwan in accordance with Australia's own one-China policy. We share similar concerns over provocative PRC actions in the Taiwan Strait, and if confirmed, I would work with Australia to urge Beijing to cease its military, diplomatic, and economic pressure against Taiwan, and instead engage in meaningful dialogue. I would also support U.S.-Australian cooperation in support of Taiwan's international space under the Global Cooperation and Training Framework, of which Australia is a valued global partner.

Question. What opportunities do you see for the U.S. and Australia to cooperate on supporting Taiwan, including defense, civilian resilience to Chinese coercion and aggression, and economics and trade?

Answer. Consistent with our one China policy, the United States makes available to Taiwan defense articles and services necessary to enable it to maintain a sufficient self-defense capability commensurate with the People's Republic of China's (PRC) threat to Taiwan. Like the United States, Australia enjoys robust unofficial ties with Taiwan in accordance with Australia's own one-China policy. It is critical that the PRC understand that peace and stability in the Taiwan Strait is not merely a U.S. interest but an international interest, as it is essential to regional and global stability and prosperity. If confirmed, I commit to working closely with Australia to use all tools to promote peace and stability in the Taiwan Strait.

Question. Taiwan needs support for civilian defense and resilience efforts, especially now that it's set up the new All-Out Defense mobilization. What are your views on U.S. efforts to work with Australia in this area?

Answer. Like the United States, Australia enjoys robust unofficial ties with Taiwan and opposes unilateral changes to the status quo across the Taiwan Strait. If confirmed, I commit to working closely with Australia to use all tools—including diplomacy and development—to strengthen Taiwan's resiliency.

Question. Australia has taken many steps to increase scrutiny of Chinese political influence and investment in Australia. What lessons should the U.S. learn from Australia on this issue?

Answer. Australia has remained steadfast in its resistance to PRC economic coercion, despite continued pressure, and serves as an example to other countries facing similar pressure. Australian officials have publicly condemned PRC disinformation campaigns and political interference attempts, and have warned the public of sophisticated malicious cyber activities carried out by actors with ties to the state. In December 2020, Parliament passed legislation that significantly increased the Government's authority to review foreign investments in national security businesses. Additionally, Australia has blocked PRC participation in its 5G network, prohibited several deals involving PRC investment in Australia and the region, and financed the purchase of the largest telecom company in the South Pacific to safeguard the region's ICT infrastructure. If confirmed, I am committed to learning more from Australian Government, business, and civil society leaders about their experience so that we can build resilience in the United States and abroad.

Question. Where can the U.S. work more closely with Australia on malign political influence?

Answer. If confirmed, I look forward to learning more from Australia about how we can work more closely to counter disinformation and malign political influence. Drawing on the lessons learned from Australia's economic and political resilience in the face of PRC coercion, I would seek to engage with Australia where our mutual interests are being undermined by PRC actions, including in the Pacific Islands. I would also work with Australia through multilateral configurations, such as the Quad disinformation working group.

Question. As U.S. Ambassador to Japan under President Obama, you strongly supported the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP). Is that still the case today, and do you support the follow-on Comprehensive and Progressive Trans-Pacific Partnership (CPTPP)?

Answer. Much has changed in the world since the original TPP was signed in 2016. Despite the United States' withdrawal from TPP (now CPTPP), the U.S.-Australia economic relationship, which is underpinned by the U.S.-Australia Free Trade Agreement and our growing cooperation on critical technologies and supply chains, is as strong as ever. I understand that countries in the Indo-Pacific region are eager for greater U.S. economic engagement and that the administration is looking at a range of options that promote shared goals of high standards, cooperation, and inclusive prosperity. If confirmed, I would work with the White House, other agencies, and Congress to negotiate and develop trade policies that advance the interests of all Americans, support American innovation, and enhance our competitiveness.

Question. China has applied to join CPTPP. Even before full membership, it could join as an observer, which would give it huge influence over the future of trade in the region. In your view, what are the consequences of China being in CPTPP, while we are not in it?

Answer. I understand that the PRC has submitted a formal request to join CPTPP. The United States is not a party to the CPTPP; therefore, it defers to CPTPP parties regarding views on the PRC's potential accession. That said, if confirmed, I would engage with Australia and other partners who are members of the CPTPP to encourage them to take the PRC's non-market trade practices and use of economic coercion against other countries into account in their evaluation of the PRC as a potential candidate for accession.

Question. Based on your assessment to the previous question, what should the U.S. be doing on trade and economics in the Indo-Pacific?

Answer. I understand the administration is looking at a range of options to forge stronger economic partnerships in the Indo-Pacific that promote shared goals of cooperation and inclusive prosperity. We must be committed to strengthening trade and investment in the region in a manner that promotes good paying American jobs, high standards, and supply chain resiliency and offer the same benefits for our Indo-Pacific partners. The administration's approach to trade is focused on supporting American working families, defending our values, and protecting the long-term prosperity and security of the United States. The United States is focused on making investments in U.S. workers and U.S. competitiveness before signing new trade agreements, including in the Indo-Pacific. If confirmed, I would support the administration's trade policy.

Question. I have heard consistent feedback from Indo-Pacific allies and partners that the Indo-Pacific Economic Framework (IPEF) leaves a lot to be desired—especially since there is no market access component and the administration has stated it will not conclude free trade agreements. What is your understanding of what IPEF seeks to achieve? Without market access, what incentive do our partners have to cooperate through IPEF?

Answer. As President Biden announced at the East Asia Summit, the United States is developing an Indo-Pacific Economic Framework (IPEF), in consultation with allies and partners in the region, to position our economies for the future. The framework will address trade facilitation, the digital economy, supply chain resilience, infrastructure, decarbonization and clean energy, and other areas of shared interest. I understand this framework is in early stages of development, and I am not read in on country-specific details. My understanding, however, is that there is a strong desire from partners in the region for increased U.S. trade, investment, and overall economic engagement. If confirmed, I look forward to working with allies and partners to make progress on our shared priorities and advance sustainable and inclusive growth across the region with guidance from the White House, Commerce, and USTR, who have the lead on IPEF.

Question. If confirmed, what would you do to ensure that the United States advances a robust and actionable trade and economic agenda with Australia and in the broader Indo-Pacific region?

Answer. The United States is Australia's most important economic partner. Two-way trade has nearly doubled in the 15 years since we signed our Free Trade Agreement. The United States remains Australia's largest source of foreign investment, generating innovation—and high-paying jobs—in the technology, defense, space, and health care sectors in both our countries. U.S. and Australian public-private partnerships are working toward ending the global pandemic, as well as helping develop standards for critical and emerging technologies, including quantum computing, artificial intelligence, 5G, biotechnology, the digital economy, and space. Australia is also well placed to assist us with critical mineral supply security. If confirmed, I would work closely with my colleagues in USTR and other agencies to promote the administration trade policy.

Question. China is reportedly concluding a security and policing agreement with the Solomon Islands. In your view, what are the implications for the U.S. and Australia if this comes to pass, and what should the U.S. be doing about it?

Answer. I know that the United States values its relationship with Solomon Islands, remembering well the friendship that was forged by our shared sacrifices in World War II, a friendship that aided in the rescue of my father during the war. The United States and its allies and partners have helped maintain peace and security in the Indo-Pacific region in the post-World War II era, providing stability that has facilitated economic prosperity. Australia has longstanding economic, people-to-people, law enforcement and security ties with Solomon Islands. U.S. allies and partners in the region, including Australia, have expressed concerns about how this agreement may threaten the current regional security paradigm. Such an agreement could set a concerning precedent for the wider Pacific Islands region. If confirmed, I will closely coordinate with the Australian Government, other partners in the Pacific, other U.S. Government agencies, and Congress to maintain peace and prosperity in the region.

Question. Do you commit that you will not advise Secretary Blinken, the President, or any other official to sacrifice other U.S. interests or make concessions for the sake of an agreement with or promises from China on climate change?

Answer. Support for democracy, economic development, transparency, human rights, and human dignity are not mutually exclusive, and go hand-in-hand with climate progress. As Special Presidential Envoy Kerry has noted, climate is a critical standalone issue, and other aspects of the U.S.-China relationship will not be traded for U.S. interests. We can both compete with the PRC and work to prevent and reverse climate change's effects. If confirmed, I will advocate for climate and U.S. interests to remain at the forefront of American foreign policy.

Question. If confirmed, what would you seek to accomplish in your first 100 days as U.S. Ambassador?

Answer. If confirmed, I would endeavor to engage with numerous stakeholders in the U.S.-Australian relationship here in the United States before departing for Post. During that time, I would work closely with colleagues at the State Department and in Mission Australia to develop a plan for the first 100 days that addresses the most important issues and engages the key constituencies in Australia as soon as pos-

sible. Upon arriving in Canberra, I hope to have substantive discussions about our bilateral security and diplomatic relationship with my government counterparts, including on AUKUS and the Quad. I would meet with the American business community in Australia as well as Australian corporate leaders in an effort to promote our two-way economic relationship, including in the areas of critical minerals, supply chain security, and scientific and technological collaboration. I will make a special effort to reach out to those who have not been as engaged with Mission Australia recently, with a focus on the entire continent, young people, and diverse communities to ensure that the groundwork is solid for an even stronger relationship in the coming years.

Question. Many U.S. missions have been under enormous stress over the last few years, in large part due to COVID. What is your understanding of morale throughout Mission Canberra?

Answer. I know that Mission Australia has faced some of the most stringent lockdown and quarantine requirements in the world. Australia has only recently lifted all COVID-related restrictions. Despite that, I understand Mission Australia is, unsurprisingly, a sought-after posting. If confirmed, I look forward to learning more about how COVID has affected our Mission personnel over these last few years and doing whatever I can to improve morale.

Question. How do you intend to improve morale at Mission Canberra?

Answer. If confirmed, I look forward to working closely with the teams at Mission Australia to understand and address any issues affecting morale. I am aware that the past couple of years have been difficult as embassies and consulates around the globe have grappled with the pandemic and an increasingly fragmented world. I will listen and learn from my colleagues, particularly the first and second tour professionals and the local staff, about the challenges they face that I might not otherwise be aware of, and I will seek their suggestions for improvement. I will try to use my position as Ambassador to empower my colleagues at Mission Australia as they work across the range of issues in our bilateral relationship, and in the region more broadly.

Question. How do you intend to create a unified mission and vision at Mission Canberra?

Answer. If confirmed, I will start by listening to those already in Mission Australia. I will work to engage with the entire community in a variety of settings—small groups, country team meetings, and town hall gatherings. I will seek community input and articulate my priorities and those of the Biden-Harris administration. I will travel to all the U.S. consulates in Australia as well as other locations where U.S. Government employees are working to make sure they feel included in our mission. I will endeavor to be open and inclusive and set high expectations for myself and for others. I will take the time necessary to make sure that the entire community has a shared set of goals.

Question. Management is a key responsibility for chiefs of mission. How would you describe your management style?

Answer. I believe strongly that the Ambassador must set high ethical standards, and I was recognized for doing so during my time in Japan. In my life, I have been fortunate to learn by example and I hope that I can model good performance for my colleagues while welcoming feedback as to how I can do better. I defer to the experts on issues and processes within the State Department, and I work to be open and inclusive to all members of the community about their concerns. I am always looking for reasons to celebrate our successes as a community and work to correct our shortcomings.

Question. Do you believe it is ever acceptable or constructive to berate subordinates, either in public or private?

Answer. No. I don't believe it is acceptable to berate or belittle subordinates in public or in private.

Question. How do you envision your leadership relationship with your deputy chief of mission?

Answer. The relationship between an Ambassador and a deputy chief of mission (DCM) is critical to the success of a Mission. I experienced this first-hand in Japan. If confirmed, I would rely heavily on my DCM for his/her expertise in the processes and procedures of the State Department and his/her knowledge of Australia. I would seek a strong partnership and a relationship based in trust and confidence.

Question. If confirmed, what leadership responsibilities do you intend to entrust to your deputy chief of mission?

Answer. If confirmed, I will rely on my DCM's career-knowledge of Department policies and procedures to ensure the smooth functioning of Mission Australia. I welcome a close partnership and look forward to discussing other areas of DCM leadership with him/her.

Question. In order to create and continue employee excellence at the Department, accurate and direct employee evaluation reports (EERs) for Foreign Service Officers are imperative, though often lacking. Do you believe that it is important to provide employees with accurate, constructive feedback on their performances in order to encourage improvement and reward those who most succeeded in their roles?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I will be transparent with my colleagues on their performance. This means rewarding those who are succeeding in their roles and providing constructive feedback. I will seek out dissenting views, listen to the experts, and welcome candid and open feedback. I will hold myself and my team to the highest standards and ensure we are accountable at all levels.

Question. If confirmed, would you support and encourage clear, accurate, and direct feedback to employees in order to improve performance and reward high achievers?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I will be transparent with my colleagues on their performance. This means rewarding those who are succeeding and providing constructive feedback and opportunities for improvement when necessary. I will also welcome candid and open feedback.

Question. It is imperative that U.S. diplomats get outside of posts abroad to meet with local actors, including host government officials, non-government organizations, and fellow foreign diplomats stationed in Australia. In your opinion, do U.S. diplomats get outside of our Embassy walls enough to accomplish fully their missions?

Answer. My experience as Ambassador to Japan has taught me that State Department employees work hard to learn about the country in which they are serving. I believe that the ability of U.S. diplomats to engage with local populations in their host country is vital to the national security, economic prosperity, and people-to-people ties of the United States. They are America's eyes and ears around the world and the best representatives of the values upon which our country is built. Getting beyond the Embassy walls is also essential to their professional development and success. If confirmed as Ambassador, my first priority is the safety and well-being of Mission employees. As long as it is safe, I will encourage Mission employees to make outreach a priority.

Question. How do you intend to improve the ability of U.S. diplomats to better access all local populations?

Answer. If confirmed, I will encourage Mission Australia employees to visit new venues and interact with groups that have not been regular participants in Mission events. I would place special emphasis on students—both at the high school and college level—who I would encourage to study in the United States. During my time in Japan, I worked hard to increase student mobility and also traveled to a number of campuses in the United States to encourage Americans to study overseas. First and Second Tour Officers/Professionals may be best suited to this sort of engagement because of their recent non-State experience, and it gives them a chance to develop public diplomacy skills. I would also encourage Embassy personnel to visit and learn about new and diverse communities—bearing in mind that there are sometimes complex dynamics in navigating domestic social issues in other countries. Their insights can help prioritize these activities. I will also encourage CODELS and other high-level visitors to accompany our diplomats on these visits as Congressional interest is the best way to drive results.

Question. Public diplomacy is an important aspect of U.S. foreign policy efforts. What is the public diplomacy environment like in Australia?

Answer. There is a vibrant and active public diplomacy environment in Australia. If confirmed, I will work to expand and strengthen the already deep people-to-people ties, which form the basis of our close partnership. These relationships have contributed to the strong mutual trust between our governments and our close economic ties.

Question. What public diplomacy challenges do U.S. diplomats face there?

Answer. The public diplomacy environment in Australia is vibrant and active. Our people-to-people ties are strong and deep and form the basis of our close partner-

ship. However, polling shows younger and diverse audiences are more skeptical of the U.S.-Australia alliance. Building relationships and overcoming skepticism with future Australian leaders will take more concerted outreach and trust-building, but ultimately pays dividends for the future of the alliance. If confirmed, I will work with Mission Australia, and in particular the Public Diplomacy team, to engage with younger and diverse groups.

