Africa:

Security Council Meets to Discuss Piracy

Remarks by Secretary of Defense Gates, October 1, 2008[1]

Secretary Robert Gates delivered these remarks in Washington, DC

Secretary Gates. Thank all of you for coming today. And a special thanks to Administrator Fore and all our distinguished guests—in particular the members of the diplomatic corps from many African nations who are with us today.

It's a real pleasure to be here on the occasion of AFRICOM's operational activation as a unified command. I would like to start by recognizing those who have put in so much hard work over the last year to make the command a reality. General "Kip" Ward's strong leadership has been matched only by the efforts of his tireless staff in Stuttgart. The result is a combatant command stood up in record time.

Over the past few years, the Defense Department has taken a number of steps to modernize America's military arrangements abroad. Beyond moving and realigning troops and bases, we have also been reconsidering, on a more general level, the nature of the kinds of threats to our nation and all our friends and partners and those threats that people face together. At a time when crime, terrorism, natural disasters, economic turmoil, ethnic fissures, and disease can be just as destabilizing as traditional military threats, it makes sense to fuse old understandings of security with new concepts of how security, stability, and development go hand-in-hand. In this respect, AFRICOM represents yet another important step in modernizing our defense arrangements in light of 21st century realities.

It is, at its heart, a different kind of command with a different orientation—one that we hope and expect will institutionalize a lasting security relationship with Africa, a vast region of growing importance in the globe. The focus is on the three Ds: defense, diplomacy, and development.

On the defense side, AFRICOM's mission is not to wage war, but to prevent it—not to show United States military presence, but to enhance the security forces of our partners. In carrying out these goals, the Department of Defense will support the State Department, which has the expertise from a long history of working with African nations—and is the lead agency responsible for foreign policy and development on the continent. The Department of State's Africa bureau, for example, was established five decades ago last month. They know the continent and the people—and they know the best and most effective ways that we can help our African partners on a number of fronts.

The unique, interagency structure and purpose of AFRICOM is reflected in its organizational structure. The Deputy to the Commander for Civil-Military Activities, Ambassador Mary Carlin Yates, is a foreign service officer—and a number of billets will be filled by other civilian officials. To be sure, AFRICOM is experimental in some respects, so we know it will evolve over time. As we work with African governments and their militaries to preserve peace and stability, we also expect to learn from their experiences about the best way ahead. At the end of the day, we hope that AFRICOM will come to exemplify the kind of civilian-military partnership needed to address the complex security challenges we all face—and that the nations of Africa face.

The leaders of this new command are committed to working with African governments and the African Union to preserve peace and stability. General Ward and his team are working hard to complement existing efforts by international and non-governmental organizations while growing our military-to-military programs, in areas such as training and military education.

AFRICOM will continue the process of building lasting ties with our African friends and partners—and helping them secure and develop their own nations. All of this contributes to our overall goal as a nation: to be a trusted, reliable partner for all of the nations of Africa.

Thank you.

Press Release from the Treasury Department, October 13, 2008[2]

Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for International Affairs Clay Lowery and African Development Bank President Donald Kaberuka today addressed a group of African finance ministers, power project developers, and financiers at a seminar on attracting private investment in Africa's power sector. The seminar, which was hosted by the Treasury Department and the Infrastructure Consortium for Africa, follows up on discussions during

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Secretary Paulson's trip to Ghana, Tanzania and South Africa last November.

Underinvestment in infrastructure, particularly in the power sector, constrains economic performance in Africa, and major investments in infrastructure are needed to boost productivity and competitiveness. The World Bank estimates that, to meet demand in the power sector alone, sub-Saharan Africa would need to invest over $30 billion a year, or around 4.5 percent of the continent's GDP, for ten years. Mobilizing private financing is essential given the magnitude of investment needs and the constraints on public finance.

Assistant Secretary Lowery stated, "African economies have made great strides in recent years. But to truly unlock Africa's economic potential, we must address infrastructure bottlenecks, particularly in power generation. African businesses must have clean, reliable, affordable energy to be competitive in world markets."

