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REFORMING THE UNITED NATIONS: THE FUTURE OF U.S. POLICY

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BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

ONE HUNDRED TWELFTH CONGRESS

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REFORMING THE UNITED NATIONS: THE FUTURE OF U.S. POLICY

THURSDAY, APRIL 7, 2011

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
Washington, DC.

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10 o'clock a.m., in room 2172 Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (chairman of the committee) presiding.

Chairman ROS-LEHTINEN. The committee will come to order. Before we begin, on behalf of the committee, I would like to express our condolences to the family members of the seven U.N. personnel murdered in Afghanistan last Friday, and of the 32 people, both U.N. staff and others, who died Monday in a plane crash in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. If I may, I would ask that in our seats we observe a moment of silence for those who have lost their lives.

[A moment of silence was observed.]

Chairman ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you. After recognizing myself and the ranking member, my good friend Mr. Berman, for 7 minutes each for our opening statements, we will then recognize members of the committee who seek recognition for 1 minute each.

The chair will then recognize our distinguished witness and a friend of the committee, Ambassador Rice. Following her testimony, members will be recognized for questions under the 5-minute rule.

Without objection, Ambassador Rice's prepared statement will be made a part of the record, and members may have 5 days to insert statements and questions for the record, subject to the limitations of length in the rules.

The chair now recognizes herself for 7 minutes.

It is always a pleasure to welcome you back to our committee. Thank you, Ambassador Rice, for your appearance today.

This is the third session the committee has held this year on reforming the United Nations. In the past decade, the U.N.'s regular budget has more than doubled. But has the U.N.'s transparency, accountability, or effectiveness increased in proportion?

Well, the former head of the U.N.'s own internal ethics office had this to say in her exit report, excerpts of which were leaked to the press: "There is no transparency. There is [a] lack of accountability . . . I regret to say that the [U.N.] Secretariat now is in a process of decay . . . It is drifting into irrelevance."

The U.N. has never released the full report to the public. Former U.N. Deputy Secretary General March Malloch Brown said earlier this year, "There is a huge redundancy and lack of efficiency in the

U.N. system, and that the U.N. budget is utterly opaque, un-transparent, and completely in shadow."

Some take comfort in the U.N. General's call for a 3-percent cut in the next biennial budget. But 3 percent? That is like forgoing a cost of living increase. At our hearing last month, we considered lessons learned from past U.N. reform attempts to ensure that present and future efforts are based on what works.

The most important lesson? Money talks. In fact, Ambassador Rice, you recognized this is a February 2005 op-ed published in the Washington Post, entitled "Promoting Democracy: Money Talks."

Almost every productive U.S. effort at reforming the U.N. has been based on withholding our contributions unless and until needed reforms are implemented.

In the 1990s, when the U.N. regular and peacekeeping budgets were skyrocketing, Congress enacted the Helms-Biden agreement. The U.S. withheld our dues, and conditioned payments on key reforms. When the U.N. saw that we meant business, they agreed to changes that saved U.S. taxpayers funds.

So smart withholding works. Given that now Vice President Biden signed on to smart withholding then, and it worked, I hope that the administration will agree to support it now.

But smart withholding alone is insufficient to produce the lasting, systemic reform that our U.S. taxpayers are demanding. That is why we must move funding for the U.N. budget and the U.N. entities from an assessed to a voluntary basis.

Americans, not U.N. bureaucrats or other countries, should determine how much taxpayer dollars are spent on the U.N., where they go, and for what purpose. That is at the core of the United Nations Transparency, Accountability, and Reform Act, which I first introduced in the year 2007, and which I will soon be reintroducing with updates to reflect recent developments concerning the U.N.

We should pay for U.N. programs and activities that advance our interests and our values. If other countries want different things to be funded, they can pay for it. The voluntary model works for UNICEF, for the World Food Program, and other U.N. entities, and it can work for the U.N. as a whole.

Catherine Bertini, the former U.N. Under Secretary General for management and director of the World Food Programs has said,

> "Voluntary funding creates an entirely different atmosphere at the World Food Program than at the U.N. At the WFP, every staff member knows that we have to be as efficient, accountable, transparent, and results-oriented as possible. If we are not, donor governments can take their funding elsewhere in a very competitive world among U.N. agencies, NGOs, and bilateral governments."

Ambassador Rice, with respect to the references in your prepared testimony to the U.N. Office of Internal Oversight Services, I must highlight that scores of procurement corruption and fraud cases from the now-defunct Procurement Task Force are collecting dust in this Office of Internal Oversight Services.

The job of lead investigator has not been filled on a permanent basis since 2006. The individual who currently holds that position

on an interim basis is under investigation himself for retaliating against whistle-blowers.

Finally, Madam Ambassador, your written testimony says, "The U.N. helps isolate terrorists and human rights abusers," but Iran is on the board of the U.N. Commission on the Status of Women. The vice chair of the U.N. Human Rights Council is the Cuban regime. The majority of the Council's members are not free nations. And until Ghadafi's massacre of civilians forced its expulsion, Libya had a seat on the Council.

The Council, of course, did manage at last month's session to adopt six resolutions attacking our free, democratic ally, Israel—more than at any previous session. The Council also recommended the referral of the anti-Israel Goldstone Report to the U.N. Security Council, and the International Criminal Court.

The 5-year review of the Council has indicated no real structural reforms will be forthcoming. Even the U.S. mission has called this process "a race to the bottom."

The Syrian regime is brutally attacking its people, yet it is running unopposed for a seat on the Human Rights Council. The absence of structural reforms has real consequences. We appreciate the limited tactical victories that the U.S. and other nations won at the Council's most recent sessions, but that is just not enough.

Most of us want a more accountable and effective U.N. I believe that the way to achieve this is to require reform first, pay later.

And lastly, I ask that the U.S. do all we can, Madam Ambassador, to ensure that the Palestinian lobby does not gain member status in the U.N. before negotiating a true peace with our ally, Israel.

And now I am pleased to recognize our distinguished ranking member, my good friend Mr. Berman, for his opening remarks. Welcome, Madam Ambassador.

[The prepared statement of Chairman Ros-Lehtinen follows:]

CHAIRMAN ILEANA ROS-LEHTINEN
House Committee on Foreign Affairs
Opening Statement
Hearing: "Reforming the United Nations: The Future of U.S. Policy"
April 7, 2011

Before we begin, on behalf of the Committee, I would like to express our condolences to the family members of the seven U.N. personnel murdered in Afghanistan last Friday, and of the 32 people, both UN staff and others, who died Monday in a plane crash in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. If I may, I would ask that we observe a moment of silence for those who lost their lives. Thank you.

This is the third session the Committee has held this year on reforming the United Nations. In the past decade, the UN's regular budget has more than doubled. But has the UN's transparency, accountability, or effectiveness increased in proportion? The former head of the UN's own internal ethics office had this to say in her exit report, excerpts of which were leaked to the press: "There is no transparency, there is [a] lack of accountability…I regret to say that the [UN] Secretariat now is in a process of decay… It is drifting into irrelevance."

The UN has never released the full report to the public. Former UN Deputy Secretary-General Mark Malloch Brown said earlier this year, "There's a huge redundancy and lack of efficiency" in the UN system and that the UN's budget is "utterly opaque, un-transparent, and completely in shadow."

Some take comfort in the UN Secretary-General's call for a 3 percent cut in the next biennial budget. But 3 percent? That's like foregoing a cost-of-living increase.

At our hearing last month, we considered lessons learned from past UN reform attempts, to ensure that present and future efforts are based on what works. The most important lesson? Money talks. Ambassador Rice, you recognized this in a February 2005 op-ed published in the Washington Post entitled, "Promoting Democracy: Money Talks."

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Smart withholding works. Given that now Vice President Biden signed on to smart withholding then, and it worked, I hope the Administration will now agree to support it.

But smart withholding alone is insufficient to produce the lasting, systemic reform that our U.S. taxpayers demand. That is why we must move funding for the UN budget and UN entities from an assessed to a voluntary basis. Americans, not UN bureaucrats or other countries, should determine how much taxpayer dollars are spent on the U.N., where they go, and for what purpose.

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Finally, Madam Ambassador, your written testimony says, "The UN helps isolate terrorists and human rights abusers." But Iran is on the board of the UN Commission on the Status of Women. The vice-chair of the UN Human Rights Council is the Cuban regime. The majority of the Council's Members are not free nations. And until Qaddafi's massacre of civilians forced its expulsion, Libya had a seat on the Council.

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regime is brutally attacking its people yet it is running unopposed for a seat on the Human Rights Council.

The absence of structural reforms has real consequences. We appreciate the limited, tactical victories that the U.S. and other nations won at the Council's most recent session. But that is just not enough. Most of us want a more accountable and effective UN. I believe the way to achieve that is to require "reform first, pay later."

And lastly I ask that the U.S. do all we can, Madam Ambassador, to ensure that the Palestinian lobby does not gain member status in the UN before negotiating a true peace with our ally Israel.

Mr. BERMAN. Thank you very much, Madam Chairman. And thank you very much for scheduling this hearing, which allows the administration to share its views on the best approach to U.N. reform.

This is one of those issues where, just based on what you have outlined in your opening statement, we share the same goals, but have very different views of how best to get there.

I want to thank Ambassador Rice for taking the time out of her hectic schedule to be with us today. And before we get into the arguments about where the U.N. is flawed and where it is doing good work, I just want to follow up on the opening comments of my chairman, and remind my colleagues that these discussions here aren't just theoretical.

Behind every U.N. office, program, and mission, there are real people who have dedicated their lives to feeding the hungry, organizing democratic elections, and keeping the peace.

As the chairman mentioned, in the last week alone over 40 U.N. staff and contractors have been killed in the line of duty in five different countries around the world. We have mentioned the seven that were brutally murdered in Afghanistan, the 32 that perished in a plane crash in the Congo, a peacekeeper that was abducted and killed in Darfur, and another peacekeeper that was killed in Haiti, as well as a staff member that was killed in the Ivory Coast. And we honor the enormous sacrifices of these brave men and women, and send our condolences to their families.

Ambassador Rice, you deserve an enormous amount of credit for your work to pass the most far-reaching Iran sanctions ever approved by the Security Council, and for your efforts to secure U.N. backing for the no-fly zone in Libya.

We also appreciate the work you have done to promote efficiency, accountability, and transparency at the United Nations. With many critical issues weighing on the U.N. agenda, including the possible recognition of a Palestinian state, the continuation of the flawed Durban process, it is absolutely essential that the United States maintain a leadership role in the organization.

And our diplomatic standing in New York and Geneva will be dramatically weakened if Congress passes legislation that may soon be considered in this committee. By withholding a significant portion of our assessed dues unless a nearly impossible list of conditions is met, this bill would severely hinder our ability to pursue

U.S. foreign policy and national security interests, support our allies, and achieve the reforms that both the chairman and I think are necessary.

On the surface, withholding funds sounds like an attractive option. After all, it's an approach many in Congress use to encourage changes in the executive branch. But the U.N. isn't like the executive branch.

Like it or not, we are one of 192 member states. And while we certainly have tremendous leverage over the Security Council and other U.N. organizations, simply refusing to pay our bills is counterproductive.

The last time the U.S.—here we have a different view of history. The last time Congress forced the U.S. into significant arrears at the U.N., an effort led by former Senator Jesse Helms, we lost our seat on the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions, which is really the most important U.N. budget panel.

If the goal of the Helms arrears was to diminish U.S. influence and put genuine U.N. reform on the back burner, then that goal was achieved beyond anyone's dreams. If, however, the objective was to foster meaningful reform, then this withholding of dues must be judged a failure.

That point was clearly articulated by former State Department official Terry Miller, one of the Republican witnesses at our previous U.N. hearing, who testified—not a witness that I called—"Sadly, neither Helms-Biden withholding, nor even the long UNESCO withdrawal can be shown to have had any—much long term impact on the efficiency, effectiveness, or even the integrity of the U.N. system."

Ambassador Rice, as the mission in New York gears up for the battles ahead, I look forward to hearing your views on how withholding U.S. dues to the U.N. would impact our efforts to prevent the recognition of a Palestinian state, and pursue other U.S. foreign policy and national security interests.

Unfortunately, much of the debate over U.N. reform has been characterized by dated and sometimes exaggerated allegations, such as the "Cash for Kim" scandal. I agree with Ambassador Mark Wallace, the other Republican witness from the committee's last hearing, who argued that the State Department and Congress need a system of verifiable metrics in order to accurately evaluate the progress of U.N. reform efforts.

Ambassador Wallace testified the United Nations Transparency and Accountability Initiative, an effort he spearheaded while serving at the U.S. mission in New York, is "a user-friendly way for anyone interested in U.N. reform, notably many taxpaying Americans, to evaluate the progress being made on key reform issues, to ensure that funds were utilized efficiently and effectively for their intended purpose."

We are constantly told by our friends on the other side of the aisle that the U.N. is a cesspool of corruption, and a money pit for U.S. taxpayer dollars. Yet based on our review of the data, UNTAI has demonstrated marked improvement among nearly every U.N. agency, program, and fund.

This is the initiative the previous administration achieved before they left office. Why are my friends on the other side of the aisle

so eager to bypass and undermine a promising reform effort begun by Republican appointees in the George W. Bush administration?

Madam Chairman, we agree that much remains to be done to promote greater efficiency, accountability, and transparency at the United Nations, and to eliminate the anti-Israel vitriol that all-too-often emanates from the Human Rights Council and other U.N. bodies.

But we have a fundamental disagreement about the best means to achieve that reform. Based on our experience in recent years, I would argue that withholding U.S. dues simply doesn't work, and that a much better approach is to continue and accelerate the quiet but effective approach to U.N. reform begun in the previous administration.

And finally, Ambassador Rice, I would like to reiterate my strong support for the work you and all your colleagues in the mission in New York have done to promote our foreign policy interests at the U.N. Representing the U.S. at the U.N. can sometimes be a thankless task, but we are very grateful to have you there.

Madam Chairman, I yield back.

Chairman ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you very much, Mr. Berman. And Mr. Smith of New Jersey, the Subcommittee on Africa, Global Health, and Human Rights chair, is recognized for 1 minute.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you very much, Madam Chair. And Ambassador Rice, welcome to the committee again. Let me just very briefly ask you—and I hope in your testimony you will cover this, but just update the committee on the U.N.'s stepped-up efforts to seat President Ouattara, who obviously won the election in the Ivory Coast. And I know that the U.N. has accelerated its efforts, if you could give us an update on that.

Also on the issue of the upcoming Durban Conference. I know we voted no in December, and I greatly appreciate—I know we all do—the administration stepping up and trying to defeat that. But if you could speak to whether or not we plan on not attending—as you know, all the major Jewish organizations have strongly recommended that we pull out, and if you could speak to that, as well.

And finally, as I have asked repeatedly, the ongoing problems in DR Congo and the new, or relatively fresh, allegations of peacekeepers abusing young people, and especially young women—you know, it is an ongoing scandal. Peacekeepers obviously endure a great amount of risk, but it is intolerable to think that some of those peacekeepers are raping and committing sexual violence. If you could speak to that, as well.

Chairman ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you, Mr. Smith. Mr. Payne, the ranking member on the Subcommittee on Africa, Global Health, and Human Rights, is recognized for 1 minute.

Mr. PAYNE. Thank you very much, and let me commend you for the outstanding work that you continue to do. I agree with Ranking Member Berman that I don't think that withholding dues is the way to go. As a matter of fact, I think that there are countries that would probably want us to withhold dues, so that we would continue to reduce our influence in the United Nations.

I think it is the wrong way to go. I would like to commend the U.S. for its overwhelming vote in the Human Rights Council, which

it has won. And I know that we will, once again, hopefully, put ourselves up for reelection to the Human Rights Council again.

Let me just say that I commend the great job done in South Sudan with the election, and we hope that Abyei can certainly be dealt with.

We appreciate the possible increase in troops in Somalia, which I think is a very key area. Uganda and Burundi's additional 2,000 troops each, I think, will go far to have more of a stability in the Somalia region. I yield back the balance of my time.

Chairman ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you, Mr. Payne. Mr. Rohrabacher, the chairman of the Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Thank you much, Madam Chairman. And welcome, Ambassador Rice. I would disagree with my friend Mr. Berman. All of us do not have the same goals in mind, and there are people on your side of the aisle and on my side of the aisle who believe that we should move toward global government.

And the fact is, the United Nations is being used as a vehicle, perhaps, to see how global government will function. And if there is anything that has convinced me that we should not be moving toward global government, it is the folly of the United Nations.

The fact that right now we are in such an economic crisis and we are expected to pay 22 percent of the budget of the United Nations with no strings attached is an incredible demand on the people of the United States of America.

So instead of trying to foist off global government on them, perhaps we should start working to make sure that our country is functioning well. And that means using our resources in the best possible way, and not giving it to an organization that permits communist China, the world's worst human rights abuser, to have a veto power over what it does. Thank you very much.

Chairman ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you. Mr. Sherman, the ranking member on the Subcommittee on Terrorism, Nonproliferation, and Trade.

Mr. SHERMAN. First, I think we have a human rights obligation to protect Camp Ashraf from the attacks of the Iraqi Government, a government that exists because we put it there, and a government that is using the fact that, in actions criticized by a United States court, the State Department still has the MEK on the terrorist list but has not opened up the process to determine whether that decision withstands the light of day.

Now let me trouble you with an accounting issue. We are dramatically understating the amount we spend for U.N. military actions. This may help you in domestic politics, because you can say "Well, we are not really putting in that much money," but it undermines your efforts to get other countries to do more.

We are, for example, dramatically understating the cost of what we are doing in Libya by using the highly discredited marginal cost accounting and reporting that as costing only $600 million. We need to use full-cost accounting, which will reveal what the American people instinctively understand, and that is that effort is costing us billions a week.

If we use full-cost accounting, which is the proper accounting approach, to tell the world what we spend on the military actions

sanctioned by the United Nations, you will see that we are putting in 50 percent, not 20 percent. I yield back.

Chairman ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you, Mr. Sherman. Mr. Chabot is recognized. He is the Subcommittee on the Middle East and South Asia chairman.

Mr. CHABOT. Thank you, Madam Chair. Ambassador Rice, I want to be very frank. Whereas I strongly support the administration's decision to veto the recent U.N. resolution condemning Israel, as chairman of the Foreign Affairs Middle East and South Asia Subcommittee I strongly object to your so-called Explanation of Vote, in which you not only did not support Israel, but you actually joined in the criticism of Israel.

In 529 short words, this administration undid most, if not all, of the good that had been done by its veto. In my opinion, with your words, you in effect threw America's historic ally, Israel, to the wolves.

And secondly, on another issue, following the massacre of U.N. staff in Afghanistan last week, the top U.N. official—the top U.N. official in Afghanistan—stated that, "I don't think we should be blaming any Afghan. We should be blaming the person who produced the news, the one who burned the Koran."