Question. How do you balance the importance of Main State versus the in-country mission when it comes to tailoring public diplomacy messages for foreign audiences?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work with the team at Mission Australia to understand and protect the Mission's crucial role in formulating public diplomacy programs and responses. The staff of Americans and Australians at the Embassy in Canberra and the Consulate Generals in Melbourne, Perth, and Sydney all provide expertise and local insight. If confirmed, I will draw on their expertise to ensure our public diplomacy messages are appropriate for the local audience, while reflecting our key foreign policy priorities.

Question. "Anomalous health incidents," commonly referred to as "Havana Syndrome," have been debilitating and sidelining U.S. diplomats around the world for years. They have caused serious, negative consequences for U.S. diplomacy, yet many believe that the Department is not doing enough to care for, protect, and communicate to its personnel. If confirmed, do you commit to taking this threat seriously?

Answer. I am deeply troubled by the reported anomalous health incidents that have affected U.S. Government personnel and their family members. Serving one's country overseas should not come at the cost of one's health. Such incidents may pose a threat to the wellbeing of U.S. personnel and must be taken extremely seriously. If confirmed, the health, safety, and security of Mission Australia staff, their family members, and all those supporting the Mission will be my highest priority.

Question. [Re: Anomalous health incidents] If confirmed, do you commit to talking as openly as you can to Mission Canberra personnel?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, the health and safety of Mission personnel will be my highest priority.

Question. In the State Department's 2021 Trafficking in Persons Report, Australia was on Tier 1 for meeting the minimum standards for the elimination of human trafficking. However, its trafficking convictions remain low in comparison to the number of trafficking cases. Additionally, trafficking sentences have been lenient. If confirmed, do you commit to work with the Government of Australia to improve conviction rates as well as sentence terms for traffickers?

Answer. Trafficking in persons is a matter of deep concern to me. If confirmed, I would actively encourage the Australian Government to strengthen efforts to increase the investigation and prosecution of trafficking crimes, and sentence convicted traffickers to significant prison terms.

Question. In the State Department's 2020 International Religious Freedom report, Australia has experienced acts of anti-Semitism and targeting of religious minorities. If confirmed, do you commit to working with the Government of Australia to combat anti-Semitism and targeting of religious minorities?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I am committed to doing everything possible to promote and protect universal respect for the right to freedom of religion or belief for all, to include working with the Australian Government to combat anti-Semitism and targeting of religious minorities. Respect for the right to freedom of religion or belief is a core value for both Americans and Australians.

Question. Additionally, the 2020 International Religious Freedom report note that members of the Uyghur community in Australia have been harassed by the Chinese Government in country. How would you work with the Australian Government to address harassment of Uyghurs and other minorities by the Chinese Government?

Answer. Australia has clearly and consistently called on the PRC Government to respect the human rights of predominantly Muslim Uyghurs and members of other religious and ethnic minority groups. I also welcome Australia's public comments regarding human rights in the PRC, including in Hong Kong, Tibet, and Xinjiang. If confirmed, I would work with the Government of Australia to explore ways to protect members of the Uyghur community and other diaspora groups experiencing harassment by PRC officials in Australia, as well as identify opportunities to jointly advocate for their human rights in the PRC.

Question. In the State Department's 2020 Human Rights Report, Australia was identified as having significant human rights abuses including credible allegations of deaths or injury related to prison abuse, particularly of minority groups and persons with disabilities. If confirmed, how will you work to improve prison conditions, in particularly for minority groups and persons with disabilities?

Answer. There is a need to frankly address necessary improvements of prison conditions with a partner like Australia, and that means admitting our own imperfections openly. Although the 2021 Human Rights Report identified no significant reports regarding prison conditions that raised human rights concerns, there is always work to be done to sustain appropriate conditions. If confirmed, I would ensure Mission Australia shares the ways we are attempting to address the deficiencies in our justice and corrections systems, promotes those actions to benefit Australia, and explores ways our own civil society groups can engage with Australian civil society as we pursue common aims. Fostering people-to-people ties with Australia will be one of my key priorities as Ambassador, if confirmed. I see opportunities to deepen engagements between U.S. and Australian civil society groups. I would work with my Mission team to prioritize engagement across the spectrum of Australian society, including with groups looking to address these issues.

Democracies are judged by their respect for human dignity and individual rights, including the rights of members of minority groups, those with disabilities, and those who are incarcerated. My family has a deep and long-standing commitment to working to better the lives of those with intellectual disabilities and to addressing discrimination towards them. While writing a book on the Bill of Rights, and while working with the NYC Department of Education, I spent time with death-row prisoners in Virginia and Arizona and in high schools located in detention facilities in New York City to look at these issues. In Japan, I learned about the work of consular officers assisting U.S. citizens detained in Japan and advocated with the Japanese Government for their release on humanitarian grounds. If confirmed, I look forward to working with Australian Government entities and civil society groups on these issues, learning more about the Australian prison system and what needs to be improved, and to sharing lessons from the American experience while being honest about our shortcomings and goals for the future. Although the 2021 Human Rights report identified no significant reports regarding prison conditions that raised human rights concerns, if confirmed, I see opportunities to deepen engagements between the United States and Australia on these issues.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO HON. CAROLINE KENNEDY BY SENATOR EDWARD J. MARKEY

Question. On April 5, the Biden administration provided an update on the Australia, United Kingdom, and United States security partnership, AUKUS. AUKUS will supply Australia technology for nuclear powered submarines and allows for the United States and its partners to preserve a free and open Indo-Pacific region.

- If confirmed, will you work with your counterparts at the State Department and with the Australian Government so that the strongest nonproliferation standards are upheld in the AUKUS deal?

Answer. Yes. Australia, the United Kingdom, and the United States are undertaking this effort in a way that reflects our longstanding leadership in global non-proliferation and rigorous verification standards, in partnership and consultation with the International Atomic Energy Agency. All three countries remain steadfast in their support of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and the global nuclear non-proliferation regime. Australia remains committed to adhering to the highest standards for safeguards, transparency, verification, and accountancy measures to ensure the non-proliferation, safety, and security of nuclear material and technology. Australia also remains committed to fulfilling all of its obligations as a non-nuclear weapons state, including with the International Atomic Energy Agency. If confirmed, I will work with my State Department colleagues, Australia, and the UK to ensure the strongest nonproliferation standards are achieved in AUKUS cooperation.

Question. The United States Innovation and Competition Act of 2021, passed by the Senate and the America COMPETES Act passed by the House, both include a provision to create a Quad Intra-Parliamentary Working Group to facilitate progress on Quad Summit commitments.

- How can the Quad Intra-Parliamentary Working Group build on and complement other work being facilitated through the Quad?

Answer. Quad cooperation supports the United States' goal of realizing a free and open Indo-Pacific, and our vision for this multilateral mechanism is ambitious and far-reaching. If confirmed, I look forward to engaging with members of Congress on how best to support that goal and advance the work of the Quad, including with respect to any proposed intra-parliamentary working group.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO HON. CAROLINE KENNEDY BY SENATOR TODD YOUNG

Question. If confirmed, what would you see as your role as Ambassador in furthering AUKUS?

Answer. The United States has an unrivaled network of allies and partners around the world, and our commitment to them is unshakable. As the United States advances a free and open Indo-Pacific, we will continue to work with and through longstanding multilateral organizations, like ASEAN, and informal multilateral mechanisms, like the Quad, in addition to working with our allies in the region, and around the world. The trilateral AUKUS partnership between the United States, Australia, and the United Kingdom, will strengthen our combined capacity to produce greater stability and security in the Indo-Pacific region. If confirmed, I look forward to learning more about the progress that has been made in the past six months and working to enhance joint capabilities and interoperability between the United States, Australia, and the United Kingdom. I will work to strengthen cooperation on emerging areas of importance, such as cyber, artificial intelligence, quantum technologies, hypersonics, and counter-hypersonics, electronic warfare, and additional undersea capabilities.

Question. One of the elements of the AUKUS partnership is advanced capabilities, such as AI, cyber, and quantum technologies. In your view, how does this partnership with Australia further U.S. leadership in emerging technology?

Answer. Through AUKUS, the United States seeks to significantly deepen cooperation on a range of security and defense capabilities. AUKUS partners have made strong progress in the four advanced capabilities that the President and Prime Ministers identified in September 2021. They have recently announced the intent to increase trilateral cooperation on hypersonics, counter-hypersonics, and electronic warfare capabilities. Our cooperation will also promote deeper information and technology sharing, and foster further integration of security and defense-related science, technology, industrial bases, and supply chains. As part of the broader bilateral relationship, U.S. and Australian researchers, universities, and companies have collaborated on research and development of cutting-edge technology in artificial intelligence, quantum technologies, and space exploration. The United States and Australia both benefit from a firm foundation in these technologies which will help grow our economies through high-skill, high-paying jobs. The United States benefits from Australia's research centers through shared scientific breakthroughs and testing of next-generation military capabilities. If confirmed, I look forward to representing U.S. interests as a leader in emerging technology.

Question. How would you hope to coordinate Quad actions and unity around a strategy with all of the other players, including for example U.S. representatives in Canberra, the NSC and State Bureaus?

Answer. The Quad now has successful and important lines of effort. If confirmed, I will work with interagency partners, including the NSC staff, and our Quad partners to ensure we are coordinating across the various lines of effort.

Question. On March 25, the Solomon Islands confirmed the country was finalizing a security pact with China, which would authorize sending military personnel to the islands and conducting ship patrols. What are the implications for the U.S. and Australia if this comes to pass, and what should the U.S. be doing about it?

Answer. I know that the United States values its relationship with Solomon Islands, remembering well the friendship that was forged by our shared sacrifices in World War II, a friendship that aided in the rescue of my father during the war. The United States and its allies and partners have helped maintain peace and security in the Indo-Pacific region in the post-World War II era, providing stability that has facilitated economic prosperity. The Solomon Islands response to Secretary Blinken's announcement of U.S. intent to open an Embassy in Honiara was over-

whelmingly positive. Australia has longstanding economic, people-to-people, law enforcement and security ties with Solomon Islands. U.S. allies and partners in the region, including Australia, have expressed concerns about how this agreement may threaten the current regional security paradigm. Such an agreement may set a concerning precedent for the wider Pacific Islands region. If confirmed, I will closely coordinate with Mission personnel, the Australian Government, the U.S. Ambassador in Papua New Guinea (accredited to Solomon Islands), and Congress to maintain peace and prosperity in the region.

Question. In your view, what ambitions does China have in the Pacific? If confirmed, what would be your message to the Government of Australia regarding securing the Pacific from Chinese aggression?

Answer. The PRC has adopted an increasingly provocative foreign policy. It is the only competitor potentially capable of combining its economic, diplomatic, military, and technological power to mount a sustained challenge to a stable and open international system. As Secretary Blinken has said, our relationship with the PRC will be competitive when it should be, collaborative when it can be, and adversarial when it must be. It is critical that we work alongside our allies and partners to engage the PRC. Australia will be a key partner in this challenge, and if confirmed, I will prioritize working with Australia on our shared goals, including addressing together PRC human rights abuses and violations and attempts to undermine the rules-based international order.

Question. How do you believe the U.S. should engage with Australia on China's application to join CPTPP? What is at stake if the U.S. does not attempt to engage in robust trade discussions with Australia and other nations in the region?

Answer. We would expect that the PRC's non-market trade practices, extensive market-distorting direct and indirect subsidies, and use of economic coercion against other countries would factor into CPTPP parties' evaluation of the PRC as a potential candidate for accession. If confirmed, I would work with allies and partners in the region to uphold international rules, maintain high standards, and ensure that the PRC is not permitted to undermine a free and fair Indo-Pacific.

Question. How do you believe the U.S. can leverage its relationships with Australia to build legitimacy for issue-based coalitions to address China's unfair trade practices?

Answer. The U.S.-Australia relationship has served as an anchor of peace, security, and prosperity in the Indo-Pacific. Americans and Australians share deeply rooted values of defending freedom, championing economic and social opportunity and inclusion, and respecting human rights and the rule of law. Australia has joined the United States and our allies and partners to express our joint concerns about the PRC's unfair trade practices including preferential treatment for state owned enterprises, data restrictions, inadequate enforcement of intellectual property rights, and forced technology transfer. The PRC's campaign of economic coercion against Australia has failed. Our success here can demonstrate to the world how high-standard, free, and fair markets can still outcompete the PRC and its reliance on unfair economic practices and low environmental standards. If confirmed, I will continue to work with Australia to address the PRC's unfair trade practices.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO HON. PHILIP S. GOLDBERG BY SENATOR ROBERT MENENDEZ

IPEF

Question. The Indo-Pacific Economic Framework (IPEF) is a good first step, but needs to be more ambitious for the United States to send a clear message about our enduring presence in the region.

- If confirmed, what is your sense of where the opportunities lie to deepen the U.S.-Korea economic partnership and cooperation on supply chain security?

Answer. The ROK is our sixth largest goods trading partner, the world's 10th-largest economy, and an increasingly important partner on global economic issues including climate change, the COVID-19 pandemic, development assistance, and supply chain security. Korean firms are investing tens of billions of dollars in the United States, creating high-paying jobs in critical and advanced technology sectors, including semiconductors, electric vehicles (EV) and EV batteries, clean energy, and more. If confirmed, I would seek to further strengthen our economic partnership

with the ROK to enhance our mutual economic prosperity, advance our shared strategic interests, and tackle the most pressing 21st Century global challenges.

Our recent experience with the pandemic and semiconductor shortages has shown that strong and resilient supply chains are critical to our economic security. Our two countries have held several rounds of supply chain consultations, including through the U.S.-ROK Senior Economic Dialogue and the Department of Commerce-led Semiconductor Partnership Dialogue. We work closely with our Korean counterparts to ensure we maintain our competitive edge in critical technologies. If confirmed, I would push to continue deepening U.S.-ROK supply chain cooperation, particularly on semiconductors and critical and emerging technologies.

Anomalous Health Incidents

Question. I am very concerned about directed energy attacks on U.S. Government personnel (so-called Anomalous Health Incidents). Ensuring the safety and security of our personnel abroad falls largely on individual Chiefs of Mission and the response of officers at post. It is imperative that any individual who reports a suspected incident be responded to promptly, equitably, and compassionately.

- Do you agree these incidents must be taken seriously, and pose a threat to the health of U.S. personnel?

Answer. I am deeply concerned by potential anomalous health incidents affecting U.S. Government personnel and their family members. These incidents affect the wellbeing of U.S. personnel serving their country abroad and must be taken extremely seriously. In my current position as U.S. Ambassador to Colombia, and previously as Chargé d'affaires in Havana, I have made the health and safety of my staff my top priority, including by contributing to the extensive, ongoing interagency investigation into the cause of these incidents and how we can best protect our people. If confirmed, the health, safety, and security of Embassy Seoul staff, their family members, and all those supporting the Mission will continue to be my highest priority.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to ensuring that any reported incident is treated seriously and reported quickly through the appropriate channels, and that any affected individuals receive prompt access to medical care?

Answer. In my current position as U.S. Ambassador to Colombia, and previously as Chargé d'affaires in Havana, I have made the health and safety of my staff my top priority. If confirmed, I would also commit to ensuring all reported incidents affecting Embassy Seoul and Mission Korea personnel are treated seriously and handled expeditiously through the appropriate medical and investigatory channels. I would ensure that any affected individuals receive prompt access to treatment and medical care. Moreover, that they receive our support and empathy.

Question. Do you commit to meeting with medical staff and the RSO at post to discuss any past reported incidents and ensure that all protocols are being followed?

