OVERSIGHT OF U.S. POLICY TOWARD BURMA

HEARING

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON ASIA AND THE PACIFIC

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

ONE HUNDRED TWELFTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

APRIL 25, 2012

Serial No. 112–140

Printed for the use of the Committee on Foreign Affairs

Available via the World Wide Web: http://www.foreignaffairs.house.gov/ or http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

74–001PDF WASHINGTON : 2012

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office
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CONTENTS

Page

WITNESSES

The Honorable Kurt Campbell, Assistant Secretary, Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, Department of State 12
The Honorable Nisha Biswal, Assistant Administrator for Asia, United States Agency for International Development (USAID) 25
The Honorable Tom Andrews, president and CEO, United to End Genocide (former Member of Congress, D–ME) 39
Mr. Aung Din, executive director and co-founder, U.S. Campaign for Burma ... 48

LETTERS, STATEMENTS, ETC., SUBMITTED FOR THE HEARING

The Honorable Donald A. Manzullo, a Representative in Congress from the State of Illinois, and chairman, Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific: Prepared statement 3
The Honorable Eni F.H. Faleomavaega, a Representative in Congress from American Samoa: Prepared statement 6
The Honorable Kurt Campbell: Prepared statement 15
The Honorable Nisha Biswal: Prepared statement 27
The Honorable Tom Andrews: Prepared statement 43
Mr. Aung Din: Prepared statement 51

APPENDIX

Hearing notice 64
Hearing minutes 65

OVERSIGHT OF U.S. POLICY TOWARD BURMA

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 25, 2012

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON ASIA AND THE PACIFIC,
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
Washington, DC.

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 2:30 p.m., in room 2200 Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Donald A. Manzullo (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Mr. MANZULLO. The subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific will now come to order. The story of Burma is a heartbreaking tale of needless suffering and unnecessary sorrow. It is a story of a people forced to survive in abject poverty at the hands of dictators despite living in a country abundant in natural resources. Indeed, for more than a century, the story of Burma has been divided into two main chapters; the first takes place in the era of colonialism, and the second spans the painful evolution of a brutal military dictatorship. Of course, the era of independent rule in Burma has been only a footnote in its history, a mere blink of an eye—spanning only 14 years—before she was again robbed of her freedom.

The reason I open today's hearing with a look back into Burma's history is to remind us all that we must never forget a people who, at no fault of their own, have been deprived of so much. This includes the ethnic minorities who live in constant fear, and of course, the political prisoners who languish behind bars to this day.

This is the real story of Burma, and these are the reasons why Members of Congress are dedicated to promoting true reform in that country. To date, we know far too little about what is actually going on in Burma. Beyond the news stories, information is far too scarce and from what we do know, very little can be inferred.

On April 1, 2012, the Burmese regime held parliamentary by-elections in which Burma's legendary leader, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, and the National League of Democracy, the NLD, won 43 out of 45 open seats. Regardless of whether we view an election of 7 percent of Burma's legislative body as real reform, the elections nevertheless cap an impressive year of progress made by the secretive military regime.

The question that we face today is whether these activities of the past year represent real reform or modest window dressing. If this is real reform, what steps are needed to protect progress made and promote additional steps? Have our European and Asian allies gone too far by rushing headlong into suspending all sanctions and immediately boosting assistance?

At the same time, the list of problems that Burma continues to face is extensive. Approximately 600 political prisoners remain behind bars, and in spite of news reports to the contrary, there is evidence that a civil war continues to rage in the ethnic areas. In the Kachin state, anecdotal evidence from refugees and outside visitors point to serious human rights abuses being carried out by the military. This has led to a serious humanitarian crisis and has forced tens of thousands of people to flee their homes and villages.

Rule of law in Burma continues to be nonexistent, with cronyism and bribery ruling the day. If the example of other resource-rich countries is applied to Burma, the military establishment and corrupt officials stand to reap an enormous windfall from the revenue that Burma's rich natural resources promise to generate. The people of Burma will see next to nothing and remain locked in a repeating cycle of poverty. If the U.S. inadvertently contributes to this cycle of corruption by recklessly removing sanctions, then a generation's worth of efforts by human rights champions will be wasted. We must not let this happen.

America's policy on Burma has long been guided by policy makers on both sides of the aisle. I joined my good friend and colleague, Congressman Joe Crowley from New York, to pass the Congressional Gold Medal Act for Aung San Suu Kyi in 2008, and was also the lead Republican in renewing congressional sanctions against Burma. I spoke out forcefully against the brutal crackdown of the Saffron Revolution and its aftermath. Last year, Aung San Suu Kyi delivered recorded testimony before the subcommittee on conditions in Burma and urged Congress to continue supporting her beloved country. I championed the cause of freedom in Burma not because it was politically advantageous, but because it was the right thing to do.

I commend the administration for returning an ambassador to Burma and for USAID's reopening of its mission there. More than anything, we need Americans on the ground assessing what is actually happening. But now, we face the next step in this journey. It is my sincere hope that these actions in Burma are the beginning of real, meaningful political reconciliation. However, let us not lose sight of the reality that Burma has endured 50 years of military dictatorship, and those in power will not give up this power overnight.

I now recognize the ranking member for his opening statement. Mr. Faleomavaega?

[The prepared statement of Mr. Manzullo follows:]

One Hundred Twelfth Congress

Congress of the United States

Committee on Foreign Affairs
Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific

April 25, 2012

Oversight of U.S. Policy Towards Burma

Chairman Donald A. Manzullo
Opening Statement

The story of Burma is a heartbreaking tale of needless suffering and unnecessary sorrow. It is the story of a people forced to survive in abject poverty at the hands of dictators despite living in a country abundant in natural resources. Indeed, for more than a century, the story of Burma has been divided into two main chapters; the first takes place in the era of colonialism, and the second spans the painful evolution of a brutal military dictatorship. Of course, the era of independent rule in Burma is but only a footnote in its history, a mere blink of an eye (spanning only 14 years) before she was again robbed of her freedom.

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I commend the Administration for returning an Ambassador to Burma and for USAID's reopening of its mission there. More than anything, we need Americans on the ground assessing what is actually happening. But now, we face the next step in this journey, and it is my sincere hope that these actions in Burma are the beginning of real, meaningful political reconciliation. However, let's not lose sight of the reality that Burma has endured 50 years of military dictatorship, and those in power will not give up this power overnight.

Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Chairman, thank you for holding this hearing on U.S. policy toward Myanmar. I applaud your leadership and want you to know I am honored to serve with you. This subcommittee, the House of Representatives and your constituents have all been well represented by you. At home and abroad you will be missed.

Last year, Myanmar has demonstrated that it is on the path toward democratic reform and I am pleased by these developments. I am especially pleased that President Obama sent Secretary of State Hillary Clinton to Myanmar in December of last year. Secretary Clinton was the first high-ranking member of any American administration to visit Myanmar since World War II.

And Mr. Chairman, I am also pleased and honored that we have with us as our witness, a gentleman whom I have had the privilege of working with also is our Assistant Secretary of State of East Asian Pacific Affairs, my good friend, Kurt Campbell, who has also been doing a fantastic job as part of the administration's engagement policy from the very beginning in terms of what they have done in the past 3 years in dealing with the leaders of Myanmar. And Mr. Campbell certainly is attributed for doing all the tremendous work, leg work in bringing to pass these developments, and especially having Secretary Clinton visit at the leaders of that country and especially Ms. Aung San Suu Kyi.

During her visit, Secretary Clinton praised President Thein Sein's leadership and courage, and so do I. President Thein has authorized four separate amnesties for groups of prisoners since May of last year. For the first time in 22 years, Aung San Suu Kyi and the National League for Democracy participated in the April 1st, 2012, by-elections and won 44 out of the 45 seats up for election.

Under our new policy of engagement the United States will name an ambassador to Myanmar and establish USAID presence. We will ease sanctions on agriculture, tourism, telecommunications and banking. Furthermore, international response to U.S. leadership has been positive, Australia announced that it would lift sanctions. Japan decided it would waive Myanmar's debt, and the EU announced its decision to suspend trade, economic and individual sanctions against Myanmar for 1 year.

These are welcome new developments and I commend President Obama, Secretary Clinton and Assistant Secretary Kurt Campbell for moving full speed ahead in the policy of pragmatic engagement. This is the course of direction the U.S. should be taking.

I look forward, Mr. Chairman, in hearing from our witnesses, Secretary Campbell and Ms. Biswal, and I want to note for the record that my dear friend and colleague, Congressman Joe Crowley of New York, who has been a strong advocate for reform in Myanmar, at his request our democratic witness is the Honorable Tom Andrews, former Member of Congress and president and CEO of the United to End Genocide.

On behalf of Representative Crowley I welcome you, and once more I commend Chairman Manzullo, gentlemen, for holding this important hearing. I look forward to hearing from our witnesses.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Faleomavaega follows:]

STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE FALEOMAVAEGA
RANKING MEMBER

BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON ASIA AND THE PACIFIC REGARDING
THE EXPANDING U.S.-KOREA ALLIANCE

April 25, 2012

Mr. Chairman:

Thank you for holding this hearing on U.S. Policy Towards Myanmar. I applaud your leadership and want you to know I am honored to serve with you. This Subcommittee, the U.S. House of Representatives and your constituents have been well-represented by you. At home and abroad, you will be deeply missed.

In the past year, Myanmar has demonstrated that it is on the path towards democratic reform, and I am pleased by these developments. I am especially pleased that President Obama sent Secretary of State Hillary Clinton to Myanmar in December of last year. Secretary Clinton was the first high-ranking member of any American administration to visit Myanmar since WWII.

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These are welcoming developments and I commend President Obama, Secretary Clinton and Assistant Secretary Kurt Campbell for moving full speed ahead on a policy of "pragmatic engagement." This is the course of direction the U.S. should be taking.

I look forward to hearing from our witnesses, and I want to note the work of Rep. Joe Crowley of New York who has been a strong advocate for reform in Myanmar. At his request, our Democratic witness is the Honorable Tom Andrews, former Member of Congress, and President and CEO of United to End Genocide. On behalf of Rep. Crowley, I welcome you and, once more, I commend Chairman Manzullo for holding this important hearing.

Mr. MANZULLO. Thank you. Mr. Royce?

Mr. ROYCE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Over the past year, Burma has seemingly opened itself up to change. Persons of conscience as you know have been released there now. Aung San Suu Kyi's National League for Democracy party was allowed to participate in the elections. Governments around the world are of course quite optimistic. The EU is suspending sanctions, Australia has pledged to lift its sanctions, we have a situation where Japan has waived the $3.7 billion of Burmese debt. But at the end of the day I think we can say that Burma's motives are somewhat unclear in this.

Some of the speculation has been that the regime no longer wanted to be a wholly-owned subsidiary of Beijing and that that drove some of it. I will be interested in hearing the witnesses' observations and what the administration believe is driving this.

The administration has also struck a similarly optimistic tone with the rest of the international community on this, and we are moving quickly toward pragmatic engagement there with the Burmese Government, laying out plans for a fully accredited ambassador now in Rangoon and plans for presence of USAID, which is appropriate. However, I think that we would be wise to remain cautious. Progress this is but progress can be quickly reversed. And although we enjoyed watching that election and 44 seats out of 45 going to the National League for Democracy party, at the end of the day that is still a small, small percentage, a sliver of that 664 seats that are in the Parliament there.

Our increased engagement with the Burmese Government must be accompanied by a push for engagement with civil society which can be empowering for a civil society there. What should be at the center of this relationship is not only a long-term view about engaging civil society, but the Burmese people. If we keep that in mind, making that the center of the relationship, that is where we are going to do the most good.

Lastly, I think Burma's positive relationship with North Korea is a vexing and an odd thing that shouldn't be taken lightly. The extent of the proliferation network between those two countries is still murky but we know some of the history of it, and cutting this tie to North Korea should also be a priority in the relationship.

But I thank you, Mr. Chairman, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. MANZULLO. Congressman Rohrabacher?

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I think this is a wonderful celebration today of many, many years. I know for myself I have been engaged in this for about 24 years. A lot of people understand that right after I was elected to Congress I disappeared and went to Afghanistan for 2 months and fought alongside the mujahideen. But what they don't also understand is on my way to Afghanistan I went to Burma and met with the Burmese students in the jungle who were at that time even then in 1988, resisted in fighting the junta that was repressing their people in Burma.

And I remember walking away from that meeting, pardon me. I just came back from overseas last night, so I am a little bit weary here, but I will try to get my words out right. The fact is, is that

when I left those meetings in the jungle in Burma I was so impressed with these young people. And I remember while I was impressed certainly yes by the courage in the fighting which I saw in Afghanistan, but the idealism of those young people in Burma, I knew that some day if they held true to that they would triumph. And this is a triumph for the idealism of the Burmese people, and they did not succumb to the type of mass bloodshed on their side as many people who are struggling for freedom have gotten into over the years and not been successful.

Those note in terms of American policy, so first of all, this is a great success for the Burmese people, the idealists among the Burmese people, but it also is a reflection on American policy. We did not in Burma become engaged. We did not put forth a policy of engagement. This is coming about now, is not coming about because the United States Government decided to treat the Burmese Government as if it wasn't a vicious dictatorship that was murdering its own people. In fact, we tried to isolate them and used economic sanctions instead of trying to make them feel that they could be part of the family of nations even though they were a corrupt dictatorship. Well, in the end that policy has worked. The policy of basically treating a dictatorship like it is different than a democracy, and not giving them the same trading and economic privileges that we have with democratic nations. I think now is the time we should move forward and make sure that we start opening up those opportunities. As they make their concessions, we should do step by step make theirs.

And Mr. Chairman, one last point and that is, let us not forget that there are still tribal groups along the border in Burma, the ethnic peoples who are still under attack and being murdered by the central government. They need to be brought into this process of reconciliation as well. Thank you very much.

Mr. MANZULLO. Thank you. Congressman Crowley?

Mr. CROWLEY. Thank you, Chairman Manzullo, and thank you for allowing me to sit in on my former committee here in Foreign Affairs. And thank you for allowing me to participate today.

I was fortunate to travel to Burma in January when I was on a trip to India. And I had the opportunity to meet with both the military government and the opposition led by Aung San Suu Kyi. I also met with families of political prisoners and some members of ethnic minority groups. I am deeply appreciative to all those at the State Department who helped me on that trip, in particular, Secretary Clinton. I also appreciate the time spent on Burma by this administration. It has been an enormous amount of time, I think, and a good amount of time on this. And I also want to recognize the work of former First Lady Bush, and President Bush's attention to this as well. After all, it was this committee that created many of the sanctions and also the position of the special envoy on Burma through the Burmese JADE Act, which was an Act that I was proud to be the sponsor of.

I walked away from Burma with three distinct impressions, and those impressions form my view that a lot of the media coverage around Burma lately has been overheated if not slightly overstated. First, those who are struggling to end military rule in Burma are among the bravest heroes in the world today. They are risking

their lives for values that we share as Americans and sometimes take for granted and they deserve our respect and our admiration.

Second, human rights abuses in Burma are still going on. There are still several hundred if not more political prisoners locked up behind bars in Burma, serious acts of violence against ethnic nationalities have continued. In fact, many attacks on ethnic minorities have taken place even after the April 1st by-election.

Third, the democratic opposition has won only a small political arena to operate, about 6 percent of the national Parliament. The opposition holds no real power in this Parliament other than the power of hopefully persuasion. There is no real rule of law to constrain government behavior, and the military still seems to run a lot of the show in Burma.