I would like to know whether or not the administration agrees with that statement, especially when considering that the United States is the leading funder and supporter of the U.N. around the world, and especially in Afghanistan.

I yield back.

Chairman ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you, Mr. Chabot. Mr. Engel, the ranking member on the Subcommittee on the Western Hemisphere, is recognized.

Mr. ENGEL. Thank you, Madam Chair. And welcome, Madam Secretary. Many of us met with you last week, and I want to again reiterate that I personally thank you for the wonderful job you are doing representing our country.

We just met with Bank Ki-Moon for breakfast, and we expressed some of our frustrations. And I know that will come out later in the questions as well, but we are frustrated and tired of the U.N. using Israel as a punching bag.

I am hoping that there can be a repudiation of the Goldstone Report. Judge Goldstone himself repudiated it, and I gave a speech on the House floor last night saying that the U.N. ought to repudiate it as well.

I chair the Subcommittee on the Western Hemisphere. Very chagrined at the unilateral recognition of Palestine by some of the South American countries, and that it becomes a disincentive for getting the Palestinians to sit down and talk, because this way they think they can just get recognized as well.

So these are some of the questions I am going to ask later on. And again, thank you personally for your good work.

Chairman ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you, Mr. Engel. Ms. Schmidt of Ohio is recognized.

Ms. SCHMIDT. Thank you, Madam Chair. And thank you, Madam Ambassador, for being here. I just want to focus my remarks on two things.

The first is the Human Rights Council. You know, it came into existence in 2006 to supposedly replace the Commission on Human Rights, and it is really, quite frankly, difficult to see any difference.

The Council, while consistently ignoring human rights abuses of its own members, such as Libya and Cuba, routinely introduces resolutions criticizing and condemning Israel. If its only purpose is to denounce our ally in the Middle East, then I suggest maybe we ought to move off the Council.

The second is my concern with the excessive budget of the United Nations and the disproportionate share that is being paid by the taxpayers of the United States. We are assessed almost one quarter of the regular operating budget. We are also paying 30 percent of the peacekeeping budget. We are paying 100 percent of the costs to upgrade the security at the headquarters in New York. This amounts to $100 million for that alone.

In the last 10 years, the U.N.'s biennial budget has more than doubled. Larger budgets for the U.N. means larger deficits for the United States. I think it has come time to reform our share of contributions.

Again, thank you.

Chairman ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you very much. Mr. Meeks, the ranking member on the Subcommittee on Europe and Eurasia.

Mr. MEEKS. Thank you, Madam Chairman. Madam Ambassador, let me just first thank you for the great work that you have been doing at the United Nations. When we look at you, with all that has been going on, we are very proud of you and how you have been representing the United States of America.

I want to also extend my sincere regrets and condolences to the U.N. families for the families who lost their lives in Afghanistan in service of the United Nations.

And though we are here today focused on U.N. reform, I want to take time to commend the vigorous and vital role the U.N. has played in recent life- and security-threatening situations.

The Security Council's resolution coordinating and shaping a unified engagement in Libya, and the U.N. action in Cote d'Ivoire represents the U.N. at its muscular, nimble, and assertive best.

On this, the 60th anniversary of the U.N. Convention on Refugees, I would like to take special note of the United Nations High Commission on Refugees' critical activities around the globe, and highlight the role that UNHCR played in providing shelter for displaced people in Krygyzstan before the winter set in, and tending to the refugees fleeing the fighting and discrimination in Libya. And we know that the United States representative has shaped such engagement, and we thank you for it.

Chairman ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you very much. Mr. Kelly, the Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific vice chair.

Mr. KELLY. Thank you, Madam Chairman. Madam Ambassador, it is nice to have you with us. I am deeply concerned with the U.N. peacekeeping mission, and as we go forward, we are all concerned because of the unsustainable debt that the United States continues to run up. And using the President's term of investments, we have quite an investment in the U.N., and we need to see type of a return, a positive return, on that investment.

And so my anticipation through your testimony is going to be the U.N. peacekeeping operation in Libya right now, as it continues to escalate, and what we look at as a kinetic military action, I would like to know what our full commitment is going to be as we go forward, and the impact it is going to have on Americans and the contribution that we make to the U.N.

So thank you for being here with us today.

Chairman ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you, sir. Mr. Carnahan, the ranking member on the Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations.

Mr. CARNAHAN. Thank you, Madam Chair. Welcome, Ambassador. Welcome back. We are a little more than 2 years into the Obama administration's reform and re-engagement agenda at the U.N. and other multilateral organizations, and we think there has been important progress.

While I still have serious concerns about some reform efforts at the U.N., and with the Human Rights Council in particular, recent successes like the establishment of the Special Rapporteur on the human rights situation in Iran, I think, are important.

I was also pleased to hear the announcement of the administration that they would be running for another term. I believe that the global challenges in the 21st century require a strong multilateral engagement.

Being engaged and at the table is a far better policy than one of retreat and disengagement that weakens American clout, harms our national interest, and plays into the hands of our adversaries.

I want to see us continue that policy of reform and re-engagement at the U.N., and I appreciate your strong efforts to lead that. Thank you.

Chairman ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you. Mr. Duncan of South Carolina.

Mr. DUNCAN. Madam Chairman, I am greatly concerned that we lack a clear indication of how much the United States contributes to the United Nations through assessed and voluntary contributions. In previous hearings, witnesses have not been able to provide numbers or statistics on how much we are spending, and what specific programs American taxpayers support financially.

Furthermore, in those programs that we do know where the money goes, such as the UNRWA and the IAEA, we see multiple fundamental problems. UNRWA refuses to vet its staff for ties to terrorist organizations, and American contributions in the past have fallen in the hands of Hamas.

That is unacceptable. The Human Rights Council is laughable. Its two core institutional flaws plague its system with no recourse for change. It allows countries that commit human abuses—China, Cuba, Saudi Arabia and Russia—to sit on its Council and vote, while possessing continuous platforms of one-sided criticism of Israel, a vital American ally.

America should not tolerate such actions. Ambassador Rice, you have a responsibility to uphold the United States Constitution, provide for the common defense, and ensure that American taxpayer dollars receive the greatest return on our investment. I look forward to your responses to my questions.

Chairman ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you, sir. Mr. Connolly of Virginia.

Mr. CONNOLLY. Thank you, Madam Chairman. And welcome, Ambassador Rice. Three points. One is, I think history says that the United Nations has been a vital and essential part in complementing U.S. foreign policy interests around the world, has been since its founding, which we helped create 65 years ago. And people need to remember that.

Secondly, the idea that we are going to take our marbles and go home because we don't like various aspects of the U.N., including when it exercises its democratic right to disagree with us, is to me a juvenile posture not worthy of a great nation. Roll up your sleeves, and make it better. That's the answer.

And thirdly, the idea that the U.N. is part of some global conspiracy to create a global government is rehashed right-wing claptrap we have been hearing for over 60 years. It ain't true, and also unworthy of a great power to even express.

Thank you, and welcome to the Foreign Affairs Committee.

Chairman ROS-LEHTINEN. Mr. Fortenberry, the vice chair of the Subcommittee on Africa, Global Health, and Human Rights.

Mr. FORTENBERRY. Welcome, Ambassador Rice, and thank you for your testimony today. The United Nations presents us with some very serious problems, challenges, as well as potential. The body can be used for great good, or it can also facilitate great harm.

We have seen, for example, the commitment and resolve of U.N. troops in the Ivory Coast to help quickly end that country's nightmare.

However, when the power of the U.N. is used as a platform for ideologies that are inconsistent with universal values, whether at the so-called Human Rights Council or in our own participation in entities such as the U.N. Population Fund, which now goes so far as to align itself with abortion advocacy, we are as guilty as other nations in leveraging that body for controversial norms that are both an affront to human dignity and human rights.

Now with that said, I believe your push and your support of the effort to pass the resolution—end the resolution combating discrimination and violence—had a very important effect in defending religious freedom, and I am grateful for that.

Chairman ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you, Mr. Fortenberry. Mr. Deutch of Florida is recognized.

Mr. DEUTCH. Thank you, Madam Chairman. And welcome, Ambassador Rice. Ambassador, prior to Richard Goldstone's article last weekend, the Human Rights Council had just recently adopted a resolution by Richard Falk, Special Rapporteur on Palestinian Human Rights—perhaps also known as special rapporteur to encourage further anti-Israel bias—accusing Israel of committing ethnic cleansing.

In Goldstone's admission, he confirms that the Israeli army didn't intentionally fire on civilians in Gaza, but that Hamas purposefully and indiscriminately aimed at civilian targets.

Based on his findings and his statement, I hope that you will speak to the Council's ability to seek the reconsideration, the revocation, or the retraction of the Goldstone report, in large measure because of the opportunity it provides to acknowledge that Israel

has the right, if not the duty, like any other civilized nation, to take action to protect its citizens, civilians, who are under an onslaught of attacks. And I look forward to your testimony.

Chairman ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you very much. Mr. Rivera of Florida.

Mr. RIVERA. Thank you, Madam Chair. I don't want to reiterate my colleagues' concerns that they have raised regarding the United Nations Human Rights Council as well, and our participation along with other countries that can only be called human rights abusers, such as China and Cuba, and to understand the justification for why we even participate in such a farce such as the U.N. Human Rights Council.

Also, with respect to one of those human rights abusers, Cuba, and the annual vote that occurs at the United Nations regarding the embargo, the embargo is U.S. policy. We always have certain friends, staunch allies like Israel, that stand with us on that vote, but I would like to hear a little bit about what are our efforts to make a more multilateral approach and bring more support to U.S. policy throughout the region.

We know that Cuba, for example, is a state sponsor of terrorism. We know they are harboring terrorists. We know that the Castro regime is harboring fugitives from U.S. justice, such as drug traffickers, cop-killers, and embezzlers, and I would like to know what our administration's efforts are at the United Nations to make the U.S. policy of the embargo more of a multilateral support effort in that institution. Thank you, Madam Chairman.

Chairman ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you, Mr. Rivera. Mr. Cicilline. Mr. Keating.

Mr. KEATING. Thank you, Madam Chairman. I would just like to reiterate that I hope you can comment on the issue of Palestinian unilateralism, which I believe my other colleagues have mentioned prior to this as well.

At that, I will yield back my time.

Chairman ROS-LEHTINEN. Wow. We are not used to that. It is like the reform at the U.N., what do we do? What is that about? Ms. Buerkle of New York, the vice chair of the Subcommittee on Terrorism, Nonproliferation, and Trade.

Ms. BUERKLE. Thank you, Madam Chairman. And thank you, Ambassador Rice, for being here this morning. I just want to echo the comments of my colleagues and the concerns they have talked about.

Specifically, I look forward to a discussion regarding the funding by the United States of America to the U.N., particularly with the peacekeeping efforts where audits have indicated that there has been fraud and abuse of dollars in the peacekeeping efforts.

And beyond that, I look forward to a discussion about the anti-Israel bias that the U.N. tends to exhibit. So I look forward to our hearing this morning, and thank you for being here. I yield.

Chairman ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you. Ms. Wilson of Florida.

Ms. WILSON OF FLORIDA. Thank you, Chairman Ros-Lehtinen, for this important hearing this morning. First, I offer my belated condolences to the Ambassador and her family. The Ambassador's father, Emmett Rice, who passed away a little less than a month ago,

was truly one of the economic pioneers in our nation, and his loss will be greatly missed.

Second, during these fiscally tough times, it is important that we have a fair and objective process, filled with individuals capable of ensuring that the people's money is being effectively and efficiently spent. We want to ensure that the law and the intent of the Congress—the laws are being followed in the programs that we authorize.

The American people expect no less.

Currently, the United Nations is on the ground in Afghanistan, Libya, Sudan, the Ivory Coast, among other war-torn localities. Seven U.N. staffers were beaten, shot and killed during the attack on their compound in Afghanistan. The U.N., while not perfect, has done much to forward the goals of both the U.N. and the United States.

I thank Ambassador Rice for her hard work in protecting the interests of the United States, and I look forward to your testimony today.

Chairman ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you so much. Thanks to all the members for excellent opening statements. And now we are so pleased to welcome a friend of our committee, Ambassador Susan Rice, back to our committee. Ambassador Rice is the U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations.

She served in the Clinton administration as Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs from '97 to '01, and in senior posts on the National Security Council from '93 to '97. Following her service in the State Department, she was a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution from '02 to '09.

Ambassador Rice has also served in the private sector, and on numerous boards, and we thank her for agreeing to testify today. Madam Ambassador, please proceed, and welcome back.

STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE SUSAN RICE, U.S. PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE TO THE UNITED NATIONS, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Ambassador RICE. Thank you very much. I appreciate the opportunity to be here. Representative Berman, members of this committee, it is an honor to have the chance to come before the committee again today. I thank you, Madam Chairman, for including my full statement in the record, which I will summarize now.

Chairman ROS-LEHTINEN. Without objection.

Ambassador RICE. I want to begin by expressing my gratitude for the many kind words of sympathy that have been expressed by many members of the committee regarding the recent losses that the United Nations has suffered in a number of countries of late. It has indeed been a very difficult period, and your expressions of sympathy will be very appreciated.

I want to begin this morning by recalling the U.N.'s response to the crisis in Libya, which in my estimation further reminds us of the value of the United Nations in an age of 21st century challenges.

With U.S. leadership, the Security Council swiftly authorized the use of force to save civilians at risk of mass slaughter. It established a no-fly zone and imposed strong sanctions on the Ghadafi

regime. With broad international support, we also suspended Libya from the U.N. Human Rights Council by consensus, a historic first.

As we well know, America's resources and influence are by no means limitless, and that is why the United Nations is so important to our national security. It allows us to share the costs and burdens of tackling global problems, rather than leaving these problems untended or leaving the world to look to the United States alone.

I therefore ask for this committee's support for the President's budget request for contributions to international organizations, and to the CIPA accounts, to help us advance U.S. national interests.

Our leadership at the United Nations makes us more secure in at least five fundamental ways. First, the U.N. prevents conflict and keeps nations from slipping back into war. More than 120,000 military police and civilian peacekeepers are now deployed in 14 operations worldwide in places such as Haiti, Sudan, and Liberia. Just 98 of those individuals are Americans in uniform, all serving under U.S. command and control.

U.N. missions in Iran and Afghanistan are promoting stability so that American troops can come home faster. These are examples of burden sharing at its best.

Second, the United Nations helps halt the proliferation of nuclear weapons. Over the past 2 years, the United States led efforts that imposed the toughest sanctions to date on Iran and North Korea.

Third, the United Nations helps isolate terrorists and human rights abusers by sanctioning individuals and companies associated with terrorism, atrocities, and cross-border crime.

Fourth, U.N. humanitarian and development agencies go where nobody else will to provide desperately needed assistance. U.N. agencies deliver food, water, and medicine to those who need it most, from Darfur to Pakistan, and many other places around the world.

Fifth, U.N. political efforts can help promote universal values that Americans hold dear, including human rights, democracy, and equality, whether it is by spotlighting human rights abuses in Iran, North Korea and Burma, or offering critical support to interim governments in Egypt and Tunisia as they prepare for elections.

Let me turn now, briefly, to our efforts to reform the United Nations and improve its management practice. Our agenda focuses on seven priorities. First, U.N. managers must enforce greater budget discipline. Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon, as was noted, recently instructed senior managers to cut 3 percent from current budget levels, the first proposed reduction compared to the previous year of spending in 10 years.

Second, we continue to demand a culture of transparency and accountability for resources and results. We aggressively promote a strengthened, independent Office of Internal Oversight Services, and an improved ethics framework and enhanced protection for whistle-blowers.

Third, we are pushing for a more mobile, meritocratic U.N. civilian workforce that incentivizes service in tough field assignments, rewards top performers, and removes dead wood.

Fourth, we are improving protection of civilians by combating sexual violence in conflict zones, demanding accountability for war crimes, and strengthening U.N. field missions.

Fifth, we are insisting on reasonable, achievable mandates for peacekeeping missions. Not a single new U.N. peacekeeping operation has been created in the last 2 years. Not a single one. And in 2010, for the first time in 6 consecutive years, we closed missions and reduced the peacekeeping budget.

Sixth, we are working to restructure the U.N.'s administrative and logistical support systems for peacekeeping missions to make them more efficient, cost-effective, and responsive to realities in the field.

Finally, we are pressing the United Nations to finish overhauling the way it conducts day-to-day business, including upgrading its information technology platforms, procurement practices, and accounting procedures.

But the U.N., we all agree, must do more to live up to its founding principles. We have taken the Human Rights Council in a better direction, including by creating a new Special Rapporteur on Iran.

But much more needs to be done. The Council must deal with human rights emergencies wherever they occur, and its membership should reflect those who respect human rights, not those who abuse them.

We also continue to fight for fair and normal treatment, every day, for Israel, throughout the United Nations system. The tough issues between Israelis and Palestinians can be resolved only by direct negotiations between the parties, not in New York.

That is why the United States vetoed a Security Council resolution in February that risked hardening both sides' positions. We consistently oppose anti-Israel resolutions in the Human Rights Council, the General Assembly, and wherever they may arise.

The U.N., we all agree, is far from perfect. But it delivers real results for every American by advancing U.S. security through genuine burden-sharing. That burden-sharing is more important than ever at a time when the threats don't stop at our borders, when Americans are hurting and cutting back, and when American troops remain in harm's way.

Madam Chairman, thank you for your willingness to give me this opportunity. I am pleased now to answer the committee's questions.

[The prepared statement of Ambassador Rice follows:]

Written Testimony Submitted by Ambassador Susan E. Rice,
U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations,
To the House Committee on Foreign Affairs
On "Reforming the United Nations: The Future of U.S. Policy"
April 7, 2011

Introduction

Chairman Ros-Lehtinen, Representative Berman, members of the committee, thank you for inviting me to testify today. It's an honor to come before this committee. We're grateful for your continued support for our work to advance our national interests at the UN—from imposing tough sanctions on Iran and North Korea, to lifesaving peacekeeping and humanitarian work in Sudan and Haiti, to providing critical assistance to emerging new democracies in Tunisia and Egypt.

At this time of fiscal restraint, I greatly appreciate the opportunity to highlight the ways that our diplomacy and investments in the United Nations advance America's interests and values around the globe—and to discuss with you the Administration's priorities for reforming the UN to make it more efficient, effective, and transparent.

Let me start by paying tribute to the dedication and sacrifice we have seen from the brave men and women of the UN in recent days—from those murdered at a UN compound in Afghanistan to those gravely wounded trying to protect civilians in Cote d'Ivoire to those tragically lost in a plane crash in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Those who were killed or wounded came from all corners of the globe, but they were united by a shared commitment to protect the innocent, keep the peace, and defend universal rights. We honor their sacrifice by rededicating ourselves to promoting the principles for which they gave their lives.