Answer. In my current position as U.S. Ambassador to Colombia, and previously as Charge d'affaires in Havana, I have made the health and safety of my staff my top priority. If confirmed, I would commit to work closely with medical staff and the RSO at Embassy Seoul to discuss any past reported incidents and ensure that all protocols are being closely followed.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO HON. PHILIP S. GOLDBERG BY SENATOR JAMES E. RISCH

Question. What opportunities do you see for the U.S.-ROK alliance given the recent presidential election in the ROK?

Answer. The U.S.-ROK alliance is ironclad and for decades has enjoyed broad support in both countries. The U.S.-ROK partnership expanded over the past year to include a global partnership, as evidenced by the successful May 2021 Summit between President Biden and President Moon. The joint statement released following the summit provided a vivid demonstration of the enormous breadth and depth of our expanding relationship.

If confirmed I look forward to working with President-elect Yoon to continue to deepen our security and economic cooperation, as well as our joint efforts to address key global challenges, including climate and clean energy, the COVID-19 pandemic, supply chain resilience, support for Ukraine, and many other issues.

Question. If confirmed, how would you work to help improve Japan-ROK ties, and thereby facilitate U.S.-Japan-ROK trilateral cooperation?

Answer. The Biden administration is committed to strengthening U.S. alliance relationships, particularly with our key allies the ROK and Japan. We have long encouraged the ROK and Japan to work together to address their bilateral issues in a way that promotes healing and reconciliation. Even while addressing sensitive historical issues, cooperation on our common regional and international priorities must proceed.

If confirmed as Ambassador, I would continue to focus, as one of my highest priorities, on deepening our trilateral cooperation, collaboration, and partnership to foster a forward-looking relationship that seeks to address the most pressing challenges of the 21st Century. In addition to work with both the S. Korean and Japanese Governments, I would promote more emphasis on business and people-to-people ties.

Question. North Korea is in its most active testing period in years. In your view, what are a few things the U.S. and ROK need to do to further strengthen the alliance and increase our readiness in light of these developments?

Answer. The Biden administration condemns the DPRK's ballistic missile launches, each of which has violated multiple UNSCRs. In particular, the DPRK's recent ICBM launches constituted a serious escalation. The United States has made clear that these unlawful and destabilizing activities will not be accepted by the international community as "normal," and stressed, that the only viable path forward for the DPRK is through diplomacy. If confirmed, I would ensure we continue to coordinate closely with the ROK to address the threats posed by the DPRK's WMD and ballistic missile programs, on how to best engage the DPRK, and to advance our shared objective of permanent peace and the complete denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula. This would include continued military exercises and readiness.

Question. How would you characterize China's approach to its relationship with the ROK in recent years?

Answer. The PRC's military modernization, coupled with its increasingly provocative actions, presents an urgent challenge to our vital interests in the Indo-Pacific and around the world. The Biden-Harris administration has shown we will address the PRC challenge from a position of strength, in which we work closely with the ROK and other allies and partners to defend and promote the rules-based international order.

Not only are the United States and the ROK stalwart allies, but the democratic governments of the United States and the ROK share a deeply rooted commitment to defend freedom and foster respect for human rights. If confirmed, I will work with the ROK to promote our shared vision for a free, open, and prosperous Indo-Pacific and strengthen our partnership on addressing PRC-related challenges, including by addressing supply chain issues and global cooperation on our shared democratic agenda.

Question. What kind of an approach do you think the new Yoon administration will take to China, and are there opportunities for greater U.S.-ROK cooperation to challenges presented by China to the Indo-Pacific region?

Answer. The U.S.-ROK Alliance is key to our efforts to promote a free, open, and prosperous Indo-Pacific. As a vibrant democracy, the ROK will play an increasingly important role as a model for liberal democratic values and a bulwark against the PRC's attempts to project its autocratic template in the Indo-Pacific region. The ROK is an important source of foreign direct investment in the Indo-Pacific, and it is already a major donor and leader in development efforts, including health security, climate change mitigation, and humanitarian assistance. If confirmed, I will ensure that we continue to enjoy a future-oriented partnership with the ROK, with a focus on positive cooperation with the Pacific Island countries, ASEAN, and in the Mekong sub-region. These measures will help counter coercive PRC activities in the Indo-Pacific.

Question. The ROK has applied to join CPTPP, as has China. Do you support ROK joining CPTPP?

Answer. The Biden-Harris administration remains committed to upholding a fair and open global trading system—one that follows through on our trading partners' longstanding commitment to conduct economic relations with a view to raising standards of living, ensuring full employment, and promoting sustainable development. If confirmed, I would work with USTR and other relevant interagency colleagues to address specific trade issues that may arise with the ROK. Also, as Presi-

dent Biden announced at the East Asia Summit, the United States is developing an Indo-Pacific Economic Framework to deepen economic relations in the region and coordinate approaches to addressing global economic challenges. As a U.S. ally and our sixth-largest trading partner, I understand we are closely consulting with the ROK on this effort, as well as its possible membership in CPTPP.

Question. In your view, what are the consequences of China being in CPTPP, while we are not in it? Based on your assessment, what should the U.S. be doing on trade and economics in the Indo-Pacific?

Answer. As President Biden announced at the East Asia Summit, the United States is developing an Indo-Pacific Economic Framework to deepen economic relations in the region and coordinate approaches to addressing global economic challenges. If confirmed, I would support working with allies and partners in the Indo-Pacific region, including the ROK, to address a range of economic issues, including fair and resilient trade, digital policy and emerging technology, infrastructure and clean energy, and anti-corruption. All such efforts must protect workers, transparency, and the environment and strengthen the rules-based economic order in the region.

Question. The U.S. Trade Representative announced the Indo-Pacific Economic Framework (IPEF) while in the ROK. What is your understanding of what IPEF seeks to achieve? What is your understanding of how IPEF will align with the U.S. free trade agreement with the ROK?

Answer. As President Biden announced at the East Asia Summit, the United States is developing an Indo-Pacific Economic Framework to deepen economic relations in the region and coordinate approaches to addressing global economic challenges. As a U.S. ally and our sixth-largest trading partner, I understand we are closely consulting with the ROK on this effort.

Question. If confirmed, what would you do to ensure that the United States advances a robust trade and economic agenda with Korea and in the broader Indo-Pacific region?

Answer. The U.S.-Korea Free Trade Agreement (KORUS), which just celebrated its 10-year anniversary, is the foundation of our bilateral trade and economic partnership. Since the signing of our FTA, U.S. exports of goods to the ROK have grown by more than 60 percent. The ROK is our 6th-largest goods trading partner, the world's 10th-largest economy, and an increasingly important partner on global economic issues including climate change, the COVID-19 pandemic, and supply chain security. When our two countries are aligned, we are a powerful force for setting standards for the Indo-Pacific region and the globe. If confirmed, I would work closely with my colleagues in USTR and other relevant agencies to promote the administration's trade policy, which benefits American workers and U.S. competitiveness in our economic relationship with the ROK, as well as throughout the Indo-Pacific. I would also work to promote growing Korean investment in the U.S., which creates American jobs and opportunities.

Question. South Korea and the U.S. both have a lot of investment in Southeast Asia, and are seeking to spur more (in the U.S., that includes efforts by the Development Finance Corporation). In your view, are there opportunities for greater U.S.-ROK cooperation on economic development, infrastructure investment, and other related areas? If confirmed, what would you do to increase such cooperation?

Answer. The U.S.-ROK relationship is truly global in scope and, if confirmed, I would prioritize promoting the ROK's role as a leader both in the region and beyond. The U.S.-ROK Alliance is key to our efforts to promote a free, open, and prosperous Indo-Pacific. ROK foreign direct investment (FDI) in the United States has tripled since the signing of our KORUS FTA. The ROK is one of our largest Asian sources of foreign direct investment (FDI), with \$62.4 billion total stock FDI in 2020. Korean firms are increasingly investing in high- and emerging-tech fields, creating 21st Century jobs for the American worker.

The ROK is also an important source of FDI and development assistance in the Indo-Pacific and a major donor and leader in development efforts, including health security, climate change mitigation, and humanitarian assistance. If confirmed, I would work to deepen our regional economic cooperation and ensure the U.S.-ROK relationship continues to be a future-oriented partnership, with a focus on positive cooperation with the Pacific Island countries, ASEAN, and in the Mekong sub-region.

Question. If confirmed, what would you seek to accomplish in your first 100 days as U.S. Ambassador?

Answer. The U.S.-ROK Alliance is the linchpin of peace, security, and prosperity in the Indo-Pacific and beyond. If confirmed, my top priority would be to deepen our cooperation on key regional and global challenges, while ensuring our alliance remains ready to respond to any threat to our shared security. In particular, I look forward to working with President-elect Yoon to deepen cooperation on enhancing supply chain resilience and further our joint efforts to combat the climate crisis and COVID-19 pandemic. I would also ensure we continue to coordinate closely with the ROK to address the threats posed by the DPRK's WMD and ballistic missile programs and to advance our shared objective of permanent peace and the complete denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula.

Question. Do you commit that you will not advise Secretary Blinken, the President, or any other official to sacrifice other U.S. interests or make concessions for the sake of an agreement with or promises from China on climate change?

Answer. As Secretary Blinken has said, our relationship with the PRC will be competitive when it should be, collaborative when it can be, and adversarial when it must be. The PRC has consistently sought to link its action on climate with the United States making changes in the bilateral relationship, and we reject that linkage. As Special Presidential Envoy Kerry has noted, climate is a critical standalone issue, and other aspects of the U.S.-China relationship will not be traded for PRC cooperation. We can both compete with the PRC and work to reverse climate change's effects. If confirmed, I would pursue cooperation with the PRC where it is in our interest to do so, and in consultation with the Congress, our partners and allies, and other stakeholders. I would work to rally allies such as the ROK to press Beijing to raise its climate ambition significantly during this critical period. I would also work with the ROK and other allies and partners in the region to address the PRC's state-centered, non-market trading practices.

Question. South Korea is a critical node in the global high tech supply chain, particularly on manufacturing parts for advanced semiconductor chips. As the administration focuses on supply chain diversification and boosting U.S. semiconductor manufacturing, do you commit to ensuring the administration take a holistic view of these issues, and not isolate our allies and partners such as South Korea?

Answer. The ROK is an increasingly important partner on global economic issues, including supply chain security. The United States and the ROK are working together to diversify and secure our supply chains in critical sectors, including semiconductors, high-capacity batteries, pharmaceuticals, and critical minerals. Our recent experience during the pandemic with semiconductor shortages has shown that strong and resilient supply chains are critical to our economic security. Our two countries have held several rounds of supply chain consultations, including through the U.S.-ROK Senior Economic Dialogue and the Department of Commerce-led Semiconductor Partnership Dialogue. If confirmed, I would push to continue deepening U.S.-ROK supply chain cooperation, particularly on semiconductors and critical and emerging technologies.

Question. South Korea is a major importer of U.S. liquefied natural gas (LNG). Before the Russian invasion of Ukraine, the Biden administration demonstrated a lot of reluctance to work with Indo-Pacific countries on natural gas issues—instead preferring renewables. As U.S. Ambassador, will you commit to continue supporting U.S. LNG exports to the ROK, and to support cooperation in natural gas issues in general?

Answer. The ROK is our sixth-largest trading partner and an important destination for U.S. auto, agriculture, and energy exports, including LNG. Total U.S. goods exports increased 29 percent in 2021 (compared to 2020), a trend I would work to continue, if confirmed. I would also support working with allies and partners in the Indo-Pacific region to continue to support U.S. exports, including as appropriate LNG, while also working to promote a clean energy transition in line with our shared climate goals.

Question. If confirmed, what would you seek to accomplish in your first 100 days as U.S. Ambassador?

Answer. The U.S.-ROK Alliance is the linchpin of peace, security, and prosperity in the Indo-Pacific and beyond. If confirmed, my top priority would be to deepen our cooperation on key regional and global challenges, while ensuring our alliance remains ready to respond to any threat to our shared security. In particular, I look forward to working with President-elect Yoon to deepen cooperation on enhancing supply chain resilience and further our joint efforts to combat the climate crisis and COVID-19 pandemic. I would also ensure we continue to coordinate closely with the ROK to address the threats posed by the DPRK's WMD and ballistic missile pro-

grams and to advance our shared objective of permanent peace and the complete denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula.

Question. Many U.S. missions have been under enormous stress over the last few years, in large part due to COVID. What is your understanding of morale throughout Mission Seoul?

Answer. My understanding is that Mission Korea is a very sought-after posting, with many officers returning for multiple tours throughout their careers due to the strong U.S.-ROK Alliance and the important work of Mission Korea in advancing U.S. policy goals. As I have not yet had the opportunity to work in Mission Korea, I do not yet know specifics, but as throughout much of the world, our employees in the ROK have faced COVID-19 mitigation protocols, quarantine requirements, and travel disruptions due to COVID-19 restrictions. This has led to lower morale at many posts. If confirmed, I would prioritize the health, safety, security, and morale of all employees in the Mission.

Question. How do you intend to improve morale at Mission Seoul?

Answer. If confirmed, I look forward to working closely with Mission Korea's senior leadership team to ensure mission morale is strong and to understand and address any issues affecting morale. I will also prioritize efforts to build resilience. COVID-19 caught the world by surprise, and there was no exception for the Department of State and its people. We have made substantial progress in providing greater work flexibilities for our Mission employees and rolled out situational telework policies to remain more agile than ever, especially during the recent peak of the omicron wave in Korea. These workplace flexibilities are not only good for the Mission, but they're also good for our people. We are committed to maintaining not only a flexible but also an inclusive workplace environment that puts the safety and well-being of our teams first. I have previously led four posts overseas as Chief of Mission, and two others as Chargé d'Affaires. I am proud of the high morale at all of these posts.

Question. How do you intend to create a unified mission and vision at Mission Seoul?

Answer. If confirmed, I would start by listening to the experienced staff and personnel already in Mission Korea to learn from their experiences and perspectives, then work closely with my senior leadership team to develop a shared vision of Mission priorities. I would also clearly communicate the foreign policy priorities of the Biden-Harris administration and facilitate structured, regularized conversations across the Mission to ensure good communication and coordination.

Question. Management is a key responsibility for chiefs of mission. How would you describe your management style?

Answer. I believe in being an inclusive manager and encouraging everyone to perform to the best of their abilities. Open communication and active listening are a central part of my management style, and, if confirmed, I look forward to learning from the experiences and perspectives of the Mission Korea team.

Question. Do you believe it is ever acceptable or constructive to berate subordinates, either in public or private?

Answer. I am strongly opposed to berating mission employees, either in public or private. If confirmed, I would commit to treat all members of the Mission Korea community with respect and dignity. When State Department performance reviews are required, I always conduct them with the goal of recognizing strong performance and helping every member of the team realize his or her potential. Our people are our most important asset, and if confirmed, I would do everything in my power to support and encourage our personnel to be the best they can be.

Question. How do you envision your leadership relationship with your deputy chief of mission?

Answer. As an inclusive manager, if confirmed, I would strive to build a close, consultative relationship based on mutual respect that will empower my deputy chief of mission (DCM) to ensure the smooth functioning of Mission Korea. I have served as a DCM myself and worked closely with many DCMs as a Chief of Mission. I would anticipate a smooth, collaborative effort based on trust and shared goals.

Question. If confirmed, what leadership responsibilities do you intend to entrust to your deputy chief of mission?

Answer. If confirmed, I would rely on my DCM's knowledge of Department policies and procedures to ensure that Mission Korea is well-run and appropriately

resourced to achieve our foreign policy priorities. In addition, I would treat the DCM as an alter ego who would be ready to take charge when I am away from post.

