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Remarks by President Barack Obama at Town Hall Meeting with Future Chinese Leaders

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PRESIDENT OBAMA: Good afternoon. It is a great honor for me to be here in Shanghai, and to have this opportunity to speak with all of you. I'd like to thank Fudan University's President Yang for his hospitality and his gracious welcome. I'd also like to thank our outstanding Ambassador, Jon Huntsman, who exemplifies the deep ties and respect between our nations. I don't know what he said, but I hope it was good. (Laughter.)

What I'd like to do is to make some opening comments, and then what I'm really looking forward to doing is taking questions, not only from students who are in the audience, but also we've received questions online, which will be asked by some of the students who are here in the audience, as well as by Ambassador Huntsman.

And I am very sorry that my Chinese is not as good as your English, but I am looking forward to this chance to have a dialogue.

This is my first time traveling to China, and I'm excited to see this majestic country. Here, in Shanghai, we see the growth that has caught the attention of the world -- the soaring skyscrapers, the bustling streets and entrepreneurial activity. And just as I'm impressed by these signs of China's journey to the 21st century, I'm eager to see those ancient places that speak to us from China's distant past. Tomorrow and the next day I hope to have a chance when I'm in Beijing to see the majesty of the Forbidden City and the wonder of the Great Wall. Truly, this is a nation that encompasses both a rich history and a belief in the promise of the future.

The same can be said of the relationship between our two countries. Shanghai, of course, is a city that has great meaning in the history of the relationship between the United States and China. It was here, 37 years ago, that the Shanghai Communique opened the door to a new chapter of engagement between our governments and among our people. However, America's ties to this city -- and to this country -- stretch back further, to the earliest days of America's independence.

In 1784, our founding father, George Washington, commissioned the Empress of China, a ship that set sail for these shores so that it could pursue trade with the Qing Dynasty. Washington wanted to see the ship carry the flag around the globe, and to

forge new ties with nations like China. This is a common American impulse -- the desire to reach for new horizons, and to forge new partnerships that are mutually beneficial.

Over the two centuries that have followed, the currents of history have steered the relationship between our countries in many directions. And even in the midst of tumultuous winds, our people had opportunities to forge deep and even dramatic ties. For instance, Americans will never forget the hospitality shown to our pilots who were shot down over your soil during World War II, and cared for by Chinese civilians who risked all that they had by doing so. And Chinese veterans of that war still warmly greet those American veterans who return to the sites where they fought to help liberate China from occupation.

A different kind of connection was made nearly 40 years ago when the frost between our countries began to thaw through the simple game of table tennis. The very unlikely nature of this engagement contributed to its success -- because for all our differences, both our common humanity and our shared curiosity were revealed. As one American player described his visit to China -- "[The]people are just like us...The country is very similar to America, but still very different."

Of course this small opening was followed by the achievement of the Shanghai Communique, and the eventual establishment of formal relations between the

United States and China in 1979. And in three decades, just look at how far we have come.

In 1979, trade between the United States and China stood at roughly \$5 billion -- today it tops over \$400 billion each year. The commerce affects our people's lives in so many ways. America imports from China many of the computer parts we use, the clothes we wear; and we export to China machinery that helps power your industry. This trade could create even more jobs on both sides of the Pacific, while allowing our people to enjoy a better quality of life. And as demand becomes more balanced, it can lead to even broader prosperity.

In 1979, the political cooperation between the United States and China was rooted largely in our shared rivalry with the Soviet Union. Today, we have a positive, constructive and comprehensive relationship that opens the door to partnership on the key global issues of our time -- economic recovery and the development of clean energy; stopping the spread of nuclear weapons and the scourge of climate change; the promotion of peace and security in Asia and around the globe. All of these issues will be on the agenda tomorrow when I meet with President Hu.

And in 1979, the connections among our people were limited. Today, we see the curiosity of those ping-pong players manifested in the ties that are being forged across many sectors. The second highest number of foreign students in the United

States come from China, and we've seen a 50 percent increase in the study of Chinese among our own students. There are nearly 200 "friendship cities" drawing our communities together. American and Chinese scientists cooperate on new research and discovery. And of course, Yao Ming is just one signal of our shared love of basketball -- I'm only sorry that I won't be able to see a Shanghai Sharks game while I'm visiting.

It is no coincidence that the relationship between our countries has accompanied a period of positive change. China has lifted hundreds of millions of people out of poverty -- an accomplishment unparalleled in human history -- while playing a larger role in global events. And the United States has seen our economy grow along with the standard of living enjoyed by our people, while bringing the Cold War to a successful conclusion.

There is a Chinese proverb: "Consider the past, and you shall know the future." Surely, we have known setbacks and challenges over the last 30 years. Our relationship has not been without disagreement and difficulty. But the notion that we must be adversaries is not predestined -- not when we consider the past. Indeed, because of our cooperation, both the United States and China are more prosperous and more secure. We have seen what is possible when we build upon our mutual interests, and engage on the basis of mutual respect.

And yet the success of that engagement depends upon understanding -- on sustaining an open dialogue, and learning about one another and from one another. For just as that American table tennis player pointed out -- we share much in common as human beings, but our countries are different in certain ways.

I believe that each country must chart its own course. China is an ancient nation, with a deeply rooted culture. The United States, by comparison, is a young nation, whose culture is determined by the many different immigrants who have come to our shores, and by the founding documents that guide our democracy.

