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**NOMINATIONS BATHSHEBA CROCKER,
MICHAEL LAWSON, AND ROBERT WOOD**

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 4, 2014

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

Bathsheba Nell Crocker, of the District of Columbia, to be Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs
Michael Anderson Lawson, of California, for the rank of Ambassador during his tenure of service as Representative on the Council of the International Civilian Aviation Organization
Robert A. Wood, of New York, for the rank of Ambassador during his tenure of service as U.S. Representative to the Conference on Disarmament

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 3:05 p.m., in Room SD-419, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Edward J. Markey, presiding.

Present: Senators Markey and Barrasso.

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

Senator MARKEY. Good afternoon. Welcome to this hearing in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Today, we will hear from three highly qualified nominees who will represent our country's interests before international organizations.

The first is Mr. Michael Lawson, the United States Representative on the Council of the International Civil Aviation Organization, which is headquartered in Montreal. This is an intergovernmental organization that oversees the safety, security, and economic sustainability and environmental impact of civilian air travel.

Air navigation, the safety of air travel, and the security from terrorist attack have been the focuses of this organization for many years. More recently, environmental and energy issues have become a priority, especially aviation's contribution to climate change. Air travel is currently responsible for 2 percent of carbon dioxide pollution worldwide and about 13 percent of all transportation-sector carbon dioxide. As air travel increases, especially in rapidly developing economies, emissions are projected to grow in the coming years.

In early October 2013, it was agreed upon that the goal of—should create a global market-based system to curb airline pollution emissions by 2016. Mr. Lawson is extremely well qualified to represent the United States in these discussions. He received his J.D. from Harvard Law School in 1978. He has over 31 years of experience practicing law, most of it as a partner at the firm of Skadden Arps, here in Washington and around the world. Since 2005, Mr. Lawson has served on the Board of Airport Commissioners for the four airports of the L.A. area, including Los Angeles International Airport. He was president of that board from 2010 to 2013. While on the board, he helped manage major improvements to the LAX, including a new terminal.

Our next nominee is Bathsheba Nell Crocker, President Obama's nominee to be Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs. She will be responsible for overseeing and advising Secretary Kerry about the U.S. Government's relationships with the United Nations—U.N. agencies, such as the IAEA, peace-keeping missions, UNICEF, the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, and a number of other international agencies and organizations.

Ms. Crocker's expertise on foreign policy and her dedication to public service are truly impressive. She has over 15 years of relevant experience at the State Department, the United Nations, and the private sector. At the State Department, she is now the Principal Deputy Director of the Office of Policy Planning. At the United Nations, she worked as the Special Assistant on the Peacebuilding Issues and as the Deputy Chief of Staff in the Office of the Special Envoy for Tsunami Recovery, former President Bill Clinton.

In the private sector, she has served as a senior policy advisor for the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation and as a fellow at the Center for Strategic and International Studies and the Council on Foreign Relations.

Her credentials are impressive in their own right, but she is also carrying on a family tradition. With us here today is her father, Chester Crocker, who was the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs under President Reagan.

Could you please stand, Mr.—right over here? Thank you so much for being here.

Could we give him a round of applause for his tremendous service to our country? [Applause.]

We thank you.

He served as Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs under President Reagan, and helped lead the negotiations that led to independence for Namibia and the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

Mr. Crocker, thank you for your service to our country.

I am told that when Ms. Crocker is confirmed, you will be the first father-daughter pair to serve as Assistant Secretaries of State in our country's history.

Our third nominee is Robert Wood, nominated to represent the United States to the Conference on Disarmament, the international agency responsible for negotiating arms treaties. Mr. Wood is a 25-year veteran of the Foreign Service who has served in Mexico, Ni-

geria, Pakistan, and South Africa. Recently, he served as Chargé d'affaires in the U.S. Mission to the International Atomic Energy Agency, where he defended American interests and tried to help prevent the spread of nuclear weapons and fissile material. He was also the Deputy Spokesman of the U.S. Mission to the United Nations, a position he began the day after the September 11th attacks.

If confirmed, one of Mr. Wood's most pressing responsibilities would be a preparatory conference this April for the 2015 Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conference. Mr. Wood will be an essential spokesman, explaining and defending our country's significant efforts to create a world in which nuclear weapons no longer exist.

Also, Mr. Wood has the opportunity to start serious negotiations on a Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty which would ban the production of nuclear materials for use in nuclear weapons.

And we thank each of you for your service, and we thank each of you for everything that you are going to do for our country.

And I will begin by recognizing you, Ms. Crocker, in order to lay out your case to become our representative.

STATEMENT OF BATHSHEBA NELL CROCKER, OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, NOMINEE TO BE AN ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION AFFAIRS

Ms. CROCKER. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman and distinguished members of the committee. I am honored to appear before you as President Obama's nominee for Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs.

More than 30 years ago, as you have noted, my father appeared in front of this committee as President Reagan's nominee for Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs. I have learned a great deal from my father's remarkable career about the importance of public service, the art of American diplomacy, and the promise of American leadership. It would be an honor of a lifetime to carry these lessons forward and help advance American interests and values at the United Nations and beyond.

I have also learned a great deal from my mother, who is also here with us today, a woman who proved that you could have a successful career and be an extraordinary mother. I am so pleased they could both be here today.

I also want to recognize my husband, Milan, my daughters, Asha and Farrin, who are here. I owe them more than I could ever say. And I have a number of other family members here, as well, today: my sister, Rennie Anderson; my brother-in-law, Kai Anderson; my nieces, Tala and Avey; my nephew, Caleb; my brother-in-law, Anand Vaishnav; and my cousin, John Putnam.

I began my public service—

Senator MARKEY. May I say that your mother is the first woman to ever be the wife of, and the mother of, an Assistant Secretary of State—

[Laughter.]

Senator MARKEY [continuing]. Which I think is also a distinction. That might actually be the hypotenuse in this whole story. [Laughter.]

Ms. CROCKER. Well said.

I began my public service career as an attorney advisor at the State Department more than 15 years ago. I have seen firsthand how ably our diplomats represent our country. I have seen their courage on the front lines of conflict, their resilience and strength in the aftermath of natural disasters, and their steadfast commitment to standing up to injustice all over the world. I have also seen firsthand the same determinations and skill in the peacekeepers, development professionals, humanitarian workers, and health practitioners I worked with during my time helping lead the U.N. Asia tsunami recovery efforts and peace-building programs. That is why I share President Obama's conviction that America's national interests are best served by a robust, responsive, and responsible international system. The challenges of today, from terrorism to nuclear proliferation, and climate change to development and food security, cannot be solved by any one country on its own. And in an age of fiscal austerity, we need to work harder than ever to ensure that international organizations are able and willing to meet today's many global challenges.

Thanks to the administration's efforts, the United States today is a more engaged, effective, and successful leader in international and multilateral organizations than it has been in a very long time. If confirmed, I pledge to work with this committee to identify and pursue new opportunities to advance our interests throughout the U.N. system. In particular, I will focus on three major priorities: efficiency, effectiveness, and evolution.

First, safeguarding and maximizing U.S. taxpayers' investment in International Organization will be my unflagging preoccupation. There is no question that, despite progress, there are continuing challenges with management and oversight at the United Nations. As the largest contributor to the U.N., we have a special obligation and influence to promote reform throughout the U.N. system.

Second, I will work to increase the effectiveness of multilateral institutions. In so many of our foreign policy priorities, from our sanctions on al-Qaeda, Iran, and North Korea, to our efforts to support political transitions in Iraq and Afghanistan, to preventing atrocities and building peace in war-torn countries, to sounding the alarm on human rights abuses, the U.N. and international organizations play a vital role. But, all too often, political posturing by states leads to political paralysis and inaction, sometimes with devastating consequences. If confirmed, I will push other governments to ensure these organizations can deliver on their promise.

Finally, just as the international landscape continues to evolve, so our international institutions, and the United States should shape that evolution. It is time for the U.N. system to do away with preoccupations and processes whose days have long past, especially the disproportionate and unjust attention paid to Israel. In the U.N. General Assembly, at the U.N. Human Rights Council and elsewhere, Israel is subject to one-sided resolutions and politically motivated investigations. If confirmed, I will fight bias against Israel whenever and wherever possible. At the same time, I will continue the administration's efforts to promote full and equal Israeli participation in international bodies and support its positive contributions to the U.N.