Question. In order to create and continue employee excellence at the Department, accurate and direct employee evaluation reports (EERs) for Foreign Service Officers are imperative, though often lacking. Do you believe that it is important to provide employees with accurate, constructive feedback on their performances in order to encourage improvement and reward those who most succeeded in their roles?

Answer. We need to make sure we achieve the important work that the American people have put us in Korea to do. If confirmed, I would be forthright with my staff because honesty and transparency foster strong relationships and help to establish clear performance expectations. This means recognizing and rewarding those who are succeeding in their roles, while providing constructive feedback and ensuring that all employees have the opportunity to develop necessary skills and achieve their potential. I would also seek out dissenting views and listen to the experts, because that's how the best decisions are made. I always welcome candid and open feedback from my staff. I hold myself and my team to the highest standards and ensure we are accountable at all levels.

Question. If confirmed, would you support and encourage clear, accurate, and direct feedback to employees in order to improve performance and reward high achievers?

Answer. We need to make sure we achieve the important work that the American people have put us in Korea to do. If confirmed, I would be forthright with my staff because honesty and transparency foster strong relationships and help to establish clear performance expectations. This means recognizing and rewarding those who are succeeding in their roles, while providing constructive feedback and ensuring that all employees have the opportunity to develop necessary skills and achieve their potential. I would also seek out dissenting views and listen to the experts, because that's how the best decisions are made. I welcome candid and open feedback from my staff. I always hold myself and my team to the highest standards and ensure we are accountable at all levels.

Question. It is imperative that U.S. diplomats get outside of posts abroad to meet with local actors, including host government officials, non-government organizations, and fellow foreign diplomats stationed in the Republic of Korea. In your opinion, do U.S. diplomats get outside of our Embassy walls enough to accomplish fully their missions?

Question. Throughout my foreign service career, I have been impressed by the commitment exhibited by colleagues who have strived to develop a deep knowledge and understanding of the countries in which we served. The most successful of these made it a priority to engage directly with the community, learn the cultures, speak the host country languages, and get to know a wide range of people. Such relationships are critical to our work advancing U.S. priorities overseas and managing bilateral ties. I would, if confirmed, travel around Korea and do so myself.

Question. How do you intend to improve the ability of U.S. diplomats to better access all local populations?

Answer. If confirmed, I would encourage members of the Mission community to engage with host country nationals, particularly as COVID-related restrictions recede. Whether through our seven American Spaces in Seoul, Busan, Daegu, Gwangju, Pyeongtaek, Gangneung, and Jeju, or our outreach through traditional and social media, or our educational and cultural programming, we are committed to sustaining the strong friendship of the Korean and American people that is our strongest asset as we seek to advance shared interests within the ROK, regionally, and globally.

Question. Public diplomacy is an important aspect of U.S. foreign policy efforts. What is the public diplomacy environment like in the Republic of Korea?

Answer. There is a vibrant and active public diplomacy environment in the ROK. If confirmed, I would work to expand and strengthen the already very strong people-to-people ties, which are deep and form the basis of our alliance. These relationships have contributed to the strong mutual trust between our governments and our close economic ties. Both the Korean and American people strongly support the alliance, allowing us to promote a broad range of interests based upon or shared values of democracy, human rights, and the rule of law.

Question. What public diplomacy challenges do U.S. diplomats face there?

Answer. The public diplomacy environment in the ROK is vibrant and active. We are fortunate that U.S. diplomats do not face significant challenges operating in the ROK. Our people-to-people ties are strong and deep and form the basis of our alliance.

Question. How do you balance the importance of Main State versus the in-country mission when it comes to tailoring public diplomacy messages for foreign audiences?

Answer. If confirmed, I would work with the team at Mission Korea to understand and protect the Mission's crucial role in formulating public diplomacy programs and responses. The staff of Americans and Koreans based at the Embassy in Seoul and the Consulate in Busan bring an incredible range of expertise and local insight to the Mission. If confirmed, I would ensure that our public diplomacy professionals in Washington and Seoul continue to work closely together, and that we draw on local expertise to ensure our global public diplomacy messages are relevant and effective for our Korean audiences.

Question. "Anomalous health incidents," commonly referred to as "Havana Syndrome," have been debilitating and sidelining U.S. diplomats around the world for years. They have caused serious, negative consequences for U.S. diplomacy, yet many believe that the Department is not doing enough to care for, protect, and communicate to its personnel. If confirmed, do you commit to taking this threat seriously?

Answer. I am deeply concerned by potential anomalous health incidents affecting U.S. Government personnel and their family members. These incidents affect the wellbeing of U.S. personnel serving their country abroad and must be taken extremely seriously. In my current position as U.S. Ambassador to Colombia, and previously as Charge d'Affaires in Havana, I have made the health and safety of my staff my top priority, including contributing to the extensive, ongoing interagency investigation into the cause of these incidents and how we can best protect our people. If confirmed, the health, safety, and security of Embassy Seoul staff, their family members, and all those supporting the Mission will be my highest priority.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to talking as openly as you can to Mission Seoul personnel?

Answer. In my current position as U.S. Ambassador to Colombia, and previously as Charge d'Affaires in Havana, I have made the health and safety of my staff my top priority. I believe strongly in direct and open dialogue on all these issues. If confirmed, I would also commit to ensuring all reported incidents at Embassy Seoul and Mission Korea are treated seriously and quickly reported through the appropriate medical and investigatory channels. I would ensure that any affected individuals receive prompt access to treatment and medical care. Moreover, that they receive our support and empathy. If confirmed, I would also commit to work closely with medical staff and the RSO at Embassy Seoul to discuss any past reported incidents, openly communicate with Mission personnel, and ensure that all protocols are being closely followed.

Human Rights, Democracy, and International Organizations

Question. In the State Department's 2021 Trafficking in Persons Report, South Korea was on Tier 1 for meeting the minimum standards for the elimination of human trafficking. However, South Korea needs to improve its tracking of victims as well as increase sentences for traffickers. If confirmed, how will you work with the Government to improve its tracking of victims as well as its lax sentencing for traffickers?

Answer. If confirmed, I would actively engage with the ROK Government, advocates, and the private sector to address the concrete recommendations laid out in the Department's Trafficking in Persons Report and to build a more effective anti-trafficking strategy rooted in equity.

Question. In the State Department's 2020 International Religious Freedom report, South Korea was identified to have challenges in regarding COVID-19 restrictions and religious freedom, in particular with the Government's engagement with the Shincheonji Church Members. If confirmed, how will you work to ensure that members of the Shincheonji church have their freedom of worship protected?

Answer. The Governments of the United States and the Republic of Korea share deeply rooted values including respect for human rights, such as freedom of religion or belief; respect for the rule of law; and a commitment to treat every person with dignity. We respect that the ROK, as a vibrant democracy with an independent and strong judiciary, has tools in place to pass laws and regulations that fairly protect its people.

The Department of State monitors reports of discrimination against members of religious groups worldwide. The United States continues to support free religious expression, including during the COVID–19 pandemic. If confirmed, I would continue to encourage religious groups and government authorities to work together to ensure respect both for religious freedom as well as for public health guidelines.

Question. In the State Department’s 2020 Human Rights Report, South Korea was identified to have significant human rights issues including restrictions of freedom of expression and in particular the criminalizing of leaflets and other materials to North Korea. If confirmed, how will you work to ensure that freedom of speech is protected in particular to relation of activities related to sending leaflets and other materials to North Korea?

Answer. As a global policy, we advocate for respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. The United States remains deeply concerned about the human rights situation in the DPRK and supports the free flow of information into, out of, and within the DPRK. It is critical for the North Korean people to have access to fact-based information that is not controlled by the DPRK Government.

If confirmed, I would continue to promote and support freedom of expression around the world, including together with valued allies like the Republic of Korea. I would also continue to work with partners in the NGO and North Korean escapee community to raise awareness, highlight abuses and violations, and promote respect for human rights in the DPRK and North Koreans’ access to information. I would engage South Korean officials on the best legal and political practices for doing so.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO HON. PHILIP S. GOLDBERG BY SENATOR EDWARD J. MARKEY

Question. President-elect Yoon campaigned on a platform criticizing the Moon Government for being insufficiently committed to North Korea’s denuclearization, and has proposed a conditioned approach based upon North Korea’s progress in denuclearizing. If confirmed, how would you plan to work with the new South Korean Government to make progress on diplomatic engagement with North Korea given this campaign platform?

Answer. The Biden administration has made clear that the DPRK’s recent unlawful and destabilizing ballistic missile launches have consequences, that the international community will not accept these actions as “normal,” and most importantly, that the only viable path forward for the DPRK is through diplomacy. Our goal remains the complete denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula. As we have emphasized in our public statements, we have no hostile intent toward the DPRK and remain open to meeting with them without preconditions. However, we also have a responsibility to address the DPRK’s continued efforts to advance its unlawful WMD and ballistic missile programs, including by implementing existing UNSC resolutions. If confirmed, I would ensure we consult closely with President-elect Yoon’s administration and ROK leadership, as well as other allies and partners, on how to best engage the DPRK. I would also work closely with our Special Representative for the DPRK, Ambassador Sung Kim, and our team in Washington.

Question. Despite this more hardline approach to North Korea, President-elect Yoon has supported offering humanitarian assistance without any linkages to talks over North Korea’s nuclear or missile programs. Under what conditions would the Biden administration support a South Korean offer of large-scale humanitarian aid to North Korea?

Answer. Even while we condemn and take steps to address the DPRK’s unlawful nuclear and ballistic missile programs, we continue to support international efforts to provide critical humanitarian aid to the DPRK and encourage the DPRK to open its borders to both assistance and aid workers. The DPRK Government bears responsibility for the humanitarian crisis affecting the North Korean people, as it has continued to exploit its own citizens and use its limited resources to finance unlawful WMD and ballistic missile programs rather than invest in economic development. If confirmed, I would work closely with President-elect Yoon and his administration to ensure we are closely aligned in our efforts to bring the DPRK to the negotiating table and provide much needed humanitarian assistance to vulnerable North Korean people.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO HON. PHILIP S. GOLDBERG BY SENATOR TODD YOUNG

Question. South Korea is a critical node in the global high tech supply chain, particularly for advanced semiconductor chips. As Congress works on supply chain diversification and boosting U.S. semiconductor manufacturing, how do you view the role of South Korea in securing emerging tech supply chains?

Answer. The Republic of Korea (ROK) is an increasingly important partner on global economic security issues, including supply chain security. The United States and the ROK are working together to diversify and secure our supply chains in a number of priority sectors, including semiconductors, high-capacity batteries, pharmaceuticals, and critical minerals. Our recent experience with the pandemic and semiconductor shortages has shown that strong and resilient supply chains are critical to our economic security. Our two countries have held several rounds of supply chain consultations, including through the U.S.-ROK Senior Economic Dialogue and the Department of Commerce-led Semiconductor Partnership Dialogue. We work closely with our Korean counterparts to ensure we maintain our competitive edge in critical technologies. If confirmed, I would push to continue deepening U.S.-ROK supply chain cooperation, particularly on semiconductors and critical and emerging technologies.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO MARC B. NATHANSON BY SENATOR ROBERT MENENDEZ

Defense Policy

Question. Norway's Arctic Policy has expressed concern over Russia's military modernization and increased activity in the north, including Russia's new generation of strategic submarines.

- As NATO's eyes in the north, and as a country sharing a 120 mile long border with Russia, is there more that the United States should be doing to show support for Norway and keep northern sea routes open?

Answer. The United States and Norway have decades of close security partnership and a shared commitment as NATO Allies to Transatlantic security. NATO must address growing security challenges in the European Arctic, where Allies have committed to bolstering NATO's deterrence and defense. Allies exercise regularly in the Arctic with predictability and transparency and will continue to do so. The U.S.-Norway Supplementary Defense Cooperation Agreement, signed in April 2021, once ratified, will allow the United States and Norway to deepen bilateral security cooperation.

Arctic Sea Routes

Question. How do you assess the impact that melting ice is having on development of the Northeast Passage? How should the U.S. and Norway be working to mitigate risks posed by possible increased transport activity by the Russians and Chinese?

Answer. In the Arctic, climate change has increased the geopolitical importance of the region and prompted increased activity, including Russian efforts to significantly rebuild its military presence in the Arctic. The United States has objected to Russia's unlawful attempts to regulate the Northern Sea Route. Strategic rivals have also raised their level of activity, research, and investment in the region. The United States will continue to seek an Arctic region that remains peaceful, stable, open, and cooperative. If confirmed, I will work with Norwegian counterparts to ensure U.S. and Norwegian policies toward the Arctic remain closely coordinated.

European Energy Security

Question. Norwegian oil and gas fields are currently pumping at 100% capacity. However, Norwegian companies have pledged to export more gas to Europe this summer.

- What role do you think Norway can play in helping to wean Europe off of Russian fossil fuels?

Answer. Norway is a responsible and reliable energy producer, supplying almost one quarter of Europe's total natural gas demand. Norway increased natural gas production for the winter season in late 2021 and extended the elevated production levels through summer 2022. The Norwegian Government also seeks to support Europe's energy transition, including by providing carbon capture and storage, offshore

wind, and hydrogen solutions. If confirmed, I will work with Norwegian officials and industry to strengthen European energy security further.

Anomalous Health Incidents

Question. I am very concerned about directed energy attacks on U.S. Government personnel (so-called Anomalous Health Incidents). Ensuring the safety and security of our personnel abroad falls largely on individual Chiefs of Mission and the response of officers at post. It is imperative that any individual who reports a suspected incident be responded to promptly, equitably, and compassionately.

- Do you agree these incidents must be taken seriously, and pose a threat to the health of U.S. personnel?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, the health and security of the people working at Mission Norway will be my top priority. Secretary Blinken prioritizes the Department's response to anomalous health incidents, setting clear goals for the Health Incident Response Task Force to strengthen the Department's communication with its workforce and providing care for affected employees and family members.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to ensuring that any reported incident is treated seriously and reported quickly through the appropriate channels, and that any affected individuals receive prompt access to medical care?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I will do everything possible to ensure employees who report a possible anomalous health incident receive immediate and appropriate attention and care and the incident is reported through appropriate channels.

Question. Do you commit to meeting with medical staff and the RSO at post to discuss any past reported incidents and ensure that all protocols are being followed?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I will take nothing more seriously than the health and security of the people who work with me. I commit to working with health and security officials as well as other parties as recommended.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED TO MARC B. NATHANSON BY SENATOR JAMES E. RISCH

NATO

Question. Norway is a founding member of NATO and serves an important role in the alliance as a hub for NATO equipment and resources. As NATO looks to the future with the drafting of the new Strategic Concept and possible expansion of the alliance, we need to consider where Norway's specific assets and capabilities can be best developed and utilized.

- Norway has announced a temporary increase in its defense spending for this year in response to increased aggression from Russia. How will you work with Norway to ensure their defense spending is used to maximum effect and remains compatible with NATO objectives?

Answer. Norway is a staunch and actively-engaged NATO Ally. Norwegian leaders have committed to spending two percent of GDP on defense to fulfill Norway's Wales Pledge commitments by 2024 and will continue spending at least 20 percent of defense spending on modernizing major equipment, in line with their NATO Capability Targets. Norway and the United States enjoy a close and effective security relationship. I am pleased that Norway operates both P-8A maritime patrol aircraft, which they received in February 2022, and the F-35 platform. If confirmed, I will encourage Norway to continue investing in the capabilities, readiness, and force generation needed to maintain a credible defense and deterrence posture and fulfill NATO missions and operations.