Now I don't want to be viewed as one who is here to throw cold water, that is not my intention. But for all these reasons I believe we must be careful to not lift sanctions too quickly. We should not hesitate if it is necessary to impose even more. The steps already taken by the United States have been substantial and there is no need to rush to judgment. Groups working in conflict areas report that it may even be more likely that lifting some of the sanctions could increase conflict within Burma.

It is no secret that the vast majority of extractive industries in Burma are owned and operated either by members of the military, former leaders of the military or their cronies. There is nothing they want more than to sweep into ethnic areas and steal the plentiful and natural resources within. If we give up all of our leverage through lifting more sanctions, what do we have to push for an end to these attacks? So let us continue some pressure. We can match action with action but we should be cautious and skeptical so that we don't write simply a blank check.

So with that, Mr. Chairman, I once again thank you, and I thank our witnesses here today.

Mr. MANZULLO. Thank you. Our witnesses are, first, Secretary Kurt Campbell who became the Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs in 2009. Previously, he was the CEO and co-founder of the Center for New American Security, and concurrently served as the director of the Aspen Strategy Group and chairman of the Editorial Board of the Washington Quarterly. He was the founder of StratAsia, a strategic advisory firm, and was the senior vice president, director of the International Security Program, and Henry A. Kissinger Chair in National Security Policy at the Center for Strategic and International Studies.

Dr. Campbell has served in several capacities in government including as Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Asia and the Pacific, a director on the National Security Council staff, Deputy Special Counselor to the President for NAFTA in the White House, and White House fellow at the Department of the Treasury. He received his BA from the University of California San Diego and his doctorate in international relations from Brasenose College at Oxford University.

Nisha Biswal was sworn in as USAID's Assistant Administrator for Asia on September 20, 2010. Prior to her appointment she served as the majority clerk for the State Department and Foreign Operations Subcommittee on the Committee on Appropriations in

the U.S. House of Representatives. In this capacity, she provided staff support to the Appropriations Committee Chairman David Obey and subcommittee Chairwoman Nita Lowey in managing the appropriations and oversight of the U.S. international affairs budget.

She has also served as professional staff on the House International Relations Committee. That is your most famous post, right? Ms. Biswal holds a bachelor of arts degree from the University of Virginia.

Welcome, Secretary Campbell. Welcome, Administrator Biswal. Let us start first with Secretary Campbell.

STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE KURT CAMPBELL, ASSISTANT SECRETARY, BUREAU OF EAST ASIAN AND PACIFIC AFFAIRS, DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Mr. CAMPBELL. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. And just to save time, I know we have so much interest here, I would like to ask that my full statement be submitted for the record and then we can proceed accordingly.

Mr. MANZULLO. Without objection, the statements of both witnesses, of all the witnesses, will be submitted for the record.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Thank you very much. And I just want to say if I may at the outset, a word of thanks to all of you for some specific issues. As you know, Mr. Chairman, we were both in New Zealand during the earthquake, and working with you in the aftermath of that I want to tell you, we were very proud that the United States has been by far and away the largest contributor to the rebuilding of the devastated city of Christchurch, and you played an instrumental role in that. I want to thank you.

Congressman Faleomavaega has been an ardent supporter of renewed engagement in the Pacific. Too often when we say Asia Pacific, P is the small P, and he has been a constant reminder of our need to do more there, and I want to thank him for that, for his encouragement and his support.

Congressman Royce, in particular, you have helped us so much in our relationship with the Philippines. I am proud to say, on Monday we will be hosting the first ever 2+2 with our Filipino friends. We must do more with our allies in the Pacific, and you have been a consistent reminder of that.

Congressman Crowley, you have been our conscience on so much of what we have done in Asia, and I appreciate your support and your reminder not to forget about those that are still struggling mightily in Asia and particularly in Burma.

And Congressman Rohrabacher, you have been our conscience on security issues often, sometimes reminding us about stuff that goes on that we must not turn our head away from. So for all of you, we are grateful for your support in engagement on the Asian Pacific region. I want to also underscore that there is scarcely a word said by any of you that we would disagree with.

So I just want to underscore that again the hallmark of our policy in Burma has been two essential features. I would say actually three. The first is that it has been bipartisan. And we seek and I want to commit to you that we want to maintain that bipartisan commitment and dialogue going forward. Secondly, it is part of a

partnership between the executive and legislative branches. The legislative branch has really led the way, has reminded us of the importance of Burma even when we were focused on other things, and we have been very grateful for that.

And then the third dimension is the need to consult and coordinate closely with international friends. We spend an enormous amount of time working with our friends in Europe, in Asia, in Japan, in Australia and New Zealand, to ensure that we are as well coordinated as possible in terms of our overall approach. So overall, I think that what we heard just now from you was balanced and careful.

And I just want to underscore that that is our overall approach. I think Congressman Crowley did underscore that there has been some overheated rhetoric. I hope that is not coming from the administration. In fact, I think we have tried to be clear from the beginning of an effort of dialogue in 2009, to acknowledge areas of very deep disappointment. And in fact, for about 2 years we were probably the first to say that we were making absolutely no progress.

But in fact, over the course of the last several months we have seen dramatic developments taking place inside the country that no one would have imagined. Aung San Suu Kyi has been elected, in albeit an imperfect election, to Parliament. Just a few months ago she was under house arrest. We believe that there is real significant progress underway inside the country, but I want to quote what Secretary Clinton has said, "We believe that it is fragile and reversible. The future in Burma is neither clear nor certain and therefore we need to carefully calibrate our approach to encourage continued progress."

I want to assure you that in every single meeting we have both with officials in the country, with representatives from ethnic groups and from civil society and all of our interlocutors in Asia, in Europe and elsewhere that we do acknowledge the changes that are taking place. But we also say very clearly and firmly that much more needs to be done. These are the first stages of what we hope will be a very long journey, but much more needs to be done with unconditional releases of political prisoners, much more work in terms of advances of civil society, the legislative and legal frameworks of a well functioning open society.

The relationship that Congressman Royce raised between Burma and Noth Korea, we are seeking a full discontinuance of that relationship. On the military side, countries are judged by the company they keep and we think that is extremely important going forward. And we are also determined to work diplomatically in every area that is of continuing concern between the United States and indeed the international community and the country itself.

I believe what we have laid out is a very careful, calibrated, step by step approach that rewards action for action. And I just want to suggest that any steps that we take, any easing will be done in very close consultation with Congress, in close consultation within the U.S. Government between the White House, the State Department, the Department of Defense and particularly the Treasury Department, to ensure that it is done carefully and responsibly, and we recognize very clearly that there have to be provisions and

capabilities to be able to respond if there is a reversal or a stalling out. That leverage is an essential component of our strategy, and pressure will be needed in a number of circumstances going forward.

So my own personal view is that this is indeed a welcome, historic opening. I would disagree slightly with my friend, Congressman Rohrabacher. I think it does have to do with what the international community has done. I believe the solidarity of friends in Europe, in the United States, not just in governments but in groups that have persevered and kept conscience with people inside the country, have made an enormous difference and that needs to continue going forward. And I just want to underscore, anyone who says that this is the end of the game is not paying attention. We are at the very beginning stages of a process that will demand intense American engagement, no gauzy gaze and rose-colored glasses. A true understanding that the steps that we take must be in the larger pursuit of systemic reforms and progress for the people not the cronies.

And I just want to commit to you that as we go forward we will do everything possible to work with you to make sure that we do this in consultation. And I also want to thank my friend and colleague, Nisha Biswal. I cannot imagine a better person to be working with this effort on. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Campbell follows:]

Testimony of Kurt M. Campbell
Assistant Secretary of State
Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs
U.S. Department of State

Before the

House Committee on Foreign Affairs
Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific

April 25, 2012

U.S. Policy Toward Burma

Introduction

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Faleomavaega, and Members of the Subcommittee, thank you very much for inviting me here today to testify about U.S. policy toward Burma and the remarkable developments that have been unfolding in the country. Many Members of this Committee and in the Congress have been key proponents of human rights and democracy in Burma over the past two decades, and I am sure you all are following events with as much hope and interest as we do at the State Department.

I last testified before the Committee on Burma in late 2009, just as we embarked on a new policy of principled engagement. Between 2009 and mid-2011, I was the first to acknowledge that engagement with Burma was a profound disappointment. We expected that it would be a long and slow process but the apparent failure to make progress was nevertheless disheartening.

As some have said, "That was then, this is now." Following the formation of a new government in March 2011, positive changes have emerged ranging from the release of political prisoners, to new legislation expanding the rights of political and civic association, and a nascent process toward ceasefires with several ethnic armed groups. Secretary Clinton has become actively involved, including her historic visit to Burma in December 2011, where she met senior Burmese government officials including President Thein Sein and opposition democracy leader Aung San Suu Kyi, who has been an inspiration to many around the world, including the Secretary, for her steadfast efforts to bring a more free and

prosperous life to her people. She also met with a variety of civil society and ethnic minority representatives.

Because of the President Obama's and Secretary Clinton's far-sighted leadership and the hard work of our first Special Representative and Policy Coordinator for Burma, Ambassador Derek Mitchell, the Burmese government has engaged with the United States in candid and constructive exchanges, leading toward concrete progress on our core concerns over the past nine months.

In both its words and actions, Burmese officials have demonstrated increasing signs of interest in political, economic, and social development, and national reconciliation. Although we assess this nascent opening as real and significant, we also believe it is fragile and reversible – as Secretary Clinton said on April 4, "the future in Burma is neither clear nor certain" —and therefore, we need to carefully calibrate our approach to encourage continued progress. Additionally, the impact of Burma's reform efforts has not extended far beyond the capital and major cities. This is particularly true in ethnic minority areas: Fighting continues in Kachin State, coupled with reports of severe human rights violations. In Rakhine State systematic discrimination and denial of human rights against ethnic Rohingya remains deplorable. Overall, the legacy of five decades of military rule --repressive laws, a pervasive security apparatus, a corrupt judiciary, and media censorship -- is still all too present.

The initial reforms are only the beginning of a sustained process and commitment required to bring Burma back into the international community and toward more representative and responsive democratic governance.

Political Reforms

The election of Aung San Suu Kyi and 42 other NLD members is the most recent and dramatic example of the political opening underway in Burma, a culmination of several reforms that together constitute an important step in the country's democratization and national reconciliation process.

Overall, the NLD won 43 of the 44 seats it contested, losing one seat to the Shan Nationalities Democratic Party. Though contesting in all 45 constituencies, the ruling Union Solidarity and Development Party won only a single seat. Less than 7 percent of all seats in Burma's bicameral legislature were at stake, but the participation and victory of the NLD could give Aung San Suu Kyi a role and voice in government for the first time in the country's history. The new parliament

convened on Monday, April 23, but NLD members including Aung San Suu Kyi have not yet taken their seats due to concerns about the Parliamentary oath. We hope the government and the NLD will work toward a mutually satisfactory resolution of this issue soon to enable the NLD to take their newly won seats and begin this new era in Burma's politics.

In the run-up to the by-elections, we consistently emphasized that the results needed to be free and fair and reflect the will of the Burmese people. We also underscored the importance of an inclusive and open electoral process from the campaign phase to the announcement of results. While not perfect, the by-elections were a significant step forward in comparison to the 2010 elections, which we and others in the international community strongly condemned as neither free nor fair. In advance of the by-election, the Burmese government's amendment of certain election-related laws enabled the NLD, which authorities had dissolved in 2010, to register and participate. The campaign process was more inclusive than in the past with the NLD and 16 other parties participating.

A few days before the April 1 vote, the government invited a number of international representatives and foreign media from ASEAN, ASEAN dialogue partners including the United States and the European Union, and the United Nations to witness the polling. We asked representatives from the National Democratic Institute and the International Republican Institute to be present, and the Burmese government invited several U.S. journalists to cover the elections. Poll watchers had access to polling stations to survey the voting and the vote count. While they reported some irregularities, including questions with voter lists and security of ballot boxes, overall, the election demonstrated a smooth and peaceful voting process. In addition to the formal diplomatic observation tour coordinated by the Burmese government, authorities also permitted U.S. embassy officers and diplomatic colleagues to informally watch voting activities on election-day. The Government of Burma did not, however, establish an adequate framework and allow sufficient access for election monitoring or observation to be conducted according to international standards.

Ahead of the vote, several problematic process issues arose. Before the elections, the government cancelled polling in three constituencies in Kachin State, citing security concerns. We also monitored closely credible allegations of election-related irregularities. Aung San Suu Kyi and the NLD raised concerns publically and privately about inaccurate voter registration lists, reports of irregularities with advance voting procedures, and local intimidation, including a violent attack at a campaign event in the Naypyitaw district, in which an NLD

supporter was injured. We assess that these incidents, while troubling, did not appear to reflect a government-directed effort to skew the outcome of the elections. Although the by-elections marked an improvement from the 2010 elections and a step forward in Burma's reform process, we note that much work remains to be done as we look forward toward the next general election in 2015.

In addition to the parliamentary by-elections, we are encouraged by several other notable political reforms in Burma, including progress on some of our longstanding human rights concerns. The Burmese government released over 500 political prisoners in October 2011 and January 2012 amnesties. These releases included the most prominent civic leaders and pro-democracy and ethnic minority prisoners of conscience. Many of these individuals had been imprisoned for over 20 years.

The Burmese government has also made progress toward preliminary ceasefire agreements with several ethnic armed groups including the Chin National Front (January 2012), the New Mon State Party (February 2012), the United Wa State Army (September 2011), and the Shan State Army-North (January 2012). For the first time in 63 years, the Burmese government and the Karen National Union (KNU) entered into a preliminary ceasefire agreement in January 2012, and began follow-up peace discussions the week of April 4 on a host of political issues at the heart of Burma's longest running internal conflict. Earlier this month, KNU representatives from Thailand traveled to Rangoon and Naypyitaw for landmark meetings with President Thein Sein, Aung San Suu Kyi, and several government ministers.

These efforts to halt the fighting are important initial steps, but must be followed by genuine dialogue and negotiations to address the long standing political and economic grievances of ethnic minority populations in Burma including issues of cultural autonomy, natural resources, and power-sharing with the ethnic Burman-dominated central government. Fighting continues in Burma's Kachin State despite periodic ceasefire talks.

The Burmese government has also pursued important legislative initiatives in support of political reform. Parliament passed and President Thein Sein has signed an International Labor Organization-endorsed labor law allowing workers to form labor unions and protecting freedom of association. The government has revised other legislation to define, prohibit, and criminalize forced labor in Burma, and authorities signed a memorandum of understanding with the International Labor Organization in March to take proactive strides to eliminate all forms of

forced labor in Burma by 2015. In addition, Parliament passed and President Thein Sein signed a new law in December 2011 to protect the rights of citizens to peacefully assemble.

The Burmese government has also taken a variety of measures to relax media censorship. When I first visited Burma in 2009, I met with Aung San Suu Kyi, who was under house arrest at the time. When Burma's state media reported on my visit, it tried to erase any trace of my encounter with her. They literally airbrushed her out of published photographs of my visit. Today, Aung San Suu Kyi's image, her political activities, and her meetings with world leaders are widely covered in local and even in state media. While most news is still subject to censorship, restrictions have been eased on television and the internet, including on exile news sites. The Burmese government has recently provided access for a range of foreign journalists for the first time including from the Voice of America and Radio Free Asia. The government has also started to host its first press conferences and engage with civil society on the topic of press and media freedoms.