Those documents put forward a simple vision of human affairs, and they enshrine several core principles -- that all men and women are created equal, and possess certain fundamental rights; that government should reflect the will of the people and respond to their wishes; that commerce should be open, information freely accessible; and that laws, and not simply men, should guarantee the administration of justice.

Of course, the story of our nation is not without its difficult chapters. In many ways -- over many years -- we have struggled to advance the promise of these principles to all of our people, and to forge a more perfect union. We fought a very painful civil war, and freed a portion of our population from slavery. It took time for women to be extended the right to vote, workers to win the right to organize, and for

immigrants from different corners of the globe to be fully embraced. Even after they were freed, African Americans persevered through conditions that were separate and not equal, before winning full and equal rights.

None of this was easy. But we made progress because of our belief in those core principles, which have served as our compass through the darkest of storms. That is why Lincoln could stand up in the midst of civil war and declare it a struggle to see whether any nation, conceived in liberty, and "dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal" could long endure. That is why Dr. Martin Luther King could stand on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial and ask that our nation live out the true meaning of its creed. That's why immigrants from China to Kenya could find a home on our shores; why opportunity is available to all who would work for it; and why someone like me, who less than 50 years ago would have had trouble voting in some parts of America, is now able to serve as its President.

And that is why America will always speak out for these core principles around the world. We do not seek to impose any system of government on any other nation, but we also don't believe that the principles that we stand for are unique to our nation. These freedoms of expression and worship -- of access to information and political participation -- we believe are universal rights. They should be available to all people, including ethnic and religious minorities -- whether they are in the United States, China, or any nation. Indeed, it is that respect for universal rights that

guides America's openness to other countries; our respect for different cultures; our commitment to international law; and our faith in the future.

These are all things that you should know about America. I also know that we have much to learn about China. Looking around at this magnificent city -- and looking around this room -- I do believe that our nations hold something important in common, and that is a belief in the future. Neither the United States nor China is content to rest on our achievements. For while China is an ancient nation, you are also clearly looking ahead with confidence, ambition, and a commitment to see that tomorrow's generation can do better than today's.

In addition to your growing economy, we admire China's extraordinary commitment to science and research -- a commitment borne out in everything from the infrastructure you build to the technology you use. China is now the world's largest Internet user -- which is why we were so pleased to include the Internet as a part of today's event. This country now has the world's largest mobile phone network, and it is investing in the new forms of energy that can both sustain growth and combat climate change -- and I'm looking forward to deepening the partnership between the United States and China in this critical area tomorrow. But above all, I see China's future in you -- young people whose talent and dedication and dreams will do so much to help shape the 21st century.

I've said many times that I believe that our world is now fundamentally interconnected. The jobs we do, the prosperity we build, the environment we protect, the security that we seek -- all of these things are shared. And given that interconnection, power in the 21st century is no longer a zero-sum game; one country's success need not come at the expense of another. And that is why the United States insists we do not seek to contain China's rise. On the contrary, we welcome China as a strong and prosperous and successful member of the community of nations -- a China that draws on the rights, strengths, and creativity of individual Chinese like you.

To return to the proverb -- consider the past. We know that more is to be gained when great powers cooperate than when they collide. That is a lesson that human beings have learned time and again, and that is the example of the history between our nations. And I believe strongly that cooperation must go beyond our government. It must be rooted in our people -- in the studies we share, the business that we do, the knowledge that we gain, and even in the sports that we play. And these bridges must be built by young men and women just like you and your counterparts in America.

That's why I'm pleased to announce that the United States will dramatically expand the number of our students who study in China to 100,000. And these exchanges mark a clear commitment to build ties among our people, as surely as you will help

determine the destiny of the 21st century. And I'm absolutely confident that America has no better ambassadors to offer than our young people. For they, just like you, are filled with talent and energy and optimism about the history that is yet to be written.

So let this be the next step in the steady pursuit of cooperation that will serve our nations, and the world. And if there's one thing that we can take from today's dialogue, I hope that it is a commitment to continue this dialogue going forward.

So thank you very much. And I look forward now to taking some questions from all of you. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

So -- I just want to make sure this works. This is a tradition, by the way, that is very common in the United States at these town hall meetings. And what we're going to do is I will just -- if you are interested in asking a question, you can raise your hands. I will call on you. And then I will alternate between a question from the audience and an Internet question from one of the students who prepared the questions, as well as I think Ambassador Huntsman may have a question that we were able to obtain from the Web site of our embassy.

So let me begin, though, by seeing -- and then what I'll do is I'll call on a boy and then a girl and then -- so we'll go back and forth, so that you know it's fair. All right? So

I'll start with this young lady right in the front. Why don't we wait for this microphone so everyone can hear you. And what's your name?

Q My name is (inaudible) and I am a student from Fudan University. Shanghai and Chicago have been sister cities since 1985, and these two cities have conduct a wide range of economic, political, and cultural exchanges. So what measures will you take to deepen this close relationship between cities of the United States and China? And Shanghai will hold the World Exposition next year. Will you bring your family to visit the Expo? Thank you.

PRESIDENT OBAMA: Well, thank you very much for the question. I was just having lunch before I came here with the Mayor of Shanghai, and he told me that he has had an excellent relationship with the city of Chicago -- my home town -- that he's visited there twice. And I think it's wonderful to have these exchanges between cities.

One of the things that I discussed with the Mayor is how both cities can learn from each other on strategies around clean energy, because one of the issues that ties China and America together is how, with an expanding population and a concern for climate change, that we're able to reduce our carbon footprint. And obviously in the United States and many developed countries, per capita, per individual, they are already using much more energy than each individual here in China. But as China

grows and expands, it's going to be using more energy as well. So both countries have a great interest in finding new strategies.

