Africa:

New Administration Outlines Policy on Sudan

Remarks by Secretary of State Clinton, October 1, 2009[1]

Secretary Hillary Clinton delivered these remarks at the Corporate Council on Africa's Seventh Biennial U.S.-Africa Business Summit in Washington, DC

Introductory Remarks Omitted

Secretary Clinton. I thank you and the Corporate Council on Africa for your tireless efforts to develop stronger business and trade ties between the United States and the countries of Africa. And I want to also recognize my colleague in the cabinet, the U.S. Trade Representative Ambassador Ron Kirk, who is a great advocate of increasing economic and trade opportunities as well.

Well, as Stephen said, I had an extraordinary trip in August and was able to visit some places that I had not yet had a chance to travel to, and to go back and see some places that were very familiar. But the point of the trip was to underscore the importance of Africa to the Obama Administration. It is obviously a cause that I personally am committed to, but it is truly a high-level commitment from the entire Administration, because we start from a premise that the future of Africa matters to our own progress and prosperity.

And the Obama Administration has strategies to help spur economic development in Sub-Saharan Africa and create conditions that will improve the lives of the African people, which to us is how you really measure success. We are eager to move beyond stereotypes that paint Africa as a land of poverty, disease, conflict, and not much else. And we will continue to lay a strong foundation for a new kind of engagement with Africa, one that is built on shared responsibility and shared opportunity, and on partnerships that produce measurable, lasting results.

From our perspective, for too long, Africa has been viewed as a charity case instead of a dynamic continent capable of becoming a global economic engine of the 21st century. So it is time to change the narrative. It is time to understand that strengthened trade policies will enable African businesses to tap more effectively into existing markets and create new ones. It is time to recognize that with technology and innovation, African nations can leapfrog dirty stages of development and become more quickly integrated into the global marketplace. It is time to recognize too that the reform of the agricultural sector is essential to Africa's future growth and prosperity, and that investing in people, especially women, will enable Africa to move much more quickly toward the kind of sustainable future that we all are hoping for.

Now, we have a big agenda and we have a very positive vision. But we have to acknowledge that none of this can happen without responsible African leadership, without good government and transparency and accountability, without acceptable of the rule of law, without environmental stewardship and the effective management of resources, without respect for human rights, without an end to corruption as a cancer that eats away at the entrepreneurial spirits and hopes of millions of people.

Now, we know that there are a lot of obstacles to overcome, but we are determined to work with you to achieve the goals that we have set forth. I was delighted that President Kagame was here, because even with the global recession, Rwanda's health indicators are improving, its economy continues to expand, and that is directly traceable to the sound policies that the government has implemented. In—yes, you should give that a round of applause.

In each of the seven countries I visited, I saw examples of activities and investments that are already paying dividends. I saw researchers in Kenya who are modernizing agriculture by creating tools that will enable us to provide new kinds of seeds, fertilizers and equipment to transform rural farming. Young entrepreneurs in South Africa are starting businesses and building open markets that are competitive with counterparts anywhere in the world.

Public and private partners working together in Angola on new models of development assistance; health professionals in the Democratic Republic of Congo risking their own lives to give life back to those dehumanized by violent conflict; members of civil society in Nigeria pressing for electoral reforms and an end to corruption; civil servants in Liberia working to build democratic institutions as the country pieces itself together after years of civil war; and leaders in Cape Verde whose emphasis on good governance and transparency and strengthening democratic institutions has elevated that small nation economically in only a decade.

So across Africa, we know there are opportunities to be seized and we know that there are people who will do the hard work. But what we have to do is to help create the right conditions, and we are focusing on five key areas; first, trade. We are Africa's largest trading partner, and at the AGOA conference in Nairobi, I said

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the United States would work to maximize the opportunities created by trade preference programs like AGOA. We want to work to build greater trade capacity in Africa, provide assistance to new industries, and we look forward to more bilateral investment treaties like the one we signed with Mauritius during my trip.

But we have to convince African countries to do more trading among themselves, and to break down the barriers at their own borders. It is absolutely clear that if African countries began to trade with one another, they would quickly have more increase in GDP than they could ever imagine by just bilateral agreements with Europe and the United States. So part of our goal must be to persuade our friends—open up your own markets to each other.

Second, development—we're not going to forget the needs that exist, and the Obama Administration has pledged to double foreign assistance by 2014, because we believe development is still a linchpin of global economic progress. But we will pursue a different approach. We are looking to generate concrete and lasting solutions, not long-term dependency that saps the dynamism of a country instead of adding to the potential.

We will focus on country-led plans and market-based investments in areas like food security, infrastructure, and women. We will focus on metrics and accountability, on nations eager to attack corruption and promote good governance. And we will do a better job at integrating development with diplomacy so that we can address the interconnected problems we face.

Now, last week in New York at the United Nations and at the Clinton Global Initiative, I outlined our new initiative to address global hunger and agricultural reform. Food security may seem far removed from the work that some of you do and the investments that you make, but it is so important to Africa. The continent's economy depends on agriculture, and 70 percent of the farmers in Africa are women, who are marginalized, who are ignored, who are not given the help they need to improve agricultural productivity for themselves and have a little left over to take to market to trade and sell.

Revitalizing and modernizing the agricultural sector in Africa is a smart investment for all of us to make, and I invite those of you who have any involvement in agriculture to work with us, to work with the Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Program that provides such a good model. All of the member nations have pledged to devote 10 percent of their national budgets to agricultural development.

Once again, Rwanda is a model. It became the first country to complete its agricultural development plan and it's already showing results. In three years, Rwanda's investment in agriculture has increased fivefold and doubled agricultural GDP.

So food security is not just a question of getting food to hungry people. It is not simply a moral imperative. It represents the convergence of complex issues that have a direct bearing on economic growth. That's why the G8 in Italy pledged $20 billion toward food security. We pledged $3.5 billion for our own initiative over the next three years.

Now, in thinking about food security and agricultural productivity, the lens immediately widens. Because in order to be successful in that sector, we have to modernize and build infrastructure. Not long ago I asked an expert on Africa what the continent needed most. His answer was: "Three things: Roads, roads, and roads." So we are pursuing strategies to improve infrastructure and provide better access to information, capital, and training.

We also have to emphasize aviation. One speaker at AGOA made the point that it is easier to fly from Nairobi to London or New Delhi to Kinshasa or Abuja than to fly between those African cities. And until we provide more support for safe and functional airports, like we are now doing with the Government of Liberia, Angola, and Kenya, we will not maximize economic development.

We are also pursuing Millennium Challenge Corporation compacts with countries in Africa. And just two weeks ago, we signed an agreement with Senegal to provide $540 million to help that country rebuild its transportation and irrigation infrastructure.

The third pillar of our strategy is energy security. Africa is key to the United States and to global energy security, and the number of energy producers is growing. I had very productive meetings in Angola that will result in the creation of bilateral working groups on renewable energy, security issues, agriculture, and food, and we established a Memorandum of Understanding as to how we will pursue those objectives.

I also met with leaders in Nigeria and emphasized our commitment to partnering with Nigeria in areas such as electoral reform, anti-corruption activities, better stewardship of oil revenues, and efforts to build a more diversified economy, as well as the resolution of the conflict in the Niger Delta. I will be reaching out to the energy companies here who do business in the Niger Delta to figure out what we can do to try to resume a more productive outcome for the people of the Niger Delta in the production of energy.

There is no doubt that when one looks at Nigeria, it is such a heartbreaking scene we see. The number of people living in Nigeria is going up. The number of people facing food security and health challenges are going up. Why? Because the revenues have not been well managed. And the consequences of being a large energy producer has not been translated into positive changes for the Nigerian people.

Now, we encourage Nigeria, Angola, and other energy-producing countries to manage their resources and escape the natural resource curse that has plagued much of the continent. We have a new position in the State Department. It's the Coordinator for International Energy Affairs. I have appointed a very experienced expert, David Goldwyn, to work with our partner countries. We will help new producers devise transparent revenue management systems to help them avoid the challenges other countries have faced with large new flows of money from oil, gas, or mining.

And to that end, we are pleased to have contributed $6 million last week to the World Bank's multi-donor trust fund for the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative. We believe that within the right legal framework Africa can be an enormous market for investment and for economic growth, as well as a secure producer and supplier of energy.

Fourth, we need to build more public-private partnerships. In the 1960s, nearly 70 percent of all money flowing from the United States to the developing world was

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official development assistance; today, over 80 percent is from private sources.

We want to build on all of the generosity, the talents that are at our disposal—in the government, in the business community, in groups like the CCA, and in civil society. Under the leadership of Ambassador Elizabeth Bagley, who heads our global office for public-private partnerships, we recently announced several new partnerships, including one that will bring together USAID, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Global Impact Investing Network, and JP Morgan Chase to support the development of social impact investing strategies. We are trying to figure out to do what we do better through government, but how we maximize and do better what we can with the private sector and the not-for-profit sector as well.

And fifth, and perhaps most important, we are stressing good governance, transparency and accountability, ending corruption, and adherence to the rule of law. I don't need to tell this group that although there are so many opportunities for investment, none will succeed unless conditions are favorable for business and investment.

Companies are not going to be attracted to states with failed or weak leadership, crime or civil unrest, or corruption that taints and distorts every transaction and decision, or to countries that violate the rights of their people and, worse, allow violence toward women and girls to be practiced with impunity.

South Africa offers a compelling example of the relationship between good governance and economic development. South Africa emerged from apartheid and engaged its citizenry in the democratic process and is now Africa's economic engine. And as Stephen said, having a South Africa-U.S. Business Council will once again demonstrate how closely we wish to work with our partners in South Africa.

Now, the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative is incredibly important, so we are providing technical assistance, we're promoting more effective law enforcement through professional training of officers. And I am pleased that we won passage yesterday of a UN Security Council Resolution on gender and sexual-based violence that will be backed up by action through the UN.

There is so much to be done, but I am so excited about the potential. It's a big world out there, and we could spend time worrying about everywhere, and there are lots of opportunities everywhere. But I remain convinced that no place holds the opportunities of the future like Africa does. But that doesn't mean—that we can just expect it to happen. We have to work together.

When I was at the University of Nairobi at a town hall, a great friend of mine and extraordinary environmental and peace advocate and Nobel Peace prize winner, Wangari Maathai, was with me was sitting in the audience, and she said something that has stuck with me that I have repeated across Africa and literally across the world. She said, "Africa is a rich continent. The gods must have been on our side when they created the planet. And yet we are poor."

It is a painful truth; through colonialism and post-colonialism, the continent's riches have too often gone to the few, not the many. But Africa itself holds an example that I would recommend to all of you—those of you in government and those of you in business—and that is the arrangement in Botswana for the mining and marketing of their diamonds with De Beers.

The Government of Botswana in the late '40s and early '50s, post-independence, was so visionary. The leadership there was so devoted to building a country that would have the advantages that they wanted to see for their people after colonialism had finally ended. So they struck a hard bargain, and they created, essentially, a trust fund where a percentage of the revenues from the diamonds went into that fund, and then that fund was used to pave the roads. And if you've traveled in Botswana, you know that the roads are the best in Sub-Saharan Africa except for South Africa. And we can see the results year after year after year.