Nuclear

Question. Nuclear disarmament and observation of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons are policy priorities for Norway, making them the first NATO nation to move toward denuclearization.

- Do you believe that a policy of nuclear disarmament in a NATO nation threatens the security of the alliance?

Answer. Norway has clearly stated that it will not sign the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons, as it is inconsistent with Norway's NATO obligations. As a member of the NATO Alliance, Norway is committed to ensuring that NATO's nuclear deterrent aligns with the realities of the current security environment and re-

mains safe, secure, and effective. Norway supports the global nonproliferation regime through participation in a variety of multilateral organizations.

Question. How will you discuss the issue of nuclear weapons with the Norwegian Government?

Answer. Norway has a longstanding policy prohibiting nuclear weapons on Norwegian soil. Norwegian leaders have also continually reaffirmed NATO's status as a nuclear Alliance. Norway and the United States share a goal of promoting tangible, verifiable measures to reduce strategic risk and create an environment for nuclear disarmament, which I will continue to promote if confirmed.

Arctic

Question. As a member of the Arctic Council, Norway has specific interests in the future of Arctic issues including security, the environment, trade, and resource extraction.

- Given the Department has an Arctic Coordinator, but not an Arctic Ambassador, what role do you see yourself playing in U.S.-Norway relations regarding the Arctic?

Answer. The Arctic is a strategic priority for Norway and the United States. Norway will assume the chair of the Arctic Council in May 2023. If confirmed, the Arctic will be one of my highest priorities and I plan to visit the region early in my tenure. I will work with Norwegian and State Department counterparts to ensure U.S. and Norwegian policies toward the Arctic remain closely coordinated.

Energy

Question. Europe is facing energy shortages as countries attempt to curtail imports from Russia. Norway is a major producer and supplier of oil and natural gas to Europe.

- How will you work with Norway to increase its energy capacity and support a solution Europe's energy shortage, in both the short term and the long term?

Answer. Norway is a responsible and reliable producer, supplying almost one quarter of Europe's total natural gas demand. Companies operating on the Norwegian Continental Shelf, with the Government's approval, increased gas production for the winter season in late 2021 and extended the elevated production levels through summer 2022. In the longer term, the Norwegian Government also seeks to support Europe's energy transition, including by providing carbon capture and storage, offshore wind, and hydrogen solutions. If confirmed, I will work with Norwegian officials and industry to strengthen European energy security and reduce dependence on Russian gas, as well as to facilitate the green transition.

Revised Reponse (received April 26, 2022.) Norway is a responsible and reliable energy producer, supplying almost one quarter of Europe's total natural gas demand. Companies operating on the Norwegian Continental Shelf, with the Government's approval, increased gas production for the winter season in late 2021 and have extended the elevated production levels through summer 2022. Norway's LNG terminal will resume operations in May and a gas pipeline to Poland will be operational later in 2022. For the medium term, Norway announced plans in March to offer new licenses for oil and gas exploration. Over the longer term, Norway is developing technology that could help Europe diversify its energy portfolio and reduce reliance on Russian gas, including through offshore wind and hydrogen. If confirmed, I will work with Norwegian officials and industry to strengthen European energy security and reduce dependence on Russian oil and gas.

China

Question. The expansion of malign Chinese influence is a challenge we will have to confront in the short and long term, alongside other global challenges that arise.

- As Ambassador, how would you work with Norway's Government to confront malign Chinese influence in its Government, economy, and other institutions at the international, national and subnational level?

Answer. Norway and the United States share democratic values. We cooperate through numerous forums to uphold our shared interests and values and hold governments accountable. Norwegian officials have spoken publicly concerning human rights abuses in the People's Republic of China (PRC), including in Xinjiang, Hong Kong, and Tibet. Norway is also a firm supporter of the rules-based international trading system. If confirmed, I look forward to working with Norwegian officials, including those working in U.N. institutions, the business community, and civil society on this important issue. I will also work to increase U.S. trade with Norway to

counterbalance the PRC's desire for greater influence in the region. I will apprise Norwegian counterparts of risks associated with investments in critical infrastructure and sensitive sectors by untrusted vendors, including those associated with the PRC, and on the importance of supply chain due diligence by companies. The United States works with Norway and other allies and partners to monitor PRC activities in the Arctic. If confirmed, I will seek opportunities to strengthen our cooperation with Norway and engage with the Norwegian Government and regional leaders to ensure they remain clear-eyed with regards to PRC influence.

State Department Management and Public Diplomacy

Question. Many U.S. missions have been under enormous stress over the last few years, in large part due to COVID.

- What is your understanding of morale throughout Mission Oslo?

Answer. Mission Norway faced challenges posed by COVID-19 and travel restrictions during much of the pandemic. I am grateful for the employees' continued service during this challenging time. If confirmed, I have no higher priority than the health and safety of the personnel and family members of Mission Norway. I look forward to working with the talented team of locally employed staff, U.S. Direct Hires, and their families. I will ensure everyone in the mission understands they have my support.

Question. How do you intend to improve morale at Mission Oslo?

Answer. If confirmed, I will ensure everyone on my team is treated professionally, their rights are respected, they are safe and secure, and they have the resources necessary to perform their jobs. I plan to meet with as many individuals in the mission as possible in my first 90 days to listen and learn from them on how to improve morale at Embassy Oslo. We are all one team working to further the U.S.-Norwegian relationship and the interests of the United States and the American people.

Question. How do you intend to create a unified mission and vision at Mission Oslo?

Answer. If confirmed, I look forward to ensuring open communication across U.S. Embassy Oslo. We are all one team working to further the U.S.-Norwegian relationship and the interests of the United States and the American people. The Embassy is committed to a diverse and inclusive workforce that fully represents and supports many different cultures, backgrounds, and perspectives to provide a productive workplace for all people from all walks of life. If confirmed, I will work with the team to maximize innovation and effectiveness.

Management is a Key Responsibility for Chiefs of Mission

Question. How would you describe your management style?

Answer. Our employees are our most important asset. If confirmed, I am committed to listening to all employees, including locally employed staff, U.S. Direct Hires, and family members. I always seek to create space for open dialogue and diversity of thought. I am committed to professional development and believe in setting high standards. I will foster an environment of respect as Mission Norway carries out important work on behalf of the American people.

Question. Do you believe it is ever acceptable or constructive to berate subordinates, either in public or private?

Answer. No. It is never acceptable to berate or yell at employees in public or in private. If confirmed, I will treat all members of Mission Norway professionally and with respect.

Question. How do you envision your leadership relationship with your deputy chief of mission?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work to foster a close and productive relationship with the Deputy Chief of Mission (DCM). Together, we will advance U.S. priorities in Norway, including protecting the safety and security of Americans, advancing shared security and global norms, and increase energy, environment, and investment cooperation with a focus on the green transition. We will also work together to help employees grow and advance.

Question. If confirmed, what leadership responsibilities do you intend to entrust to your deputy chief of mission?

Answer. If confirmed, I will consult closely with the Deputy Chief of Mission on the full range of issues at Mission Norway and I will value her institutional knowledge and perspective. If confirmed, I will entrust the DCM with responsibility for

the day-to-day operations of the Mission, and the DCM should keep abreast of policy issues to be able to serve as Chargé d'Affaires in my absence.

Question. In order to create and continue employee excellence at the Department, accurate and direct employee evaluation reports (EERs) for Foreign Service Officers are imperative, though often lacking.

- Do you believe that it is important to provide employees with accurate, constructive feedback on their performances in order to encourage improvement and reward those who most succeeded in their roles?

Answer. Yes, I believe it is important to provide employees with timely, accurate, and constructive feedback on their performance not only during annual evaluations but throughout the year.

Question. If confirmed, would you support and encourage clear, accurate, and direct feedback to employees in order to improve performance and reward high achievers?

Answer. Yes, if confirmed, I would support and encourage clear, accurate, and direct feedback. I believe clear and open communication fosters professional growth.

Question. It is imperative that U.S. diplomats get outside of posts abroad to meet with local actors, including host government officials, non-government organizations, and fellow foreign diplomats stationed in the Kingdom of Norway.

- In your opinion, do U.S. diplomats get outside of our Embassy walls enough to accomplish fully their missions?

Answer. From what I have seen of Department and Embassy operations overseas, U.S. diplomats have done a remarkable job getting outside our Embassy walls to advance U.S. objectives by meeting local actors in diverse settings and environments. The COVID-19 pandemic has been a challenge for U.S. diplomats to travel and engage face-to-face with host country nationals, but as conditions improve and Norway has relaxed pandemic restrictions, I understand that our diplomats in Oslo have resumed in-person engagements and programs. I firmly believe it is imperative that U.S. diplomats get outside the Embassy to meet with local citizens, including host government officials and non-governmental organizations. If confirmed, I plan to personally visit all regions of Norway.

Question. How do you intend to improve the ability of U.S. diplomats to better access all local populations?

Answer. If confirmed, I will make it a priority to engage audiences throughout Norway to exchange ideas and hear their views and to promote our shared goals. I will also support the strong academic, cultural, and professional exchanges the United States has with the people of Norway, especially youth. If confirmed, I will work with my Embassy team to continue leveraging relationships with the media, cultural and educational exchange organizations, and individuals to expand the people-to-people bonds that are the foundation of our strong bilateral relationship.

Question. Public diplomacy is an important aspect of U.S. foreign policy efforts

- What is the public diplomacy environment like in the Kingdom of Norway?

Answer. The deep cultural, familial, and economic connections between the United States and Norway have enabled Embassy Oslo to leverage public diplomacy tools to promote U.S. policy goals. The public diplomacy environment in Norway is generally very welcoming, and Norway benefits from strong interest in U.S. culture and direct news exposure.

Question. What public diplomacy challenges do U.S. diplomats face there?

Answer. The COVID-19 pandemic made traveling and face-to-face engagement with Norwegians difficult, but today our diplomats in Oslo are again able to have in-person engagements. Public opinion of the United States is largely tied to perceptions of the current U.S. administration and can vacillate significantly depending on views of the president in power. While older Norwegians feel close direct ties to the United States, due to familial ties and gratitude for the role the United States played in liberating Europe during WWII, polling has shown Norwegian youth to be more skeptical of the United States. In particular, young Norwegians question if the United States shares their commitment to social justice issues and the environment. To keep our alliance strong for the generations to come, we must ensure all Norwegians see the United States as their partner in building the better world they want to see. If confirmed, I will work with my Embassy team to leverage relationships with the media, cultural and exchange organizations, and individuals to expand the people-to-people bonds that are the foundation of our strong bilateral relationship.

Question. How do you balance the importance of Main State versus the in-country mission when it comes to tailoring public diplomacy messages for foreign audiences?

Answer. We are all one team working to advance the bilateral relationship and the interests of the United States and the American people. If confirmed, I will leverage public diplomacy to enhance security cooperation, strengthen collaboration on Arctic and climate issues, expand economic and trade relations, and deepen people-to-people ties. I will work to counter adverse influence and mis- and disinformation with the variety of engagements at our disposal, including speaking with traditional media, communication via social media, through outreach and personal interactions, and through a variety of public diplomacy programming. This is a field I have been actively engaged in for over thirty years. If confirmed, I will work with the public diplomacy team at Embassy Oslo to continue a robust public diplomacy strategy and tailor messaging in a way that is most appropriate for the Norwegian public.

“Anomalous health incidents,” commonly referred to as “Havana Syndrome,” have been debilitating and sidelining U.S. diplomats around the world for years. They have caused serious, negative consequences for U.S. diplomacy, yet many believe that the Department is not doing enough to care for, protect, and communicate to its personnel.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to taking this threat seriously?

Answer. Yes. I am deeply troubled by potential anomalous health incidents that have affected U.S. Government personnel and their family members. Serving one’s country overseas should not come at the cost of one’s health. I agree that such incidents may pose a threat to the wellbeing of U.S. personnel and must be taken extremely seriously. If confirmed, the health, safety, and security of Embassy Oslo staff, their family members, and all those supporting the Mission will be my highest priority.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to talking as openly as you can to Mission Oslo personnel?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I commit to maintaining open communication and ensuring that all reported potential anomalous health incidents are given serious attention and reported swiftly through the appropriate channels.

Human Rights, Democracy, and International Organizations

Question. In the State Department’s 2021 Trafficking in Persons Report, Norway was identified as tier 2 for continued failure to convict more traffickers, utilize appropriate national referral mechanism, and continued lack of anti-trafficking efforts writ large within the Government’s demonstrated capacity. How will you work with Norway to address these issues if you are confirmed as Ambassador?

- If confirmed, please describe how you will bolster these efforts in conjunction with the Ambassador-at-Large?

Answer. Norway was downgraded to Tier 2 in the State Department’s 2021 Trafficking in Persons Report. The report found that the Government does not fully meet the minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking but is making significant efforts to do so. If confirmed, I will engage with U.S. and Norwegian authorities and encourage the Norwegian Government to make progress in combating trafficking in persons and address the recommendations in the Trafficking in Persons Report.

Question. In your opinion, what do you believe is the biggest obstacle to improving Norway’s anti-trafficking response?

Answer. According to the State Department’s Trafficking in Persons Report, the biggest obstacles are prosecutions and convictions and unreliable victim identification and assistance data. During the reporting period in question, the Government did not report any trafficking prosecutions, reported only one convicted trafficker, and continued to charge traffickers with non-trafficking crimes. For the fourth consecutive year, the Government did not report an official number of identified and assisted victims. The U.S. Government continues to work with the Norwegian Government to address these concerns. If confirmed, I will work with the Ambassador-at-Large to engage with Norwegian authorities and encourage the Government to make progress in combating trafficking in persons and address the recommendations in the Trafficking in Persons Report.

Question. In the State Department’s 2020 International Religious Freedom report, Norway experienced a small decline in religiously-motivated hate crimes after a period of increase. The U.S. Embassy noted its routine efforts to promote inter-faith

dialogue and value in interacting with different members of religious communities. What is your assessment of this particular issue and if confirmed, how will you work with the Ambassador At Large to bolster religious freedom in-country?

Answer. Norwegian law prohibits religious discrimination and protects the right to choose, practice, or change one's faith or life stance. If confirmed, I will support efforts to promote inter-faith dialogue and I will meet with members of different religious communities in Norway. I will also advocate for religious freedom for members of all religious groups and work with the Ambassador at Large, the Norwegian Government, and NGO partners to promote religious freedom.

Question. In the State Department's 2020 Human Rights Report, Norway was described as having no significant human rights abuses. However, there is always room for improvement.

- How will you direct your Embassy to work with civil society organizations?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work with civil society to advanced shared values, including respect for human rights. Norway is a strong advocate for addressing global issues in multilateral fora, including on the U.N. Security Council. I will work to leverage our strong relationship and shared values and utilize public diplomacy tools to promote the international rules-based order and bolster human rights. Norway and the United States have worked together around the world to foster respect for human rights. If confirmed, I will continue to promote these joint relationships.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO MARC B. NATHANSON BY SENATOR EDWARD J. MARKEY

Question. The United States and Norway have long shared a thriving relationship based on common goals and values. One of those goals is the dire need to combat climate change, a goal which the United States and Norway partner on achieving through the expansion of the use of clean energy technology and through the expansion of the use of renewable technology. Most recently, Norwegian officials have expressed increasing concern regarding the negative effects of climate change, especially in the Arctic.

- Where do opportunities exist for greater cooperation for the United States and Norway to work together when it comes to combatting climate change?