Economic Reforms

In addition to the notable political reforms I have highlighted, the Burmese government is proceeding with a strong program of economic reforms. After decades of mismanagement, Burma has become the poorest country in Southeast Asia with approximately one-third of its population living in poverty.
In January, for the first time, the Burmese government agreed that International Monetary Fund (IMF) staff could publish a detailed summary of the conclusions of their 2011 Article IV consultation with the IMF. This year, the IMF consultation addresses issues and challenges facing Burma as it transitions to a more market-based economy, including needed reforms related to the exchange rate regime, trade policy, monetary policy, and fiscal policy. A summary was not only posted on the IMF web site, but was also published, in the Burmese language, in Burma's state-owned newspaper. We have called on the Burmese authorities to release the full text of the Article IV Staff Report, and we hope that they do so.

A primary distortion in Burma's economy has been the use of multiple exchange rates. Burma's multiple exchange rate system is highly inefficient, limits access to foreign goods to all except well connected entities, and creates opportunities for corruption. On April 2, Burma's Central Bank aligned the official exchange rate close to the prevailing parallel rate, an important first step reforming the exchange rate regime. The Central Bank is now posting the official

daily rate on its website and allowing the exchange rate to move in line with market forces. There will be teething problems as Burma's financial sector adjusts to this important reform, but it is a necessary first step for a broader agenda of economic reforms that we hope will improve the responsiveness of the government to the needs of the people.

In addition to exchange rate reform, the Burmese government has discussed the country's budget in Parliament for the first time. Members of Parliament and the government discussed budget allocations and in March published an approved budget in a state-run newspaper. Budget allocations for the military remain grossly disproportionate, however, at 16.5 percent of the total budget. Allocations for health and education were 3.25 percent and 6.26 percent of the total budget, quite low by regional standards. At the same time, however, Burma reduced the relative share of its military budget in its FY 2012 budget, and allocations for health and education quadrupled and doubled respectively. Authorities have also eased some import and export requirements and drafted a new Foreign Investment Bill.

As businesses consider investing in Burma, it will be critically important to actively promote a strong corporate social responsibility ethic through active engagement with our regional and like-minded partners as well as with the Burmese government and local communities. We will also engage the Burmese government to apply non-discrimination principles and to create a "level playing field" for foreign investors. Moving forward, we believe that by addressing these investment-related concerns, the private sector, including many U.S. companies, will be able to play a positive role in contributing to justice, development, and reform in Burma.

U.S. Response

Over the past year, we have carefully responded to evidence of change in Burma with increased outreach and concrete actions. As I noted above, the President's decision to ask Secretary Clinton to visit to Burma in late 2011 marked a turning point in our engagement policy, sending a strong signal of support to reformers both inside and outside of government, while never mincing words about our continuing concerns.

During her visit, Secretary Clinton clearly articulated our commitment to partnering with and supporting Burma on the path of reform and committed to a strategy of matching "action-for-action." Since his appointment in August 2011 as the first U.S. Special Representative and Policy Coordinator for Burma,

Ambassador Derek Mitchell has played a key role in driving this effort. He has traveled to Burma, along with numerous other senior State Department officials, nearly on a monthly basis, engaging officials in Naypyitaw and consulting with key leaders of civil society, including Aung San Suu Kyi, ethnic minority groups, and the pro-democracy opposition to further catalyze concrete action on our core concerns.

The actions we have undertaken thus far have been measured and meaningful. During Secretary Clinton's visit to Burma, we announced that we would resume cooperation on counternarcotics and operations to recover missing U.S. personnel from World War II, which the Burmese government suspended in 2004. We also pledged our support for assessment missions and technical assistance by international financial institutions and pursued a temporary waiver of trafficking in persons sanctions to fulfill this commitment. Following the substantial release of over 250 political prisoners in January, we responded with an announcement regarding our intention to upgrade diplomatic ties to exchange ambassadors.

More recently, we have announced additional U.S. actions. On April 4, Secretary Clinton announced five key steps that the United States would take to respond to Burma's parliamentary by-elections and the progress that they signified. We announced our intention to re-establish a USAID mission at our Embassy in Rangoon, lend U.S. support for a normal UNDP country program, authorize funds to be sent by private U.S. entities to Burma for nonprofit activities, facilitate travel to the United States for select Burmese officials and parliamentarians, and begin a process to ease the bans on the exportation of U.S. financial services and new investment. Since that announcement, the Treasury Department has issued a general license authorizing certain financial transactions in support of humanitarian, religious, and other not-for-profit activities in Burma, including projects for government accountability, conflict resolution, and civil society development.

In terms of easing the bans on the export of U.S. financial services and new investment for commercial activities, we plan to proceed in a careful manner. We will also work closely with the U.S. Department of the Treasury to reexamine and refresh the Specially Designated Nationals list.

We have taken important steps on the assistance front as well, which my colleague from USAID, Assistant Administrator Nisha Biswal, will address. I will say, however, that in the immediate term, the State Department has announced new

activities for microfinance and health, particularly in ethnic minority areas, based on our consultations with civil society in Burma. Special Representative Mitchell launched an interagency scoping mission to Burma to assess opportunities and obstacles to Burma's transition and to align U.S. assistance efforts in a manner that promotes the overall reform process, directly benefits the people of Burma, and alleviates poverty, particularly in Burma's rural areas.

We continue to emphasize that much work remains to be done in Burma and that easing sanctions will remain a step-by-step process. We have pursued a carefully calibrated posture, retaining as much flexibility as possible should reforms slow or reverse, while pressing the Burmese government for further progress in key areas.

We have serious and continuing concerns with respect to human rights, democracy, and nonproliferation, and our policy continues to blend both pressure and engagement to encourage progress in all areas. While we recognized the momentous release of prisoners last January, we continue to call for the immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners and the removal of conditions on those released. The State Department's Bureau for Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor estimates at least several hundred prisoners of conscience are still behind bars. Through an upcoming human rights dialogue, we will engage officials on developing a credible, transparent, and inclusive process to identify remaining political prisoners of conscience, seek access to prisons for international organizations, and press for the immediate release of all political prisoners unconditionally. We have also spotlighted our concerns regarding remaining political prisoners in human rights resolutions at the UN General Assembly and the UN Human Rights Council, which we have supported or co-sponsored.

In every interaction with the Burmese government, at every level, we are also urging the immediate halt to hostilities in Burma's ethnic minority areas, particularly in Kachin State, where fighting has continued at varying levels of intensity since the ceasefire lapsed in June 2011. We have consistently urged unfettered access for United Nations and humanitarian agencies to Burma's conflict zones. This access is crucial so that the international community can assess needs and attempt to assist tens of thousands who have been displaced as a result of the fighting. While the Burmese government has recently allowed limited access to UN agencies to deliver assistance to certain areas of Kachin State, we are pressing for regular and sustained access to all areas, including those controlled by the Kachin Independence Army, to provide humanitarian aid to internally displaced persons (IDPs). In March, the United States contributed $1.5 million in

assistance to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to support IDPs in Kachin State.

We also remain concerned by serious human rights violations against the ethnic minority Rohingya people who are denied citizenship and human rights, such as freedom of movement and freedom to marry, among other rights all people should be able to exercise. We will urge the Burmese government, including through a human rights dialogue, to pursue mechanisms for accountability for the human rights violations that have occurred as a result of fighting and discrimination in ethnic areas. We will also continue to spotlight continued abuses in Burma at the United Nations and other multilateral and regional forums including ASEAN.

While we are pleased that the NLD, Aung San Suu Kyi's pro-democracy party, has been allowed to re-register and participate in the political process, the degree to which reforms are genuine and irreversible will be reflected in the amount of political space the opposition parties will have and the amount of dissent the government will tolerate in the coming weeks and months. We will continue to monitor the democratization process carefully, including the issue concerning the parliamentary oath, and urge the Burmese government to take steps, in terms of both policy and legislative reform, to promote greater civic openness and support for a vibrant civil society and more free media.

Much more needs to be done on the legal and institutional front for the government to definitively break with its legacy of the past. Dozens of oppressive, arbitrary, and unfair laws used to convict political prisoners remain on the books and new laws need to be effectively implemented to make a true difference in the lives of the people.

In addition to continuing human rights and democracy concerns, we remain troubled by Burma's military trade with North Korea. This is a top national security priority, and we will continue to press the government on this issue. We are collaborating closely with the EU, ASEAN, and other key regional partners including South Korea, Japan, and Australia to stress to Burma the importance of full compliance with UN Security Council Resolutions 1718 and 1874 and to underscore to senior Burmese officials the seriousness of this matter and its potential to impede progress in improving our bilateral ties.

We will also continue to urge the Burmese government for greater transparency on nonproliferation. We were encouraged by public assurances from

senior officials, such as Lower House Speaker of Parliament Thura Shwe Mann in January 2012, that Burma has no intention of pursuing a nuclear weapons program and is committed to full compliance of all its international nonproliferation obligations. We have encouraged the Government of Burma to signal its commitment through concrete actions such as signing and ratifying the IAEA Additional Protocol, updating its Small Quantities Protocol and improving cooperation with the International Atomic Energy Agency.

Conclusion

As we look forward, there is a great store of goodwill within the international community to re-engage Burma, re-build its capacity, and re-connect with the Burmese people, should the reform process continue. Though the challenges that lie ahead are daunting, the efforts of the resilient and diverse people of Burma are as inspiring as ever.

Let me finally take a moment to acknowledge the leadership of Congress in promoting change in Burma. So many members of Congress have demonstrated consistent and personal commitment over many years to democratic reform, human rights, and the welfare of the Burmese people – and many of you have traveled to the region in recent months to see for yourselves conditions on the ground and meet with the reformers themselves. We are grateful for your efforts, and we look forward to consulting closely with you as we continue to support a brighter future for Burma.

I am happy to answer any questions you may have.

Mr. MANZULLO. Thank you.

Administrator Biswal?

STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE NISHA BISWAL, ASSISTANT ADMINISTRATOR FOR ASIA, UNITED STATES AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT (USAID)

Ms. BISWAL. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member Faleomavaega, members of the committee. It is always a pleasure, an honor and a thrill for me to testify before this committee since I spent so much time sitting behind the members in preparing for hearings in the past.

I do want to follow in the steps of my esteemed colleague, Kurt Campbell, and just touch upon a few key priorities and next steps on the USAID assistance program so that we may preserve the balance of the time to answer questions and engage in discussion.

USAID has a long history with Burma, and indeed the U.S. relationship predates the establishment of USAID as the assistance relationship began in 1950. But we have not had a mission there since 1988 and the fateful events of that year. In the meantime, we have been stalwart in our support for the Burmese people through our humanitarian assistance programs inside and outside of Burma as well as our support for democracy, human rights, independent media and the like.

Since about 2010 we have maintained a $38 million program of bilateral assistance through USAID, both along the Thai-Burma border as well as inside Burma. The opportunity we have today is an opportunity to, through the establishment of an USAID mission, more directly engage with the people of Burma, more directly support the reforms through support for the civil society, and for reform-minded institutions to support efforts for reconciliation and to engage more efficiently with other donors as we move forward. That, first and foremost, is why we want to establish that mission and that is our operating procedure moving forward.

We hope to have by the fall of this year, the first U.S. direct-hire mission director in country, and to have a fully staffed mission by next summer. It will be a small presence but it will enable us to engage and assess far more directly then we have been able to heretofore.

Our priorities for assistance really are focused on supporting political reform, for supporting civil society institutions, which though informal and nascent have been very, very resilient in meeting the urgent needs of the Burmese people. We believe that those civil society institutions are going to be critical for reform to really take root and to penetrate across all levels of society particularly as we look forward to 2015.

We also believe that the critical need on the government side is to really have a greater technical capability and understanding of democratic governance. Even for those who are engaging aggressively on the path to reform, the greatest thing that we hear from them is the lack of capacity that is hindering institutions in Burma on the path forward, whether that is leaders of Parliament, whether that is ministries or the elections commission, and the like.

And finally, as I noted, ethnic reconciliation is a major, major area of importance and of concern. The path to development cannot

go far until and unless the needs and conditions of the ethnic minorities are addressed. And we are working with other donors to see what we can do to support national reconciliation, but in the meantime, also maintain our support for the urgent needs of those vulnerable populations that are most affected by ongoing conflicts.

And finally, I would just like to note that Congress has had an important role, as Secretary Campbell noted, in U.S. policy toward Burma. USAID has worked very, very closely with Congress on how we move forward, and I want to commit to you that it is our intention to continue to do that.

I want to thank you very much for this opportunity and open up now to answer any questions you may have.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Biswal follows:]

Statement of Nisha Biswal
Assistant Administrator, Bureau for Asia
U.S. Agency for International Development
House Committee on Foreign Affairs
Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific

Oversight of U.S. Policy Towards Burma

April 25, 2012

Chairman Manzullo, Ranking Member Faleomavaega and distinguished Members of the Committee:

Thank you for the opportunity to testify before the Committee today on the important issue of our policy towards Burma. As my esteemed colleague, Asst. Secretary Campbell has recounted the dramatic changes underway and covered the broader U.S. policy towards Burma, I will limit myself to discussing the areas under my jurisdiction: U.S. assistance programs and policies in Burma and along the Thai-Burma border.

As Assistant Secretary Campbell noted, the significant steps taken by the government in Burma have been matched by actions from the United States. On April 4th, Secretary Clinton announced that the United States Agency for International Development would re-establish its mission in Burma. The Secretary's announcement recognizes the significant opening to strengthen our ties with the people of Burma and provide critical support in their efforts for political and economic reform.

Past U.S. Assistance
The United States signed the first U.S.-Burma Economic Cooperation Agreement in 1950, and thus has had a long history in that country. Following the events in 1988, USAID halted all economic assistance to Burma and USAID American staff and contractors were evacuated. Since that time, USAID has not had a mission inside Burma. While we suspended our mission in Burma, we did not stop supporting the Burmese people. The United States has continued to provide humanitarian assistance to Burmese refugees and migrants in Thailand for the last 20 years and has also provided support for human rights, democracy and independent media through USAID and the State department.

Beginning in 2003, USAID resumed limited, targeted health programs – because infectious diseases prevalent in Burma had the ability to spread and undermine U.S. disease prevention efforts here at home and in other parts of the world. These programs, which were implemented through nongovernmental organizations, were managed from our regional mission in Bangkok, Thailand. Significantly, in response to the devastation of Cyclone Nargis in May 2008, the USG provided more than $83 million in humanitarian assistance through USAID and the Department of Defense.

Since FY 2010, funding for the USAID program has been approximately $38 million per year, providing humanitarian assistance for Burmese living along the Thai-Burma border, in the Irrawaddy delta and Central Burma, and supporting human rights and independent media – all of which has been channeled exclusively through U.S. and international organizations and in strict adherence to legislative requirements.

Burma Today

On my recent visit to Burma, I was struck both by the resilience of the Burmese people, and the extreme fragility of its institutions. Decades of mismanagement and missed opportunities have taken their toll. Burma is a country of rich natural resources, but it is not yet able to meet its development needs due in part to weak infrastructure, low service delivery capacity, and corrupt governance systems.