I got a letter the other day from the chairman, Mr. Oppenheimer, of De Beers saying, "Thank you for mentioning our relationship with Botswana. It has created a stable, successful environment for us to do business in." Yes, you could have had short-term profits at the expense of long-term profitability. But instead, a different bargain was struck. I commend that example to all of you.

And let me just finally say that we stand ready to help. We stand ready to help our friends in Africa. We stand ready to help American businesses and corporations. We want to look back after the Obama Administration and be able to say we made a difference in Africa, and we can see the results. This is not only because it's the right thing to do and the smart thing to do; it's very personal to President Obama. He considers himself a son of Africa because of his father's lineage. And he and I talk about how we want to see positive changes, changes that we all know can be made given the intelligence and the work ethic and the extraordinary abilities of the people of Africa. So let's make sure that the governments of Africa are worthy of their people.

Thank you all very much.

Statement by President Obama, October 19, 2009[2]

President Barack Obama delivered this statement in Washington, DC

President Obama. Today, my Administration is releasing a comprehensive strategy to confront the serious and urgent situation in Sudan.

For years, the people of Sudan have faced enormous and unacceptable hardship. The genocide in Darfur has claimed the lives of hundreds of thousands of people and left millions more displaced. Conflict in the region has wrought more suffering, posing dangers beyond Sudan's borders and blocking the potential of this important part of Africa. Sudan is now poised to fall further into chaos if swift action is not taken.

Our conscience and our interests in peace and security call upon the United States and the international community to act with a sense of urgency and purpose. First, we must seek a definitive end to conflict, gross human rights abuses and genocide in Darfur. Second, the Comprehensive Peace Agreement between the North and South in Sudan must be implemented to create the possibility of long-term peace. These two goals must both be pursued simultaneously with urgency. Achieving them requires the commitment of the United States, as well as the active participation of international partners.

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Concurrently, we will work aggressively to ensure that Sudan does not provide a safe-haven for international terrorists.

The United States Special Envoy has worked actively and effectively to engage all of the parties involved, and he will continue to pursue engagement that saves lives and achieves results. Later this week, I will renew the declaration of a National Emergency with respect to Sudan, which will continue tough sanctions on the Sudanese Government. If the Government of Sudan acts to improve the situation on the ground and to advance peace, there will be incentives; if it does not, then there will be increased pressure imposed by the United States and the international community. As the United States and our international partners meet our responsibility to act, the Government of Sudan must meet its responsibilities to take concrete steps in a new direction.

Over the last several years, governments, non-governmental organizations, and individuals, and from around the world have taken action to address the situation in Sudan, and to end the genocide in Darfur. Going forward, all of our efforts must be measured by the lives that are led by the people of Sudan. After so much suffering, they deserve a future that allows them to live with greater dignity, security, and opportunity. It will not be easy, and there are no simple answers to the extraordinary challenges that confront this part of the world. But now is the time for all of us to come together, and to make a strong and sustained effort on behalf of a better future for the people.

Excerpts of Remarks by Secretary of State Clinton, U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations Rice, and Special Envoy to Sudan Gration, October 19, 2009[3]

Secretary Hillary Clinton, Ambassador Susan Rice, and Special Envoy Scott Gration delivered these remarks in Washington, DC

Secretary Clinton. Good morning. Good morning. Well, I'm very pleased to be joined today by our Ambassador to the United Nations Susan Rice and the President's Special Envoy to Sudan General Scott Gration. And let me begin by saying that the Sudan policy we are outlining today is the result of an intensive review across the United States Government that included the three of us, but many others as well. It reflects the Administration's seriousness, sense of urgency, and collective agreement about how best to address the complex challenges that have prevented resolution of the crisis in Darfur and full implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement.

President Obama and I have discussed this issue over many months and most recently over this past weekend. The fate of the Sudanese people is profoundly important to him, to me, to Ambassador Rice, to General Gration, and to our nation. Sudan is the largest country in Africa, one that has been torn by myriad religious, tribal, ethnic, racial, and political divisions for most of its half century of independence. During the past decade, genocide in Darfur and protracted violence and conflict between the North and South have claimed more than two million lives, subjected civilians to unspeakable atrocities, and led to mass human suffering.

While the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement between the North and South in 2005 was a historic step forward, Sudan today is at a critical juncture—one that can lead to steady improvements in the lives of the Sudanese people or degenerate into more conflict and violence.

An unstable Sudan not only jeopardizes the future of the 40 million people there. It can also be an incubator of violence and instability in an already volatile region, it can provide a safe haven for international terrorists, and trigger another humanitarian catastrophe that Sudan, its neighbors, and the world cannot afford. All too often, efforts to bring peace and stability to Sudan have been undermined by factionalism, broken peace agreements and cease-fires, and the involvement of regional states affected by the crisis.

For these reasons and others, we are realistic about the hurdles to progress. Achieving peace and stability in Sudan will not be easy, nor is success guaranteed. But one thing is certain: The problems in Sudan cannot be ignored or willed away. Sitting on the sidelines is not an option. It is up to us, and our partners in the international community, to make a concerted and sustained effort to help bring lasting peace and stability to Sudan and avoid more of the conflict that has produced a vast sea of human misery and squandered the potential and security of a vital region of the world.

Now, my views on the genocide in Darfur are well known. I have been speaking out and acting on this issue for a number of years. And the President also has spoken out about the genocide that's taking place in Darfur. But at this point, the focus must be on how we move forward, and on finding solutions. Even while the intensity of the violence has decreased since 2005, the people of Darfur continue to live in unconscionable and unacceptable conditions.

So our focus is on reversing the ongoing, dire human consequences of genocide by addressing the daily suffering in the refugee camps, protecting civilians from continuing violence, helping displaced persons return to their homes, ensuring that the militias are disarmed, and improving conditions on the ground so that the people of Darfur can finally live in peace and security.

Our strategy has three principal objectives: First, an end to conflict, gross human rights abuses, war crimes, and genocide in Darfur; second, implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement that results in a united and peaceful Sudan after 2011, or an orderly path toward two separate and viable states at peace with each other; and third, a Sudan that does not provide a safe haven for terrorists.

In the past, the United States's approach too often has focused narrowly on emerging crises. This is no longer the case. Our effort sets forth a comprehensive U.S. policy toward Sudan.

First, we view the crisis in Sudan as two-fold: The situation in Darfur remains unresolved after six years. And the Comprehensive Peace Agreement between North and South will be a flashpoint for renewed conflict if not fully implemented through viable national elections, a referendum of self-determination for the South, resolution of border disputes, and the will-

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ingness of the respective parties to live up to their agreements. So we are approaching two key issues—Darfur and the Comprehensive Peace Agreement—simultaneously and in tandem.

Second, we are looking to achieve results through broad engagement and frank dialogue. But words alone are not enough. Assessment of progress and decisions regarding incentives and disincentives will be based on verifiable changes in conditions on the ground. Backsliding by any party will be met with credible pressure in the form of disincentives leveraged by our government and our international partners.

Third, we will use our leadership globally to reconstitute, broaden, and strengthen the multilateral coalition that helped achieve the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, and we will work equally hard to translate international concern about Darfur into genuine international commitments.

Let me be clear: It is too late for talk, or idle promises, or delays over misperceptions and misunderstandings.

This crisis is both a responsibility and an opportunity for the international community to help steer Sudan along a path that can lead to stability and security for the people of Sudan, the region, and the world. It is also a responsibility and opportunity for the Sudanese people and their leaders to demonstrate their commitment to taking concrete steps toward durable peace. Anything short of that will destine Sudan to failure.

As I said earlier, this review has involved discussions among many members of the Administration, Congress, and outside experts. Now I'd like to call on Ambassador Rice and General Gration, both of whom have worked so hard on this issue, to offer their comments. Ambassador Rice, let me turn it over to you first.

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Ambassador Rice. President Obama has repeatedly made clear that protecting civilians and forging lasting peace in Sudan is a top priority for his Administration. The President, like Secretary Clinton, has for many years been dedicated to ending the suffering and the genocide in Sudan. There was never any question that this deep commitment to improving the lives of the people of Sudan would be backed by a thoughtful and results-oriented strategy. I'm personally proud of the strategy that has emerged. It is the product of extensive deliberation, careful consideration of very complex challenges, and a lot of hard work by all of us on this stage and many others.

Let me underscore two core objectives of U.S. policy. First, as the Secretary said, to end the genocide that's taking place in Darfur and to forge lasting peace for all Darfuris. And second, to support full and effective implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement between the North and the South. To meet these twin goals, the United States is prepared to work with all sides. We will employ calibrated incentives as appropriate and exert real pressure as needed on any party that fails to act to improve the lives of the people of Sudan. There will be no rewards for the status quo, no incentives without concrete and tangible progress. There will be significant consequences for parties that backslide or simply stand still. All parties will be held to account.

President Obama's Sudan strategy is smart, tough, and balanced. It takes a clear view of history, which reminds us that for years, paths to peace have been littered with broken promises and unfulfilled commitments by the Government of Sudan. With both the lessons of the past and the opportunities of the future in mind, we embark on the challenging road ahead. Bringing about lasting peace and improving the lives of millions of people are daunting tasks. We understand the importance of effective and faithful implementation of our strategy, and we will use all elements of U.S. influence to transform our objectives into reality.

Let me conclude by underscoring this unrelenting truth. Too many lives have already been lost. Too many innocents have suffered immeasurably. Too much human dignity has been denied. Too much hatred has been sown. This painful reality drives the President's commitment and our shared efforts to work to bring the Sudanese people the peace, security, and freedom they so deserve.

Thank you very much, and now, General Scott Gration.

Special Envoy Gration. Thank you. Madame Secretary, Ambassador Rice, it's really an honor to be able to share this podium with you this morning. Secretary Clinton's words are so very true. The challenges in Sudan are complex and serious. Success will require a unified approach, a renewed sense of urgency. The President's Sudan strategy provides that approach, that resolve.

The strategy is comprehensive and integrated. It's focused on fully implementing the Comprehensive Peace Agreement on achieving a broad and sustainable peace in Darfur. The strategy uses all elements of our nation's influence—diplomacy, defense, development—to bring about a stability, a security, human rights, opportunities for a better future in Sudan. Our strategy aims to give the people of Sudan a country that is governed responsibly, justly, and democratically, a country that's at peace with itself and with its neighbors. The United States Government is committed to creating an environment where the Sudanese people themselves can make positive changes for their future.

We're acutely aware of the urgency of our task and the shortness of our timeline. We have only six months until Sudan's national elections take place. The referendum on self-determination is only 15 months away. Success requires frank dialogue with all parties in Sudan, with the regional states and international community. We all must work together to get tangible results on the ground, to achieve a lasting peace, a better life for future generations of Sudanese. And we must not stop until our task is complete. The tragedies of Darfur, past and present, the threat of new violence in the South and North call for immediate action.

The people of Sudan have suffered terribly from the pain and loss that conflict brings, and millions continue to suffer today. It is for these people that we strive to produce verifiable progress on the ground. It's for them that we'll endeavor to generate positive change that they can experience. We have no option but to succeed. Working together, I believe we will. Thank you.

Secretary Clinton. Thank you so much. Thank you, Scott and thank you, Susan, and the three of us would be willing and welcoming of your questions.