Answer. The United States and Norway can work together both bilaterally, such as in increasing offshore wind production and cooperating on carbon capture research, and globally through aligning priorities to support other countries in the green transition. Norway is a leader in combatting the climate crisis globally and devotes significant resources to domestic green technology and assistance to developing nations' climate mitigation and adaptation efforts. In November, Norway committed to doubling its climate financing and joined the Global Methane Pledge. Norway also co-chairs the High Level Panel for a Sustainable Ocean Economy to ensure sustainable ocean management. The United States joined the Panel in 2021. If confirmed, I will prioritize combatting the climate crisis and will work closely with Norwegian counterparts to advance shared goals.

Question. Norway has a small but growing wind energy profile. Is there a way to work together to develop cutting edge off shore wind turbines and technologies?

Answer. Yes. Norwegian companies have invested in offshore wind projects in the eastern United States and are interested in west coast opportunities as well. These partnerships can help bring Norwegian technology and experience to support U.S. targets for renewable wind power production. This collaboration will contribute to climate objectives while creating jobs.

Question. Are there other opportunities for greater cooperation on climate, particularly in the Arctic?

Answer. Yes. The United States and Norway work closely on climate issues and have opportunities to deepen cooperation, including working together to achieve zero-emission transportation at sea and aligning climate financing objectives. Our scientists collaborate on research relating to climate change and sustainability challenges in the Arctic, including for decades through the Arctic Council's working groups. Furthermore, Norway is investing in renewable energy and technologies to lower emissions, including carbon capture and storage, hydrogen, and offshore wind, which are all opportunities for collaboration. If confirmed, I will work closely with

Norwegian counterparts to combat the climate crisis with particular attention to the Arctic.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED
TO MARYKAY LOSS CARLSON BY SENATOR ROBERT MENENDEZ

Question. Where do you think the biggest opportunities are to deepen our alliance?

Answer. The ironclad partnership between the Philippines and the United States has, throughout our long, shared history, contributed to peace, stability, and prosperity in the Indo-Pacific region. As we mark more than 75 years of diplomatic relations, I would, if confirmed, continue to deepen the roots of our longstanding friendship and people-to-people ties, position our alliance to face new challenges, expand U.S. trade and investment, promote respect for human rights, and support multiparty democracy, the rule of law, and good governance.

Question. With a change in presidential administrations in Manila in the next several months, what opportunities exist for the United States to engage with Manila more effectively to assure that these issues are addressed and that our alliance can be said to be one animated as much by shared values as shared interests?

Answer. If confirmed, I look forward to working with the new democratically elected Government in the Philippines. I would closely engage with top Philippine leadership to ensure utmost coordination in matters of mutual concern.

Our alliance is irreplaceable and foundational to our strategic interests in the Indo-Pacific. If confirmed, I would work to ensure our security cooperation continues to help the Philippine military and law enforcement bodies combat terrorism, transnational crime, and violent extremism. I would continue U.S. efforts to urge the Philippine Government to conduct all law enforcement operations in accordance with the rule of law and consistent with its international human rights obligations, and I would urge the Government to conduct thorough, transparent investigations into all suspected unlawful killings, and to hold accountable those who are responsible. I would also work to strengthen the administration of justice and support Philippine human rights defenders and civil society, and encourage respect for freedom of expression, including for members of the press.

Among the values our two democracies share is the respect for international law, which underpins freedoms of navigation and overflight, unimpeded lawful commerce, and the peaceful resolution of disputes in the South China Sea and around the world. If confirmed, I would continue our efforts to bolster Philippine capabilities that enhance maritime domain awareness and enable it to counter coercive activity in its Exclusive Economic Zone and other areas.

Finally, I would support reforms that enhance transparency, assure labor rights protections, boost beneficial trade and investment between our two countries, and increase cooperation to ensure resilient supply chains. I would promote an economic partnership that engages the U.S. and Philippine private sectors to invest in climate action and support low-carbon energy security.

Question. How do you think the United States and the Philippines can work together to press back on China's unlawful and destabilizing actions, ranging from illegal and unlawful fishing and the destruction of fragile marine ecosystems up to the potential that China might seek to seizing Filipino territory?

Answer. The Philippines is one of the states most affected by the PRC's expansive maritime claims in the South China Sea. PRC activities in the South China Sea are inconsistent with international law, threatening Philippine livelihoods, food security, biodiversity, and energy security. Both the United States and the Philippines have a clear national interest in preserving unimpeded lawful commerce, respect for international law, including freedoms of navigation and overflight, and other lawful uses of the sea, and the peaceful resolution of disputes in the South China Sea.

If confirmed, I would continue to push whole-of-government U.S. efforts to bolster Philippine capacity for maritime domain awareness in the South China Sea, including through improving the capacity of the Philippine Coast Guard. I would also encourage regular communication and coordination with the Philippines to address PRC provocations in the South China Sea. If confirmed, I would support joint maritime or naval operations anywhere in the Pacific, the South China Sea included, to fully demonstrate the range of our friendship and alliance with the Government of the Philippines, including our commitments under the 1951 Mutual Defense Treaty, and to demonstrate the range of our mutual defense capabilities.

Question. I am very concerned about directed energy attacks on U.S. Government personnel (so-called Anomalous Health Incidents). Ensuring the safety and security of our personnel abroad falls largely on individual Chiefs of Mission and the response of officers at post. It is imperative that any individual who reports a suspected incident be responded to promptly, equitably, and compassionately. Do you agree these incidents must be taken seriously, and pose a threat to the health of U.S. personnel?

Answer. I share your concern and am deeply troubled by potential anomalous health incidents that have affected U.S. Government personnel and their family members. Our embassies overseas are more than places of work; they are communities of people. I would have no higher priority, if confirmed as ambassador, than the health, safety, and security of our people overseas. Serving one's country should not come at the cost of one's health. I firmly agree that we must take these and other threats to health and safety seriously. I would be honored to take on this responsibility.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to ensuring that any reported incident is treated seriously and reported quickly through the appropriate channels, and that any affected individuals receive prompt access to medical care?

Answer. I wholeheartedly commit to ensuring that that all reported health-related incidents are given serious attention and reported swiftly through the appropriate channels. If confirmed, I will also ensure that staff who are affected by these incidents receive prompt access to the treatment, support, and medical care that they need.

Question. Do you commit to meeting with medical staff and the RSO at post to discuss any past reported incidents and ensure that all protocols are being followed?

Answer. If confirmed, I commit to meeting with medical staff and the RSO at Embassy Manila to discuss any reported anomalous health incidents. I would work closely with medical and other professionals to protect the safety of U.S. Embassy Manila staff and ensure that all protocols regarding anomalous health incidents are followed appropriately.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO MARYKAY LOSS CARLSON BY SENATOR JAMES E. RISCH

Question. What is the strategic importance of the Philippines to the United States?

Answer. The Philippines is one of our most strategically important allies in the Indo-Pacific. Our alliance with the Philippines is irreplaceable and foundational to our security and other interests in the region, contributing to peace, stability, and prosperity in the Asia-Pacific region for more than seven decades. The Mutual Defense Treaty and other bilateral defense agreements we have with the Philippines enable critical U.S. military support, presence, and interoperability in the Philippines and in the region. Both the United States and the Philippines have a clear national interest in preserving unimpeded lawful commerce, respect for international law—including freedoms of navigation and overflight—and other lawful uses of the sea, and the peaceful resolution of disputes in the South China Sea. Through the U.S.-Philippine alliance, our two countries work together to safeguard a resilient, prosperous, and secure Indo-Pacific.

Question. How have the United States and the Philippines benefitted from cooperation between the U.S. military and the Armed Forces of the Philippines?

Answer. The long-standing, ironclad alliance between the Philippines and the United States has contributed to peace, stability, and prosperity in the Asia-Pacific region for more than seven decades. Cooperation between the U.S. military and the Armed Forces of the Philippines plays a key role in our bilateral ties. U.S. reliability as an ally has been established over decades under the Mutual Defense Treaty, which was signed in 1951. That treaty and Visiting Forces Agreement and the Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement provide the foundation for the continuing strong defense relationship that enables critical U.S. military support, presence, and interoperability. Together, these agreements facilitate the rotational presence of U.S. forces in the Philippines, expand opportunities for bilateral training, support the long-term modernization of the Armed Forces of the Philippines, and augment the United States' ability to provide rapid assistance in the Philippines in cases of natural disasters. Our long-standing defense and security cooperation with the

Armed Forces of the Philippines also supports our bilateral and multilateral efforts to uphold the rules-based order in the South China Sea that protects the rights, freedoms, and lawful uses of the sea guaranteed to all nations.

Question. Do you think membership in the TPNW is compatible with being a U.S. security ally, given the role of extended deterrence in U.S. security policy in the Indo-Pacific?

Answer. I understand concerns that the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW) may reinforce divisions that hinder the international community's ability to work together to address pressing proliferation and security challenges. The Treaty is incompatible with a reliance by allies and partners on U.S. extended deterrence in that it risks negatively affecting nuclear deterrence, extended nuclear deterrence, and our security relationships. It remains to be seen how TPNW states parties will interpret and implement many of the treaty's provisions and how this might impact their security relationships with nuclear weapon states.

Question. What message will you deliver to the Philippine Government on the TPNW?

Answer. The United States has stated that the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW) risks negatively affecting nuclear deterrence, extended nuclear deterrence, and our security relationships. We have noted our concerns to those allies and partners who have expressed an interest in the TPNW, including its state parties.

Question. When it comes to the Philippines, what are your greatest concerns about China?

Answer. The Philippines shares our concerns about provocative and unlawful behavior by the PRC in the region. Yet, like the United States, the Philippines also has economic ties to China and a strong interest in maintaining constructive engagement, where possible. It is not U.S. policy to disrupt lawful international trade, nor are we asking the Philippines, or any other country, to choose sides between the United States and PRC. As friends, partners, and allies we can work together to engage Beijing from a position of strength.

The PRC's increased maritime assertiveness in the South China Sea presents a major challenge for the region and for U.S. policy in Southeast Asia. PRC provocations in the South China Sea threaten Philippine livelihoods, food security, biodiversity, and energy security. The United States and the Philippines share a mutual interest in maintaining peace and stability, unimpeded lawful commerce, and respect for international law, including freedoms of navigation and overflight and other lawful uses of the sea in the South China Sea.

Question. If confirmed, what would you do to ensure that the United States advances a robust trade and economic agenda with the Philippines and in the broader Indo-Pacific region?

Answer. economic agenda and build on those successes. The United States is among the Philippines' top three trading partners, and the Philippines is the United States' 31st largest goods trading partner—with \$23.3 billion in total (two-way) goods trade during 2021—up nearly 25 percent from 2020. This strong bilateral economic relationship coupled with the Philippines' indispensable role as one of our most important allies and partners in the Indo-Pacific provides the foundation for us to deepen our trade and investment ties. If confirmed, I would work closely with my colleagues in USTR and other relevant agencies to promote the administration's trade policy agenda, which benefits American workers and enhances U.S. competitiveness in our economic relationship with the Philippines, as well as throughout the Indo-Pacific.

Question. I have heard consistent feedback from Indo-Pacific allies and partners that the Indo-Pacific Economic Framework (IPEF) leaves a lot to be desired—especially since there is no market access component. What is your understanding of what IPEF seeks to achieve?

Answer. As President Biden announced at the East Asia Summit, the United States is developing the Indo-Pacific Economic Framework (IPEF) to deepen economic relations in the region and coordinate approaches to addressing global economic challenges. If confirmed, I will work closely with USTR, the Department of Commerce, and other agencies in the context of the framework to promote trade; secure supply chains; strengthen the digital economy; expand cooperation on infrastructure, clean energy, and decarbonization; and seek tax and anticorruption reforms.

Question. Without market access, what incentive do our partners have to cooperate through IPEF?

Answer. I understand the administration continues to engage with Indo-Pacific partners as it develops the Indo-Pacific Economic Framework; however, I do not have specific information to share regarding the framework's components. If confirmed, I will work closely with USTR, the Department of Commerce, and other agencies to advance the framework and deepen our bilateral trade and investment ties with the Philippines.

Question. The Philippines has a growing natural gas market and demand for natural gas to satisfy its energy needs. The Philippines is looking to engage with the U.S. on this issue, but so far the administration has not shown openness to such engagement. Do you commit to advocating for engagement with the Philippines on natural gas issues?

Answer. If confirmed, I will lead our team to engage fully with the Philippines to support their efforts to secure necessary resources to meet today's energy needs, while helping them plan to reduce reliance on fossil fuels into the future, to increase energy security, and support efforts to combat the climate crisis. I understand the Philippines faces a looming energy crisis as its major gas field—Malampaya—could be depleted by 2027. The Philippines is considering a wide range of options to address this issue and is working with the United States to promote the market conditions and attract finance to support the Philippines in its energy transition and decarbonizing key industries. If confirmed, I would continue to deepen and strengthen our engagements with the Government of the Philippines on energy security, which is in the national interest of both our countries.

Question. Do you commit to ensuring the Biden administration's focus on climate does not ignore the Philippines' legitimate energy goals and needs, especially in the near-term?

Answer. If confirmed, I would commit to ensuring that our engagements with the Philippines on energy issues supports near-term energy needs given the current energy system, while investing in the transformation necessary to achieve long-term energy security and climate goals, which are consistent with one another.

Question. If confirmed, what would you seek to accomplish in your first 100 days as U.S. Ambassador?

Answer. If confirmed, I would seek to implement a 100-day plan that focuses on the mutual benefits that accrue to our countries as friends, partners, and allies. I would look to deepen the roots of the longstanding friendship and people-to-people ties between the United States and the Philippines through appropriate press engagements, encounters with alumni of U.S. Government programs, meetings with civil society groups, and outreach on social media. To foster stronger alliance ties, I would look to focus initial engagements on ways to upgrade and modernize our alliance to meet regional and global challenges. To promote our partnership, I would engage with a wide array of stakeholders to expand U.S. trade and investment and bolster economic development. Underpinning all of these efforts would be strong support for the values we share as democracies—the promotion of human rights, freedoms of speech and press, and support the rule of law and good governance.

If confirmed, I would rely on our talented Embassy team to guide me. I would seek their views to help craft the specifics of an action plan for my first 100 days as U.S. Ambassador to the Philippines that supports my goals of deepening the alliance. With elections in May and a change in administration closely thereafter, another of my goals within my first 100 days would be to engage with the new administration to better promote policies that enhance the U.S.-Philippines alliance for the benefit of both our countries.

Question. If confirmed, what would you seek to engage with the new Philippines administration on after their presidential elections in June?

Answer. If confirmed, I would seek to engage with the new Philippines administration after the elections to deliver our commitment to the enduring U.S.-Philippines Alliance and to ensure utmost coordination in matters of mutual concern. I would seek to engage the new administration on the pillars of our expansive and enduring bilateral partnership, including on our robust security and defense cooperation, our strong economic ties, and our enduring people-to-people connections. I would not shy away from difficult discussions on areas where we may disagree and would continue to press the Philippine Government to uphold human rights and democratic freedoms. I would seek to work with the new administration to deepen our partnership to allow us to cooperate even closer in support of the rules-based economic and security order in the Indo-Pacific.

Question. The Philippines is at the front lines of Chinese military aggression and coercion in the South China Sea. Besides freedom of navigation operations, what else can the U.S. do to support our partners such as the Philippines in the South China Sea?

