

# American

## NEWS & VIEWS

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## President Obama on 70th Anniversary of Attack on Pearl Harbor

THE WHITE HOUSE  
Office of the Press Secretary  
December 7, 2011

Statement by President Barack Obama on the 70th Anniversary of the Attack on Pearl Harbor

Seventy years ago today, a bright Sunday morning was darkened by the unprovoked attack on Pearl Harbor. Today, Michelle and I join the American people in honoring the memory of the more than 2,400 American patriots—military and civilian, men, women and children—who gave their lives in our first battle of the Second World War. Our thoughts and prayers are with the families for whom this day is deeply personal—the spouses, brothers and sisters, and sons and daughters who have known seven decades without a loved one but who have kept their legacy alive for future generations.

We salute the veterans and survivors of Pearl Harbor who inspire us still. Despite overwhelming odds, they fought back heroically, inspiring our nation and putting us on the path to victory. They are members of that Greatest Generation who overcame the Depression, crossed oceans and stormed the beaches to defeat fascism, and turned adversaries into our closest allies. When the guns fell silent, they came home, went to school on the G.I. Bill, and built the largest middle class in history and the strongest economy in the world. They remind us that no challenge is too great when Americans stand as one. All of us owe these men and women a profound debt of gratitude for the freedoms and standard of living we enjoy today.

On this National Pearl Harbor Remembrance Day, we also reaffirm our commitment to carrying on their work—to keeping the country we love strong, free and prosperous. And as today's wars in Iraq and Afghanistan come to an end and we welcome home our 9/11 Generation, we resolve to always take care of our troops, veterans and military families as well as they've taken care of us. On this solemn anniversary, there can be no higher tribute to the Americans who served and sacrificed seventy years ago today.

## President Obama on Indonesia's Ratification of Test Ban Treaty

THE WHITE HOUSE  
Office of the Press Secretary  
December 6, 2011

Statement by the President on Indonesia's Ratification of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty

The United States welcomes Indonesia's ratification of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, (CTBT), which provides a strong example of the positive leadership role Indonesia can play in the global effort to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons. The Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty is a critical element of the international effort to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons and I urge all states to sign and ratify the agreement so that it can be brought into force at the earliest possible date. The United States remains fully committed to pursuing ratification of the Test Ban Treaty and will continue to engage members of the Senate on the importance of this Treaty to U.S. security. America must lead the global effort to prevent proliferation, and adoption and early entry into force of the CTBT is a vital part of that effort.

## Obama Marks World AIDS Day with Proposal to Expand Treatment

By Charlene Porter | Staff Writer

Washington — President Obama celebrated World AIDS Day December 1 with a promise to broaden U.S. support for programs delivering life-saving drugs to patients with HIV infection worldwide.

In a Washington ceremony attended by prominent officials and activists who battle the disease, Obama offered thanks and congratulations for their efforts, just as he challenged them to maintain their commitment to work toward an AIDS-free generation.

"Today, we come together as a global community, across continents, faiths and cultures, to renew our commitment to ending the AIDS pandemic once and for all," Obama said, speaking on the campus of George Washington University.

The president also boosted the goals of the United States' global AIDS program, the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR).

"Today, we're setting a new target of helping 6 million people get on treatment by the end of 2013," Obama said. "That's 2 million more people than our original goal."

When the United States first launched PEPFAR in 2003, increasing the availability of AIDS treatment to control the progression of the disease was a key objective. At that time, the program goal was to broaden drug delivery to 2 million people with HIV infection. In the most recent fiscal year, the Obama administration reports that the original goal has almost doubled, with 3.9 million people receiving anti-retroviral therapy.

PEPFAR began by targeting HIV/AIDS in 15 countries

with serious epidemics. Now 30 nations are engaged in bilateral partnerships with the United States to address their epidemics. Regional plans are also in place in the Caribbean, Central Asia and Central America.

In his World AIDS Day speech, Obama also challenged other nations to boost their commitments and contributions to the fight against the disease. Nations that have made financial pledges to the Global Fund to Fight HIV/AIDS, Malaria and Tuberculosis need to meet those pledges, he said, and countries that have made rapid progress in expanding their national economies, such as China, now need to “step up as major donors.”

Former President George W. Bush, who proposed and won adoption of PEPFAR and the \$15 billion of funding that made it work, joined the Washington event by teleconference from Tanzania, one of the countries that has benefited from the program. He said World AIDS Day is an occasion to celebrate success. “We went to a clinic and held a little baby that five years ago would likely have died or contracted AIDS. Nothing more joyful,” Bush said.

Tanzanian President Jakaya Kikwete also joined the Washington audience via teleconference. He said thousands of his citizens are alive today who otherwise would have died, and currently more than 740,000 people are receiving anti-retroviral therapy, which suppresses the virus. Kikwete also described the support given to the Tanzanian medical sector. Training and equipment provided by the United States and other international donors have improved the country’s capacity to test, diagnose and treat disease.

“We have made achievements, but there are still gaps. Some of the gaps are huge,” Kikwete said. “We need to continue to work together to save lives.”

Like Obama and Kikwete, Bush urged the American audience to continue its international support for AIDS programs in Tanzania and other nations, even though the United States is mired in high unemployment and a slow recovery from recession. “When you go through budgetary struggles, it seems like to me, the best thing to do is to set priorities and focus on that which is effective,” Bush said. “There is nothing more effective than PEPFAR.”

In his speech, President Obama appealed to the U.S. Congress to sustain its budgetary support for PEPFAR and for increased commitments in domestic efforts to contain HIV/AIDS. While the rates of new infection have declined dramatically in many places, he said, that is not so for several demographic groups in the United States, notably young homosexual African-American men. The president said he hopes to devote more funding to U.S.

programs that provide care for HIV patients and provide AIDS drug assistance.

### **Don’t Enable Online Oppression, Clinton Tells Tech Companies**

By Stephen Kaufman | Staff Writer

Washington — Companies that sell products and services for use with the Internet have a responsibility to the public to try to prevent their technology from being used to stifle human rights and free expression, Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton said.

Speaking December 8 at a conference on Internet freedom in The Hague, Clinton said some corporations have not lived up to that responsibility in recent years and have provided sensitive information to governments about political dissenters, as well as shut down social networking accounts of activists engaged in political debates.

“Today’s news stories are about companies selling the hardware and software of repression to authoritarian governments,” Clinton said. When companies sell surveillance equipment to the security agencies of countries like Syria or Iran, or to the regime of former Libyan dictator Muammar Qadhafi, “there can be no doubt that it will be used to violate rights,” she said.

The choices tech and software companies make “have an impact on how information flows or doesn’t flow on the Internet and global networks. They also have an impact on what governments can and can’t do,” she said.

In some cases, companies cannot foresee that their products and services will be used as tools of oppression, but in other cases they can, Clinton said.

Governments that are concerned about technology being used to suppress human rights can respond with sanctions and export controls, but the secretary said such measures can provide only a certain amount of protection because dual-use technology and third-party sales can overcome them.

She urged companies themselves to be proactive and to think critically about who may be interested in their technology and how it can be used.

“You can’t wait for instructions,” she said. “In the 21st century, companies have to act before they find themselves in the crosshairs of controversy.”

Companies are able to decide where they will do business, research ways of preventing the misuse or modification of their technology, and warn consumers about potential dangers. There are also resources and

guidelines from both the public and private sectors that are available to help companies work through these issues, Clinton said.

But by shirking their responsibility, corporations not only risk harming their brand name and reputation, but will themselves be hurt wherever global networks are constrained.

“We cannot let the short-term gains that all of us think are legitimate and worth seeking jeopardize the openness of the Internet and the human rights of individuals who use it without it coming back to haunt us all in the future,” Clinton said.

#### KEEP THE GLOBAL NETWORK OR HAVE GOVERNMENT-CONTROLLED “DIGITAL BUBBLES?”

The secretary also warned that the single global Internet network that people all over the world are using may be at risk.

Some are calling for its replacement by a system that would allow individual governments to centralize control of the Internet, make their own rules for it, and be able to control what information and content their citizens are allowed to access, as well as possibly render it inoperable with other networks and prevent their citizens from having contact with outsiders.

“Governments have never met a voice or a public sphere that they didn’t want to control at some point or another. They want to control what gets printed in newspapers, who gets into universities, what companies get oil contracts, what churches and [nongovernmental organizations] get registered, where citizens can gather – so why not the Internet?” Clinton said.

Those calling for change are seeking to create “national barriers in cyberspace,” and this “would be disastrous for Internet freedom,” she said.

If individual governments are given free rein to control what their citizens can see online and whom they can communicate with, Clinton said, it would deeply affect the Internet’s current dynamism, which encourages free expression and entrepreneurship.

“In this scenario, the Internet would contain people in a series of digital bubbles rather than connecting them with a global network” and create “echo chambers rather than an innovative global marketplace of ideas,” she said.

#### U.S. Salutes Work of U.N. Refugee Agency

Washington — U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton joined an international assembly in Geneva December 7 to recognize the anniversary of international

agreements that she called “a marker for human compassion on a global scale.”

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the governments that support it commemorated the adoption of the 1951 Refugee Convention 60 years ago and the Statelessness Convention 50 years ago.

“They enshrined and guaranteed the rights of refugees and stateless persons and created a system for protecting them,” said Clinton at the UNHCR Ministerial meeting. “That system endures today, and its values can be measured in the generations of people who have found new lives and futures, thanks to resettlement, local integration and voluntary repatriation.”