We talked about mass transit and the excellent rail lines that are being developed in Shanghai. I think we can learn in Chicago and the United States some of the fine work that's being done on high-speed rail.

In the United States, I think we are learning how to develop buildings that use much less energy, that are much more energy-efficient. And I know that with Shanghai, as I traveled and I saw all the cranes and all the new buildings that are going up, it's very important for us to start incorporating these new technologies so that each building is energy-efficient when it comes to lighting, when it comes to heating. And so it's a terrific opportunity I think for us to learn from each other.

I know this is going to be a major focus of the Shanghai World Expo, is the issue of clean energy, as I learned from the Mayor. And so I would love to attend. I'm not sure yet what my schedule is going to be, but I'm very pleased that we're going to have an excellent U.S. pavilion at the Expo, and I understand that we expect as many as 70 million visitors here. So it's going to be very crowded and it's going to be very exciting.

Chicago has had two world expos in its history, and both of those expos ended up

being tremendous boosts for the city. So I'm sure the same thing will happen here in Shanghai.

Thank you. (Applause.)

Why don't we get one of the questions from the Internet? And introduce yourself, in case --

Q First shall I say it in Chinese, and then the English, okay?

PRESIDENT OBAMA: Yes.

Q I want to pose a question from the Internet. I want to thank you, Mr. President, for visiting China in your first year in office, and exchange views with us in China. I want to know what are you bringing to China, your visit to China this time, and what will you bring back to the United States? (Applause.)

PRESIDENT OBAMA: The main purpose of my trip is to deepen my understanding of China and its vision for the future. I have had several meetings now with President Hu. We participated together in the G20 that was dealing with the economic financial crisis. We have had consultations about a wide range of issues. But I think it's very important for the United States to continually deepen its understanding of

China, just as it's important for China to continually deepen its understanding of the United States.

In terms of what I'd like to get out of this meeting, or this visit, in addition to having the wonderful opportunity to see the Forbidden City and the Great Wall, and to meet with all of you -- these are all highlights -- but in addition to that, the discussions that I intend to have with President Hu speak to the point that Ambassador Huntsman made earlier, which is there are very few global challenges that can be solved unless the United States and China agree.

So let me give you a specific example, and that is the issue we were just discussing of climate change. The United States and China are the world's two largest emitters of greenhouse gases, of carbon that is causing the planet to warm. Now, the United States, as a highly developed country, as I said before, per capita, consumes much more energy and emits much more greenhouse gases for each individual than does China. On the other hand, China is growing at a much faster pace and it has a much larger population. So unless both of our countries are willing to take critical steps in dealing with this issue, we will not be able to resolve it.

There's going to be a Copenhagen conference in December in which world leaders are trying to find a recipe so that we can all make commitments that are differentiated so each country would not have the same obligations -- obviously

China, which has much more poverty, should not have to do exactly the same thing as the United States -- but all of us should have these certain obligations in terms of what our plan will be to reduce these greenhouse gases.

So that's an example of what I hope to get out of this meeting -- a meeting of the minds between myself and President Hu about how together the United States and China can show leadership. Because I will tell you, other countries around the world will be waiting for us. They will watch to see what we do. And if they say, ah, you know, the United States and China, they're not serious about this, then they won't be serious either. That is the burden of leadership that both of our countries now carry. And my hope is, is that the more discussion and dialogue that we have, the more we are able to show this leadership to the world on these many critical issues. Okay? (Applause.)

All right, it's a -- I think it must be a boy's turn now. Right? So I'll call on this young man right here.

Q (As translated.) Mr. President, good afternoon. I'm from Tongji University. I want to cite a saying from Confucius: "It is always good to have a friend coming from afar." In Confucius books, there is a great saying which says that harmony is good, but also we uphold differences. China advocates a harmonious world. We know that the United States develops a culture that features diversity. I want to

know, what will your government do to build a diversified world with different cultures? What would you do to respect the different cultures and histories of other countries? And what kinds of cooperation we can conduct in the future?

PRESIDENT OBAMA: This is an excellent point. The United States, one of our strengths is that we are a very diverse culture. We have people coming from all around the world. And so there's no one definition of what an American looks like. In my own family, I have a father who was from Kenya; I have a mother who was from Kansas, in the Midwest of the United States; my sister is half-Indonesian; she's married to a Chinese person from Canada. So when you see family gatherings in the Obama household, it looks like the United Nations. (Laughter.)

And that is a great strength of the United States, because it means that we learn from different cultures and different foods and different ideas, and that has made us a much more dynamic society.

Now, what is also true is that each country in this interconnected world has its own culture and its own history and its own traditions. And I think it's very important for the United States not to assume that what is good for us is automatically good for somebody else. And we have to have some modesty about our attitudes towards other countries.

I have to say, though, as I said in my opening remarks, that we do believe that there are certain fundamental principles that are common to all people, regardless of culture. So, for example, in the United Nations we are very active in trying to make sure that children all around the world are treated with certain basic rights -- that if children are being exploited, if there's forced labor for children, that despite the fact that that may have taken place in the past in many different countries, including the United States, that all countries of the world now should have developed to the point where we are treating children better than we did in the past. That's a universal value.

I believe, for example, the same thing holds true when it comes to the treatment of women. I had a very interesting discussion with the Mayor of Shanghai during lunch right before I came, and he informed me that in many professions now here in China, there are actually more women enrolled in college than there are men, and that they are doing very well. I think that is an excellent indicator of progress, because it turns out that if you look at development around the world, one of the best indicators of whether or not a country does well is how well it educates its girls and how it treats its women. And countries that are tapping into the talents and the energy of women and giving them educations typically do better economically than countries that don't.