I'd like to begin with the current crisis in Libya, where, with U.S. leadership, the UN has taken strong action. To prevent impending massacres in Benghazi and elsewhere, the UN Security Council authorized all necessary measures to protect civilians including a no-fly zone. The Security Council swiftly imposed strong sanctions on Colonel Qadhafi and those who still stand by him—imposing a travel ban, and asset freeze on key regime figures, banning all flights by Libyan-owned planes, freezing the assets of Libyan government entities, including the Central Bank and National Oil Corporation, and imposing an arms embargo that will be enforced through vigorous cargo inspections. The Council has also referred the situation in Libya to the International Criminal Court—the first time it has ever unanimously agreed on a referral. With broad international support, the General Assembly suspended Libya from the UN Human Rights Council by consensus —another historic first. Meanwhile, UN agencies—including the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, UNICEF, the World Health Organization, the World Food Program, and others—are working to meet the needs of the tens of thousands of refugees and displaced migrants. The Secretary General appointed a Special Envoy to Libya, Abdel Ilah Al-Khatib, and

dispatched him to meet with leaders of the Libyan Government and the opposition, as well as key regional representatives and our coalition partners.

The crisis in Libya reminds us of the UN's value in an age of 21st-century challenges. We are the world's most powerful country, but even a superpower's resources and influence are not limitless. That's why the United Nations is so important to our national security—and a worthwhile investment for the American taxpayer. The UN allows us to share the costs and burdens of addressing global problems - even more important in today's tough fiscal environment - rather than leaving the world to look to America alone. At the same time, we're ever mindful of the UN's shortcomings, and we're always clear with UN colleagues about them—and not always diplomatically. But the sum of what we get from the United Nations is a solid return on the roughly one-tenth of one percent of government spending that we invest. When we meet our financial obligations to the UN, we make Americans safer, save lives around the world, and share the burden of tackling common problems that threaten us all.

Advancing U.S. Interests and Values at the United Nations

Our leadership at the United Nations advances America's interests in five fundamental ways.

First, the UN prevents conflict and keeps nations from slipping back into war. Since 1948, UN peacekeeping and political missions have saved countless lives, ended wars, and helped bring democracy to dozens of countries. More than 120,000 military, police, and civilian peacekeepers are now deployed in 14 operations around the world. Of that total, less than 100 are American military personnel, who always remain under US command. This is burden-sharing at its best, and it is making a real difference.

In Iraq, the UN is mediating local disputes, supporting Iraqi refugees, and helping the Iraqi government deliver critical services such as education, water, and security. These activities move us closer to the goal of bringing our soldiers home responsibly.

In Afghanistan, the UN supports the country's political and social transition with an assistance mission of more than 2,000 national and international staff. The UN promote girls' education, provides critical humanitarian assistance, and supports Afghan governmental institutions.

South Sudan, soon to be the world's newest nation, owes a great debt to the UN. Due in large part to UN assistance, the referendum on independence was successful, credible, and on time. UN diplomats played a critical role in persuading Sudanese President Bashir's government to accept peacefully South Sudan's independence, and the UN is likely to be called upon to help build this new nation.

In Darfur, the UN and African Union peacekeeping mission known as UNAMID protects civilians and provides much-needed humanitarian access. The genocide in Darfur has claimed nearly 300,000 lives. As much as a quarter of Darfur's total population – close to 2 million civilians – remain displaced from their homes. The Government of Sudan continues to use aerial

bombings, which routinely kill civilians. Persistent insecurity continues to hamper the delivery of humanitarian aid to an estimated 368,000 people.

In Liberia, with critical support from UN peacekeepers, national elections were held in 2005, resulting in Ellen Johnson Sirleaf's election as the first female President in Africa. The UN's 9,000 troops and police maintain the peace and assist in rebuilding Liberia's armed forces.

In Haiti, thanks to the resilience of a 12,000-person UN peacekeeping force, U.S. troops were able to conclude their incredible work and come home swiftly after the devastating earthquake in January 2010. That quake also took the lives of 102 UN personnel, including most of the mission's leadership. Despite that terrible blow, the UN rallied and played a key role coordinating and delivering relief after the disaster, and has continued to help provide security.

In the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the UN's 19,000-strong peacekeeping mission is helping stabilize the conflict-riddled east. Under the leadership of former U.S. ambassador Roger Meece, the UN mission (MONUSCO) helps protect civilians in perilous conditions—even more so in recent months, when the mission has stepped up its patrols and community liaison efforts. UN personnel also disarm former combatants, support the promotion of human rights, and liberate children that militias have tried to exploit as soldiers.

UN troops in these and other hot spots cost a fraction of what it would cost to field a U.S. soldier to do the same job. The UN reimburses countries that contribute troops a little more than $1,000 a month per soldier; the U.S. share of that bill is approximately $270. An American soldier deployed in similar conditions would cost us several times that amount. For example, according to a 2007 GAO study, deploying one U.S. soldier in Haiti would cost us eight times as much as deploying a UN peacekeeper.

Second, the UN helps halt the proliferation of nuclear weapons. In the past two years, with U.S. leadership, the Security Council has imposed the toughest sanctions that Iran and North Korea have ever faced. Strong Security Council resolutions have provided a foundation for others—from the European Union to Canada to South Korea and Japan—to impose additional sanctions of their own.

These sanctions are showing results. The Security Council called upon states to inspect suspicious cargo in their airports, seaports, and even on the high seas. As a result, states are blocking transfers of missile parts, explosives, and other nuclear-related technology—all of which the transfer or use by Iran or North Korea are now prohibited by UN resolutions.Late last year, Nigeria seized tons of Iranian munitions. A few months earlier, a European country reported efforts to block a North Korean attempt to acquire graphite processing equipment that could be used in North Korea's nuclear program. Strong and sustained UN action makes crystal-clear to governments that defy their international nuclear obligations that they will face isolation and significant consequences.

Third, the UN helps isolate terrorists and human rights abusers. UN sanctions target individuals and companies associated with terrorism, atrocities, and cross-border crime, such as trade in conflict minerals. The UN helps enforce these measures through a network of expert panels and committees. For example, the Security Council committee established in the wake of 9/11 to impose sanctions against individuals and entities associated with al-Qaeda and the Taliban now includes roughly 400 individuals and 100 entities. Late last year, a Security Council committee imposed sanctions on four individuals in the Democratic Republic of the Congo for serious human rights abuses, including recruiting child soldiers; it froze their assets and banned them from international travel. In 2009, the Security Council put Eritrea under UN sanctions to pressure it to stop supporting al-Shabaab and destabilizing Somalia and the greater region.

Fourth, UN humanitarian and development agencies often go where nobody else will go to provide desperately needed assistance. UN humanitarian and development assistance does more than save lives. It also helps break the devastating downward spiral of chronic desperation that fuels violence and threatens international peace and security.

When 125,000 Iraqi refugees faced desperate conditions, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees provided cash grants to buy heating fuel and warm clothes. In Darfur and surrounding areas in Northern Sudan, UN agencies provided more than 3 million people with chlorinated water and more than 450,000 people with safe water and sanitation facilities. In Pakistan, the World Food Program now delivers food assistance to millions in need after last year's terrible floods. UNICEF provided clean drinking water for 3 million flood-affected Pakistanis and repaired or rebuilt about 4,000 schools. When polio erupted in Central Asia last year, the World Health Organization vaccinated 6 million kids in Tajikistan and Uzbekistan—at a cost of less than $2 million. With millions of young people at risk from deadly disease, UNICEF provides vaccines to fully 40 percent of the world's children, and it supplies millions of insecticide-treated mosquito nets in 48 countries to prevent malaria.

The UN helps draw attention to the links between poverty, education, and political reform. Years before the dramatic tide sweeping the Middle East, the UN Development Program produced the path-breaking Arab Human Development Report, written and compiled by leading Arab scholars and researchers, which helped draw attention to the rising demand for reform and change in the Middle East from within the region. These valuable reports spurred important debates on the need for political leaders to fix the key deficits of freedom, knowledge, and women's empowerment in the region—and recent events prove how far-sighted this work was.

By promoting the **Millennium Development Goals**, the United Nations helps combat poverty and ensure that all children have the basic opportunities that we insist upon for our own kids. These goals include cutting extreme poverty in half by 2015, slashing the mortality rate of children under 5 by two-thirds, and halting and beginning to reverse the spread of HIV/AIDS and other infectious diseases by 2015. The UN has helped galvanize substantial progress toward these goals. Although much remains to be done, nearly half a billion people have been lifted out of poverty world-wide. The number of children in developing countries who die

before their fifth birthday is still far too high, but it dropped from 11.9 million deaths in 1990 to 7.7 million deaths in 2010. Access to treatment for HIV/AIDS in low- and middle-income countries has also grown ten-fold in just five years. The UN has also helped provide safe drinking water to the 1.7 billion people who gained access since 1990. The UN supports universal access to primary education by investing in programs to increase enrollment, such as advocating legal frameworks that guarantee eight to ten years of uninterrupted basic education. The UN also works to end child marriages and provides incentives to poor and rural families to send their children to school.

Fifth, the UN promotes universal values Americans hold dear.

Since the UN's founding in the wake of World War II, protecting and promoting **human rights** has been at its core. On behalf of President Obama and the United States, I had the honor to build on that legacy by signing the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities—the first new human rights treaty of the 21st century. We have also been proud to recently announce our support for the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. And when some countries sought to remove a reference to sexual orientation in a UN resolution on extrajudicial killing, we fought back so that when the final resolution passed in the General Assembly, it was crystal clear that nobody should ever be murdered because they are lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender.

Last year, we led efforts at the Human Rights Council to promote the full equality of women worldwide and better protect the ability of human rights defenders in oppressive countries to exercise freedom of assembly and association. The United States also succeeded in passing resolutions in the General Assembly condemning the terrible human rights records of Iran, North Korea, and Burma—by the largest margins ever. We have supported expanding UN human rights monitors deployed in the field, who can deter would-be human rights violators around the world.

The UN also does critical work to support **democracy**. The governments of Egypt and Tunisia have reached out for UN assistance with their upcoming elections. Last month, the UN fielded a senior team to offer technical support as Tunisia's interim government struggles to implement democratic reforms that their people have demanded for years. The United Nations has helped many emerging democracies by providing legal, technical, and financial assistance. Over the past decade alone, dozens of countries—including Sierra Leone, Zambia, Bangladesh, and Iraq—have received support, including training for electoral officials, dispute resolution, voter registration, and electoral administration.

The United States has also led in the fight at the UN for **equality and women's rights**. We forged a broad coalition to create UN Women, a new UN agency to empower women and girls. UN Women streamlines disparate efforts on women across the UN system, elevating women's issues throughout the UN's work. This consolidation also enabled the UN to achieve efficiencies (one front office, one IT system, one set of experts, etc..). The United States strongly supports

the leadership of former Chilean President Michelle Bachelet, who was chosen by UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon to head this important new agency.

Promoting UN Reform

Madame Chairman, members of the committee, I hope these five points give you a fuller sense of the value the UN offers to the American taxpayer. Let me turn now to the question of how the UN can do better—and to the Administration's sustained and determined efforts to reform the UN and improve its management practices.

As the UN's largest financial contributor, founding member, and host country, the United States has the greatest stake in ensuring that the UN delivers results efficiently and effectively. The more effective the UN is, the better it can advance our shared interests and values. I work every day with the UN, so I'm very much aware of its imperfections. This is a large, complex system, and fixing it isn't a simple matter of flipping a switch. The UN is a body made up of 191 other member states, with their own interests and sometimes opposing efforts. When the UN stumbles, it's usually because its members stumble—because big powers duck tough issues in the Security Council or because spoilers grandstand in the General Assembly. Lasting and far-reaching reform will require American leadership, determination, and patience.

Our efforts today focus on reforms that can enable the UN to do more with less. We are working to foster a culture of accountability and transparency; to improve business practices throughout the UN system; and to build up the political will and operational capacities to deliver lifesaving services to those in need.

Our reform agenda focuses on seven priorities.

First, UN managers must enforce budget discipline. Last month, Secretary-General Ban instructed senior managers to cut 3 percent from current budget levels for his next budget. This would be the first proposed reduction compared to the previous year of spending in ten years. At this moment of economic distress at home and abroad, at a time when governments are making painful cuts, we are working to help the United Nations to take cost saving measures such as abolishing long-vacant posts, freezing pay for UN staff, exploring alternative business practices, and finding other efficiencies to offset the cost of new or increased responsibilities.

Second, we continue to demand a culture of transparency and accountability for resources and results. We aggressively promote a strengthened, independent Office of Internal Oversight Services (OIOS) and an improved UN Ethics Office to ensure accountability and better manage financial risk. In recent years, the United States has led efforts in the General Assembly to defend the operational independence of OIOS and ensure that it has the resources it needs. We defeated efforts to restrict access by member states to OIOS reports, and we pressed the General Assembly to reaffirm that right of access—as part of our larger drive to foster a culture of transparency and accountability. The United States was instrumental in ensuring that the

cases and competencies of the Procurement Task Force, established in response to lapses in the Oil-for-Food program, were transferred and integrated into OIOS, so its important work could continue.

The United States actively supports the newly appointed UN inspector-general, Carman Lapointe of Canada. She is a tough and experienced auditor committed to carrying out aggressive investigations into waste, fraud, and abuse. We are working closely with Ms. Lapointe to ensure she has the resources and support to bolster OIOS' investigative work, including more capacity in the field.

A respected American, Joan Dubinsky, now heads the UN Ethics Office. We demand strong disciplinary action when ethics violations occur. We are pressing for deployment of a strong, mandatory ethics training program for all managers and mandatory public financial disclosure for all senior UN officials.

The United States also leads efforts to enhance transparency and accountability across the wider UN system, including UN funds, programs, and specialized agencies. We work hand in hand with the UN to make sure aid is coordinated, and that duplication with our national efforts is avoided. Despite its many successes, UNDP has a long way to go on internal oversight and accountability, including donor access to program audits—an issue that we press them on regularly. And we work closely with an American, Anthony Lake, who now heads UNICEF, to support reforms that will strengthen its unmatched ability to reach the most vulnerable and disadvantaged children.

Third, the UN needs a more mobile and meritocratic civilian workforce. Today's United Nations mostly works in the field, mediating conflicts, peacekeeping, delivering humanitarian assistance, or supporting development—not sitting behind a desk in New York or Geneva. The United States has supported major human resource reforms in the General Assembly that streamline the large, confusing array of contracts previously used to hire UN staff and harmonize different conditions of service across the UN system. These reforms should help reward staff for taking on tough assignments in places such as Darfur, the eastern DRC, Afghanistan, and Iraq.

We are urging the UN to do more to make human resources reform a top priority—replicating best practices in the public and private sectors to reward top performers, develop staff skills, and streamline the workforce, and building partnerships that will help the UN focus on core missions. We are pressing the UN to slash recruitment time to fill critical vacancies, as well as to continue to invest in its senior leadership appointment process to field the best possible leadership teams for crucial missions.

Fourth, we are improving protection of civilians across the UN system. The United States has consistently led Security Council efforts to strengthen UN peacekeeping mandates to protect civilians. That leadership resulted in the groundbreaking Resolution 1820, which gives the UN better tools to combat sexual violence in conflict zones, including the first-ever UN Special

Representative on Sexual Violence in Conflict. We consistently demand accountability for those responsible for genocide and war crimes, most recently in Libya. And President Obama personally stressed the importance the United States attaches to protecting civilians in war zones in his historic September 2009 meeting in New York with the leaders of the countries that contribute the most troops and police to UN operations.

We are also urging senior UN officials in the field to adopt mission-wide strategies to ensure they're living up to their Security Council mandates to save innocent lives. We urge countries that contribute forces to UN missions to press their soldiers and police to use all tools at their disposal to protect civilians in danger. This is particularly important when it comes to the shocking and horrific use of rape as a weapon of war, which has reached epidemic proportions in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and elsewhere. We press for zero tolerance and full accountability for the unacceptable cases when peacekeepers betray their honor and victimize the civilians they should be protecting.

We are encouraged that DRC military officers have recently been prosecuted for conflict-related sexual violence, including the conviction of senior officers for mass rape and crimes against humanity. We will continue to demand justice. One rape is one too many. But as we continue to push for improvement, we must remain mindful that the Democratic Republic of Congo is a country the size of the United States east of the Mississippi River, with few roads, few police, and far too many marauders. Some 20,000 peacekeepers with only a couple dozen helicopters cannot be everywhere they may be needed all the time.

Fifth, we are ensuring that peacekeeping missions have reasonable mandates they can fulfill. From 2000 to 2008, the annual UN peacekeeping budget rose dramatically—from roughly $1 billion in 2000 to more than $7 billion by the end of the Bush Administration. Over the same period, the total number of peacekeeping personnel deployed globally under the UN flag grew from 40,000 to more than 120,000. Not only did the total number of UN peacekeepers grow more than three-fold, they were also sent by the Security Council into new and tougher environments: uncooperative host countries, conflicts where there wasn't much peace to keep, and places such as Darfur where UN forces struggle to cover the vast terrain.

We insist that missions match mandates and that mandates be implementable. We are judicious about when and where we establish new peacekeeping missions. Not a single new UN peacekeeping operation has been created in the last two years. Meanwhile, we supported the closure of a UN mission in Chad and the Central African Republic, saving up to $600 million per year. In fact, in 2010, for the first time in six consecutive years, we managed to reduce the peacekeeping budget. We also led efforts to end the UN Mission in Nepal once its contributions reached the point of diminishing returns.

Sixth, we are working to overhaul the UN's administrative and logistical support systems for peacekeeping missions. Traditionally, the UN creates a separate administrative and logistics support structure for each new peacekeeping operation. But it would be far more cost-effective to have one support structure serving several peacekeeping and political missions in a

particular area. The previous, piecemeal approach to field support meant delayed deployments and unnecessary costs. So we pushed hard to secure adoption of the Secretary-General's new Global Field Support Strategy, one of the four planks of the "New Horizons" peacekeeping reform agenda—a five-year effort to overhaul the policies, performance standards, capabilities, planning, oversight, and logistics support for peacekeeping operations.

Implementing the Global Field Support Strategy is projected to yield tens of millions of dollars in annual savings in 2011—for instance, by providing common air-transportation services and back-office administrative support to UN missions in East Africa and the Great Lakes through a Regional Service Centre in Entebbe, Uganda.

And finally, we are pressing the UN to complete an ongoing overhaul of the way it conducts its day-to-day business, including upgrading its information technology platforms, procurement practices, accounting procedures, and budget planning. The UN is in the midst of a major exercise, known as the Enterprise Resource Planning project, to revise business processes for core administrative functions and to employ modern information systems to manage them in the future. This could lead to sweeping administrative reform and hundreds of millions in annual savings—which is why have an active interest in closely monitoring its implementation. We are also pushing the UN to fully implement the International Public Sector Accounting Standards to bring the UN system in line with modern accounting practices.