Clinton said the United States is proud to welcome refugees — more than 56,000 in 2011 and close to 75,000 in 2010. While the U.S. Congress has passed laws to facilitate refugee resettlement and asylum, Americans across the country welcome refugees to their communities, helping them find homes, jobs, schools and new lives.

Persecution, violence, wars and famine can all drive people from their homes, and the presence of displaced people in distress has become a constant on the global scene, Clinton said. She said 21st-century polices must evolve to meet the needs of these people, suggesting new policies for border authorities, ready availability of assistance for victims of violence, and targeted assistance for women and girls who frequently suffer the worst forms of victimization.

High Commissioner António Guterres also announced a commitment by the U.N. refugee agency to do more to fight sexual and gender-based violence — with particular focus on women and girls of concern to UNHCR.

“What I am asking of you here today is not a new convention or an extended mandate,” he said to the ministers. “What I am asking is for all of us assembled here to assume our shared duty ... to open up the way for innovative responses that will help protect people in need, benefit the social cohesion of society and strengthen global peace and security.”

Clinton expressed concern about national laws that give women a lesser status than men in acquiring and retaining citizenship, laws that she said “perpetuate generations of stateless people, who are often unable to work legally or travel freely.” She said the United States will work to encourage nations to change such discriminatory laws, and invited other states to join that effort. The secretary of state also thanked Guterres for his expression of support in this endeavor.

The December 7-8 meeting in Geneva is the largest ever to be convened by UNHCR. Guterres said political and economic events have created a "challenging environment" for the agency and appealed to signatory nations to reinforce UNHCR's work. He denounced politicians and media in some countries who use racist attacks to stir fear and resentment of refugee populations. The international convention on refugees was adopted in the unsettled years following World War II, when 1 million people were displaced from their homes. Today, UNHCR is concerned with the futures of more than 10 million refugees. The agency has also taken on a growing role in helping internally displaced persons (IDPs) who remain in their native countries but have been uprooted from their homes. Their numbers are estimated to be about 26 million, and UNHCR is assisting 14 million of those.

An important UNHCR responsibility is to help ensure that refugees have the right to seek asylum in another country and receive assistance for basic and emergency needs.

Clinton was firm in asserting the U.S. commitment to that cause. "Protecting and assisting refugees is among my government's highest humanitarian priorities," she said. The United States is the largest contributor to U.N. refugee efforts, granting almost \$700 million to UNHCR in 2011 alone.

### **Secretary Clinton's Interview in Rangoon, Burma, with CBS**

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
Office of the Spokesperson

INTERVIEW  
Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton  
With Wyatt Andrews of CBS  
December 2, 2011  
Rangoon, Burma

QUESTION: Madam Secretary, thanks for your time this afternoon.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Thank you, Wyatt.

QUESTION: You have said several times you've come here to test the Burmese leadership on whether they're serious about reform. So the question is: Did they pass the test?

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, it's incomplete at this moment, because we saw some positive changes, we've heard some encouraging commitments, but there's still so much to be done, starting with the unconditional complete release of all the political prisoners, that were

are still in an engaging mode. We want to follow closely what they actually do, and as I've said, when they start to take actions that further the momentum for reform and democratization, we will, too.

QUESTION: When you were sitting in these meetings with them, though, did you have the sense that they meant it?

SECRETARY CLINTON: You know what? I'm going to judge their actions. They certainly said a lot of the right things that we found promising. But we also are aware, as with any of these transitions, there will be those who want to hurry reform, and there will be those who want to stymie it, and then there will be a lot of people in the middle who will be kind of fence-sitting until they see how it turns out.

And one of the reasons for my coming was to send a very clear signal that the United States would welcome this reform process, deepening, continuing, and taking on the hard issues - the political prisoners, the elections, their free, fair, credible nature, the difficult work of trying to end these conflicts in ethnic areas that have gone on for 60 years in some cases, but without which being resolved, the country cannot be unified, cannot be secure and at peace, and there will always be then an excuse for the military to have to assert itself on security grounds.

So there are some very promising steps, and it wasn't for me to jump to any conclusions based on this one trip, but to come away having delivered a set of clear messages, having heard what I did, and then being in a position back in Washington to continue supporting the reformers.

QUESTION: You are dealing, though, with a military, an entrenched military establishment here. They're intertwined still in the government, they're intertwined in big business, industry, every aspect of society. Is it even possible that an entrenched military like this would give up power, support free elections? Is that possible?

SECRETARY CLINTON: It is possible, and it's happened in other places in this region. We have the history in Korea, where over the years after the Korean War it was a rocky road to democracy and prosperity, and there were a lot of bumps and detours on the way with coups and assassinations and military authoritarianism, but they stayed with it. In Indonesia we have a democracy run by a former general who took off the uniform that is now 11, 12 years old, but looks like it's really settling in and sustainable. We have examples from Latin America, from Africa, and elsewhere.

So we know it can be done. It's a question of whether the leadership and the rank and file will accept that there is an important, essential role in any society for a military

under civilian rule. And if that can be inculcated by some of the civilian leadership that were formerly leaders of the military, then there's a fighting chance that the attitudes will change and the appropriate delegation of responsibility between a military within a democracy and the democratic leadership can begin to take hold.

QUESTION: When you were in the capital the other day, I'll bet you asked yourself this question. And the question is: Why is this happening, and why is it happening now?

SECRETARY CLINTON: Yeah. I've talked to a lot of experts, both inside the country and outside, and there are a number of explanations. There was a growing sense among the military leaders and some of their allies in the private sector that Burma was increasingly isolated. They looked around and watched the rising standard of living in East Asia and Southeast Asia in particular. They're a member of ASEAN. They see the progress that is being made in their neighboring countries, and they started to say, "Well, what's happening to us? Why aren't we also progressing?"

And they, I think, concluded that they might miss out on the economic prosperity and the growth that is possible, and having seen that because they were traveling - there was an increase in the opportunities for a lot of the military leaders to get out and see what was happening elsewhere - they said, "Well, what are the ingredients as to what we need to do?" And I know that the Indonesians, because I have talked to President Yudhoyono about this, had reached out to the military leadership and talked about the transition from military to civilian government. So I think there are a lot of trends, sort of economic, strategic trends, and personal experiences that together has created the impetus for these changes.

QUESTION: Tell me a little bit about Aung San Suu Kyi, your impressions of her. And do you think this would be happening without her?

SECRETARY CLINTON: I doubt that very much. I mean, I can't look back on history and say, "What if? What if?" But her steadfastness, her determination, her dignity in representing a better future, a democratic future for the people of this country, has inspired so many of her fellow citizens. And the fact that she has been generous in sharing her thoughts and her hopes on an ongoing basis with several generations now of her fellow citizens has created a broad-based expectation. I met with a number of civil society activists, democracy activists, human rights activists, ethnic minority representatives, and the vast majority mentioned what she meant to them.

QUESTION: Did her 20 years of resistance to this regime lead to this moment?

SECRETARY CLINTON: I think it contributed to it. I have no doubt about that. I think it was one of a number of important factors. But what is so remarkable about her witness, because really that's what it was over all those years, is that no matter how oppressive the regime became, no matter how violent, she continued to embody that quiet, peaceful strength that says to any authoritarian or dictator, "I'm still here. I'm still as committed as I ever was, because what I'm standing for is more eternal than what you are standing for." And that's a powerful message, particularly in this society.

QUESTION: There are a lot of people back home who say you should not be here, that by being here you're rewarding a horrible regime that hasn't really proven itself on the world stage.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, of course I know there are those who are skeptical. So am I. I want to be shown what they're going to do. But it was remarkable to me, Wyatt, how everyone that I met with in the opposition inside society, starting with Aung San Suu Kyi, thanked me for coming, expressed great appreciation for America's engagement. They think is exactly the right time for me to be here, for me to be saying what I'm saying both privately and publicly.

And with all due respect, I think the people who have been imprisoned, who have watched their loved ones and their colleagues be beaten or even killed, who have suffered so much are better judges about what's possible than any of us who are so far away, who are certainly hoping for a good outcome but have no stake in it. And therefore, I'm going to be guided by the advice I received from Aung San Suu Kyi and others. And as she said publicly today, we have closely coordinated with her every step that we have taken, and she has been fully supportive.

QUESTION: Madam Secretary, thank you.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Thank you.

### **Secretary Clinton's Interview in Rangoon, Burma, with CNN**

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
Office of the Spokesperson

INTERVIEW  
Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton  
With Jill Dougherty of CNN  
December 2, 2011  
Rangoon, Burma

QUESTION: Secretary Clinton, thank you very much for

taking time out. This is a busy trip, historic, really. I wanted to start with Aung San Suu Kyi. It must – I would like to know what it was like to see her face to face. There was obviously a lot of chemistry between you. But I also wanted to ask: Right now, is American policy too focused on her? Dare I say does she have a veto on U.S. policy toward Myanmar?

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, Jill, let me start by saying that it was just an extraordinary personal privilege for me finally to meet her. I felt like I had known her for years because of all of the information that I had about her and the interactions that friends of mine had with her who carried messages back and forth, and I just really felt like it was meeting an old friend, even though it was our first time. And I deeply admire and appreciate everything that she's done over the years to stand steadfastly for democracy and freedom and to be someone who people in her country look up to and know that she has their best interests at heart, and they want to follow her because of that.

She is someone who we talk to and rely on about policy advice, and certainly we were very gratified that she encouraged us to engage, encouraged my trip, as she said publicly today, thought that we were proceeding appropriately, cautiously to determine whether or not these reforms were for real.