All over the world, people's lives depend on the system of international organizations that the United States helped conceive and lead. In the Philippines, the U.N. is directing the global humanitarian response effort to Typhoon Haiyan. In the Democratic Republic of Congo, U.N. Blue Helmets are helping secure the peace and rekindle the hopes of tens of millions in the Great Lakes region. And in schools, health clinics, and refugee camps all over the world, the U.N. is making sure that future generations will know a more peaceful and prosperous world.

Mr. Chairman, we have a deep stake in shaping the continual renewal of the system of international cooperation and making sure it is as efficient and effective as possible. I look forward to working together with you and with this committee to sustain our leadership in international organizations and our promotion of U.S. foreign policy priorities.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Crocker follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF BATHSHEBA N. CROCKER

Thank you, Mr. Chairman and distinguished members of the committee. I am honored to appear before you as President Obama's nominee for Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs. More than three decades ago, my father appeared in front of this committee as President Reagan's nominee for Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs. I have learned a great deal from my father's remarkable career about the importance of public service, the art of American diplomacy, and the promise of American leadership. It would be an honor of a lifetime to carry these lessons forward and help advance American interests and values at the United Nations and beyond.

I have also learned a great deal from my mother—a woman who proved that you could have an extraordinary career and be an extraordinary mother. I could not ask for better role models than my parents and I am thrilled that they could both be here today. I also want to recognize my husband, Milan, and my daughters, Asha and Farrin. I owe them more than I could ever say.

I began my public service career as an Attorney-Adviser at the State Department more than 15 years ago. I have seen first-hand how ably our diplomats—Civil and Foreign Service officers alike—represent our country. I have seen their courage on the front lines of conflict. I have seen their resilience and strength in the aftermath of natural disasters. And I have seen their steadfast commitment to standing up to injustice all over the world.

I have also seen firsthand the same determination and skill in the peacekeepers, development professionals, humanitarian workers, and health practitioners I worked with during my time helping lead the U.N.'s Asia tsunami recovery efforts and peacebuilding programs.

This is why I share President Obama's conviction that America's national interests are best served by a robust, responsive, and responsible international system—and by strong and sustained U.S. multilateral engagement and leadership. The challenges of the 21st century—from terrorism to nuclear proliferation, and climate change to development and food security—cannot be solved by any one country on its own. And in an age of fiscal austerity, we will need to work harder than ever to ensure that international organizations are able and willing to meet today's many global challenges.

Thanks to the administration's efforts, the United States today is a more engaged, more effective, and more successful leader in international and multilateral organizations than it has been in a very long time. If confirmed, I pledge to work with this committee to identify and pursue new opportunities to advance our interests throughout the U.N. system. In particular, I will focus on three major priorities: efficiency, effectiveness, and evolution.

First, safeguarding and maximizing U.S. taxpayers' investment in international organizations will be my unflagging preoccupation. There is no question that, despite progress, there are continuing challenges with management and oversight at the United Nations. But these challenges should not lead us to disengage. Instead, they should lead us to redouble our efforts to improve efficiency, transparency, and accountability throughout the U.N. system. As the largest contributor

to the U.N., we have a special obligation and influence to promote reform. And if confirmed, I will continue to voice our concerns and lead reform efforts.

Second, I will work to increase the effectiveness of multilateral institutions. In so many of our foreign policy priorities—from our sanctions on al-Qaeda, Iran, and North Korea, to our efforts to support political transitions in Iraq and Afghanistan, to preventing atrocities and building peace in war-torn countries—the U.N. and international organizations play a vital role. They prevent the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. They prevent war and keep the peace. They sound the alarm on human rights abuses. And they promote global commerce and universal values we hold dear. But all too often, political posturing by states leads to political paralysis and inaction—sometimes with devastating consequences. If confirmed, I will push other governments to ensure these organizations can deliver on their promise.

We need active and sustained diplomatic efforts at the International Atomic Energy Agency to maintain the integrity of the nuclear nonproliferation regime. We need to continue our active engagement at the Human Rights Council to hold regimes accountable for the violation of human rights. We need to continue the progress made to improve U.N. peacekeeping. We need to work with partners and institutions to shape the Post-2015 Development Agenda. And we need to continue to push U.N. humanitarian aid agencies to provide more flexible, timely, and coordinated responses to humanitarian emergencies. American leadership in these and other bodies of international cooperation is essential to achieving our broader policy objectives.

Finally, just as the international landscape continues to evolve, so are international institutions. The United States should shape that evolution, working with allies and partners to define a shared vision of international norms and cooperation for this century.

It is time for the U.N. system to do away with processes and preoccupations whose days have long past—especially the disproportionate and unjust attention paid to Israel. In the U.N. General Assembly, at the U.N. Human Rights Council, and elsewhere, Israel is subject to one-sided resolutions and politically motivated investigations. We cannot allow these counterproductive actions by member states to undermine the institutions themselves. If confirmed, I will fight bias against Israel whenever and wherever possible. At the same time, I will continue the administration's efforts to promote full and equal Israeli participation in international bodies and support its proactive and positive contributions to the U.N.

All over the world, people's lives depend on the system of international organizations that the United States helped conceive and lead. In the Philippines, the U.N. is directing the global humanitarian response effort to Typhoon Haiyan. In the Democratic Republic of Congo, U.N. blue helmets helped secure the peace and rekindle the hopes of tens of millions in the Great Lakes region. And in schools, health clinics, and refugee camps all over the world, the U.N. is making sure that future generations will know a more peaceful and prosperous world.

Mr. Chairman, we have a deep stake in shaping the continual renewal of the system of international cooperation and making sure it is as efficient and effective as possible. I look forward to working together with you and with this committee to sustain our leadership in international organizations and our promotion of U.S. foreign policy priorities.

Senator MARKEY. Thank you so much.

Our inability—Shakespeare said that the will is infinite, but the execution is confined. So, I would like to continue the hearing right now, but they have called a rollcall on the floor of the Senate. And so, I have 5 minutes to run over to make the rollcall, and I will return as quickly as possible, and then we will recommence this hearing.

So, this hearing stands in recess.

[Recess.]

Senator BARRASSO [presiding]. Well, thank you so much for your patience in dealing with the floor votes. I just passed Senator Markey. He was on his way to the floor; I was on my way back here. He said that he had been through the opening statements and the comments, so he suggested I just go ahead, in the interest of your time.

And so, if I could, I just wanted to congratulate all of you on the appointments, welcome each of you and family members who are here with you. I appreciate you taking time to be with us to answer the questions. And, should you serve our Nation in these important positions, it is important that each of you provide strong stewardship of American taxpayer resources, demonstrate professionalism and good judgment, and vigorously work to advance the priorities of the United States. I hope you will lay out your vision and goals in each of these positions, and what your plan is to achieving them.

So, I thank the chairman, and I thank the President for nominating you.

If I could, Ms. Crocker, start with you—oh, OK, sorry. Well, I wanted, perhaps, Mr.—I am happy to hear your testimony, at this point, Mr. Lawson. I do not—and I do not want to shortchange the chairman from hearing that testimony. So, you have already spoken?

Ms. CROCKER. I have already provided my opening statement, yes.

Senator BARRASSO. All right. So, perhaps if I could just ask you a few questions, and then, as the chairman returns, finish, and then I will add my questions to that if I—thank you.

I want to talk about Israel and U.N. Human Rights Council, the—in your testimony, you talked about the—Israel being subjected to one-sided resolutions, political investigations, and U.N. Human Rights Council. In September 2013, Senator Gillibrand and I sent a bipartisan letter to Secretary Kerry about the pervasive anti-Israel bias that we see at the United Nations. I think item 7 of the U.N. Human Rights Council's Standing Agenda is used to attack Israel. It is the only permanent agenda item that is exclusively reserved for an individual member state. While terrible atrocities are being committed in Syria, human rights abuses are taking place in Iran; the Council will be neglecting serious issues while, I believe, wasting hours singling out Israel.

So, could you just talk a little bit about your views on agenda item No. 7, what steps you would take to accomplish its removal from the agenda?