The United States continues to lead the charge for serious and comprehensive reform. We demand a UN that is more lean, more nimble, and more cost-effective. No one pushes harder than the United States to protect whistleblowers, impose budget discipline, and promote transparency. And we will not rest until the UN reduces its bureaucracy, reaps greater savings, rewards talent, and retires underperformers.

The Human Rights Council

We hope the taxpayers' confidence in the UN will continue to grow as it makes progress on the reforms I have just mentioned. But the UN's credibility and efficacy also require it to live up to its founding principles, especially in bodies such as the Human Rights Council.

The United States joined the Human Rights Council to strengthen and reform it. We have no illusions about the Human Rights Council. But the results there were worse when America sat on the sidelines. Dictators frequently weren't called to account; abused citizens couldn't count on their voices being heard; and Israel was relentlessly bashed. As Secretary of State Clinton said, we joined the HRC "not because we don't see its flaws, but because we think that participating gives us the best chance to be a constructive influence." Indeed, U.S. engagement and leadership are paying dividends as we press for significant change session by session.

Earlier this month, the General Assembly suspended Libya's membership from the Council—the first time any country has been suspended from the Council or the Human Rights Commission that came before it—and it held a special session in late February, 2011 that established an

independent commission of inquiry into the ongoing violence. Since joining the Council, we have broadened support to renew the term of the UN's Independent Expert on Sudan, the only international mechanism monitoring human rights violations throughout the country—in the face of staunch opposition. We led efforts to create a new Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Assembly and Association, giving civil society organizations additional protection from oppressive governments. We pushed to ensure that countries can no longer claim an international sanction for blasphemy laws. We led action to establish a group of independent experts to promote ending discrimination against women and girls.

Throughout our membership on the Council, we have consistently highlighted the human rights abuses of the Iranian government. Most recently, the U.S. and partners led a successful effort to establish a new Special Rapporteur to shine a spotlight on human rights abuses in Iran — the first country-specific mandate created by the Council since 2006. We will continue to push for strong action by the Council and the General Assembly to hold the Iranian government accountable for future violations.

We have made a priority of pressing the Council to come to grips with human rights emergencies wherever and whenever they occur. U.S. leadership led to a Special Session on the situation in Cote d'Ivoire, sending Laurent Gbagbo a clear message that the world is watching, and helped establish a Commission of Inquiry to investigate abuses there. The United States also played a pivotal role in February in the Council's creation of an independent Commission of Inquiry to investigate human rights violations by the Government of Libya. The United States has also worked to reauthorize the Special Rapporteur on human rights in North Korea, winning more votes this year than last. But, the Council's record during emergencies remains mixed; it rose to the occasion in response to recent crises in Libya, Guinea, Cote d'Ivoire, and Kyrgyzstan, but it has not yet addressed Zimbabwe, Belarus, or Syria. We will continue to work to ensure that the right mechanisms are in place to call the Council to action when necessary.

We believe that membership on the Human Rights Council should be earned through respect for human rights, not accorded to those who abuse them. While no UN body can expect to have only countries with perfect records on it, we are focused on keeping the most egregious and disruptive human rights abusers off the Council, as we did last year when Iran sought a seat. They make a mockery of the Council, as well as the credibility of the United Nations as a whole. As recent events in Libya demonstrate, countries that grossly and systematically violate human rights have no place on the body. We succeeded in getting Iran to withdraw its candidacy last year and in suspending Libya's membership this winter, and we firmly oppose Syria's candidacy this year.

We have found that change at the Council can best be achieved resolution by resolution, forcing the body to address urgent and chronic human rights situations, and insisting upon principles of universality and objectivity. Taken together, the actions of the recent session of the Human Rights Council represent continued positive change in the Council's trajectory and are substantially due to U.S. engagement. Throughout negotiations in Geneva and New York,

the United States has pushed for a serious review of the Human Rights Council that would lead to real improvements in its ability to meet its core mission: promoting and protecting human rights. Unfortunately, the Geneva process fell well short. As a result, we will continue to press in New York for measures that will strengthen the Council's membership criteria, including calls for contested regional slates in elections and having candidate countries defend their human rights records in a public forum.

Finally, we consistently push for fair treatment of Israel, including eliminating Item Seven, the stand-alone agenda item that unfairly singles out Israel while all other countries are treated under a common item. Structural bias against Israel is wrong, and it undermines the important work we are trying to do together as member states. We have already taken the Council in a better, stronger direction, but much more needs to be done.

Singling Out Israel

That brings me to another important priority: ensuring Israel gets normal treatment in the UN system. UN members devote disproportionate negative attention to Israel and consistently adopt biased resolutions. I spend a good deal of time working to ensure that Israel's legitimacy is beyond dispute and its security is never in doubt.

The tough issues between Israelis and Palestinians can only be solved by direct negotiations between the two parties, not in New York. That's why the United States vetoed a Security Council resolution on settlements in February that risked hardening the positions of both sides. Like every administration that has dealt with this issue, we believe that Israeli settlement activity is illegitimate, undermines Israel's security, and corrodes hopes for peace and stability in the region. But we also think it unwise for the Security Council to attempt to resolve the core issues that divide Israelis and Palestinians.

We've been plain about the deep flaws of the Goldstone Report and the Human Rights Council's inquiry into the tragic flotilla episode. As we made clear when the Goldstone Report was initially presented, and as we have maintained ever since, we did not see any evidence that the Israeli government had intentionally targeted civilians or otherwise engaged in war crimes—and we note that, in a Washington Post op-ed last weekend, Justice Goldstone has now reached the same conclusion. We would like to see the UN end its actions related to the Goldstone Report and the reports that have flowed from it, and we will continue working to end the anti-Israel bias in the Human Rights Council and other UN bodies. That includes consistently opposing anti-Israel resolutions in the Human Rights Council, the General Assembly, and elsewhere. Last year at UNESCO in Paris, we were the only "no" vote on five anti-Israel resolutions forced to a vote by the Arab group. In 2009, we withdrew from the Durban Review Conference due mainly to its insistence on reaffirming the 2001 Durban Declaration, which unfairly singles out Israel.

The United States continues to fight for full and equal Israeli participation throughout the UN system. We supported Israel's election to the leadership of the UN Commission on Sustainable

Development and as Chair of the Kimberley Process on conflict diamonds. In December 2009, we succeeded in formally adding Israel to the so-called JUSCANZ consultation group—consisting of Japan, the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and others—for the Fifth Committee, which handles budgetary matters. We added Israel to the JUSCANZ group at the Human Rights Council in Geneva. We renewed Israel's membership in a regional grouping of the World Intellectual Property Organization. And we are working hard to include Israel into the Western European and Others Group in Geneva, allowing it to fully participate in a UN regional group, as it already does in New York.

Underlying all of this is our bedrock commitment to ensuring that Israel is treated as a full and equal member of the community of nations. As President Obama said last September before the entire UN General Assembly, "It should be clear to all that efforts to chip away at Israel's legitimacy will only be met by the unshakeable opposition of the United States."

Meeting Our Financial Obligations

We advance our interests and improve our ability to lead on reform when we meet our financial obligations in full and on time. To that end, I request the Committee's support for the FY2012 President's budget request of $1,619,400,000 for the Contributions to International Organizations (CIO) account and $1,920,000,000 for the Contributions for International Peacekeeping Activities (CIPA) account.

After all, the UN can't deliver the results we want if we starve it of the resources it needs. Moreover, it's very much in our interest to ensure that the rest of the world continues to pick up almost three-quarters of the tab for UN activities, as they currently do. If we treat our financial obligations under the UN Charter as optional, others will too—and we could end up paying far more than we do today.

As the Committee works on appropriations legislation, the Administration requests your continued steady support for paying our peacekeeping and regular budget dues in full. We very respectfully request that Congress fund full payment of our peacekeeping obligations to ensure that nations that send their troops into conflict zones on missions voted for by United States are properly reimbursed. I also ask that this Committee provide the Administration with the authority to pay our peacekeeping dues in full at the current rate of 27.14 percent for FY2011 and FY2012.

I remain concerned about the Stearns amendment, adopted by the House in H.R. 1, which bars contributions for critical renovations of the UN headquarters building. This project was vigorously requested and supported by the City of New York and the New York Police Department. They are rightly concerned that New York's finest and bravest might have to respond to a terrorist attack or other emergency in a building filled with asbestos and without fire sprinklers. Stopping our support now makes no sense. It would leave the UN with a half-gutted building, and it would cut off critical construction jobs for American workers in New

York. The math is clear: for every dollar that the United States contributes to the renovation of UN headquarters, $4 in construction contracts are awarded to American companies.

Finally, let me address the issue of credits that have unnecessarily accumulated at the UN over the past decade. I agree with this Committee's recommendation in H.R. 1, that credits should be used to offset current and future UN assessments and the Administration is committed to utilizing all existing credits in Fiscal Years 2011 and 2012. We are working with the United Nations to ensure that its formulas for estimating expected costs are revised to ensure greater accuracy. In these tough economic times, we must not allow money to pile up in UN accounts.

UN Reform Legislation

Congress is now considering legislation that aims to shift our contributions to the UN from assessed to voluntary and seeks to reform the UN by withholding assessed dues. Let me start by saying that we are in agreement on the need for reform at the UN, even while we differ on tactics. A more accountable, more responsible and more effective UN is in all of our interest.

But the tactical difference is a serious one. The reforms championed by the previous Administration–strengthening the UN's mechanisms for accountability, creating the Ethics Office, streamlining UN agencies – were all implemented without withholding our dues. The Bush Administration opposed congressionally mandated withholdings from the UN regular budget while they were pushing these reforms.

The Obama Administration has continued to fight for improvements throughout the UN system, and we have done so from a position of strength. As outlined earlier, we have successfully defended OIOS from various attempts to weaken its independence, enhanced its investigative capacity in the field, and supported a tough Canadian auditor as its new head. We secured the appointment of a highly qualified American to head the Ethics Office, who is now working to strengthen its financial-disclosure policies. We led efforts to adopt sweeping reforms to the way the UN supports its peacekeeping and field operations. We are insisting on budget discipline in the UN's regular budget and seeking major changes in the UN's everyday business practices. We have done all of this while fulfilling the President's commitment to paying our UN bills.

Failing to pay our dues to the UN undermines our credibility and influence – not just on reform, but on a range of U.S. national security priorities. When we choose to isolate ourselves by failing to meet our commitments and sticking others with the bill, we alienate our allies and partners. This is particularly true when it comes to action in the Security Council, where other nations are asked to carry the burden and cost of sending troops into conflict zones for UN missions we strongly support, such as in Haiti, Sudan, Liberia, Cote d'Ivoire, and Congo.

Similarly, signaling a retreat from the Human Rights Council would embolden those who wish to unfairly ostracize Israel and weaken the international community's role in preventing human rights abuses. For all the Council's flaws, U.S. leadership led it to condemn the Libyan regime,

recommend that its membership be suspended by the General Assembly, appoint the Special Rapporteur on human rights in Iran that civil society groups there had long sought, and established a Commission of Inquiry into the violence in Cote d'Ivoire. Retreating from the Council would only play into the hands of human rights violators, like Iran and Cuba, who would like nothing more than to see the United States off the Council.

The Congress is also debating a shift from assessed to voluntary dues for the UN regular budget. We oppose this proposal. It does not serve U.S. interests, and it would leave us having to pay more for the programs we care most about – likely significantly more than we pay today.

The rest of the world now pays more than three-quarters of the bill for critical UN political missions and humanitarian presence worldwide. As a result, we pay a relatively small portion of the budget for UN missions in Iraq and Afghanistan that are helping to stabilize those countries so we can responsibly bring our troops home. The budget for those two missions totals nearly half a billion dollars each year. In addition, the UN budget funds U.S. priorities in countries such as Somalia and Lebanon, experts responsible for monitoring sanctions on Iran, Libya, and al-Qaeda and the Taliban, important internal oversight and accountability mechanisms at the heart of our reform agenda, and global efforts to combat human trafficking, illicit drug trafficking, and genocide. Treating our bills as an a la carte menu would invite others to follow suit—and would likely lead to greater financial burdens on the United States.

Conclusion

In conclusion, let me reiterate: the UN isn't perfect. But it delivers real results for every American by advancing global stability and American security through genuine burden-sharing. That burden-sharing is more important than ever in a world of 21st-century threats that don't stop at borders, in a time when Americans are hurting and cutting back, and at a moment when American troops are still in harm's way.

In Iraq and Afghanistan, the UN is contributing to stability so our soldiers and others can responsibly return home. In Libya, UN refugee workers and the World Food Program are providing urgent humanitarian aid to hundreds of thousands in need. In Cote d'Ivoire, UN peacekeepers are helping citizens stand against a strongman who stole an election and won't give way to the country's democratically elected president. In Tunisia, UN experts are helping plan for historic elections that will let the will of the people be heard. In the Democratic Republic of the Congo, UN forces are protecting women and girls from violent thugs and sexual predators. Iran and North Korea are being pressured by the toughest international sanctions either country has ever faced.

The United Nations plays an indispensable role in advancing our interests and defending our values. It provides a real return to the American taxpayer on our investment. From fighting for fair treatment for Israel to reforming management practices to strengthening peacekeeping missions, we have made real progress to tackle the flaws that had eroded U.S. confidence in the UN. None of this is possible without strong U.S. leadership. That leadership is the engine that

drives strong and effective action from the United Nations—from peacekeeping to nuclear nonproliferation, human rights to counterterrorism, democracy to development. And for the United States to continue to lead effectively, the active and full support of this committee is absolutely essential.

I greatly appreciate the opportunity to discuss these important issues with you today. I look forward to working with you to ensure that we continue to provide strong support for our efforts at the United Nations—and to consulting with you on how we can work together to do even better in the years ahead.

Thank you. I am pleased to answer the Committee's questions.

Chairman ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you very much. Thank you for that excellent testimony. And now I will begin with the question and answer period.

Madam Ambassador, since the U.N. continues to be used to propagate anti-Israel bias, it is important for the United States to show leadership and stand publicly and unequivocally with the Jewish State.

So accordingly, I respectfully request this of you. Will you take this opportunity to publicly pledge that the U.S. will join Canada and Israel in not participating in the upcoming Durban 3 hate-fest, and that the U.S. will withhold funding from it?

Secondly, that the U.S. will push for the U.N. General Assembly to repudiate the Goldstone report, just as it revoked the old Zionism is Racism resolution in '91. Or is the U.S. going to push for a correction in the record to accurately reflect the retraction of Judge Goldstone on his report?

And lastly, if that resolution or statement or anything else is brought to the U.N. that would recognize a Palestinian state or upgrade the status of the Palestinian observer mission, that the U.S. will do everything it can to oppose and stop such measures, and will veto them at the Security Council before they get to the General Assembly?

Ambassador RICE. Thank you, Madam Chairman. Let me take those collectively first, and then individually, if I may. First of all, as I said in my full testimony for the record, and as I will reiterate, the United States every day stands firmly and unequivocally in support of our ally and partner, Israel, in the United Nations, where, as we all know, it often comes under illegitimate and unfair attacks simply for existing.

We do this because it is in our national interest, because it accords with our values and principles, and because it is manifestly the right thing to do. We have spent a great deal of time and effort combating anti-Israel efforts, opposing them, vetoing them when necessary, and preventing them from arising in the first place.

We have had a great deal of frustration in some circumstances, and success in others. For example, we have succeeded in incorporating Israel into a number of like-minded groups of countries at

the U.N. in New York and Geneva, which it has long sought membership to.

We have supported and seen Israel successfully achieve leadership positions in the United Nations, for example co-leading the Kimberly process. We successfully opposed resolutions that arose to condemn Israel in the IAEA and elsewhere.

So this is part of the daily work that my mission does, and that I am proud to do every day. Now, coming to your specific questions.

Chairman ROS-LEHTINEN. That is Durban 3, Goldstone, and Palestine.

Ambassador RICE. I have them. Thank you. With respect to the Durban Conference, as you know, we withdrew from the Durban review conference that occurred in Geneva in 2009. We did so out of great frustration with the fact that the problems with the original Durban conference, as they related to Israel, remained unchanged.

And you know also that this administration and Congress stand strongly in support of efforts to oppose racism in all of its forms, and that remains very important to the United States.

But as we look at this 10-year commemoration coming up in September, we are deeply concerned both by its likely content and its timing. And that is why the United States opposed the resolution establishing this commemorative conference. That is why we have not participated in any active way in the discussions or negotiations surrounding the documents that may be considered at that conference, and why I don't anticipate that our posture will change.

With respect to Goldstone, the United States has been clear from the outset that we believe that report was gravely and fundamentally flawed, that it completely unfairly drew conclusions about Israel's intentions and conduct. And we never saw at the time, nor do we see now, any evidence that Israel intentionally committed crimes against civilians, or other forms of war crimes intentionally.

And now, of course, we have seen Judge Goldstone call into question many of the fundamental conclusions of his original report. We are very interested—as I said yesterday—in first of all ensuring that all of the follow-up actions that have been contemplated with respect to Goldstone cease and go nowhere.

Secondly, we would frankly—as I said—like to see this entire Goldstone proposition disappear. We are consulting closely with core friends and partners about the appropriate procedural steps that we might take to address both our concerns about the original report, and Judge Goldstone's recent revelations.

The tactics that we will choose to do that have not been formally decided. There are various options out there, but I want to say, Madam Chairman, that the most practical ones require further action either by the Human Rights Council or the General Assembly, and we know the challenges attending——

Chairman ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you. And I am sure that other members will ask about the Palestinian state recognition. Thank you so much. I am so pleased to recognize my friend, the ranking member, Mr. Berman of California.

Mr. BERMAN. Thank you very much, Madam Chairman. And Ambassador Rice, I would like you to—it is obviously a level of speculation as to what would happen, but indicate on some of the critical

missions that you have undertaken with, I think, a remarkable amount of success, on what I consider vital national security issues, Iran first and foremost.

If the U.S. were in a position where we were significantly in arrears of our treaty obligations, how would your ability to facilitate and achieve some of the successes you have been able to achieve around sanctions, these efforts to fight resolutions, at the IAEA and in other places, that seek to discriminate and seek to delegitimize Israel—how would your skills be impeded in terms of maximizing the chances of achieving the results we want? If you could just sort of lay out your thoughts on that particular issue.

And I would note for this purpose, you were in the executive branch of government the last time we were very significantly in arrears, under the Helms language that the chairman gave some credit to Vice President Biden for. But it was a Helms initiative, and I think that was politics.

What damage did it do there to our standing and our ability to do the job of pursuing American interests through diplomatic means at the United Nations?

Ambassador RICE. Thank you, Mr. Berman. There is no question that when the United States is in debt to the United Nations, when we fail to meet our treaty obligations to pay our assessed contributions, that our influence is diminished, our standing is injured, and our ability to pursue important initiatives that advance U.S. national security and U.S. national interests is gravely undermined.