So, now, obviously difficult cultures may have different attitudes about the

relationship between men and women, but I think it is the view of the United States that it is important for us to affirm the rights of women all around the world. And if we see certain societies in which women are oppressed, or they are not getting opportunities, or there is violence towards women, we will speak out.

Now, there may be some people who disagree with us, and we can have a dialogue about that. But we think it's important, nevertheless, to be true to our ideals and our values. And we -- and when we do so, though, we will always do so with the humility and understanding that we are not perfect and that we still have much progress to make. If you talk to women in America, they will tell you that there are still men who have a lot of old-fashioned ideas about the role of women in society. And so we don't claim that we have solved all these problems, but we do think that it's important for us to speak out on behalf of these universal ideals and these universal values.

Okay? All right. We're going to take a question from the Internet.

Q Hello, Mr. President. It's a great honor to be here and meet you in person.

PRESIDENT OBAMA: Thank you.

Q I will be reading a question selected on the Internet to you, and this question

is from somebody from Taiwan. In his question, he said: I come from Taiwan. Now I am doing business on the mainland. And due to improved cross-straits relations in recent years, my business in China is doing quite well. So when I heard the news that some people in America would like to propose -- continue selling arms and weapons to Taiwan, I begin to get pretty worried. I worry that this may make our cross-straits relations suffer. So I would like to know if, Mr. President, are you supportive of improved cross-straits relations? And although this question is from a businessman, actually, it's a question of keen concern to all of us young Chinese students, so we'd really like to know your position on this question. Thank you.

(Applause.)

PRESIDENT OBAMA: Thank you. Well, I have been clear in the past that my administration fully supports a one-China policy, as reflected in the three joint communiqués that date back several decades, in terms of our relations with Taiwan as well as our relations with the People's Republic of China. We don't want to change that policy and that approach.

I am very pleased with the reduction of tensions and the improvement in cross-straits relations, and it is my deep desire and hope that we will continue to see great improvement between Taiwan and the rest of -- and the People's Republic in resolving many of these issues.

One of the things that I think that the United States, in terms of its foreign policy and its policy with respect to China, is always seeking is ways that through dialogue and negotiations, problems can be solved. We always think that's the better course. And I think that economic ties and commercial ties that are taking place in this region are helping to lower a lot of the tensions that date back before you were born or even before I was born.

Now, there are some people who still look towards the past when it comes to these issues, as opposed to looking towards the future. I prefer to look towards the future. And as I said, I think the commercial ties that are taking place -- there's something about when people think that they can do business and make money that makes them think very clearly and not worry as much about ideology. And I think that that's starting to happen in this region, and we are very supportive of that process. Okay?

Let's see, it's a girl's turn now, right? Yes, right there. Yes. Hold on, let's get -- whoops, I'm sorry, they took the mic back here. I'll call on you next.

Go ahead, and then I'll go up here later. Go ahead.

Q Thank you.

PRESIDENT OBAMA: I'll call on you later. But I'll on her first and then I'll call on you afterwards.

Go ahead.

Q Okay, thank you. Mr. President, I'm a student from Shanghai Jiao Tong University. I have a question concerning the Nobel Prize for Peace. In your opinion, what's the main reason that you were honored the Nobel Prize for Peace? And will it give you more responsibility and pressure to -- more pressure and the responsibility to promote world peace? And will it bring you -- will it influence your ideas while dealing with the international affairs? Thank you very much.

PRESIDENT OBAMA: Thank you. That was an excellent question. I have to say that nobody was more surprised than me about winning the Nobel Prize for Peace. Obviously it's a great honor. I don't believe necessarily that it's an honor I deserve, given the extraordinary history of people who have won the prize. All I can do is to, with great humility, accept the fact that I think the committee was inspired by the American people and the possibilities of changing not only America but also America's approach to the world. And so in some ways I think they gave me the prize but I was more just a symbol of the shift in our approach to world affairs that we are trying to promote.

In terms of the burden that I feel, I am extraordinarily honored to be put in the position of President. And as my wife always reminds me when I complain that I'm working too hard, she says, you volunteered for this job. (Laughter.) And so you -- there's a saying -- I don't know if there's a similar saying in China -- we have a saying: "You made your bed, now you have to sleep in it." And it basically means you have to be careful what you ask for because you might get it.

I think that all of us have obligations for trying to promote peace in the world. It's not always easy to do. There are still a lot of conflicts in the world that are -- date back for centuries. If you look at the Middle East, there are wars and conflict that are rooted in arguments going back a thousand years. In many parts of the world -- let's say, in the continent of Africa -- there are ethnic and tribal conflicts that are very hard to resolve.

And obviously, right now, as President of the United States, part of my job is to serve as Commander-in-Chief, and my first priority is to protect the American people. And because of the attacks on 9/11 and the terrorism that has been taking place around the world where innocent people are being killed, it is my obligation to make sure that we root out these terrorist organizations, and that we cooperate with other countries in terms of dealing with this kind of violence.

Nevertheless, although I don't think that we can ever completely eliminate violence

between nations or between peoples, I think that we can definitely reduce the violence between peoples -- through dialogue, through the exchange of ideas, through greater understanding between peoples and between cultures.