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Q. Secretary Clinton, can you tell us, ultimately, what are these calibrated incentives and the real pressure that you can exert? And also could I ask, on Mr. Karzai, the word now is that he is refusing a runoff, there might be a prospect of the coalition government. What is the latest that you are hearing from him? And how is this going to affect this very important timing in moving forward on these election results?

Secretary Clinton. Well, Jill, with respect to the second question, I would like to get back to you on that. We really would hope to stay focused on Sudan, because this is such an important issue for so many people, and literally millions of people are kind of waiting to hear what we have to say on it. But I will certainly get back to you. I spent a lot of time over the last several days, as you know, working on this and I'd like to bring you and others up to date on that.

But let me just say with respect to Sudan, we have a very clear measure of whether or not the changes we are pursuing are being implemented, and that is whether conditions on the ground are changing and improving. We have a menu of incentives and disincentives, political and economic, that we will be looking to, to either further progress or to create a clear message that the progress we expect is not occurring. But we want to be somewhat careful in putting those out. They are part, in fact, of a classified annex to our strategy that we're announcing the outline of today.

But suffice it to say, and let me underscore, that both incentives and disincentives based on changes in conditions are what we intend to employ going forward.

Q. Thank you. Good morning, Secretary Clinton.

Secretary Clinton. Good morning.

Q. When President Obama was a candidate, he talked about imposing additional sanctions on Sudan to try to get them to move forward, and also discussed a no-fly zone. I'm wondering what has happened to those ideas that he put forth very forcefully.

And a second question, if I could, for General Gration. You've talked about the genocide as essentially being over. You've suggested taking Sudan off the terrorism list. I'm wondering, did you sort of lose out in this debate that's occurred on Sudan?

Secretary Clinton. Well, first, let me say that we don't see winners and losers in this debate. We see collective agreement among many people with long and broad experience and concern about Sudan. And I'm very proud to be standing here with two of the principal architects of the strategy that we are rolling out today. So I think that—I know it's kind of the typical sort of Washington back and forth, but I want to underscore how strongly we adhere to this new strategy. And the President, the principals, the deputies, all of the interagency process that hashed out this approach are fully on board in our going forward to implement it, and fully confident and supportive of Scott Gration's work.

I think too that the sanctions issue is certainly part of our strategy. And I believe that the President's commitment to sanctions as one of the tools that we have to employ in dealing with the leadership in Sudan is as important to our overall strategy today as it was yesterday and will be tomorrow. We want to take a hard look at these sanctions to make sure they are producing the kind of changes in conditions that we're looking for. But it is a tool, and it's a tool that we have employed and we will continue to employ.

Scott, do you want to respond?

Special Envoy Gration. Sure. I just want to make sure everybody knows that I fully support this strategy, the comments that the Secretary and that Ambassador Rice have said. I will work diligently to implement the policies of this strategy. And we really have no option; people in Darfur continue to live in conditions that are dire and unacceptable. We must work every day to change those conditions on the ground. That's what we're committed to, that's what the people deserve, and that's what I will do.

Q. Yeah. Secretary Clinton, you mentioned that you're—you will be judging this policy based on your assessment of whether or not things are changing on the ground. I'm wondering if you can give us a sense of how you're going to make that judgment. On what information are you going to rely? The Ambassador spoke about backsliding and obfuscation on the part of the Khartoum Government in the past. How are we going to feel confident that we're getting the right information going forward on what actually is happening on the ground?

Secretary Clinton. Well—and I'll let Susan add to this—but that's why we are focused on outcomes and verifiable changes. There have been, as you rightly point out, lots of promises made, there have been white papers, there have been commissions. There have been all kinds of promises and agreements that have not been fulfilled. We're looking past that. This is going to be a very results-oriented analysis that we're engaged in. And there's a lot of ways of measuring that.

And one of the reasons why Scott is spending so much time both in Sudan and the region is to enlist our international partners in helping us to measure the kind of progress that we all hope to see. The urgency, as he pointed out, is acute. The elections are coming up. The referendum is coming up. And there are many aspects of how we try to secure a credible, legitimate election, how we try to help the Sudanese, both South and North, prepare for the referendum.

In Darfur, we are looking to help unite a lot of the disparate groups so that there can be a stronger voice on the ground about what's needed. Scott helped to negotiate a return of NGOs to help alleviate the suffering in the camps. I mean, there's many different factors that have to be taken into account, but we're way beyond just taking anybody at their word or their stated commitment. We want to see results that we can point to.

Susan, do you want to add?

Ambassador Rice. I would just add that we have many different sources of information, more so than in the past. Obviously, we have a substantial American presence throughout Sudan. Other partners have a presence as well. We now have two substantial United Nations forces on the ground that do a lot of observation and reporting and monitoring on violations,

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and so we received that information as well through the Security Council and other channels. And the human rights—the High Commissioner for Human Rights also has a person that will remain in the position of reporting on what occurs on the ground.

So we have many sources. We're in contact with all the parties. And I have every confidence that our challenge will not be lack of information.

Q. Yes. Secretary Clinton, Ambassador Rice, and Envoy Gration, all of you have mentioned that too many people have been suffering. And I think the sentence applied to nearly five million people living in the refugee camps. And I will get you back to a comment Secretary Powell one day said here, that the only thing these people need is to be sent home, and they know how to take care of themself.

It's been more than five years now. The situation is dire. New kids are born there, no school, no healthcare. They all are divided and it's very difficult to unite them as we are following your effort, Special Envoy Gration. And also the government in Sudan hasn't produced any solution to this.

Don't you think there is a sense of urgency to get these people back and secure their villages, and to get them back to their villages? And then, you wait to see when the political settlement will come to this, as we all—we don't know when that will happen.

Secretary Clinton. Well, certainly, we are well aware of the difficulty of our goals here to work on behalf of the people of Sudan for a better future, peace, and stability. And that is one of the reasons why this strategy clearly integrates our approach to Darfur and our approach on the North-South. These are two critically important aspects of the overall challenge that Sudan faces and they can't be treated separate from one another. They have to be treated in this integrated approach that we are advocating. And we are, of course, doing all we can in our strategic approach to empower the people of Sudan to solve their own problems. That's what the election is about, that's what the referendum is about. But we are conscious of how difficult this will be. We don't expect quick or easy solutions to these quite complex problems. But we are working to try to create the conditions on the ground that will lead to both better lives for individual Sudanese, but also a potential environment in which a political settlement of all of these various problems could be achieved.

Scott, do you want to add to that?

Special Envoy Gration. Sure. Security is the number one issue that we are facing that's keeping people from going back. And we support the efforts of the Chad Government and the Sudanese Government to end the tensions on the border and to stop that proxy war. We're working very closely with UNAMID to ensure that it gets the forces and the capability that it needs, and they can provide some security. We're also working with local forces to increase local security with the people of the camps themselves to try to improve security.

But we believe that we have to reach a position where the people can voluntarily return with their dignity and human rights, and live in security and stability. And until those conditions are met, we cannot have them go back. And so that's what we're trying to achieve. That's what we're working for in our efforts.

Q. Madame Secretary, can you talk about international contacts that have already been made? And specifically, have you—how much have the Chinese signaled a willingness to help or not? And secondly, can you talk about any new monies that you're going to commit to this? Are you going to do this with whatever presently is there?

Secretary Clinton. Well, Charlie, I'll have both Susan and Scott add to this. We have had intensive international outreach, both Susan at the UN, Scott in numerous meetings around the world, including one that he convened here in Washington, bringing together the international partners who have either already been involved or we wish to see more involved. During our meetings with the Chinese back in July, I raised it directly, seeking more support and a partnership that would result in some additional opportunities for us to influence the Sudanese Government.

So I'm going to ask Scott first to talk about what he's been doing, because it's extensive, and I'm not sure everybody knows, and then Susan to have the final word on the UN.

Special Envoy Gration. Thank you. We've worked in several venues to get international cooperation. We've put together a group, what we call the Envoy 6, and they include the envoys from the P-5 countries, plus the EU, and we meet regularly and exchange emails and VTCs. And that group has been very important. China and Russia, obviously, are part of that. And we continue to reach out to them on a consistent basis.

We also have a group called the contact group. It grew out of the donors. And we continue to meet with them not only to get the donations, but also to help us with policy and implementation issues. As you know, that—during the Nevasha discussions in 2005, the troika made up of the UK and Norway were very helpful. We've reconvened that group to help us not only with the implementation of the CPA, but also to help us as we work these negotiations on the sticky points like the census, the elections, and referendum.

So there's a whole large group that includes EGAD countries, that includes neighbors, and it includes an international community that's working very well together.

Q. Well, I don't doubt the willingness in the meetings, but how positive have the Chinese especially been in signaling a willingness to do what you want to do?

Special Envoy Gration. The Chinese have been very helpful. If you look at their objectives in the region, they require stability and security. And so there's a great overlap. And while we might have differences in some of the tactical issues, certainly strategically, we have the same goals. We're working very closely together and the Chinese have been very helpful in providing influence and pressures not only to work the Darfur issue with the proxy war, but also working in the South.

Secretary Clinton. Susan? Final word?

Ambassador Rice. Thank you. I would just add that at the United Nations, we

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look at the situation in Darfur. And between the North and South, on a very regular basis, this is an issue that's constantly almost every month on the Security Council agenda. We are now in a position where there's a substantial presence on the ground of some close to 10,000 each of Darfur and the South. And that presence is very much engaged in the implementation of the very objectives that support the policy we outlined today.

So while we do differ on occasion with partners in the Security Council about tactics and the relative timing and nature of pressures versus incentives, this is something we will continue to work on with them. And as we pursue implementation of our strategy, obviously, the good work that Scott has done and continues to do to keep our partners with us is very important, and we will see it manifest in the United Nations.

Secretary Clinton. Thank you all.

Q. Is this new money, any new money here or—

Secretary Clinton. I don't know the answer to that, so I—let me get back to you, Charlie. I mean, I want to make sure that we don't misstate things.

Q. Okay.

Ambassador Rice. Thank you all.

White House Statement, October 20, 2009[4]

The United States strongly supports the Economic Community of West African States' (ECOWAS) decision to impose an arms embargo on Guinea and to work with the African Union to develop a regime of targeted sanctions against individuals. We welcome this action, to address the growing crisis in the region. The United States continues to condemn the brutal murders and rapes which occurred on September 28 in Guinea and calls on all parties to cooperate fully with the United Nations Commission of Inquiry charged with investigating the violence. We will continue to work with our international partners and the ECOWAS/African Union-appointed facilitator, President Blaise Compaore of Burkina Faso, to urge the junta in Conakry to step aside and allow for the establishment of a transitional authority that can lead the country toward credible elections.

The United States also welcomes the ECOWAS decision to impose an initial group of sanctions on Niger. Nevertheless, we urge ECOWAS to move towards the immediate imposition of full sanctions given President Tandja's non-compliance with the ECOWAS request to suspend legislative elections. The United States remains deeply concerned by President Tandja's disregard for Niger's institutions of democratic governance. We urge President Tandja to resolve the political crisis in Niger through dialogue, rather than through self-serving actions that continue to erode Niger's ten-year commitment to democracy and good governance.

We look forward to working with ECOWAS on democracy and the rule of law and applaud its rejection of unconstitutional accession to or maintenance of power.