Participants discussed the financing constraints on private investment in many sub-Saharan African countries and ways in which to address those constraints. The discussion highlighted the primary role of African governments in creating an environment conducive to private investment, including critical regulatory and legal reforms. In addition to the primary role of governments, participants also discussed the important supporting role of donors to help catalyze private investment.

The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) announced the establishment of the Africa Infrastructure Program (AIP). Through AIP, USAID is committing over $25 million to provide African governments with specialized project finance transaction experts to help expedite the financial closure of commercially and financially viable electricity projects in the Sub-Saharan region. By providing project finance, legal, technical, and environmental expertise to support the contract negotiation progress on targeted projects, AIP seeks to leverage more than $1 billion of new investments within Sub-Saharan Africa with the next two years.

The Infrastructure Consortium for Africa (ICA) unveiled a new guide, "Attracting Investors to African Public-Private Partnerships," that will help the public sector in Africa to attract private sector investment through effective project advertising, management, and implementation. The guide, prepared with a grant from the multi-donor Public-Private Infrastructure Advisory Facility, will enhance the chances of developing effective public-private partnerships by overcoming major obstacles to project delivery by having the right information, on the right projects, for the right partners, at the right time.

White House Statement, October 22, 2008[3]

Section 202(d) of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1622(d)) provides for the automatic termination of a national emergency unless, prior to the anniversary date of its declaration, the President publishes in the Federal Register and transmits to the Congress a notice stating that the emergency is to continue in effect beyond the anniversary date. In accordance with this provision, I have sent the enclosed notice to the Federal Register for publication, stating that the national emergency with respect to the situation in or in relation to the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and the related measures blocking the property of certain persons contributing to the conflict in that country, are to continue in effect beyond October 27, 2008.

The situation in or in relation to the Democratic Republic of the Congo, which has been marked by widespread violence and atrocities that continue to threaten regional stability and that has been addressed by the United Nations Security Council in numerous resolutions, including Resolution 1596 of April 18, 2005, Resolution 1649 of December 21, 2005, Resolution 1698 of July 31, 2006, and Resolution 1807 of March 31, 2008, continues to pose an unusual and extraordinary threat to the foreign policy of the United States. For this reason, I have determined that it is necessary to continue the national emergency to deal with that threat and the related measures blocking the property of certain persons contributing to the conflict in that country.

Remarks by President Bush and Liberian President Johnson Sirleaf, October 22, 2008[4]

President George W. Bush and President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf delivered these remarks in Washington, DC

President Bush. Madam President, I have come to respect you and admire you because of your courage, your vision, your commitment to universal values and principles. Laura and I had a fantastic experience traveling to Liberia, and we want to thank you for your warm hospitality. Yesterday, you made note of my—the lack of my talent when it came to dancing. But nevertheless, I want you to know I danced with joy.

And no question Liberia has gone through very difficult times. But no question there's a bright future for Liberia. Liberia needs the help of the United States and other nations to help make sure children are educated, to make sure babies are not dying because of malaria, to make sure there's an infrastructure so that small businesses can flourish, to make sure the port is open for business. We have been helpful and we want to be helpful in the future. And I'm confident in saying to the American people that by helping this President and Liberia, we really help ourselves in many ways.

And so I—it's been a joy to know you. It's been a great experience working with you, and I congratulate you on your strong leadership. Welcome.

President Johnson Sirleaf. Thank you, Mr. President. I come on behalf of the Liberian people to thank you for the support we've received from you, the administration, from Congress, from the American people. It has enabled us to turn the corner from being what was called a "failed state" several years ago to today what we hope will becoming to be one of

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the emerging democracies.

We've been able to put our economic and financial house in order; tackle our debt; begin to rebuild our infrastructure; put our children back into school; bring some water and electricity to a country that hasn't had it for over two decades. And so we're just so thankful for the encouragement, the support that we received from you.

I want you to know that the challenges are many, but with the continued support of the American people and the continued support of the American administration and Congress, that we feel that Liberia can become a post-conflict success story.