Ms. CROCKER. Thank you, Senator, for that question. And, as you note and as I indicated, fighting for the full and equal participation of Israel throughout U.N. bodies will be one of my top priorities.

As you note, Israel continues to be subject, among other things, to agenda item 7 at the Human Rights Council. And this is something that the administration has taken great steps so far to try to get rid of, and we will continue to do so, and I will, as well, should I be confirmed.

At the same time, I think, over the last 4 years that the administration—that the United States has been a member of the Human Rights Council, we have been able to make some good progress in battling back against the bias against Israel at the Human Rights Council, but also, importantly, making sure that the Council turn its attention to other important issues, including a Commission of Inquiry that has been set up on Syria and that is collecting valuable evidence on Syria; a Special Rapporteur on the human rights situation in Iran; a Special Rapporteur on Belarus, on Eritrea, on Sudan; a Commission of Inquiry on Libya; and other issues. We

have been able to run two resolutions successfully on the situation in Sri Lanka.

So, while there still remains a disproportionate focus on Israel at the Council, we have really been able to reduce that focus. And I think it is one of the important—one of those signs that—of why it is so important for the United States to be an active and engaged member at the Human Rights Council.

Senator BARRASSO. Yes. During the confirmation hearing for Secretary Kerry, you know, I asked specifically about his views on the need for management reform at the United Nations. He stated—he said, “In an era of fiscal crisis and austerity, the U.N. must learn to do more with less.”

In your testimony, you expressed your commitment to safeguarding and maximizing U.S. taxpayers’ investment. I made a reference to that in my opening statement. Could you talk a little bit about your plans to ensure the United Nations limits growth in U.N. regular budget and is making more efficient use of existing resources?

Ms. CROCKER. As you know, Senator, that has been a special focus of the administration. And, if confirmed, I will certainly do my part to try to continue that focus.

We have been able to make some good progress over the last 5 years, in terms of management reform, including budget reform at the United Nations; and including, most recently, in the budget discussions about the 2014–2015 budget, we were able to successfully reverse the decades-long trend of annual growth in the U.N. regular budget.

That said, it remains a continuing conversation, and it is a difficult one up there. Among other things that we were able to accomplish this time around was a 2-percent staff reduction, which is obviously an important accomplishment. It is not enough, but it is a start.

At the same time, we have been able to make good progress on other important management reforms, such as financial disclosure requirements, audits being publicly available online for most of the U.N. funds in specialized agencies. We have clamped down on some of the abuses in the travel budget of the U.N., including overuse and misuse of business-class travel by U.N. staff. We have remained focused, and, if confirmed, I will be particularly focused on, on trying to constrain the growth in the budget. And a lot of that will be a focus on constraining the growth in staff costs, which, as I indicated, we have had some success on so far, but more work remains to be done.

Senator BARRASSO. Agreed.

Mr. Lawson, just waiting for the chairman to return, I just have a couple of questions, if it is all right with you if I could proceed—

Mr. LAWSON. Yes.

Senator BARRASSO [continuing]. With those.

I want to ask you a little about carbon trading. The European Union established, in a missions trading scheme that applies to all flights arriving and departing from European Union airspace. In September 2012, the Senate unanimously passed S. 1956, the European Union Emissions Trading Scheme Prohibition Act, at that

time. It was signed into law by the President, November 2012. The law provides the Secretary of Transportation the authority to ensure that U.S. aircraft operators are not penalized, or are not harmed, by the Emissions Trading Scheme unilaterally created by the European Union.

Can I—I just—what you believe is the appropriate role for the International Civil Aviation Organization to play on the issue of dealing with this, reducing emissions in the aviation sector.

Mr. LAWSON. Well, thank you for that question.

ICAO is at the center of this issue right now. In the last Assembly, September 2013, we successfully—and we worked very hard to help this happen, but they—the Assembly passed a resolution that established a framework for ICAO to put together a comprehensive scheme for dealing with emissions trading worldwide. The goal is to have a complete scheme put together—not scheme, rather, but program put together for the 2016 Assembly, that is coming up, that would include dealing with, not only a market-based measure worldwide, a global market-based measure, but also dealing with issues such as alternative fuels, dealing with operation efficiencies, and other matters that will reduce the amount of emissions generated by the aviation industry. The goal is to have this approved in 2016, in place for 2020, and to work with respect to 2005 levels, if at all possible.

The framework—the procedural framework for doing that is in place—is not in place now, but is in the process of being put together. And so, if I am confirmed, I will work diligently to make sure that—to help us meet that goal. And it is a very aggressive goal, especially for an organization with 191 members, 36 member councils that are going to be working very hard to make that happen.

So, yes, ICAO is in the—is right in the center of that. If we are successful, it will be a tremendous accomplishment to have a global market-based measure—structure that the entire aviation industry will abide by. And, in the meantime, the issue with respect to the EUETS is that we are—the resolution that was passed did not prohibit organizations like the EU from setting up some sort of regional or national market-based system, but we are concerned about exactly what the Europeans are trying to put together right now.

It is unclear as to what exactly is going to come out of the legislative activities. The Commission has proposed an air-based system. There is not unanimity among the Council and Parliament and the Commission as to what exactly should be done. We are doing what we can to engage in our—with our counterparts in Europe to, hopefully, come up with something that does not create a distraction to what ICAO is trying to do. And we will see what happens.

If they do not come up with legislation, unfortunately what would happen in April 2014 is that the current stop-the-clock legislation would expire and the legislation that the EU had passed some years ago that would have imposed an ETS—Emissions Trading Scheme—on the totality of flights going in and out of Europe would come into play. And that is the type of legislation that the Thune bill, that you mentioned, was designed to give us the ability

to protect our airlines against. We do not know whether that is going to happen. We hope that it does not happen. As a matter of fact, there is optimism that that will not happen. But, ICAO is in the center of that, and, if I am confirmed, I will work diligently to make sure that we get that done.

Senator BARRASSO. Thank you, Mr. Lawson.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator MARKEY [presiding]. Thank the gentleman very much.

And, Mr. Lawson, I am now going to recognize you for an opening statement, although, for the purposes of your opening statement, you should feel free to delete anything that was just used as material in response to Senator Barrasso's questions. [Laughter.]

And that way we can save some time. So, please go forward for up to 5 minutes.

STATEMENT OF MICHAEL ANDERSON LAWSON, OF CALIFORNIA, NOMINEE FOR THE RANK OF AMBASSADOR DURING HIS TENURE OF SERVICE AS REPRESENTATIVE ON THE COUNCIL OF THE INTERNATIONAL CIVILIAN AVIATION ORGANIZATION

Mr. LAWSON. Well, thank you.

Much of my opening statement, actually you gave. [Laughter.]

Senator BARRASSO. Feel free to delete that, too. [Laughter.]

Mr. LAWSON. But, I do want to take a few minutes to welcome members of my family who are here: Kisha and John Lewis, Marcus Mason, and my wife of 34 years, Mattie McFadden Lawson. My sons could not make it, but I am told that they are watching.

But, thank you for the opportunity to appear before you today as President Obama's nominee to be the Representative of the United States at the International Civil Aviation Organization. I am honored to be here and am grateful to President Obama for the trust and confidence he has shown in nominating me for this important position, and for the opportunity to serve my country as a Permanent Representative to ICAO.

From the time of the negotiations in the United States at the end of World War II that resulted in the Chicago Convention and the creation of ICAO as a specialized agency of the United Nations devoted to civil aviation, the United States and ICAO have enjoyed an extraordinarily close and mutually beneficial relationship. ICAO is the only forum in which global standards can be set for all aspects of international civil aviation. Whatever the new developments or challenges in the areas of civil aviation—safety, security, and the environment—ICAO provides the mechanisms and the opportunity to address them effectively through the cooperation of member states.

If confirmed, I will bring the cumulative skills and the totality of my professional experience to this role. And, as suggested, I will skip the part of my resume that you effectively described.

