

ENGAGEMENT WITH BURMA AND  
THE 2010 ELECTIONS

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I rise today on the floor of the Senate to discuss events involving the troubled country of Burma.

Earlier this year, I encouraged Secretary of State Clinton to make Burma a priority and to see how the United States could better achieve its policy objectives toward the regime. Several weeks ago, the administration unveiled its review of existing Burma policy. The result is that the administration has undertaken a diplomatic effort with the State Peace and Development Council, SPDC, in pursuit of the fundamental U.S. goals of peace, democracy and reconciliation in Burma.

Let me say that I wish the administration well with its diplomatic efforts. I am hopeful this policy will meet with some success. In addition, I believe that this interaction should not be limited to talks merely with the SPDC but should also include discussions with the National League for Democracy, NLD, and representatives from Burma's ethnic minorities. That said, I am not sanguine about the prospects for engagement with the regime. The military junta has shown no inclination whatsoever to compromise on any issue that might jeopardize the regime's hold on power. According to news reports, in July of this year, just weeks before the unveiling of the new Burma policy, the State Department at the highest levels offered to drop the U.S. investment ban against Burma if the regime released Aung San Suu Kyi. This was a major test of how the regime would respond to diplomatic engagement, providing a golden opportunity for the SPDC to demonstrate that it had indeed changed its spots. Instead of accepting this offer and freeing Suu Kyi, the regime promptly sentenced her to an additional 18 months of imprisonment. That does not augur well for diplomatic engagement.

As part of its new strategy, the administration indicated that, while it will place a high priority on diplomatic engagement, it will maintain the economic sanctions in place against the regime. It seems to me that, as matters now stand, there are three significant tests of whether or not the junta's relationship with the United States has improved to the degree that we should even consider moving away from a policy of sanctions: No. 1, the release of all political prisoners, including Suu Kyi; No. 2, the free and fair conduct of the 2010 elections; and No. 3, Burma's compliance with its international obligations to end any prohibited military or proliferation related cooperation with North Korea. Short of tangible and concrete progress in these areas, the removal of sanctions seems to make little sense. It is after all the most significant leverage our government has over the SPDC. Sanctions make clear that the military junta has not achieved legitimacy in the eyes of the West.

It is that search for international legitimacy that has apparently driven the SPDC to hold elections next year. But the 2010 elections are fraught with problems. As a preliminary matter, for these elections to be meaningful, the new "constitution" should be amended to provide for truly open electoral competition and democratic governance. As it stands now under the junta's charter, if Suu Kyi's party the NLD won 100 percent of the contestable parliamentary seats in next year's election it would still not control the key government ministries: Defence and Home Affairs. No matter what they will remain firmly under military control. Moreover, the NLD cannot amend the constitution to improve the charter because the military is guaranteed a quarter of the parliament's seats. That means the junta can block any constitutional change. Finally, Suu Kyi may not even hold a position in the government; she is excluded from office by the charter. I would say to my Senate colleagues, this is hardly a prescription for democratic governance.

But putting the flaws in the constitution to one side, there would need to be a profound change in the political environment in Burma for next year's elections to be meaningful. For example, candidates would need to be permitted to freely speak, assemble, and organize. So far as I can tell, none of that has occurred. There would also need to be international election monitors allowed in the country well in advance of election day. This was not permitted during the 2008 "referendum." Simply holding an election is not enough; the elections must pass muster.

With respect to next year's balloting, the NLD, the clear winner of the 1990 elections which the regime abrogated, faces a Hobson's choice. It can either participate in the elections which are almost certain to be unfair and thereby legitimize the flawed constitution or boycott the elections and be treated as a member of an unlawful organization. Participation means casting aside its 1990 victory; nonparticipation means becoming outlaws. I am likely to support the NLD in whatever decision the party makes in this regard though I am not blind to the profound dilemma it faces.

I would just close by paying special tribute to Aung San Suu Kyi. Her grace and courage are an inspiration not only to the people of Burma but to us all. Her imprisonment is a reminder of the paramount importance of the need for freedom and justice in her homeland. I want her to know that I stand with her in her efforts to bring freedom and reconciliation to the people of Burma.

ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS

TRIBUTE TO DR. PAIGE BAKER

• Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. President, today I pay tribute to Dr. Paige Baker, super-

intendent of Badlands National Park. Dr. Baker is retiring from the National Park Service at the end of this year, and his leadership at the park will be greatly missed. I have enjoyed working with Dr. Baker in his capacity as superintendent and want to take this opportunity to recognize his dedication to public service.

Dr. Baker grew up on the Fort Berthold Indian Reservation in western North Dakota. Education has been a strong theme throughout his life, and his commitment to educating others is evident in his work at the Badlands. He attended college at the University of Mary in Bismarck and went on to earn both his master's and doctorate in education administration at Pennsylvania State University. Prior to joining the National Park Service, he worked at several universities and for the Bureau of Indian Affairs. In 2004, he became superintendent of the Casa Grande Ruins National Monument in Arizona. In late 2005, Dr. Baker came to southwestern South Dakota to serve as superintendent of the Badlands National Park. The Baker family has been kind to the National Park Service and South Dakota; his brother Gerard Baker serves as superintendent of Mount Rushmore National Memorial.

At the Badlands, Dr. Baker has overseen the management of a unique and treasured landscape visited by more than a million people each year. Badlands National Park encompasses 244,000 acres of some of the most spectacular scenery in the world. The Badlands formations contain rich geology and paleontological resources, and the mixed-grass prairie within the park offers visitors from around the world the chance to view bison, bighorn sheep, and other wildlife. Dr. Baker's charismatic and respected leadership has no doubt had a positive impact on the experience of each visitor to the park.

The Badlands also have strong historical and spiritual significance to the Lakota people. Dr. Baker has expanded visitors' understanding of the Badlands through interpretation programs that recognize the cultural significance of the area. Among his most significant contributions, Dr. Baker has helped to improve relationships with tribes and bridge cultural divides. He has brought Native and non-Native students to the Badlands to learn from one another and find common ground. He has also fostered greater communication with tribes, particularly with regard to the South Unit of the Badlands that is currently comanaged with the Oglala Sioux Tribe. Dr. Baker has brought a level of understanding and respect to these multi-faceted issues that deserves recognition.

In closing, I thank Dr. Baker for his service at Badlands National Park and wish him all the best in his retirement. Dr. Baker's work at the Badlands will leave a lasting legacy, and I congratulate him on his accomplishments. •