We want to say to you that your visit to our country is one that goes down in the record books—as being one of the most enjoyable—not only for the dancing—but for all that you did to train our new soldiers and put our infrastructure in order; and the hope that you helped to give to the Liberian people that indeed the nightmare is over and they can have a future that's full of promise.

So we're here to say to you we're very grateful. The Liberian people just want to thank you.

White House Statement, October 30, 2008[5]

Section 202(d) of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1622(d)) provides for the automatic termination of a national emergency unless, prior to the anniversary date of its declaration, the President publishes in the Federal Register and transmits to the Congress a notice stating that the emergency is to continue in effect beyond the anniversary date. In accordance with this provision, I have sent the enclosed notice to the Federal Register for publication, stating that the Sudan emergency is to continue in effect beyond November 3, 2008.

The crisis constituted by the actions and policies of the Government of Sudan that led to the declaration of a national emergency in Executive Order 13067 of November 3, 1997, and the expansion of that emergency in Executive Order 13400 of April 26, 2006, and with respect to which additional steps were taken in Executive Order 13412 of October 13, 2006, has not been resolved. These actions and policies are hostile to U.S. interests and pose a continuing unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security and foreign policy of the United States. Therefore, I have determined that it is necessary to continue the national emergency declared with respect to Sudan and maintain in force the comprehensive sanctions against Sudan to respond to this threat.

Press Release from the U.S. Agency for International Development, November 13, 2008[6]

The U.S. government, through the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), airlifted the first of five planned shipments of U.S. emergency assistance to the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) on November 12. In coordination with the UN Children's Fund (UNICEF), approximately 20,000 internally displaced persons will benefit from 10,000 blankets, 5,400 water containers, 500 rolls of plastic sheeting, and 5,000 kitchen sets, totaling $801,500.

On October 15, U.S. Chargé d'Affaires Samuel V. Brock declared a disaster in response to the ongoing humanitarian emergency in the DRC. In response to this disaster declaration, USAID deployed a six-member Disaster Assistance Response Team (DART) of humanitarian specialists to address the acute crisis in North Kivu. The DART is charged with assessing changing humanitarian conditions, identifying priority needs for additional programming, and facilitating humanitarian coordination and information sharing.

White House Statement, November 20, 2008[7]

Message to the Senate of the United States

I transmit herewith, with a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, the Treaty between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Republic of Rwanda Concerning the Encouragement and Reciprocal Protection of Investment, signed at Kigali on February 19, 2008. I transmit also, for the information of the Senate, the report prepared by the Department of State with respect to the Treaty.

This is the first bilateral investment treaty (BIT) concluded between the United States and a sub-Saharan African country since 1998. The Treaty will help to promote cross-border investment by providing legal protections for investors of each country for their investments in the other country. The Treaty underscores the shared commitment of both countries to open investment and trade policies.

Rwanda has opened its economy, improved its business climate, and embraced trade and investment as a means to boost economic development and help alleviate poverty. The U.S.-Rwanda BIT will reinforce these efforts.

The Treaty is fully consistent with U.S. policy to secure protections for U.S. investment abroad and to welcome foreign investment in the United States. Under this Treaty, the Parties agree to accord national treatment and most-favored-nation treatment to investments. They also agree to customary international law standards for expropriation and for the minimum standard of treatment. The Treaty includes detailed provisions regarding the payment of prompt, adequate, and effective compensation in the event of expropriation; free transfer of funds related to investment; freedom of investment from specified performance requirements; prohibitions on nationality based restrictions for the hiring of senior managers; and the opportunity for investors to resolve disputes with a host government through international arbitration. The Treaty also includes extensive transparency obliga-

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tions with respect to national laws and regulations and commitments to transparency in dispute settlement. The Parties also recognize that it is inappropriate to encourage investment by weakening or reducing the protections afforded in domestic environmental and labor laws.

I recommend that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to the Treaty and give its advice and consent to ratification.