As a direct result of my experiences on the Board of Commissioners—Board of Airport Commissioners for Los Angeles, I am keenly aware of the many challenges associated with ensuring the safety and security of airline passengers. For this reason, I am proud to have been actively involved in the selection of the excellent team providing on-the-ground leadership at LAX, including ex-

ecutive director Gina Marie Lindsay and the current chief of Airport Police Department, Chief Patrick Cannon. That team was tested on November 1, 2013, when a gunman entered Terminal 3 of LAX, with the apparent intent of attacking and killing TSA employees. While I have no official insights into the tragic events of that day, it is clear to me that the exceptional professionalism and integration I saw among the various Federal and local law enforcement agencies that are present at LAX saved many lives.

Senator Markey and members of the committee, if confirmed, I believe that the experience I have gained as a member and president of the Board of Commissioners, as well as the skills accrued over three decades in the legal profession, will prove relevant and valuable in representing the United States as Permanent Representative to ICAO.

Throughout its history, ICAO has principally devoted its attention to activities involving air safety and air navigation issues. The recent events at LAX only underscore that aviation security is an unceasing task. If confirmed, I will work diligently to advance America's priorities at ICAO and ensure that ICAO continues to play an active and leading role in developing and implementing international aviation security standards.

My experience has also made me keenly aware of the environmental impact of air travel. ICAO has already undertaken a great deal of work in this regard. Technical groups are developing noise and efficiency standards for aircraft and are beginning to work on the development of a global-market-based measure for international aviation CO₂ emissions.

If confirmed, I will also be committed to bringing continued attention to good governance and increased efficiency at ICAO. I will actively pursue the U.S. Government's goals with respect to budget discipline, transparency, and accountability in all areas, including ethics rules, fair procurement practices, financial disclosure for senior officials, and whistleblower protection.

The agenda of the United States and ICAO is extensive and vitally important. If confirmed, I look forward to working closely with this committee to advance our Nation's interests.

And thank you for the opportunity to appear before you today. I look forward to any questions you may have.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Lawson follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT MICHAEL A. LAWSON

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, thank you for the opportunity to appear before you today as President Obama's nominee to be the Representative of the United States to the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO). I am honored to be here and am grateful to President Obama for the trust and confidence he has shown in nominating me for this important position and for the opportunity to serve my country at ICAO.

From the time of the negotiations in the United States at the end of World War II that resulted in the Chicago Convention and the creation of ICAO as the specialized agency of the United Nations devoted to civil aviation, the United States and ICAO have enjoyed an extraordinarily close and mutually beneficial relationship. ICAO is the only forum in which global standards can be set for all aspects of international civil aviation. Whatever the new developments or challenges in the areas of civil aviation safety, security, and the environment, ICAO provides the mechanisms and the opportunity to address them effectively through the cooperation of member states.

If confirmed, I will bring the cumulative skills and totality of my professional experiences to this role. I have spent the majority of my professional career as a transactional attorney at the international law firm of Skadden, Arps, Slate Meagher & Flom LLP where I served for 31 years.

In addition to that experience, I have served since 2005 on the seven-member Board of Airport Commissioners of the Los Angeles World Airports, which oversees the operations of Los Angeles International Airport, Van Nuys General Aviation Airport; Ontario International Airport; and Palmdale Airport. In December 2010, I was asked to serve as the President of the Board, a position in which I remained until August 2013.

The Board of Airport Commissioners is responsible for promoting the safety and security of the more than 60 million passengers who travel through its airports on an annual basis. Those responsibilities extend to the efficient and effective day-to-day operations of the airports, including environmental sustainability issues.

I am proud to say that during my tenure on the Board, we initiated the largest public works project in the history of the city of Los Angeles—a \$6 billion capital improvement program designed to return LAX to a world class status worthy of the third-busiest airport in the country and the sixth-busiest airport in the world. Those improvements include a new international terminal, 19 new gates, and upgrades designed to accommodate the next generation of large passenger aircraft. Given the program's enormous and complex scale, I take particular pride in highlighting the responsible, efficient, and transparent manner in which it has been managed.

As a direct result of my experiences on the Board of Commissioners, I am keenly aware of the many challenges associated with ensuring the safety and security of airline passengers. For this reason, I am proud to have been actively involved in the selection of the excellent team providing on the ground leadership, including executive director, Ms. Gina Marie Lindsay and the current chief of the airport police department, Chief Patrick Gannon. That team was tested on November 1 when a gunman entered Terminal 3 of LAX with the apparent intent of attacking and killing TSA employees. While I have no formal insights into the tragic events of that day, it is clear to me that the exceptional professionalism and integration I saw among the various federal and law enforcement agencies that are present at LAX saved many lives.

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, if confirmed, I believe the experience I have gained as a member and president of the Board of Commissioners as well as the skills accrued over three decades in the legal profession will prove relevant and valuable in representing the United States as the permanent representative to ICAO.

Throughout its history, ICAO has principally devoted its attention to activities involving air safety and air navigation issues. The recent events at LAX only underscore that aviation security is an unceasing task. If confirmed, I will work diligently to advance America's priorities at ICAO, and ensure that ICAO continues to play an active and leading role in developing and implementing international aviation security standards.

My experience has also made me keenly aware of the environmental impact of air travel. ICAO is already undertaking a great deal of work in this regard. Technical groups are developing noise and efficiency standards for aircraft, and are beginning work on the development of a global market-based measure for international aviation CO₂ emissions. If confirmed, I will continue my predecessor's focus on ensuring that ICAO's environmental standards are technologically feasible, environmentally beneficial, and economically sustainable with continued expansion of international aviation.

If confirmed, I am also committed to bringing continued attention to good governance and increased efficiency at ICAO. I will actively pursue the U.S. Government's goals with regard to budget discipline, transparency, and accountability in all areas, including ethics rules, fair procurement practices, financial disclosure for senior officials, and whistleblower protection.

The agenda of the United States in ICAO is extensive and vitally important. If confirmed, I look forward to working closely with this committee to advance our Nation's interests.

Thank you for the opportunity to appear before you today. I look forward to any questions you may have.

Senator MARKEY. Thank you, Mr. Lawson—in 3 minutes and 50 seconds. Excellent.

Mr. Wood, welcome. Whenever you feel comfortable, please begin.

**STATEMENT OF ROBERT A. WOOD, OF NEW YORK, NOMINEE
FOR THE RANK OF AMBASSADOR DURING HIS TENURE OF
SERVICE AS U.S. REPRESENTATIVE TO THE CONFERENCE
ON DISARMAMENT**

Mr. WOOD. Thank you, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee.

It is a great honor to appear before you as the President's nominee to be the U.S. Representative to the Conference on Disarmament, or CD, in Geneva. I am also grateful to Secretary Kerry and Acting Under Secretary Gottemoeller for their support and for giving me this new opportunity to serve our country.

I also wish to thank my wife, Gita, and son, Jonathan, for their love and support.

Five years ago in Prague, President Obama committed the United States to seek the peace and security of a world without nuclear weapons, a goal he reaffirmed last June in Berlin. The President emphasized that achieving this goal will not be easy and may well take many more years of effort. Step by step, practical multilateral arms control is an essential part of this process in which the CD has a valuable role to play.

Throughout its history, the CD and its predecessor bodies have made significant contributions to global arms control and non-proliferation efforts. The Outer Space Treaty, the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, the Biological Weapons Convention, the Chemical Weapons Convention, and the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty all were negotiated there on the basis of consensus and with the benefit of American leadership.

The U.S. priority for the CD continues to be the negotiation of a treaty banning the further production of fissile material for use in nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices, the so-called Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty, or FMCT. An FMCT is in the national security interests of the United States because it would end the production of weapons-grade fissile material needed to create nuclear weapons in the states where it is still ongoing with capped stockpiles worldwide and provide the basis for future reductions in nuclear arsenals. For these reasons, an FMCT is one of the President's arms-control priorities and the logical next step in the multilateral nuclear disarmament process.

While fellow CD member state Pakistan has resisted efforts to begin FMCT negotiations, the United States continues to discuss with Pakistan and others possible ways to break the longstanding CD impasse. Moving forward on an FMCT will not be easy, but, if confirmed, I look forward to using my many years of multilateral diplomatic experience to achieve this important U.S. objective.

As part of my disarmament portfolio, if confirmed, I will also play a role in the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, or NPT, review process. Specifically, I will have responsibility for issues related to the NPT's article 6, which addresses nuclear disarmament.