Burma today is ranked among the least developed countries in the world and is one of the poorest in Asia. The United Nations Human Development Index, which is a composite index reflecting health, education, and income indicators, ranks the country at 149 out of 187 countries with comparable data. According to the World Health Organization, approximately 35 percent of children suffer from stunting.

Despite the fertile landscape, many parts of the country suffer from high levels of food insecurity and according to the World Food Programme, the national prevalence of acute malnutrition among children under 5 is 9 percent. Dengue, measles, avian influenza, HIV/AIDS, and tuberculosis (TB) all pose significant health threats in Burma, and it is in this area of communicable diseases where strengthening health infrastructure is most critical. Burma's rate of TB prevalence is three times higher than the global average and according to Médecins Sans Frontières, 85,000 people in Burma are in need of lifesaving anti-retroviral treatment for HIV/AIDS.

Yet as Secretary Campbell noted, the nascent changes underway have fostered a sense of hope among amongst the people. During my visit I had the opportunity to meet with ethnic and religious leaders, released political prisoners and Burmese civil society leaders. And while I agree with their assessment that the reality on the ground for the average citizen, particularly in the ethnic areas has not yet changed or improved as a result of the reforms, I was also struck by the hope, optimism and determination of the individuals and organizations with whom I met, to engage the government in support of reforms and reformers in order to realize a better future for their country.

USAID Mission

This is precisely the opportunity and challenge for the United States, and for USAID. Secretary Clinton's announcement authorizing USAID to re-establish its mission will enable USAID to have the staff and capability to partner with and support the Burmese people in this endeavor. By supporting reform efforts and strengthening nascent civil society organizations, we will build on our existing commitment to improve the welfare and well-being of the people in Burma.

Pursuant to the Secretary's announcement, USAID sent to this Committee Congressional Notification #38 informing of our intent to re-open the USAID mission later this year. We expect

to have a small mission within the U.S. Embassy with five to seven U.S. Direct Hire Foreign Service Officers and eight to ten locally-hired Foreign Service National staff. We anticipate that as program needs and resource implications are still to be determined, the exact make-up and size of the mission may shift. Mr. Chairman, our plan is to have a mission director in place by the fall of this year and to have the mission fully staffed by next summer. We are sending in a retired USAID Foreign Service Officer to serve as interim Mission Director.

Mr. Chairman, as CN #38 notes, the expected startup costs for the USAID mission in this fiscal year 2012 are approximately $600,000. The Fiscal Year 2013 budget request assumes an operating budget for Burma of $1.7 million. While we are still developing our final mission plan, and the overall operating budget may change, we plan to absorb the operating costs of the Burma mission from within the amounts requested in the President's budget request for USAID Operating Expenses.

The establishment of this mission will enable USAID to engage more with Burmese organizations and institutions to support political reforms, foster ethnic reconciliation, and strengthen the capacity of reform-minded individuals and institutions. It will enable greater oversight of our programs and stronger coordination with other donors, multilateral institutions and eventually the private sector.

Assistance Priorities

During my visit, I met with members of the Burmese government, civil society, including non-governmental organizations and bi- and multilateral donors to assess the political, economic and social changes occurring in Burma and the opportunities for our engagement. In addition, as Assistant Secretary Campbell noted, USAID took part in an interagency scoping mission to identify the impediments to change, and look at the ways in which the USG could best engage as we observe signs of change in Burma in the future.

While we have not yet completed the programmatic assessments of needs and priorities for US assistance in Burma, I would like to share with you our preliminary thoughts based on my visit and the scoping mission. We have identified four broad priorities, including the need to 1) support reforms by strengthening civil society, 2) build the capacity for institutional processes for good governance 3) support reconciliation and 4) ensure close coordination with the international donor community.

Furthermore, we see a need to continue humanitarian assistance to the refugee and displaced populations along the Thai-Burma border and to expand access and assistance to vulnerable populations in Kachin State and other ethnic areas.

Strengthening Civil Society

A broad and resilient civil society exists in Burma despite decades of repression. Most local civil society organizations are welfare and service-delivery focused, but there is a budding movement for advocacy around particular issues, such as transparency of government budgeting and decision making, inclusive policy dialogue, and promotion of human rights. The organizations are small and informal, with little management or financial structure – and they need training, mentoring, and strengthening of their technical capacity.

While the operating space for civil society at the national level has improved to a degree, most organizations are grassroots and operate in remote regions where change is harder to discern. Even at the national level, licensing and registration requirements, associated fees, and changing restrictions governing civil society, matched with an inefficient bureaucracy and severely limited communications, have made it difficult for most civil society groups to operate safely and legally. Additionally, very few local organizations have the capacity to partner directly with international donors. Yet a robust civil society is crucial for reforms to penetrate and take root at all levels of government and society. So USAID will prioritize engaging with and strengthening local civil society organizations.

Building the Capacity of Institutional Processes for Good Governance
Mr. Chairman, a consistent message we heard from both the executive and legislative government officials in Burma was their limited technical capacity and knowledge of bureaucratic procedures. This lack of technical capacity in government was also identified by civil society and human rights groups as a major roadblock to reform. For reforms to be truly irreversible, it will require transforming the culture and capacity of a large and entrenched bureaucracy. Some ministries are already aggressively tackling this challenge, while others are not. We believe engaging with the government in priority sectors such as health and agriculture, where there are reform-minded leaders, combined with support for local and international nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) is critical to addressing the alarming health and nutritional indicators in the country. Other priority areas of governance we hope to explore include parliamentary strengthening, electoral systems strengthening and support for the rule of law and an independent judiciary.

National Reconciliation
Ongoing ethnic divisions and armed conflicts continue to be a significant concern. While the government has been signing ceasefire agreements with many armed ethnic groups, these agreements, absent a more inclusive dialogue to address political grievances and development needs, will not lead to long-lasting peace. USAID, along with other donors, is exploring ways to support a reconciliation process. However, there are complex dynamics underlying the conflicts in many ethnic areas and the road to reconciliation will be long and arduous. In the meantime, we are committed to maintain our support for the Burmese populations, particularly the refugee and displaced communities on the Thai-Burma border. Ambassador Mitchell has led efforts to press other donors to maintain and expand their assistance to these populations as well. USAID continues to monitor closely the humanitarian situation in Burma, including access limitations and potential openings in Kachin and other border areas.

Donor Coordination
Because of the many development challenges in Burma - supporting reforms, engaging civil society, supporting good governance, and fostering ethnic reconciliation - we recognize the benefits of working in tandem with the other donors. The close relationships we have established with teams working on Burma issues at both the Australian Agency for International Development and the United Kingdom's Department for International Development will allow us to better coordinate our programs going forward. We are also looking at ways to engage Japan, and other Asian donors such as Thailand and Indonesia, as well as regional organizations

such as the Association of South East Asian Nations. We are keenly aware of the need to build sustainable aid mechanisms and local capacity in a way that maximizes efficiency and impact, while avoiding duplication and without overwhelming the government and local organizations.

Conclusion
Mr. Chairman, I believe this is a critical moment for laying the groundwork to address development needs in Burma that have long been unmet. The development trajectory in Burma will not be turned around overnight. But our investment, at this time, can help forestall greater human tragedies and will, in a sense, determine the steepness of the road ahead.

We are looking forward to increasing our engagement with the Burmese people. As these reforms gain momentum we look forward to the elections in 2015, which will be the true test of a transition to democracy. And we are mindful of the advice provided by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi when Ambassador Mitchell and I discussed plans for a USAID mission to ensure that our assistance builds upon the resiliency of the Burmese people.

USAID's core mission is to promote peace and stability by fostering economic growth, protecting human health, providing emergency humanitarian assistance, and enhancing democracy in developing countries. We undertake these efforts to improve the lives of millions of people worldwide because we believe it represents American values and advances our national interests. We are committed to supporting a peaceful transition in Burma that is consistent with our mission and in the mutual interest of the American people and the people of Burma.

I appreciate the vital role the Congress has played on Burma. USAID has consulted closely with this committee and other Congressional stakeholders and will continue to do so to ensure that our programs reflect Congressional intent.

I appreciate the opportunity to share with you our proposed points of engagement to address the challenges ahead in Burma. I am eager to hear your advice and counsel and welcome your questions.

Thank you.

Mr. MANZULLO. Thank you for your testimony. Let us talk about the sanctions, the sanctions that have been lifted and the sanctions that may be lifted, and what are the next steps on lifting those sanctions and include a timeline, and how to keep pressure on Burma if we look to sanctions.

Do you want to go first, Mr. Secretary?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Thank you very much, Congressman. I can give you a general answer to your very good question. Some of the particulars and specifics I would urge in another setting to talk with our colleagues in OFAC and Treasury that are responsible for the details.

I would simply say that there is no intention to "lift sanctions." I think in certain prescribed areas we will seek to ease sanctions by using executive authorities, but we would intend to do that in close consultation with key players on Capitol Hill including this body. I think our desire is to focus on those areas, and how we do this precisely obviously will be to maintain a clear criteria in terms of entities and individuals that are precluded from interactions because of prior associations. We will continue to enforce those prohibitions. We will update the list as necessary, and we will also work in areas that we think have the greatest potential to lift the lives of the people inside the country.

We recognize fully that to date the reforms to the extent that they have taken effect have been primarily in urban areas and in fact Burman areas, and that other ethnic areas in fact, have told us quite clearly that they see very little change on the ground. So we need to ensure that that process extends into the country as a whole. And we are troubled by very clear and, we believe, reliable reports of continuing attacks and atrocities that are completely antithetical to the overall effort that we are seeking to achieve inside the country.

I want to say that this will be a protracted process almost invariably because first of all, the complexities of the sanctions involved, the desire that we have to ensure that we do this in consultation with colleagues on Capitol Hill, and also to do this the right way. The real challenge, I think, going forward right now is the potential for a small country with very little infrastructure to be absolutely overwhelmed by outside engagement. And so we want to do this in a careful way.

We do believe that American firms have the appropriate kind of corporate governance and the right values to promote better and more responsible actions inside the country, and we will seek to do this in a manner that the kinds of sanctions easing that we have in mind will actually assist reforms rather than undermine them.

Mr. MANZULLO. Your response to that?

Ms. BISWAL. I think that Secretary Campbell covered the waterfront on this. I would note that one of the actions that we have taken more immediately is to ease the restrictions on nonprofit organizations so that they may engage more robustly in supporting the Burmese people.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I would say, and I am sorry. I apologize, Congressman, I didn't mention this. We have taken a couple of steps that we think are important. We are seeking to ease travel restrictions on certain officials. So we want to be able to invite key play-

ers inside the government like the Foreign Minister, the Health Minister was just here, to come to Washington for consultations to engage with us on areas where we think more work is necessary and where we can support them going forward.

Mr. MANZULLO. Thank you. Congressman Faleomavaega?

Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Perhaps we are dealing with semantics, Mr. Secretary, but I just wanted to make sure what we are, if we make reference to the colonial legacy of the British toward Myanmar, we call it Burma. But every country that I know among the ASEAN countries always make reference to this country as Myanmar and not Burma. What is the official designation by the administration? Are we going to call it Burma and remind the world community of its British colonial legacy or are we going to call it Myanmar? But what is the correct designation of this country?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Thank you, Congressman. You always have the questions that are based in the deep knowledge of the circumstances. It is the practice of the U.S. Government and one other government currently, to use the official term of Burma as the reference to the country. As you suggest, most countries in the world, ASEAN, Asia, many countries in Europe and almost all newspapers and other official sites use the term Myanmar. And indeed, even inside the country strong supporters of the NLD, when writing the country down use the term Myanmar as a whole.

I would simply say that is our policy, and we have had deliberations with key stakeholders inside the country and elsewhere, and I think it will be a subject of discussions going forward.

Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA. I recall Congressman Royce had raised the point that I wanted to ask you also, Mr. Secretary. The shift by the current administration or the Government of Myanmar toward these reforms like allowing Aung San Suu Kyi to participate in the election to bring about more democratic reforms. Of course a lot of pundits have also said that the current government kind of wants to play both sides, not necessarily in the pockets of the Chinese but try to also work with the Western, our side of the fence so to speak, or is it because it is just time to change?

My understanding historically is that the reason for the presence of the military is because you had five, seven or eight states that are constantly killing each other from its history. There was never a united Myanmar so to speak, and apparently the only party that really was able to finally put everybody together was the military. Please correct if I am wrong on this historical.

And I always say with fond memory, in the early '60s as a high school student I always remember the name U Thant as the former secretary general of the United Nations, coming from Myanmar. And then all of a sudden we just kind of not hear anymore about—but I really would appreciate for the record, historically why we ended up with the military taking control? It is my understanding that factions among the seven provinces for states, or eight or nine were constantly killing each other, a form of anarchy if you will, and correct me if I am wrong on this.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Thank you, Congressman. I probably would more closely associate myself with the reference that the chairman made. That this is a country with a long and tragic history. I also believe

that the true path to reconciliation will require ethnic reconciliation. That there have been important steps that have been taken in urban settings, but ultimately how power, how authority is dealt with in ethnic areas, how these long running, some of them over half a century, conflicts are resolved will be key to the country's future.

I have to say I do believe the government has attempted to take steps in a certain number of situations, ethnic situations to try to deal directly with the problems which are entrenched and long standing, and we have seen some progress. But there is also areas where we have seen continuing violence that is reprehensible and must be addressed going forward.

To your earlier question about why this leadership has decided to reach out and also take steps inside the country, and this refers back to the excellent point that Congressman Royce and Congressman Rohrabacher raised. And the truth is one can never know fundamentally what motivates a government or a people to do things. My sense is that it is often a complex number of reasons why formal or informal decisions are taken.

I will say this that it is well known and understood in Asia that 50 years ago, the richest, the most productive, the country with the most impressive potential future in Asia was Burma, and today it is probably, if not the most backward, among the most backward not just in Asia but globally. I believe that some of the leaders have had more experience traveling in ASEAN, traveling in Asia, and they have seen how far their government and their country has fallen behind. And I also am of a view that there are people inside the government, the current government that are people of courage and of goodwill that want to do what they can to support their people and their country.

And so I think a big motivation is an attempt to bring this country into the 21st century and to move away from a history that has been clouded by violence, repression and a lack of opportunity. And I think if the United States can help play a role along that path we will be historically over time, I think, rewarded.

Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA. I wish to just say in closing, Mr. Chairman, I am sorry, but I would also like to give credit to the members of the ASEAN association for having a lot of influence on the leaders of Myanmar to do what they are doing now. Thank you.

Mr. MANZULLO. Congressman Royce?

Mr. ROYCE. I think one of the realities though in terms of what we are talking about is the military government there. You have a government with 60 percent of the GDP ends up in the hands of the government, and Burma as we think about its history as we think about the education system there and how impressive that was. And now you have, what, 2 or 3 percent of the GDP going for education. You have literally had an implosion within the society of other, of anything related to civil society or private ownership or related to institutions like education in which what has happened in place of it is this enormous transfer of resources into one sector of the society which then can hand out franchises to the officer corps or whatever. But that in fact, is what has happened in the last few generations and the last generation.

So one of the questions I wanted to ask is given the small number of percentage of seats that were in play here, is this something that was done to placate the international community? Would circumstances really have been different if more was politically at stake in terms of a real presence there in the Parliament? Just to get your thoughts on that.