White House Statement, November 22, 2008[8]

On Zimbabwe

Nearly eight months have passed since the Zimbabwean people voted for a new president, yet they still are governed by an illegitimate regime that continues to suppress democratic voices and basic human rights. In addition to its disastrous economic policies which have forced half the population to rely on food assistance, the Mugabe regime is now assaulting doctors and nurses, denying citizens access to basic medical services, and stealing donor funds intended for HIV/AIDS patients.

In October alone, independent organizations documented some 1,300 incidents of politically-motivated violence and harassment by the regime. We call for an end to the Mugabe regime's brutal repression of basic freedoms and for the formation of a legitimate government that represents the will of the people as expressed in the March 2008 elections.

In spite of the regime's aggressive actions against its own people, the United States will continue to honor its commitment to provide emergency humanitarian assistance, already totaling $186 million in 2008, and stands ready to provide other forms of assistance pending the formation of a legitimate government that represents the will of the Zimbabwean people.

Statement by President Bush, December 9, 2008[9]

On Zimbabwe

As my Administration has made clear, it is time for Robert Mugabe to go. Across the continent, African voices are bravely speaking out to say now is the time for him to step down. These leaders share the desire of ordinary Zimbabweans for a return to peace, democracy, and prosperity. We urge others from the region to step up and join the growing chorus of voices calling for an end to Mugabe's tyranny. The United States will continue to work with our partners around the world to halt the violence and stem the humanitarian disaster that the Mugabe regime is inflicting on its people. We stand ready to help rebuild Zimbabwe once a legitimate government has been formed that reflects the results of the March elections.

Remarks by President Bush and Dr. Bashir, December 10, 2008[10]

President George W. Bush and Dr. Halima Bashir delivered these remarks in Washington, DC

President Bush. I have just had the distinct pleasure and honor of visiting with Dr. Halima Bashir, who wrote a book called "Tears of the Desert." This good soul brings firsthand accounts to what life is like in Darfur. She has witnessed violence, deprivation, and she carries a message of a lot of people who want our help.

I assured her that, in spite of the economic difficulties, our aid will continue to flow. We will use our influence to make sure the aid gets to the people of Darfur.

I also made it clear that I am frustrated with the pace of activities; that the United Nations must expedite sending troops, peacekeepers, to provide security for the people—that's what they want, they want to be able to have a secure life—and that we'll help.

The United States continues to stand at the ready to provide airlift. The pace of action out of the United Nations is too slow. We support the mediation process by the A.U.-U.N. mediator. In other words, we recognize in order for there to be peace in Darfur that parties must come to the table in good faith and solve the problems. And finally, it's very important for President Bashir of Sudan to know that he cannot escape accountability; that if he so choose, he could change people's lives, the condition of people's lives very quickly.

I've appointed a special envoy to Sudan to help put pressure on the government. The United States must continue to rally the international community to put pressure on the government, as well. The urgency of the situation is never more apparent than when I had the honor of visiting with this brave soul.

And so I welcome you to the Oval Office. And I welcome any comments you want to make.

Dr. Bashir. Yes, of course. Thank you very much for the President to invite me to the White House. I think this is—I'm very happy because now Darfur victims' voices is heard in the White House and to the American people and to the world. And I think the President, the message I send to him is going to—to do more work in Darfur to handle the situation, and to (inaudible) troops and the ICC ruling and just to stop the genocide and the crisis in Darfur, because now more than five years and we do not need to wait anymore. We need real action.

Press Release from the U.S. Agency for International Development, December 11, 2008[11]

The U.S. government, through the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), is providing an additional $6.2 million and has deployed a Disaster Assistance Response Team (DART) to help combat the cholera outbreak in Zimbabwe. This assistance is in addition to more

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than $4.6 million for emergency water, sanitation, and hygiene program that USAID is already implementing in Zimbabwe.

This new funding will provide additional health and water, sanitation, and hygiene programs, as well as allow USAID to support coordination efforts such as intensifying community health and hygiene promotion and education activities. USAID is also bringing in emergency relief supplies such as soap, water bladders and rehydration solution to address the most pressing needs.

The DART, including a specialist from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, is working to coordinate the U.S. assistance effort with other donors' efforts and provide technical assistance to the international community. According to the UN, cholera has caused nearly 800 deaths, with more than 16,400 cases reported.