And particularly now when just one individual can detonate a bomb that causes so much destruction, it is more important than ever that we pursue these strategies for peace. Technology is a powerful instrument for good, but it has also given the possibility for just a few people to cause enormous damage. And that's why I'm hopeful that in my meetings with President Hu and on an ongoing basis, both the United States and China can work together to try to reduce conflicts that are taking place.

We have to do so, though, also keeping in mind that when we use our military, because we're such big and strong countries, that we have to be self-reflective about what we do; that we have to examine our own motives and our own interests to make sure that we are not simply using our military forces because nobody can stop us. That's a burden that great countries, great powers, have, is to act responsibly in the community of nations. And my hope is, is that the United States and China together can help to create an international norms that reduce conflict around the world. (Applause.)

Okay. All right? Jon -- I'm going to call on my Ambassador because I think he has a

question that was generated through the Web site of our embassy. This was selected, though, by I think one of the members of our U.S. press corps so that --

AMBASSADOR HUNTSMAN: That's right. And not surprisingly, "in a country with 350 million Internet users and 60 million bloggers, do you know of the firewall?" And second, "should we be able to use Twitter freely" -- is the question.

PRESIDENT OBAMA: Well, first of all, let me say that I have never used Twitter. I noticed that young people -- they're very busy with all these electronics. My thumbs are too clumsy to type in things on the phone. But I am a big believer in technology and I'm a big believer in openness when it comes to the flow of information. I think that the more freely information flows, the stronger the society becomes, because then citizens of countries around the world can hold their own governments accountable. They can begin to think for themselves. That generates new ideas. It encourages creativity.

And so I've always been a strong supporter of open Internet use. I'm a big supporter of non-censorship. This is part of the tradition of the United States that I discussed before, and I recognize that different countries have different traditions. I can tell you that in the United States, the fact that we have free Internet -- or unrestricted Internet access is a source of strength, and I think should be encouraged.

Now, I should tell you, I should be honest, as President of the United States, there are times where I wish information didn't flow so freely because then I wouldn't have to listen to people criticizing me all the time. I think people naturally are -- when they're in positions of power sometimes thinks, oh, how could that person say that about me, or that's irresponsible, or -- but the truth is that because in the United States information is free, and I have a lot of critics in the United States who can say all kinds of things about me, I actually think that that makes our democracy stronger and it makes me a better leader because it forces me to hear opinions that I don't want to hear. It forces me to examine what I'm doing on a day-to-day basis to see, am I really doing the very best that I could be doing for the people of the United States.

And I think the Internet has become an even more powerful tool for that kind of citizen participation. In fact, one of the reasons that I won the presidency was because we were able to mobilize young people like yourself to get involved through the Internet. Initially, nobody thought we could win because we didn't have necessarily the most wealthy supporters; we didn't have the most powerful political brokers. But through the Internet, people became excited about our campaign and they started to organize and meet and set up campaign activities and events and rallies. And it really ended up creating the kind of bottom-up movement that allowed us to do very well.

Now, that's not just true in -- for government and politics. It's also true for business. You think about a company like Google that only 20 years ago was -- less than 20 years ago was the idea of a couple of people not much older than you. It was a science project. And suddenly because of the Internet, they were able to create an industry that has revolutionized commerce all around the world. So if it had not been for the freedom and the openness that the Internet allows, Google wouldn't exist.

So I'm a big supporter of not restricting Internet use, Internet access, other information technologies like Twitter. The more open we are, the more we can communicate. And it also helps to draw the world together.

Think about -- when I think about my daughters, Malia and Sasha -- one is 11, one is 8 -- from their room, they can get on the Internet and they can travel to Shanghai. They can go anyplace in the world and they can learn about anything they want to learn about. And that's just an enormous power that they have. And that helps, I think, promote the kind of understanding that we talked about.

Now, as I said before, there's always a downside to technology. It also means that terrorists are able to organize on the Internet in ways that they might not have been able to do before. Extremists can mobilize. And so there's some price that you pay for openness, there's no denying that. But I think that the good outweighs the

bad so much that it's better to maintain that openness. And that's part of why I'm so glad that the Internet was part of this forum. Okay?

I'm going to take two more questions. And the next one is from a gentleman, I think. Right here, yes. Here's the microphone.

Q First, I would like to say that it is a great honor for me to stand here to ask you the questions. I think I am so lucky and just appreciate that your speech is so clear that I really do not need such kind of headset. (Laughter.)

And here comes my question. My name is (inaudible) from Fudan University School of Management. And I would like to ask you the question -- is that now that someone has asked you something about the Nobel Peace Prize, but I will not ask you in the same aspect. I want to ask you in the other aspect that since it is very hard for you to get such kind of an honorable prize, and I wonder and we all wonder that -- how you struggled to get it. And what's your university/college education that brings you to get such kind of prizes? We are very curious about it and we would like to invite you to share with us your campus education experiences so as to go on the road of success.

PRESIDENT OBAMA: Well, first of all, let me tell you that I don't know if there's a curriculum or course of study that leads you to win the Nobel Peace Prize.

(Laughter.) So I can't guarantee that. But I think the recipe for success is the one that you are already following. Obviously all of you are working very hard, you're studying very hard. You're curious. You're willing to think about new ideas and think for yourself. You know, the people who I meet now that I find most inspiring who are successful I think are people who are not only willing to work very hard but are constantly trying to improve themselves and to think in new ways, and not just accept the conventional wisdom.

Obviously there are many different paths to success, and some of you are going to be going into government service; some of you might want to be teachers or professors; some of you might want to be businesspeople. But I think that whatever field you go into, if you're constantly trying to improve and never satisfied with not having done your best, and constantly asking new questions -- "Are there things that I could be doing differently? Are there new approaches to problems that nobody has thought of before, whether it's in science or technology or in the arts? -- those are usually the people who I think are able to rise about the rest.