White House Statement, October 20, 2009[5]

On October 27, 2006, by Executive Order 13413, the President declared a national emergency with respect to the situation in or in relation to the Democratic Republic of the Congo and, pursuant to the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1701-1706), ordered related measures blocking the property of certain persons contributing to the conflict in that country. The President took this action to deal with the unusual and extraordinary threat to the foreign policy of the United States constituted by 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.

Because this situation continues to pose an unusual and extraordinary threat to the foreign policy of the United States, the national emergency declared on October 27, 2006, and the measures adopted on that date to deal with that emergency, must continue in effect beyond October 27, 2009. Therefore, in accordance with section 202(d) of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1622(d)), I am continuing for 1 year the national emergency declared in Executive Order 13413.

This notice shall be published in the Federal Register and transmitted to the Congress.

White House Press Release, October 27, 2009[6]

On November 3, 1997, by Executive Order 13067, the President declared a national emergency with respect to Sudan, pursuant to the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1701-1706), to deal with the unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security and foreign policy of the United States constituted by the actions and policies of the Government of Sudan.

On April 26, 2006, in Executive Order 13400, the President determined that the conflict in Sudan's Darfur region posed an unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security and foreign policy of the United States, expanded the scope of the national emergency to deal with that threat, and ordered the blocking of property of certain persons connected to the conflict. On October 13, 2006, the President issued Executive Order 13412 to take additional steps with respect to the national emergency and to implement the Darfur Peace and Accountability Act of 2006 (Public Law 109-344).

Because the actions and policies of the Government of Sudan continue to pose an unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security and foreign policy of the United States, the national emergency declared on November 3, 1997, as expanded on April 26, 2006, and with respect to which additional steps were taken on October 13, 2006, must continue in effect beyond November 3, 2009. Therefore, consistent with section 202(d) of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1622(d)), I am continuing for 1 year the national emergency with respect

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to Sudan.

This notice shall be published in the Federal Register and transmitted to the Congress.

Treasury Department Press Release, October 29, 2009[7]

The U.S. Department of the Treasury today announced additional details regarding Deputy Treasury Secretary Neal Wolin's trip to Africa October 28—November 5, 2009. The Deputy Secretary will meet with senior government officials in Kigali, Rwanda; Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania; and Pretoria and Johannesburg, South Africa to discuss strategies to reduce poverty and drive economic growth in the region.

Deputy Secretary Wolin's trip will highlight U.S.-African partnerships, including President Obama's commitment to advance food security and sustainable agricultural-led growth through country-owned strategies, as well as bolstering infrastructure, strengthening the financial sector, and improving the investment climate. The U.S. provides substantial development assistance in these areas through the work of the Millennium Challenge Corporation and the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), as well as through its leadership at and funding for the World Bank and African Development Bank.

On Friday, Deputy Secretary Wolin will visit a USAID and African Development Bank Dairy Competitiveness Project outside of Kigali, Rwanda to highlight the role that small dairy farmers play in the country's economy. The five-year project, implemented by Land O'Lakes, Inc., aims to improve the quality of milk reaching consumers and help small dairy farmers and informal processors increase their competitiveness.

On Saturday, the Deputy Secretary will visit a methane power project at Lake Kivu, one of the African Great Lakes lying on the border between Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo. The innovative pilot power plant, fueled by methane extracted from the lake, was financed by the Government of Rwanda and received technical support from the World Bank's International Finance Corporation (IFC) and the African Development Bank. Based on the success of this pilot, ContourGlobal—a U.S. power developer active in developing countries—is constructing a $325 million, 100MW power plant at Lake Kivu that will help address Rwanda's enormous power needs. Rwanda's lack of reliable electricity is a major constraint on achieving higher rates of sustainable growth. The project is a leading example of the role that U.S. investors can play in helping Africa to address its critical infrastructure needs.

While in Kigali, the Deputy Secretary will also meet with Rwandan President Paul Kagame, Minister of Finance James Musoni and other senior government officials to discuss the impact of the global financial crisis on Rwanda and ways in which Rwanda and the U.S. can continue to partner on food security, agricultural development, and financing for key infrastructure.

On Sunday, Deputy Secretary Wolin will travel to Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania. While there, he will tour an International Institute for Tropical Agriculture (IITA) research station, which focuses on the cassava plant, to learn more about the importance of adaptive agriculture research in boosting yields in sub-Saharan African agriculture and to underscore the U.S. government's commitment to financing research of this kind. Tanzania is one of the top five producers of cassava on the continent. IITA's work in Tanzania has resulted in modern processing methods and equipment to produce safe cassava products. Funded by USAID, the World Bank and a variety of other development partners, IITA is an international non-profit research organization whose mission is to enhance food security and improve livelihoods in Africa through research-for-development.

On Monday, the Deputy Secretary will meet with Tanzanian President Kikwete, Minister of Finance Mustafa Mkulo and other senior government officials to discuss efforts to reform the country's investment climate and address the various growth challenges facing the nation, including agricultural and infrastructure development. Deputy Secretary Wolin will also discuss ways to support Tanzania's agricultural sector with productive public investments.

During his stay in Dar es Salaam, the Deputy Secretary will also visit the National Food Reserve Agency (NFRA). Originally created during the continent-wide food shortage in 1974, NFRA procures, stores, and releases emergency food stocks and provides farmers in rural areas with alternative market outlets. Another significant part of the U.S. Government's support for food security in Tanzania is the Millennium Challenge Corporation's (MCC) program to improve roads in many parts of the country, including the Sumbawanga—Tunduma road that forms a key part of the Tanzania—Zambia transport corridor and that will link to regions supported by NFRA.

On Tuesday, Deputy Secretary Wolin will travel to South Africa, the largest economy in sub-Saharan Africa and an important partner in the G-20. While there, he will meet with senior government officials to discuss the G-20's efforts to support a global economic recovery, the prospects for South Africa's economy, and international financial regulatory reform.

On Wednesday, the Deputy Secretary will deliver a speech at the University of the Witwatersrand's Business School in Johannesburg entitled, "Global Crisis to Global Recovery; How partnerships between the U.S. and sub-Saharan Africa can promote long-term growth on the continent."

The visit marks the first trip to Africa by a senior Treasury official during the Obama Administration.

Excerpts of Remarks by Secretary of State Clinton and Moroccan Foreign Minister Fassi-Fihri, November 2, 2009[8]

Secretary Hillary Clinton and Foreign Minister Taieb Fassi-Fihri delivered these remarks in Marrakech, Morocco

Foreign Minister Fassi-Firhi. In the name of Allah, Most Compassionate, Most Merciful, first of all, I wish to apol-

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ogize in my name and on behalf of my colleague, the Honorable Secretary of State, for this delay over which we had no control, considering that we have had many bilateral and regional meetings.

So we shall now convene the Forum for the Future. However, beforehand, I wish on behalf of His Majesty's government, express our heartfelt and earnest gratitude to the Honorable Speaker. Secretary of State wanted to confer a bilateral dimension by honoring us and gracing us with her presence here in the Kingdom of Morocco. And effectively, the Secretary of State entertained meetings with His Majesty, The King today in Ouarzazate, as you all know, and also with me before and after the said meeting.

First of all, we have resolved to give a strong impetus to our bilateral relations, traditional relations of friendship and mutual understanding that were given strong impetus under the Clinton Administration. And I would say that ever since, our relations have continued to grow. However, today, we stand ready to give it further impetus so as to deepen and strengthen our partnership and to give a new dimension to our strategic political dialogue between Rabat and Washington with regard to what has taken place within the African continent as a whole, within North Africa as well as in the Arab Maghreb and also in the Middle East and in other areas where we are facing issues of great importance.

And I also wish, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, to express the extent to which we give great importance to what – through the actions and deeds of – and the positions of President Obama and Secretary of State Clinton so as to (inaudible) our bilateral and multilateral positions. And we also observe and keep a close eye on the importance of investing further our energy in entertaining issues of importance to our region and to the Middle East.

So these are my words as I have spoken before I give you the floor to ask your questions, and with a particular focus to the decision and the resolve – the resolution that was made during the bilateral meeting between the Secretary of State and His Majesty, The King in terms of strengthening our bilateral relations.

Secretary Clinton. Thank you very much, Foreign Minister Fassi-Fihri. I appreciate the very positive day that we have had here in Morocco. On a personal note, it is wonderful to be back in this country, a country with such extraordinary history and culture, and to be here this time representing President Obama and the United States as Secretary of State.

Many of you know that Morocco was the very first nation to recognize the United States. And our Treaty of Peace and Friendship has been in force since 1787, making ours the longest unbroken treaty relationship in my country's history. And the people of the United States are proud of our friendship with the Moroccan people and we are grateful for what this partnership has accomplished for more than two centuries, and we look forward to the future.

This morning, the foreign minister and I had a very productive conversation about a range of issues, including our shared goal of strengthening stability and prosperity throughout North Africa and the Middle East. I'm looking forward to participating tomorrow in the Forum for the Future, and I look forward also to working with the foreign minister on the issues that come from this forum.

The Forum for the Future is a gathering dedicated to creating the broadest possible network of partnerships in pursuit of common goals. It brings together not only government ministers, but representatives from civil society. And I am grateful too that we will work on the important issues confronting us – from regional security, economic development, religious tolerance, social reforms – because none of these goals can be accomplished through laws or governments alone. They require a broad coalition of likeminded people who translate laws into lasting change.

I particularly appreciate the opportunity I had this afternoon to meet with His Majesty King Mohammed VI. Like many countries, the United States has watched with great admiration the progress that Morocco has achieved under his leadership and the democratically elected Government of Morocco. Together, under His Majesty's leadership, this government has passed reforms that have made new opportunities available to people who didn't have the chance before to participate fully in the political, social, and economic life of their country.

It will not surprise you to hear that I want particularly to praise the reforms that have granted new freedoms to women who are now bringing their talents and energy to bear in strengthening democratic institutions, accelerating economic growth, and broadening the work of civil society. These opportunities have flourished for the Moroccan people amid an environment of religious tolerance, another example of how government leadership with the support of civil and religious institutions can create conditions in which people and communities thrive.

During my meeting with His Majesty this afternoon in Ouarzazate, I witnessed the launch of the King's renewable energy initiative, an infrastructure program that will include American solar and steam technology. I know I speak for the American scientists and entrepreneurs who design these technologies in saying how happy we are that their work can help bring clean energy to Morocco. We also discussed the Free Trade Agreement, the Millennium Challenge Corporation Compact. Our collaboration includes the Peace Corps as well as new entrepreneurial and economic initiatives, and we work together on counterterrorism, trying to stop the scourge of trafficking in drugs and persons, promoting human rights, and creating an atmosphere of regional stability.

So, Minister, I have come to Morocco to echo and amplify President Obama's message of partnership and respect, and we will work together to advance our shared goals of security, prosperity, and opportunity. Much of what you have done can serve as a model for other nations, and I believe that this model can benefit people not only here in Morocco, but those who care about increasing the opportunities for a better life for all people. Thank you, sir.

Foreign Minister Fassi-Firhi. Thank you very much. You may ask your questions now.

Q. Thank you. (Inaudible), Mrs. Clinton, you have met with His Majesty the King this afternoon for a little over an hour. I wish to know what is it that you have talked about, and what is your assessment of the Moroccan experience in the area of democracy, human rights, and in governance? And these are the subjects to be addressed by the Forum

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of the Future in this present edition.