"The USAID DART is working to get aid to those who have contracted cholera and those who are at risk of contracting cholera," said USAID Administrator Henrietta H. Fore. "Poor water and sanitation systems coupled with increasingly inaccessible health and other services have caused the cholera outbreak in Zimbabwe. This outbreak is a breakdown of Zimbabwe's government services, plain and simple."

This recent contribution brings the total U.S. humanitarian assistance to Zimbabwe's food and health crisis to more than $226 million since October 2007. This emergency assistance is in addition to the approximately $32.2 million U.S. development program in Zimbabwe in Fiscal Year 2008.

Remarks by Secretary of State Rice, December 16, 2008[12]

Secretary Condoleezza Rice delivered these remarks in New York, NY

Secretary Rice. Thank you very much. Thank you, Mr. President. Thank you, Mr. Secretary General. And thank you very much to all my colleagues for participating in this very important Security Council session on piracy.

Obviously, we are here because the outbreak of piracy and the increasing threat to commerce, to security, and perhaps most importantly, to the principle of freedom of navigation of the seas is one that should concern every nation-state. And I do believe that the resolution that we have passed today will help us go a long way toward a coordinated response to the scourge of piracy.

Piracy is a symptom. It's a symptom of the instability, the poverty, the lawlessness that have plagued Somalia for the past two decades.

We have noted that several factors have been limiting the effectiveness of our response, although a number of countries have been responding. The United States has been a part of that response, as has the EU, NATO, and a number of other countries in this chamber. But because there has been no existing mechanism for states to coordinate their actions effectively, I believe that our response has been less than the sum of its parts.

I would like to announce that the United States intends to work with partners to create a Contact Group on Somali piracy. We envision the Contact Group serving as a mechanism to share intelligence, coordinate activities, and reach out to other partners, including those in shipping and insurance industries. And we look forward to working quickly on this initiative.

A second factor limiting our response is in the impunity that the pirates enjoy. Piracy currently pays. But worse, pirates pay few costs for their criminality. Their dens in Somalia provide refuge from the naval ships in the Gulf of Aden, and as we saw with the hijacking of the Sirius Star 500 nautical miles from Mombasa, and with the recent unsuccessful attacks even further south off the Tanzanian coast, pirates are adapting to the naval presence in the Gulf of Aden by traveling farther to attack unsuspecting ships.

To make piracy costlier and more difficult to undertake, the United States, with the agreement of the Somali Transitional Federal Government, believes that the Security Council's authorization today that states may pursue pirates into their places of operation on land will have a significant impact. History has demonstrated again and again that maritime operations alone are insufficient to combating piracy.

Mr. President, we also have a problem concerning the steps that must be taken to facilitate the delivery, detention, and prosecution of captured pirates. Through international law reflected in the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea, Security Council Resolutions 1846 and 1816, and the 1988 Convention on the Suppression of Unlawful Acts Against the Safety of Maritime Navigation, SUA, the international community already has sufficient legal authority and available mechanisms to apprehend and prosecute pirates, but sometimes the political will and the coordination has not been there to do so. This problem of capacity is especially pronounced in the regional states. Their proximity to piracy makes them an obvious choice to cite prosecutions, but many lack the necessary judicial and law enforcement capacities to do so.

So we call on all states, particularly those victimized by Somali piracy, to contribute generously to building the legal capacity of regional SUA states. In the resolution, we also ask the United Nations to explore what can be done to build legal capacity in those states.

At the same time as we expect regional states to play a critical role, victim states also need to bear equal responsibility for prosecuting pirates. States who flagged hijacked vessels, whose nationals own hijacked vessels, or who have crew members on hijacked vessels, must honor their SUA obligations in relation to receiving and prosecuting suspected pirates.

Fourth, we must ask the maritime industry to promote capabilities to enhance ship self-defense. Once a hostage situation develops, the stakes in military operations increase. Consequently, an important part of counter-piracy efforts must be measured in enhancing self-defense capabilities of commercial vessels, increasing the odds of success against pirates until war-

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ships arrive.