The dues we pay goes for things that we vote for in the Security Council. The bulk of our expenses are for peacekeeping. These are missions that we decide to authorize and deploy because we think they do things that matter to the United States, like halt genocide in Darfur, like help to enable a referendum in South Sudan to come about, and the creation of a new state—which we look forward to in July—in South Sudan. Preventing the flow of refugees and stabilizing Haiti. Bringing democracy and security to Cote d'Ivoire. The list goes on.

But these are things that we have authorized and supported because they serve our national security interests, because we have taken the decision that to do nothing would be intolerable and dangerous, and to do something with others sharing the cost and the burden of the military operation is much more sensible than us contemplating doing it alone. So this is why it is in our interest.

Beyond that, Mr. Berman, when we are not fulfilling our obligations, our influence, our leverage, the value of our diplomacy is substantially undermined. I do recall in the '90s how that was, and I can tell you that the cooperation we have managed to achieve to impose tough sanctions on Iran, on North Korea, to authorize strong action in Libya and Cote d'Ivoire and many other things, would not be possible if we were again in a situation of debt.

Mr. BERMAN. Let me just use my remaining seconds to throw out one proposition. One thing that seems to unify this committee, and I am very happy about it, is the focus on the efforts, the tremendous efforts, to delegitimize Israel in the U.N. and its component bodies.

Have the Israelis indicated to you that they would hope you would embrace a strategy of not participating there or withholding

dues as a way of helping them to overcome this very intentional assault on their standing?

Ambassador RICE. Absolutely not. On the contrary, we partner every day very closely with Israel, and our ability to be a leader in strong standing with maximum influence, I believe, Israel sees as serving their best interests as well.

And that is why—that is among the reasons; there are many, many reasons—but I think it is important to point out that it is not just the Obama administration. It is the Bush administration, and all previous administrations, that have taken the strong view that it is counter to our interests to use withholding of dues as a means of trying to obtain our policy objectives. It doesn't work. It is counterproductive, and the record shows it.

Chairman ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you very much. Thank you, Mr. Berman. Mr. Smith, the Subcommittee on Africa, Global Health, and Human Rights chair.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you, Madam Chair. Ambassador Rice, if you could just tell us what role you believe U.N. peacekeeping operations will play in South Sudan after July 9th? And if you could speak to the issue of the abuse in the DR Congo—if that has been rectified, how you see that playing out—by U.N. peacekeepers?

Also, years back I held a series of hearings and offered an amendment on the whole issue of anti-Semitic language in UNRWA textbooks. Has that been fixed? We are the major donor still, about $0.5 billion over the last 2 years alone. It seems to me that we should have zero tolerance for anything that is either anti-Semitic or anti-American, when we are footing the bill for those textbooks.

And finally—and I raise this with increasing alarm, and I have raised it since as far back as 1983, and that is the barbaric one-child-per-couple policy, with its very heavy reliance on forced abortion and forced sterilization.

As you know, brothers and sisters are illegal in China. That has not changed. I recently worked on a case of a woman who was being compelled in a major city in China to get an abortion after her first child, because she was not allowed a second.

I actually have a picture, because it was a very—and I will share it with you privately—a very successful outcome, but she is absolutely the exception in the PRC. With resoluteness, women are allowed only one child.

As you know, for 30 years the U.N. Population Fund has aided and abetted that barbaric policy. They have heaped praise upon it. They have trained the cadres. I know under the Bush administration a serious effort was made to find out exactly what that training was, and they stonewalled.

And I am wondering if we have been able—and I would like to be a part of that—to find out exactly what is going on with regards to the UNFPA's work there.

Because as Secretary John Negroponte pointed out in 2008, when we denied funding to the UNFPA, he pointed out in pertinent part, that China's birth limitation program remains harshly coercive in law and practice, including coercive abortion.

It is illegal in almost all provinces for a single woman to bear a child, so if you are an unwed mother, you are forcibly aborted,

even if it is the one child permitted to most women in their lifetime under the law.

What was very important in his finding, the State Department noted that Chinese law is "the foundation of its coercive policies and practices, and that the UNFPA comports with and adheres to Chinese law."

So in those counties where the UNFPA is operating, they absolutely must follow Chinese law with regard to the one-child-per-couple policy. And the impact—and I know you know this, Ambassador Rice—there is the gender disparity—10 years ago, in the State Department country reports on human rights practices, it was revealed that upwards of 100,000,000 girls are missing in China, as a direct result of gender-cide.

The targeting of a girl in utero, and the destruction of that tiny infant baby girl, simply because she is female—now, I see some people in your staff smiling and laughing. You know, it galls me to no end, frankly, that we have not raised this gender-cide issue—even CEDAW has raised it, not to the proportion that it ought to.

But frankly, it is unconscionable that girls are being targeted because of their being girls, and systematically eliminated. By 2020, 40,000,000 men will not be able to find wives, because they have been eliminated, systematically, year in and year out, as a direct result of the one-child-per-couple policy.

So I strongly encourage you, we need to be on the same page with this. These are crimes against gender, crimes against humanity. And where is the Genocide Convention Panel of Experts? Where are others? Where is the Human Rights Council?

You know, the periodic review punts on this, with regard to China. So I would ask you, please, to raise this issue aggressively, and take back, if you would, the request that they have real transparency with regard to UNFPA. It does not exist currently.

Ambassador RICE. Madam Chair, I am not sure I am going to be able to address all of those in the 30 seconds remaining. I am going to talk as fast as I know how.

In post-Sudan, the U.N. is in the process—post-referendum Sudan, and the U.N. is in the process of assessing and talking to southern authorities about what would be the optimal follow-on configuration for a U.N. mission. We expect there to be one, but we want it to—its composition will depend, in part, on how far the two parties get in negotiating some of the remaining issues, and what the government itself chooses to ask for.

Sexual exploitation in the Congo is a subject of gravest concern to the United States, to the administration, as well as Congress——

Chairman ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you, Ambassador, and I know that this is a serious issue that merits further inquiry. And we look forward to getting your response perhaps after the hearing.

Ambassador RICE. Thank you.

Chairman ROS-LEHTINEN. And if not, in written form, Mr. Smith.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you.

Chairman ROS-LEHTINEN. Mr. Payne, the ranking member on the same committee.

Mr. PAYNE. Thank you very much. And I agree with my colleague from New Jersey about the policies in China. However, I think

probably one of the things that has made China as strong as it is is because of the embrace that U.S. businessmen have made to China, and we have a policy where China has been able to make itself very strong, and have its current government stronger by virtue of the largesse of what they are able to get out of our business community.

So I think that when we look at issues, maybe the burden is not necessarily the United Nations' but the behavior of our U.S. businesspeople, where this doesn't become an issues.

Let me just say that I believe that participating in issues like the Human Rights Council—and I also think that if we were at Durban, we could actually argue our points at the IPU, which is International Parliamentary Union, a group that the United States removed itself from maybe 10 or 15 years ago.

Israel is still a member. They say why don't we come back to assist them, but we refuse to come back primarily because of the issues. Which to me, there is no voice within the IPU to assist Israel in its argument, as they stay there by themselves, without the support of the U.S.

Let me just quickly, once again, commend the assistance that you have done in Sudan with the 90-plus percent turnout of the election, the 96 or -7 percent of people who say they should remove—but one, I would like to know what we can do the pressure the results for Abyei.

If Abyei remains unresolved, I believe war will happen in Sudan between the north and the south, in the future. It will be similar to the issue in Pakistan and India that has not been resolved, and still continues on.

I wonder if you could comment on Somalia, and the U.N.'s assistance to the AU with their peacekeeping. Also, in Cote d'Ivoire, where the U.N.—and I commend them for their resolutions—is there any more action that the U.N. will take for Gbagbo to step down in that area.

And finally, with the Western Sahara—you know, Morocco still continues to illegally occupy Western Sahara. Is the U.N. doing anything to deal with that situation?

Ambassador RICE. Thank you, Mr. Payne. Let me begin with southern Sudan, and the question of Abyei. As you know, the United States has been very active in trying not only, originally, to broker the CPA, but to ensure its full implementation, and in the run-up to the referendum, and in trying to resolve all of the outstanding post-referendum issues.

And Abyei is not even a post-referendum issue. It should have been, as you know, dealt with in its own referendum simultaneous to the southern referendum.

Ambassador Princeton Lyman, who was recently named by President Obama as his new special envoy, is out in the region as we speak. He is working actively with both parties, as well as with the AU high-level panel, former South African President Mbeki and others, to try to push for resolution of Abyei.

We fully understand its significance as a critical issue that needs to be resolved. As you also know, it is one of the most difficult ones, and thus far we have not seen the parties exhibit sufficient flexibility to resolve it swiftly.

There are a number of other important post-referendum issues that are also still to be negotiated: Resource-sharing, borders, citizenship, and the like, all of which are high on our agenda.

Cote d'Ivoire, if I might for a second, has been raised by others as well. The U.N. is playing a very active role, and has been, first of all in making clear who won the election, that President Ouattara was legitimately elected, and that Gbagbo must step down, and do so—should have done so quite some time ago.

We have imposed additional sanctions on Gbagbo and his cronies, and we have beefed up the U.N. peacekeeping mission, which is now actively taking on its peace enforcement mission to protect civilians, to take out heavy weapons, and to facilitate the emergence of a representative government there.

The U.N. has done—is taking a lot of casualties. It is under attack, but it is doing, with the support of the French, very important work to try to protect civilians, take out the heavy weapons. And we hope that the bloody standoff which is persisting will soon end.

Madam Chairwoman, I don't know if my——

Chairman ROS-LEHTINEN. So sorry. I know these are all serious topics, and I sincerely apologize to the members for the time limitation, but we have so many folks who want to ask questions. I know that each one merits a fuller discussion. Mr. Rohrabacher, Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations chairman.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Thank you very much, Madam Chairman, and thank you Ambassador Rice. Let me just note that when we are spending $1.5 trillion more than we are taking in, and we realize that this is heading us toward a financial catastrophe of historic proportions, as the interest that we have to pay on that debt goes up, and as perhaps the interests rates go up as inflation cuts into our people's economic reality, asking—right now, the amount of money that we are being asked to spend for the United Nations is $6.3 billion. Is that correct? Is that a correct figure of what we are being asked for?

Ambassador RICE. No. Thank you for your important question, and we need to have clarity on, indeed, what is the budget request.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. What are we actually being asked to give to the United Nations from the United States?

Ambassador RICE. We are asking for $1.619 billion for the regular budget, and for all of the U.N.——

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Yes.

Ambassador RICE. As well as other international organizations, not all United Nations. The regular budget request, as a subset of that, is $568 million. And for peacekeeping for Fiscal '12, we are requesting $1.9 billion, and to apply another $225 million in existing credits in order to meet our assessed contributions, which we estimate will be $2.145 billion

Mr. ROHRABACHER. And what does that all add up to?

Ambassador RICE. Well, I can get you that in a second. Let me calculate that. But it is 1.619 plus 2.145.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Let me tell you, we are talking about real money here.

Ambassador RICE. Very much so, sir.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. And let me just say that providing this type of money to an organization that uses Israel as a punching bag is

something that is not acceptable. And the fact is, the people in the United Nations who are using Israel as a punching bag are people who they themselves are guilty of major crimes against humanity, whether it is China and the gender-cide that we heard about, or whether it is other countries that murder their own people and repress their own people.

Let me ask you this, going to the question of my position on claptrap.

Chairman ROS-LEHTINEN. Mr. Connolly, are you ready?

Mr. ROHRABACHER. All right. Do you believe that the U.N. resolutions limit us to what we can do in our own interests, as to what our Government can do in our own interests?

Ambassador RICE. No. Absolutely not.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Okay. So U.N. resolutions do not limit the United States as to what we can do in our own interest.

Ambassador RICE. No. First of all, there is no such thing as a U.N. resolution that the United States hasn't voted for. First point.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Does not China have a veto power in the Security Council?

Ambassador RICE. There is no resolution that can pass the Security Council without U.S. support.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Do we—inform me, is a veto and a position of us not voting, is that the same?

Ambassador RICE. No.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. So a resolution can actually go forward, unless we veto it. If we are refraining, a resolution can still go through.

Ambassador RICE. We have three choices, sir, when we vote.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Okay.

Ambassador RICE. We can vote yes.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Yes.

Ambassador RICE. We can abstain, which we almost never do.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Okay.

Ambassador RICE. Or we can vote no. And when we vote no, that is the equivalent of a veto.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Right, so——

Ambassador RICE. So nothing can be adopted by the Security Council without the U.S. assent.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Without the U.S. not abstaining, at least.

Ambassador RICE. That is a form of assent, ultimately. Because we have allowed it to get through.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Well, we could talk about that in greater depth. But let me just ask about the money. How much has the budget of the United Nations grown over the last 10 years?

Ambassador RICE. Let me answer your prior question. You asked for the sum total, 3,539,000,000 is the sum of our request for the CIO account, contributions to international organizations, which includes the regular budget of the United Nations, which we pay 22 percent of, and 1.920 for peacekeeping.

I want to underscore that the CIO account includes a number of international organizations, like the OAS, that are not U.N. entities.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. So what is the bottom line on it? I mean, is that——

Ambassador RICE. I am giving you a number of—just to keep it simple here, 3.539 is the sum total of what the administration is requesting in Fiscal 2012 for CIO and peacekeeping accounts.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. And for all U.N. activities, we are talking about 3.5?

Ambassador RICE. That is what I just said. That is actually more than—that includes some other international organization activities, but——

Mr. ROHRABACHER. All right.

Chairman ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you——

Mr. ROHRABACHER. One last note. I still have, I think, 5 seconds.

Chairman ROS-LEHTINEN. Sorry, you are over five. But thank you.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Oh, I am sorry. Pardon me. But Camp Ashraf is something that you need to tell your boss about, that we are concerned about here.

Ambassador RICE. We are very aware. Thank you.

Chairman ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you. Mr. Sherman, the ranking member on the Subcommittee on Terrorism, Nonproliferation, and Trade, is recognized.

Mr. SHERMAN. Ambassador, I will ask you to respond for the record to the accounting issue I brought up in my opening statement. I hope that the administration will use full-cost accounting, which is the legitimate system of accounting, and live with the political disadvantage of truthfully telling the American people how expensive it is for us to provide military assets to these U.N.-authorized activities.

Because then you will gain for our country the diplomatic advantage of telling the world the enormous burden that the American taxpayer absorbs in order to make available to such actions as Libya our unique military capacity.

As to Libya, an issue has arisen as to what the President has the power to do in the absence of a statutory authorization passed by both houses of Congress. And my question for you is, has the President's legal authority expanded? Does he have more permissible options because our actions in Libya are pursuant to a United Nations resolution? Does the U.N. resolution have any effect on Presidential power?

Ambassador RICE. Let me begin with your first question, if I might. I think there are some important clarifications that need to be made. There are U.N. operations, which are U.N. blue-helmeted or field missions, for which we are requesting funding in the CIPA account. And these are the 14 missions that I described in places like Haiti and——

Mr. SHERMAN. Ambassador, I have so many questions. I would hope that you would respond to the accounting question for the record.

Ambassador RICE. I am trying my best to respond, but I have to do it with clarity, so that we are not allowing——

Mr. SHERMAN. I fully understand that there are the blue-helmeted operations, and then there is the——

Ambassador RICE. But when we talk about U.N. missions——

Mr. SHERMAN. Yes, I just think of it as broader.

Ambassador RICE. Then there are missions that the Security Council might bless or authorize that we do in our own national interest. Those would include Afghanistan and Iraq, and Libya now.

Mr. SHERMAN. I regard those as costs consistent with the U.N., but I think——

Ambassador RICE. Those aren't U.N. operations. Those are things where we——

Mr. SHERMAN. Please respond to my Libya question.

Ambassador RICE. I am trying to. Now, the Libya mission is not one that falls under U.N. accounting, or U.N. budgets. It is something that we are undertaking in a national capacity, in a coalition——

Mr. SHERMAN. Can you address my Libya question, as to the powers of the President?

Ambassador RICE. As to the powers of the President, Mr. Sherman, of course the powers of the President are what they are as spelled out in the Constitution, and they are neither enhanced or diminished by U.N. Security Council resolutions.

Mr. SHERMAN. So you are not claiming that the U.N. Participation Act somehow expands the power of the President to act with regard to Libya?

Ambassador RICE. I am not.

Mr. SHERMAN. Okay. What is the administration's position on Palestinian attempts, or at least discussion of a unilateral declaration of statehood? Will the United States work actively to defeat this attempt in the General Assembly, should it arise? What has the administration done so far? What are you planning to do?

Ambassador RICE. Thank you. I appreciate that. Let me explain again, if I can, the process here. For a new state to gain membership of the United Nations, two things have to happen. It has to be recommended by the Security Council, where we have a veto. And then it must be agreed by two thirds of the General Assembly.

If that issue were to arise, while I obviously would not want to address definitively a hypothetical, I think I could say with some high degree of confidence that the establishment that way of a state, prior to the final status issues being resolved in direct negotiations, would run counter to long-standing U.S. policy.

So there is not a risk of a Palestinian state being included in the United Nations as a member state without the U.S. agreeing to that, okay? Now, what we could face separately is the General Assembly adopting a political declaration that doesn't have the weight of international law, but would have, perhaps, some other form of weight, political or symbolic.

That they could do without creating a state formally, without creating a U.N. member state. And that would be a political declaration of the sort that could come before the General Assembly, and where it is fair to suspect that we might not be in the majority.

Chairman ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you, Madam Ambassador, and thank you, Mr. Sherman. I am going to recognize Mr. Chabot, the chairman of the Subcommittee on the Middle East and South Asia, for his 5 minutes. And then we have three votes, and we will return. Mr. Chabot?

Mr. CHABOT. Thank you, Madam Chair. In my opening statement, I only had 1 minute. Now I have five, so I would like to return to the topic of the proposed—the statement condemning Israel that I mentioned before.

As I previously stated, many of us in Congress were disappointed by the administration's handling of the recent draft resolution at the U.N. Security Council that selectively criticized, condemned Israel.

The administration said over and over again, including to this committee, that the Security Council was wrong. It was the wrong place to address final status issues. But you repeatedly refused to publicly commit in advance to veto that resolution, leaving Israel essentially twisting in the wind.

Then we found out, not directly from the administration, but from the press, that you had reversed your position, and were trying to get a Security Council statement criticizing Israel, instead of a resolution.

And then, when the statement was rejected and the resolution came up for a vote, while you did veto it, you issued a really astonishing Explanation of Vote that not only did not support Israel, but actually joined in the criticism.

Many of us were extremely disappointed that the administration thought this appropriate, let alone acceptable. As I previously stated, in 529 short words, the administration undid all the good that had been done by its veto.

In criticizing Israel, you used such language as "reject in the strongest terms," "corroded hopes for peace and stability in the region," "devastates trust," "folly and illegitimacy." These were the words that you read before the world stage. "We therefore," you closed, "regrettably have opposed this draft resolution."