And then the other thing, Mr. Secretary, that I wanted to ask about, there are these talks about a third test in North Korea being imminent, and yet the President of Burma, Thein Sein, had this to say. He reiterated his support for Kim Jong-un in saying, "I am convinced that the friendship and close cooperation between Myanmar and DPRK will continue to develop." This is the type of message you get out of some pretty odd actors on the world stage who have been based in North Korea and it puts Burma in company, in league with some characters that don't exactly comply with international norms of behavior. And I was just going to ask you what else you could tell us about that relationship.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Thank you again, Congressman Royce. Just to your first observations about the plundering that has taken place inside the country. I would add just to point to what you said, which is it has not just enriched some of the cronies, but frankly we think some of the international deals that have been struck, frankly, have robbed Burma of its natural heritage. And we would like to see a set of internal checks and balances and frankly, supported by the international financial institutions and the multilateral development banks to ensure that the development that takes place going forward serves the interests of the people of the country, and we think that is an extraordinarily important dimension going forward. And by the way, we will only be able to effect that if we are more in the game. So I believe that is also one of the reasons why a certain careful, calibrated engagement is in our best interests.

I also suggest that I think that what will be critical in any sanctions easing will be to underscore publicly and in all our circumstances that those that have been associated particularly with past misdeeds will be prohibited from economic activities and other kinds of engagements financially and the like with the United States and our partners. And we worked very closely to ensure that these various steps are going to be adopted, we believe, among many of the countries in Europe and elsewhere that will go forward with engagement.

On your last point, I don't really have much to say beyond full agreement with what you said about North Korea. And I just want to say publicly what we have said privately, to China, to South Korea, to every country in Asia who has focused on their engagement strategy with Burma that a limiting factor in our engagement will be the future direction of their military relationship with the DPRK. And that if they continue to take steps that are antithetical to U.N. Security Council resolutions it will put a break on the kind of engagement that we seek between their two countries.

And I can't say it anymore directly that countries are judged by the company they keep. And so we fully agree, Congressman Royce, with your concerns in this regard.

Mr. ROYCE. Yes, if I could just end with one point, Mr. Chairman. Just shifting countries for a minute, I want to thank you for your good work, the progress we are making with an old ally with the Philippines. One area of concern though is the sale of public lands especially when Filipino Americans are hurt. And I had a chance to talk to you a little bit about this prior to the meeting, but I look forward to working with you on it and I thank you again, Mr. Secretary.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I would like to commit publicly that we will work with you on this issue and raise it with our Philippine colleagues and friends.

Mr. ROYCE. Thank you.

Mr. MANZULLO. Mr. Crowley?

Mr. CROWLEY. Thank you again, Mr. Chairman. There are a number of meetings that took place in the short period, the 2 days that I spent in Burma. In one meeting, I think, one of the most extraordinary women I have ever had the opportunity to meet is Aung San Suu Kyi. But also prior to that meeting, a meeting that I had with the families of prisoners of conscience, many of whom were released the day I was leaving Burma, and many of those families reunited.

I just would like to get a sense from you, something I just want to say about those families momentarily. The absence of revenge was palpable. It was so evident that these people, the deprivation they had been through, their families, the torture. Being in prison in Burma is probably one of the worst places in the world to be incarcerated, and yet the total absence of revenge that I sensed from these families and from the prisoners as well.

Do we have a sense of how many prisoners are still incarcerated in Burma who are prisoners of political conscience? And what is the administration doing to secure their release, and is the U.N. doing anything to secure their release with the soon-to-be visit by the Secretary General?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Thank you. I think I can address that question, Congressman. Can I just say, my own personal observation, I noted the same thing. And I have had a number of meetings with family members and those that have recently been released. I took away something else, which was just incredible. I have never met a group of people that had that strength of mind and appeared ready to play a role in as they returned to society.

And one of the things that I had asked Congress to look at perhaps working with USAID or some other institutions, it is very clear that it is challenging for some of these hundreds of people that are returning back into public life to find roles in society. Some have been outside of, behind bars or imprisoned for decades. And I think we need to do more to support these people to help them, and we have been working with private foundations and the like. But frankly, your attention to this, your support to this makes a huge difference. So what you could do to help along those lines would be terrific.

One of our efforts, we believe a very large percentage of the most high profile prisoners have been released, not all of them unconditionally, a point that we make in every single meeting with authorities that we seek those unconditional releases. We are begin-

ning a bilateral dialogue, a multilateral dialogue, and we have worked with the United Nations to have a sense of what number and what kind of prisoners of conscience remain in prison. I would hate to give you an exact number because I don't think we know, but we will not rest until we achieve a full and accountable release of all the political prisoners inside the country.

Mr. CROWLEY. Thank you, Ambassador. Ms. Biswal, just on terms of USAID and the conflict areas of the Kachin state as well as the northern Shan state, it is clearly a humanitarian crisis. There are over 75,000 displaced civilians and they are in desperate need of assistance and help.

What is USAID providing in terms of assistance to these refugees, and will USAID begin to address the life and death needs of the displaced Kachin as well?

Ms. BISWAL. Thank you very much, Mr. Crowley. And before I answer your question I just also wanted to note that I had the opportunity a few weeks ago to visit Burma and to meet both with Aung San Suu Kyi and with many of the '88 generation political prisoners who have been released. And it is remarkable that not only do we have an extraordinary leader in Daw Suu, but that there are so many extraordinary individuals that give cause for optimism for that country's future.

With respect to what we are doing and will continue to do, humanitarian needs inside Burma, along the borders, in the ethnic areas and such, we have provided over the years assistance through the Thai-Burma border consortium to refugees and displaced in that Thai-Burma border, we have been seeking to gain access into the Kachin areas for our assessment teams so that we can try to not only get a better handle on the humanitarian needs but also the institutions that may be able to partner with us in supporting and addressing some of those needs.

The Department of State's Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration did recently put forward assistance through the UNHCR specifically for Kachin, and UNHCR is right now also engaging in partnerships with some of the local institutions to try to get aid into the Kachin area. It has been difficult and we continue to press that in all of our conversations with the government, and we continue to meet very aggressively with the humanitarian community to see how we can expand access and assistance into that area.

Mr. MANZULLO. Thank you. Congressman Rohrabacher?

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Thank you very much. And thank you, Mr. Chairman, for letting me sit in today. I am not a member of this subcommittee although I have been active on many of the issues we have been talking about.

Let me just start with a couple housekeeping chores here in terms of wording. When I talk about engagement, I have always personally been engaged with the people and expect our Government to be engaged with the people of Burma and other repressed peoples. That is where engagement belongs. For example, we did not engage the Soviet Union by giving it most favored nation status, but we engaged with China and that provided most favored nation status, and where did that engagement get us? There has been no liberalization in China whatsoever. They are still the

world's worst human rights abuser. And in the Soviet Union, it has disappeared and they have gone through massive reform.

I also have sat through decades of the business community lobbying this Congress to try to get us to lift the economic sanctions when the repression was at its worst in Burma. And there was no reform, the business community wanted to make money. So surprise, surprise, businessmen don't care about human rights. They want to make money. Well, let us recognize that. An engagement with those businessmen making money has nothing to do with making it a freer society and, in fact, I argue just the opposite. We should not be having free trade with dictatorships. Free trade between free people is wonderful. Free trade with dictatorships strengthens the dictatorship.

Furthermore, I would like to respectfully disagree with my friend, Mr. Faleomavaega. The Burmese junta did not take over to stop killing and they did not have some benevolent native in mind. They have killed and murdered more people than the ethnic groups were killing each other. And yes, there was a great deal of conflict that went on in that country, but nowhere near the organized slaughter that has taken place by the Burmese dictatorship which was the worst in the world.

When they started calling Burma, Myanmar, was after 1988 when the junta assumed total control of that society after they reneged on agreeing with free elections. That is when the word Myanmar, so that they could hide the fact that people don't even know what they are, who is being criticized when you use the word Myanmar. Most of the people over there didn't even know what that meant. That is why the word has changed. And now that we are going toward reform, I think it is a good idea we start calling them Myanmar. Let us start rewarding them and let us start engaging with them and really engaging with them, but let us do so in a way that if they start going backwards that there is a price to pay.

I would suggest, and I know this is another outrageous Rohrabacher suggestion, let us give amnesty to all of them no matter what crimes they have committed against their people. Let us give amnesty and just say blanket amnesty everybody. But those people who continue to commit crimes after this lose that amnesty. That we will say, if you are going to start operating as we do in a decent society and a democratic, we are with you. We don't care what they say you did in the last 10 years. But if you start getting engaged again in slaughtering the people and the tribal groups out in the Kachins or the Kayins or whatever, that amnesty is going to be withdrawn. Let us make sure there is a penalty to go the wrong way and let us give them all the incentive to go the right way.

And again, I think we should be celebrating. This is a tremendous breakthrough. This is a victory for the honorable people and the idealists of Myanmar, and it is also I might add, it is a defeat for China and it should be taken that way. This is a major country that was being given to the Chinese. They were raping, the Chinese were raping the natural resources of that country in exchange for arming the junta that oppressed the people. They have broken away from that cycle. That is a magnificent achievement for humankind.

And maybe either of you would like to comment on that diatribe or whatever it was.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I think I will just reflect on it for awhile. Thank you.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. He doesn't want to engage with me.

Mr. CROWLEY. Mr. Chairman, can the gentleman move forward?

Mr. MANZULLO. Certainly.

Mr. CROWLEY. He should refrain from self-diagnosis. I don't think he is an M.D. or a doctor or a psychiatrist, so it is really——

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MANZULLO. Thank you for your testimony, Secretary Campbell and Administrator Biswal. We appreciate you coming here this afternoon. We can prepare for the second panel, thank you.

[Recess.]

Mr. MANZULLO. Okay, our second panel is former Congressman Tom Andrews from the great state of Maine. He is president and CEO of United to End Genocide. He most recently served as the national director of Win Without War, a coalition of 40 national organizations promoting a more progressive national security strategy that calls for prudent use of military engagement. He has worked toward democracy and human rights throughout the world. He has worked closely with the National Coalition of Government of the Union of Burma facilitating the creation of the European Burma Network, and served as general secretary of the Nobel Peace Laureate Campaign for Aung San Suu Kyi.

Tom was elected to the Maine House of Representatives in 1982, the Maine Senate in 1984, and the U.S. House of Representatives in 1990. He recently served as an observer in the elections in Burma. Glad to have you here, Congressman.

Our next witness is Mr. Aung Din, who served over 4 years behind bars as a political prisoner in Burma after organizing the country's nationwide pro-democracy uprising in 1988, as vice president of the All Burma Federation of Student Unions, the largest national student organization in Burma and outlawed by the regime. He also served as vice chair of Burma's Youth Liberation Front, and Cabinet Secretary of the Parallel Government, founded by former President U Nu during the peak of the 1988 pro-democracy uprising in September.

Amnesty International adopted Mr. Din as a prisoner of conscience in 1989, and its chapters worldwide campaigned for his release. In 2003, he co-founded the Washington, DC-based U.S. Campaign for Burma, an umbrella group of Burmese dissidents in exile and American activists.

Mr. Aung Din, good to see you here.

STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE TOM ANDREWS, PRESIDENT AND CEO, UNITED TO END GENOCIDE (FORMER MEMBER OF CONGRESS, D–ME)

Mr. ANDREWS. I want to thank you, Mr. Chairman, for having this hearing at this extraordinarily important time for Burma and this part of the world, and for inviting me to serve as a witness today. You are right, I did serve in this body. As a matter of fact, I was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives the same year that Aung San Suu Kyi and the National League for Democracy

won 92 percent of the seats in the Parliament. I went on to Congress, she went to prison.

And certainly there is a lot to celebrate in the fact that Aung San Suu Kyi has gone from a prison cell to house arrest to being elected to the Burmese Parliament. But reforms that President Thein Sein has announced should indeed be recognized, but we should also recognize that Burma, the progress that we have seen in Burma can easily be reversed and that we need to be prudent and clear-eyed because of the fact that a great deal in this country has not changed.

The United States and this subcommittee has played a key role in generating and sustaining the international pressure that has been instrumental in making this progress possible, but to abandon this leverage prematurely would be to jeopardize this positive movement and condemn those who suffer and continue to suffer in Burma to more of the same.

While the world was watching and celebrating Aung San Suu Kyi's election, I spent that day, election day in Burma, on the front lines of the brutality at the hands of this regime, Kachin state. A place the Burmese Government did not want me to see and does not want you to know about. A place where 75,000 men, women and children have been forced to flee their homes because of attacks by the Burmese military. I would like to share with you what I saw.

I visited the town of Laiza and Mai Ja Yang and the surrounding areas where despite President Thein Sein's assurances to the country in his speech on December 10th, Burmese troops, weapons and violence is, in fact, escalating. I spoke with dozens and dozens of people who were literally running for their lives having abandoned their homes and their villages. I heard stories of killing, forced disappearance and death from disease. The day after the election I asked an NGO worker in Kachin state, what was the news from Rangoon, and she said, frankly, I could care less. For the people of Kachin, the election and the declaration of reform by this government mean absolutely nothing.

On election day I stood just beyond the range of Burmese military mortar fire north of Laiza, a place that had been attacked as recently as the day before. We could see the Burmese troops positioned on a hill across the valley. They had recently more than tripled their troop presence. Hundreds of soldiers occupied the hill and valley below, reinforcements had filled in from behind. Between where I stood and these troops was literally a gold mine. Mining operations had been suspended because of the fighting.

As we were getting ready to leave a pickup truck came by with two elderly women in the back, Yi Ma Sa and Waw Ma Lay, told us they had just fled their village. The Burmese soldiers had destroyed their crops and shot their livestock. Fearing for their lives, they hid in the jungle the previous night, returned in the early morning hours to their village to grab what they could and now they were forced and were on their way to join tens of thousands already displaced.

We met La Hpay Nang Bauk who spoke to us with a toddler afoot and an infant on her back. Her photo I brought to show to the committee. Her husband, a Baptist minister, had attempted to

return to her village for supplies. He was captured by the Burmese military and had been missing for a month. She is now taking care of seven children while desperately trying to uncover news about her husband. Similar stories, Mr. Chairman, were all too common.

Others tell us about an elderly man who had been working in a rice paddy when then Burmese military came upon him and shot him, killed him. We heard about a nursing mother who had been stabbed and left to die in the jungle, her child forced to spend a cold night crying next to her body. We met a farmer who had been harvesting corn with his wife and father-in-law when Burmese soldiers entered their field, ordered them to carry their corn to a military encampment. They tried to escape the next morning. His wife was caught and he has not heard word about her since.

One of the most heartbreaking memories of my time in Kachin state happened 2 days after the election. I arrived in Bum Ring Zup camp in Mai Ja Yang. An 11-month-old baby, a little boy named Myu Jat Aung, had died the day before. I was invited to attend his funeral ceremony as an honored guest. He had reached the safety of the displaced persons camp after his family had escaped their village. But living in poor conditions with little access to medical treatment, a bout of diarrhea had become a death sentence. The family told us that we had been sent by God to see them so that the world would know.

The Burmese Army as you know, Mr. Chairman, has a long and brutal history of targeting ethnic minorities. They do it through direct violence, rape and killing but also indirectly by destroying crops, livestock and preventing international humanitarian access. The stories we heard while on the ground in Kachin state indicate a clear targeting of civilians that shows no sign whatsoever of abating. Despite multiple public announcements from President Thein Sein in December ordering the Army to cease offensive attacks in Kachin state, Mr. Chairman, precisely the opposite is occurring.