This spring, a preparatory meeting will set the stage for the NPT's next 5-year review conference, in 2015. If confirmed by the time of this meeting, I will remind our partners and friends around the world of the enduring United States commitment to our arms control and nonproliferation obligations, and explain our strong record of accomplishment in this regard. I will also make clear that

the road to a nuclear-weapons-free world is only possible through a realistic, step-by-step approach, with each step building on the last and supported with strong verification measures.

This distinguished committee has a long and successful history of supporting such arms-control efforts, on a bipartisan basis, which has made the world a much safer place.

In working to achieve this long-term nuclear disarmament objective, the CD remains an essential multilateral institution. If confirmed, I will do all that I can to make the CD an active contributor to international peace and security.

If confirmed, I plan to consult closely with this committee and other Members of Congress, as well as their staffs.

Thank you so much for the opportunity to come before you today. I look forward to any questions you may have.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Wood follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF ROBERT A. WOOD

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As part of my disarmament portfolio if confirmed, I will also play a role in the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, or NPT, review process. Specifically, I will have responsibility for issues related to the NPT's Article VI, which addresses nuclear disarmament.

This spring, a preparatory meeting will set the stage for the NPT's next 5 year Review Conference in 2015. If confirmed by the time of this meeting, I will remind our partners and friends around the world of the enduring United States commitment to our arms control and nonproliferation obligations, and explain our strong record of accomplishment in this regard. I will also make clear that the road to a nuclear weapons-free world is only possible through a realistic, step-by-step approach, with each step building on the last and supported with strong verification measures. This distinguished committee has a long and successful history of sup-

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If confirmed, I plan to consult closely with this committee and other members of Congress, as well as their staffs.

Thank you so much for the opportunity to come before you today. I look forward to any questions you may have.

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

Senator BARRASSO.

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

I will finish up.

Mr. Lawson, I would like to visit just a little about Taiwan. June of last year, the House and the Senate unanimously passed a bill to require the development of a strategy to obtain observer status, as you know, for Taiwan at the Triennial International Civil Aviation Organization Assembly. It was signed. And then, in October, this past October, Taiwan attended the 38th Assembly meeting as a guest. This was welcome news, but, again, Taiwan was only invited as a guest, and only for that specific meeting.

So, I would ask if you support Taiwan joining the International Civil Aviation Organization Assembly and Council as an observer, and, if so, what is your strategy to obtain that status?

Mr. LAWSON. Thank you for that question. The answer is "yes," we are absolutely committed to taking whatever steps, within my power, to achieve that goal.

By way of background, it is United States policy to support membership status in any organization in which Taiwan—in which statehood is not a prerequisite, and to support meaningful participation in any organization in which statehood is a prerequisite.

Statehood is a prerequisite at the U.N., and ICAO is an agency of the U.N. Taiwan does not have observer status at the U.N. Assembly. It can have observer status at the Council. Because of some arcane—"arcane" is probably not the right word—because of some rule, issues with respect to the Assembly, it may be difficult for Taiwan to obtain observer status at the Assembly. I believe that it is possible for Taiwan to obtain observer status at the Council level. But, in each case, it depends on the consensus of the Council and the Assembly. The reason they only got—they were—only would get guest status was an issue with respect to the consensus. We will work diligently to counter that and make sure that they get observer status.

It is very important—Taiwan's participation in the global air-space is highly important, and it is important that they get access to the information that the typical committees and bureaus at ICAO have available, on a timely basis.

So, yes, a short answer, we will do all that we can to ensure that they get that.

Senator BARRASSO. All right. And that will include asking other nations to cooperate and support and—

Mr. LAWSON. Absolutely.

Senator BARRASSO. Thank you. Thank you, Mr. Lawson.

Mr. Wood, just a couple of quick questions. Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty. In your written testimony, you testified that the treaty

is in the national security interest of the United States. And I am just going to ask you how you—how will this treaty prevent countries, like North Korea, from producing more weapons-grade fissile material?

Mr. WOOD. Thank you for your question, Senator.

This treaty, if we are able to reach a Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty, would halt the production of this very sensitive technology. And we think that is very important and in the national security interests of not only the United States, but other countries around the world. It is the first step, and it is the next logical step, frankly, in the Conference on Disarmament, in terms of our non-proliferation and arms control and disarmament objectives.

So, we do think that this treaty will be very useful, in terms of meeting our national security interests. We hope to be able to get these negotiations going, but, as I mentioned in my statement, Pakistan has opposed starting negotiations in the CD. We hope to be able to try to persuade Pakistan to change its view. And, if confirmed, that will be one of my priority missions when I am in Geneva, because we think, again, as I said, that this treaty is in the best interests of the—the national interests of the United States, and it is the next logical step in moving forward.

Senator BARRASSO. I know you briefly mentioned President Obama's speech in Prague, I think in 2009, in your—at the time, he promised to get rid of the world—rid the world of nuclear weapons. During his remarks, the President also proclaimed, he said, "Rules must be binding, violations must be punished, words must mean something." And I—as you nod your head, I assume you are in agreement with that, as we are.

So, given the New York Times article last week that documented Russia's clear violation of its arms-control obligations under the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty, why would we continue to negotiate nuclear arms reductions with Russia if we agree with the President's statement that the rules must be binding and arms-control treaty violations must be punished? I mean, it was a, you know, distressing, I think, news for many, the report last week.

Mr. WOOD. Thank you for this question.

The issue of the INF Treaty is something that is not in my portfolio, but let me just say that issues of compliance, or noncompliance, are something that the United States Government takes very, very seriously. And it is important to have, you know, that trust and ability to be able to know that, when you enter into an agreement, that it is going to be abided by.

But, you know, with regard to specific questions of compliance, I would have to refer for—you to the Annual Compliance Report that the Department compiles.

Senator BARRASSO. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator MARKEY. The Chair will recognize himself.

Mr. Lawson, last year, I led a bipartisan effort in Congress to prevent the TSA from allowing passengers to carry knives onto airplanes. The TSA had proposed a plan to allow knives back on passenger planes in the United States. And that legislation passed on the floor of the House of Representatives, but the TSA decided they changed their mind on that issue. And I think they made the wise decision.

The TSA has proposed a plan, in part to harmonize, now, U.S. standards with that of Europe, which has a more lenient carry-on security standard. Are you committed to ensuring that the U.S. maintains its tougher security and that all planes traveling to American soil from abroad abide by our higher standards? And we can use knives on planes as a good example.

Mr. LAWSON. Thank you for that question.

The short answer is, "yes," I am in favor of the more stringent standard.

Just to be clear, by way of background, ICAO, as a body, sets minimum standards for safety and security worldwide. Countries such as the United States can set standards that exceed the minimum standards that ICAO sets. And so, the United States is still free to impose the no-small-knives standard on flights departing from, or entering into, the United States, and should continue to do so.

I understand the theoretical benefit of harmonizing the standards worldwide. It makes—there are some efficiencies involved in that. There are some issues that cannot be denied in this context, and one of them is that one of the aspects of safety and security is the perception of the passengers. And I believe that the United States citizens are still kind of reeling from 9/11, and one of the issues that we have to consider is their perception of their own safety during this period of time. So, I have no problem with the United States continuing with a higher standard.

Whether we should impose that higher standard on flights that are not coming into the United States or leaving the United States, I defer on that question. I am not sure that there is a U.S. interest in doing so, other than, again, to harmonize and make it more efficient worldwide. But, our goal is to protect U.S. citizens, wherever they are. And so, it is one issue that I will look into, and I will give further thought to it.

Senator MARKEY. Please. Thank you.

The United States—you do agree, though, that the United States does have the authority to impose safety, security, and environmental requirements in U.S. airspace. Is that correct?

Mr. LAWSON. Absolutely, the United States has the authority to so—

Senator MARKEY. And—

Mr. LAWSON [continuing]. With one caveat with respect to environmental issues. Under the—we have the—it is kind of a three-part question—we have the absolute authority to so, under domestic law, but we are also—under the Chicago Convention, we are bound to uphold the standards set by ICAO. And, in this regard, it is important to note that the standards that are set by ICAO oftentimes give us a leeway to set more stringent standards.