But she's not the only person we talk to. For the past two and a half years, ever since I asked that we do a review of our Burma policy, because I didn't think we were making the kind of progress we all had hoped to for the people here, we've had about 20 or more high-level visits from our assistant secretary, our special representative and others. They have fanned out across the country meeting with all kinds of people. Our Embassy here has been deeply consulting with people.

So of course we highly respect the opinions of Aung San Suu Kyi, for all the obvious reasons, but this was a consensus that developed that there was a great desire to encourage this reform and to validate the reformers so that they would feel acknowledged in the outside world and, frankly, encouraged to go even further.

QUESTION: You've talked a lot about political reform, but then you have, of course, mentioned economic reform. And one of the key issues there is that the military controls a lot of the economy. Are you convinced that this government is sincere in wanting to really restructure, reform, invite investment from the outside, which could threaten the military?

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, I can only report on what they asked me. They asked that I personally follow through on a request for the World Bank to send an

assessment team, that we try to offer technical advice about how they can and should reform their economy. There are a lot of vested interests. You always find that when you move from an authoritarian regime to a more open one. But we've seen it work elsewhere. There does have to be a lot of changes in the economy here. They need exchange rate reform. There's all kinds of basic questions they have to answer. So again, we're at the very beginning. Where we'll be in one year, five years, or ten, I can't sit here and predict. But there was a great desire on the part of the leadership in Nay Pyi Taw to have assistance in reforming the economy, and we will encourage that.

QUESTION: And I know we don't have a lot of time, but just very briefly, North Korea, big issue here. What is your understanding in brief about what Myanmar was/is doing with North Korea in terms of nuclear or missile technology?

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, there has been a military-to-military relationship in the past around missile technology in particular. But we've been pressing very hard on that, and we had a receptive audience yesterday in talking about the need to end that relationship if the country expects, under this current government, to have any deeper engagement with us, politically or economically, or with South Korea, which has a great deal to offer in terms of development assistance and the like. So we've made it clear that it would be difficult for us to pursue our engagement unless that relationship was once and for all ended.

QUESTION: And one question on Iran. Right now there's a lot of extreme behavior by Iran. We've had the Saudi Arabia plot; we had the attack on the British Embassy; there are other reports about Germany against U.S. interests still being investigated. What is going on? I mean, is Iran and the leadership becoming unhinged, or is this some deliberate policy of destabilization?

SECRETARY CLINTON: Jill, we have observed the leadership in Iran engaged in a very serious power struggle between the supreme leader and those around him, the presidency and those around it. So we think there's a lot of jockeying going on. We believe that the military, the Iranian Revolutionary Guard, particularly the so-called Qods Force, is gaining in authority, and that's a dangerous signal, because they seem to be quite reckless. There's a long history of provocative actions stretching from Saudi Arabia to Argentina that they have precipitated. And it goes with our constant warning to the international community that we're dealing with a dangerous regime, one that is unpredictable, that seems to be almost irrational from time to time as to the actions they're taking.

I mean, what did it do for them to unleash mobs against the British Embassy, other than harden the resolve of so many people against them? Their plot against the Saudi ambassador to the United States seems unbelievably reckless. So it is a sign of desperation, whether it's because of their internal power struggles, their personality conflicts, the fact that we know the sanctions are really having an impact on them. I can't predict all of the reasons or the directions that it will go, but it underscores the policy that we've been following in the face of their refusal to change their behavior.

QUESTION: But it doesn't seem to be leading to anything. It's not stopping their program.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, we think that the sanctions have had a quite serious effect on them. Now, we know that there's more to be done, which is why Secretary Geithner and I announced more sanctions about a week ago, and you just saw the European Union adopt more sanctions. So the vice is getting tighter.

QUESTION: Well, thank you very much, Madam Secretary.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Thank you, Jill.

### **Secretary Clinton's Interview in Burma with National Public Radio**

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
Office of the Spokesperson

#### INTERVIEW

Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton  
With Michele Kelemen of NPR  
December 2, 2011  
Rangoon, Burma

QUESTION: I want to ask you first about just being at the house, Aung San Suu Kyi's house, where she spent so much time under house arrest. How did it feel for you?

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, in one way, it was familiar to me because I had seen pictures of it over so many years, and friends of mine who have had a chance to visit with her have, of course, described the house. On the other hand, it was an overwhelming personal experience for me, because I've admired her for so long, and to see where she was unjustly imprisoned, where she had her unfortunate experience of really spending a lot of time alone, which was difficult, but also gave her the chance to think deeply about what she hoped to see for her country. Last night at dinner, I was talking to her about my long conversation with Nelson Mandela and how he, looking back, had realized that all those very lonely days and nights in prison for him helped him really summon the

strength that he - and of course, I feel the same way about her, that she sacrificed so much. And now, she has perhaps another chance to try to see the democracy that she's believed in and struggled for and sacrificed for come to reality.

QUESTION: She's now making this transition from democracy activist to politician, running for elections. Have you given her some advice on what politics is all about?

SECRETARY CLINTON: Oh, I think she certainly understands that it's a rough-and-tumble experience, no matter where one is. But we did talk about the difficulties of not only standing for election, but being elected and having to make compromises. And that would be true in any political process. Democracy really has to be constantly oiled by compromise, and a lot of people think that somehow is less than principled. But if you look at it from a historic perspective, people come into elective offices with many different experiences and ideologies, and you have to work together. She's fully aware of all of that, but I think it will still be something quite new and challenging for her.

QUESTION: She's really been guiding, in a way, this step-by-step U.S. rapprochement with Myanmar, and I wonder if you think - did she give you a sense that you guys have gone far enough or did she want you to do more, for instance, exchange ambassadors?

SECRETARY CLINTON: I think she has been very helpful to us as we have designed our engagement, but continues to support the approach we're taking, as she said publicly in her house today. And we've been very clear that we have to see further steps by the government in order to move again. And she has expressed her confidence in how we are proceeding. Obviously, we both want to see significant steps taken by the government, starting with the release of all political prisoners, before we are able to do any more.

But it's also the testing of the sincerity and seriousness of the new leadership, which is important for her to know, because they are not releasing prisoners for us. They're releasing it for their own internal decision-making, because they want to be on this path. So that's helped her a lot about how they intend to proceed, which is on an important piece of information.

QUESTION: Now you've met Thein Sein, the president. She seemed to have confidence enough in him, but do you think he can deliver? I mean, he has a government that has a lot of people in that don't like what he's doing.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, I can't speak for her. She is the one who has to make her own assessments. But we're

going to be watching. That's - our measurement is what actually happens - not what is promised or not what is intended, but whether it's delivered. And we discussed at some length, when I met with him at Nay Pyi Taw, what the next steps needed to be. And there are a lot of small steps that have to be taken that are of significance, but - releasing all of the prisoners, setting a date for the elections, and ensuring that they are free, fair, and credible, having a really comprehensive, well-designed effort to resolve the ethnic conflicts - those are three very big steps that we think have to be taken before we can further engage on a range of issues that we'd be willing to discuss.

QUESTION: I just have to ask you one question about Nay Pyi Taw. What were your impressions about this place? I mean, here in Rangoon, it's a lively city, but up there, it's just nobody there. Are you worried that they're just too isolated from reality?

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, I don't know about that. But it's like a lot of these capital cities that get built in green space areas far from where they used to be. I've seen it in several countries around the world, and it always gives you a surreal impression, like is this a set; is it going to be here when I come back tomorrow? But they obviously invested a lot of money and effort in designing their government buildings. They're looking to host a series of events of regional significance there over the next few years. So as for the business of the government, apparently it's going to be done, but it's not a bustling, lively city like Rangoon is, for sure.

QUESTION: So you think Aung San Suu Kyi will manage to live there or work there?

SECRETARY CLINTON: Oh, I think she is disciplined, determined, and they say that - nice meeting with me, (inaudible) when we get there.

QUESTION: Thank you very much for your time.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Thank you.

### **Secretary Clinton's Interview in Rangoon, Burma, with BBC**

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
Office of the Spokesperson

INTERVIEW  
Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton  
With Kim Ghattas of BBC  
December 2, 2011  
Rangoon, Burma

QUESTION: Madam Secretary, thank you very much for

talking to the BBC.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Thank you, Kim.

QUESTION: As usual, we're very delighted to be here with you in Burma. It's very special for the BBC to be in the country.

I wanted to start by asking you about your meeting with Aung San Suu Kyi. You've said that she is an inspiration to you. She has talked about the fact that she's read your book. What was it like? What did it feel like when you finally came face to face?

SECRETARY CLINTON: Kim, it felt very familiar, and perhaps because I certainly have followed her over the years and have communicated with her directly and indirectly. So it was like seeing a friend you hadn't seen for a very long time even though it was our first meeting. And it was also incredibly emotional and gratifying to see her free from the many years of house arrest and to see her once again leading her party and standing for elections in this new democratic process they are trying to put into place. So it was, for me, a great honor and a delight to spend time with her.

QUESTION: She sounded quite positive, cautiously so perhaps, but positive about the path towards reform that this country seems to be embarking on. Are you on the same page?

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, I think it's important for those of us on the outside, whether we're in government or in an NGO or a human rights activist, to appreciate how it looks from the inside. And certainly, her perspective is there are signs of change, that there is a rhetorical commitment to reform. I think it's very wise of her to take advantage of that, to do everything she can to support it because, as in any transition, as this one could very well be, there are those who are pushing reform, and there are those who are dead set against it, and then there are probably the most people in the middle trying to gauge which way they should jump. So anything that can be done which legitimates the reformist tendencies should be, in her view, and I agree with this, validated and encouraged. But at the same time, you have to see continuing actions. It's not enough just to give a speech or to do a few things. There has to be a momentum behind reform, and we're waiting and watching for that.