Secretary Clinton. I think that Morocco has made significant progress in those three areas. I believe that there is more work to be done, but that is a challenge that faces many countries. But what is significant about Morocco and about the King's leadership is the commitment that has been shown to the improvement of the lives of the Moroccan people.

I think that over the last 10 years, there has been a number of very important measurements of progress, and I discussed with His Majesty his hopes and his commitments to continuing the progress, to building on it; our bilateral relationship, which is very meaningful to both of our countries; how we can deepen and broaden our work together, which we are committed to doing, and the foreign minister and I have discussed our intention to do that. We spoke about some of the regional and international issues that are of concern to both of our nations.

It was a very substantive, productive conversation. It also had some personal elements to it because I was very pleased toward the end of my husband's term in office to have us be able to host the then new King at the White House. And we know each other's families. We have a friendship, and it is of great, great import to me.

So we had a very broad-ranging conversation and laid out a set of issues that we're going to continue to work on. And I hope for signs of even more progress here in Morocco and more broadly.

Q. Thank you. Madame Secretary, as part of its Mideast peace diplomacy, the Obama Administration has asked Arab governments to take some confidence-building steps toward Israel. A number of the governments represented here this week have said that your remarks in Jerusalem may have undermined that effort. I know you clarified those remarks this morning, but have you reissued your confidence-building appeal here in Marrakesh, and what response have you gotten? Also, your spokesman has just announced that you'll be traveling to Egypt on Wednesday to meet with President Mubarak, and I wonder if you could tell us what you hope to accomplish during that visit.

Secretary Clinton. Well, Karen, none of the leaders here at all characterized what I said as in any way representing a change in position. They engaged with me at length about what it is that Israel is offering, why I believe it is unprecedented. We discussed how the position of the Obama Administration has not changed. We do not believe that settlements are legitimate. We have said that repeatedly, and we have made that clear to the Israelis, the Arabs, the Palestinians, and the world.

It is important, however, in any kind of discussion to get the facts out on the table. And I think a number of my counterparts were not aware that what the Israeli Government is offering would be an end to all new settlement activity in the West Bank, it would be an end to expropriation, it would mean an end to any permits or approvals. It is not enough. It is not what many people in the region and elsewhere would want to see, but it is fair to characterize it as unprecedented. And we discussed it, and I made clear that when we praise what the Palestinians do on security, it is meant to send a signal that progress is underway and it is progress toward a two-state solution. When I say that the Israeli Government is making an unprecedented offer, even though it is not what many would hope for, and even though our position remains the same that settlement activity is not legitimate, nevertheless, it holds out the promise of moving a step closer to a two-state solution.

So I think that our conversation was very, very open. It had – it touched on many aspects of not only the Israeli-Palestinian situation but other situation as well. And it kept coming back to what our goal is. Our goal is to give the aspirations of the Palestinian people a reality, namely their own state, and to have sovereignty and control over their future. That is my goal, that has been my goal for many years, and we're going to continue to work toward achieving that goal.

With respect to your second question, we are continuing our consultations in the region. I had the opportunity to consult here with many counterparts from the greater region. Because of a predetermined commitment, neither the foreign ministers of Iraq or of Egypt were able to be here, so we will be going to Egypt to continue these consultations. And it evidences the very strong commitment that President Obama, Senator Mitchell, and myself have to this effort.

Foreign Minister Fassi-Firhi. May I maybe, just on behalf of the Arab world, try to say to you that how we appreciate the role, key role, played by the new U.S. Administration, how we follow (inaudible) encourage what Madame Secretary of State did the last months and will continue to do. And naturally, His Majesty as the president of Jerusalem Committee in the context of OIC, and Morocco with its tradition, because we believe since a long time that the peace is possible and the vision of two states it's the best things, and the negotiations will help to reach this important institutional goal. Then we have to continue and we are sure that thanks to this contact what we heard from Madame Secretary today and what we can also humbly contribute for, we will help each other for this important goal of peace between all Arabs and Israel.

Q. Madame Secretary, change of subject, if I may. During the past few years, the United States, just like other members of the Security Council, have characterized the Moroccan initiative for autonomy in the Sahara as being serious and credible. My question is: Does the Obama Administration stand by that position? Thank you.

Secretary Clinton. Yes. Our policy has not changed, and I thank you for asking the question because I think it's important for me to reaffirm here in the Morocco that there has been no change in policy.

Excerpts of Remarks by Secretary of State Clinton, November 3, 2009[9]

Secretary Hillary Clinton delivered these remarks in Marrakech, Morocco at the Forum for the Future

Secretary Clinton. As President Obama and I believe, it is results, not rhetoric,

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that matter in the end. Economic empowerment, education, healthcare, access to energy and to credit, these are the basics that all communities need to thrive. And the United States seeks to pursue these common aspirations through concrete actions. We know that true progress comes from within a society and cannot be imposed from the outside, and we know that change does not happen overnight. So we will not focus our energies on one-time projects, but we will seek to work with all of you in government and in civil society to try to build local capacity and empower local organizations and individuals to create sustainable change.

I have asked our Embassy to engage with local communities to solicit ideas for how the United States could be a better partner. I also appointed the first-ever U.S. Special Representative to Muslim communities. The ideas we have heard have helped to shape our plan. Farah Pandith, our new Special Representative, is traveling widely and listening and coming back and expressing the concerns that she has heard from those who are living and working for a better life.

Now, we are focused on three broad areas where we believe U.S. support can make a difference. The first comes from the work and research that has been done over many years. When you ask people in all countries in this region or anywhere in the world what is the biggest concern you have and what do you want to see that happens differently in the future, the answer overwhelmingly is "I want a better job. I want rising income. I want to give my family, especially my children, more opportunities." It cuts across every society no matter where that society is.

I often say that while talent is universal, opportunity is not. And so we are committed to building ladders of opportunity to help develop the enormous talents that reside in the people of this region. Early next year, the President will host an entrepreneurship summit in Washington to convene people focused on creating small businesses, expanding their businesses, taking the talent that they have and translating it into income generations to assist their families.

We have launched a website for this summit. It is www.entrepreneurship.gov/summit. And I invite you to submit the names for delegates that could possibly benefit from coming to this summit, and please provide your comments on topics for the agenda. Because this summit is part of a broader effort to expand support for entrepreneurship in the region, including by establishing new business development centers. It is also my hope that together, we can launch a virtual entrepreneur network that connects the range of people engaged in such activities in the region and even beyond.

There are so many good ideas that die because the conditions are not right for bringing those ideas to market. There are so many people who work so hard every day that they can't realize the benefits of that hard work to the extent that they should. Now we already, as you know, give billions of dollars in ongoing direct aid programs in this region, ranging from a community's livelihood program in Yemen to a youth employment program in Jordan to our work here in Morocco.

We have invested $700 million in Morocco through a Millennium Challenge Corporation Compact. And this is an approach that we are working on that grows and has a partnership between our government and the government of people of a country—in this case, Morocco—where we say we're not here to tell you what you need from us; we're here to ask you what we can do to help you realize your own goals. In this case, we are supporting to two agricultural sectors—fruit tree farms and small-scale fisheries—as well as artisan craft and strengthening financial services and enterprise support. Over and over, we hear from small and medium-sized businesses that cannot get the financial assistance, they can't get the technical support that would grow their business. So working with the Government of Morocco, we are hoping to really help to see blossom a lot more economic activity at the lower level that will then, from the bottom up, build prosperity.

Our second area will be advancing science and technology, something that we have heard from many of you, to help create jobs and to meet global challenges. It's not something you don't know; it is your history. But it was the Islamic world that led the way in science and medicine. It was the Islamic world that paved the way for much of the technology and science that we now take for granted. And now we face global challenges. How do we address water issues? How do we solve the climate crisis? How do we eradicate disease? Well, we want to look to your societies and we want to help Muslim majority communities develop the capacity to meet economic, social and ecological challenges through science, technology, and innovation.

The State Department has established a science envoys program, and I'm pleased to announce today that the first envoys will be three of America's leading scientists: Dr. Bruce Alberts, a former president of our National Academy of Sciences; Dr. Elias Zerhouni, a former director of our National Institutes of Health; and Dr. Ahmed Zewail, the Nobel Prize-winning chemist. Each of these men has agreed to travel to North Africa, the Middle East, South and Southeast Asia to fulfill President Obama's mandate to foster scientific and technological collaboration. The State Department will also expand positions for environment, science, technology, and health officers at our embassies. To finance these solutions, the United States Overseas Private Investment Corporation known as OPIC is launching a technology and innovation fund.

Our third area of engagement is education. Last week, I announced our support for a new program for higher education in Pakistan. We have also begun a program to support partnership between U.S. community colleges and institutions in Muslim communities to share knowledge and to train students for good jobs. We are expanding our scholarship opportunities, particularly for underserved secondary school students. One of our most successful education programs is called Access. It provides English language instructions to bright students in poor communities. I am personally committed to this program, and I look for ways to provide additional support, because I have seen firsthand its power.

Earlier this year, I visited an Access classroom in Ramallah. I walked into an enthusiastic discussion of Women's History Month. These were students who did not come from educated families, but they were students with the same ambition and motivation that we heard described by our colleague, the Palestinian foreign minister, about his own son. We want to create

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more opportunities for students like these to fulfill their God-given potential.

And this points to a related priority—the empowerment of women. I have said, as some of you know, for many years, and President Obama said it in Cairo, no country can achieve true progress or fulfill its own potential when half of its people are left behind. When little girls are not given the same opportunities for education, we have no idea what we are losing out on because they're not going to be able to contribute to the growth and the development of their countries.

The United States has named our first-ever Ambassador-at-Large for Global Women's Issues, Ambassador Melanne Verveer. We strongly support the call made at last year's Forum for the Future for the creation of a regional gender institute to help advance women's empowerment across the board politically, economically, educationally, legally, socially, and culturally. And we look forward to working with other governments and civil societies to launch this initiative soon. And we will provide initial funding to make it a priority.

We seek to support civil society efforts worldwide because we believe that civil society helps to make communities more prosperous and stable. It helps to drive economic growth that benefits the greatest number of people. And it pushes political institutions to be agile and responsive to the people they serve. So the United States is launching an initiative called Civil Society 2.0. This organized effort will provide new technologies to civil society organizations. We will send experts in digital technology and communications to help build capacity.

Remarks by Secretary of State Clinton, November 3, 2009[10]

Secretary Hillary Clinton was interviewed in Marakech, Morocco by Fouad Arif of Al-Aoula Television

Q. First of all, on behalf of the Moroccan viewers, Madame Secretary of State, I would like to thank you very much, despite a busy week and a very heavy schedule. My first question is during the past 10 years, His Majesty the King Mohammed VI has initiated reforms across the board—social, economic, human rights, and more specifically, women's rights.

Secretary Clinton. Yes.

Q. I would like to have your take on these changes that have been taking place in Morocco.

Secretary Clinton. Well, first let me say I am delighted to speak with you. I always enjoy my visits to Morocco. I was here 10 years ago and I have very fond memories of that trip and a prior trip. So for me, this is a special privilege. And I wanted to express my appreciation, as I did when I met with His Majesty King Mohammed VI, for the changes that he is instituting and that under his leadership the Government of Morocco is following through on.