Senator MARKEY. OK. So, responding to concerns from the United States and other countries about exerting authority beyond European airspace, the European Union is now proposing to include only aviation emissions from portions of flights within their airspace within the EU Emissions Trading Scheme. This has not satisfied all the critics of the EU's pollution reduction efforts. Even as ICAO works towards a global climate solution for aviation, if the United States were to support new efforts to limit the EU's author-

ity over their own airspace, would we not put at risk our authority over our own airspace?

Mr. LAWSON. Not at all. The issue here is, in part, the interpretation of the resolution that was passed in September 2013 by the Assembly. That resolution does not prohibit national or regional-based—market-based measures established by any particular country. But, the resolution does say that each country—or each region that does this should negotiate or—with the other countries that may be impacted by their market-based measures, to get agreement. It does not say “shall,” it says “should.”

And so, the resolution itself does not, in and of itself, prevent the EU from establishing an airspace standard. On the other hand, establishing that airspace standard will act as a distraction from what the—what ICAO is bound to do, has, under this resolution, said that it will do by 2016.

And the resolution also does not—so, it does not—the resolution does not endorse the airspace structure that the Commission has proposed. And, by the way, this is not—as you say, there are some factions that do not think they are going far enough, some factions in the EU that think that they are going too far. So, the ultimate resolution is not quite set just yet. But, the fact of the matter is that the way the resolution is drafted, we—by diplomatically and politically trying to get the EU to pull back from its airspace position—does not preclude us, and does not preclude anyone, from moving forward, because the resolution does not mandate that these things not happen.

Senator MARKEY. OK, great, thank you.

My time is expired. Any other questions?

Senator BARRASSO.

Senator BARRASSO. Yea, thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Ms. Crocker, the testimony you stated we need to continue our active engagement at the U.N. Human Rights Council to hold regimes accountable for violation of human rights. Over the years, the Council has lacked some action on a number of serious human rights crises, and disproportionately criticized Israel. The U.N. General Assembly has recently elected China, Cuba, and Russia to be new Council members in November.

In response to—Ambassador Power stated, “Fourteen countries were elected to the Human Rights Council today, including some that commit significant violations of the rights the Council is designated to advance and protect.”

In your opinion, does the election of these countries hurt the credibility of the Council? And please identify, perhaps, some examples of how the U.N. Human Rights Council has held regimes accountable for violations against human rights.

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

The administration was obviously disappointed with the reelection of these members to the Council last November, with good reason. The United States has fought to ensure that countries with stellar human rights records, or at least good human rights records, get elected to membership on the Council, and not otherwise.

That having been said, again, this is an example of why it is so important for the United States to be engaged as an active member

on the Council, because we have dealt with these countries being on the Council before. They were on the Council when we joined, in 2009. And, in fact, we have shown that, by virtue of our being an active participant, we have been able to battle back against some of the influence of these countries.

So, as an example, when Cuba was last on the Council, they fought hard against a lot of the things that the United States wanted to put in place. And they lost. We were able to get some of the things that I referenced earlier—the Commission of Inquiry on Syria, the Special Rapporteur on Human Rights in Iran, the Special Rapporteurs on Belarus, on Eritrea, on Sudan, the Commission of Inquiry on Libya, the creation, for the first time in 17 years, of a Special Rapporteur on a functional issue, which is on freedom of assembly and the importance of civil society organizations. All of these things were things that Cuba tried to defeat, and they were not able to defeat, by virtue of the United States successfully working, diplomatically, actively across regional groupings in the Council. And we fully expect that, going forward, we will similarly be able to limit the influence of these countries.

We also work hard behind the scenes to ensure that the countries with the worst human rights records hopefully do not get elected onto the Council. And we were able, for example, last time around, to just persuade Iran not to run in its bid for membership on the Council.

Senator BARRASSO. Thanks.

Mr. Wood, kind of following—you mentioned Iran. I would visit a question there. And I think you said you have a role in the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty review process in your—it raises a question for me about the issues of Iran as a party to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. The interim deal related to Iran's nuclear program seems to have conceded a very major point, in that it references a future uranium enrichment program in Iran. So, does Iran really have a right to uranium enrichment or plutonium reprocessing technology, in your opinion, under the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, specifically, or the nonproliferation regime, you know, just in general?

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

I know that Under Secretary Sherman was before the committee earlier today, and I know she addressed that issue. But, let me just say, with regard to the question of the right to enrich, the right to enrich is not explicitly—not stated explicitly in the NPT.

Senator BARRASSO. And your opinion on that?

Mr. WOOD. Having read the NPT document, I would agree with that, sir.

Senator BARRASSO. All right. Thank you.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator MARKEY. Thank you.

Mr. Wood, I have been a longtime advocate for the policy goals of the Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty, and I am glad that you mentioned this treaty will be a priority for you. I also believe the best way to achieve this goal is to stop the spread of the dangerous technologies that can create fissile material.

Do you agree that stopping the spread of enrichment and reprocessing technology would help the goals of that treaty?

Mr. WOOD. Thank you for your question, Senator.

The United States, as you know, has a longstanding policy of trying to prevent the proliferation of these sensitive technologies; specifically, enrichment and reprocessing technologies. I would just point out that, when the U.S. engages in bilateral negotiations with countries concerning civil cooperation agreements, we insist that these agreements, without question, have the most stringent nonproliferation conditions that are possible. And, in fact, I would submit that the United States, in terms of our civil nuclear cooperation agreements with other countries, have the most stringent, in terms of nonproliferation conditions, of any country.

Senator MARKEY. Well, hopefully, that will turn out to be the case in the Iranian negotiations we are about to have, because I think it is going to send quite a signal, going forward. And, as you know, unfortunately, in the United Arab Emirate agreement for the transfer of nuclear technology, there is an ability, in the UAE, to enrich uranium as part of the agreement. So, I think that is a problem that we are going to have, going forward.

But, at the end of the day, uniformity, consistency, that is what we are going to have to have on nuclear nonproliferation policy if we are going to be successful.

So, again, I think all three of you are eminently well qualified for your position. Let me ask each of you to give us one minute, in summary, of what it is that you hope to accomplish—one minute—during the time that you will have this incredible privilege to represent our country in the positions that you will be confirmed for.

So, we will begin with you, Mr. Wood, and we will come down the table.

Mr. WOOD. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

One of my primary objectives, if confirmed in my job at the CD, is to revive it. It has been 17 years since a treaty has been negotiated at the CD in Geneva. And, as I said in my statement to the committee, that the issue of a Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty is the priority for me, you know, if confirmed.

The CD has a lot of potential. As I mentioned also in my statement, there have been a number of agreements, significant agreements, that have been negotiated there, and I think we can still do very, very important work there. And what I hope to do, as I said, is to try to revitalize that institution, because it does have a very important role to play in—you know, for U.S. national security interests.

Thank you.

Senator MARKEY. Mr. Lawson.

Mr. LAWSON. Thank you.

I think that the one thing that—well, there are two things that I think are highest on my agenda.

The first is getting the market-based measure and the environmental issues on the table and ready for approval by the Assembly in 2016. That is job one. It is not going to be easy, and it is going to take all of our efforts to get that done in the period of time that we have allotted to do it. It is a tremendous task, it is an important task, and that is going to be job one.

Job number two will be making sure that I do my part to deal with management issues at ICAO, and make sure that they are fiscally responsible for—with the monies that the taxpayers are putting into this organization.

Senator MARKEY. Thank you.

Ms. Crocker.

Ms. CROCKER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I have a few priorities that I will list, and they all lead up to sort of one thing, which I will mention briefly at the end.

The first would be budget and general management reform issues at the United Nations. These are things that have been a major priority for the administration, and that, if confirmed, I will continue to push on. I have worked inside the U.N. system; I have seen the great things about it, and I have seen what needs to be fixed; and I am committed to continuing to work on that.

The second, as I also mentioned in my testimony, will be the defense and the promotion and support of Israel throughout the U.N. system.

I also want to take a hard look at what we are doing on the peacekeeping front, and ensure that we are making the best uses we can out of that tool, which is increasingly important for U.S. national security interests around the world.