QUESTION: You're obviously coordinating quite closely with Aung San Suu Kyi in terms of America's own engagement, reengagement with Burma. Do you run the risk that you're basing your whole policy just on one person?

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, of course we're not. We

are closely coordinating with her, but with many others. We've had high-level visits to Burma for nearly two and a half years, because when I became Secretary of State, I said we needed a Burma review, that I wasn't satisfied with what our policy had produced, which was, frankly, not very much.

And in the course of the last two and a half years, we've had more than 20 high-level visits. And whether it's our Assistant Secretary Kurt Campbell or our Special Representative Derek Mitchell, they've met people across society - a lot of the representatives of the ethnic nationalities, a lot of civil society members, a lot of government members. So we've had a good sense of where people were.

So, yes, of course, it was critical that we closely coordinated with Aung San Suu Kyi, but she was not the only person we were working with. And uniformly led by her, we were encouraged to engage. And as she said publicly, she appreciated what the United States was doing, and we all hope that it can continue.

QUESTION: She said that she will run in the parliamentary by-elections that are coming in the next few months. Do you think that she runs the risks of being absorbed by the system? Is it perhaps better for her to continue leading the call for reform from the outside?

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, of course, that's her decision, and I totally respect what she has decided. And I think from her perspective, it's important to validate the political process. And the only way to do that is to ensure there is as much participation as possible. Her deciding to run sends a very important signal to others as well that this is worth doing. Because if all the people who have a deep, abiding commitment to democracy decided it was better to stay on the sidelines - because after all, getting involved in politics anywhere is a messy business, as I know from my own experience - then you would leave that to perhaps those whose commitment to reform and democracy are not as deep as they should be.

I think as a member - an elected member of parliament, she would have an important role to play, because she's the one who has read deeply and thought deeply about how do you actually do this. And when I was meeting with members and leaders of the parliament, it was very clear they're seeking advice. They wanted all kinds of ideas about how do you run an elected body. And so I think she is following through on what she believes to be her responsibility to the future.

QUESTION: Did you give her political advice about how to run?

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, she, I think, is more than

capable of doing that on her own, but we did discuss how challenging the political process can be.

QUESTION: Now, you had other meetings here in the country up in the capital in Nay Pyi Taw. You met with the country's civilian president, Thein Sein. He's a former junta leader. What were your impressions of him? Because you did come here to try to gauge his intentions. Is he really serious about reforming? What were your impressions?

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, I think that certainly what I heard from him and what I heard from all of the leaders that I met with in Nay Pyi Taw was a stated commitment to continue the reform process. That's obviously a first and important step, but it can't end there; there has to be a series of actions that create a momentum toward democracy that cannot be reversed or undermined.

And I had the impression in speaking with all of the leaders that they're well aware of the tensions within their own government about how far to go, how fast to go. That's not unusual. But what I was reminded of is that we have experience in Latin America and in Asia, even in Africa, where military leaders transition into civilian leaders, and then create a democratic process which is left for those who come after them. That's the hope that I think we all share.

QUESTION: Well, when you, let's say, looked into his eyes, did you see a real intention for reform?

SECRETARY CLINTON: I don't speculate on matters like that. I judge people by their actions, and there have been some promising actions, but there needs to be a lot more.

QUESTION: Because indeed, as you said, there are those who are perhaps sitting on the fence, and you're hoping that your visit will encourage the reformers, reinforce their hands, but also encourage others to join the camp of the reformers. That is the hope. The risk, of course, is that your visit might give legitimacy to a government that is desperately seeking it, and then when you leave, who knows what might happen on the ground. Are you worried about that?

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, I can't predict what's going to happen, but I think it certainly is important for the United States to be on the side of democratic reform, and when there is such an opening, as we see here, to demonstrate what the engagement might lead to on behalf of investment in the country and the like.

I was struck by how everyone I met with from civil society representing the ethnic nationalities were all so welcoming of engagement. I mean, people who - and it's not just whom I met, but the stories and reports I've received from all of my team, people who had just gotten out of prison who said, "Thank you so much for

engaging." Well, how can we have less of a willingness to try to move this forward than the people inside the country who have suffered because of the repression? So I think it certainly is the right thing to do, but we're not making any long-term commitment. This is a first date, not a marriage, and we'll see where it leads.

QUESTION: So where are we going next? North Korea? Cuba?

SECRETARY CLINTON: No. I think that if they ever had a leader who did things like begin releasing political prisoners and – on a wide scale and set up a system for elections and the like, then we'd think about it. But right now, we're focused on what we could see happening here.

QUESTION: Madam Secretary, thank you very much for talking to the BBC.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Thank you, Kim.

QUESTION: Thank you.

### **Press Briefing by Secretary Clinton in Rangoon, Burma**

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
Office of the Spokesperson

PRESS AVAILABILITY  
Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton  
December 2, 2011  
Rangoon, Burma

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, let me begin by saying that as the first American Secretary of State to visit here in over 50 years, I am delighted to have a chance to reflect on my visit and what we would like to see going forward. Now, before I arrived, I was well aware that Americans have long known this country as a place of both beauty and tragedy. Our imaginations have been seized by golden pagodas, saffron-clad monks, but also by the very difficult lives and dignified struggles that the people have endured, which have tugged at our conscience. I came here because we believe that the new reforms raise prospects of change, and we wanted to test that for ourselves.

Yesterday in Nay Pyi Taw, I had the opportunity to meet with senior government officials, including the president, the foreign minister, other key ministers, and leading members of parliament. In our discussions, I encouraged them to continue moving along the path of reform, and that is a path that would require releasing all political prisoners; halting hostilities in ethnic areas and seeking a true political settlement; broadening the space for political

and civic activity; fully implementing legislation protecting universal freedoms of assembly, speech, and association. And I carried those thoughts forward in my meetings here today.

I was very pleased that finally, last evening, I had the honor to meet Aung San Suu Kyi and to convey the well wishes and support of the American people who admire her deeply. We have been inspired by her fearlessness in the face of intimidation and her serenity through decades of isolation, but most of all, through her devotion to her country and to the freedom and dignity of all of her fellow citizens. This morning, she told me she is encouraged by the attitude of the new government, which has allowed the opportunity, finally, for the National League for Democracy, her party, to reregister and then participate in the political process. She is, as she has announced, determined to reenter the political arena. We share her eagerness to see all political parties allowed to open offices throughout the country, to enfranchise every citizen and to ensure that the upcoming elections are free, fair, and credible in the eyes of the people.

Now, I think it's fair to say that although Aung San Suu Kyi is no longer under house arrest, more than her – more than 1,000 of her fellow citizens remain imprisoned because of their political beliefs and actions, and millions more continue to be denied their universal rights. We agreed that an important test of the government-stated commitment to reform and change will be the unconditional release of all prisoners of conscience.

We also discussed national reconciliation, which remains a defining challenge, as it has been since independence. There can be no true peace or justice until it is shared by everyone in every part of this beautiful, diverse country. And while there has been some progress in political and social matters, particularly here in Rangoon, terrible violence continues elsewhere, especially in some of the ethnic nationality areas, which, in addition to the continuing conflicts, suffer from unacceptably high rates of poverty, disease, and illiteracy, and from the systematic use of rape as a weapon of war, which I raised directly with the government yesterday.

Now, when you look at the diversity of this country, it is a very great strength. The followers of Christianity, Buddhism, Islam, other religions over a hundred different ethnic groups with their own distinct languages and cultures makes for a rich culture that really is in keeping with what we're seeing in the 21st century. And therefore, we want to call again for everyone to be given the rights to which they are entitled. I also had the opportunity to meet with representatives of some of the ethnic nationalities as well as civil society. They spoke eloquently of the challenges they face, but also the opportunities that they see. They also very much

welcomed American engagement and said that they hoped it could continue in some very specific ways.

This afternoon, I'm pleased to announce we will take a number of steps to demonstrate our commitment to the people. These are in addition to the more formal government-to-government actions that I announced yesterday in Nay Pyi Taw. First, we will increase assistance to civil society organizations that provide microcredit lending, healthcare, and other critical needs throughout the country, particularly in the ethnic nationality areas. Second, we will launch a people-to-people exchange program that will include a substantial English language teaching initiative in partnership with ASEAN and the East-West Center. Third, we will work with partners here on the ground to provide assistance to citizens who suffer from the worst consequences of internal conflict, especially land mine victims. Fourth, we will be supporting the work of American universities and foundations to increase academic exchanges and collaboration on health, governance, and other matters.

Now, as I said yesterday, and I will repeat today, we are prepared to go further if the reforms maintain momentum. But history teaches us to be cautious. We know that there have been serious setbacks and grave disappointments over the last decades. And we want to see a sustainable reform effort that produces real results on behalf of the democratization and the economic opening of Burma. So I will once again reiterate to the leaders that the United States is prepared to walk this path of reform with you if you choose to keep moving in that direction. Reformers both inside and outside of the government will have our support, and it will increase as we see actions taken that will further the hopes and aspirations of the people for a better future. So I am cautiously hopeful, and certainly, on behalf of the American people, very committed to helping this country, which deserves to play a very important role in the Asia Pacific, have a chance to do so.

So with that, I will take your questions.

MODERATOR: We have time for two today. First one is from AFP, Shaun Tandon.