I think the changes are important. I particularly applaud the new freedoms for women. It has enhanced the cooperation and the participation that women have been able to show. I know in recent local elections more than 3,000 women were elected. I think it will make Morocco a stronger country. The more you involve the citizens, the more you empower citizens to make responsible decisions, the stronger Morocco will be.

Q. Madame Secretary, as you know, Morocco and the United States are two countries tied by a free trade agreement, which is, by the way, the only one with an African country. But how can the two countries combine their efforts so that there—it has more economic ties?

Secretary Clinton. Well, of course, we're very proud that our relationship with Morocco goes back more than 220 years, our longest relationship in the world that is unbroken by any kind of difficulty. And the recent free trade agreement, which I was privileged to vote for when I was a senator from New York, is a modern example of this very deep and broad relationship.

I think that the significance of it is, as you say, the first free trade agreement with any country in Africa on a bilateral basis, a recognition that Morocco's economy is growing and the United States wants to invest, and a platform for further work that we must do together.

Q. Yesterday, Madame Secretary, you reaffirmed that there is no change in the Obama Administration's position as far as the Moroccan autonomy plan in the Sahara is concerned. Would you like please to elaborate some more?

Secretary Clinton. Well, this is a plan, as you know, that originated in the Clinton Administration. It was reaffirmed in the Bush Administration and it remains the policy of the United States in the Obama Administration. Now, we are supporting the United Nations process because we think that if there can be a peaceful resolution to the difficulties that exist with your neighbors, both to the east and to the south and the west, that is in everyone's interest.

But because of our long relationship, we are very aware of how challenging the circumstances are. And I don't want anyone in the region or elsewhere to have any doubt about our policy, which remains the same.

Q. President Obama has more than once called for a renewed and a new beginning with the Islamic world. How can Morocco, with its longstanding tradition of coexistence and tolerance, help in this regard? And how do you envision the relations of Morocco and the United States in light of the Cairo speech?

Secretary Clinton. That's an excellent question because I think that Morocco is especially well positioned to take a leadership role in fulfilling the call for greater cooperation and understanding that President Obama set forth in his Cairo speech. In fact, the President has reached out to His Majesty King Mohammed VI to ask that the King lead one of the interfaith dialogue working groups because of the history of toleration and interfaith cooperation that exists in Morocco. We are looking to Morocco as a model in many areas, and we think in this area of greater understanding between the United States and the Muslim world, Morocco can help lead

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the way.

Q. How can both countries again combine efforts to advance the peace process towards a two-state solution?

Secretary Clinton. I think by continuing the very helpful support for the process, recognizing how difficult it is for the parties to do this solely on their own, that they need other countries and leaders like His Majesty to be very much pushing and prodding the process along, and I think refraining from inflammatory comments that sometimes come from others in the region, which unfortunately just get everyone agitated and stall the process.

This is very difficult work. It's an intensely time-consuming effort. The President has evidenced great sincerity and commitment, but we know that you have to build on that by the painstaking outreach to both. And we would welcome and seek the active support of others.

Q. We are going to move a little bit away from the Near East. I would like to ask you a question about the Maghreb region and its neighborhood. This region is facing several challenges, not least of which the economic ones which are made now more problematic because of the borders—Moroccan-Algerian borders are closed for the time being, and also because of the al-Qaida in the Maghreb, which is causing lots of problems. What is your take on this situation, and how can we move to the more positive path?

Secretary Clinton. Well, we are grateful for our close cooperation with Morocco and with other countries in the Maghreb on counterterrorism, on law enforcement, on mutual cooperation against al-Qaida and other terrorist groups, against drug traffickers and human traffickers. So we are committed to working with you and other nations to help you defend yourself and to create a more positive atmosphere.

But we also hope that there can be greater regional understanding and cooperation across borders, opening up borders, economic cooperation which would benefit—if you look across North Africa through the Maghreb, there is such an opportunity to build a region of economic success. And that requires political discussion and consultation, so we would encourage our friends, certainly Morocco and others, to see how possible that might be and not to be discouraged by the difficulty at starting such a political consultation.

Q. Madame Secretary, I would like to thank you very much on behalf of the Moroccan viewers again. Thank you very much.

Secretary Clinton. Thank you. Great to be back here. Thank you.

Remarks by Deputy Secretary of the Treasury Wolin, November 4, 2009[11]

Deputy Secretary Neal Wolin delivered these remarks in Johannesburg, South Africa at the University of the Witswatersrand

Deputy Secretary Wolin. Good morning. Thank you so much, Boris, for that kind introduction.

It is a pleasure to be here. And to those of you studying here at Wits—the future leaders of Africa—it's a particular privilege to be with you.

When I was studying development economics as a post-graduate at Oxford in the mid-1980s, I spent a lot of time with a group of Wits graduates who had been very active in National Union of South African Students.

We spent countless hours talking about the future of South Africa, and to be in South Africa now is to marvel at how far this nation has traveled over the past few decades. South Africa today is taking its place as an important regional and, indeed, a global leader.

I must say that I wish this trip coincided with the World Cup. But perhaps I'll just have to come back again next year. I have no doubt that South Africa will host a great tournament, and I am looking forward to the U.S. side doing as well as—or perhaps better than—it did in the Confederation Cup that South Africa hosted so well earlier this year. Let's hope for U.S. versus Bafana Bafana in the final.

Johannesburg is the final stop of a three-country visit that took me first to Rwanda and Tanzania. In both of those countries, and here in South Africa, I've had the opportunity to talk with senior government officials and also to talk extensively both with people in the private sector and in the development community.

Taken altogether, it's been a visit that has made me hopeful for the future of Africa—and for the future of U.S.-Africa partnership.

I will talk a bit this morning about my trip and particularly about the important development efforts with respect to agriculture, infrastructure, and financial inclusion that were a large part of my focus here in Africa. But first, I'd like to take a step back and look more broadly at the global events of the past year.

One year ago, the world's financial system faced the most severe financial crisis in generations. Global credit markets had frozen. Global trade was collapsing. We were truly standing on the edge of the abyss.

Proving—if anyone still doubted it—that the nations of the world are inextricably intertwined, the fallout from that crisis hit Africa hard. In South Africa, your economy slipped into a recession for the first time since 1992 as exports plummeted. And across the continent, trade, investment and growth slowed substantially.

There were few who would have predicted with confidence that, one year later, we would begin to see signs of recovery and growth as we do today.

One of the key reasons that we have succeeded in stepping back from the brink is that together, we approached the crisis with tremendous international cooperation and coordination. Indeed, that is one of the most significant and positive outcomes of the past year. There is now a broad recognition of the importance—and also the power—of coordinated international action.

When the G-20 leaders gathered in London last April, they agreed to a coordinated recovery program—to spur growth, to stabilize the financial system, to restore the flow of credit, to mobilize financial resources for emerging market economies, and to keep our markets open for trade and investment.

In the United States, the Administration

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and Congress had already enacted a sweeping economic recovery package. And we established a Financial Stability Plan designed to recapitalize our financial system; to get credit flowing again to American families and businesses; and to stabilize the spiraling housing crisis.

In South Africa, the primary budget surpluses you have run in recent years allowed your government to put forward a powerful fiscal response.

Within months of the London meeting, global economic growth turned positive; industrial production began increasing; international trade recovered by ten percent; financial markets improved as interest rate spreads narrowed.

By the time G-20 leaders gathered in Pittsburgh two months ago, it was clear that recovery was in our sights. This past week, the United States announced third quarter GDP growth of 3.5 percent on an annual basis. Finance Minister Gordhan, in his medium-term budget policy statement last week, projected positive growth for the South African economy in 2010.

For sub-Saharan Africa overall, the IMF is now projecting a healthy 4.1 percent real GDP growth rate in 2010. Private capital inflows to Africa are forecasted to expand again next year. The value of exports from sub-Saharan Africa, which shrank by 38 percent this year after six years of double-digit growth, is expected to grow by 13 percent in 2010.

No doubt, tremendous challenges still remain. This crisis was years in the making, and full recovery cannot happen overnight. But the improvements we are seeing would not have been possible without swift international action.

From the perspective of the U.S.-South African partnership, what is just as important as the fact of the international coordination is the forum in which that coordination took place. The primary forum for international crisis response was not the G-7 or the G-8—but the G-20.

The shift towards the G-20 reflects the critical importance of emerging economies like South Africa, India, Brazil and others. To be credible—and to be effective—global economic coordination in the 21st century must take place in a broad and inclusive forum.

The growing importance of emerging economies must also be reflected in the governance of international financial institutions like the IMF and the World Bank. In Pittsburgh, the G-20 committed to a shift in IMF quotas of at least 5 percent to dynamic emerging market and developing countries and to an increase of voting power at the World Bank of at least 3 percent for developing and transition countries, on top of earlier shifts.

We are hopeful that these reforms will be made in the near future.

The close partnership between the leading nations of the world—developed and emerging, north and south—will not and cannot end with the passing of the financial crisis.

While much has been done to stabilize the global economy, we now face the tougher and longer-term challenge of laying the foundation for more stable, balanced, and sustainable growth going forward. We can only succeed if we approach this endeavor with a deep sense of common purpose.

I'd like to focus today on three areas where I think continued partnership and cooperation between the United States and South Africa is particularly important:

First, financial regulatory reform; second, the rebalancing of the global economy; and third, economic development here in Africa.

The financial crisis of the past year had many causes. Not least is the fact that many of the world's economies have an outdated approach to regulation, incapable of managing the risks inherent in the 21st century global financial system.

We cannot let this moment pass to achieve comprehensive reforms on a global level.

South Africa has a significant role in this process, and much to contribute. You come to the table with a great deal of credibility. Your banks are solvent and have been well managed, with little exposure to toxic assets. South Africa's financial regulation is strong.

But make no mistake: the fact that South Africa's financial system has fared well relative to others should not diminish the vigor with which South Africa approaches the international regulatory reform effort.

You have suffered greatly from the economic fallout of the financial crisis. And as South Africa's financial sector continues to grow and to develop and to become more globally integrated, you will have an even greater stake in ensuring financial stability.

Recognizing the inadequacy of our own regulatory approach, the Obama Administration has proposed to Congress the most sweeping set of regulatory reforms since the 1930s. We are working aggressively with Congress to enact those reforms.

But even as we push for reform at home, it is critical that our efforts here are matched by corresponding efforts around the world. If the United States acts alone—indeed, if any G-20 nation acts on its own—little will be achieved. Financial firms and activities will simply migrate towards the places of regulatory weakness.

That's why we must all work towards consensus on setting higher capital standards; a simple leverage ratio to constrain excess risk-taking; and appropriate standards for executive compensation. And we must establish deadlines for implementation of these new standards.

We look forward to working with South Africa—in the G-20, in the Basel Committee, and on the Financial Stability Board—as this process moves forward. As the events of the past year have shown, the stability of the financial system doesn't just matter for New York, London, and Tokyo—but for Johannesburg, for Lagos, and for Nairobi, too.

Another challenge we share as members of the G-20 is the challenge of building a more sustainable and balanced model for global economic growth.

In the lead-up to the crisis, some of the world's largest economies relied upon the American consumer as the primary engine of growth. Americans made it easy. For far too long, we bought too much and saved too little—running up large external deficits and international debt.

Meanwhile, other nations relied too heavy on exports, running large external surpluses, building up large foreign exchange reserves, and leaving themselves vulnerable to the collapse in demand that followed the financial crisis.