I want to keep up an active dialogue with this committee on all issues related to the U.N. and the issues that will fall under my purview, and I look forward to an active conversation on that.

And, most importantly, I want to make sure that the United States and the administration are continuing to use the full gamut of U.N. organizations, agencies, funds, and programs to the best effect that we can to promote and defend U.S. interests and U.S. foreign—U.S. national security interests around the world.

Thank you.

Senator MARKEY. Thank you, Ms. Corker. And thank you for mentioning Israel specifically, as well.

We want to thank each of you for your testimony, your willingness to serve our country. I am proud to support all of your nominations. I hope we can quickly confirm all three of these extremely well-qualified individuals.

As amazing as our troops are, they cannot go everywhere or respond to every crisis in the world, they cannot defend us against a warming climate or the worsening natural disasters that will result if the world fails to act. They cannot force other countries to dismantle and ultimately abolish nuclear weapons. The State Department plays a crucial role in defending and advancing the interests of our country. And Secretary Kerry needs his team in place to do his job, as well.

I ask unanimous consent that the witnesses' full statements be included in the record.

Members of the committee will have until the close of business Wednesday, February 5, to submit questions for the record, with the request to the witnesses that they respond in writing to the committee in a timely fashion.

With that, this hearing is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 4:10 p.m., the hearing was adjourned.]

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS SUBMITTED FOR THE RECORD

RESPONSES OF MICHAEL ANDERSON LAWSON TO QUESTIONS
SUBMITTED BY SENATOR CHRISTOPHER MURPHY

Question. ICAO's effort to craft a strong and effective global market-based mechanism for airline emissions will falter without strong, robust efforts on the part of the U.S. representative to ICAO.

♦ What specific steps will your office take to rally like-minded nations to consistently push for a strong emissions-capping system at the 2016 ICAO Assembly?

Answer. The United States worked closely with likeminded countries leading up to the 2013 Assembly to adopt an important climate change resolution that committed, among other things, to developing a global market-based measure. If confirmed, I intend to continue to work with likeminded countries directly through their representatives at ICAO and through such regional organizations as the European Civil Aviation Conference (ECAC), the African Civil Aviation Commission (AFCAC), the Latin American Civil Aviation Commission (LACAC), and key Asia partners. In the context of this outreach, I will continue to seek the input of the U.S. airline industry in the structure and design of any market-based measure that would be proposed at the 2016 ICAO Assembly, and I will work diligently to ensure that whatever is ultimately adopted will not adversely affect the U.S. airline industry or otherwise put the U.S. airline industry at a competitive disadvantage as compared with other airlines around the world—including airlines of developing member states.

Question. Further, will you actively pursue an agreement that caps emissions at 2020 levels, and will you push for more ambitious targets in the out years?

Answer. We support the ICAO goal of carbon neutral growth from 2020 that is also supported by the international aviation industry. The United States also has a more ambitious domestic target of achieving carbon neutral growth by 2020 compared to the 2005 baseline. With respect to more ambitious targets in the out years, we plan to review targets for the out years, but are not yet at a point of proposing new targets.

Question. What benchmarks should we judge your progress by?

Answer. The benchmark by which we should judge is performance—actually reducing fuel burn and CO₂ emissions. ICAO is tracking fuel-burn information for contracting states. The United States has had a great record of reducing fuel-burn and CO₂ emissions, and we will continue to track our performance in efficiency improvements and CO₂ reductions.

RESPONSES OF BATHSHEBA CROCKER TO QUESTIONS
SUBMITTED BY SENATOR EDWARD J. MARKEY

Question. How can the United States try to advance its priorities and respond to crises through the United Nations system when the Security Council is paralyzed? What role does your office play in such situations?

Answer. U.S. engagement throughout the United Nations system allows us to leverage both resources and influence with other like-minded nations toward common goals and to advance American values around the world. Our engagement at the U.N. touches on almost every issue of importance to U.S. national security including maintaining international peace and security, preventing the proliferation of WMDs, responding to humanitarian crises, and addressing threats to global health and stability. The U.N., through the Security Council and other bodies such as the Human Rights Council, is a primary partner in addressing crises of international concern from Syria to the Central African Republic to Haiti to North Korea and many other issues of paramount concern to the United States.

At the Security Council, the United States has differing perspectives with Russia on Syria, for example, but we share an interest in reducing violence; securing chemical weapons; and trying to create a political settlement on the basis of the Geneva Communiqué. This enabled us to work with Russia in the Security Council to impose on Syria responsibilities and a timeline for the destruction of its chemical weapons. We will continue to use these common interests as the basis for collaboration toward a resolution of the Syrian crisis.

While the Council has struggled to achieve agreement on Syria, it has been highly effective in addressing other issues of importance to the United States. The Security Council has imposed strong sanctions on both Iran and North Korea, built robust

peacekeeping missions in Liberia and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and helped strengthen fragile states from Afghanistan to Somalia. In 2011, the United States worked with our partners on the Security Council to prevent a massacre in Libya and help the Libyan people begin a transition to democracy after 40 years of brutal dictatorship. In Mali, U.N. peacekeepers have been critical to our efforts to restore stability, which will help prevent the creation of an al-Qaeda safe haven in the Sahel region.

The United States also relies on the U.N. system to help address humanitarian crises that are too big for any one country to face alone. Organizations such as the World Food Programme, the World Health Organization, the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and UNICEF have the expertise, capacity, and networks to reach refugees and conflict victims in highly insecure areas. For example, the U.N. has played a critical role in coordinating and delivering humanitarian assistance to millions of people affected by the violence in Syria, as well as over 2.4 million refugees from Syria who have fled to Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq, and Egypt. Similarly, U.N. agencies play a critical role in U.S. and international efforts to strengthen global pandemic preparedness, fight infectious disease, improve food security, and promote development to alleviate poverty in the world's poorest regions.

Finally, U.S. engagement in the U.N. helps advance human rights and fundamental American values including freedom of speech, assembly, and association, protection of minorities and the rights of women and children. Through the Human Rights Council, the United States has helped shine a spotlight on the worst human rights abusers, including North Korea, Syria, and Iran. We were also instrumental in helping to pass the U.N.'s first-ever resolution on the human rights of LGBT persons.

The International Organization Affairs Bureau works within the U.N. system to promote U.S. interests, address international crises, and improve the effectiveness of the U.N. system to carry out its mandates. We work with U.N. members in all bodies to advance our mutual interests, engage in frank discussion of our policy differences, and firmly stand by our principles, our partners, and our allies. If confirmed, I will continue both our engagement with the U.N. in pursuit of U.S. interests, and our efforts to make the U.N. a stronger, more effective organization.

Question. Short of a security council resolution, is there anything that can be done to reform United Nations rules that restrict agencies from delivering humanitarian aid and vaccinating children in rebel-held regions where the Syrian Government has tried to deny access?

Answer. We commend the U.N. for carrying out aid deliveries across conflict lines in Syria and continue to urge all parties to allow unhindered humanitarian access so the U.N. can scale up aid for besieged and difficult-to-reach areas. The lack of humanitarian access to many areas in Syria is appalling and most of the blame lies with the Syrian regime.

Despite access problems, humanitarian assistance provided by the U.N. and the International Committee of the Red Cross, funded by the United States, is reaching more than 4.2 million people in Syria, including opposition/contested areas. But these organizations do not have unfettered access to communities in need. This is not acceptable, and the United States, the U.N. and others have been pressing the regime to facilitate the implementation of humanitarian assistance, consistent with Syria's primary responsibility to provide and care for populations in need within its territory.

We continue to engage with the Office of the Coordinator for Humanitarian Affairs to coordinate on how to best improve humanitarian access in Syria, and we are engaged in intensive bilateral and multilateral diplomacy with Russia and other key actors to seek a breakthrough in gaining access to those beyond the current reach of humanitarian organizations.

Unfortunately, the Syrian regime has imposed undue restrictions on the U.N. and other humanitarian organizations, thereby severely curtailing their access to many communities in need. The Syrian regime bears the primary responsibility to protect and provide for its citizens, either directly or by giving humanitarian organizations access to help all those in need. At this time, the regime is failing to uphold such responsibilities. On the contrary, it is blocking access to some of the hardest-hit communities, including Al Hajar Al-Aswad, East Ghouta, Mouadhamiyah, Yarmouk Camp, as well as the Old City of Homs, and thereby preventing more than 250,000 people from accessing humanitarian assistance. The U.N.'s reach is also hampered by ongoing violence, shifting battle lines, and in negotiating for access with multiple armed factions.