In reviewing U.S. policy toward Burma, I hope that this committee and our nation bears three basic things in mind. Number one, everything that the Burmese Government has done positively can be undone. The real questions about who is actually in control of the government and what real power the President might have must be asked. This was illustrated when the Burmese Army escalated its forces in Kachin state after President Thein Sein's announcement.

Secondly, lifting sanctions on the extractive resource sectors of this economy precisely in the areas that we visited could have very negative impacts on vulnerable populations if those living in ethnic minority areas are not protected. And finally, economic pressure has helped to push forward progress in Burma. Giving away rewards too quickly in exchange for too little, leave the United States and the international community without leverage.

For the people we met in Kachin state, trapped between hydroelectric projects, a new oil and natural gas pipeline, and situated along major trade routes to China, their economic advantages have become their misfortune.

Mr. Chairman, my written testimony outlines specifics that I believe the United States should be looking at and insisting upon before gradual, deliberate, reversible removal of sanctions would be

allowed to proceed. But first and foremost of those, we should be insisting that there be demonstrated progress and, in fact, an end to the gross violations of human rights including an end to attacks on civilians of all regions and meaningful access for international human rights monitors everywhere in this country.

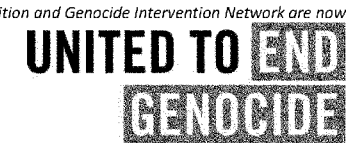
Much as we hope that the recent progress toward democracy in Burma will mark a turning point, nothing positive will last until the Burmese military stops committing atrocities and a civilian government exists that has the right and the capacity to hold it accountable, just the opposite is true.

Mr. Chairman, Congress should renew the Burmese Freedom and Democracy Act, and urge the administration to take a measured approach on incentives. It is imperative that the United States Government engage with the legitimate representatives of each ethnic nationality and support redress of their long-standing and unresolved concerns. And given the reality in Burma that I saw, the United States cannot forget our commitment to cross-border humanitarian assistance. The more than 0.5 million internally displaced people living in border areas depend on these aid networks for their very survival.

I understand the desire, Mr. Chairman, to declare Burma a success story. I have been working for two decades to celebrate that achievement. But success is not marked by removing sanctions. It is marked by lasting and meaningful change for the people of Burma who have endured endless suffering under a brutal military regime. We must choose our steps wisely. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Andrews follows:]

Save Darfur Coalition and Genocide Intervention Network are now



Testimony of the Hon. Thomas H. Andrews
President and CEO of United to End Genocide
House Committee on Foreign Affairs, Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific
"Oversight of U.S. Policy Toward Burma"
April 25, 2012

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Subcommittee,

Thank you for holding this hearing on U.S. policy toward Burma. I greatly appreciate the opportunity to testify before you. Burma is at a critical juncture and your oversight of U.S. policy toward Burma is needed now more than ever.

I have been working to support human rights and democracy in Burma for decades, stemming back to the days when I served in this body as the representative from Maine's 1st Congressional District. The very same year I was elected to the House of Representatives, Nobel laureate Aung San Suu Kyi led her party to an overwhelming electoral victory in Burma. I went to Congress. She went to prison.

Daw Suu's movement from a prison cell, to house arrest, to Parliamentarian-elect is truly remarkable. The reforms that President Thein Sein has ushered into Burma should, indeed, be recognized. But, our recognition of progress in Burma must be prudent and clear-eyed because the fact of the matter is, a great deal has not changed in Burma. The United States has played a key leadership role in generating and sustaining the international pressure that has been instrumental in making the changes that we are witnessing in Burma possible. To abandon this leverage prematurely would be to jeopardize the forward momentum that we have seen and to condemn those who continue to suffer in Burma to more of the same.

While the world was watching and celebrating Burma's relatively free and fair parliamentary by-elections on the first of April, attacks against ethnic nationalities continued unabated. I chose to spend election day on the front lines of this brutality, within Kachin State—a place the Burmese government did not want me to see and does not want you to know about.

Between March 31 and April 4, I was on the ground in Kachin State where 75,000 men, women and children have been forced to flee their homes because of the Burmese army's attacks. I visited the towns of Laiza and Mai Ja Yang where—despite President Thein Sein's orders to the contrary—the presence of Burmese troops, weapons and violence are escalating.

The Burmese army launched a military offensive on June 9, 2011 in Kachin State, breaking a 17-year ceasefire. I spoke with dozens of displaced villagers who were trying to flee the renewed conflict. I heard stories of killings, forced disappearances and death from disease because displaced populations have been largely cut off from international humanitarian access.

For the people of Kachin—and those living in the other ethnic national states—the April 1 election and declaration of reforms have meant nothing. The day after the election I asked a local NGO worker if she had heard any election news out of Rangoon. Her response: I could really care less about the election results. As long as there is war, elections are irrelevant to us.

On the day of the election, I stood just beyond the range of the Burmese army's mortar fire north of Laiza, a place that had been attacked the day before. We could see the Burmese army camp positioned on a hill across the valley. They had recently more than tripled their troop presence. Hundreds of soldiers occupied the hill and the valley floor below. Reinforcements were filling in from behind. Between where I stood and the location of the Burmese troops was a literal gold mine. Mining operations had been suspended due to the fighting.

As we were preparing to leave, a truck came speeding toward us with two older women in the back. Yi Ma Sa and Waw Ma Lay told us that they had just fled their village. The Burmese army had destroyed their livestock and crops. Fearing for their lives, the women hid in the jungle overnight, returning to their homes only once they were sure it was safe to grab what belongings they could carry. They would now be forced to join the tens of thousands already displaced.

In her parting words, Yi Ma Sa thanked us for coming. She said that she had prayed that the international community would learn about what was happening to the Kachin people and send help.

We met La Hpay Nang Bauk who spoke to us with a toddler afoot and an infant on her back. Her husband—a church minister—had attempted to return to their village to get supplies. He was captured by the Burmese army and had been missing for over a month. She's now taking care of their seven children while desperately trying to uncover news about her husband.

We met a farmer who had been harvesting corn with his wife and father-in-law when Burmese soldiers entered their field and ordered them to carry the harvest to a military encampment. They tried to escape the next morning. His wife was caught and he has had no word of her whereabouts—or safety—since.

Others told us about an elderly man who had been working in a rice paddy when the Burmese army shot and killed him. We heard about a nursing mother who had been stabbed and left to die in the jungle; her child forced to spend a cold night crying next to her body.

One of those most heartbreaking memories of my time in Kachin State happened two days after the election. I arrived at Bum Ring Zup camp in Mai Ja Yang. An 11-month-old baby—a little boy named Myu Jat Aung—had died the day before. I was invited to attend his funeral ceremony as an honored guest. He had reached the safety of the displaced persons camp after his family had fled the Burmese army. But, living in poor conditions with little access to medical treatment, a bout of diarrhea had become a death sentence. The family told us that we had been sent by God to see them, so the world would know about their loss. Stories similar to these are all too common.

The Burmese army has a long and brutal history of targeting ethnic minorities. They do it through direct violence—rape and killing—but also indirectly by destroying crops, livestock and preventing international humanitarian access. The stories we heard while on the ground in Kachin State indicate a clear targeting of civilians that shows no sign of abating.

Despite multiple public announcements from President Thein Sein in December 2011 ordering the army to cease offensive attacks in Kachin State, violence and troop escalation has continued. In the fourteen days following the election—between April 1 and 15—there were 64 attacks by the Burmese military in Kachin State according to the Burma Partnership. These attacks came as the international community was celebrating the election and moving forward with discussions of rewards for the Burmese government.

Certainly some progress has been made in Burma, but the fact remains that all of these changes can be easily reversed. Tragically for the people I visited, these changes have not mitigated their suffering in the slightest. In fact, things are getting worse in places like Kachin State. The United States should recognize progress and encourage reform in Burma but rewards and incentives must be measured, prudent, and reversible. In reviewing U.S. policy toward Burma, we must bear in mind three things:

1. Everything that the Burmese government has done can be easily undone. There are real questions about who is actually in control of the government. This was illustrated when the Burmese army escalated its troop presence in Kachin State immediately after President Thien Sein announced full withdrawal. The constitution itself enshrines power to the military, ensuring that no amendments can be made without its consent. According to analysts, final decisions on all government policies are made by the 11-member National Defense and Security Council—a seemingly paramount body that includes the commander-in-chief of the armed forces, the defense minister, and three other senior military officials.
2. The majority of Burmese business leaders, particularly in extractive industries, are members of the military, former members of the military, or cronies of the regime. Lifting sanctions on sectors of the economy—such as oil, gas, power and mining–will have minimal, if any, positive impacts on the people of Burma while advantaging those that have perpetrated or supported crimes against civilians.
3. Economic pressure has helped to push forward progress in Burma. Giving away rewards too quickly and in exchange for too little leaves the United States and international community without any leverage to ensure the resolution of outstanding issues, particularly the plight of ethnic nationals.

There is great economic interest in Burma. The same corporate forces that have fought against sanctions for years are now leading the effort to have them rescinded. For the people we met in Kachin State—trapped between hydropower projects, a new oil and natural gas pipeline, and situated along major trade routes to China—their economic advantages have become their misfortune. Rolling back sanctions prematurely is likely to further exacerbate conflict and human rights violations in the ethnic states while rewarding the very forces that are perpetrating crimes against civilians.

Recommendations for the U.S. Government

Given the ongoing violence and the dire humanitarian situation in ethnic areas, the U.S. government should opt for gradual removal of sanctions based on the Burmese government's progress regarding the following conditions:

- Demonstrated progress toward an end to gross violations of international human rights law and humanitarian law, including an end to attacks on civilians in all regions, and the provision of meaningful access for international human rights monitors;

- Entrance into meaningful collective nationwide negotiations that lead to a political settlement with ethnic minority groups; these should include negotiations over the grievances of ethnic nationalities including demands for constitutional decentralization/ federalism, power-sharing, a fair federal fiscal system, and the rights of individual minorities including religious, cultural, and linguistic rights;

- Implementation of constitutional changes that enable a civilian government to hold the military accountable, including reform of the judicial system to ensure independence and enabling the provision of legal mechanisms to hold perpetrators of human rights violations accountable;

- Drawing upon public participation and civil society input, establishing institutional reforms that will effectively hold perpetrators of human rights violations accountable for their crimes according to all relevant international legal standards;

- Allowing humanitarian access to people in areas of conflict; including unhindered access for humanitarian agencies;

- The unconditional release of all remaining political prisoners, and the repeal of laws that prohibit basic freedom including freedoms of assembly, speech, and press;

- Establishing the rule of law, including the creation of an independent judiciary with the proper training to fairly and transparently adjudicate cases;

- Ensuring the transparency of all revenues from taxation and the natural resources sector;

- Fully implementing ILO Commission of Inquiry directives to end forced labor; and

- Decreasing military spending while engaging in meaningful consultation with national stakeholders to develop an appropriate national budget, including sufficient expenditures on essential social services and other basic needs of the population.

Mr. Chairman, as much as we want to hope that the recent progress toward democracy in Burma will mark a turning point, nothing positive will last until the Burmese military stops committing atrocities and a political agreement is reached with the ethnic national states.

Congress can help by renewing the Burmese Freedom and Democracy Act and urging the Administration to take a measured approach on incentives. It is imperative that the United States government engage with the legitimate representatives of each ethnic nationality and support redress of their longstanding and unresolved concerns. Critically, even as progress moves forward, the United States cannot forget our commitment to cross-border humanitarian assistance. The more than half a million internally displaced people living in border areas depend on these aid networks for their survival.

I understand the desire to declare Burma a success story. I've been working on Burma for decades and want nothing more than to see true democratic transformation and an end to human right abuses. But, success isn't marked by removing sanctions—it's marked by lasting change for the people of Burma who have endured endless suffering under a brutal military regime. We must choose our next steps wisely. Let us reward genuine progress, but let us not condemn the people —particularly those living in ethnic minority states—to increased suffering under a long oppressive military regime that is suddenly freed of accountability and consequences for its behavior.

Mr. MANZULLO. Thank you.
Mr. Din?

STATEMENT OF MR. AUNG DIN, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR AND CO–FOUNDER, U.S. CAMPAIGN FOR BURMA

Mr. DIN. Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member and members of the subcommittees, I really appreciate that the committee hold hearing about Burma at a very good time. And I also want to just state my appreciation to the United States Congress for its consistent interest and support for the Burmese democracy movement. I already submitted my written testimony for the record and I will summarize my testimony here.

The historic by-elections in Burma were held on April 1st, 2012. And democracy leader Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and her party, the National League for Democracy, won 43 seats out of 44 they had contested. And now governments around the world are congratulating Aung San Suu Kyi for her landslide victory. But in my opinion, Burmese Government led by President Thein Sein is the real winner of the elections.

Winning of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and her party about 7 percent of seats in the Parliament will not constitute a major threat to the Burmese regime as they still hold 80 percent of seats in the Parliament and the military still has a veto power to kill any proposed legal change. However, what they have achieved from the by-elections is enormous. The international community recognized their political system as all party-inclusive and legitimate and many international leaders see them as true reformers.

The pressure and sanctions imposed by the United States, Australia, Canada and EU are being significantly lifted or suspended and the Japanese Government has announced that it will write off $3.7 billion debt and plans to resume development assistance. Engagement and appeasement will flourish further. More investment and more tourists will come in.

Furthermore, this election effectively eradicates the long-standing objective and expectation of Burma's democracy movement and ethnic nationalities. It is the realization of a meaningful and time-bound political dialogue between the military, democracy forces led by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, and ethnic representatives that would lead to the real democratization and sustainable national reconciliation. Daw Aung San Suu Kyi has moved herself into the military-controlled political system with expectation that she can work together with former and current generals to make the country democratic and prosperous, and especially to work for the rule of law, internal peace and amendment to the undemocratic 2008 Constitution. However, as we can see from the current stand-off between the regime and the NLD over the language of the Parliamentary oath, the magnitude and depth of obstacles she will face in the Parliament are extremely huge.

So this election victory is just the beginning of new challenges for Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. There is a risk of course that she may be condemned, confined and co-opted in the regime's political system without achieving anything. Or she may be able to crack the door wider and recruit more and more members of the USDP and the

military to join in the alliance of the agents of reform. There are so many uncertainties lying ahead.

Two days before the by-election when a journalist asked her how she would rate the current state of changes toward democracy in the country on a scale of one to ten, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi said, we are "on the way to 1." She knows clearly that there is still a long way to go. But the governments around the world including the United States, are now rushing to reward the regime with the excuse of encouraging the reformers.

I support the measures announced by Secretary Clinton on April 4th, 2012, except targeted easing of investment and the financial services. I believe such easing of major sanctions will only help cronies, the military and families of authorities as they have power, resources, connections and institutions to profit from such opportunities. That is why I would like to make the following recommendations and request for the Congress to balance the fast track action of the administration.

Number one, before the removal of any financial sanctions takes place, the SDN, Specially Designated Nationals list on Burma, managed by the Office of Foreign Assets Control, must be updated to include more cronies and hardliners. This list should be a must-check reference for U.S. companies that will do business in Burma.

And number two, the process of selecting targets to be eased for investment and financial services should take sufficient time and should be made through broader consultation with the human rights community in the United States and key stakeholders inside Burma, especially ethnic nationalities.

Number three, the implementation of targeted easing of bans on investment and financial service should wait until we see clearly how National League for Democracy and Daw Aung San Suu Kyi are treated by the USDP and the military in the Parliament and establishment of a nationwide ceasefire especially in Kachin state.