The one last piece of advice, though, that I would have that has been useful for me is the people who I admire the most and are most successful, they're not just thinking only about themselves but they're also thinking about something larger than themselves. So they want to make a contribution to society. They want to make a contribution to their country, their nation, their city. They are interested in having

an impact beyond their own immediate lives.

I think so many of us, we get caught up with wanting to make money for ourselves and have a nice car and have a nice house and -- all those things are important, but the people who really make their mark on the world is because they have a bigger ambition. They say, how can I help feed hungry people? Or, how can I help to teach children who don't have an education? Or, how can I bring about peaceful resolution of conflicts? Those are the people I think who end up making such a big difference in the world. And I'm sure that young people like you are going to be able to make that kind of difference as long as you keep working the way you've been working.

All right? All right, this is going to be the last question, unfortunately. We've run out of time so quickly. Our last Internet question, because I want to make sure that we got all three of our fine students here.

Q Mr. President, it's a great honor for the last question. And I'm a college student from Fudan University, and today I'm also the representative of China's Youth (inaudible.) And this question I think is from Beijing: Paid great attention to your Afghanistan policies, and he would like to know whether terrorism is still the greatest security concern for the United States? And how do you assess the military actions in Afghanistan, or whether it will turn into another Iraqi war? Thank you very much.

PRESIDENT OBAMA: I think that's an excellent question. Well, first of all, I do continue to believe that the greatest threat to United States' security are the terrorist networks like al Qaeda. And the reason is, is because even though they are small in number, what they have shown is, is that they have no conscience when it comes to the destruction of innocent civilians. And because of technology today, if an organization like that got a weapon of mass destruction on its hands -- a nuclear or a chemical or a biological weapon -- and they used it in a city, whether it's in Shanghai or New York, just a few individuals could potentially kill tens of thousands of people, maybe hundreds of thousands. So it really does pose an extraordinary threat.

Now, the reason we originally went into Afghanistan was because al Qaeda was in Afghanistan, being hosted by the Taliban. They have now moved over the border of Afghanistan and they are in Pakistan now, but they continue to have networks with other extremist organizations in that region. And I do believe that it is important for us to stabilize Afghanistan so that the people of Afghanistan can protect themselves, but they can also be a partner in reducing the power of these extremist networks.

Now, obviously it is a very difficult thing -- one of the hardest things about my job is ordering young men and women into the battlefield. I often have to meet with the mothers and fathers of the fallen, those who do not come home. And it is a great

weight on me. It gives me a heavy heart.

Fortunately, our Armed Services is -- the young men and women who participate, they believe so strongly in their service to their country that they are willing to go. And I think that it is possible -- working in a broader coalition with our allies in NATO and others that are contributing like Australia -- to help train the Afghans so that they have a functioning government, that they have their own security forces, and then slowly we can begin to pull our troops out because there's no longer that vacuum that existed after the Taliban left.

But it's a difficult task. It's not easy. And ultimately I think in trying to defeat these terrorist extremists, it's important to understand it's not just a military exercise. We also have to think about what motivates young people to become terrorists, why would they become suicide bombers. And although there are obviously a lot of different reasons, including I think the perversion of religion, in thinking that somehow these kinds of violent acts are appropriate, part of what's happened in places like Pakistan and Afghanistan is these young people have no education, they have no opportunities, and so they see no way for them to move forward in life, and that leads them into thinking that this is their only option.

And so part of what we want to do in Afghanistan is to find ways that we can train teachers and create schools and improve agriculture so that people have a greater

sense of hope. That won't change the ideas of a Osama bin Laden who are very ideologically fixed on trying to strike at the West, but it will change the pool of young people who they can recruit from. And that is at least as important, if not more important over time, as whatever military actions that we can take. Okay?

All right, I have had a wonderful time. I am so grateful to all of you. First of all, let me say I'm very impressed with all of your English. Clearly you've been studying very hard. And having a chance to meet with all of you I think has given me great hope for the future of U.S.-China relations.

I hope that many of you have the opportunity to come and travel and visit the United States. You will be welcome. I think you will find that the American people feel very warmly towards the people of China. And I am very confident that, with young people like yourselves and the young people that I know in the United States, that our two great countries will continue to prosper and help to bring about a more peaceful and secure world.

So thank you very much everybody. Thank you. (Applause.)

END

2:08 P.M. CST

2:15 p.m.: Now it's off to the airport. Next stop: Beijing—Sky Canaves

2:12 p.m.: Obama leaves the hall shaking as many hands as possible, as a piano concerto plays in background and to applause.—James T. Areddy

2:11 p.m.: Actually that's a full ring around shaking hands. —James T. Areddy

2:10 p.m.: What is the purpose of this sort of thing? It's nice to meet people and get questions you've been asked a million times before but to me the premise is wrong. The US idea is that if a US president can speak "directly" to "the Chinese people" then somehow this will be a great thing. First, I don't know how many ordinary Chinese people went through the hoops (like finding an English-language website without any translation) to listen to this. But more, I wonder if it really helps much—isn't it a kind of inherent arrogance to think that one politician's speech matters that much? The US fought tooth and nail to have this session included in the itinerary of Obama's trip, but was there any point at all? —Ian Johnson

2:09 p.m.: Obama shakes hands near stage, making partial ring around it as all stand, and wrap up comments are made by Fudan university official.—James T. Areddy