QUESTION: Thank you, Madam Secretary. Just to follow up on a couple of points that you made in your remarks, you mentioned Aung San Suu Kyi entering the political process. You have, of course, been in the political arena yourself. What sort of insights have you given to her? And also, on the issue of national reconciliation, not so long ago, you said that there is a need for a UN-backed Commission of Inquiry to try to have accountability in Burma/Myanmar. With the changes that you're seeing, is this effectively on the backburner, or does the United States still (inaudible)?

SECRETARY CLINTON: I don't know if you could hear Shaun's question because about halfway through, his microphone cut out. But he asked me about Aung San Suu Kyi's decision to enter the political arena, or I should say reenter the political arena, and what I'm - my think about, and also whether the United States still supports a Commission of Inquiry.

Well, first, with respect to her decision, which is, of course, hers and hers alone, I think that she has been advocating for a political process that was open and inclusive, and believes that now that the opportunity presents itself, she needs to participate. I understand completely why she would decide to do so on behalf of herself, on behalf of her party, but most importantly on behalf of democracy throughout her country. We talked last night about the ups and downs and the slings and arrows of political participation anywhere in the world, and the challenges that a new democracy or a new democratic process particularly will face because the rules are being written as you engage. But I'm very supportive of the decision that she feels was right for her, right to pursue. I think she'd be an excellent member of the new parliament.

I was impressed, in meeting with members of both the upper and the lower house yesterday, how eager they are to have exchanges and understand their responsibilities as parliamentary members. And I know that Aung San Suu Kyi, who's read deeply and fought long and hard about what it takes to really establish democracy in a sustainable way, would be an excellent addition to their deliberations.

With regard to the Commission of Inquiry, we always and consistently support accountability for human rights violations, and we are looking for ways to support the changes that are underway here because we hope that there will be an internal mechanism accountability. For example, the establishment of a human rights commission is an important first step, and the government has taken that first step. We encouraged the government to draw on international expertise to ensure the impartiality and the credibility of their own human rights commission.

But there are different decisions that we'll confront, both the government and the opposition, because they can look to different forms of accountability in different places that have undergone transitions, some even from military government to an open democratic one. So we are going to support the principle of accountability, and the appropriate mechanism to ensure justice and accountability will be considered - will be considered, but I think it's important to try to give the new government and the opposition a chance to demonstrate they have their own approach toward achieving that.

MODERATOR: And last question from Than Zaw Tun from Eleven Media

QUESTION: Hello. Secretary Clinton, (inaudible) Myanmar. During your trip to Myanmar, you have met president of Burma and speaker of (inaudible) for Aung San Suu Kyi. After meeting with them, is there any chance to the (inaudible) of Myanmar in (inaudible)?

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, thank you, and it's wonderful to be asked a question by a member of the media from here.

What we have outlined for the government are a series of actions we would like to see taken, and what I have said in my private meetings and publicly is that we will match action for action. And if there is enough progress, obviously, we will be considering lifting sanctions. But as I said before, we're still at the very early stages of this dialogue and engagement that I've worked hard to establish over the past two years, and it couldn't have come to fruition if the government hadn't begun to take the steps that it is taking.

So although we've seen encouraging signs of progress, we are, frankly, testing this commitment. We want to know that it's real and sustainable, because it's going to take more than a few leaders, even at the top levels of government. It's going to take a real change in attitude and approach throughout the government and the bureaucracy. So we will continue to talk to senior government officials, to members of civil society, opposition leaders, as I've done over the last two years. And we'll be constantly doing that to get a readout from them as to what they see happening.

But I was very clear with the government that if we see enough progress, we would be prepared to begin to lift sanctions. But right now, we're not ready to discuss that because we obviously are only starting our engagement, and we want to see all political prisoners released, we want to see a serious effort at peace and reconciliation, we want to see dates set for the election, and then we will be very open to matching those actions with our own. And it was interesting, in our meetings with a lot of the people that I've talked with – and not just our meetings over the last two days but our meetings that many of our high officials have had over the last two years – there is a recognition that lifting sanctions would benefit the economy, but there needs to be some economic reforms along with the political reforms so that the benefits would actually flow to a broad-based group of people and not just to a very few.

So there's work ahead. As some of you may have heard Aung San Suu Kyi say when we were together at her house, she supports the World Bank coming in and

coming up with an assessment of what could be done to assist in the economic reform and development aid and so much else. So I'm very committed to do everything I can to support what is going on here, but we have to see the rhetoric translate into concrete steps.

Thank you.

MODERATOR: Thank you very much.

### **Remarks by Secretary Clinton and Aung San Suu Kyi in Burma**

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
Office of the Spokesperson

#### REMARKS

Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton and Aung San Suu Kyi

December 2, 2011

Aung San Suu Kyi's Residence  
Rangoon, Burma

MS. KYI: Are we all settled? I'd like to say that it's a great pleasure and a privilege for us – can you hear me --

QUESTION: Yes.

MS. KYI: -- to welcome Secretary Clinton to my country and to my home. It's, I think, a historical moment for both our countries because we hope that from this meeting, we will be able to proceed to us renewing the ties of friendship and understanding that bound our countries together since independence. There has been times when that tie has weakened, but I don't think it was ever really broken. And we hope that from now on, not only will the understanding and friendship between our two countries be reestablished and strengthened, but we will bring in also other members of the international community who share our commitment to human dignity, to peace, to democratic institutions, and to sustainable development.

We are so happy that Secretary Clinton had very good meetings at Nay Pyi Taw, and we are happy with the way in which the United States is engaging with us. It is through engagement that we hope to promote the process of democratization. Because of this engagement, I think our way ahead will be clearer, and we will be able to trust that the process of democratization will go forward. For this, we do need the help not just of the United States, but of other members of the international community. We need capacity-building in Burma, we need technical assistance, we are very eager that the time will come soon when the World Bank can send in an assessment team to find out what it is that our country really needs.

Before we decide what steps to take, we have to find out what our greatest needs are. And of course, two of the

greatest needs of this country are rule of law and a cessation to civil war. All hostilities must cease within this country as soon as possible. That will really build up ethnic harmony and peace and a union that is prosperous and stable.

Now, when I say rule of law, I must mention that rule of law is essential to prevent more prisoner – political prisoners from appearing in Burma. First of all, we need all those who are still in prison to be released, and we need to ensure that no more are arrested in future for their beliefs. This is why we put so much emphasis on rule of law, and I am confident that the United States and our other friends will help us in our endeavors to bring rule of law to this country, and also in our endeavors to help our country to develop its educational and health facilities, which are the basic needs of all our peoples.

Whatever we do in the predominantly Burmese areas, we hope to be matched by similar programs and projects in the ethnic nationality areas, because we are a union of many peoples. And in a union of many peoples, there must be equality, there must be consideration for those who are in gracious need. And to that end, we look to our friends from all over the world to help us to meet the needs of the people of our country.

I am very confident that if we all work together – and by “we,” I mean the Government of Burma, the opposition in Burma, our friends from the United States and all over the world who are committed to the same values – if we go forward together, I am confident that there will be no turning back from the road towards democracy. We are not on that road yet, but we hope to get there as soon as possible with the help and understanding of our friends.

I was very pleased to read today that the Chinese foreign ministry said – put out a statement welcoming the engagement of the United States and Burma. This shows that we have the support of the whole world. And I’m particularly pleased because we hope to maintain good, friendly relations with China, our very close neighbor – and not just with China, but with the rest of the world.

Now I think I must give time to Secretary Clinton, who you’re all wishing to hear, because we are rather behind schedule.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, I want to begin by not only thanking you for your hospitality and welcoming us all here to your home today, but for your steadfast and very clear leadership of the opposition and of many here in Burma whose voices would not otherwise be heard, including ethnic nationalities.

About the way forward, democracy is the goal. That has been the goal from the very beginning. And yet we know

that it has been a long, very difficult path that has been followed. We do see openings today that, as Aung San Suu Kyi just said, give us some grounds for encouragement. My visit, both here with members of the opposition as well as representatives of civil society and the ethnic nationalities, in concert with my visit with government officials yesterday, is intended to explore the path forward.

The United States wants to be a partner with Burma. We want to work with you as you further democratization, as you release all political prisoners, as you begin the difficult but necessary process of ending the ethnic conflicts that have gone on far too long, as you hold elections that are free, fair, and credible. But we also, because of our close work with you, know that there’s much work to be done to build the capacity of the government. This is going to be an area that we will continue to consult closely with you to see what kind, as you said, technical assistance might be offered. The rule of law is essential in any democracy, and we will also look for ways we can work to further that.

But let me conclude by underscoring that you have been an inspiration, but I know you feel that you are standing for all the people of your country who deserve the same rights and freedoms of people everywhere. The people have been courageous and strong in the face of great difficulty over too many years. We want to see this country take its rightful place in the world. We want to see every child here given the chance for a good education, for the healthcare that he or she needs, for a job that will support a family, for development not only in the cities, but in the rural areas as well.

So we hold the dream that you have so long represented to many of us around the world, and we want to be a partner with you, with the new government, and with all people of goodwill who want finally to see the future that is right there waiting realized for every single citizen.

So thank you again for your gracious hospitality, but thank you even more for your leadership and your strong partnership with the United States.

MS. KYI: I would like to thank – end with a last note of thanks, a word of thanks to President Obama and to the United States of America for working so closely with us throughout, consulting us along each step of the way, and for the careful and collaborated way in which they are approaching engagement in this country. This will be the beginning of a new future for all of us, provided we can maintain it, and we hope to be able to do so.

Thank you.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Thank you so much.

## Secretary Clinton's Press Availability in Nay Pyi Taw, Burma

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
Office of the Spokesperson

PRESS AVAILABILITY  
Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton  
December 1, 2011  
Nay Pyi Taw, Burma

SECRETARY CLINTON: Good afternoon, and - mingalaba, is that how you say it? Yeah? How?