Answer. Both the United States and the Philippines have a clear national interest in preserving unimpeded lawful commerce, respect for international law, including freedoms of navigation and overflight, and other lawful uses of the sea, and the peaceful resolution of disputes in the South China Sea. If confirmed, I would continue to push whole-of-Government U.S. efforts to bolster Philippine capacity for maritime domain awareness in the South China Sea, including through improving the capacity of the Philippine Coast Guard. In addition to our law enforcement capacity building with the Coast Guard, we work with our Philippine alliance partners to counter illegal, unreported, and unregulated fishing, and enhance national efforts to protect critical marine resources that provide employment and food security for millions of Filipinos. If confirmed, I would seek to expand these efforts and encourage the Philippines to partner with its ASEAN neighbors to collaboratively address shared challenges in the South China Sea. Additionally, I would encourage our teams to work with Philippine partners to broaden cooperation on marine scientific research and energy exploration to take full advantage of our bilateral Science & Technology agreement. I would also encourage regular communication and coordination with the Philippines to address PRC provocations in the South China Sea. If confirmed, I would support joint maritime or naval operations anywhere in the Pacific, including the South China Sea, to fully demonstrate the range of our friendship and alliance with the Government of the Philippines, including our commitments under the 1951 Mutual Defense Treaty, and to demonstrate the range of our mutual defense capabilities.

Question. Do you agree that Philippine-claimed features in the South China Sea are covered by our mutual defense treaty with the Philippines?

Answer. As Secretary Blinken has stated, the United States affirms the applicability of the 1951 U.S.-Philippine Mutual Defense Treaty to the South China Sea. The “Joint Vision for a 21st Century United States-Philippines Partnership” also reaffirms our shared treaty commitments, including our Mutual Defense Treaty obligations to respond to an armed attack in the Pacific Area on either the United States or the Philippines.

Question. In your view, what are the benefits to both the United States and to the Philippines of our security relationship and the fact that we provide security assistance to the Philippine military?

Answer. The Philippines is a vital security partner. The long-standing, ironclad alliance between the Philippines and the United States has contributed to peace, stability, and prosperity in the Asia-Pacific region for more than seven decades. U.S. dependability as an ally has been established over decades under the 1951 Mutual Defense Treaty which, together with the bilateral Visiting Forces Agreement and the Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement (EDCA), continues to provide the foundation for the defense relationship and enables critical U.S. military support, presence, and interoperability. These agreements facilitate the rotational presence of U.S. forces in the Philippines, expand opportunities for bilateral training, support the long-term modernization of the Armed Forces of the Philippines, augment the U.S. ability to provide rapid assistance to the Philippines in cases of natural disasters, and support our efforts to work closely with the Philippines to uphold the rules-based order in the South China Sea that protects the rights, freedoms, and lawful uses of the sea guaranteed to all nations.

Question. Do you commit to ensuring that U.S. security assistance remains robust to the Philippines?

Answer. If confirmed, I would continue our diplomatic and defense engagement at all levels to ensure full coordination between our governments on shared interests and to explore ways in which our security assistance to the Philippines can continue to facilitate more effective implementation of alliance priorities.

Question. What is your understanding of morale throughout Mission Manila?

Answer. One of the largest U.S. embassies in the Indo-Pacific, Mission Philippines counts on the talent, dedication, and service of our committed personnel. I understand that, like other missions in the region and around the world, Mission Philippines has been adversely affected by the global pandemic. I also understand that extended strict lockdowns in the Philippines prevented in-person schooling for the children of our Mission personnel and that other lockdown regulations prevented regular daily activities and engagements. I understand that the Philippines is begin-

ning to lift those lockdowns and related restrictions and that travel has opened back up again. If confirmed, I would work in concert with the Embassy's leadership team to bolster morale by focusing on the team's welfare and supporting them and their families as they work to promote bilateral relations.

Question. How do you intend to improve morale at Mission Manila?

Answer. Our Embassy in Manila is more than a place of work; it is a community of people. If confirmed, I would prioritize the safety and well-being of Embassy Manila's talented staff and families, which includes ensuring that morale remains high. I would work with the Deputy Chief of Mission to conduct listening sessions across the mission. I would also work in concert with the Embassy's Community Liaison Office to understand and address any issues affecting morale and to determine what tools and resources can be made available to them to maintain the mission's strong sense of community.

Question. How do you intend to create a unified mission and vision at Mission Manila?

Answer. If confirmed, I will start by listening to those already in Mission Philippines to understand their current priorities and engagements. I would also clearly communicate my priorities and those of the Biden-Harris administration.

Question. How would you describe your management style?

Answer. When it comes to leadership, management, and fostering teamwork, I like to say, "It's impossible to overcommunicate, but please try." My management style is open and inclusive. I believe in sharing information—even tough news—wherever possible so that our teams are empowered by knowledge of our options and limitations and can think creatively as a group, bringing our diverse talents to bear to find smart solutions to problem sets.

Question. Do you believe it is ever acceptable or constructive to berate subordinates, either in public or private?

Answer. I do not believe in berating mission employees in public or private. If confirmed, I commit to providing a safe and professional working environment for all Mission personnel.

Question. How do you envision your leadership relationship with your deputy chief of mission?

Answer. I have served as a deputy chief of mission for nearly six years in two posts for four different ambassadors. I know firsthand the value of a trusted ambassador-DCM partnership in the front office and, if confirmed, I will empower my deputy chief of mission to serve as the Embassy's chief operating officer. I would regularly seek her guidance to ensure effective Embassy operations to enable the Embassy team to meet our strategic objectives in pursuit of strong bilateral ties.

Question. If confirmed, what leadership responsibilities do you intend to entrust to your deputy chief of mission?

Answer. If confirmed, I will entrust my deputy chief of mission to serve as the Embassy's chief operating officer, relying on her knowledge of Department policies and procedures to ensure the smooth functioning of Mission Philippines. I would also regularly seek her guidance on the full range of leadership, management, and policy issues the Mission faces.

Question. Do you believe that it is important to provide employees with accurate, constructive feedback on their performances in order to encourage improvement and reward those who most succeeded in their roles?

Answer. I like and have often referenced Kim Scott's concept of "Radical Candor," which posits that the best bosses are those who give direct, candid guidance to the people they supervise, thereby improving performance while demonstrating care for them as individuals and concern for their career development. I believe it is important to provide employees with accurate, constructive feedback on their performance in order to recognize their good work, encourage professional development, and reward those who successfully advance the priorities of the Department.

Question. If confirmed, would you support and encourage clear, accurate, and direct feedback to employees in order to improve performance and reward high achievers?

Answer. If confirmed, I would support and encourage clear, accurate, and direct feedback to employees in order to recognize their good work, encourage professional development, and reward those who successfully advance the priorities of the Department.

Question. In your opinion, do U.S. diplomats get outside of our Embassy walls enough to accomplish fully their missions?

Answer. Strict COVID pandemic lockdowns over the past two years have curtailed Embassy operations in many countries, including, as I understand, in the Philippines. In my experience, however, that is a unique exception. As I have heard Secretary Blinken say, “Diplomacy is a contact sport.” Actively reaching out, establishing contacts, and getting out of the Embassy and into the communities in which we serve—within the bounds of prudent security measures—are all essential elements of diplomatic outreach, critical to the conduct of effective diplomacy.

Question. How do you intend to improve the ability of U.S. diplomats to better access all local populations?

Answer. If confirmed, I would work with the public affairs team and others across the microcosm of the interagency in Mission Philippines to ensure we are reaching diverse Philippine audiences in an inclusive and strategic way.

Question. What is the public diplomacy environment like in the Philippines?

Answer. I understand there is a vibrant and active public diplomacy environment in the Philippines. If confirmed, I would work to expand and strengthen the relationship between our peoples and governments. Our public diplomacy efforts in the Philippines are effective and far-reaching, thanks to both the high favorability rating the United States enjoys in the Philippines and the extended, well-organized, and active network of U.S. exchange program alumni with whom the Embassy regularly engages. I understand some of the Mission’s most successful programs include cultural and sports programming, academic grants, educational exchanges, and international visitor programs. I would hope to continue science and technology-related public diplomacy programs which focus on encouraging youth, particularly women, to explore STEM fields. In all of our outreach, I would promote principles of diversity, equity, inclusion, and accessibility.

Question. What public diplomacy challenges do U.S. diplomats face there?

Answer. I understand the COVID-19 pandemic has been a challenge for public diplomacy programming in the Philippines, although many initiatives have continued by shifting online or by changing logistics. Another challenge, as I understand it, is that U.S. spending on public diplomacy in the Philippines is dwarfed by that of the PRC. If confirmed, I would work with our team in Manila to continue to retain our edge by countering quantity with quality, but I would also seek to ensure our public diplomacy resources are sufficient to successfully combat PRC disinformation.

Question. How do you balance the importance of Main State versus the in-country mission when it comes to tailoring public diplomacy messages for foreign audiences?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work with the team at Mission Philippines to understand and protect the Mission’s crucial role in formulating public diplomacy programs and responses. Mission personnel provide a broad range of expertise and local insights. If confirmed, I would draw on that local expertise to ensure our public diplomacy messages are appropriately calibrated for the local audience and that they reflect key foreign policy priorities.

Question. “Anomalous health incidents,” commonly referred to as “Havana Syndrome,” have been debilitating and sidelining U.S. diplomats around the world for years. They have caused serious, negative consequences for U.S. diplomacy, yet many believe that the Department is not doing enough to care for, protect, and communicate to its personnel. If confirmed, do you commit to taking this threat seriously?

Answer. I am deeply troubled by potential anomalous health incidents that have affected Embassy personnel and their family members. I agree we must take these reported incidents seriously. If confirmed, I would have no higher priority than the health, safety, and security of Embassy Manila staff and their families.

Question. If confirmed, do you commit to talking as openly as you can to Mission Manila personnel?

Answer. I often say, “It’s impossible to overcommunicate, but please try.” Open, effective communication is central to my leadership approach and, if confirmed, I wholeheartedly commit to talking as openly as I can to mission personnel not only about anomalous health incidents, but other issues as well. If confirmed, I commit to doing everything in my power to protect the health and safety of our Embassy team members and their families.

Question. In the State Department’s 2021 Trafficking in Persons Report, the Philippines was identified as Tier 1 but the Government was noted as convicting fewer

traffickers in the reporting period. Knowing there is room for improvement despite meeting the minimum standards, how will you work with the host government to address these issues if you are confirmed as Ambassador?

Answer. Trafficking in persons is a matter of deep concern for me, and if confirmed I would actively engage the Government of the Philippines to address this issue, including by sharing best practices from the United States and other likeminded partners. If confirmed, I would reinforce the need to vigorously investigate and prosecute sex and labor trafficking cases, as well as other forms of human trafficking, and hold convicted traffickers accountable.

Question. If confirmed, please describe how you will bolster these efforts in conjunction with the Ambassador-at-Large.

Answer. If confirmed, I would direct my team to encourage the Philippines to adopt the prioritized recommendations in the Department of State's annual Trafficking in Persons Report and I would work closely with the Ambassador-at-Large, when one is appointed and confirmed, to coordinate U.S. engagements with the Government of the Philippines to combat and prevent trafficking in persons.

Question. In the State Department's 2020 International Religious Freedom Report, the Philippines was identified as not particularly tolerant of religious freedom, especially among Muslims. What is your assessment of this particular issue and if confirmed, how will you work with the Ambassador-At-Large to bolster religious freedom in-country?

Answer. As Secretary Blinken has stated, the United States maintains its unwavering support to promote respect for and protect freedom of religion or belief for all. The annual International Religious Freedom Report notes that the Philippines' constitution provides for the free exercise of religion and religious worship, and I understand that Mission Philippines has conducted a broad range of engagement with the Government of the Philippines and with civil society to highlight the importance of international religious freedom. If confirmed, I would ensure that we continue these important engagements, and I would work with the Ambassador-at-Large to explore ways that we can bolster religious freedom in the Philippines. I appreciate the long-standing Congressional support on freedom of religion or belief and look forward to working with you on how we can continue to preserve and protect this human right.

Question. In the State Department's 2020 Human Rights Report, Philippines was identified as having committed severe human rights abuses including but not limited to unlawful or arbitrary killings, including extrajudicial killings; reports of forced disappearance; torture; harsh and life-threatening prison conditions; arbitrary detention by and on behalf of the Government and nonstate actors; and more. If confirmed, what steps will you take to address these instances with the host government?

Answer. Promoting respect for human rights and the rule of law is fundamental to U.S. relations with the Philippines. The alliance with the Philippines is foundational to the U.S. role in the Indo-Pacific, and the relationship is built on shared values and principles founded upon mutual democratic aspirations. As a friend, partner, and ally of the Philippines, the United States maintains a robust dialogue with the Philippine Government about all aspects of our long-standing relationship, including human rights concerns, such as those related to freedom of expression, including for members of the press, and reports of extrajudicial killings. Sustained constructive engagement with all levels of the Philippine Government, military, and civil society is essential for promoting respect for human rights.

If confirmed, I would ensure that we continue this engagement with the Government, military, and civil society. In discussions with my Filipino counterparts, I would reinforce the importance of human rights, particularly adequate legal protections and the rule of law. If confirmed, I would also work to improve access to and administration of justice in the Philippines, through programs administered by USAID, the Department of Justice, and the Department of State's Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs.

Question. How will you direct your Embassy to work with civil society organizations to improve the human rights situation on the ground?

Answer. If confirmed, I would ensure a whole-of-embassy effort to diligently monitor the human rights situation in the Philippines. Through numerous ongoing training and development programs, the team and I would work to support and enhance the efforts of Philippine human rights defenders, including civil society organizations that are bravely working to promote respect for human rights. I would also continue to work with USAID, the Department of Justice, the Department of State's Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs, and other

U.S. Government agencies as they administer and manage their programs in the Philippines.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO MARYKAY LOSS CARLSON BY SENATOR EDWARD J. MARKEY

Question. On March 30, Nobel Peace Prize Laureate Maria Ressa testified before the East Asia, the Pacific, and International Cybersecurity Policy Subcommittee about the assault on freedom of expression in Asia and the upcoming elections in the Philippines which Ms. Ressa characterized as “an existential moment” for democracy in the Philippines. I’m concerned that successive U.S. administrations have put human rights on the backburner. As we’ve seen time and time again, authoritarian governments make unreliable partners. If confirmed, will you pledge to publicly and privately elevate issues of human rights, freedom of speech, and the rule of law with the new Government of the Philippines?

Answer. If confirmed, I pledge to publicly and privately elevate issues of human rights, freedom of speech, and the rule of law. Promoting respect for human rights and the rule of law is fundamental to U.S. relations with the Philippines. The alliance with the Philippines is built on shared democratic values and principles, which would anchor my engagement with the Philippines Government if I am confirmed. I would also work to improve the administration of justice, which is crucial for achieving adequate legal protections and access to justice, through programs administered by U.S. interagency partners, including USAID, the Department of Justice, and the Department of State’s Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs. Through our numerous ongoing training and development programs, I would work to support and enhance the efforts of Philippine human rights defenders, including civil society organizations that are bravely and continuously working to promote respect for human rights. I would ensure the team at our Embassy continues to diligently monitor the human rights situation in the Philippines, and, in discussions with my Filipino counterparts, I would reinforce the importance of respect for human rights and the rule of law.

If confirmed, I would also encourage the Government of the Philippines to respect freedom of expression and freedom of the press. I would continue to support local initiatives to counter disinformation. I remain concerned about the cases against journalist Maria Ressa and Senator Leila de Lima and by the politically motivated refusal to renew the license of ABS-CBN, the country’s largest broadcast network. If confirmed, I would continue to call for resolution of the cases in a way consistent with the Philippines’ constitution and international obligations, including protection of the right to freedom of expression.

