

Testimony of Rose E. Gottemoeller
Under Secretary-designate for Arms Control and International Security
Senate Foreign Relations Committee
September 26, 2013

Thank you, Chairman Menendez, Senator Corker and Members of the Committee. Thank you also to Senator Shaheen and Senator Isakson for your introductions. I am honored by your kind words of support.

Indeed, it is a great honor for me to come before this Committee today and be considered for the position of Under Secretary of State for Arms Control and International Security. I want to thank my husband, Ray Arnaudo, and my sons, Dan and Paul, for their unwavering support. I am grateful for the confidence that President Obama and Secretary Kerry have shown in nominating me for this position and I am mindful of the significant and serious responsibilities that I will undertake on behalf of our country should I be confirmed by the Senate.

For the past four years, I have served as the Assistant Secretary of State for Arms Control, Verification and Compliance (AVC). As part of my duties, I had the privilege of serving as the lead negotiator for the New START Treaty. That agreement has been in force for over three years and its implementation is going very well. I want to thank the Members of this Committee for their advice, leadership, and deep involvement throughout the New START negotiation and the ratification process. The Senate plays a critical role in policy making on issues of strategic stability, and I think that our experience with New START reinvigorated national interest in these critical issues. I know that we might not always agree on specific steps, but I know that we all prioritize the security of our country and our fellow citizens and allies. I also welcome the relaunch of the National Security Working Group under the leadership of Senator Feinstein and Senator Rubio. If confirmed, I would plan to work closely with this esteemed group.

As I mentioned, New START's implementation is going very well. Its robust verification system is providing the predictability and mutual confidence that both sides are living up to their commitments. I am very proud of the overall work that AVC has done on verification. For over many years, the staff in AVC has advanced U.S. national security by promoting verifiable agreements and verification technologies, and by working to ensure compliance by other countries with respect to their arms control, nonproliferation, and disarmament agreements

and commitments. I take President Reagan's mantra of "trust, but verify" to heart and have been steadfast in my pursuit of new technologies to aid in verification and monitoring. In fact, the mission of the Bureau is focused on ensuring that effective verification is a vital part of the negotiation and implementation of arms control agreements.

Under my direction, AVC took steps to encourage private sector entrepreneurs and experts to develop ideas on the application of new information and technologies to verification and monitoring. I have been lecturing on this issue extensively at universities and non-governmental organizations around the world. I think it is imperative that the next generation of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) experts understands our current verification and monitoring needs and applies creativity and innovation to solving our future needs in these areas. If confirmed, I would continue to push for new thinking and increased budgets for verification and monitoring efforts and funding for R&D technology in this area.

All the challenges we have faced together over the past four years leave me with no doubt that the team in AVC will continue to contribute to a safer, more secure nation. I am especially pleased that President Obama nominated Deputy Assistant Secretary Frank Rose to succeed me as the Assistant Secretary in AVC. I have worked with Frank over the past four years and have every confidence that, if confirmed, he will be an excellent Assistant Secretary and will continue AVC's focus on improving and enhancing verification and compliance mechanisms.

Since February 2012, I also have been serving as the Acting Under Secretary for Arms Control and International Security. I had the privilege to follow Ellen Tauscher – a remarkable, dynamic leader. In this position, I have responsibility for the T family of three bureaus—AVC, International Security and Nonproliferation (ISN), and Political-Military Affairs (PM). The issues handled by the T Bureaus are cross-cutting and affect people around the world. For that reason, we cover a lot of ground, both literally and figuratively. The work we do in T informs, augments and helps implement U.S. security policies. I am proud to say that when it comes to keeping America safe, the people working in T make a remarkable contribution.

It is no secret that I came into this position as a "nuke person." While arms control and nonproliferation are familiar territory for me, I was somewhat new to the issues covered by the Political-Military Affairs Bureau, which is a major part of the Under Secretary's portfolio.

As the principal link between the Departments of State and Defense, PM is the linchpin in State-DoD relations, increasing and institutionalizing collaboration in implementing our security agenda with partners worldwide. Over the past year and a half, as I have traveled to many partner countries to discuss political-military issues, it has become clear to me that many of PM's issues are linked to our arms control and nonproliferation goals.

If confirmed, I plan to continue championing the work of this Bureau, as well as the work of AVC and ISN. I believe that the experience I have gained throughout my career makes me well-suited to advance the work of these three distinct and important bureaus.

Looking ahead, I know that the T family of Bureaus is facing an agenda that is challenging and diverse. These bureaus will continue to work on reducing the dangers posed by nuclear, chemical, biological, and conventional weapons—through arms control or nonproliferation measures; improving export controls and opportunities for U.S. defense trade; countering piracy; clearing unexploded landmines and munitions; and strengthening U.S. defense and security relationships with friends and allies.

A top priority, if confirmed, will be the sound coordination of the State Department's efforts to ensure the Syrian regime can never again use chemical weapons against its own people. Experts in the T Bureaus are working hard to coordinate the diplomatic, technical, and public and Congressional outreach activities related to implementing the agreement to inventory, secure and destroy Syrian chemical weapons. We face a difficult road with difficult players, but we must push forward and we must remain vigilant. As Secretary Kerry said last week, "The complete removal of Syria's chemical weapons is possible here, through peaceful means. And that will be determined by the resolve of the United Nations to follow through on the agreement that Russia and the United States reached in Geneva, an agreement that clearly said this must be enforceable, it must be done as soon as possible, it must be real."