And number four, binding requirements or a compulsory framework for responsible business conduct should be imposed for any U.S. business that will invest in Burma.

And number five, United States must pressure the Burmese regime to allow former political prisoners to obtain passports so they can make trips abroad in response to the United States easing of visa restrictions on Burmese officials. And U.S. also must pressure the Burmese regime to allow members of the Burmese civil society to form and operate nonprofit organizations freely, in response to the U.S. granting permission to the U.S. organizations to work in nonprofit sectors in Burma.

And United States also must pressure the Burmese regime to release all remaining political prisoners unconditionally, lift all restrictions imposed upon all former political prisoners, and allow former political prisoners to go back to schools or resume their professions such as legal representation, teaching or medical practice, et cetera.

And United States now planning to establish official USAID office in Burma and support a UNDP country program, U.S. must pressure the regime to allow international organizations to have unhindered access to the areas affected by disaster or armed conflict.

And U.S. must remind and keep reminding to the Burmese regime that their full cooperation with Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and democratic MPs in the Parliament and achieving negotiated political settlement with ethnic nationalities through a meaningful political dialogue outside the Parliament are the sole factors to justify fully lifting of sanctions. And again United States Congress must renew import restrictions contained in Burmese Freedom and Democracy Act of 2003 for Burma. And thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Din follows:]

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U.S. House of Representatives
Committee on Foreign Affairs
Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific
Hearing on Burma: "Oversight of U.S. Policy Towards Burma"
April 25, 2015; 2:00 PM, Rayburn House Office Building Room 2200

Testimony of Aung Din
Executive Director, U.S. Campaign for Burma

Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member, and Members of the Subcommittee,

Thank you very much for holding this hearing today. I am grateful to be here to testify about the current situation in Burma, the country in Southeast Asia where I was born and raised. Before I start, on behalf of the people of Burma, I would like to take this opportunity to state my appreciation for the United States Congress's strong interest and consistent support for our struggle for democracy, human rights and national reconciliation.

The historic by-elections in Burma were held on April 1, 2012. Democracy leader Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and her party, the National League for Democracy (NLD), won 43 seats out the 44 they had contested. The ruling party, the Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP), won only one seat. Despite threats, violence, vote buying and other fraudulent acts made by the authorities, the people of Burma again courageously expressed their strong desire to be free from authoritarian rule by voting for the NLD, just as they did in the 1990 elections. The results of the NLD's 1990 landslide victory were nullified by the military junta.

The Burmese regime may believe that allowing Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and the NLD to hold nearly 7% of the seats in Parliament will not constitute a major threat to their hold on power, as USDP and the military still control 80% of the seats in Parliament and the military still has veto power to kill any proposed legal changes. Furthermore, for this concession, what they have achieved from the by-elections is enormous. The international community recognizes their political system as all party-inclusive and legitimate. Many international leaders see them as true reformers. The pressure and sanctions imposed by the United States, Australia, Canada and the European Union are being significantly eased or suspended. The Japanese government has

announced it will write off 3.7 billion dollars in debt and plans to resume development assistance. Engagement and appeasement will flourish further. More investment and more tourists, as well as more development assistance will flow in. The generals and their cronies who still control the country may be able to do shopping and send their children to schools in the United States and Europe soon. Actually, in my opinion, the Burmese government led by President U Thein Sein is the real winner of the by-elections.

Sadly, this election effectively eradicates the long standing objective and expectation of Burma's democracy forces and ethnic nationalities – the realization of a meaningful and time-bound political dialogue between the military, democracy forces led by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, and ethnic representatives that would lead to real democratization and sustainable national reconciliation. The NLD and Daw Aung San Suu Kyi are now entering into a new playing field with the determination to expand their political base in the Parliament and organize changes within the military controlled political system.

The NLD has promised that it will work on three major issues in the Parliament: (1) rule of law, (2) internal peace, and (3) amendments to the 2008 Constitution. Rule of law is of vital importance as unfair laws and decrees, designed to arrest and imprison anyone who holds different opinions are still in place. The judiciary system is still an instrument of the regime's oppressive rule. Corrupt judges run the courts without due process and make rulings as instructed by their superiors or in favor of those who pay them most. Law enforcement officials are brutal and dangerous, and arbitrary detention and torture are their only tools to get confessions they want from the accused.

Internal peace must also be a central concern. Current peace talks between ethnic armed groups and the regime will not lead to the permanent ending of civil war, without granting ethnic rights, such as a certain degree of autonomy, self-determination, proper sharing of revenue generated from natural resources located in ethnic areas which represents 60% of the country's total area, as well as a complete end to human rights violations in ethnic areas committed by the Burmese military. Even now, severe fighting between the Burmese army and ethnic armed groups are going on in Shan and Kachin States having forced hundreds of thousands of ethnic people to flee from their homes and villages.

Amending the undemocratic 2008 Constitution is the single most important issue. This constitution grants supreme power to the military's Commander-in-Chief, who can run the military as he deems fit. The military is independent from all administrative, legislative and judiciary authority; yet can also interfere in all branches of the government. It holds 25% of the seats in each parliament and three significant security ministries in the government, and ensures civilian judges have no jurisdiction over armed forces. Moreover, the Commander-in-Chief can assume all powers, dismiss the government and rule the country under the Martial Law in the name of a state of emergency. If Burma hopes to move toward a genuine democratic government, civilian oversight of the military and removal of the military's authority over the government are imperative.

All three major campaign issues promised by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi need constitutional amendments and additional changes to laws in order to be fulfilled. She will enter into the new

playing field with good faith that she can work with President U Thein Sein, Parliament Speakers U Shwe Mann and U Khin Aung Myint, and Military Commander-in-Chief General Min Aung Hlaing, to make the country prosperous and democratic. However General Min Aung Hlaing confirmed to his troops recently that the major task of the military is to protect the constitution, signaling that he will not allow any reduction in his power. Former Major General Htay Oo, who is the General Secretary of the USDP, also recently said that the Constitution is perfect and there is nothing to amend it, including the leading role of the military in politics.

The constitution was purposefully crafted to be difficult to amend. At least 20% of lawmakers have to submit the Bill to amend the Constitution to the Union Parliament, a Joint Session of the Lower and Upper Houses, and the amendment can only be approved by a vote of more than seventy-five percent of all the representatives of the Union Parliament. This effectively gives a veto power to the military with its 25% of seats in the Parliament. Even if all 75 percent of the elected representatives stand together for the amendment, they can't win if they can't get even one vote from the military bloc.

The by-election is just the beginning of new challenges for Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and the NLD. There is the risk, of course, that she may be contained, confined and co-opted in the regime's political system without achieving anything. Or, she may be able to crack the door wider and recruit more and more members of the USDP and the military to join in the alliance of the agents of reform. There are so many uncertainties lying ahead. The current stand-off between the ruling party and the NLD over the language of the Parliamentary oath has made the NLD and Daw Aung San Suu Kyi unable to attend parliament yet, which resumed on April 23rd. We can see from this stand point the magnitude and depth of obstacles that Daw Aung San Suu Kyi will face. But, governments around the world are rushing to reward the regime with the excuse of encouraging the reformers.

On April 4, 2012, just three days after the by-election, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton announced the U.S. response to the outcome of the by-elections: the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) will establish an official presence in Burma; restrictions imposed upon the UNDP will be lifted; and an U.S. Ambassador to Burma will be nominated. In addition, selected Burmese officials and parliamentarians will be invited to the United States, and private organizations from the U.S. will be allowed to operate in Burma in the non-profit sector. In addition two major financial sanctions, the bans on investment and financial services, will be eased for selected targets. These steps are undoubtedly being well received by the generals in Burma, who are still engaged in killing innocent civilians in ethnic areas and keeping hundreds of political prisoners behind bars and have not relinquished any of their power. The generous awards from the United States and the more generous awards from the European Union are a major victory for the Burmese regime, which holds the policy of "give little, cheat more, and gain much" to encourage the U.S. and EU policy of engagement.

To be sure, there have been significant changes in Burma over the past six months, but it would be a mistake to assume that they are irreversible or that all things are pointing in a positive direction. Responding to positive changes is one thing; racing to provide rewards may be regrettable.

I support the measures announced by Secretary Clinton, except the targeted easing of bans on investment and financial services. I strongly believe that this is too much and too fast. I asked my colleagues inside Burma, including NLD leaders, ethnic leaders, the 88 Generation Student leaders and some economists. They all said that they were not consulted by any U.S. officials and they do not think this is the time to ease these important sanctions. They are afraid that these measures will lead to another targeted easing or permanent lifting of import restrictions, which will have to be renewed by Congress before the end of July. They also believe such easing of sanctions will only help cronies and families of authorities as they have power, resources, connections, and institutions to profit from the easing of sanctions. We can see some economic reform on the surface. But, actual practice of doing business in Burma remains unchanged, totally controlled by the regime and its allied cronies.

In addition, the premature lifting of financial sanctions can greatly jeopardize the fragile peace negotiations currently underway between the regime's civilian authorities and ethnic nationality groups. The majority of Burma's ethnic nationalities populations believe the regime is engaging in these negotiations to win economic concessions from the ethnic armed groups. If the international community rewards the regime with economic gains, critical leverage is lost to ensure national political reconciliation and peace is achieved.

I agree that the U.S. should respond to the positive developments in Burma with positive measures. However, such responses by the U.S. should be carefully calibrated. Having over 40 seats in the Parliament through the by-election is just a start for Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. Two days before the by-elections, when a journalist asked her how she would rate the current state of changes towards democracy in Burma on a scale of one to ten, she said we are "on the way to 1." She knows clearly that there is still a long way to go.

I am sure she will aim to win the majority of seats in the general election in 2015. The sanctions we have are leverage for her, Burma's democracy movement, and ethnic nationalities, a kind of the money in the bank. We need to use it carefully, so it will last until we achieve major results. However, the Obama administration is now in the process of implementation of easing of major financial sanctions. That's why I would like to make the following recommendations and request Congress to balance the fast track action of the administration.

(1) Before the removal of any financial sanctions takes place, the SDN (Specially Designated Nationals) list on Burma, managed by Office of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC), MUST be updated to include more cronies and hardliners. It has been almost three years since the list has been updated. Many cronies, who are sanctioned by the EU and Australia, are still not included in the U.S. SDN list. This list should be a must-check reference for U.S. companies that will do business in Burma.
(2) The process of selecting targets to be eased for investment and financial services should take sufficient time and should be made through broader consultation with the human rights community in the United Stated and key stakeholders inside Burma, especially ethnic nationalities.
(3) The implementation of targeted easing of bans on investment and financial services should wait until we see clearly how NLD MPs and Daw Aung San Suu Kyi are treated by the USDP and the military in the Parliament and an end to attacks against the Kachin.

(4) Binding requirements or a compulsory framework for responsible business conduct should be imposed for any U.S. business that will invest in Burma. Elements from OECD Guidelines on Multinational Enterprises, Conflict Minerals Provision of the Dodd-Frank Act, the Tibet Policy Act, Foreign Corrupt Practices Act, can be drawn to create such framework.
(5) U.S. must pressure the Burmese regime to allow former political prisoners to obtain passports, so they can make trips abroad, in response to the U.S. easing of visa restrictions on Burmese officials.
(6) U.S. must pressure the Burmese regime to allow members of Burmese civil society to form and operate non-profit organizations freely, in response to the U.S. granting permission to U.S. organizations to support non-profit sectors in Burma.
(7) U.S. must pressure the Burmese regime to release all remaining political prisoners unconditionally, lift all restrictions imposed upon all former political prisoners, and allow former political prisoners to go back to schools or resume their professions in legal representation, medical practice, teaching, etc.
(8) As the U.S. plans to establish an official USAID presence in Burma and support the UNDP country program, the U.S. must pressure the regime to allow international organizations to have unhindered access to areas affected by natural disasters and armed conflict.
(9) U.S. must remind and keep reminding the Burmese regime that their full cooperation with Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and democratic MPs in the Parliament and achieving negotiated political settlement with ethnic nationalities through a meaningful political dialogue outside the Parliament are the sole factors to justify fully lifting of all sanctions.
(10) U.S. Congress must renew import restrictions from Burma.

Lastly, I would like to highlight the assumption of reformers vs. hardliners within the Burmese regime. Many international players believe that they have to encourage so-called reformers by lifting sanctions and pressure, and so reformers will be encouraged and hardliners will be undermined. There is a possibility that the positive responses being made by the international community may become irreversible while the changes in the country are not irreversible yet. This is a very tricky issue. Encouraging the so-call reformers in the regime should not undermine democracy activists, ethnic nationalities, and human rights defenders, the true agents of change in Burma.

Thank You.

Aung Din
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Mr. MANZULLO. Congressman Faleomavaega?

Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I want to thank our colleague, Congressman Andrews, for taking the time to come and testify before our subcommittee. And I certainly want to commend you, Tom, for all the work that you have done in the areas of human rights, and especially dealing with, I don't know whether to call it Burma or Myanmar, and I am getting a little mixed up myself here now.

Tom, with all that you have said, it sounds like the only reason why we are giving this step now toward allowing or working, having a better, closer relationship with Myanmar is because of Aung San Suu Kyi's elections. I mean with all the atrocities and the things that you have said, it seems like lifting the sanctions cannot be justified with what you have just shared with us.

So am I catching the wrong wind here? Because not only that, we said oh, let us be cautious. It sounds like let us not even do it. If we are going to really honor the meaning and why we put sanctions against countries that commit military coups, then I have another series of concerns about this whole thing about sanctions where we have given the President the authority to waive the sanctions. And a costly example of this is Pakistan. For 8 years a military coup takes place and because of the nuclear issues, oh no, we have got to deal with Masharif in a very different way despite all the problems that we have dealt with.

But I am concerned that what you are sharing with us is that it seems like Myanmar really has not changed at all when it comes to atrocities and the kind of killings that continue to go on in Myanmar. Can you shed some light on this? Am I wrong on what I am hearing from you?

Mr. ANDREWS Congressman, you are not wrong. I think certainly from my experience at Kachin state as I mentioned in my testimony, they have no idea what anyone is talking about when it comes to reform and that things are going to get better. And as they see the escalation of troops and weaponry and violence, they have every reason to feel that way.

I think that what is important is number one, that we do recognize the progress that has been made in Burma. I have met with Aung San Suu Kyi long before she was allowed to run for office. I have spent time in Burma at the time when the NLD was just barely able to exist at all.

Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA. I am not taking anything away from the tremendous sacrifice and demonstration of her leadership and what she has done, I am talking about Aung San Suu Kyi. But it seems that our whole international media and everything in this statement is focused, it is just Aung San Suu Kyi, but beyond that you are telling us it really hasn't changed that much. We know that winning 44 out of 45 seats is an achievement in that direction but we are only talking about one-sixth of the entire parliamentary system that they have.

And so who are we really kidding, other than to commend Aung San Suu Kyi for the sacrifices for what, 10, 15 years now that she has been under house arrest? I get the impression that we seem to be having a double standard here. If we were really serious about sanctions then let us do it. But the way we are saying well,

let us do it halfway like giving a half of a loaf of bread or a third of a bread or whatever, I am not getting a straight answer in terms of, even from Secretary Campbell and all the administration's efforts that have been made. Now we are having diplomatic relations, but in the midst of what you just shared with us it hasn't changed that much. So who are we really kidding?