2:04 p.m.: Last question: Afghanistan, why is the U.S. there? He gives the stock answer, which is to fight terrorism, train Afghanis. Will he encourage China to join the

coalition, for example in building Afghanistan's police force? I guess not. Maybe he's saving his pitch for President Hu at dinner tonight. –Ian Johnson

2:00 p.m.: Is it just me or why did I have to switch computers three times before I got back onto the live streaming? I guess this shows the limits of live streaming as a medium to reach people in a place like China, where the Internet speed is purposefully limited.–Ian Johnson

1:57 p.m.: He's talked a lot about great powers. This reminds me of a film I saw last night: 2012. It's one of these cheesy Hollywood movies but the interesting twist is the world is saved in large part because China builds these giant arks. I wonder if this is what he has in mind. –Ian Johnson

1:56 p.m.: Cleverly he points to his own election campaign as an example of what can happen with the internet—that his campaign could use the Internet to organize. –Ian Johnson

1:52 p.m.: Still, he comes out pretty strongly in support of unrestricted Internet access, despite the price paid for openness (such as terrorist organizing online), the good far outweighs the bad.–Sky Canaves

1:53 p.m.: At last, a tough question: has he heard of the Internet firewall and if

Chinese people should be allowed to use Twitter and Facebook—both of which are blocked in China.

Obama's answer is that he's too clumsy to use Twitter, but supports free information. He says the differences between China and the US are due to different "traditions" but that the free flow of information is a strength for the US. Seems sort of relativistic.—Ian Johnson

1:52 p.m.: Obama acknowledges that as president, he sometimes wishes information wasn't so free. But ultimately it makes him a better leader and makes democracy stronger.—Sky Canaves

1:51 p.m.: Obama handed a card - which he briefly looks at before taking a question from Huntsman about Twitter. Obama says his thumbs are too clumsy and never used Twitter but believes in free flow of information. —James T. Areddy

1:50 p.m.: Huntsman asks an Internet question chosen by a U.S. press corps member— It's a curveball— The Great Firewall question. —Sky Canaves

1:49 p.m.: Overall this gives an interesting look at how a charismatic western politician works. Obama can talk and talk, walking the stage, looking telegenic, sounding pleasing and using his body language to add to his points. It's quite a

contrast with China's older-style political leaders, but I'm not sure that this matters much in China—I sort of doubt that many people here expect their politicians to be showmen-type figures like Obama. —Ian Johnson

1:46 p.m.: Confusion about which woman Obama had called on underscores what seems to be his choice in deciding who can ask a question. He chooses a woman who asks about his Nobel Peace Prize.—James T. Areddy

1:45 p.m.: The Nobel Peace Prize question: Does it give him more pressure on international affairs. Not quite as harsh as, “what have you done to deserve this?” —Sky Canaves

1:44 p.m.: He seems to be stumbling around the Taiwan questions. The key point was arms sales but he just says he's in favor of better Cross-Straits ties. Nice dodge. —Ian Johnson

1:43 p.m.: The Taiwan question. Obama restates full support of one-China policy and improvement in cross straits relations, hopes that these improvements will continue. Economic and commercial ties are lowering tensions that date back to before Obama was born.—Sky Canaves

1:41 p.m.: Now comes an Internet question. A question from Taiwan. Wow, who

screened this one? The questioner is supposedly from Taiwan but seems to oppose U.S. arms sales to Taiwan, which most Taiwanese support. This must be from the Pro-China Taiwan Businessman's Lobby, headquartered in Beijing...—lan Johnson

1:38 p.m.: Obama is asked a question that many Chinese wonder about: you have your values but we're different. So how will you not impose your views on us?

The answer is nice- -that we have differences but universal values, like the treatment of children and equality for women. —lan Johnson

1:36 p.m.: Xinhua still not broadcasting this. What's up with that? —lan Johnson

1:34 p.m.: Obama says it's a boy's turn now. But didn't a boy just go? Must be jetlag. —lan Johnson

1:33 p.m.: Next student asks in Chinese what he wants to get out of this visit, he says he hopes of course to do some tourism but mainly talk to President Hu. He says almost nothing in the world can be solved unless U.S. and China cooperate.

What's interesting here is the U.S. focus on China as a global partner now. A decade ago, most issues were bilateral—issues that interested mainly China and the US. Now they're big issues like climate change, etc. The big problem with this approach,

according to many Chinese and U.S. commentators, is that the two sides might not share enough values to treat each others as “partners.” One leading Chinese foreign-policy expert put it like this: “We’re business partners, not allies.”—Ian Johnson

1:31 p.m.: Both China and the U.S. must carry “the burden of leadership.”—Sky Canaves

1:28 p.m.: Fun fact from first question: Shanghai and Chicago are sister cities. Student asks about sister-city programs and how to deepen them. I’ve always wondered if these things are of any use, other than providing a junket-chance to travel to another continent, but then I’m a known cynic.

Obama now says he wants to reduce the carbon footprint of the US. Maybe fewer mayoral visits to each other countries would be one way. —Ian Johnson

1:26 p.m.: Will alternate questions from live audience and Internet submissions.—Sky Canaves

1:26 p.m.: Obama takes microphone off the dias - Oprah, or Obama, style. Explains rules; boy-girl-boy-girl.—James T. Areddy

1:25 p.m.: Obama is now pledging to expand the number of US students studying in China to 100,000. Not sure what he means. Is the US so centrally planned that it can determine the number of students? How will he do this? More scholarships?