The imbalanced growth model of recent years is not just undesirable, it's unsustainable.

Americans today are spending less and saving more. The U.S. deficit will decline as our stimulus spending winds down over the next year. The combination of increased saving and a falling deficit

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means that the United States and U.S. consumers can no longer be the driving force of global expansion.

There is a consensus on the need for change. In Pittsburgh, the G-20 adopted a Framework for Strong, Sustainable, and Balanced Growth that avoids the pitfalls of the past.

Achieving balanced growth will not be easy. To have meaning, the words of the Framework must be matched by actions—actions at least as bold as the actions taken in response to the immediate pressures of the financial crisis.

If the United States acts alone—indeed, if any G-20 nation acts on its own—little will be achieved. Financial firms and activities will simply migrate towards the places of regulatory weakness.

As a key member of the G-20 and as a nation with important trade relationships with China and other large economies, South Africa has an opportunity to step up to the plate—here in South Africa, that should have been a cricket metaphor instead of a baseball metaphor!—to step up to the plate and be a leader in pushing for a more balanced, sustainable model for global economic growth.

Reforming financial regulation and restoring balance to the global economy will benefit every nation, not just the richest and not just those in the G-20. But at the same time as we partner to meet those common aims, we cannot ignore the more direct and immediate needs of the developing world—and, in particular, the needs of sub-Saharan Africa.

As the United States approaches development assistance to Africa, we are especially focused on those areas that we believe will do the most to promote strong, country-led, sustainable and inclusive growth. Three areas are vitally important: infrastructure, agriculture and food security, and financial access.

Poor infrastructure, particularly in the power and transport sectors, remains a key growth constraint in most if not all sub-Saharan African countries. It keeps farmers from getting their goods to market; limits the growth of small enterprise; and leaves millions of children without access to clean, safe drinking water.

Agriculture, too, is an area desperately in need of smart investment. With three quarters of sub-Saharan Africa's poor population living in rural areas, achieving higher rates of agricultural productivity is a key to economic growth and durable poverty reduction and food security.

And finally, as African nations seek to promote the growth of small businesses—including in the agriculture sector—expanding access to credit and other financial services will be essential.

The United States is focused on these priorities—and, at least with respect to the first two, has committed substantial resources.

At the L'Aquila Summit in July, President Obama and other leaders pledged $20 billion over three years to increase agricultural investments globally, with the United States contributing at least $3.5 billion. We will work to support country-led agricultural development plans in countries that show a corresponding commitment.

At the G-20 meeting in Pittsburgh, G-20 leaders called on the World Bank to establish a new multi-donor trust fund to support innovative bilateral and multilateral efforts to improve global nutrition and build sustainable agricultural systems –including programs like those developed through the Comprehensive African Agriculture Development Program.

And bilaterally, through the Millennium Challenge Corporation, the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, the Export-Import Bank and the U.S. Agency for International Development, the U.S. is investing heavily in infrastructure—from Cape Verde, to Togo, to Tanzania.

So we are committed to assist African nations in their development. But as President Obama emphasized so eloquently in Accra: where we provide assistance to African nations, we will do so not as a patron, but as a partner.

Two countries where our partnership is strong—and where I've just spent time this week—are Rwanda and Tanzania.

The last time I was in Rwanda was in the late summer of 1994, only months after the genocide that shocked—and stained—the conscience of the world.

Last week, I laid a wreath at the Kigali Genocide Memorial Center. I was struck not just by the overwhelming sense of tragedy but also by a deep wonder at Rwanda's ability to rise from such darkness and build a brighter future.

Today, Rwanda is a leader not only in reconciliation, but also in economic reform. Indeed, those two projects go hand in hand. Economic growth is central to President Kagame's vision for taking Rwanda forward, in unity, with a sense of common purpose.

One of the keys to that growth is the promotion of partnerships—between governments, multilateral institutions, and the private sector.

In Gisenyi, on Lake Kivu, an American company has joined in a public-private partnership with the Rwandan government to develop a $325 million power generation facility to extract methane from the lake—scaling up a pilot project supported by the International Finance Corporation and the African Development Bank.

The project will more than double the power generation capacity in a country where today only 6 percent of the population has access to electricity. And it will do so with minimal impact on the environment.

The government of Rwanda is also pursuing partnerships to strengthen its agricultural sector—a key driver of the economy. For instance, working with the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), American dairy processor Land O' Lakes, and the African Development Bank, the government is providing livestock, training, and technical assistance to small dairy farmers and agro-processing firms to increase dairy production, improve quality, and expand the value chain.

Innovative projects and partnerships like these represent development partnership at its best: focused not on short term aid, but on building lasting local capacity; developing infrastructure and markets; *investing* rather than just assisting.

But what's even more significant is that these projects don't just stand alone. In Rwanda, development partnerships like those I visited complement a much broader strategy of liberalization, reform and openness to investment.

Tanzania, too, has recognized the need for economic reform—having largely abandoned its statist past and made great progress in transforming itself into a market-oriented economy.

Tanzania continues to score well relative

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to its peers in the U.S. Millennium Challenge Corporation's (MCC) ratings. Recognizing the progress made in Tanzania, the U.S. is supporting the country's efforts to improve its infrastructure with a $698 million MCC grant, the largest in the world. These funds support Tanzania's investments in roads, energy, and water. Deficiencies in those areas today present significant barriers to growth.

Through its Kilimo Kwanza—agriculture first—program, the Government of Tanzania has committed to make significant investment in its agriculture sector. The U.S. and international organizations are working to complement Tanzania's own investments.

For example, in Bagamoyo, just outside Dar es Salaam, I visited a project run by the International Institute for Tropical Agriculture, with support from USAID and the World Bank. The project focuses on the local staple crop, Cassava, and helps give farmers the tools and the knowledge they need to dramatically improve yields and move up the value chain.

So again, where the United States sees that African nations are working to strengthen governance and accountability, making it easier for their citizens to do business, and investing their own resources in development and growth, the United States stands eager to partner.

But we look to African nations to lead the way.

As the largest economy on the continent, the largest investor in African nations, and an example to African nations of the potential for growth and development, South Africa has a unique ability to promote the kind of reforms and commitments that are so essential.

And with respect to financial access and inclusion, South Africa has an especially vital role to play.

The G-20 leaders recently directed the establishment of a Financial Inclusion Experts Group to support new modes of financial service delivery capable of reaching the poor and to scale up successful models of small and medium enterprise financing.

This group will be particularly important for Africa, where less than 20 percent of people have access to financial services. South Africa has substantial expertise in this area, having had great success in establishing basic bank accounts for the poor, as well as promoting mobile banking—efforts which have dramatically increased financial inclusion.

We encourage South Africa to play a leading role in the Financial Inclusion Experts Group, and we look to South Africa as a global leader in the promotion of financial access and inclusion.

The agenda before us is a daunting one: sustaining economic recovery, reforming our financial systems, achieving balanced and sustainable growth, and supporting the efforts of developing nations to overcome the many obstacles that stand in the way of their security and prosperity. None of these efforts will be easy. But all are essential.

One year ago today, Barack Obama was elected the forty-fourth President of the United States. Americans of every age, race and faith stood together and declared that it was time to renew our nation's promise. A year ago, a moment of possibility echoed around the world, including, I suspect, right here to Johannesburg.

At the time, President-elect Obama said that "this victory alone is not the change we seek. It is only the chance for us to make that change."

I think that one of the changes that we've already begun to make—in the United States and in the world at large—is that we are approaching global challenges in a new spirit of partnership. And we have a chance to do a great deal more, together—particularly here in Africa.

Thank you.

Remarks by President Obama and Botswana President Khama, November 5, 2009[12]

President Barack Obama and President Ian Khama delivered these remarks in Washington, DC

President Obama. Hello, everybody. I just want to welcome President Khama to the Oval Office and to make a brief statement about Botswana and its relationship to the United States.

Although Botswana is not a large country, it is truly one of the extraordinary success stories in Africa. Since the mid-'60s it has moved on a path of good economic management and outstanding political governance. And as a consequence you have seen extraordinary improvements in living standards over the last 40 years in Botswana that really are an envy for much of the rest of the continent.

Not only has Botswana shown itself to be an outstanding success, but it's also been a great partner to the United States. And our governments have cooperated extensively throughout the years. President Khama I think has been showing his own extraordinary leadership in helping to move his country forward on a range of issues, from how to deal with the HIV/AIDS crisis to addressing economic development to dealing with some of the regional problems that exist. On each of these areas I think Botswana has bee a real leader.

And so we just want to express our appreciation for the outstanding work that successive governments in Botswana have been to able to accomplish. We are grateful for the friendship between the people of the United States and Botswana. And I'm looking forward to continuing that strong partnership in the years to come.

So, welcome.

President Khama. Thank you very much. I certainly passed on my appreciation to President Obama for having had the opportunity to meet with him and to share views about the bilateral cooperation that we have had between our two countries—areas on trades, areas on health, and also to share how both countries are tackling this current economic downturn.

And we also had the opportunity to talk about environmental issues, climate change and the upcoming Copenhagen summit. And lastly, also about regional issues and how we can try and go about entrenching democracy both in the mindset and the way we go about all our activities on the continent, the African Union in particular.

And I would just like to thank you, Mr. President, once again for having given me this opportunity to share my thoughts with you. Thank you very much.

President Obama. Thank you.

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Remarks by Secretary of State Clinton and Ethiopian Foreign Minister Mesfin, November 5, 2009[13]

Secretary Hillary Clinton and Foreign Minister Seyoum Mesfin delivered these remarks in Washington, DC

Secretary Clinton. Well, I'm very pleased to welcome the minister here. Ethiopia is a country with which we have very long ties, and have, in recent years, developed a very close working relationship on a number of important issues. And I'm looking forward to speaking both with the minister and his colleagues, who are here on a very important delegation to the United States.

Foreign Minister Mesfin. Well, Excellency, I'm very pleased to be here in Washington. Relations between Ethiopia and the United States are traditional and understanding. And I'm also confident and with full trust that my visit this time would be extremely fruitful in touching base on issues that are of crucial importance both to the United States and Africa and in Ethiopia.

Secretary Clinton. Thank you, sir.

Foreign Minister Mesfin. Thank you. Thank you so much.

Secretary Clinton. Thank you very much.

Remarks by Acting Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Baukol, November 19, 2009[14]

Acting Assistant Secretary Andrew Baukol delivered these remarks in Washington, DC at the Brookings Institution Panel titled Beyond the Crisis: Sustaining Growth in Sub Saharan Africa

Acting Assistant Secretary Baukol. Thanks to our moderator Mwangi Kimenyi and to our featured speaker Antoinette Sayeh. I'd also like to commend my fellow panelist, Stephen Hayes, President of the Corporate Council on Africa, for that organization's leadership on investing in Africa.

Ms. Sayeh has shared some sobering data on the financial and economic crisis impact in Sub-Saharan Africa. She has also pointed to the mitigating effects of reforms by many countries and she highlighted some promising prospects for future growth. It is to the credit of many African leaders that strong policies in recent years enabled African countries to put in place counter cyclical measures to lessen the impact of adverse global forces.