Finally—and a number of colleagues have spoken to this—we must address the root of the piracy problem. Piracy is a symptom. It's a symptom of the instability, the poverty, the lawlessness that have plagued Somalia for the past two decades. The Djibouti peace process has achieved some political headway in the last few months. And I thank you, Secretary General, for your excellent special representative, Ambassador Ould-Abdallah. But the deteriorating security and humanitarian situation on the ground is threatening that progress and threatening it every day.

The international community must make it a priority to work with the TFG, both to stabilize its internal situation and to work with the alliance for the rehabilitation—re-liberation of Somalia, and the African Union mission in Somalia to help stabilize the country's security situation. In this regard, let me note that the United States does believe that the time has come for the United Nations to consider and authorize a peacekeeping operation. This has been requested by the AU. It has been requested by countries that are taking the brunt of the difficulty on the ground. And while the conditions may not be auspicious for peacekeeping, they will be less auspicious if chaos reigns in Somalia and we have to turn at some point to peacemaking. Prevention is the issue here.

And while the United States will do everything that it can to continue the support of AMISOM—indeed, the United States provided $67 million for training and equipping and deploying AMISOM last year—we will continue to do that, and we will buttress our support to AMISOM. But I am afraid that the history of support for forces of this kind is not a very good one. What happens is that we are not able to sustain the voluntary contributions, we're not able to sustain the voluntary training, we're not able to sustain the mechanisms to make certain that the work is flowing smoothly. That is why we have a peacekeeping operation in the UN, because it draws on the full resources of the member-states in a way that is not voluntary, but that is compulsory, to do the work of this Council.

And so, Mr. Secretary General, the United States will be, with other states, continuing to raise in consultations—not yet for consideration by the Council—but in consultations, the need for a peacekeeping force in accordance with the request of the African Union that we do so.

Let me just say finally that once peace and normalcy have returned to Somalia, we believe that Somalis can start down a path to real economic development. Offering the Somali people an alternative to piracy and criminality is, in the long run, the best sustainable strategy for combating piracy. As a part of this strategy, the United States believes in working with the international community to help Somali fishermen prosper by preventing illegal fishing and dumping in Somalia—Somali territorial waters.

With our meeting today and the resolution, we have sent a strong signal of commitment to combat the scourge of piracy. This current response is a good start, but we must do much more to defend freedom of navigation and trade. The shipping industry will be an important partner in those efforts. But let us make no mistake: It is governments that must lead, and we need to coordinate our efforts through a common point of contact. We need to end the impunity of Somali pirates. We need to support regional states in building capacity to prosecute pirates effectively. And we need to work to build security and stability in Somalia so that the Somali people can finally enjoy the blessings of peace and the rule of law and development.

Thank you very much.

Excerpts of Remarks by Secretary of State Rice, December 16, 2008[13]

Secretary Condoleezza Rice delivered these remarks in New York, NY

Secretary Rice. I've just attended a very successful Security Council session on piracy. The Security Council adopted Resolution 1851, which is a very strong resolution that deals with issues of detention of pirates, with the prosecution of pirates, with the ability to use all necessary means on land as well as at sea, because we know from history that it isn't really possible to contain this problem just as a maritime issue.

We talked a good deal about the need for coordination on intelligence, on information sharing. The United States is going to lead a Contact Group on Piracy on the Somali Coast. We also talked about the need for commercial shipping to take means that are defensive means, some of which are readily available, so that the pirates cannot turn a situation into a hostage situation, because once a hostage situation comes into being, obviously the stakes go up.

So it was a very fulsome discussion. But ultimately, all members spoke to the need to deal with the root cause of the problem, which is the instability in Somalia. There is great support, as the United States supports the Djibouti process and the hopes for peace as Somali factions begin to try and chart a course ahead.

I also want to note that we are calling on the members of the Transitional Government to deal with their own internal matters. There needs to be a stable government there, and they need to deal with their own differences, because the Somali people deserve that.