QUESTION: Mingalaba.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Mingalaba. Thank you.

Let me start by saying that I want to emphasize that while I may be the first United States Secretary of State to visit in over a half century, our two nations are far from strangers. We've had a long history together, from the earliest American missionaries to generations of traders and merchants to the shared sacrifices of World War Two. The United States was among the first to recognize this country's independence, and we have welcomed the many contributions of Burmese Americans to our own culture and prosperity. And Americans from all walks of life are following closely the events here.

So I come with a great deal of interest and awareness of what is happening. And on behalf of my country and President Obama, I came to assess whether the time is right for a new chapter in our shared history. Today, I met with President Thein Sein, his foreign minister, other senior ministers, and the speakers and members of parliament in both houses. We had candid, productive conversations about the steps taken so far, and the path ahead for reform.

Tomorrow, I will be meeting with ethnic minority groups and civil society. I will be meeting tonight and tomorrow with Aung San Suu Kyi and other members of the political opposition.

President Thein Sein has taken the first steps toward a long-awaited opening. His government has eased some restrictions on the media and civil society, opened a dialogue with Aung San Suu Kyi, rewritten election and labor laws, and released 200 prisoners of conscience. The president told me he seeks to build on these steps, and I assured him that these reforms have our support. I also told him that while the measures already taken may be unprecedented and certainly welcome, they are just a beginning. It is encouraging that political prisoners have been released, but over a thousand are still not free. Let me say publicly what I said privately earlier today. No

person in any country should be detained for exercising universal freedoms of expression, assembly, and conscience.

It is also encouraging that Aung San Suu Kyi is now free to take part in the political process. But that, too, will not be sufficient unless all political parties can open offices throughout the country and compete in free, fair, and credible elections. We welcome initial steps from the government to reduce ethnic tensions and hostilities. But as long as terrible violence continues in some of the world's longest-running internal conflicts, it will be difficult to begin a new chapter.

This country's diversity, its dozens of ethnic groups and languages, its shrines, pagodas, mosques, and churches should be a source of strength in the 21st century. And I urged the president to allow international humanitarian groups, human rights monitors and journalists access to conflict zones.

National reconciliation remains a defining challenge, and more needs to be done to address the root causes of conflict and to advance an inclusive dialogue that will finally bring peace to all of the people. We discussed these and many other challenges ahead, including the need to combat illegal trafficking in persons, weapons, and drugs. And I was very frank in stating that better relations with the United States will only be possible if the entire government respects the international consensus against the spread of nuclear weapons. We look to the government to fully implement UN Security Council Resolutions 1718 and 1874, and we support the government's stated determination to sever military ties with North Korea.

In each of my meetings, leaders assured me that progress would continue and broaden. And as it does, the United States will actively support those, both inside and outside of government, who genuinely seek reform. For decades, the choices of this country's leaders kept it apart from the global economy and the community of nations. Today, the United States is prepared to respond to reforms with measured steps to lessen the isolation and to help improve the lives of its citizens. That includes an invitation to join neighboring countries as an observer in the Lower Mekong Initiative. We have agreed to IMF and World Bank assessment missions to begin studying the needs on the ground for development, particularly in rural areas, and poverty reduction.

We discussed loosening restrictions on UNDP health and microfinance programs, pursuing education and training efforts, and resuming joint counter-narcotics missions. And just as the search for missing Americans once helped us repair relations with Vietnam, today we spoke about a new joint effort to recover the remains of hundreds of

Americans lost here during World War II during the building of the Burma Road.

These are beginning steps, and we are prepared to go even further if reforms maintain momentum. In that spirit, we are discussing what it will take to upgrade diplomatic relations and exchange ambassadors. Over time, this could become an important channel to air concerns, monitor and support progress, and build trust on both sides.

The last time an American Secretary of State came to Burma, it was John Foster Dulles, and this country was considered the jewel of Asia, a center of higher learning and the rice bowl of the region. In the last half century, other countries have raced ahead and turned East Asia into one of the world's great centers of dynamic growth and opportunity. So the most consequential question facing this country, both leaders and citizens, is not your relationship with the United States or with any other nation. It is whether leaders will let their people live up to their God-given potential and claim their place at the heart of the 21st century, a Pacific century.

There is no guarantee how that question will be answered. If the question is not answered in a positive way, then once again, the people could be left behind. But if it is answered in a positive way, I think the potential is unlimited.

I'm told there is an old Burmese proverb which says, "When it rains, collect water." Well, we don't know yet if the path to democracy is irreversible, as one of the leaders told me today, if the opening of the economy will be considered a positive and moved quickly to achieve. So the question is not for me to answer. The question is for all of you, particularly leaders, to answer. But we owe it to nearly 60 million people who seek freedom, dignity, and opportunity to do all we can to make sure that question is answered positively.

President Obama spoke of flickers of progress. Well, we know from history that flickers can die out. They can even be stamped out. Or they can be ignited. It will be up to the leaders and the people to fan those flickers of progress into flames of freedom that light the path toward a better future. That and nothing less is what it will take for us to turn a solitary visit into a lasting partnership. As I told President Thein Sein earlier today, the United States is prepared to walk the path of reform with you if you choose to keep moving in that direction. And there's no doubt that direction is the right one for the people.

I'll be happy to take some questions.

MS. NULAND: We have time for four questions today. I guess the first one is The New York Times, Steve Myers.

QUESTION: Thanks, Toria. Madam Secretary, thank you. Sorry. Thank you, Madam Secretary. The - Aung San Suu Kyi yesterday said that she personally trusted the president but wasn't sure about the views of others in the government. After your meetings today, do you share that view?

And in your discussions today, did you talk about a timetable for some of the reciprocal steps from both countries that you would like to see? Is this a matter of months or years? Thank you.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, Steve, we had a very substantive, serious, and candid, long discussion, both in the formal setting and then over lunch, between myself and President Thein Sein. He laid out a comprehensive vision of reform, reconciliation, and economic development for his country, including specifics such as the release of political prisoners, an inclusive political process, and free, fair, and credible bi-elections, a rigorous peace and reconciliation process to bring to an end some of the longest-standing conflicts anywhere in the world, and strong assurances regarding his country's compliance with United Nations Security Council Resolutions 1718 and 1874, and their nonproliferation commitments with respect to North Korea.

I made it clear that he and those who support that vision which he laid out for me, both inside and outside of government, will have our support as they continue to make progress, and that the United States is willing to match actions with actions. We want to be a partner in this reform process, starting with the steps that I laid out today. I also told him that, based on my experience and my observation, I am well aware that he has people in his government who are very supportive of this reform agenda, and he has people who are worried about it or opposed to it, and he has people in the middle who are sitting on the fence, trying to make up their minds. What I hope is that our strong commitment, coupled with the willingness of the international community - particularly multinational organizations from the UN to the IMF to the World Bank and others - expressing our strong support for this path. And what it will mean in terms of delivering concrete benefits will give him extra support in the internal debates that are underway.

So I certainly believe that we now have a clear sense of what he is trying to achieve and how best we can support him. And let me add that, in my meetings with the foreign minister and the speakers of both the upper and the lower house, I heard the same things about the issues that had to be addressed in order for reform to continue. I wasn't given specific dates, but I was certainly assured that actions would be taken on a regular and ongoing basis.

MS. NULAND: Next question, from Shwe Gin Maru (ph) of Myanmar Times.

QUESTION: Thank you, Madam. I would like to know, do you think (inaudible) reaching with the new Government of Myanmar, and (inaudible)?

SECRETARY CLINTON: I thought that today was an excellent opportunity for me to both listen to officials in the government describe what their intentions are and the actions that they are planning to take and for them to hear from me on behalf of the United States how much we support this path of reform, how we expect to see additional steps taken on political prisoners, on peace and reconciliation, on the bi-elections, on the enforcement of the laws that have been passed, which are quite encouraging but need to be implemented. And I will certainly emphasize that if what I heard today is followed through on by the government, that meets the concerns that we have as to whether or not this is a serious and sincere effort. And we hope that it is.

MS. NULAND: Next question, Keith Johnson, Wall Street Journal.

QUESTION: Madam Secretary, thank you. China's response to your visit and the U.S. reengagement in general has been one of concern. And in fact, they've spoken openly about a competition between the U.S. and China for inputs in Myanmar. Their state media just today warned that they will not accept their interests being stamped on here. And I wondered, just briefly, two things. Do you fear that U.S. reengagement could cause any sort of backlash with Beijing? And more broadly, countries like Myanmar in the region, what can the U.S. do to assuage countries like that? They're sort of caught between these two titans of the new Pacific century.

SECRETARY CLINTON: That's an important question, and it's one that I addressed in all of my discussions. Our engagement here is rooted in our longstanding interest in seeking positive change. We have, as I said at the very beginning, a long history that has many positive aspects to it. But we have been dismayed by some of the actions of the past decades, and we are encouraged to see the changes that are taking place.

This is an interest that spans decades, that cuts across every political divide in the United States, because it's a country that has both fascinated and worried Americans for many years. And we are not about opposing any other country; we're about supporting this country. And we actually consult regularly with China about our engagements in the Asia Pacific region, including how we see events unfolding here. And we welcome - as I specifically told the president and the two speakers, we welcome positive, constructive relations between China

and her neighbors. We think that's in China's interest as well as the neighborhood's interest. We think that being friends with one doesn't mean not being friends with others. So from our perspective, we are not viewing this in light of any competition with China. We're viewing this on its merits as an opportunity for us to reengage here. And we think that that is a very open possibility. And that's why I'm here to assess it for myself.