Many of us read this as, "We agree with the demonizing, condemnation, and vilifying, but we regrettably have to vote against it. We wanted to support the resolution, and we agree with the substance, but we were regrettably—we have to vote against it."

With those words, Ambassador Rice, we essentially threw our friend and ally, Israel, to the wolves. The United States, I think, has to look at this very closely. The United Nations is a deeply flawed body, and I am disappointed to say that on February 18th, we added to those flaws instead of being a force for good.

As a strong defender of our ally, Israel, I want to make clear that I reject in the strongest terms this administration's criticism of Israel. It corrodes hopes for peace and stability in the region, and it devastates trust. I therefore, regrettably, have to oppose the folly and illegitimacy of that statement.

Perhaps you can clarify for me, what was the administration hoping to accomplish with your anti-Israel statement? Would you want the U.S. to be treated this way by our allies? How can our calls to end the demonizing of Israel be taken seriously when this administration refuses to speak out at a particularly critical time, when it really matters?

Ambassador RICE. Madam Chairman, this is such an important issue that I would like to have the opportunity to respond in full. And if you would be a little generous with the time constraints, I would appreciate it.

I have to say, sir, with all due respect, I reject your characterization of that statement. Let me explain the following. First of all, the veto itself, the first of this administration, sent a very clear message. And our statement was clear about our view of the decision to bring the resolution forward, which we opposed.

The statement laid out long-standing U.S. policy. It said we are committed to a comprehensive and lasting Arab-Israeli peace. It said we are focused on the goal of a two-state solution. It said the only way to achieve that peace and security is through direct negotiations between the parties.

And it said that the draft resolution under discussion risked hardening the positions of both sides, encouraging the parties to stay out of negotiations, and to come back to the Council if they hit impasses in the future.

The statement also noted long-standing U.S. policy, that we have opposed unilateral steps by either party that could undermine trust or prejudge any final status issues. Settlement activity falls into that category, and the Explanation of Vote restated long-standing U.S. policy of six prior consecutive administrations, which has been consistent.

It was President Bush, in April 2002, who said "Israeli settlement activity in occupied territories must stop." In 2005, Secretary Rice said "U.S. policy is clear: The expansion of settlements ought to stop, settlement activity ought to stop. We are particularly concerned about any kind of activity that would prejudge the outcome of a final status agreement."

The EOV also stated that the only way to reach a two-state solution is through direct negotiations, and said it was unwise for the Council to attempt to resolve core issues that divide Israelis and Palestinians, and that every potential action must be measured against one overriding standard: Will it move the parties closer to the agreement?

So that was what my statement said, in sum. I think you need to read it in its entirety. It reflects long-standing American policy of successive administrations. We stood strongly against the resolution. We vetoed it. And if there is any ambiguity in a veto, I don't know what it is.

Chairman ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you.

Mr. CHABOT. I stand by my statement. I think that the administration——

Chairman ROS-LEHTINEN. And I regrettably have to say I reject this, but it has to come to an end. So we will come right back. We have 8 minutes to vote, and we will be back. So the committee is temporarily in recess.

[Whereupon, at 11:30 a.m., the committee recessed, to reconvene at 12:12 p.m., the same day.]

Chairman ROS-LEHTINEN. The committee is back in session, and as soon as Ambassador Rice returns, I will recognize Congressman Burton for his 5 minutes of questioning.

I am informed that Ambassador Rice has a prior commitment at the White House, and so will need to leave at 12:45. I will be merciless with my gavel. I remind members that they can leave—they can submit questions for the record to the Ambassador. Just get them to the committee within the next 5 days.

Thank you, Madam Ambassador. It is always great, I say, to be interrupted by democracy. Those bells, I hope that in my native homeland of Cuba we get to be interrupted by democracy soon.

And with that, Madam Ambassador, I will turn to Mr. Burton of Indiana for 5 minutes.

Mr. BURTON. Thank you, Madam Speaker, I really appreciate you yielding to me. Ambassador, I heard what you said. I would like to—I mean, obviously you have different information than we have.

But I have here in this vote all the money that went to the U.N., and it was $6.347 trillion. Now, I don't know where you got your figures, but if you need this I will be glad to give it to you.

The second thing I would like to say before I ask you a question is, when I heard my colleague, who is chairman of the Middle East Subcommittee, read your statement to the United Nations regarding the veto which you used, it really bothered me.

I mean, you know I have heard about damning with faint praise, but you went way beyond the pale. It says, "While we agree with our fellow Council Members, and indeed the wider world, about the folly and illegitimacy of continued Israeli settlement activity, we think otherwise," and it goes on, and on, and on.

See, you give our ally, the only real ally we have in the Middle East, a slap in the face. And I just can't understand that. You don't say anything in here about the rocket fire into Israel. You talk about the settlements, you don't talk about the 10 months that Benjamin Netanyahu did not move on settlements because he was waiting to discuss with the Palestinians a solution to the problem.

All you did was criticize Israel. I mean—well, I have it right here. Here is your statement. And you can say—Madam, I will yield to you in a minute. You can say anything that you want, but facts are facts, and your statement is right here.

And anybody that reads what you said or hears what you said is saying, "We would like to really put it to Israel, because they are going on with the settlements, but we can't, or we won't right now, because we don't think this is the proper venue."

And your statement is just really unacceptable, not just to Republicans, but to Democrats as well. I mean, there was criticism from across the spectrum in the Congress for the things that were said at the U.N. regarding this.

There is no question that the settlements are an issue, and the Israeli Government has taken steps to deal with the problem for 10 months. You don't mention that in your statement. Why didn't you mention that? I don't understand. You didn't mention that, but you sure criticized Israel for going on with it.

While Israel stopped for 10 months and said, "Okay, we will negotiate with you, and we will suspend building in the settlement area," no mention of that. No mention of the rocket fire. No mention of the civilians that are put in danger by Hezbollah and by Hamas.

And I just don't understand that. You know, when the administration says they are supporting Israel and they wait till the last minute to create doubt in everybody's mind on whether or not they are going to veto that Security Council resolution, it bothers us.

The administration should have come out very quickly and said, "We support Israel. We want this solution. We want there to be a solution. We would like to see the settlements stop, but that can't be done until there is a reasonable expectation that there is going to be an agreement between the Palestinians and the Israelis."

That should be the criteria. Not blaming Israel, beating them over the head on the settlements, not mentioning the rocket fire endangering civilians. I just don't get it. So maybe you can explain, in the minute that we have left, how you support Israel so much, and how you are with us, as far as the Congress is concerned, in supporting Israel.

Just let us know, because your statement sure as heck didn't indicate that at all.

Ambassador RICE. I object to your mischaracterization——

Mr. BURTON. Well, I object to your statement at the U.N.

Chairman ROS-LEHTINEN. Mr. Burton.

Ambassador RICE. I object——

Chairman ROS-LEHTINEN. Madam Ambassador, if you could just hold the clock a second—if you could push the button on your microphone? Thank you.

Ambassador RICE. I object strenuously to your mischaracterization——

Chairman ROS-LEHTINEN. I am sorry, we are having technical problems. They are working on it. I apologize.

Ambassador RICE [continuing]. Of my statement, and I object even more strenuously to your suggestion that this administration and our Government is in any way lacking in its support for Israel.

We have the strongest, most deep military, security, and intelligence cooperation that this country has ever had under this administration. Every day, I and my colleagues stand up in support of our interests and Israel's interests in the United Nations, and we have made important progress in that regard.

From the start of this administration, from the very second day, we have made it a top priority trying to broker a lasting peace between Israel and the Palestinians, and a two-state solution.

The issue on the table was a resolution on settlements. President Obama instructed me to veto that resolution, and I did so. My Explanation of Vote explained why we vetoed it. You are welcome to insert it into the record, or I can.

Mr. BURTON. I will.

Ambassador RICE. And it elaborated the long-standing U.S. policy of six consecutive administrations, which is that settlement activity is illegitimate.

But it said a lot more than that. It spoke about our commitment to a two-state solution. It spoke about our opposition to resolving or attempting to address or resolve issues that can only be resolved through negotiations, in the context of a resolution.

That is why we vetoed it, and that is why we have made clear that for this, or any subsequent effort to bring any kind of final status issue before the Security Council, that is something that we have, and we will, consistently opposed.

Chairman ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you. Mr. Burton?

Mr. BURTON. Madam Speaker, I would like to ask for unanimous consent to include the entire statement of the Ambassador, and also the cost to the U.N.

Chairman ROS-LEHTINEN. That might be limited to size limitations, but we will look into that. But this will be made part of the record.

Ambassador RICE. Madam Chairman——

Chairman ROS-LEHTINEN. And I sincerely apologize for these technical difficulties. They are trying to work this out. And Mr. Engel, I apologize. You are recognized. I am sorry about the microphones not working.

Mr. ENGEL. These don't work either? No. Okay. Madam Ambassador, I will try to be loud. First of all, again I want to personally thank you for the tough job you are doing. It's not easy to defend some of the practices of the United Nations.

You can understand, I am sure, why so many people on both sides of the aisle are frustrated, and why we think that the United Nations needs to be seriously revamped. You take the Human Rights Council, 42 of 65 country-specific resolutions are anti-Israel.

And as has been said by many of my colleagues, some of the worst human rights abusers in the world sit on that Human Rights Council. I am wondering if you could tell us two things.

Number one, the Goldstone report was rejected on the House Floor by this body right after it was passed in the U.N. And we rejected it because we said that Israel—it is almost a blood libel, as Shimon Peres said when they accused Israel of targeting civilians.

But yet we know that Hamas targets civilians. In fact, just this morning, the rockets from Gaza hit a school bus, injuring several children, I understand. So we know that Hamas deliberately targets civilians.

And therefore, Israel has undergone a whole investigation, and has come up with the fact that Israel did not target civilians. And that is why Judge Goldstone has repudiated his report.

What can we do to make sure that the United Nations repudiates the report? Because there are some in the United Nations that want to go forward with the original Goldstone report as if it were truth, and we now know it isn't.

And secondly, the unilateral declaration of a Palestinian state, which I know you ran through the procedure before, that we can veto that. And I hope that we will. And if the U.N. General Assembly passes it, it may be a political statement but it has no real effect.

I think that this unilateral recognition impedes a peace agreement, because it tells the Palestinians that they need not sit down and negotiate, that somehow or other they will get their state by refusing to negotiate.

Israel, or any country, cannot be put in the position of preconditions to even sitting down and talking. These are very serious issues that will be resolved in final status talks, but not as a precondition.

So I just wonder if you could just tell us how we can try to ensure that Goldstone is repealed, as the infamous Zionism is Racism

resolution was repealed several years ago. And what is the administration doing to combat this terrible anti-Israel bias?

Because what you hear, the frustration here is that people say, "Well, why should we continue to fund the United Nations when time and time again it comes out against what we think is in the best interests of the United States and our ally, Israel?"

And I know your arguments, which have a lot of credence, in my opinion, that we need to stay and fight. But I am sure you appreciate how frustrating it gets when we pay the lion's share of things, and then we think we are kind of spit in the face, and our ally, Israel, is spit in the face.

So I have raised a bunch of things. If you can comment on any or all of them, I would appreciate it.

Ambassador RICE. Thank you very much, Mr. Engel. And I appreciate the spirit of your questions. As I said earlier, we absolutely have been unequivocal in our condemnation of the substance and conclusions of the Goldstone report, which we have been very clear on from the outset.

We are, as I mentioned earlier, in the process of talking to the closest partners on this about how best, in light of both the subsequent actions that were already in different U.N. bodies as a result of Goldstone and Judge Goldstone's own op-ed in the Washington Post, that we might accelerate our efforts to just put this entire sad episode to bed.

And our aim is twofold. One is to prevent follow-up action in the GA, in the Security Council, any referrals to other bodies, from materializing. And secondly, we share your interests in trying to clear the record. Whether that can be done through repudiation—that would require a new resolution of both the Human Rights Council and the General Assembly—or whether there are other procedural mechanisms that we can employ.

But the aim is to accomplish that, and we are trying to consult with partners who have a direct stake in this as to how best to accomplish these goals.

Chairman ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you, Madam Ambassador. And thank you, Mr. Engel.

Mr. ENGEL. Madam Chair, I just want to take 3 seconds to say that I also hope we can get Israel removed from the permanent agenda of the U.N. Human Rights Council.

Chairman ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you very much. And we welcome Congresswoman Terri Sewell of Alabama. Always welcome to our committee. Ms. Schmidt of Ohio is recognized.

Ms. SCHMIDT. Thank you, and I am going to move down so that we can hear each other more clearly. I have three questions for you, two concerning the Secretary General and the third regarding funding.

The first is, Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon appointed a panel of experts to advise him and make recommendations to him on the issues of accountability with regard to any alleged violations of international human rights and the humanitarian law during the final stages of the conflict in Sri Lanka. The panel has submitted its report to the Secretary General. Will the United States push the United Nations to publish this report?

My second question, again regarding the U.N. The Secretary General has violated the rules and regulations of the U.N. by appointing as his Special Envoy for Libya an official from the Government of Jordan, who both maintains outside business interests and his fee and salary as a senator. This is in violation of the U.N.'s own rules that U.N. officials may receive income from outside sources. Is the U.S. aware of this violation, and does it agree with critics that the Secretary General should not be violating the rules of the organization?

And my final question is, can you explain to me why the United States is paying 100 percent of the security upgrade costs at the United Nations headquarters in New York?

Ambassador RICE. Thank you, Mrs. Schmidt. Let me begin with your last question about security upgrades. First of all, with regard to the U.N. building and its renovation, we paid 22 percent—that is our regular budget assessed share—of the costs of the overall renovation.

I think it is important to note that Americans, American contractors, have received the lion's share of all of the contracts that have been let as a result of that renovation, such that if you do the math we are—for every dollar we have spent, there are $4 coming back into the United States, into our economy.

The second point is security upgrades. The City of New York, and the New York Police Department, recommended and indeed insisted that in the course of the renovation, given the terrorist threat that faces the United Nations' headquarters building, and given its geographical location over the F.D.R. Freeway and right up on First Avenue, that there be additional security upgrades above and beyond what was envisioned when the original capital master plan was implemented.

The estimated cost of that was $100 million. The State Department and administration, in conjunction with New York authorities, the City of New York as well as the New York Police Department, made the judgment that it was in our interests both to get those security upgrades done and done in a timely fashion, so that the cost overrides were not excessive down the road.

It is American citizens who are most affected by the security of the U.N. building, both in terms of 40 percent of those in and out of the building every day are Americans, but also it is Americans driving under the building, walking by it, who will be at greatest risk. So that is why we made the decision to invest in our own security and make those upgrades.

With respect to the panel of experts, that report is just coming forward. We look forward to it, and we think that it would be beneficial if it were available publicly.

Ms. SCHMIDT. So will we push to have it published?

Ambassador RICE. I would like to read it before I make that judgment, but in general, yes. And with respect to Mr. Khatib, the Secretary General's Special Envoy for Libya, just appointed. Very distinguished, very effective person who on short notice took on a very important role. I had the opportunity to meet with him this week as he briefed the Security Council.

He is an excellent selection of special representative. He is in the process of working out with the Secretary General and the Secretariat the circumstances of his employment and renumeration.

It happened very quickly in response to the Security Council resolution that he was appointed, and he has been out in the field now twice to Libya in the short time that has elapsed since then. And we look forward to his employment circumstances being implemented in a fashion consistent with rules and regulations.

Ms. SCHMIDT. Thank you. And finally, just my personal view. Israel is the best friend we have in the world, and we have to make sure that the U.N. doesn't continue to use Israel as a bully pulpit for its own agenda.

Ambassador RICE. I couldn't agree more.

Ms. SCHMIDT. We need to make sure that Israel's interests are protected, because when their interests are protected, our interests are protected.

Ambassador RICE. I couldn't agree more. And I think there is an important distinction here that rarely gets made. There is the U.N., the institution that sends missions out into the field, that feeds the hungry, that inoculates children against disease.

And then there are the 192 member states, who act and speak and vote in their own interests, that is often not our interest.

Chairman ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you. That is an important distinction. Thank you, Madam Ambassador. Thank you, Ms. Schmidt. Mr. Meeks, the ranking member on the Subcommittee on Europe and Eurasia, is recognized.

Mr. MEEKS. Thank you, Madam Chair. Again, Madam Ambassador, I want to thank you for the great work that you have been doing representing our country at the United Nations.

And I just also want to continue to thank you for your work, that it is important that we sit and be engaged with the rest of the world. And that is really for our own security. Because truthfully, if we acted unilaterally, and did not have the allies that we have, many of the nations that are sitting in the U.N. and other places—hooray.

Chairman ROS-LEHTINEN. Eureka.

Mr. MEEKS. We have the microphone again.

Chairman ROS-LEHTINEN. The question just brought out the juice.

Mr. MEEKS. So it is important, I think, that we don't have to go along with a kind of gunslinging-type attitude, that we are working closely.

Because when we ask individuals to come with us to Iraq, or Afghanistan, or other places, or to fight with us against terrorism, where we need to work with one another to combat terrorism, and to make sure—we need many of these same allies, whom some would say that we just ignore. And I don't know how we ignore them, when we will need them to help us, and then when they need some help we don't help them.

That being said, and I think you touched on this earlier. I think it is no secret that the previous administration, the Bush administration, had at times rocky relationships with the U.N. But they never proposed withholding a significant amount of dues to the U.N.

And I know that you were not in that position during that administration, but you started to touch on it. Could you just tell us why even the Bush administration did not withhold a substantial amount of money, dues, to the U.N.? What is the significance of that?

Ambassador RICE. Thank you, Mr. Meeks. I think it was interesting that you had former Ambassador Mark Wallace testify recently before this committee. And he explained that, in his judgment and the judgment of the previous administration which he served, it has not been wise, not judged wise or beneficial, to use withholding as a tactic to implement change.

And he was the author, to his credit, of some energetic reform initiatives that we have sustained and augmented. The reason it isn't wise is because it doesn't work. It has been tried in the past, and as Mr. Berman said earlier, it resulted only in our isolation and our loss of a crucial seat on the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions, which is the body where we get to scrub the budget and ensure that we are not asked to pay for things that we think are unworthy.

It is also not the vehicle to achieve reform. We have achieved the greatest progress on reform under the previous administration and this administration, when we have worked to and been able to remain current on our assessed contributions.

Mr. MEEKS. Are there any consequences to not paying our assessed dues?

Ambassador RICE. First of all, it violates our treaty obligations. Secondly, if we are in arrears over a period of time, we can lose our vote in the General Assembly.

Mr. MEEKS. And some members have proposed shifting our contributions to the U.N. on a purely voluntary basis. Can you tell us, without assessed contributions, how do we fund unpopular or less than compelling activities that the U.N. must undertake? Could you talk about that briefly?