Question. If confirmed, will you work to discourage international bodies from upgrading the Palestinian Authority to full member state status outside a peace agreement between the Palestinian Authority and Israel?

Answer. Yes. The administration has been absolutely clear that we will continue to oppose firmly any and all unilateral actions in international bodies or treaties that circumvent or prejudice the very outcomes that can only be negotiated between the parties, including Palestinian statehood. And, we will continue to stand up to efforts that seek to delegitimize Israel or undermine its security.

We will continue to make clear, both with the parties and with international partners, that the only path for the Palestinians to realize their aspiration of statehood is direct negotiations, and that Palestinian efforts to pursue endorsements of statehood claims through the U.N. system outside of a negotiated settlement are counter-productive. The international community cannot impose a solution. A viable and sustainable peace agreement can come only from mutual agreement by the parties.

We remain vigilant on this matter and work in extremely close coordination with the Israeli Government and our other international partners.

Question. Many close allies of the U.S. support anti-Israel resolutions in the U.N. General Assembly and the Human Rights Council. Do you believe the United States can do more to leverage our global relationships to reduce anti-Israel activity at the U.N.?

Answer. This administration has fought hard for fair and equal treatment for Israel across the U.N. system, including lobbying the member states of the U.N. to vote against biased anti-Israel resolutions at the General Assembly, Human Rights Council, and other U.N. fora. We continue to oppose anti-Israel statements, resolutions, and efforts to delegitimize Israel whenever and wherever raised in international organizations. As President Obama and Secretary Kerry have made clear, the United States believes that Middle East peace can only be resolved through direct negotiations between the parties, not through one-sided and provocative statements and resolutions against Israel at the United Nations.

Despite concerted diplomatic efforts at U.N. fora, and in capitals around the globe, we have seen little change in the vote counts on Israel-related resolutions. But we have made some progress in reducing the number of those resolutions. For example, prior to American membership, over half of all of the country-specific resolutions the HRC adopted concerned Israel. This number has been reduced to well under one-third since the United States joined the Council. In bodies including the General Assembly and Human Rights Council, we will continue to use the U.S. voice and vote against anti-Israel resolutions, and in the HRC we use our influence to ensure that these resolutions do not pass by consensus.

We will continue to engage foreign governments and coordinate closely with Israel and other like-minded states to work to shift the vote dynamics on anti-Israel resolutions and to improve Israel's status in various U.N. fora. Israel's recent admission to the Western European and Others Group in Geneva, which the United States lobbied aggressively for, and their subsequent reengagement with the Human Rights Council, will help to create a more positive atmosphere throughout the U.N. system. We will continue to work closely with Israel in this regard on continued efforts to improve their status at the United Nations.

Question. I was disappointed that the government shutdown last fall forced the United States Government to reschedule its appearance before the U.N. Human Rights Committee on its Compliance with the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), a treaty ratified under President George H.W. Bush that protects core freedoms. Could you describe the role your office will play in preparing for the upcoming review in March, and what other parts of the State Department have responsibilities for preparing for the ICCPR review?

Answer. Preparation for the U.S. Government's presentation of its Fourth Periodic Report on its implementation of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) is a collaborative interagency effort. The Office of the Legal Adviser (L) has primary responsibility for preparing the report (submitted in December 2011), and for coordinating an interagency delegation to respond to the committee's questions during the upcoming March presentation. That office coordinates with many different U.S. Government agencies and bureaus within the State Department, such as the Bureau of International Organization Affairs (IO), the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor (DRL), the Bureau of Counterterrorism (CT), the Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration (PRM), and the Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons (J/TIP), among others, to update the committee on developments since the 2011 report and prepare delegation members for questions that are most likely to arise. The IO Bureau also provides, through the U.S.

Mission in Geneva, critical on-the-ground support for the U.S. presentation and related events, including a consultation with civil society organizations on the U.S. report. The IO Bureau will also participate in the delegation that appears before the Committee.

Question. Will you continue the work of your predecessors to highlight in international forums Iran's gross human rights violations and Tehran's support for terrorist organizations?

Answer. Yes. The United States is committed to continuing our efforts to hold Iran accountable for its egregious human rights record and state sponsorship of terrorism at the United Nations.

The United States led efforts with Sweden in the U.N. Human Rights Council in March 2011 to create a Special Rapporteur on Iran, the first country-specific human rights rapporteur created since the HRC was established in 2006. Special Rapporteur Ahmed Shaheed, a former Foreign Minister of the Maldives and respected human rights advocate, serves as an independent and credible voice to highlight human rights violations and abuses in Iran. Each year, the United States works to increase the vote margins on resolutions to renew Special Rapporteur Shaheed's mandate. These actions are more than symbolic, as the Iranian Government has released some prisoners and taken certain other positive steps when it comes under pressure from the United Nations and in other international fora.

Additionally, every year the United States works with Canada on an annual U.N. General Assembly resolution condemning human rights violations and abuses in Iran. The United States plans to work closely with Canada and other allies to secure another strong condemnation of violations and abuses of human rights in Iran at this year's General Assembly. It is resolutions such as these that deepen the Iranian regime's isolation and underscore the international community's condemnation of Iran's abhorrent behavior against its own people, its concern for the rights of all Iranians, and its call for Iranian authorities to respect their government's international obligations.

In the U.N., we will also continue to call attention to Iran's sponsorship of terrorism and work to maintain sanctions pressure on the regime in Tehran. Engagement at the United Nations has been an essential part of creating the toughest, most comprehensive sanctions to date on the Iranian regime. Our U.N. efforts, which include adoption of four U.N. Security Council (UNSC) resolutions on Iran under Chapter VII of the U.N. Charter since 2006, have resulted in strong international measures to counter Iran's illicit activities. The Iran Sanctions Committee, with the assistance of the Iran Sanctions Panel of Experts, has investigated and published detailed reports on Iranian noncompliance with its UNSC obligations and its attempts to evade the sanctions imposed on it. It has also outlined for member states through "Implementation Assistance Notices" published on its Web site a number of evasion techniques used by Iran to circumvent sanctions, and made observations regarding member state obligations for implementing the sanctions.

Question. Is there anything that can be done to address situations where countries serve on international bodies while violating the fundamental goals of those organizations—e.g., Iran or North Korea chairing international bodies on disarmament, or one-party dictatorships serving on the U.N. Human Rights Council?

Answer. The United States remains very concerned about such situations. In the case of the HRC, the United States actively encourages countries with strong records to seek seats and promotes competitive elections for the HRC. Elections to the Council are done by secret ballot among all 193 members of the General Assembly. The United States has worked behind the scenes with other countries to successfully oppose the election of some of the worst human rights violators to the Human Rights Council and other important U.N. bodies on numerous occasions in the past, including efforts last year to pressure Iran to drop its HRC bid, which Iran did. The United States will continue to do so.

In the Conference on Disarmament, the presidency of the CD serves to facilitate discussion among the CD member states and rotates among all members of the CD every 4 weeks. Because the CD operates by consensus, no decision can be taken by the CD president without the approval of the United States and other CD member states. While the presidency of the CD is largely ceremonial and involves no substantive responsibilities, the United States has taken appropriate action when a country's policies and actions contravene the fundamental goals of the Conference. For example, during Iran's presidency from May 28–June 24, 2013, the United States was not represented at the ambassadorial level during any meeting presided over by Iran, did not meet with the Iranian President during his 4-week term, and continued to call for Iran to comply fully and without delay with all of its obligations

under the relevant U.N. Security Council resolutions and to meet its obligations under its safeguards agreement. During North Korea's rotation to the CD presidency in July 2011, the United States also was not represented at the ambassadorial level, did not meet with the DPRK president during the 4 weeks of his term, and called on the DPRK to comply fully with U.N. Security Council resolutions, safeguards obligations, and its commitments under the September 19, 2005 Joint Statement.