Finally, questions! –Ian Johnson

1:24 p.m.: It's telling that very few of the students use translation devices to listen to Obama comments. They are attentive and understand English. Smiles on faces as they hear his plan to increase student visa numbers, for instance.–James T. Areddy

1:23 p.m.: Big long monologue. Let's hear some questions.–Ian Johnson

1:22 p.m.: His pitch so far is that core values matter. He says that core values allowed the US to face difficulties and for Obama, who 50 years ago might have had trouble voting, could become president. This is why the US pushes these values around the world, he says.

This is interesting on two levels: China is interested itself in developing core values. There's a revival of Confucianism and last week I attended a conference on Daoism—people need something to believe in and some values that they can share.

But on the other hand, his message is controversial because Chinese are tired of

having people tell them what to do. So part of his pitch for values is defensive—to explain why the U.S. “has” to do this. —Ian Johnson

1:20 p.m.: I don’t know about others out there, but the Internet connections in Beijing aren’t making this easy. Maybe it’s just the WSJ bandwidth, but the whitehouse.gov feed is erratic and the Shanghai TV feed not working. And we still can’t find anything at all on Xinhuanet.—Ian Johnson

1:19 p.m.: American progress due to belief in “core principles.” Touches on Civil War, slavery, Lincoln, Martin Luther King, Jr. and voting rights without directly mentioning foreign ministry spokesman Qin Gang’s recent comments equating Tibet under Dalai Lama to the Civil War South. —Sky Canaves

1:17 p.m.: Obama’s telling the students what they probalby already know: that the two countries mater. Now he’s citing a Chinese proverb. Can any foreigner come to China without citing a proverb? —Ian Johnson

1:15 p.m.: Speaks about deepening trade relationship, scientific cooperation, cultural exchanges and basketball. Regrets not being able to catch a Shanghai Sharks game on this trip. —Sky Canaves

1:11 p.m.: Obama opens with an understanding of America’s historical relationship

with China, and Shanghai. Qing dynasty ships, World War II, ping-pong diplomacy and the Shanghai Communique.—Sky Canaves

1:09 p.m.: He asked Huntsman how to say hello in Shanghainese. —James T. Areddy

1:09 p.m.: Obama says “hello” in Shanghainese.—Sky Canaves

1:07 p.m.: Huntsman speaks, addressing crowd in Mandarin and English. —James T. Areddy

1:03 p.m.: President Obama arrives, all stand, clapping. Obama xiansheng is announced. By Fudan University head. Ambassador Huntsman also on stage. —James T. Areddy

12:54 p.m.: And it’ll be on the radio, here. —Ian Johnson

12:53 p.m.: So far the only direct broadcast is on www.whitehouse.gov/live Xinhua doesn’t have it live. They are going to print the questions and answers on their Web site here, but so far nothing being broadcast. That may change...—Ian Johnson

12:52 p.m.: Applause breaks utter silence — false alarm!—James T. Areddy

12:45 p.m.: Awaiting the president, music has stopped. Room is almost silent.

–James T. Areddy

12:40 p.m.: A U.S. spokesman tells a few reporters in an informal briefing that “town hall” is difficult to translate into Chinese. They translate it as “Mian dui mian” (face to face).

“The town hall concept for Americans is a symbol of our direct democracy,” Richard Buangan

Deputy press spokesman for the U.S. embassy. He says it is a format Obama likes.

As for the audience, Buangan says, “We wanted to have a broader representation of youth.” More than 400 students are present.

American officials met with some, but didn’t choose them. They are high achievers at their universities. All, or nearly all, speak English.

Questions will come from student “panelists” from three universities: Fudan, Tongji and Jiaotong. –James T. Areddy

12:25 p.m.: The backdrop of the stage features two large TV monitors showing, variously, a logo of 30 years of U.S.-China relations, interspersed with photo slides, including shots of Haibao, the Gumby-like mascot of the Shanghai Expo, and NBA

basketball dunks. –James T. Areddy

12:20 p.m.: Followed by “Sitting on the Dock of the Bay.” No one is singing or even talking.–James T. Areddy

12:15 p.m.: The attendees appear to be college students, most dressed formally in suits and skirts but others less so in trendy leather jackets and pullovers. A large number are wearing the red or yellow pins of their universities. I think the background music is Motown. But “Georgia on My Mind” is playing now.–James T. Areddy

12:10 p.m.: Students filed in from a variety of universities in the area, Tongji engineering university, East China Normal University, Shanghai Jiao Tong University. Asked how they were picked for the event, one after another declined to answer, either in English or in Chinese.–Jonathan Weisman

12:00 p.m.: The scene: Shanghai Science & Technology Museum, located in the east coast city’s purpose built district of modernity, Pudong.

Mr. Obama’s “Meet the Youth” event is being held in a theater in the round, with a center stage and seats for around 300, not including press. Chinese flags stand to the right of American flags in several places around the room. The wood-paneled room is

rounded, with a plush green rug and and green chairs, each with a radio translation device.

Shanghai, a city of superlatives that demonstrates China's modernity, ambitions and historic trade links, is Mr. Obama's first stop in his first China visit. Shanghai desires to be world center for finance and shipping, and the city of around 19 million is getting ready to host a world's fair starting next May.

But it is gloomy today, chilly with a brisk rain and strong wind. The gap at the top of its tallest building nearby in Pudong is invisible, draped by the low cloud cover.

The science museum's special exhibit is "Africa The Serengeti: The Vital Migration Brings You Beauty Yet Cruelty Of The Grasslands In Africa."—James T. Areddy