Ambassador RICE. Voluntary contributions can work to a certain extent in field operations. It has worked for UNICEF and WFP, as the chairwoman noted in her statement. It doesn't work when you are talking about peacekeeping operations, the administrative responsibilities that have to be conducted in U.N. headquarters.

Let me give you two important examples. The two missions that have contributed most recently to increases in the U.N. regular budget have been the U.N. missions in Iraq and Afghanistan. Those two missions are directly serving our interests. They have been formed largely at our initiative, to augment and support the work of our troops in the field.

We currently pay, under the regular budget, 22 percent of the costs of those missions, which are together over $0.5 billion. If we took the view that we will only pay for those missions that we like—our share is $0.5 billion.

If we were to pay for only those missions that we like, we would find ourselves paying 100 percent of costly—or close to 100 percent of costly, important missions like that, rather than 22 percent. And our net costs would quite likely be higher.

As I mentioned earlier, when it comes to the peacekeeping budget, there is nothing that we are asked to pay for that we haven't

previously voted to create. All of those missions are created by a vote in the Security Council, and the U.S. can say yes, because we want it and we believe it serves our interests, or no.

Chairman ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you.

Mr. MEEKS. Thank you.

Chairman ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you very much, Mr. Meeks. And thank you, Madam Ambassador. Mr. Rivera of Florida.

Mr. RIVERA. Thank you, Madam Chair. I want to go back to this issue of the punching bag that has been mentioned before. Israel, our greatest ally, being a punching bag of the United Nations, which I completely agree with.

But I want to talk first about the United States being the punching bag, particularly vis-à-vis U.S. policy toward Cuba. And I am wondering, we always have a yearly vote, that yearly spectacle when the United Nations uses the U.S. as a punching bag and votes against U.S. policy of isolating the Castro dictatorship economically, even though, as has been mentioned previously, the Castro regime is recognized as a state sponsor of terrorism by our own Government.

It is a regime that is harboring fugitives from U.S. justice, including cop killers, drug traffickers. A regime that has murdered Americans in international airspace, as occurred in 1996 in the Brothers to the Rescue shoot down. And I am wondering what efforts do you make personally to try and garner support for U.S. policy toward Cuba?

Ambassador RICE. First of all, we firmly and unequivocally, at every opportunity, condemn, for the very reasons you described, Cuba's human rights record and its long-standing record of abuses, as well as its record of support for terrorism.

Secondly, every year, when the resolution comes before the General Assembly, we work hard—I myself and my colleagues at the U.S. mission—to garner as many votes in conjunction with our position of voting against the resolution as we can muster.

And we have a small core of countries, including Israel, as you pointed out, that regularly and loyally stand with us on this. And we every year make efforts to expand that grouping. But I think, as you well know, as we strongly make our case for our policy, which is a bilateral policy, on the embargo at the U.N., and we work to gain votes, we are in a minority, and a small minority.

As you well know, the embargo has limited international support, and even our closest allies, like Canada and the European partners, don't share our view. And this is an issue that has been and will remain an annual irritant.

Let me also address more broadly, though, Cuba's standing at the United Nations, and what we do to deal with that. Cuba, once upon a time, had a lot of juice at the United Nations, and a lot of support and influence. And that influence is dramatically diminished.

It is increasingly isolated within the Latin American Group. It is increasingly isolated within the general membership. And let me give you a couple of examples. We have heard about the Human Rights Council, and our frustration with that, which we share.

But there are no more than five countries out of 47 on the Human Rights Council, at the present, Cuba being one of them,

whose record on human rights we would all agree is absolutely abysmal.

The other 42 are either upstanding countries, or countries that are somewhere in the middle. Cuba is at the bottom, but it is losing ground. At the Human Rights Council this year, Cuba worked very, very hard to block the creation of a Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Assembly, and was roundly defeated. That passed unanimously by the Human Rights Council.

It also tried to upset the process of our periodic review, and other countries pointedly condemned Cuba.

Mr. RIVERA. I only have 1 minute left. I appreciate those comments, and I think it speaks to the fact that if Cuba's standing is diminishing so much, it should allow space for you, in your capacity, to make even greater progress on bringing allies toward the United States' position on Cuba. In particular, those allies that maybe do not have the relationships with Cuba that some of those that you mentioned earlier.

But there are a lot of countries on the planet, and I hope you will make every effort to internationalize U.S. policy, because it is the just policy, considering what you have just mentioned, the dismal human rights record by the Castro dictatorship. So I hope you will make every effort to continue to garner that support for our policy.

Chairman ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you very much, Mr. Rivera. Mr. Deutch?

Mr. DEUTCH. Thank you, Madam Chair. Ambassador Rice, I wanted to turn to Iran. And as we look at recent events in the Middle East, it seems that Iran has been emboldened. On Tuesday, the Iranian Ambassador to the U.N. was quoted as saying that the geopolitical picture of the region is changing in favor of Iran. Reports in the last several weeks indicate that Iran is continuing to move toward weaponization, and Iran continues to look for ways to evade international sanctions.

I would like to commend you for the role that you have played, first in the U.N. sanctions against Iran last year. The efforts that, again, you helped to spearhead, to keep Iran off of the Human Rights Council. And particularly the creation of the Special Rapporteur on Iran, hopefully focusing on Iranian human rights abuses.

On a going-forward basis, as we look to events unfolding in the region and steps that can be taken to focus on the threats that Iran poses, if the regime continues to defy the IAEA and moves ahead with its illicit nuclear program, would the Security Council impose another round of sanctions that would include even greater sanctions to choke off the energy sector? I wonder if there have been discussions with Security Council members about strengthening existing sanctions.

And of greatest concern to me, if you could address what you think it would take to get China, who continues to make $1-billion investments in Iran's oil fields, and the Russians, who recently spoke of rolling back sanctions, to cooperate and support another resolution.

Ambassador RICE. First of all, thank you very much for your kind words in support of our efforts, both in the Security Council and other bodies, with respect to Iran.

We have been very plain that we will stand up and condemn and seek to isolate Iran for its human rights record and its abuses, both in multilateral fora and nationally, as we have continued to impose sanctions on individuals responsible for Iran's human rights abuses.

And we will do all that we can to prevent Iran from obtaining a nuclear capacity. We do that through a variety of means. Through multilateral measures, as we have in the United Nations Security Council, and I will come back to what more we can do.

But also, as you know, through your excellent legislation and national measures that we have taken and continue to take, to implement not only the Security Council resolutions, but the measures and authorities given to us by Congress.

Inside the U.N., I think in the short term there is scope for tightening enforcement and implementation of 1929 and previous resolutions, which are having a significant impact, and we are regularly getting the support of countries from Nigeria to Asia in blocking an intercepting—and obviously Israel—Iranian arms shipments.

So there is a panel of experts, there is a sanctions committee, all of which can help tighten enforcement of existing measures. I think it needs to be acknowledged that China and Russia worked with us to pass that important resolution. They have implemented it to the letter, and we have asked them to do more.

Russia has dealt with the S–300s, which is above and beyond the resolution. China, we have been pressing not to backfill investments. And thus far, we have seen good response to that sort of request.

In terms of a new resolution in the short term, sir, I think that is unlikely to be viable. But obviously over time, and also in response to actions that Iran may take, we will continue to keep multilateral action, including Security Council action, on the table.

Mr. DEUTCH. And I appreciate that. And just in my remaining minute, in addition to these resolutions on nuclear proliferation activities, Iran has consistently been found to be in violation of arms transfer resolutions.

The interception of the Victoria by the Israeli navy with 2,500 mortars and 65,000 rounds of ammunition—the interception, again, seizure of illegal arms shipments by Nigeria in February, the Turkish seizure of an Iranian cargo vessel carrying 60 AK–47s and 200 mortar shells—Iran has continued to violate Security Council Resolution 1747.

I would respectfully request that you continue to look for ways to penalize Iran for non-compliance with that resolution, which prohibits Iranian arms exports.

Ambassador RICE. Thank you.

Chairman ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you so much. And Madam Ambassador, I know that based on our previous arrangement you have to be back at the White House at 1 o'clock. And so we appreciate your time. I give my deepest apologies to Mr. Kelly of Pennsylvania, Ms. Buerkle, who is our U.N. representative from our committee. And so I hope that you work well with Ms. Buerkle. She is our Ambassador. And Mr. Keating of Massachusetts. And thank you, Congresswoman Sewell, for joining us.

So Madam Ambassador, thank you very much for your excellent testimony. We look forward to working with you on U.N. reform, an issue we both are passionate about.

Ambassador RICE. Thank you, Madam Chairwoman.

Chairman ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you, and the committee is—oh, I am sorry.

Ambassador RICE. Thank you very much for your leadership, and your kindness, and that of all of your colleagues. And please come visit us.

Chairman ROS-LEHTINEN. You are a good friend. And Ms. Buerkle will be right there. The committee is now adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 12:47 p.m., the committee was adjourned.]

APPENDIX

Material Submitted for the Hearing Record

FULL COMMITTEE HEARING NOTICE
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515-0128

Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (R-FL), Chairman

March 31, 2011

You are respectfully requested to attend an OPEN hearing of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, to be held in **Room 2172 of the Rayburn House Office Building (and available live, via the WEBCAST link on the Committee website at http://www.hcfa.house.gov):**

DATE:	Thursday, April 7, 2011
TIME:	10:00 a.m.
SUBJECT:	Reforming the United Nations: The Future of U.S. Policy
WITNESSES:	The Honorable Susan Rice U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations U.S. Department of State

By Direction of the Chairman

The Committee on Foreign Affairs seeks to make its facilities accessible to persons with disabilities. If you are in need of special accommodations, please call 202/225-5021 at least four business days in advance of the event, whenever practicable. Questions with regard to special accommodations in general (including availability of Committee materials in alternative formats and assistive listening devices) may be directed to the Committee.

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

MINUTES OF FULL COMMITTEE HEARING

Day *Thursday* **Date** *April 7, 2011* **Room** *2172 Rayburn*

Starting Time *10:06 a.m.* **Ending Time** *12:47 p.m.*

Recesses [ ] (*11:30* to *12:11*) (____ to ____) (____ to ____) (____ to ____) (____ to ____) (____ to ____)

Presiding Member(s)

Chairman Ros-Lehtinen

Check all of the following that apply:

Open Session [✓]
Executive (closed) Session [ ]
Televised [✓]
Electronically Recorded (taped) [✓]
Stenographic Record [✓]

TITLE OF HEARING:

Reforming the United Nations: The Future of U.S. Policy

COMMITTEE MEMBERS PRESENT:

Attendance Attached

NON-COMMITTEE MEMBERS PRESENT:

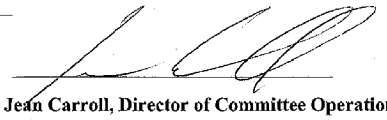
Congresswoman Terri Sewell (D-AL)

HEARING WITNESSES: Same as meeting notice attached? Yes [✓] **No** [ ]
(If "no", please list below and include title, agency, department, or organization.)

STATEMENTS FOR THE RECORD: *(List any statements submitted for the record.)*

Rep. Burton Information for the Record
Rep. Connolly Statement for the Record
Chairman Ros-Lehtinen Question for the Record
Rep. Engel Question for the Record

TIME SCHEDULED TO RECONVENE _____
or
TIME ADJOURNED *12:47 P.M.*



Jean Carroll, Director of Committee Operations

Hearing/Briefing Title: **Reforming the United Nations: The Future of U.S. Policy**

Date: **April 7, 2011**

Present	Member
X	Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, FL
X	Christopher Smith, NJ
X	Dan Burton, IN
X	Elton Gallegly, CA
X	Dana Rohrabacher, CA
	Donald Manzullo, IL
	Edward R. Royce, CA
X	Steve Chabot, OH
	Ron Paul, TX
	Mike Pence, IN
	Joe Wilson, SC
	Connie Mack, FL
X	Jeff Fortenberry, NE
	Michael McCaul, TX
	Ted Poe, TX
X	Gus M. Bilirakis, FL
X	Jean Schmidt, OH
	Bill Johnson, OH
X	David Rivera, FL
X	Mike Kelly, PA
	Tim Griffin, AK
X	Tom Marino, PA
X	Jeff Duncan, SC
X	Ann Marie Buerkle, NY
	Renee Ellmers, NC

Present	Member
X	Howard L. Berman, CA
	Gary L. Ackerman, NY
	Eni F.H. Faleomavaega, AS
X	Donald M. Payne, NJ
X	Brad Sherman, CA
X	Eliot Engel, NY
X	Gregory Meeks, NY
X	Russ Carnahan, MO
	Albio Sires, NJ
X	Gerry Connolly, VA
X	Ted Deutch, FL
	Dennis Cardoza, CA
	Ben Chandler, KY
	Brian Higgins, NY
	Allyson Schwartz, PA
	Chris Murphy, CT
X	Frederica Wilson, FL
	Karen Bass, CA
X	William Keating, MA
X	David Cicilline, RI

The Honorable Gerald E. Connolly (VA-11)

HCFA Hearing: Reforming the United Nations: The Future of U.S. Policy
Thursday, April 7, 2011
10am

First and foremost, I would like to offer my condolences to Ambassador Rice following the recent United Nations personnel deaths at the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA) office in Mazar-i-Sharif. Initial reports indicated that at least 12 people were killed; 7 of them were UN personnel. Sadly, this is not the only instance of UN personnel being killed while serving in Afghanistan. In 2009, 11 people were killed when Taliban suicide bombers invaded a guest house in Kabul. These attacks are a harrowing reminder that UN personnel serve overseas in harm's way. These same personnel often act in concert with U.S. strategic interests.

Regarding the recent UNAMA office attacks Ambassador Rice, who is testifying before the Committee today, said:

> "The dedicated staff of the UN Mission in Afghanistan does courageous work every single day to support the Afghan people under extremely different circumstances, including repeated attacks. It is inexcusable that these brave souls would be targeted for violence."

I echo your comments, Madam Ambassador. The men and women who staff that UN mission in Afghanistan are working towards U.S. strategic interests to stabilize Afghanistan. To think that with one hand we would openly welcome the assistance of the international community in Afghanistan and with the other try to siphon any funding from the United Nations, to me, is unconscionable.

Just a few weeks ago, the House of Representatives considered several amendments to cut U.S. funding to the UN. Some of the anti-UN amendments to H.R. 1 aimed to: defund the UN completely; cut contributions to International Organizations (CIO) account at State— the account which funds the UN, NATO, and the IAEA; and prohibit funds to renovate UN headquarters in NY, which do not adhere to modern building safety codes.

This is in addition to legislation which would have depleted UN funds that had been dedicated to renovating UN headquarters for security purposes. These UN funds were directed for security enhancements at the request of New York City and the New York City Police Department because of "the increasing threats the United Nations has come under globally, and ... the obvious potential impact of these threats on the United States, as the UN's host country, and on its citizens."[1] This bill failed on the House Floor (259-169) because it required a 2/3 vote under the Floor mechanism known as Suspension of the Rules. Nevertheless, these types of votes set a harmful precedent to our international relationships and to our strategic interests.

The discussion regarding the United States' support for the United Nations oftentimes deconstructs into a philosophical one. Some argue that the U.S. has no obligation to the UN and no need for the UN. But one can see the benefits of the UN without even examining the ethical argument. Though one could argue that altruism is a noble foreign policy goal in and of itself, there are other justifications for the U.S.'s support for the UN—namely that the existence of the UN, practically speaking, benefits the United States. A past witness before the Committee—Mr. Mark Quarterman of the Center for Strategic and International Studies— said it best:

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[1] Letter from US Department of State to The Honorable Howard L. Berman. February 9th, 2011.

The Honorable Gerald E. Connolly (VA-11)

> ... The UN operates in places where the U.S. might have concerns but not fundamental interests. It tackles difficult but essential tasks that the U.S. and other major powers would not want to take on alone. Examples include Sudan, where the UN helped to keep the peace and played a central role in the recent successful referendum; East Timor, which the UN shepherded to independence; and Nepal, where a UN mission helped end a decades-long civil war and usher in a democratic future.[2]

Despite these benefits, the UN is fallible. The notion that a complex, multi-layered organization has flaws is disappointing but not surprising. The organization has been no stranger to controversy; infamous examples include the Oil for Food scandal and sexual abuse of civilians by peacekeepers. Despite the inefficiency and opaqueness of some parts of the United Nations, withholding funds from the UN may not be the best strategy in combating the UN's problems. The only way to prevent future scandal is through transparency, accountability, and an active U.S. presence.

I look forward to exploring these and other issues at today's hearing. Thank you, Ambassador Rice, for testifying before the Committee. Thank you, Madam Chairman; I yield back.

[2] Mark Quarterman, *Testimony Before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs*, January 25 2011.

MATERIAL SUBMITTED FOR THE RECORD BY THE HONORABLE DAN BURTON, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF INDIANA

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

THE DIRECTOR

June 7, 2010

The Honorable Nancy Pelosi
Speaker of the House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Madam Speaker:

We are transmitting herewith the Annual Report on United States Contributions to the United Nations in accordance with Section 1225 of the John Warner National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2007 (P.L. 109-364), as amended by Section 1243 of the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2010 (P.L. 111-84). This report sets forth United States contributions to the United Nations and United Nations affiliated agencies and related bodies for fiscal year 2009 as provided to the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) by the relevant Executive Branch agencies.

The Administration is committed to disclosing information rapidly in forms that the Congress and public can readily find and use. This report is being made available to the public on the OMB website together with other legislative information and reports to Congress.

Sincerely,

Peter R. Orszag
Director

Enclosure

Identical Letter Sent to the President of the Senate

U.S. Contributions to the United Nations System
Total Contributions by Agency
($ obligations in thousands)

Contributing Agency	FY 2009
Department of Agriculture	245,040
Department of Commerce	7,045
Department of Defense	1,857
Department of Education	269
Department of Energy	54,791
Environmental Protection Agency	9,897
Department of Health & Human Services	132,346
Department of Interior	233
Department of Labor	44,234
National Aeronautics and Space Administration	858
National Science Foundation	493
Peace Corps	100
Department of State	4,111,393
Department of Transportation	4,042
Department of Treasury	18,000
U.S. Agency for International Development	1,715,241
U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum	48
U.S. Postal Service	368
US Nuclear Regulatory Commission	1,160
TOTAL	**6,347,415**

$6.347 BILLION

Explanation of Vote by Ambassador Susan E. Rice, U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations, on the Resolution on the Situation in the Middle East, including the question of Palestine, in the Security Council Chamber

Susan E. Rice
U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations
U.S. Mission to the United Nations
New York, NY
February 18, 2011

AS DELIVERED

Thank you, Madame President.

The United States has been deeply committed to pursuing a comprehensive and lasting peace between Israel and the Palestinians. In that context, we have been focused on taking steps that advance the goal of two states living side by side in peace and security, rather than complicating it. That includes a commitment to work in good faith with all parties to underscore our opposition to continued settlements.