I appreciate Congress’s close attention to the full range of human rights issues and, if confirmed, look forward to continuing our close consultations on these important matters.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO MARYKAY LOSS CARLSON BY SENATOR TODD YOUNG

Question. It is my understanding there are over 5,000 certified foreign nurses approved for entry into the United States from the Philippines. They are waiting for in-person interviews at the Embassy, sometimes without any word as to when those interviews may happen. I have heard from numerous hospitals across Indiana who desperately need these nurses and are anxiously awaiting their arrival. If confirmed, how will you work to reduce the backlog of foreign nurses?

Answer. According to State Department statistics, Consular operations at the U.S. Embassy in the Philippines are among the largest and most high-profile in the world. U.S. visa operations play an important role in our people-to-people ties, and, especially now, help to provide qualified skilled workers in crucial industries such as healthcare. I understand the consular section at U.S Embassy Manila is making significant progress toward adjudicating E3 immigrant visas for nurses and other critical industry workers and their families. If confirmed, I will ensure continued momentum in adjudicating these critical industry visas in accordance with all relevant U.S. laws and regulations and will make sure our resources are focused on this effort, while also supporting other important priorities of the Mission.

Question. If confirmed, will you commit to improving the level of communication between the Embassy and the nurses applying for a visa?

Answer. Yes, improving communication is a constant goal—in this issue area and others of significance to bilateral ties. The consular section of the U.S. Embassy in Manila is working hard to adjudicate E3 immigrant visas for nurses and other critical industry workers and their families. If confirmed, I will ensure that our Consular operations continue their momentum in adjudicating these critical industry visas and ensure that our Mission devotes resources to this effort, including to ensuring timely and proper communication with visa applicants, while also supporting other important priorities of the Mission.

Question. What is your perspective on how we can strengthen our diplomatic engagement with the Philippines, particularly after several rocky years?

Answer. The long-standing, ironclad alliance between the Philippines and the United States is irreplaceable and foundational to our strategic interests in the Indo-Pacific. As friends, partners, and allies, we must continue building on the well-established foundation between our two countries to strengthen our bilateral engagement in the face of new global challenges.

If confirmed, I would continue to closely engage with top Philippine leadership to ensure utmost coordination in matters of mutual concern. This includes working with the Philippines to enable stronger security and defense cooperation and to expand opportunities for bilateral training, exercises, and capacity building to advance peace and security in the region. I would also work to ensure our security cooperation continues to help the Philippine military and law enforcement bodies combat terrorism, transnational crime, and violent extremism.

If confirmed, I would continue U.S. efforts to urge the Philippine Government to conduct all law enforcement operations in accordance with the rule of law and consistent with its international human rights obligations, and I would urge the Government to conduct thorough, transparent investigations into all suspected unlawful killings, and to hold accountable those who are responsible. I would also work to strengthen the administration of justice and support Philippine human rights defenders and civil society, and encourage respect for freedom of expression, including for members of the press. Finally, if confirmed, I would support reforms that enhance transparency, assure labor rights protections, boost beneficial trade and investment between our two countries, and increase cooperation to ensure resilient supply chains. I would promote an economic partnership that engages the U.S. and Philippine private sectors to invest in climate action and support low-carbon energy security.

Question. From your perspective, what advantages does the Philippines bring to our U.S. Indo-Pacific strategy, particularly in terms of maritime security and supply chain resilience?

Answer. The Philippines is a vital, irreplaceable, and critically important partner to the United States in the Indo-Pacific. The alliance between our two countries has contributed to peace, stability, and prosperity in the Asia-Pacific region for more than seven decades. If confirmed, I intend to work with the Philippines to deepen the special partnership between our two countries. I would continue to encourage diplomatic and defense engagement at all levels to ensure full coordination between our governments on shared interests, including upholding the rules-based order in the South China Sea that protects the rights and freedoms guaranteed to all nations. I would work to enhance bilateral coordination and communication processes to facilitate more effective implementation of alliance priorities, and I would work with colleagues across the interagency to expand cooperation in our shared priority areas such as maritime security and supply chain resilience.

Question. What is your view on how we can deepen our economic relationship with the Philippines under the Indo-Pacific strategy? Are there opportunities for engagement on digital trade in particular?

Answer. The United States and the Philippines enjoy strong economic ties that benefit the peoples of both our countries. In 2021, the United States was among the Philippines' top three trading partners and the Philippines was the United States' 31st largest goods trading partner. If confirmed, I would work hard to lower barriers to trade and investment through our bilateral and multilateral engagements, including through our regular Bilateral Strategic Dialogue with the Government of the Philippines and through fora such as the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC). I would also work closely with the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative to support engagement through our bilateral U.S.-Philippines Trade and Investment Framework Agreement (TIFA), as well as through our multilateral TIFA with the

Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). I would ensure the U.S. Mission in Manila continues to advocate for stronger trade and investment ties and for commercial and defense sales consistent with applicable law and U.S. government policy. If confirmed, I intend to explore more ways to encourage mutually beneficial U.S. investment in the Philippines, including by tackling some of the issues cited by the private sector, such as corruption and customs issues. I would also work with the Government of the Philippines to explore new opportunities to enhance our bilateral economic relationship, including on cyber and digital trade.

Question. Given that polls in the Philippines suggest that nearly 60 percent of Filipinos do not trust the Chinese, why do you think President Duterte has sought to pivot towards some form of an alliance with China?

Answer. Publicly available opinion polls show that the Philippine public shares our concerns about aggressive and unlawful actions by the PRC in the region. At the same time, the Philippines, like the United States, has economic ties to China. If confirmed, I would encourage our Philippine allies to continue to proactively raise concerns over PRC actions that undermine the rules-based international order. I would also encourage regular communication and coordination with the Philippines to address common security concerns, in particular the PRC's increasingly provocative and destabilizing activities in the South China Sea.

Question. Ahead of the May elections, what is your sense of how the various candidates are evaluating relations with China? Do you believe the relationship with China will change substantively in a new government?

Answer. The U.S.-Philippines relationship is one of friends, partners, and allies who coordinate across the full range of human endeavor to promote the interests of our peoples. We enjoy a vital partnership and, if confirmed, I look forward to strengthening bilateral ties in coordination with the new democratically elected government that is slated to take office in early July. I understand the various candidates are currently campaigning and determining their platforms and policy positions, including on Philippine relations with the PRC. As Secretary Blinken has repeatedly said, the United States is not asking the Philippines, or any other country, to choose sides. Instead, we seek to partner with the Philippines on issues of shared concern, including with regard to the PRC's provocative behavior in the region. If confirmed, I would encourage our Philippine allies to continue to proactively raise concerns over PRC actions that undermine regional stability and the rules-based international order.

Question. Given your extensive background in the region, how do you view Chinese influence and interests in the Philippines?

Answer. Like the United States, the Philippines maintains a robust relationship with the PRC that includes economic and people-to-people ties. The Philippines, however, shares our concerns about the PRC's provocative behavior in the region. For example, it was the Philippines' initiative that led to the 2016 ruling by the arbitral tribunal rejecting the PRC's expansive and unlawful claims in the South China Sea. The Philippines is one of the states most affected by the PRC's unlawful maritime claims. PRC activities in the South China Sea threaten Philippine livelihoods, food security, biodiversity, and energy security. As such, both the United States and the Philippines have a clear national interest in preserving unimpeded lawful commerce, respect for international law, including freedoms of navigation and overflight, and other lawful uses of the sea, and the peaceful resolution of disputes in the South China Sea. If confirmed, I would continue to push whole-of-government U.S. efforts to bolster Philippine capacity for maritime domain awareness in the South China Sea and I would also encourage regular communication and coordination with the Philippines on addressing the PRC's coercive activities in the South China Sea.

Question. How would you approach engaging with the Government of the Philippines on matters relating to China if confirmed as the Ambassador?

Answer. If confirmed, I would endeavor to strengthen the irreplaceable U.S.-Philippines alliance, which serves as a source of common security in the region. As President Biden and Secretary Blinken have stated, the U.S. approach to the PRC will be competitive when it should be, cooperative when it can be, and confrontational when it must be. The common denominator in this approach is the need to engage Beijing from a position of collective strength, which means working with partners like the Philippines, because our combined weight, backed by law, is much harder for the PRC to ignore.

If confirmed, I would encourage our Philippine allies to continue to proactively raise concerns over PRC actions that threaten regional stability and undermine the

rules-based international order. I would also encourage regular communication and coordination with the Philippines to address common security concerns, in particular the PRC's increasingly provocative activities in the South China Sea. This includes continuing to push whole-of-government U.S. efforts to bolster Philippine capacity for maritime domain awareness, including through improving the capacity of the Philippine Coast Guard; encouraging regular communication and coordination with the Philippines regarding provocations in the South China Sea; and supporting joint maritime or naval operations anywhere in the Pacific, the South China Sea included. I would promote these joint efforts to fully demonstrate the range of our friendship and alliance with the Government and people of the Philippines, including our commitments under the 1951 Mutual Defense Treaty, and to demonstrate the range of our mutual defense capabilities.

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
SUBMITTED TO MARYKAY LOSS CARLSON BY SENATOR JEFF MERKLEY

Question. If confirmed, how would you support efforts to investigate human rights violations in the Philippines committed by the Duterte regime, the National Task Force to End Local Communist Armed Conflict (NTF-ELCAC), the Armed Forces of the Philippines, and the Philippine National Police?

Answer. As friends, partners, and allies, the Philippines and the United States maintain a robust dialogue about all aspects of our long-standing relationship, including human rights concerns. Sustained constructive engagement with all levels of the Philippine Government, military, and society is essential for promoting respect for human rights—values that underpin our relationship. If confirmed, I would continue active engagement, to include a strong focus on bringing to justice those responsible for extrajudicial killings. If confirmed, I would continue to urge the Government to conduct all law enforcement operations in accordance with the rule of law and consistent with the Philippines' constitution and international human rights obligations. In discussions with Filipino counterparts, I would reinforce the importance of fair trial guarantees, all other applicable legal protections, and the rule of law. If confirmed, I would ensure the team at our embassy continues to diligently monitor the human rights situation in the Philippines. I appreciate Congressional attention to this issue and look forward to continuing close consultations.

Question. If confirmed, how would you ensure accountability that U.S. military aid to the Philippines does not fund further human rights violations?

Answer. The U.S.-Philippines alliance is strategically irreplaceable and foundational to the U.S. role in the Indo-Pacific. The Philippines is a linchpin connecting Northeast Asia with maritime Southeast Asia and sits astride vital sea lines of communication; thus, strong strategic relations with the Philippines are essential to our national security. Time and again, the Philippines has proven crucial—whether in facilitating our response to natural disasters in the region or enabling our ability to respond to contingencies and shape security in the Indo-Pacific.

The promotion of respect for human rights is also an indispensable element of our foreign policy and advances our strategic interests. If confirmed, I would appreciate the opportunity to discuss how we can best simultaneously achieve our human rights objectives and our security assistance objectives to protect the national security interests of the United States.

If confirmed, I would work to ensure that no assistance is provided to Philippine security units credibly implicated in a gross violation of human rights, including by complying with all Leahy vetting requirements. Our programs and assistance to the Armed Forces of the Philippines and the Philippine National Police include human rights training and associated institutional capacity building programs, and I would ensure that training and those programs continue, as appropriate, if confirmed.

I understand that our embassy closely tracks allegations of human rights abuses and restricts assistance to security forces credibly implicated in gross violations of human rights in accordance with the Leahy Law. If confirmed, I would ensure we continue to devote adequate resources into this effort.

Question. Given the strong military relationship between the U.S. and Philippines, how has the U.S. used its leverage and close ties to encourage the military to uphold human rights and democratic principles?

Answer. The United States' and the Philippines' shared commitment to democracy is an integral part of our longstanding partnership. The United States is committed to partnering with the Philippines to strengthen its democratic resilience, and we

regularly raise the importance of protecting human rights and fundamental freedoms in our bilateral engagements, including with the armed forces. Sustained constructive engagement with all levels of the Philippine military is essential for promoting both respect for human rights and U.S. security interests. If confirmed, I would continue the robust dialogue with the Philippine armed forces about all aspects of our longstanding relationship, including human rights concerns. I would ensure post is complying with all Leahy vetting requirements to help ensure that no assistance is provided to Philippine security units credibly implicated in gross violations of human rights. I would communicate U.S. requirements to our Philippine counterparts so they understand the consequences of committing gross human rights violations. If confirmed, I would work to ensure our U.S. programs and assistance to the Philippines armed forces and select police units include human rights training and associated institutional capacity building programs.

Question. What is the U.S. Government's position on the legacy of the Marcos Dictatorship?

Answer. The Philippines is a vibrant democratic ally with which we share a long and important history. The deep friendship and people-to-people ties between our two democracies have stood the test of time, bolstered by more than 75 years of robust diplomatic ties spanning different administrations in both countries. If confirmed, I pledge to work with the Government of the Philippines to ensure that our alliance continues to reflect our shared values and highest ideals, and I would work to ensure that our engagements with and assistance to the Philippines support good governance, human rights protections, and the rule of law.

Question. How will U.S. policy towards the Philippines change if Marcos wins the upcoming presidential election?

Answer. The alliance with the Philippines is built on shared values and principles founded upon mutual democratic aspirations. The upcoming elections provide Filipinos the opportunity to democratically elect their leaders. The Philippine people elect their leaders; we elect to work with their leaders to further our mutual interests in the Indo-Pacific and across the globe. If confirmed, I will seek to deepen our partnership, strengthen people-to-people ties between our two democracies, upgrade and modernize our alliance to face new challenges, expand U.S. trade and investment, and support the rule of law and good governance.

Question. What is the likelihood that the 2022 elections in the Philippines can be considered "free and fair" and an accurate representation of the will of the people?

Answer. The upcoming elections in the Philippines provide the opportunity for Filipinos to exercise their will and their democratic right to vote for their leaders. As documented in the State Department's 2020 Human Rights Report, international and national observers viewed the Philippines' most recent midterm elections in May 2019 as well organized and generally free and fair, even though vote buying continued to be widespread and dynastic political families continued to monopolize elective offices. If confirmed, I would look for opportunities to offer U.S. election support, share good governance strategies with the Philippine Government, and engage with the new democratically elected administration.

Question. What steps is the U.S. taking to support the development of democracy in the Philippines and prevent autocratic rule?

Answer. The United States works closely with interlocutors in the Philippines to support the development of democracy. Programs administered by USAID, the Department of Justice, and the Department of State's Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs support improving the administration of justice, which is crucial for achieving due process and access to justice. Through our numerous ongoing training and development programs, we support and enhance the efforts of Philippine human rights defenders including civil society organizations who are bravely and continuously working to promote respect for human rights. The United States supports the work of local human rights advocates to enhance access to justice for the most vulnerable communities, including victims of the drug war. If confirmed, I would strive, in consultation with Congress, to enhance our government's work with Philippine civil society organizations to inspire the public to seek, affirm, and demand the observance of human rights. I understand that our embassy closely tracks allegations of human rights abuses. If confirmed, I will ensure we continue to put adequate resources into these efforts.

Question. Has the State Department considered the imposition of sanctions on those individuals that are actively trying to undermine democracy in the Philippines?

Answer. The United States is committed to helping the Philippines strengthen its democratic resilience and we regularly raise the importance of protecting human rights and fundamental freedoms with all levels of the Philippine Government, military, and civil society. If confirmed, I will reinforce the importance of human rights, particularly fair trial guarantees, all other applicable legal protections, and the rule of law in my discussions with my Filipino counterparts. I appreciate Congressional attention to human rights in the Philippines and look forward to continuing close consultations with you on this issue.