Finally, we talked about the security situation. We very much respect and support AMISOM, the AU force, for what they are doing. And the United States has been a big supporter. We've trained—helped with training and logistics and financial support. But we believe that a proper UN peacekeeping force, as is called for by the African Union, is a necessity here. While AMISOM is doing very good work and we will continue to support it, we have a history with voluntary contributions and voluntary training that, with a situation as urgent as the one in Somalia, we actually have an apparatus within the United Nations that can deal with that kind of situation.

And so the United States believes strongly that we ought to have a Security Council resolution as soon as possible. In fact, we believe that by the end of the year we should try and have such a Security Council resolution. And so we'll take that matter up separately. It was not something that we took up today. We are still in con-

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sultations.

Q. Over the last 24 hours, there's been another two hijackings off the coast of Somalia. I'd like to get your reaction to that. And also, do you see the eventuality of U.S. troops going ashore in Somalia to catch the pirates?

Secretary Rice. Well, I don't want to take a kind of speculative look at this. I think it's better not to comment in theory. We—the United States is a part of an international effort. We do have naval forces that have been involved in this effort. What this does, though, is to authorize that the sea—the boundary of the maritime cannot become a safe haven boundary for pirates. And so what we do or do not do in issues like hot pursuit or so forth, I think we'll have to see and you'll have to take it case by case. So I don't want to commit in a speculative way or in a hypothetical way to anything for the United States. But again, the authorization was a very important authorization.

As to the two incidents that have taken place, I think it just shows the increasing problem that this is. The pirates are a threat to commerce. They are a threat to security. And perhaps most importantly, they are a threat to the principle of freedom of navigation on the seas.

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Q. The Secretary General said that he approached 50 countries, through organizations, I believe, asking for troops and he couldn't get them. So I know that you were a little bit critical in saying that there should be some mechanism put in place to sort of force that issue. But if you can't get the countries to contribute troops, how do you—

Secretary Rice. The issue here is that, first of all, there is a force on the ground, the AMISOM force; and one of the possibilities is to blue-hat the—to rehab the AMISOM force and to add forces to it, and there are a number of countries that have expressed their willingness to consider being a part of such a force. I don't think that one is going to raise a large multinational force of countries from all over the world for Somalia, but the African countries have expressed a lot of interest in doing what they can in Somalia and they've also expressed their—through the AU the need for a UN peacekeeping force. And the Africans—the African representatives here, including South Africa, spoke in favor of a peacekeeping force.

Q. Secretary Rice, would the U.S. commit troops to a UN peacekeeping force, and do you know if Barack Obama supports your push for a UN peacekeeping force?

Secretary Rice. Well, the President of the United States is the President of the United States, and we are seeking this and we believe that this is the best answer. I do know that no American administration is going to want to see chaos in Somalia. We've been there, we've done that; it didn't look very good.

And finally, the Somalis actually have a legitimate process underway that needs to be supported. Now, I want to emphasize again, we did not seek a peacekeeping force today. The purpose of today was to deal with the piracy issue, and we're going to continue consultations. But we cannot get into a situation in which a security vacuum is left in Somalia and all of the good work of Djibouti is undone and we go back to two years ago, prior to the Ethiopian offensive. That would not be a good circumstance to find ourselves in.

And I really don't imagine American forces being a part of a peacekeeping operation. American forces are pretty busy these days.

Q. Madame Secretary, I wonder if we could get you to look more philosophically at diplomacy at the end of 2008 going into 2009 after your eight years in the government, and to see in a new world that is not unipolar, not multipolar, what we can—what lessons we can draw out of especially today's discussion about Somalia and a piracy issue, kind of in the spirit of your friend Alexander Downer, who liked to say that the Owl of Minerva takes flight at dusk. At the dusk, what do you reflect on?

Secretary Rice. Well, let's see. Is it dusk yet? Midnight. In any case, I think that the United States, under President Bush, has actually used the mechanisms and the councils of the United Nations more than they've been used maybe ever, whether it is insisting that Security Council resolutions that have been passed be respected, whether it is seeking to deal with human rights and tyranny cases like Zimbabwe or Burma, whether it is the kind of really remarkable day that we've had today where we've had one resolution that was sponsored by the United States and Russia on the Middle East, something that I think might not have been foreseeable just a very short period of time. And I think, by the way, that is a product of the last several years of diplomacy on the Middle East that really have brought the international community to a joint understanding and strategy of what needs to be done to achieve the two-state solution that Bush outlined. That's why Russia and the United States were able to sponsor this.