Our opposition to the resolution before this Council today should therefore not be misunderstood to mean we support settlement activity. On the contrary, we reject in the strongest terms the legitimacy of continued Israeli settlement activity. For more than four decades, Israeli settlement activity in territories occupied in 1967 has undermined Israel's security and corroded hopes for peace and stability in the region. Continued settlement activity violates Israel's international commitments, devastates trust between the parties, and threatens the prospects for peace.

The United States and our fellow Council members are also in full agreement about the urgent need to resolve the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians, based on the two-state solution and an agreement that establishes a viable, independent, and contiguous state of Palestine, once and for all. We have invested a tremendous amount of effort and resources in pursuit of this shared goal, and we will continue to do so.

But the only way to reach that common goal is through direct negotiations between the parties, with the active and sustained support of the United States and the international community.

It is the Israelis' and Palestinians' conflict, and even the best-intentioned outsiders cannot resolve it for them. Therefore every potential action must be measured against one overriding standard: will it move the parties closer to negotiations and an agreement? Unfortunately, this draft resolution risks hardening the positions of both sides. It could encourage the parties to stay out of negotiations and, if and when they did resume, to return to the Security Council whenever they reach an impasse.

Madame President, in recent years, no outside country has invested more than the United States of America in the effort to achieve Israeli-Palestinian peace.

In recent days, we offered a constructive alternative course forward that we believe would have allowed the Council to act unanimously to support the pursuit of peace. We regret that this effort was not successful and thus is no longer viable.

The great impetus for democracy and reform in the region makes it even more urgent to settle this bitter and tragic conflict in the context of a region moving towards greater peace and respect for human rights. But there simply are no shortcuts.

We hope that those who share our hopes for peace between a secure and sovereign Israel and Palestine will join us in redoubling our common efforts to encourage and support the resumption of direct negotiations.

While we agree with our fellow Council members—and indeed, with the wider world—about the folly and illegitimacy of continued Israeli settlement activity, we think it unwise for this Council to attempt to resolve the core issues that divide Israelis and Palestinians. We therefore regrettably have opposed this draft resolution.

Thank you, Madame President.

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PRN: 2011/29

QUESTIONS FOR DEPUTY SECRETARY RICE
THE HONORABLE ILEANA ROS-LEHTINEN
CHAIRMAN
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Hearing on
Reforming the United Nations: The Future of U.S. Policy
April 7, 2011, 10:00 AM
2172 Rayburn House Office Building

- Former UN Procurement Task Force head Robert Appleton's tried to oversee and help reform the UN and uncovered over $1 billion in tainted contracts, and as thanks, he got fired and blocked from being hired as the UN's lead investigator for internal oversight—and many of his cases remain open and unaddressed. Reports indicate that the person who has held that job for years on an acting basis, Michael Dudley, is doing little to nothing on open cases, not pursuing new cases, and is now under investigation himself for retaliating against whistle-blowers!
  - **Is this what generally happens to UN investigators who take their jobs seriously and try to root out corruption and misconduct?**
  - **If the reports are true, why has Mr. Dudley been allowed to continue in that job?**
  - **Why haven't you publicly protested the state of affairs at the UN's internal oversight office?**

- Many UN funds and programs have created individual ethics offices or agreed to use the [UN] Ethics Office. But:
  - **Isn't the whole point of having an independent ethics office that it should be able to have jurisdiction over the entire UN? Why have others in each agency? Why the duplication? Why enable agencies to opt out from accountability?**

- In your testimony, you highlight the fact that "UNDP has a long way to go on internal oversight and accountability, including donor access to program audits." I appreciate you raising the issue but want to ensure that you understand just how seriously we take this problem. One of the "donors" that has been denied access to UNDP's program audits is the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria. UNDP manages over $1 billion in Global Fund programs across 27, which implicates at least $300 million US taxpayer dollars. Given the high levels of waste, fraud and abuse that the Global Fund's Inspector General successfully has identified over the past several years, it is unconscionable that one of the Fund's principle implementers should be able to exempt itself from his jurisdiction. It's even more disturbing that UNDP continues to refuse to grant the Global Fund's Inspector General access to its own internal audits.
  - **Ambassador Rice, will you commit today to ensuring that UNDP submits to the jurisdiction of the Global Fund's Inspector General for all programs in which it acts as a principle recipient?**
  - **Will you also commit to conveying to UNDP that if it fails to either submit to the jurisdiction of the Global Fund's Inspector General, or continues to refuse to**

disclose the complete contents of its own internal audits to the Global Fund IG, that the United States will seek to ensure that it is barred from acting as a principle recipient of Global Fund dollars?

- Concerns have grown over the UN's lack of responsiveness to press inquiries. For instance, the Secretary-General's spokesman has repeatedly ignored critical questions during hearings, going so far as to abruptly walk out of the briefing room when asked recently about the UN's role in Darfur.
  - **What reforms has the U.S. Mission demanded to increase the UN's accountability to journalists?**

- The UN humanitarian agency for Palestinian refugees, UNRWA **[UN-rah]**, refuses to vet its staff or aid recipients for ties to terrorist groups; doesn't even think Hamas is a terrorist organization; engages in anti-Israel, pro-Hamas propaganda; and banks with Syrian institutions designated under the USA Patriot Act for terror financing and money laundering.
  - **Why is the U.S. still UNRWA's largest single donor?**
  - **Why have we given them about half a billion dollars in the last two years alone?**
  - **Why hasn't the U.S. publicly criticized UNRWA for these problems and withheld funding until it reforms?**
  - **Given that Hamas controls security in Gaza and that Hamas has confiscated UNRWA aid packages in the past, how can we possibly guarantee that U.S. contributions to UNRWA will not end up in Hamas's hands?**

- Prior to 2000, Israel was the only nation that did not belong to a "Regional Group" because the Arab states had prevailed in excluding Israel. Thankfully, due to U.S. leadership, Israel was given membership to the Western Europe and Others Group [WEOG] in New York. Two years ago, Israel joined an unofficial regional group in Geneva – JUSCANZ ["juice cans"] – a group made up of the United States, Canada, Australia, Japan, and several other democratic countries. Yet, Israel still faces structural hurdles preventing her from becoming a normal member of the United Nations.
  - **What has the U.S. done to seek membership for Israel in WEOG in Geneva, and why is it still not a member?**

- In your testimony, you highlight the imperative of ensuring that the UN is "judicious about when and where we establish new peacekeeping missions," and that "missions match mandates and that mandates be implementable.
  - **Do you anticipate a request for a UN peacekeeping operation in Libya?**
  - **Under what conditions and mandate would the Administration support such a proposal?**
  - **What impact would a new mission in Libya have on the Department of Peacekeeping Operations and the Department of Field Support, which already are stretched beyond capacity?**

- **What role will the UN peacekeeping operation in South Sudan, UNMIS, play after the South becomes an independent country in July?**

- In your testimony, you state, "we press for zero tolerance and full accountability for the unacceptable cases when peacekeepers betray their honor and victimize the civilians they should be protecting."
  - **How? How are peacekeepers and civilian staff held personally accountable?**

- **What are the most pressing priorities for, and greatest impediments to, reforming U.N. peacekeeping?**

- Given the fact that the budget for U.N. peacekeeping is more than three times the size of the regular budget, some have suggested that the U.N. Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) and the Department of Field Support (DFS) jointly should become an independent Agency of the U.N. **Do you agree with this suggestion? Why or why not?**

- **Should DPKO and DFS have independent inspectors general, outside the current Office of Internal Oversight Services (OIOS)? Why or why not?**

- **How many hours are devoted to training on the Code of Conduct for UN peacekeepers? How often are they offered refresher training?**

- **Has the data base to track peacekeepers who have been credibly accused of engaging in gross misconduct be completed, and is it available across the UN system? If not, why not? How is the UN insuring that personnel who have engaged in gross misconduct are not simply being recycled in other operations?**

- **For civilian personnel who have engaged in gross misconduct, how are they held personally liable? Are their pensions protected?**

- **How many hours are devoted to training on the Rules of Engagement (ROE) in a typical UN peacekeeping operation? How does this differ from single nation-led, coalition, or regional peace operations?**

- A 2008 report by the Stimson Center asserted that UN deployment of single-nation, brigade-size units into operation –such as the 3,700-strong Pakistani Brigade deployed to South Kivu (DRC) in early 2005 – offers better cohesion of command structures and, interoperability of equipment, common training and language. **Should this be the future model? What is the status of stand-by arrangements with the UN?**

- We frequently hear that the UN needs more staff for mission planning, yet they are disinclined to accept secondments of military personnel from Member States for this purpose. **Why? How can this be resolved?**

- **What role could or should private security companies play in logistics support for UN peacekeeping operations? How might mobility challenges be resolved?**

- A great deal of emphasis tends to be placed upon the need to secure more funding for UN peacekeeping. **What efforts are being made to increase efficiency of operations?**

- **Do peacekeeping operations advance political solutions or block them? For example, some believe that the presence of long-standing UN peacekeeping missions in Western Sahara and Cyprus has allowed the parties to avoid making difficult compromises, and thus only serve to reinforce the status quo. How should static peacekeeping operations be treated? Should the unique funding mechanism, by which Greece and Cyprus share the burden of the cost, be replicated?**

- After Congress mandated a 25% cap on US contributions to UN peacekeeping, our rate of assessment consistently declined from over 30% in 1995 to just over 25.9% in 2008. Ironically, when our rate of assessment finally neared the 25% cap, Congress began authorizing payment at a rate of over 27%, more than what the UN itself had asked us to pay. It should therefore come as no surprise that the UN responded by raising our rate of assessment to over 27% for 2010 and 2011. **What is the lesson learned from this?**

- I note that the Senate has proposed raising the cap for UN peacekeeping under HR 1 to 27.5%, despite the fact that we currently are assessed at a rate of 27.14%. With a budget of $7.83 billion, the difference between 27.14% and 27.5% would be $28,188,000. Further, I note that the appendix for FY12 includes a request for legislative language to raise the cap from 25% to 27.2%. With a total budget of $7.83 billion, the difference between 27.14% and 27.2% is $4,698,000. That may look like chump change to State and the UN, but the American taxpayer might disagree. **How would you justify raising the cap above and beyond the level at which the United States actually is assessed?**

- The adoption of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1973, which authorized Member States to protect civilians in Libya by "any means necessary" gave new life to the debate over the Responsibility to Protect, a principle that has been endorsed by the General Assembly but not defined. **What is the current thinking of the Administration on the Responsibility to Protect? Does it carry implied obligations by Members States to intervene in a conflict on behalf of the United Nations? Why has it been applied to Libya and not Cote d'Ivoire?**

- While stopping short of authorizing coalition air strikes in Cote d'Ivoire, is it your view that the UN Security Council Resolution 1975, **which authorizes the peacekeeping mission in Cote d'Ivoire (UNOCI) "to use all necessary means to protect civilians ... including to prevent the use of heavy weapons against the civilian population" carries obligations under the Responsibility to Protect?**

- It has been recommended that all UN missions mandated to protect civilians under imminent threat should require mission fitness tests for incoming troops to ensure their capacity to carry out the required tasks. **Is this happening? If not, why not?**

- Proponents of the R2P have asserted that rules of engagement relating to the protection of civilians should be incorporated into each troop contributing country's peacekeeping doctrine and training. **Does the UN have a role to play in this? Have any of the major TCCs incorporated civilian protection into doctrine and training as suggested?**

- Experts have recommended that the UN should develop a handbook for protecting civilians across the range of UN Departments and agencies working in the field, which could address how military, police and civilian agencies work together. **Has the UN signed on to this idea? What is the status of efforts to develop standardized principles in the protection of civilians?**

- **What is the status of operation in Cote d'Ivoire? Were Monday's helicopter strikes conducted by UNOCI and French Forces against Gbagbo [BAG—BO] authorized pursuant to UNSCR 1975? What happens to the mission now? How many casualties have been sustained by UNOCI?**

- **What relationship, if any, does the United Nations Envoy for Libya have with the Transitional National Council? Is the UN providing any support to the Council?**

- **Do UN sanctions permit transfers of defense articles and services to opposition forces? Does the arms embargo apply to the territory of Libya or the regime?**

- Given that UNSCR carries with it a civilian protection mandate – and not a mandate for regime change – **would opposition advances into areas where Qaddafi still enjoys significant support require coalition action to protect civilians?**

To follow up on my questions at the hearing, will you take this opportunity to publicly pledge:

- **That the U.S. will join Canada and Israel in not participating in the upcoming Durban 3 hate-fest, and that the U.S. will withhold funding from it?**
- **That the U.S. will push for the UN General Assembly to repudiate the Goldstone Report, just as it revoked the old "Zionism is racism" resolution in 1991?**
- **And that if any resolution or statement or anything else is brought to the UN that would recognize a Palestinian state or upgrade the status of the Palestinian observer mission, that the U.S. will do everything it can to oppose and stop such measures, and will veto them at the Security Council?**

- **Ambassador Rice, what exactly is the Obama Administration doing to advance the Bush Administration's UN Transparency and Accountability Initiative?**

You state in your written testimony that the UN helps isolate terrorists.

- **How can it help isolate terrorists when it doesn't even have a definition for what terrorism is?**
- **Isn't it true that the UN does not treat Hamas and Hezbollah as terrorist groups, and the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian refugees admittedly has members of terrorist groups on its payroll?**

You write glowingly in your written testimony about the new agency UN Women.

- **How does it advance the human rights of women to combine four smaller bureaucracies, create a new super-bureaucracy called UN Women, and multiply its budget four-fold?**

- **Isn't that typical UN philosophy—confusing bureaucratic and budgetary increases for real-world results?**

You oppose withholding funding for the UN, but every year, pursuant to an Act of Congress, the U.S. still withholds funding for several UN bodies whose purpose is to benefit the PLO and condemn Israel.

- **Do you oppose withholding funding to these anti-Israel bodies as well?**
- **If not, how can you justify opposing withholding funding for the UN Human Rights Council, or the Durban process, or the Goldstone Report, or other corrupt, mismanaged, or biased UN bodies?**

You mentioned the Secretary-General's proposal to cut the UN's budget by 3 percent, after a decade in which it more than doubled.

- **Is 3 percent enough?**
- **If not, what percent do you think should be cut?**
- **If the General Assembly cuts less than 3 percent, or makes no cuts, will you demand a vote on the budget and vote no? Will you rally opposition to such a do-nothing budget?**

With respect to Libya:

- **Does the UN arms embargo apply to the territory of Libya or the regime?**
- **Have any Member states notified the Libya sanctions committee about the intent to provide lethal or non-lethal defense articles or services to opposition forces?**
- **Has the United States?**

In your testimony, you also mention the peacekeeping mission in Darfur, UNAMID, asserting it "protects civilians and provides much-needed humanitarian access." Unfortunately, the regime continues to conduct aerial bombardments and routinely hampers the delivery of humanitarian assistance.

- **With the UN's new-found zeal to protect civilians, as evidenced in Libya and Cote d'Ivoire, will UNAMID change its posture in Darfur?**
- **Will UNAMID troops be pressed to respond more forcefully to protect civilians under imminent threat of attack?**
- **Will UNAMID take effective action to neutralize Khartoum's helicopter gunships that have been deployed against civilians in Darfur, in a similar manner to the UN-led strikes against the Presidential Palace in Ivory Coast?**
- **Will the mission continue to require Khartoum's permission to support humanitarian deliveries?**

In your testimony, you stated that "We aggressively promote a strengthened, independent Office of Internal Oversight Services (OIOS) and an improved UN Ethics Office to ensure accountability and better manage financial risk. In recent years, the United States has led efforts in the General Assembly to defend the operational independence of OIOS and to ensure that it has the resources it needs… The United States was instrumental in ensuring that the cases and competencies of the Procurement Task Force, established in response to lapses in the Oil-for-Food program, were transferred and integrated into OIOS, so its important work could continue."

- **The acting head of OIOS' investigations division is himself under investigation for evidence-tampering and retaliation. Are you aware of this, and have you taken any steps to press OIOS to place him on administrative leave?**
- **The Procurement Task Force was not established in response to "lapses" in the Oil-for-Food program. It was established to investigate staff implicated in the US prosecution (and conviction) of a UN procurement officer. The UN closed down the Task Force at the demand of Russia and Singapore, whose nationals were implicated in its reports. Why did the US go along with the elimination of the Task Force? In retrospect, do you think the Task Force should have continued its work?**
- **On what basis do you allege that the cases "and competencies" of the Task Force were "integrated" into OIOS? Isn't it true that just nine months ago the USUN spokesman criticized the work of the investigations division, saying that "we are disappointed with the recent performance of its investigations division" because it had not completed any investigations in 2009?**

The UN's inspector general (the Office of Internal Oversight Services) has reported significant violations of UN financial rules and regulations regarding the management of the UN's $300 million computer upgrade project, which the UN calls "Umoja." According to a February 9th story in the Wall Street Journal, the UN's own auditors found that improper payments were made to contractors, and there were various hiring irregularities. So far the UN has refused to hold anyone accountable for the violations of UN rules.

- **Will you demand that the UN Secretariat admit wrongdoing and that it name and discipline those responsible for the wrongdoing?**

Until 2007, the UN's Department of Management was led by American citizen officials for many years. Since then, the position has been held by a Mexican, and now a German.

- **Does the State Department believe that would be in the US interest for an American to resume the position of Chief Management Officer of the UN Secretariat, and if so, has the Obama Administration press for the Secretary-General for this to happen?**

In 1989, the George H.W. Bush Administration successfully derailed a PLO campaign to seek UN recognition for a Palestinian state by indicating it would de-fund any UN body that upgraded the status of the Palestinian observer mission.

- **Will you pledge to do the same?**

[NOTE: Responses to these questions were not received prior to printing.]

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There has been a substantial discussion in the media recently over United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) resolution 377, the so-called "Uniting for Peace" resolution, and its relation to possible United Nations action on Palestinian statehood. Some have argued that if the UN Security Council does not act on the question of Palestinian statehood, the UN General Assembly can do so under resolution 377.

What is the legal interpretation of the State Department as to:

1) The process for recognizing and admitting a new state, such as Palestine.

2) Can only the UN Security Council admit a new state?

3) Does the Department believe that General Assembly Resolution 377 would allow the Palestinians to gain acceptance to the UN as a Member state if a resolution granting membership failed to pass the Security Council? Absent Security Council approval is there any other mechanism in which the Palestinians can gain membership to the UN?

Below is the relevant portion of Resolution 377

- ". . .if the Security Council, because of lack of unanimity of the permanent members, fails to exercise its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security in any case where there appears to be a threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression, the General Assembly shall consider the matter immediately with a view to making appropriate recommendations to Members for collective measures, including in the case of a breach of the peace or act of aggression the use of armed force when necessary, to maintain or restore international peace and security."

[NOTE: Responses to these questions were not received prior to printing.]