Mr. ANDREWS. Well, that is right, Mr. Chairman. Her party, the NLD, ran the table on April 1st, on election day. She won 6.5 percent of the vote, but the military by Constitution is guaranteed 25 percent of the seats in that Parliament and they are guaranteed a veto over any changes the Parliament may want to make to that Constitution. So in that respect nothing has changed. And certainly respective of the people like we are talking about today in Kachin state, nothing has changed. So sanctions, I believe, need to remain in place and that only when clear progress is demonstrated should we incrementally and very, very prudently begin to make reversible changes.

Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA. I had about 100 other questions I wanted to ask, Mr. Chairman, but I am going to forego. Thank you, Tom and Mr. Din. I am sorry I don't have the time to ask questions. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. DIN. Thank you, Congressman.

Mr. MANZULLO. I find it interesting that the NLD party only came into obtaining those seats which were previously held by the ruling party because the members of the ruling party left the government and the seats became available. I share Mr. Faleomavaega's concern as to what really has happened here? I mean at most, 7 percent of the seats were picked up and they have not even been sworn in. There is a huge dispute over the oath. Anybody want to comment on the oath? I think it is important.

Mr. DIN. First, I would like to respond something about our immediate concern. You are right, Mr. Chair. The international policymakers, the international media, there has been much attention on Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, but there has not been much attention on very big immediate issue in the country about what is happening among ethnic nationalities. But their plight is almost forgotten.

So when international policymakers tried to make a policy, they only listened to Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and they didn't try to reach out to other leaderships. That is why when they made the decision and when they do the implementation, something is missing.

Then you will see the story in the news media, victory of Aung San Suu Kyi, actually she only won 43 seats which is 6.5 percent of the total Parliamentarian seats. She couldn't make any difference without convincing the military and the USDP party to join with her. But apparently USDP said oh no, there is no way to change the Constitution. And then military said oh, our duty is to protect the Constitution.

Mr. MANZULLO. So let me ask you both this question. It took but 4 days for a huge amount of sanctions to be lifted, and I refer to the testimony on, to your testimony, Mr. Din.

Mr. DIN. Yes, that is correct, sir.

Mr. MANZULLO. I think on Page 3, the USAID mission will establish an official presence in Burma, restrictions imposed upon the UNDP will be lifted, a U.S. Ambassador to Burma will be nominated, selected Burmese officials and parliamentarians will be invited to the U.S., private organizations in the U.S. will be allowed to operate in Burma, and two major financial sanctions, bans on investment and financial services will be eased for selected targets. This is an extraordinary amount of sanctions to be lifted in only 4 days.

Mr. DIN. Yes, correct.

Mr. MANZULLO. What is going on here?

Mr. DIN. They are going too fast. We look at the measures announced, and we have done too much. They are too fast because they made the announcement only after the 3 days of the by-election. Now we have done too much because instead of beginning a process of selection of targets to ease investment banking, financial services which we consider major sanctions. So while we look at it as the situation on the ground, and winning 6.5 percent of seats in Parliament.

Mr. MANZULLO. But what about, and Congressman Andrews, maybe you can answer this in addition to Mr. Din, what about the ability of Americans and others to travel freely in Burma and to go wherever they want and observe whatever they want?

Mr. DIN. Well, some of them are granted visas, some of them are not. Even many of those, their visas was denied so they have to come to the State Department to get the United States stamps. And not only American travelers but also the Burmese people. Sometimes they are allowed to visit, sometimes they are not allowed to visit. Even if they are allowed to visit the country they have to sign a paper that they will not get involved in the political situation and something like that.

Mr. MANZULLO. Well, I am talking about the lifting of these restrictions. Do you think that will include the ability to have more people on the ground and the ability to make personal "inspections," for lack of a better word?

Mr. DIN. Well, some of this I agree that, okay, U.S. are now going to allow the U.S. organizations to do the nonprofits, et cetera, in Burma.

Mr. MANZULLO. The NGOs, okay.

Mr. DIN. No, this is a kind of encouragement for our civil society in each of the country. I believe that we need to build a strong and active civil society in Burma. The United State organization go into the country and have that do in the nonprofit centers, especially in education, health care and social affair. That would be grateful. This is a good thing, I think. We support it.

Mr. MANZULLO. Mr. Crowley?

Mr. CROWLEY. Well, first of all, Congressman, I think if I sprinkled a little cold water on the first panel, you are like an iceberg coming in, an entire ocean. And I really don't disagree per se, in terms of the two tracks that are going on here. They have this diplomatic track that they are moving forward on to kind of show the world that they are changing, and at the same time it is similar to what the President said in his speech that things are going to change in this region. No longer will the state be attacking, they

will only respond if attacked and we know that they are actually taking their own steps to attack the people of the Kachin region.

And I think in terms of my observation that from a diplomatic point of view with even on the other track, which is the diplomatic end or the public relations end, that their move needs to be responded in a measured way. And I would even suggest that diplomatic relations was a measured way. The release of almost 1,000 prisoners and other good things that were happening, which really doesn't materialize beyond, the charge d'affaires we have there will now be called an ambassador. So we kind of all know what the reality is.

I also think, in talking before about the hyperbole that has been out there about the great changes within Burma, and much of it has been driven by almost international competition, like Secretary Clinton was there and it was unexpected that trip would take place, and the visuals with Aung San Suu Kyi. And by the way I think Aung San Suu Kyi was the first person to say, it is not about me, and there is too much attention to what is happening here. And I hope and I believe that when she is in a position whether in Norway or in Great Britain or eventually when she comes here to the Capitol to talk about, I think, much of what both of you have mentioned today.

But I do think that whatever that movement is from our end has to be measured and one in which we don't lift, and I think it really is pressure because of what Britain says or what the Prime Minister there says or what happens with the French or the Germans and who else says in terms of their own interest in wanting to get into Burma before anyone else. And it makes me a little concerned about the focus and attention on the competition between the United States and China in terms of what the fallout or the benefits of the relationship or the improved relationship will be.

But real quickly, I have just a couple seconds or a few minutes left. In terms of the response, the measured response. What do you think a measured response should be in terms of sanctions? And what do you expect to see change in terms of between now and the time in 2014 when Burma is scheduled to chair the ASEAN conference? And we know the Secretary General of the U.N. is heading to Burma next week. What type of message should he deliver to the junta as well as to the world about Burma?

Mr. ANDREWS. Well, thank you, Congressman. I have been described as many, many things but never an iceberg. But I appreciate that because frankly I think that we need to have a balanced view of the reality in Burma, and the people of this country and certainly Members of Congress who I have spoken with, have not received a balanced view of what is going on in Burma. So that is the purpose for this iceberg.

And secondly, it was because of the leadership of the United States of America, leadership of both parties, that we were able to exercise the kind of pressure and leverage that has led to these challenges. I was on the front lines of the battles in Europe to try to get the European Union to follow the United States in creating the kind of economic leverage that ultimately they did which ultimately paid dividends. So it doesn't surprise me that because of great economic and corporate pressure places like the European

Union are falling aside very quickly. But again we need U.S. leadership.

Finally I would say, measured and prudent, we have both provided you and the committee with some very specific steps that we would recommend that you urge the administration to take and that Congress take that is simply based upon maintaining the sanctions regime that we have in place, of course recognize that having an ambassador there is a good step. Having USAID go in and assess what needs to be done, providing the means by which health care and education and other NGOs that provide these services can begin to engage. All of those are positive steps that recognize the progress that has been made.

But in terms of sanctions, the real bite, I would say let us keep them but let us remove them incrementally step by step in reaction to specific, concrete, tangible progress and do it with measured and reversible lifting of sanctions.

Mr. MANZULLO. Mr. Sherman?

Mr. SHERMAN. I am still trying to figure out why the military regime in Burma has taken the steps that it has. Certainly more sanctions efforts were part of it. But they always had an open door to Beijing. What is it that they desperately need from the West that they were unable to get from China?

Mr. DIN. If you ask such a question to many other peoples I believe you will have a lot of different answers. So for me——

Mr. SHERMAN. So I shouldn't feel bad about being confused about the matter. Go ahead.

Mr. DIN. Yes, for me I would like to recall the history. General Ne Win took over power in 1962, so when military took over power he set up a political party called Burma Socialist Programme Party. He knew that he could not run the country and with a military government so he set up a political party and then he draw the Constitution which granted the, which is a single-party dictatorship.

So he took more than 12 years to finish that Constitution, and in 1973 this one-party system conditions were approved, and then 1974 he hold the first one-party system election, and then let his party, Burma Socialist Programme Party became the ruling party because there is only one party. So my point is that——

Mr. SHERMAN. Perhaps you going back to 1962 may be a little bit more of an answer.

Mr. DIN. No, that is why, I mean, their system, they built the political platform for them, so they hold the power. Once they finish the political platform, they allow the people, they ask the opposition members to join in their political system by offering incentives or general amnesty or something like that. So when people choose to join in their political system, they would be awarded and they would quote it as kind of the position here.

Mr. SHERMAN. I also want to hear from Tom on this. What do they hope to get from the West that they couldn't get from China?

Mr. ANDREWS. Well, Mr. Chairman, I agree with Aung Din that there are many responses to this, and reading the tea leaves of this regime is a very difficult thing to do. But I think in a word, pressure, the sustained pressure by the United States and the West made this possible to the limitation——

Mr. SHERMAN. What were the pressure points? What did they say, oh, this sanction is hurting us. We can't buy this from the United States. We can't get this technical expertise from Europe. What was it that they couldn't get from China that they hoped to get from us?

Mr. ANDREWS. There is great limitations they discovered to being totally dependent as they were on China, both in terms of market, both in terms of the kinds of conditions that those investments being made on the country meant in terms of taking natural resources and extracting them and putting them into China. In terms of the popular view of what was happening to Burma at the hands of the Chinese, I mean there are many, many——

Mr. SHERMAN. So China had the capital, the technology and the markets that Burma would need, but being dependent upon China has some disadvantages.

Mr. ANDREWS. Distinct disadvantages to the Government and to the people of Burma, whereas engagement with the rest of the world had significant advantages which they now want to cease.

Mr. SHERMAN. And as long as they have a relationship with China they can play one side off of on the other, give us some of what they want, give the Chinese some of what they want. I am a bit confused as to why we would have sanctions, which hurt our economy as well as Burma, and at the same time provide development aid to Burma, I realize very small. We allo, we give about $38 million a year to Burma. If the purpose of our sanctions is to hurt the Burmese economy as well as individuals in ruling leadership, why is that consistent with the $38 million of aid?

Mr. ANDREWS. Well, Congressman, let me tell you. When I asked Aung San Suu Kyi and others in the NLD about economic pressure on the regime and its impact on the people, that development aid, support, it was explained to me that the real bite of the sanction is not on people on the grassroots level that basically surviving on a very localized economy. It is on those at the very top, particularly in the extractive industries, that have been the worst violators of human rights. And the economic pressure on the regime and the military that controls so much more of the economy particularly in this area of the economy, would have some real and significant bite without impacting those on the very bottom of this localized economy.

There is desperate poverty in this area as a result of many, many factors. And that is why I said in my testimony that certainly those who are on the border areas need to have significant and sustained continued support just as a matter of survival. But cutting off——

Mr. SHERMAN. Their money is fungible and that if we provide $38 million of aid to the poorest people in Burma, the ruling group can then take $38 million they otherwise would have spent and not spend it. You seem to be talking about a situation where it is not that quite simple. And in the absence of our aid the ruling elites would not be dipping into their own funds and spending money on the same projects?

Mr. ANDREWS. I think it is extremely important for any aid package that goes to Burma, and this is certainly true in the past, it is certainly true now, should be very, very clearly directed that it goes directly to the people and the services that are needed. And

that certainly is not the Government of Burma that will then as you say use it in a fungible way to support things that we just simply cannot tolerate.

Mr. SHERMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MANZULLO. Well, I thank both of you. Mr. Din, this is the second time you have appeared before the subcommittee.

Mr. DIN. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MANZULLO. And Tom, thank you for a firsthand report of seeing different things. We are obviously very interested in Burma, and so is China. And I find it quite remarkable that the number of restrictions to be lifted before Aung San Suu Kyi and her party are actually sworn in and become members of the Parliament. I just find that quite perplexing that issue as to, and it is a very important issue with regard to the oath, considering the Constitution should have been resolved with pressure from Washington.

I like to have one panel, but unfortunately the State Department does not like to do that. It is not at the request of the witnesses but that is their protocol. The reason for the one panel is that I like to have the interaction, because we have heard two quite distinct and different stories here as to exactly what is going on. And I am not being critical of anybody here, it is just a matter of the ability to observe firsthand.

Congressman Andrews, what you shared with us simply was not available to the prior two witnesses, but it all goes together to make for the big picture. The testimony of both of you is regarded very highly by the people at the State Department and I would encourage both of you to continue what you are doing; to continue speaking out, especially with regard to the lifting of the next sanctions because the ultimate step will be the economic sanctions.

So thank you all for coming, and this subcommittee is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 4:18 p.m., the subcommittee was adjourned.]

APPENDIX

Material Submitted for the Hearing Record

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

SUBCOMMITTEE ON ASIA AND THE PACIFIC
Donald A. Manzullo (R-IL), Chairman

April 18, 2012

You are respectfully requested to attend an OPEN hearing of the Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific, to be held in **Room 2200 of the Rayburn House Office Building (and available live via the Committee website at http://www.hcfa.house.gov)**:

DATE: Wednesday, April 25, 2012

TIME: 2:30 p.m.

SUBJECT: Oversight of U.S. Policy Toward Burma

WITNESSES:

Panel I
The Honorable Kurt Campbell
Assistant Secretary
Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs
Department of State

The Honorable Nisha Biswal
Assistant Administrator for Asia
United States Agency for International Development (USAID)

Panel II
Mr. Aung Din
Executive Director and Co-Founder
U.S. Campaign for Burma

The Honorable Tom Andrews
President and CEO
United to End Genocide
(Former Member of Congress, D-ME)

By Direction of the Chairman

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

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

MINUTES OF SUBCOMMITTEE ON *Asia and the Pacific* HEARING

Day *Wednesday* **Date** *April 25, 2012* **Room** *Rayburn 2200*

Starting Time *2:34 p.m.* **Ending Time** *4:19 p.m.*

Recesses [0] (____ to ____) (____ to ____) (____ to ____) (____ to ____) (____ to ____) (____ to ____)

Presiding Member(s)

Chairman Donald Manzullo

Check all of the following that apply:

Open Session [✓]
Executive (closed) Session [ ]
Televised [ ]

Electronically Recorded (taped) [✓]
Stenographic Record [✓]

TITLE OF HEARING:

"Oversight of U.S. Policy Towards Burma"

SUBCOMMITTEE MEMBERS PRESENT:

Congressman Edward Royce, Congressman Brad Sherman

NON-SUBCOMMITTEE MEMBERS PRESENT: *(Mark with an * if they are not members of full committee.)*

*Congressman Dana Rohrabacher, Congressman Joe Crowley**

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

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

1. Chairman Manzullo - Opening Statement
2. Ranking Member Faleomavaega - Statement for the record
3. Prepared testimony of the Assistant Secretary Kurt Campbell, Administrator Nisha Biswal, Mr. Aung Din, and the Honorable Tom Andrews

TIME SCHEDULED TO RECONVENE _____
or
TIME ADJOURNED *4:19p.m.*

Subcommittee Staff Director