And then finally, this piracy case, it's a kind of interesting story because we were down at the APEC, at the Asia-Pacific Economic Council, and the President and I talked to half a dozen leaders down there, including President Hu Jintao, President Medvedev, and others, and we got such strong and resounding agreement that somehow, even though the international community had already gotten very strong authorities on piracy, we didn't seem to be coordinated; people didn't seem to know, we weren't sending a deterrent message to the pirates through our unity. And this has been a remarkable process of getting a very strong, unanimous resolution on a common threat. And so I'm very proud of the multilateral diplomacy that we've been able to do and that the President has been able to support. It's been a good couple days at the UN.

Q. Following up on your answer, you said the U.S. has been sure that UN sanctions, et cetera, are followed. Is Pakistan following the UN Security Council's ban on the Jamaat? The Foreign Minister just said this weekend

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that charitable organizations of the Jamaat-ul-Dawa will not be closed down. Is this a violation of international cooperation?

Secretary Rice. Well, the—Pakistan is going to have to untangle a difficult circumstance with the Jamaat-ul-Dawa—they are—because I understand that there are so-called charitable activities. But we learned—the United States learned the hard way that sometimes these are too intertwined with organizations that have terrorist ties and that have just been designated here. And so we will be pressing all member-states to adhere completely and to the letter of the designations that the United Nations has taken. And because I know the Pakistani Government to be a government that wants to deal in good faith with the world—it's a new civilian government that is a legitimate government that wants very much to be respected in international politics and, by the way, wants to deal with the terrorism problem that is itself having dire consequences in Pakistan—I expect that there will be great—will be cooperation.

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Q. Does the U.S. favor imposing sanctions on Eritrea for its role in the internal conflict? And with the president now firing the prime minister, who is actually authorized in Somalia to authorize this?

Secretary Rice. Well, look, first of all, we believe that the prime minister of Somalia can only be relieved by the parliament, and therefore we recognize him. And we've made that clear to the president of Somalia.

Secondly, they need to work together. They have too many problems to be involved in these kinds of spats. I mean, the people of Somalia deserve better than this. And I just sat in a session in which the international community pledged all kinds of support to Somalia, all kinds of help to Somalia. Whether we agree or disagree among ourselves about exactly what kind of force can bring security, everybody in there wants to see security for Somalia, wants to see the Djibouti process work. The least that the leaders of Somalia can do is be equally committed to that cause, and we're sending that message very strongly.

As to Eritrea, we will examine it. We do believe that there are difficulties being caused by the policies of Eritrea, and we'll look at what actions we should take.

Thank you very much. Thank you.

Q. (Inaudible) does this resolution mean that—

Secretary Rice. Thank you.

Q.—you can intervene militarily in Somalia?

Secretary Rice. We—there is a very—there is a very clear, longstanding understanding in international politics about the role of UN Security Council resolutions in this regard, and the fact that it is the Transitional Federal Government that is desirous of not having their territory used for safe haven for pirates. And so that is what has just taken place here in the Council.

Thank you very much.

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1 Dept. of Defense Press Release, October 1, 2008.
2 Treasury Department Press Release, October 13, 2008.
3 White House Press Release, October 22, 2008.
4 White House Press Release, October 22, 2008.
5 White House Press Release, October 30, 2008.
6 U.S. Agency for International Development Press Release, November 13, 2008.
7 White House Press Release, November 20, 2008.
8 White House Press Release, November 22, 2008.
9 White House Press Release, December 9, 2008.
10 White House Press Release, December 10, 2008.
11 U.S. Agency for International Development Press Release, December 11, 2008.
12 Dept. of State Press Release, December 16, 2008.
13 Dept. of State Press Release, December 16, 2008.

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