One thing we do have going in our favor is our experience with helping to eliminate Libya's chemical weapons program. The experts in T played a direct role in that process and are now applying the lessons learned to Syria.

Other priorities include advancing strategic stability with the Russian Federation. Over the past few years, we have achieved significant results from our work with the Russians. These include Russian support of U.N. Security Council resolutions

that created the toughest sanctions ever on North Korea and Iran, our work together on the New START Treaty, bringing into force the agreement to dispose of excess weapons plutonium, concluding a successor arrangement to continue our bilateral threat reduction cooperation, and our work to open up and sustain the Northern Distribution Network to get critical supplies to troops in Afghanistan – which by the way, has been achieved through PM-led diplomacy.

That said, we are dealing with some serious issues and challenges with the relationship – this applies to strategic issues, Syria and beyond. We will continue to engage the Russians to try to find common ground, and when needed, to speak out forcefully on our concerns. We will only move ahead on cooperative arrangements when it is in our national security interest to do so.

The President announced in Berlin that we would pursue reductions of deployed strategic nuclear weapons. This decision flowed from the Administration's extensive analysis of the current strategic environment and deterrence requirements. That analysis confirmed that the United States can ensure its security and that of our allies, and maintain a strong and credible strategic deterrent, while reducing our deployed strategic nuclear weapons by up to one-third below the level established by the New START Treaty. The President said on that occasion, "I intend to seek negotiated cuts with Russia to move beyond Cold War postures." Toward that end, we will pursue a treaty with the Russian Federation.

We agree with the Senate regarding the importance of addressing the disparity between U.S. and Russian nonstrategic nuclear weapons, and will work with our NATO allies to seek bold reductions in U.S. and Russian NSNW in Europe.

If confirmed, I will play a role in these efforts and I can assure you that the Administration and I are committed to consulting with the Congress and our Allies as we move forward with the nuclear arms reduction process. When considering possible reductions, the United States will only enter into treaties and agreements that are in our national security interest.

As we pursue reductions, I will do my part to support the nuclear modernization budget. I have excellent working relationships with my former colleagues, Secretary Ernest Moniz, Deputy Secretary Dan Poneman and Frank Klotz, the nominee for National Nuclear Security Administration (NNSA) Administrator, along with many other colleagues at the Department of Energy.

If confirmed, I will continue to support ISN's efforts to prevent the illicit spread of arms, including weapons of mass destruction and their delivery systems. ISN plays a key role in the U.S. Government's efforts to address the nuclear programs of Iran and North Korea – one of the top priorities for this Administration and for me. The diplomatic full-court press from the State Department has contributed to the unprecedented international consensus on maintaining sanctions and other pressure on both states. We must continue to push.

Part of what makes us effective is our partnership with the Department of Defense, led by the PM Bureau. This partnership is important to our security cooperation around the world, which is fundamentally a foreign policy act. Our work in this regard enables us to expand security cooperation with our allies and partners, is critical to America's national security and economic prosperity. It is also an important part of the State Department's economic statecraft efforts.

A related priority for me, if confirmed, is to continue my work to advance export control reform, which includes revising the U.S. Munitions List (USML). Updating the USML, a major effort by PM, working with the Departments of Defense and Commerce, is a key part of our export control reform effort. The USML review will improve U.S. national security by permitting us to focus on, and thus more stringently protect, our most sensitive goods and technologies, while for less sensitive items, implementing export requirements that are thorough, but not unduly burdensome to U.S. exporters and facilitate interoperability with our Allies.

Of course, I have barely scratched the surface of what the "T Family" does each and every day in order to build a strong, balanced approach to foreign policy and U.S. security. If confirmed, I will have the responsibility for a range of additional policy areas. I welcome the opportunity to talk with you about our goals for a fissile material cut-off treaty, the Comprehensive Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty, cooperative threat reduction, engaging China, arms sales, conventional arms control, missile defense cooperation, and any other issue you might wish to discuss. All of these issues will require the deep involvement and expertise of this Committee and others in Congress. If confirmed, I look forward to continuing to consult closely with the members of this Committee on all these issues.

I am under no illusions about the enormous challenges we face on the arms control, nonproliferation and political-military fronts, but I do think that the United States and the T Family Bureaus are prepared to meet these challenges. With your

support, I would be proud to help lead the effort as the Under Secretary of State for Arms Control and International Security.

Chairman Menendez, Senator Corker, in closing, I would like to note that I have been privileged to observe and work with some of the most skilled arms control and international security leaders in modern American history. They have influenced my path and shaped my policy views. Working with leaders such as my first boss at the Rand Corporation, Colonel Thomas W. Wolfe, Ambassador Linton Brooks, Senator Howard Baker, Senator Sam Nunn, Senator Richard Lugar on this committee, Secretary Moniz, Secretary Hillary Clinton, and my current boss and your former colleague Secretary John Kerry, I have been able to learn from the best. If confirmed, I will certainly continue to follow the example of these fine Americans. I want to again thank the Committee and its leaders for the attention and interest demonstrated during the New START ratification process. It was a testament to your dedication to American national security.

I look forward to your questions.

Thank you.