MS. NULAND: And the last question today, Fine Kin Zin Lay (ph) from The Voice.

QUESTION: (Inaudible) asking two questions. One question is: Do you see any probability for release all political prisoners? And the second question is: Did you discuss about sanctions with the president? Are there any probability to ease sanction, or never? Thank you.

SECRETARY CLINTON: We discussed both of those issues at some length because, obviously, they are important subjects in our renewed dialogue.

With respect to political prisoners, we believe that any political prisoner anywhere should be released. One political prisoner is one too many, in our view. And we're concerned about the continued detention of more than a thousand prisoners of conscience here. We welcome the release of the 200 political prisoners in October, and we have consistently called for and encouraged the release of all political prisoners. I did so again. And I made it clear that was an issue that would have to be resolved before we could take some of the steps that we would be willing to take because the immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners is a key test of the government's commitment to human rights and democracy and internal national reconciliation.

So we're aware of the process that is followed and the constitutional provision that gives authority to the president. We know that for the release in October, the parliament agreed to support that. So I discussed it with the president and both speakers, and we are certainly hopeful that we will see such release of all prisoners in the near future.

With regard to sanctions, we're in the early stages of our dialogue. And I want to state for the record that my visit today is the result of over two years of work on our behalf. We've had at least 20 high-level visits. We have Assistant Secretary Campbell, our former representative Scott Marciel. We've had a very active engagement by our chargé, and then we filled the position that the Congress created for a permanent special representative with Ambassador Derek Mitchell.

So for more than two years, ever since I asked that we do a review of our Burma policy in 2009, we have been

reaching out, we've been trying to gather information, because we wanted to see change for the benefit of all of the people. And so we have been working toward this, and the reason that we were finally able to reach the decision that the president announced for me to visit is because of the steps that the government has taken.

We know more needs to be done, however, and we think that we have to wait to make sure that this commitment is real. So we're not only talking to senior members of the government, but we're talking to civil society members, we're talking to members of the political opposition, we're talking to representatives of ethnic minorities, because we want to be sure that we have as full a picture as possible.

So we're not at the point yet that we can consider lifting sanctions that we have in place because of our ongoing concerns about policies that have to be reversed. But any steps that the government takes will be carefully considered and will be, as I said, matched because we want to see political and economic reform take hold. And I told the leadership that we will certainly consider the easing and elimination of sanctions as we go forward in this process together. And it has to be not theoretical or rhetorical. It has to be very real, on the ground, that can be evaluated. But we are open to that, and we are going to pursue many different avenues to demonstrate our continuing support for this path of reform.

MS. NULAND: Thank you very much.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Thanks, everyone. Thank you all very much. Wonderful to have a chance to talk to you.

### **Clinton, Aung San Suu Kyi Outline Needed Reforms in Burma**

By MacKenzie C. Babb | Staff Writer

Washington — Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton met with ethnic group and civil society leaders, including human rights activist and Nobel laureate Aung San Suu Kyi, in Burma after talks with government officials to discuss the country's recent steps toward political reform. "The United States wants to be a partner with Burma," Clinton said December 2 as she finished a three-day official visit to the country in Rangoon. "We want to work with you as you further democratize, as you release all political prisoners, as you begin the necessary process of ending the ethnic conflicts that have gone on far too long, as you hold elections that are free, fair and credible," she said.

The secretary spoke from Suu Kyi's home, where the pro-democracy leader spent a total of 15 years under house arrest before her November 2010 release. Clinton and Suu Kyi addressed reporters there after meeting December 1

and 2 to discuss the country's latest efforts to reform.

Calling Clinton's visit a "historical moment," Suu Kyi said international engagement will be critical to ensuring Burma stays on the path toward democracy.

"We need the help not just of the United States, but of other members of the international community," Suu Kyi said. "We need capacity-building in Burma, we need technical assistance, we are very eager that the time will soon come when the World Bank can send in an assessment team to find out what it is that our country really needs."

The opposition leader and Nobel Peace Prize winner emphasized the immediate need to end the country's violence, calling a cessation to civil war a chance to "build up ethnic harmony and peace and a union that is prosperous and stable."

Suu Kyi also highlighted the pressing need to establish the rule of law in the country, saying that it will be critical to ensuring the end of political imprisonment in Burma.

"We need all those who are still in prison to be released, and we need to ensure that no more are arrested in future for their beliefs," Suu Kyi said. "This is why we put so much emphasis on rule of law, and I am confident that the United States and our other friends will help us in our endeavors to bring rule of law to this country."

Clinton commended the recent release of 200 prisoners of conscience by Burmese President Thein Sein, but said that more than 1,000 are still not free. She also praised the easing of restrictions on the media and the opening of a dialogue with opposition leaders. While she said much work remains, Clinton pledged the United States will continue to support Burma as it works toward reform. Suu Kyi expressed appreciation for this commitment, and said that "if we go forward together, I am confident that there will be no turning back from the road toward democracy."

Calling Suu Kyi "an inspiration" and commending the Burmese people for being "courageous and strong in the face of great difficulty," Clinton said the United States wants to see Burma "take its rightful place in the world."

"We want to see every child here given the chance for a good education, for the health care that he or she needs, for a job that will support a family," the secretary said. "We want to be a partner with you, with the new government and with all people of goodwill who want finally to see the future that is right there waiting realized for every single citizen."

Clinton met with President Thein Sein, Foreign Minister

Wunna Maung Lwin and top members of parliament in Burmese capital Nay Pyi Taw ahead of her talks with Suu Kyi and civil society leaders in Rangoon. Her trip, the first by a U.S. secretary of state in more than 50 years, comes at the direction of President Obama, who called it a “historic opportunity for progress” and a chance for Burma to forge a new relationship with the United States.

### **Clinton Encourages Reforms in Talks with Burmese Leaders**

By MacKenzie C. Babb | Staff Writer

Washington — Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton met with top government officials in Burma ahead of talks with civil society and human rights leaders, including Nobel Peace Prize laureate Aung San Suu Kyi, to discuss the country’s recent steps toward political reforms.

“The most consequential question facing this country ... is whether leaders will let their people live up to their God-given potential and claim their place at the heart of the 21st century, a Pacific century,” Clinton said December 1 in the capital city, Naypyidaw. “We owe it to the nearly 60 million people who seek freedom, dignity and opportunity to do all we can to make sure that question is answered positively.”

The secretary spoke after meeting with Burmese President Thein Sein, Foreign Minister Wunna Maung Lwin and top members of parliament to discuss the country’s path toward democracy and an open economy.

“We had candid, productive conversations about the steps taken so far and the path ahead for reform,” Clinton said of the talks.

She praised President Thein Sein for taking “the first steps toward a long-awaited opening” and said his government has eased restrictions on the media and civil society, opened a dialogue with opposition leader Aung San Suu Kyi and released 200 prisoners of conscience. Clinton said the president committed to building on these steps, and she assured him the reforms have full U.S. support.

But the secretary said these efforts are just a beginning.

“It is encouraging that political prisoners have been released, but over a thousand are still not free,” she said. “It is also encouraging that Aung San Suu Kyi is now free to take part in the political process. But that, too, will not be sufficient unless all political parties can open offices throughout the country and compete in free, fair and credible elections,” Clinton added.

The secretary said her talks with Burmese leaders covered top challenges such as national reconciliation, nuclear

nonproliferation and illegal trafficking in persons, weapons and drugs.

Clinton said the officials offered assurance that political progress to address these issues will continue and broaden. She said that as it does, the United States “will actively support those, both inside and outside of government, who genuinely seek reform.”

The United States has maintained sanctions against Burma and limited its contact with government officials for decades in response to the country’s abuses against political opponents, ethnic minorities, democratic reformers and others.

Clinton, whose trip marks the first by a U.S. secretary of state to Burma in more than 50 years, said the United States is prepared to respond to recent “flickers of progress” in the country with “measured steps to lessen the isolation and help improve the lives” of Burmese citizens. She said these steps include an invitation to Burma to join neighboring countries as an observer in the Lower Mekong Initiative, assessment missions by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank to study development needs and poverty reduction and resumed education and training efforts throughout the country.

She said these are beginning steps, and that the United States is prepared to go even further if reforms maintain momentum.

Clinton was scheduled to meet with Suu Kyi later December 1, ahead of meetings with civil society and ethnic group leaders the following day. Her trip comes at the direction of President Obama, who called it “an historic opportunity for progress” and a chance for Burma to forge a new relationship with the United States.

### **Pingpong Diplomacy: Celebrating 40 Years**

By Louise Fenner | Staff Writer

Washington — Champion U.S. table tennis players will visit China in December for the 40th anniversary of “pingpong diplomacy,” the breakthrough in U.S.-China relations that started with an invitation from China to the U.S. table tennis team.

U.S. men’s national champion Timothy Wang, 20, will be part of the 15-person delegation, along with some members of the 1971 team whose trip to China paved the way for a visit by President Richard Nixon the following year. They will go to Beijing, Hangzhou, Shanghai and Changshu December 7-15.

“It’s a great opportunity for me to be able to play with

some of the best players in the world," said Wang, who will play exhibition matches against Wang Liqin, ranked the world's sixth-best male player by the International Table Tennis Federation. "I'd like U.S. players to go to China more often to train and raise their level," he said.

Like Wang, who was born in Texas, most players on the U.S. national and junior teams are children of Chinese immigrants, according to USA Table Tennis. Wang speaks Mandarin and has trained with Chinese coaches in the United States and China.