I want to talk briefly about the global economy's recovery and how it is likely to affect Sub-Saharan Africa: first, how the global economy is moving toward resumed growth; second, what Sub-Saharan African governments can do to take advantage of the new opportunities; and finally, how the U.S. is supporting greater growth in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Global Recovery

One year ago, the world's financial system faced the most severe financial crisis in generations. Global credit markets had frozen. Global trade was collapsing. As you know, the fallout from that crisis hit Africa hard. Ms. Sayeh has already spoken about the slowdown in growth across the continent, particularly among commodities exporters.

One year later, we see the signs of global recovery and incipient growth. One of the key reasons for these promising developments is that we approached the crisis with tremendous international cooperation and coordination, led by the G-20, bringing together developed and emerging nations representing over 80 percent of the global economy. Indeed, that is one of the most significant and positive outcomes of the past year.

When the G-20 leaders gathered in London last April, they agreed to a coordinated and powerful recovery program, which included: Spurring growth, stabilizing the financial system, restoring the flow of credit, mobilizing financial resources for emerging market economies and keeping markets open for trade and investment. By the time G-20 leaders gathered in Pittsburgh two months ago, we saw clear signs of an incipient recovery. Global economic growth has turned positive; international trade has recovered by ten percent; financial markets improved as interest rate spreads narrowed.

As part of this response, the international financial institutions deserve credit for rapidly organizing major financial stimulus packages to help restore global growth. Over the past year, the IMF, the World Bank, and the regional development banks—including the African Development Bank—have played a vital role in cushioning the impact of this crisis on poor and middle income countries. Collectively, the development banks have increased their lending targets by over $100 billion above pre-crisis levels.

These efforts have had results. Ms. Sayeh has already spoken about the shift in IMF projections for African growth. Private capital inflows to Africa are forecasted to expand again next year. The value of exports from sub-Saharan Africa, which shrank by 38 percent this year, is expected to grow by 13 percent in 2010. These are positive initial signs but just as we are discussing on this panel, Africa faces particular challenges, particularly in light of the crisis. Let me now briefly outline what African governments can do to seize economic opportunities and foster growth.

Africa Must Lead the Way

There are four main areas where African governments have taken steps that are important to sustained economic growth that can help to reduce poverty. These are 1) business climate reforms to attract new investment, 2) improving infrastructure, 3) strengthening the financial sector, and 4) working to improve long term food security.

As described by Stephen Hayes, business climate issues are key to attracting private investment in Africa. Several African countries, including post-conflict countries, have taken tough actions to improve their business climates. Rwanda, for example, has made a remarkable recovery from its terrible conflict 15 years ago to become a leader in economic reform. This year, Rwanda was the first sub-Saharan African country to be named the World Bank's top reformer in the Doing Business indicators, improving from 143rd place to 67th place—the

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largest one year change ever in the history of the Doing Business index. Rwanda's practical steps include reforming the processes for starting businesses, registering property, protecting investors, trading across borders, and accessing credit.

On infrastructure, the World Bank estimates that Africa will need $93 billion per year for infrastructure, about one-third of which is for maintenance. Poor infrastructure, particularly in the power and transport sectors, remains a key growth constraint in most if not all sub-Saharan African countries. It keeps farmers from getting their goods to market; limits the growth of small enterprise; and leaves millions of children without access to clean, safe drinking water. Many African countries are investing more in infrastructure, but they will need support from donors, the international financial institutions and the private sector. The Africa Infrastructure Country Diagnostic has found that infrastructure has been responsible for more than half of Africa's recent improved growth performance and has the potential to contribute even more in the future.

Third, a well-functioning financial sector is essential for sustained economic growth. In many African countries, financial sectors are underdeveloped, and few people have access to financial services. African leaders are taking steps to address this weakness. The new Nigerian Central Bank Governor, for example, has taken actions to strengthen Nigeria's banking sector, a prime example of transformative African leadership. Governor Sanusi has also taken steps to strengthen banking regulation and supervision to prevent a recurrence of the problem. His vision extends beyond Nigeria—he has spoken of the need for better cross-border banking regulation in Africa as more African banks spread their operations across the continent.

Finally, agriculture is a sector that desperately needs smart investment. We saw how the food crisis in 2008 was a setback for many African countries, particularly as it coincided with the rise in oil prices that increased shipping costs for food imports. Some African governments faced tough fiscal choices as they lowered tariffs and took other measures to mitigate the increase in food prices facing their people, especially the most vulnerable. With three quarters of sub-Saharan Africa's poor population living in rural areas, achieving higher rates of agricultural productivity is a key to broader economic growth and durable poverty reduction.

U.S. Actions Supporting Africa's Growth

In all of these areas, the United States is committed to supporting Africa's growth. As President Obama noted during his visit to Accra in July, the United States is committed to broadening and deepening our partnerships with the developing world—and with Africa in particular. Beyond the short-term assistance provided in response to the global financial crisis, the U.S. stands behind the pledge made at the 2005 G8 Summit in Gleneagles, Scotland, and we are on track to meet our target to double development assistance for Africa by 2010. Going forward, the Administration has stated its intent to double U.S. foreign assistance over the next several years.

We are particularly focused on those areas that we believe will do the most to promote strong, country-led, sustainable and inclusive growth. I want to mention some sectors of particular interest: infrastructure, agriculture and food security, and financial access.

On infrastructure, the U.S. is investing heavily through the Millennium Challenge Corporation, the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, the Export-Import Bank and the U.S. Agency for International Development.

The U.S. government's partnership efforts with Tanzania and Rwanda are two good examples of these investments at work. I recently had the opportunity to travel with Treasury Deputy Secretary Wolin to both countries so these examples are on top of my mind.

First, Tanzania. Tanzania continues to score exceptionally well relative to its peers in the U.S. Millennium Challenge Corporation's ratings. Recognizing the progress made in Tanzania, the U.S. is supporting the country's efforts to improve its infrastructure with a $698 million MCC grant, the largest in the world. These funds support Tanzania's investments in roads, energy, and water, which have been previous barriers to growth.

In Rwanda, on Lake Kivu, an American company has joined in a public-private partnership with the Rwandan government to develop a $325 million power generation facility to extract methane from the lake—scaling up a pilot project supported by the International Finance Corporation and the African Development Bank. The project will more than double the power generation capacity in a country where today only 6 percent of the population has access to electricity. And it will do so with minimal impact on the environment. This partnership reflects the fact that government resources alone are not enough to solve Africa's infrastructure gap. Partnerships—between governments, multilateral institutions and the private sector—will all be critical to achieving our objectives.

Regarding agriculture issues, the United States and other many of our partners see an urgent need to support African governments that are committed to improving agricultural productivity as a means to enhance food security. At the L'Aquila Summit in July, President Obama secured agreement from the other leaders to commit $20 billion over three years to increase agricultural investments in poor countries. The United States will contribute at least $3.5 billion to this effort, and we will work to support country-led agricultural development plans.

Additionally, at the G-20 meeting in Pittsburgh, leaders called on the World Bank to establish a new multi-donor trust fund to support innovative efforts to improve global nutrition and build sustainable agricultural systems, including programs like those developed through the Comprehensive African Agriculture Development Program, known as CAADP. The United States is now working with the World Bank and other potential donors on how best to implement this.

Sound financial sectors that serve the needs of businesses from mega- through micro- sized are vital for African nations seeking to promote the growth of the private sector. There is a special need to increase access to credit and other financial sector access for small businesses—including in the agriculture sector. The G-20 leaders recently directed the establishment of a Financial Inclusion Experts Group to support new modes of financial service delivery capable of reaching the poor and to scale up successful models of small and medium enterprise financing.

This group will be particularly important for Africa, where less than 20 percent of people have access to financial ser-

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vices.

Banking supervision and regulation is one of the areas where Treasury's Office of Technical Assistance provides technical assistance to build African governments' expertise. Since 2002, Treasury's program has provided resident and intermittent advisors to several central banks and finance ministries throughout Africa to help develop the financial sectors. Let me cite one example. In Zambia, Treasury resident advisers provided technical assistance in banking supervision and deposit insurance protection supporting the Bank of Zambia in the adoption and implementation of risk management guidelines, risk based supervision examination procedures, and procedures for the implementation of capital adequacy requirements.

In closing, I want to summarize our commitment to Africa's growth by quoting President Obama who said: America wants to partner with the people and nations of Africa, but we all know that the future of Africa is in the hands of Africa.

Today, I have highlighted just a few of the ways that the United States is acting to assist African nations in their development. We look to African leaders to take the necessary actions to position their countries to take advantage of the opportunities offered by the global recovery. This can mean making tough choices that may not be politically popular. But where the United States sees that African nations are working to strengthen governance and accountability, making it easier for their citizens to do business, and investing their own resources in development and growth, our government is poised to help.

Statement by Secretary of State Clinton, December 1, 2009[15]

Secretary Hillary Clinton delivered this statement in Washington, DC

Secretary Clinton. The United States welcomes the publication of the new draft constitution by Kenya's Committee of Experts. On my visit this summer, I urged Kenya's people and leaders to move forward with the reform agenda that is so important to Kenya's future. I am pleased that they have taken this step, which represents a major milestone in that process.

I encourage all Kenyans to use the 30-day comment period to engage in a constructive and substantive dialogue on a new constitution. This is an opportunity for the Kenyan people to help determine the content of the constitution and come together to build a system of government that serves and protects the interests of all, regardless of political affiliation, ethnic group, or faith.

This is also a time for President Kibaki and Prime Minister Odinga to demonstrate their leadership and commitment to a peaceful future by working together to support a constitution that will serve the national interest for generations to come. I hope Parliament will act expeditiously, and with a sense of shared purpose, when the draft is formally presented to it.

The United States is committed to supporting the Kenyan people's efforts to implement their reform agenda. Development and ratification of a new constitution will provide a solid foundation for a more peaceful, prosperous, and democratic future.

Statement by Secretary of State Clinton, December 17, 2009[16]

Secretary Hillary Clinton delivered this statement in Washington, DC

Secretary Clinton. I was pleased to hear of the government of Morocco's decision to re-admit Aminatou Haidar—a Robert F. Kennedy Human Rights Prize recipient—on humanitarian grounds following her month-long hunger strike in Spain. This humanitarian gesture is reflective of the true spirit and generosity of the Moroccan government and people, and underscores the urgency of finding a permanent solution to the Western Sahara conflict. I join United Nations Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon in calling for a fifth round of formal UN—sponsored Manhasset talks at the earliest possible date. I also want to express our strong support for personal envoy Christopher Ross and his efforts to find a solution.

1. Dept. of State Press Release, October 1, 2009.
2. White House Press Release, October 19, 2009.
3. Dept. of State Press Release, October 19, 2009.
4. White House Press Release, October 20, 2009.
5. White House Press Release, October 20, 2009.
6. White House Press Release, October 27, 2009.
7. Treasury Dept. Press Release, October 29, 2009.
8. Dept. of State Press Release, November 2, 2009.
9. Dept. of State Press Release, November 3, 2009.
10. Dept. of State Press Release, November 3, 2009.
11. Treasury Dept. Press Release, November 4, 2009.
12. White House Press Release, November 5, 2009.
13. Dept. of State Press Release, November 5, 2009.
14. Treasury Dept. Press Release, November 19, 2009.
15. Dept. of State Press Release, December 1, 2009.
16. Dept. of State Press Release, December 17, 2009.

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