In addition to the competition, Wang looks forward to visiting China with pingpong diplomacy veterans. "Table tennis brought the U.S. and China together," he said. "Among athletes, I think, everybody is more open to being friends with everybody."

Veteran player Judy Bochenski Hoarfrost agrees. "In sports, we have a common language that transcends national boundaries and cultural differences," she said.

In 1971, Hoarfrost was 15 when she traveled to China with the U.S. team. The team had been playing in the World Table Tennis Championship in Nagoya, Japan, when the Chinese invited the team for an all-expense-paid tour and exhibition matches.

"We were the first group of Americans to go to China since before the Cultural Revolution, and we knew this was big news," Hoarfrost said. The trip's full significance struck them as they were leaving China. Newspapers carried photos of Hoarfrost shaking hands with Premier Zhou Enlai and "media attention reached an insane level."

#### SPORTSMANSHIP AS DIPLOMACY

Connie Sweeris, then 23 and the reigning U.S. champion, was nervous about traveling to China in 1971 because it was "the unknown" and a communist country. However, the Americans were warmly received by Chinese officials, citizens and athletes.

"They were very friendly, and the motto was 'Friendship First, Competition Second,'" she said.

She admits that the Chinese players, the best table tennis players in the world, demonstrated host-country sportsmanship and let the Americans win some. "They weren't trying to stomp us in the ground, which they probably could have," she said.

Following Nixon's visit to China, the Chinese team came to the United States. Dell Sweeris, Connie's husband, was the only American to defeat a Chinese competitor. (Although a member of the U.S. team, Dell had stayed home during the trip to Japan and China.) He recalled

that his opponent, Liang Geliang, "allowed me to play my best game in order to be able to beat him." The American audience was awestruck by the speed and agility of the match, he said. "They had never seen anything like that before."

He will play Liang in a doubles "friendship" match in China.

The American delegation also includes John Tannehill, a 1971 veteran, and two younger players still competing: Yiyong Fan, a member of the U.S. National Team, and Lily Yip, coach of the U.S. National Junior Team.

Wang flies back to the United States a day earlier than the others to defend his title at the U.S. National Championships. He hopes to qualify for the 2012 Olympics.

Those challenges don't eclipse the trip to China, however. He has traveled there four times previously for visits and training. "My dad is from China, so China is kind of like my second home," he said.

But this is different. He expects "a really great trip" this time, as a sports diplomat.

The visit is part of the U.S.-China Consultation on People-to-People Exchange. It is being organized by the U.S. and China table tennis associations, with assistance from the U.S. Embassy Beijing and the State Department's SportsUnited program. Earlier this year, a Chinese delegation visited the United States as part of the 40th anniversary celebration of pingpong diplomacy.

#### Pakistani Journalists Get Up-Close Look at U.S.

By Jane Morse | Staff Writer

Washington — Pakistani journalist Muhammad Irtaza admits that he expected the worst when he arrived in the United States. "I thought: When I'm going to land in an American airport, I might have to face tough questions, I might be singled out," he said. "But, you know, the entry process took me a maximum of two minutes. It was amazing."

Irtaza is the bureau chief in Multan for The Nation, an English-language national daily. He and 13 other Pakistani journalists came to the United States to participate in a four-week U.S.-Pakistan journalism program conducted by the International Center for Journalism with a grant from the U.S. Department of State's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs. The journalists were assigned to newspapers and media outlets across the United States, where they worked alongside American reporters and editors.

Irtaza worked with the Evansville Courier & Press, a newspaper that serves readers in 30 counties in Indiana, Illinois and Kentucky.

"I'm extremely happy with my assignment," Irtaza said. "I enjoyed it a lot and I learned a lot, because I had so many stereotypes in my mind when I came here. Would you believe that all the stereotypes have gone by now? It's because it was the first opportunity I came across to meet Americans directly. What I found out is that their hospitality is amazing; they're very friendly."

American journalists, he said, use technology such as smartphones, iPads and the Internet to a greater extent than journalists in Pakistan. "It increases your speed of work a lot," Irtaza said, adding that he would employ these technologies to a greater extent himself when he got back to his job in Multan.

It's a lesson that Desirée Natasha Francis will be taking home as well to her job as an editor in Karachi for The News International, a national daily. American journalists, she said, use Facebook and Twitter as an additional information source and a way to interact with their audiences. "I think we [Pakistani journalists] could better that aspect of our social networking."

But the American media, she said, could do more in providing broader coverage of Pakistan. Francis, who spent several weeks working at the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, a Pulitzer Prize-winning paper in Pennsylvania, said she thinks a more rounded view of Pakistan could improve relations between the people of both countries. "I think it's important that the American media push stories on development in Pakistan, even though they might not be sensational," Francis said, "because we need to ease those ties between the two countries."

Another journalist was struck by the sheer volume of issues Americans are focused on each day. Pakistan is "just a little element" of all the issues facing U.S. lawmakers on Capitol Hill, according to Maha Mussadaq, who observed operations at the Washington newsroom of the McClatchy Company, a U.S. publishing company that operates 30 daily newspapers in 15 states. "Media are very empowered over here," said Mussadaq, who is a reporter on the national pages of the Express Tribune, which is a publishing partner of the International Herald Tribune and the first internationally affiliated newspaper in Pakistan. "Freedom of the press is amazing in America," she said.

Mussadaq was also impressed with the teamwork she saw among American journalists and the brainstorming sessions she saw in the newsroom. "That doesn't happen as much in the newsrooms of Pakistan," she said.

Although the Pakistani journalists learned a lot during their stay with various media outlets, they also had the opportunity to teach.

Naila Inayat, an assistant editor and writer for the weekly magazine of The News International in Pakistan, learned about how reporting is done for the political, features and crime sections of the Post & Courier in Charleston, South Carolina. But it was her interaction with local students that will be most memorable, she said.

"One thing that I loved and I enjoyed the most was when I was called on by the College of Charleston to lecture their students of international relations," she said. "I taught two classes and it just rejuvenated me. ... They had so many questions about Pakistan." Inayat said she plans to continue offering lectures to the students and answering their questions via Skype.

### **Demonstration Begins to Put Carbon in Ground, Not Atmosphere**

Washington — Excessive levels of carbon dioxide (CO<sub>2</sub>) in the atmosphere are causing the planet to grow warmer, most researchers agree. One possible response to the problem is to prevent CO<sub>2</sub> from entering the atmosphere by storing it somewhere else.

That approach is called carbon sequestration, and a million-ton demonstration of CO<sub>2</sub> storage has entered a critical phase — the injection of CO<sub>2</sub> from a biofuels plant into a sandstone formation more than 2,100 meters below the surface of Decatur, Illinois.

"Establishing long-term, environmentally safe and secure underground CO<sub>2</sub> storage is a critical component in achieving successful commercial deployment of carbon capture, utilization and storage technology," said Chuck McConnell, chief operating officer for the Office of Fossil Energy at the U.S. Department of Energy (DOE).

This injection test is managed by the Midwest Geological Sequestration Consortium (MGSC). McConnell said in a November press release that it will help "confirm the great potential and viability of permanent geologic storage as an important option in climate change mitigation strategies."

The Illinois State Geological Survey (ISGS), part of the Prairie Research Institute at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, is leading the project, which has been in development since 2003. The group's study indicates that the deep, sub-surface reservoir they've selected — known as Mt. Simon Sandstone — "has the necessary geological characteristics to be an excellent injection target for safe and effective storage of CO<sub>2</sub>," according to Robert J. Finley, the leader of the ISGS

sequestration team. The scientists estimate that the storage capacity of Mt. Simon Sandstone is as much as 150 billion metric tons.

The CO<sub>2</sub> is being captured from a processing complex where the Archer Daniels Midland Company is fermenting corn to make ethanol. The captured CO<sub>2</sub> is compressed into a dense liquid and injected into the underground formation. ISGS has confirmed that this formation is the thickest and most widespread saline reservoir in the Illinois Basin, a geological feature underlying two-thirds of the state of Illinois. When the CO<sub>2</sub> is injected into the formation, it is stored permanently in pore spaces within the rock. The Mt. Simon Sandstone lies beneath the Eau Claire shale formation that serves as an impermeable cap of rock, a layer of protection preventing CO<sub>2</sub> release into the atmosphere.

The infrastructure for this sequestration project has been under development since 2007. MGSC has conducted a seismic survey of the area and constructed a pipeline and a facility where the CO<sub>2</sub> is compressed. Three wells have been drilled, including an injection well and a well to be used to monitor the ongoing injection and its effects on the surrounding rock formations.

This project is one of several demonstrations being conducted by regional carbon sequestration partnerships sponsored by DOE. Seven regional partner organizations around the country are working to identify the best approaches for capturing and permanently storing greenhouse gases.

Another group involving nine states from Indiana to the mid-Atlantic coast reported in November the discovery of underground storage capacity that could permanently store hundreds of years of CO<sub>2</sub> emissions generated by the region. This group – the Midwest Regional Carbon Sequestration Partnership – has identified deep saline rock formations that could store almost 250 billion metric tons of CO<sub>2</sub>.

These sequestration efforts move forward at an important moment in the international discussion of climate change. Representatives from almost 200 nations, parties to the U.N. Framework Convention on Climate Change, are in Durban, South Africa, November 28–December 9 working to reach international agreement on how to reduce emissions of greenhouse gases in an effort to slow the process of global warming.

(This is a product of the Bureau of International Information Programs, U.S. Department of State. Web site: <http://iipdigital.usembassy.gov>)